Routledge Explorations in Environmental Studies

UNDERSTANDING HUMAN-NATURE PRACTICES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

EXAMPLES FROM NORTHERN EUROPE

Edited by
E. C. H. Keskitalo

Understanding Human–Nature Practices for Environmental Management

Nature has often been understood in literature through a disjunction to human systems. This can be seen in the nature–culture binary, or even more clearly in the opposition of 'wilderness' to 'civilisation'.

Drawing on historical and present-day examples and case studies from northern Europe, this book critically examines the ways in which the use of such dichotomies can be transcended to respond to sustainability challenges. Using illustrative examples, the authors demonstrate how shared histories and development of land use continue to impact multiple practices today. The book explores the prerequisites for environmental management approaches that counterpose the nature–culture binaries that are present in existing governance mechanisms.

This volume will be of great interest to students and scholars of environmental management, environmental law and policy, and environmental anthropology.

E. C. H. Keskitalo is professor of political science at the Department of Geography, Umeå University, Sweden, and guest professor at the Unit for Landscape Studies at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Umeå.

Understanding Human–Nature Practices for Environmental Management

Examples from Northern Europe

Edited by
E. C. H. Keskitalo

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

earthscan
from Routledge

First published 2025
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-032-77057-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-77058-1 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-48104-1 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Taylor & Francis Books

Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Tables

Contributors

Elias Andersson, Department of Forest Resource Management, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Umeå, Sweden.

Dorothee Bohn, Department of Geography, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden.

Brynhild Granås, Department of Social Sciences, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Norway.

Olli Haanpää, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland.

Hannu I. Heikkinen, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland.

Eivind Junker, Nord University Business School, Nord University, Norway.

E. Carina H. Keskitalo, Department of Geography, Umeå University, Sweden.

Karoliina Kikuchi, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland.

Élise Lépy, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland.

Iana Nesterova, Department of Social Sciences and Business, Roskilde University, Denmark.

Aleksi Räsänen, Geography Research Unit, University of Oulu, Finland, and Natural Resources Institute Finland (Luke), Oulu, Finland.

Jens Rennstam, Department of Business Administration, Lund University, Sweden.

Anna Ruohonen, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland.

Emmi Salmivuori, Department of History and Geography, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland.

Simo Sarkki, Cultural Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland, and Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt, Germany.

Monica Tennberg, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland.

Foreword

This book was developed as a bottom-up initiative by the authors and editor. We are grateful to all who have joined in or contributed to the process. In particular, the work on this book could not have been completed without the contributions of external reviewers and commentators. We are grateful to, among others, Albina Pashkevich, Knut Hidle, Seija Tuulentie, Karl Benediktsson, Pekka Jokinen, Franz Krause and Leena Suopajärvi.

Emmi Salmivuori is grateful for funding from the OLVI Foundation (grant number 20211232) and the Kone Foundation (grant number 202107734).

1 Introduction

E. C. H. Keskitalo

Introduction

Nature or environment has often been understood in literature through a disjunction between it and human systems. This can be seen in the nature–society binary, or even more clearly in an opposition of wilderness to civilisation (e.g. Descola 2013; Escobar 1999; Haila 2000; cf. Keskitalo 2023).

These binaries form a disjunction in relation to the human that has been echoed in multiple other disjunctions, such as that between rural and urban areas. Rural or environment areas have typically been described in relation to simplified uses by a largely remote humanity: in terms of landscapes for tourism or as productivist sites for resource extraction, and correspondingly as sites for leisure or work rather than as naturalised places (e.g. Malaby 2007; Sandwell 1997; Büscher et al. 2017a).

Common to these conceptions has been that nature, environment or rural areas are not described as sites of residence or as naturalised everyday places (e.g. Parks 2020). Instead, they are described largely in relation to their exchange or experience value for urban, remote populations who utilise areas through production networks for resources (thus not even being in the areas) or tourism (shorter stays directed at specific purposes) (e.g. Stokowski 2002).

This means that the place value of nature, environment or rural areas, as naturalised sites of daily life, has come to be underemphasised in literature. In relation to this, nature-close communities or smaller settlements that are assumed to be linked to such areas have also often been defined in opposition to the urban: as conflict-free communities and without highlighting the often multiple uses and interests among different groups in relation to the areas where they are located (e.g. Alleyne 2002; Philip et al. 2013).

Despite its shortcomings, this type of description – regularly contradicted in for instance rural development literature – is alive and well. To this day, rural development and rural policy struggle with an understanding of rural areas as similar to each other and as defined by land-use or single interests, rather than as multiple interests with often conflicting agendas (e.g. Scott 2008; Ward & Brown 2009). The consequences of this are numerous, with regard to both present and developing conditions. For instance,

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-1

environmental protection focusing on the environment per se may exclude existing land uses even in cases in which these are crucial to the environments that are considered relevant to protect – such as those in which grazing maintains open landscapes, or hunting or fishing support the interest in retaining nature areas (e.g. Antrop 2014). Well-functioning existing practices are often reliant on a balancing of interests and on local practices being incorporated within legislation, policy or other broader land-use systems. If regulation or interest balances in such cases change, for instance through large external pressures or new influential actors in resource management, this will also influence the conditions for existing management systems (cf. Barrow 2006; Craig et al. 2017). Understanding the multiple ways in which historically developed systems link humans to nature, but also how these systems may be influenced, can thus be seen as key to designing environmental management interventions (cf. Gregory et al. 2006; Agrawal et al. 2018).

Emphasising the role of existing institutions and practices, this book thus situates itself in relation to ongoing debates that influence environmental management. These different types of 'management logics' (cf. Prasad & Elmes 2005) – which fundamentally involve contrasting assumptions concerning how and for what to manage – include suggestions for rewilding (in which the emphasis in nature areas is often on removing human influence) as well as for green transition (in which the emphasis is instead often placed on areas' resource role). In relation to this, the book suggests that we should understand areas not only from the outside as contributors to either rewilding or green transition, but as lived in areas with established practices and logics that may contribute to different developments but that may also be intrinsically changed by the exposition of external logics.

In this volume, we take examples from what have historically been areas where much of the population has been rural and where societies have developed over time (rather than as a result of en masse settlement from outside societies; e.g. Veracini 2013; cf. Keskitalo 2024). We highlight established practices, but also how these can be related to larger conceptualisations, including different types of management logics ranging from conservation and even de-growth to industrialisation. Focus is thus placed on *the existing use, resources or practices in cases in Fennoscandia that range from historical land uses into the present, encompassing individual and group examples as well as governance, and how these types of practices may relate to different types of management logics*. For these reasons, this volume gathers scholars with a focus on humans as a part of nature and highlights the importance of viewing human–environment systems together. The book also covers a range from historical to present situations, with the aim of illustrating how present practices and management need to be a key consideration, in order to not only assume conservation or resource extraction but also review the present institutional situation in order to assess the possibilities and basis for any intervention (cf. Keskitalo 2022). The hope here is, in providing actual examples of land use, to show how these transcend the binaries that are often applied to

land use in the literature, and how situations thus need to be understood as multifaceted, beyond simple descriptions of 'ruralities'.

Given that particular focus is placed on northern Europe, we place specific focus on binaries to illustrate how actual examples of land use transcend – in fact, may be far removed from – understandings of land as 'wildernesses' devoid of human use, or where human use could be removed. Many of the cases discussed here reveal intensely social landscapes, where people are often both rural and urban (for instance, often having second homes and practising nature-close activities such as foraging, hunting or fishing as well as upholding urban occupations). Land use thereby transcends both work and leisure, as well as productivist and landscape conceptions of land, with traditional uses co-existing as a continuous part of people's daily lives in these most 'modern' of countries (e.g. Mjøset 2022; Ruth 1984).

The study thus also shows that the application of concepts that include binaries may quite simply not be the most effective way to accomplish a goal of, for instance, nature protection, as it does not fit with the intensely social and management-focused conceptions of land use that go all the way into legislation and management in these Nordic cases. However, the study also shows that this relation to social use may carry a risk under increasingly high pressure on resources, as by its nature it constitutes a logic that supports use. This may be problematic as the emphasis on interlinked human use in nature systems has historically depended on systems not being overused: in higher-pressure situations, this interlinkage or logic of use may not necessarily be able to prevent overuse. The studies in this book thus also illustrate the fact that the functioning of institutional systems may require the maintenance of the parts of these systems that maintain the whole. The studies thus provide a perspective on the need for management interventions to consider existing systems and what is practicable in the context of these.

While this book focuses particularly on northern Europe, this is not to say that similar nature-close relationships do not exist elsewhere – in fact, they might be the rule rather than the exception in many areas, as opposed to in literature. However, it is to say that northern Europe may provide fruitful examples, as not only individual and group practices but also state legislation and regulation may mirror more nature-close practices. This can involve, for instance, allowing general access to land such as through the 'right of public access' systems for access to foraging and rambling even on private land or assuming human relationships with land, or even in the way legislation is set up (as discussed in this book). While none of these systems are limited to these types of areas, the areas can nonetheless be regarded as examples of how such access systems may work – and also of how the interpretations of such historically developed access systems may function today, resulting in potentially new conflicts between emerging land uses or technologies, or specific productions of nature, as discussed in this book.

For these reasons, we expect this volume to be of relevance in much wider areas than the case studies apply to. By taking coherent examples ranging

from policy and legislation to practice levels, it can illustrate the empirical consequences of the implementation of specific conceptions of nature, in a way that can provide comparative cases to students of environmental management across the world. We also hope that the book can demonstrate how social analysis of environmental management can play a key role in helping us understand how environmental uses are institutionalised and maintained – and how environmental management thus needs to include an understanding of these systems.

Understanding the vernacular or practised landscape through social analysis

A major focus in this book is on the lived/naturalised experience, or vernacular or practised landscape. In the understanding used here, this includes not only understanding how humans use nature but also how this use is regulated, governed and managed, and how it has developed over time, as seen from a number of theoretical viewpoints. We focus on human–nature relations as historically developed practices, but open up for a range of different theories through which humans' role in nature can be posed. Practices can generally be regarded as material ways to relate to nature, but also as the cultural conceptions that guide these material relations (e.g. Bourdieu 1990). Practice theory can also be seen as part of a wider cultural turn (e.g. Jackson 2008) in which the situatedness of what people do within their surroundings, traditions and ways of being is emphasised. In this way, an understanding of practices and relevant structures and conditions for practices can be gained both through an understanding of institutions – the organisational forms and assumptions that dictate what can be done (cf. Kingston & Caballero 2009) – as well as through other foci and theoretical viewpoints (cf. Keskitalo 2022). The focus on practices in this book is thus intended to highlight the intersection of ideas, material relations and environmental governance. We illustrate the need to understand how existing practices – embedded in historically developed legislation, policy, planning and what people do in their everyday – transcend the binaries that today are often used to govern nature, for instance by removing people from place or assuming a focus on the resource only.

A key reference in this regard is Latour's broad work on how 'we have never been modern' (Latour 1993). Latour highlights the importance of understanding the value basis that has been attributed to progress and modernity, which was assumed to have swept away the traditions and non-scientific assumptions of a previous era. He highlights that, contrary to any such assumption, it is important to understand that not only do traditions often subsist but they are also often based in understandings that may not be of lesser value than scientific understandings. This is not least because our young science – developing in this way only since about the 1700s – is also in a state of becoming. Instead of focusing on all the knowledge that is available, the focus in relation to scientific progress has often centred on technological and nature-scientific knowledge while social and human sciences have garnered

less focus (e.g. Stephenson 2005; Beck 2011). Today, however, we recognise that the social and human sciences are crucial for our understanding of not only nature but also society: our problems in coping with environmental change lie not so much in our having too little knowledge of the fact that environmental changes are occurring as they do in our not understanding how society can be reorganised to manage systems (Beck 2011).

Along these lines, existing management systems and the approaches they take are also often overlooked, with an assumption that the same types of instruments or changes should work everywhere. Today, this can include, for instance, an assumption that voluntary or private sector-based systems such as certification will be sufficient to enact change, or that systems could change in the same way in different countries (e.g. Jordan et al. 2013; Lenschow 2014). On the other hand, much research has shown that getting the aim right – for instance, aiming for increased nature protection or decreased pollution – is not sufficient if one does not also get the means right. Different countries work differently, and what is feasible in one country may not be in another. What is more, attempting to implement ideas without understanding the cultural and regulative practice basis for doing so regularly results in conflict – of the kind that means that implementing ideas may become even more difficult (Lubatkin et al. 2005; cf. Keskitalo 2022).

For these reasons, stakeholder interaction has come to be emphasised as a means of including societal considerations in scientific advice (e.g. Beck 2011). The idea has been that by including the groups that make decisions directly in consultation, science will be able to better advise decision-making systems. However, in this book we go further than that: our argument is that social analysis, with the aim of understanding social practices and management systems in the specific cases, is crucial (Keskitalo 2022).

This social analysis may include understanding the long lines of development and changes in land use and what they look like, how different practices may work to connect or disjunct people to/from nature, and the way that different environmental use conflicts play out, with actors drawing on different interpretations and narratives that fundamentally attribute different roles to nature. These are conceptions and assumptions that are often more deep-going than what is possible to attain through stakeholder interaction only, and are crucial to get at in order to understand how nature use is structured in different cases.

In today's state of ecological crisis it can also be considered especially crucial for social analysis to move beyond the types of binaries described above. This is the case particularly as these binaries can be regarded as fundamentally having been conceived of for the purposes of conquest (cf. Cronon 1995; Delanty 1996; Davison & Williams 2017). Describing areas as wildernesses there for the taking – into which 'civilisation' is pushing its frontier forward in front of it to 'civilise' the environment – not only legitimises but also normatively mandates the assumed progress of 'civilisation', and the value of society over nature (e.g. Rich 2000; Lindborg 1978). This conceptualisation also

devalues those who are seen as part of nature more than part of society. Notably, this has not only focused on indigenous groups (who in this historical conception were assumed to become 'civilised' and removed from nature) but also, along similar lines, come to devalue local groups that were considered to be associated with the rural (e.g. Borsboom 1988; Ward 1977; Marx 2008; Alleyne 2002; Glackin 2015; cf. Keskitalo 2024).

These conceptions, found in much historical work (not least in authors such as Locke; see Jahn 2013), can be regarded as having been a part of establishing a broader Western philosophical basis. However, it is not only an ideational legacy that such conceptions – which still result in our sometimes seeing certain areas as wildernesses or resource areas – have resulted in, but also an economic one. No conceptions develop outside their social situation; they are a crucial part of, and conceived within, a social situation. For authors at the height of European imperialism, when many of these conceptions were formed, these social situations notably relate to the large national and economic interests that gained much of their momentum at the time (cf. Keskitalo 2024). In relation to this, it is imperative to understand the role of external interests in developing, maintaining and influencing environmental management and management logics. Environmental use is far from only relevant locally. Rather, one could argue that environmental use – and overuse – is driven largely for the same purposes as binaries were developed: to enable the extraction of resources without responsibility to a local system. It is therefore crucial to understand the way in which broader governance systems influence what can be done in environmental management at different levels.

The case area

Through historical and present-day examples and case studies from northern Europe, this work counterposes binaries that are used in governance even today with existing historically developed land uses and practices. Northern Europe – with the focus here on Fennoscandia (here Norway, Sweden and Finland) – constitutes a particularly relevant case for this, as it illustrates sometimes very long-term developed land uses in what were historically largely rural areas, where even national legislation in many cases reflected more rural conceptions. In addition, the three countries have to some extent similar governing systems, as they have been under the same rule during different historical periods and their systems have come to influence each other. The cases that are taken up here often showcase intensely social landscapes, where people often express both rural and urban identities. For instance, urban dwellers often have second homes – typically inherited as a result of a traditionally rural population – and often still practise nature-close activities like foraging, hunting or fishing (e.g. Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010; Pitkänen et al. 2014; Rye & Gunnerud Berg 2011; Rye 2011; Ellingsen & Hidle 2013; Back & Marjavaara 2017; cf. Lehtinen 2012; Hallikainen 1998). The uses and

practices are also often safeguarded through legislation; for instance, through the right of public access and a focus on nature in use. Land use could thereby be seen as transcending both work and leisure, as well as productivist and landscape conceptions of land, with traditional uses co-existing as a continuous part of people's daily, 'modern' lives (Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010; Cruickshank 2009; cf. Keskitalo 2024).

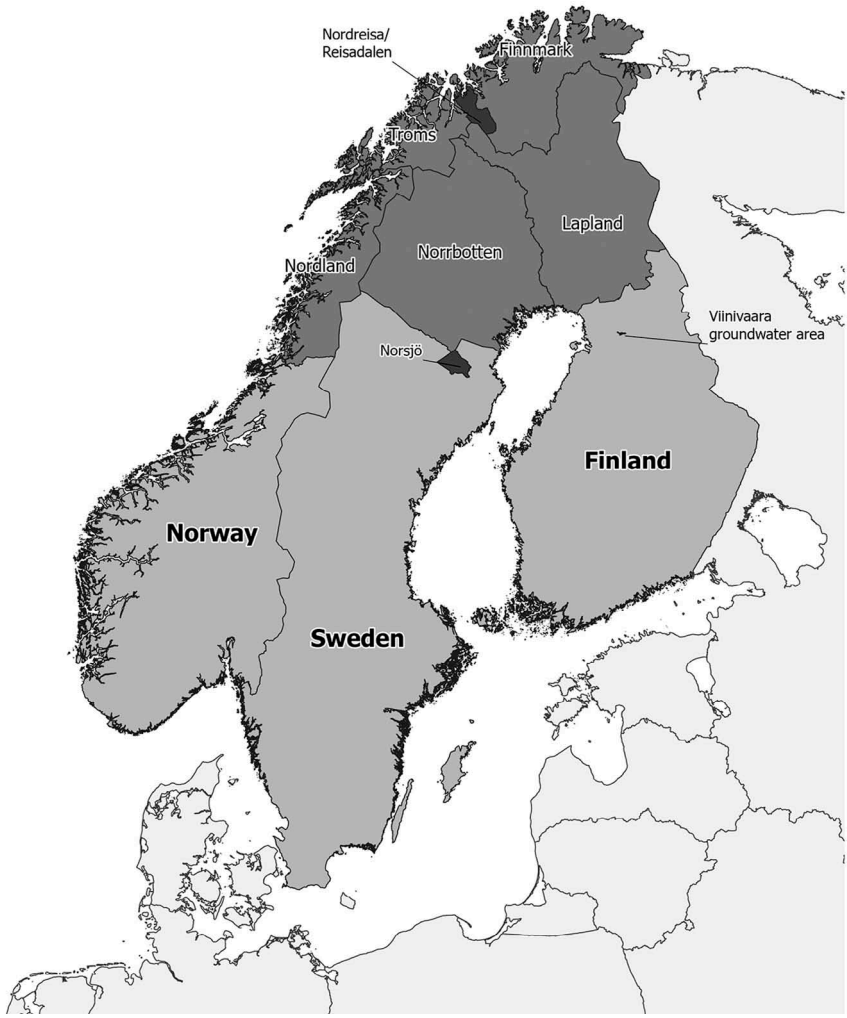

Figure 1.1 Map of case study area. The book includes cases at national, regional and county levels, as well as more specific examples from the countries' northern areas.
Illustration by Dorothee Bohn.

However, it must be recognised that this type of linkage and the fact of relative rural-urban integration in some cases do not mean that rural-urban conflicts do not exist. While there may be a greater integration in the population as many maintain relationships with both kinds of areas, the rural-urban relationship – like in many areas of the world – can be seen as marked by power struggles. The very fact that areas with great internal variations are classified as rural or urban can itself be considered to be the result of historical conceptual developments that draw on the binary between society and nature (e.g. Keskitalo 2023).

As a result, this work also illustrates potential urban-rural dichotomies and the variation that may exist in this relationship between those from outside who conceive of areas as places on a map in an abstracted sense – whether this be through employment in agencies as civil servants or other classificatory tasks – and those who live in areas and conceive of them through highly varying practices. In relation to this, tensions can thus be seen developing in all sorts of management cases: as illustrated in this book, for instance in water management where specific local or lay and expert cultures emphasise different dimensions or management logics, or in the fact that national-level descriptions of management – which may have been understood in a different context historically – may now be used to support developments that may not have been considered when they were formed.

Thus, in this book, the dichotomisations that can be noted are also placed in the context of the many different conceptualisations applied to the areas in question. This may relate to applying rural or urban distinctions, or conceptualisations that focus either on inherent relations in the area or on more distanced and categorical assumptions. One specific type of this is made up of suprascale regional conceptualisations and associated governance. In particular, the idea that Fennoscandian areas at large are part of an 'Arctic' region gained traction in the 1990s, as a result of the development of the Arctic Council as a cooperation organisation for northern areas following the end of the Cold War (e.g. Keskitalo 2004). However, the idea of the 'Arctic' also comes with baggage whereby areas are described as pristine 'wildernesses', which does not necessarily reflect the integrated land uses discussed here. As a result, prior to this the term 'Arctic' was not typically emphasised in Swedish or Finnish domestic area descriptions (Keskitalo 2004; Keskitalo et al. 2013; Keskitalo 2014). Other ways of referring to the areas include 'peripheral area', part of the 'high north' and similar terms – all of which, similar to 'Arctic', have in common that they have been developed in relation to different scopes and political ambitions rather than necessarily in relation to the inherent features of areas themselves. These political features of space-making or constructing conceptions of areas may thus also constitute an influence on conceptions of areas as either resources or wilderness – common in many parts of the world – which we hope to nuance through the discussions in this book.

Outline of the book

The book takes examples from cases at national, regional and county levels, as well as more specific cases. In Chapter 2, Brynhild Granås discusses the practice landscape in Norway with a focus on the right of public access system that also exists in Sweden and Finland. By allowing access to roaming (going '*på tur*') and foraging even on private land, it supports nature relations across areas even among those who do not own property. This type of right can thereby be said to be crucial for supporting human–nature relations. The chapter illustrates not only these complex understandings of nature relations but also how they are a part of national heritages related to hiking or walking in the landscape, which Granås highlights through an anthropological study in a smaller case study area. The chapter thus provides an introduction to the rest of the book by pointing out the embedded quality of nature relations, drawing on both examples and theoretical discussion.

In Chapter 3, Eivind Junker illustrates the thoroughly social perspective on nature with a focus on nature use, looking specifically at nature protection law in Norway. This chapter in particular adds an analysis of the language that is used in relation to nature, and here nature protection, in law. While Granås in Chapter 2 discusses the ways in which a relation to nature is understood in Norway (for instance, the practice of going '*på tur*'), Junker looks at the differences between terms used in Norwegian law and the way these might be translated into English, with subtle differences in how nature is seen. The chapter illustrates that a separation of society and wilderness can largely be considered absent in legislation; in Norway, despite its vast nature areas, these are neither seen as wildernesses nor managed as such. This is also illustrated in later chapters: areas that look natural are in fact often highly cultural in that they are managed and lived in.

Chapter 4 then exemplifies this cultural and lived-in component through a review of forest use in Finland. While the chapter focuses on Finland, it relates to a great breadth of literature across the countries and can be seen as exemplifying types of forest relations that also exist in Sweden, which has largely similar forest systems (and to some extent also in Norway, which constitutes a less forest resource-focused case). In this chapter, Emmi Salmivuori highlights not only the differences between understandings of forest and forestry in forest industry and environmental conservation, but also how these differ from and between forest-dependent forest owners and small-scale entrepreneurs in a Finnish case. The study thus illustrates the variety and breadth of these understandings of forest, as well as the need to take into account this breadth of understandings in decision-making.

In Chapter 5, Monica Tennberg then more broadly discusses the conception of land in Finnish Lapland. Discussing a variety of examples there, the chapter focuses on 'land culture' as the 'multiple traditions and practices related to land that are typical of a specific geographical area. The concept encompasses the relationships between peoples, livelihoods and institutions

and the land they inhabit, use and govern'. The chapter also highlights the role of a practice-based understanding of land, whereby land cultures go beyond a focus on the indigenous to encompass the multiple existing land cultures. In relation to this, Tennberg also describes the multiple and multi-scalar understandings of Finnish Lapland, where not least green transition development may impact and restructure local relations without seeing 'the complex, entangled human–land relations and practices people have'.

In Chapter 6, E. C. H. Keskitalo and Elias Andersson summarise the discussions on and critique of a rewilding approach and the related discussion of wilderness. As can be understood from earlier chapters as well, this chapter highlights that, as a concept, wilderness generally does not reflect real-life nature areas; instead, the separation it establishes between human and nature leads to a non-historical and thus artificial separation whereby practices are removed from nature. The chapter further counterposes such a wilderness conception of areas with a description of an actual policy and practice situation within nature areas in Sweden. The chapter thus cautions against implementing environmental management that is not responsive to existing nature relations.

In Chapters 7 and 8, the book then moves into looking at how the various interests and understandings that have already been outlined in different chapters interact and conflict with each other in specific management cases. Both these chapters concern areas along the same watercourse in a Finnish example, demonstrating how even similar cases can be interpreted differently by different interests.

In Chapter 7, Olli Haanpää discusses the development of a specific management case of groundwater extraction and how various interests come into play in this. In relation to the multiple types of interests discussed earlier, Haanpää highlights the role of professional administration and management and their relation to local practices. Applying actor-network theory, the chapter thus illustrates how a variety of practice-based and lay understandings, for instance in local fishing associations, may differ from expert understandings. Thereby, the chapter demonstrates how different understandings may appeal to different types of assumptions and uses in areas.

In Chapter 8, Hannu I. Heikkinen, Olli Haanpää, Karoliina Kikuchi, Simo Sarkki, Anna Ruohonen, Élise Lépy and Aleksi Räsänen discuss a case that lies along the same river course as discussed in the previous chapter, but with a focus on peatland restoration. Compared to the focus on, among others, fishers as the local interests in Chapter 7, as related to its groundwater focus, this chapter focuses largely on forest owners, and through this also on the culture of forestry. The chapter thus provides a perspective that is complementary to that in Salmivuori's chapter earlier in the book. However, while Salmivuori's chapter focused on the varying understandings among smaller-scale forest owners and entrepreneurs, this latter chapter highlights the intervention- and management-focused culture of forestry. The chapter suggests that those who are schooled in agricultural or silvicultural/forestry logics may find, for instance, wetland construction acceptable while they consider

something like compensated passive protection less acceptable. The chapter thus highlights the differences in what types of actions can be undertaken depending on what types of assumptions regarding nature are in place.

In Chapters 9 and 10, we then gradually move from a focus more on the areas in themselves and existing practices to one on the types of more external conceptions of areas that can influence what can and cannot be done in them.

In Chapter 9, Dorothee Bohn discusses the impact that the constructions of nature for external purposes can have, on tourism and particularly international tourism, in cases in northern Norway, Sweden and Finland. The chapter argues that rather than untouched areas, in tourism 'wilderness' is produced and curated to generate exchange value and conform with what tourists expect and want to see. The construction of 'wilderness' can thus be seen as crucially supporting the continuation of an incorrect understanding of areas while at the same time integrating them in an international economic system – sometimes with local benefits but also often with a great variety in how the benefits of tourism are distributed. In some ways, this chapter thus illustrates the types of more external conceptions that local practices may need to relate to, and the impact that external assumptions may have even in structuring local nature use.

Chapter 10 then extends this discussion of how to understand existing practices and areas by highlighting that smaller-scale nature-based practices could potentially be framed as degrowth practices. In this chapter, Iana Nesterova and Jens Rennstam thus discuss the need to acknowledge the economic basis of a great portion of people's relationship with the environment, and to work with transforming business practice. The chapter takes the example of berry wine production in northern Sweden, but could also be seen as relevant to some of the other cases discussed earlier in the book. The chapter thus continues the discussion of what types of economic contexts exist for different types of practices, which we have already seen to be underlying in many of the earlier chapters touching on forestry in different connections. The chapter also raises the question of the extent to which more environment-close relations necessitate a small-scale focus with investment in the local area and resources, as well as the extent to which more large-scale practices may be regarded as being removed from this (as also discussed in earlier chapters).

The final chapter, by the editor, concludes the book. It discusses the fact that much research has shown that getting the aim right – for instance, aiming for increased nature protection or decreased pollution – is not sufficient if one does not also get the means right. Different countries work differently, and what is feasible in one country may not be in another. What is more, attempting to implement ideas without understanding the cultural and regulative practice basis for doing so regularly results in conflict – of the kind that means that implementing ideas may become even more difficult.

The cases in the book illustrate a broad range of understandings, from traditional practice-based understandings that are rooted in a relation to nature and may be expressed individually as well as legislatively, to

understandings that have become encased in larger-scale industry or environmental conservation, often in relation to how different conceptualisations have developed in a broader international or market context. External conceptualisations of land often contradict important practice understandings of land, making it possible to focus on either economic use ('civilising' wilderness) or conservation (leaving it as 'wilderness') without highlighting the multiple human interlinkages with land or nature. Social analysis is crucial in order to understand the breadth and embeddedness of social practices to allow for a discussion of management interventions tailored to specific cases.

References

Agrawal, A., Hajjar, R., Liao, C., Rasmussen, L. V. & Watkins, C. (2018). Editorial overview: Forest governance interventions for sustainability through information, incentives, and institutions. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 32, A1–A7.

Alleyne, B. (2002). An idea of community and its discontents: towards a more reflexive sense of belonging in multicultural Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4), 607–627.

Antrop, M. (2014). Interpreting diversity in the European landscape. A comment on perspective essays by Agnoletti and Schnitzler. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 126, 81–83.

Back, A. & Marjavaara, R. (2017). Mapping an invisible population: the uneven geography of second-home tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 19(4), 595–611.

Barrow, C. (2006). *Environmental Management for Sustainable Development*. Routledge.

Beck, S. (2011). Moving beyond the linear model of expertise? IPCC and the test of adaptation. *Regional Environmental Change*, 11(2), 297–306.

Borsboom, A. (1988). The savage in European social thought: A prelude to the conceptualization of the divergent peoples and cultures of Australia and Oceania. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 144(4), 419–432.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford University Press.

Büscher, B., van den Bremer, R., Fletcher, R. & Koot, S. (2017a). Authenticity and the contradictions of the 'ecotourism script': Global marketing and local politics in Ghana. *Critical Arts*, 31(4), 37–52.

Büscher, B., Fletcher, R., Brockington, D., Sandbrook, C., Adams, W. M., Campbell, L. … & Shanker, K. (2017b). Half-Earth or whole Earth? Radical ideas for conservation, and their implications. *Oryx*, 51(3), 407–410.

Cafaro, P., Butler, T., Crist, E., Cryer, P., Dinerstein, E., Kopnina, H. … & Washington, H. (2017). If we want a whole Earth, nature needs half: A response to Büscher et al. *Oryx*, 51(3), 400.

Craig, R. K., Garmestani, A. S., Allen, C. R., Arnold, C. A. T., Birgé, H., DeCaro, D. A., … & Schlager, E. (2017). Balancing stability and flexibility in adaptive governance: an analysis of tools available in US environmental law. *Ecology and Society*, 22(2), 1.

Cronon, W. (1995). The myth of wilderness. In W. Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. W. W. Norton.

Cruickshank, J. A. (2009). A play for rurality – Modernization versus local autonomy. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25, 98–107.

Davison, A. & S. Williams (2017). The outside within: The shifting ontological practice of the environment in Australia. In K. Saltzman, M. Stenseke, L. Head & G.

Setten (eds), *Nature, Temporality and Environmental Management*. Routledge, pp. 15–29.

Delanty, G. (1996). The frontier and identities of exclusion in European history. *History of European Ideas*, 22(2), 93–103.

Descola, P. (2013). *Beyond Nature and Culture*. Translated by J. Lloyd. University of Chicago Press.

Ellingsen, W. G. & Hidle, K. (2013). Performing home in mobility: Second homes in Norway. *Tourism Geographies*, 15(2), 250–267.

Escobar, A. (1999). After nature: Steps to an antiessentialist political ecology. *Current Anthropology*, 40(1), 1–30.

Glackin, S. (2015). Contemporary urban culture: How community structures endure in an individualised society, *Culture and Organization*, 21(1), 23–41.

Gregory, R., Ohlson, D. & Arvai, J. (2006). Deconstructing adaptive management: Criteria for applications to environmental management. *Ecological Applications*, 16(6), 2411–2425.

Haila, Y. (2000). Beyond the nature–culture dualism. *Biology and Philosophy*, 15, 155–175.

Hallikainen, V. (1998). *The Finnish wilderness experience*. Doctoral Dissertation, Finnish Forest Research Institute, Hakapaino Oy, Helsinki.

Jackson, P. (2008). Pierre Bourdieu, the 'cultural turn' and the practice of international history. *Review of International Studies*, 34(1), 155–181.

Jahn, B. (2013). *Liberal Internationalism: Theory, History, Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Jordan, A. R. K., Wurzel, W. & Zito, A. R. (2013). Still the century of 'new' environmental policy instruments? Exploring patterns of innovation and continuity. *Environmental Politics* 22(1): 155–173.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2004). *Negotiating the Arctic: The Construction of an International Region*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2014). Sweden and Arctic policy: Possibilities for new wine in old bottles? In R. W. Murray & A. D. Nuttall (eds), *International Relations and the Arctic: Understanding Policy and Governance*. Cambria Press, pp. 291–319.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2022). *The Social Aspects of Environmental and Climate Change: Institutional Dynamics beyond the Linear Model*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2023). *Rethinking Nature Relations: Beyond Binaries*. Edward Elgar.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2024). *Frontier Thinking and Human–Nature Relations: We Were Never Modern*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H., Malmberg, G., Westin, K., Wiberg, U., Müller, D. & Pettersson, Ö. (2013). Contrasting Arctic and mainstream Swedish descriptions of northern Sweden: the view from established domestic research. *Arctic* 66(3), 351–365.

Kingston, C. & Caballero, G. (2009). Comparing theories of institutional change. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 5, 151–118.

Latour, B. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Translated by C. Porter. Harvard University Press.

Lehtinen, A. A. (2012). Politics of decoupling: breaks between indigenous and imported senses of the Nordic North. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 29(1), 105–123.

Lenschow, A. (2014). Innovations through sector integration and new instruments. In M. Lodge & K. Wegrich (eds), *The Problem-Solving Capacity of the Modern State: Governance Challenges and Administrative Capacities*. Oxford University Press, pp. 144–162.

Lindborg, R. (1978). *Mänskligt och naturligt: Uppsatser i filosofi- och vetenskapshistoria*. Pan/Norstedts.

Lubatkin, M. H., Lane, P. J., Collin, S. O. & Very, P. (2005). Origins of corporate governance in the USA, Sweden and France. *Organization Studies*, 26(6), 867–888.

Malaby, T. M. (2007). Beyond play: A new approach to games. *Games and Culture*, 2(2), 95–113.

Marx, L. (2008). The idea of nature in America. *Daedalus*, 137(2), 8–21.

Mjøset, L. (2022). Social science, humanities, and the 'Nordic model'. In H. Byrkjeflot, L. Mjøset, M. Mordhorst & K. Petersen (eds), *The Making and Circulation of Nordic Models, Ideas and Images*. Routledge, pp. 34–61.

Parks, M. M. (2020). Critical ecocultural intersectionality. In T. Milstein & J. Castro-Sotomayor (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Ecocultural Identity*. Routledge, pp. 103–114.

Philip, T. M., Way, W., Garcia, A. D., Schuler-Brown, S. & Navarro, O. (2013). When educators attempt to make 'community' a part of classroom learning: The dangers of (mis)appropriating students' communities into schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 34, 174–183.

Pitkänen, K., Adamiak, C. & Halseth, G. (2014). Leisure activities and rural community change: Valuation and use of rural space among permanent residents and second home owners. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 54(2), 143–166.

Prasad, P. & Elmes, M. (2005). In the name of the practical: Unearthing the hegemony of pragmatics in the discourse of environmental management. *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(4), 845–867.

Rich, P. (2000). Civilizations in European and world history: A reappraisal of the ideas of Arnold Toynbee, Fernand Braudel and Marshall Hodgson. *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 5(3), 341–352.

Ruth, A. (1984). The second new nation: The mythology of modern Sweden. *Daedalus*, 113(2), 53–96.

Rye, J. F. (2011). Conflicts and contestations: Rural populations' perspectives on the second homes phenomenon. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 27, 263–274.

Rye, J. F. & N. Gunnerud Berg (2011). The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 65(3), 126–136.

Sandwell, R. W. (1997). *Reading the land: rural discourse and the practice of settlement, Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, 1859–1891*. Doctoral dissertation, Simon Fraser University.

Scott, M. (2008). Managing rural change and competing rationalities: Insights from conflicting rural storylines and local policy making in Ireland. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 9(1), 9–32.

Stephenson, J. (2005). *Values in space and time: A framework for understanding and linking multiple cultural values in landscapes*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Stokowski, P. A. (2002). Languages of place and discourses of power: Constructing new senses of place. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34(4), 368–382.

Vepsäläinen, M. & Pitkänen, K. (2010). Second home countryside. Representations of the rural in Finnish popular discourses. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26, 194–204.

Veracini, L. (2013). 'Settler colonialism': Career of a concept. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41(2), 313–333.

Ward, R. (1977). *The Australian Legend*. Oxford University Press.

Ward, N. & Brown, D. L. (2009). Placing the rural in regional development. *Regional Studies*, 43(10), 1237–1244.

2 ‘10,000 years of cultural encounters’

Understanding northern landscapes through *allemannsretten, friluftsliv* and outdoor recreation moralities

Brynhild Granås

Introduction

‘*Her oppe på vidden er frihet og Gud, dernede famler de andre*’ (‘Up here on the heights are freedom and God, down there the others are fumbling’). I was out skiing with Eva in Nordreisa in northern Norway, near the valley of Reisadalen (the Reisa Valley). On our way back, on the brink of the mountain, right before we were to start the run down towards the car, we could see the small town of Storslett down by the fjord. It was then that Eva stopped and suddenly started reciting what sounded like a poem. ‘What was that?’, I asked. It’s from the poem ‘Paa Vidderne’ (‘On the Heights’), she explained, by Henrik Ibsen. I wondered: was that the famous poem where the word *friluftsliv* (open/free air life) was supposedly put down on paper for the first time, sometime during the 1800s? Yes, she confirmed. We stood there for a minute and took in the view while pondering over *when* in the 1800s this was, before we started on our way downhill. It was late April, and the spring snow’s crusty surface made the conditions far from good for controlling our descent through the birch forest by making turns, particularly since we only had our mountain skis on instead of specialised skis and boots. As it turned out, however, my young skiing companion mastered the free-heel Telemark turns to perfection. Further down, I complemented her skills and movements. ‘I’ve been skiing like this since I was a child,’ she explained.

The right to roam the outfields of land owned by others that is part of *allemannsretten* (the right of public access) facilitates skiing and other outdoor recreation practices in Norway. While free roaming is a cultural tradition in more countries around the world (Reusch 2012: 16), the more specific corresponding system of *allemannsrett* prevails in Finland, Sweden and Iceland. According to the Norwegian *allemannsrett*, Eva and I were free to access practically any skiing terrain of the Reisadalen area that day, as long as we found a convenient place to park the car. *How* we should roam – meaning what outdoor activities, technology use and behaviours are valued in this area – is another matter, however.

As outdoor recreation in the Nordic countries grows, it is also diversifying. Eva lives in Nordreisa and uses the Reisadalen area as a trekker. She does

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-2

enjoy short day trips like the one we took together. Still, her preferred outdoor life involves long, arduous hikes during winter as well as summer, which relates her doings and whereabouts to a national outdoor recreation culture indicated by the word *friluftsliv*. Altogether, she is a skilled trekker. Many of the people around here regularly ski and hike as part of their everyday lives. Most of them, however, are unfamiliar with spending days and weeks out in all kinds of weather, like trekkers tend to do. Among other inhabitants one may encounter in the landscapes here, like in the rest of the Nordic north, are small-scale farmers with grazing animals like sheep, cows and goats, as well as reindeer and indigenous Sámi reindeer herders. Then there are the different recreationalists who take part in specialised activities, for example snowmobile driving, off-road biking, dogsledding, different types of skiing or kayaking. Hunting and berry picking are other activities, and the culture for freshwater fishing is strong. All these ways of going about in the outdoors involve traditional as well as new technologies. Adding further to the diversity, increasingly mobile outdoor recreationalists approach the Reisadalen area from both the region and other parts of the country, as well as from abroad. Among them are professional nature guides and their customers.

Altogether, different people carry with them different values and concerns as they sense, perceive and enact the outfields based on *allemannsretten*. Thus, and even though Eva and I encountered no other people that afternoon, the landscapes where we were skiing are marked by tensions that come with this diversification and the continuously changing landscape behaviours it implies.

In Norway, the duties that accompany the use of *allemannsretten* are expressed in §2 of the Outdoor Recreational Act (*Friluftsloven*) of 1957, which states that anyone can access 'uncultivated land at all times of year, provided that consideration and due care is shown'. The moral awareness that the Act thus expects from its users calls for people to judge for themselves what good and bad behaviour entail. The spaces for moral negotiations that accompany any use of *allemannsretten* become messier as outdoor recreation grows and diversifies. Local newspapers around the country regularly report on claims made about people who don't know how to behave in nature, or just don't care. Along with situations of overcrowding in certain areas, this lack of moral awareness is considered to be a threat to the flora and fauna, and a problem for nearby inhabitants, grazing animals, farmers and reindeer herders (Granås & Svensson 2021).

Inhabitants of northern Norway accommodate their moral use of *allemannsretten* in landscapes where varying political economies make themselves felt. For centuries, the sparsely populated north has been inscribed in asymmetrical geographical power relations with political and economic centres both in the country's south and abroad. Within this relational geography, the region is enacted as a natural resource periphery and internal colony (Müller & Viken 2017; Granås & Mathisen 2022), and its landscapes tend to be ascribed meaning as 'wilderness' and 'pure nature'. Accordingly, landscapes in the north are framed as relevant for geographically overarching economies

to 'reap the rewards' (cf. Tsing 2005: 27). In recent decades, most places in northern Norway have experienced economic recession and depopulation, as traditional ways of life and land use based on coastal fishing, small-scale farming and reindeer herding have been losing ever more ground. This has made northern communities particularly vulnerable in encounters with land-intensive national and international development programmes related to the climate and nature crises. Aspects of such programmes include industrialised green transition, nature preservation and tourism development. These programmes are all felt in the Reisadalen area, the crowing jewel of which is Reisa National Park.

With northern landscapes being entangled in such place- and scale-spanning human infrastructures (Tsing et al. 2024), the people who inhabit the north accommodate outdoor moralities with the future of their communities and northern ways of life in mind. However, the realities of the commitments and cares, longings and belongings, and fears and endurances they may embody as they enact landscapes are obscured by abstract representations that reduce these landscapes to 'wilderness' and 'pure nature', based on the nature–culture binary.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork, and with the aim of unpacking convoluted qualities of northern landscapes found beyond such reductive conceptualisations, this chapter approaches outdoor recreationalists who use *allemannsretten* and accommodate their outdoor moralities in the Reisadalen area. By using the experiences and considerations of skilled trekkers like Eva and their relatedness to the national *friluftsliv* tradition as a point of departure, the chapter pursues varieties of practices, values and concerns involved in moral landscape enactments. All the way, the analysis recognises the naturalcultural ontologies of landscapes and emphasises the historical-geographical, specifically regarding how moral performances of outdoor recreation are negotiated on-ground. This approach illuminates what is at stake, for whom and for what, as decisions concerning how to manage the lands at the northern rim of Europe are continuously negotiated in different places and at varying scales.

The cultures of *allemannsretten*

Outdoor recreationalists' right to roam, part of the right that is commonly referred to as *allemannsretten* (see Reusch 2012: 22), was laid down in Norwegian law as part of the Outdoor Recreational Act of 1957. In addition to free roaming, the two other principles inherent in this act are the foraging right and the right to stay, meaning the right to rest and camp. These principles of *allemannsretten* that became part of the Outdoor Recreational Act of 1957 were based on an old common law that addressed 'useful and necessary' landscape practices (Reusch 2012: 36). The modern *allemannsretten* came to address the historically new phenomenon of outdoor recreation, however, and the relationship between the old law and the new act has been unsettled ever

since (Reusch 2012: 36). The Outdoor Recreational Act was coined during a period when the government was emphasising outdoor recreation for all as part of their repertoire in a pursuit of public health for all (see Skjerstad 2021: 37–38). Moreover, while it was in accordance with egalitarian social democratic principles (cf. Gurholt 2008), the Act was formulated as a prolongation of a nation-building process praising the idea of a healthy nation (Slagstad 2015: 350). Together, these historical trajectories indicate inherent tensions in the meaning of *allemannsretten* and the responsibilities that accompany its use.

To remedy the unclear duties of the modern *allemannsretten* in Norway, researchers have argued for promoting a generic moral scheme for the outdoors based on a national culture for outdoor recreation (Kaltenborn et al. 2001; Gurholt & Broch 2019). Today, *friluftsliv* gives a name to this culture. Although *friluftsliv* is an emic and thus fluid concept, it has been institutionalised and moulded through normative and political negotiations throughout recent decades. Today, *friluftsliv* is an altogether potent conceptual configuration in the public discussion of outdoor recreation in Norway. Moreover, *friluftsliv* has come to indicate a shared outdoor culture across the Nordic Arctic (Gurholt & Haukeland 2019) and a Nordic ideal for outdoor recreation (Ween & Abram 2012: 165).

In Norway, a national outdoor recreation culture was shaped as part of the nation-building process more than a century ago, when the country was defined as a nation of outdoor people, based on values and ideas from the peasant culture as well as from romanticism (Breivik 1978; Goksøyr 1994; Gurholt 2008; Pedersen 1999). Ibsen was among the leading literary figures of the Norwegian national romantic movement. Another significant symbolic figure in the nation-building process was polar hero and philanthropist Fridtjof Nansen. Into the 1900s, he criticised the new outdoor recreation practices that were unfolding around him. Nansen insisted that the national culture for outdoor recreation should be distinguished from new activities that promoted competitiveness and group behaviour in the outdoors, such as modern sports (Nansen 1921; Horgen 2022: 226). At the same time, he described the values of a national outdoor recreation tradition to be about character-building and educative hiking and skiing that took people 'away from the many' and was non-specialised (Nansen 1921: 4–5). He referred to this culture as *friluftsliv*.

From the late 1960s onwards, scholars at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences in Oslo picked up on Nansen's ideas and the *friluftsliv* concept as they started the intellectual work of defining and promoting a national outdoor culture. They acknowledged Ibsen for coining the term *friluftsliv* in his poem from 1860, and made Nansen a key reference in an intellectual history of *friluftsliv* (Gurholt 2008: 58; Horgen 2022: 215).

However, the societal-critical, ecological and philosophically orientated thinking of the new *friluftsliv* school (Pedersen 1999: 16), with Nils Faarlund as one of its key figures (see e.g. Faarlund 1973), gave *friluftsliv* a normative and narrow definition (Breivik 1979). Part of the rationale for the normative

articulations of a national outdoor culture from the 1970s onwards, was a need to assume control over the discursive enactments of *friluftsliv*. By then the concept had become highly popularised, widely institutionalised and unstable, and was thus usable for different political agendas (see Faarlund 1973: 5). With a foundation in the deep ecology of philosopher Arne Næss (see e.g. Næss 1989), the school embraced the idea that 'free nature' has intrinsic value (Faarlund 2021). The power to define *friluftsliv* was politically important, not least in environmental battles for nature preservation and against the industrial development of land (Horgen 2022: 222). Later, the normative demarcation of *friluftsliv* has continued to direct understandings of what outdoor recreation in Norway is and should be about (Pedersen 1999: 16). The main ideas of the school still prevail at the many institutions around the country that offer education in outdoor recreation. Among the features of the school is an idealisation of long, strenuous hikes off the beaten track. This relates the school's thinking to the trekkers discussed here in particular ways.

Ever since its establishment in 1868, another important institutional promoter of a national outdoor culture has been the DNT (*Den norske turistforening*, the Norwegian Trekking Association) (Horgen 2022), currently the largest voluntary outdoor organisation in Norway (Ween & Abram 2012) with more than 300,000 paying members. The DNT has taken part in transforming and unifying previously specific agricultural commons into roaming land for modern trekkers (Ween & Abram 2012). Through 'orchestrated actions of hiking and skiing … way-marking, path-making, and guiding', the DNT's promotion of 'preferred ways of being in nature' continues, placing 'hiking in a dominant position in relation to other rural activities' (Ween & Abram 2012: 156). Today, the DNT still operates with a clear national agenda. In a language recognisable from the normative *friluftsliv* school, the organisation describes itself as 'a strong champion for the simple *friluftsliv*, so that as many as possible make use of nature, while also taking care of nature' (DNT 2023).

Ideas from the normative *friluftsliv* school as well as the DNT mark outdoor recreation in northern landscapes of Norway like the Reisadalen area. One example is experienced trekkers, whose outdoor activities correspond with the normatively demarcated national outdoor culture of *friluftsliv*. Nevertheless, outdoor recreation is about people with bodies who practice and experience life in the outdoors (cf. Pedersen 1999). Thus, and as with the trekkers this chapter attends to, people may relate to such norms in ambivalent ways. Importantly, northern landscapes would not be without either cultures or moralities if a generic culture for outdoor recreation had never been projected or found a foothold there. However wide and sparsely populated, the landscapes here are loaded with further histories and cultural meanings, and are marked with tensions, conflicting interests and power relations. The slogan of the regional Northern Troms Museum, '10,000 years with cultural encounters', hints at the density of meanings that permeate landscapes on the northern rims of the European mainland, based on a chronicle of human presence and material cultures that dates to the withdrawal of the ice after the

last glacial period (Rankama & Ukkonen 2001). In today's northern Norway, these material cultures are represented by the indigenous Sámi, the national minority of Kven/Norwegian-Finnish and Norwegians. Nordreisa Municipality defines itself as a place of 'the meeting of [these] three tribes' (Nordreisa kommune 2023). As a configuration with national ambitions such as *friluftsliv* has become entangled in the area, it has already intervened in morally compound landscapes. Accordingly – and as this chapter will illuminate – the relevance, legitimacy and particular meaning that the national outdoor culture and its juridical twin, the modern *allemannsretten*, have around the country cannot be taken for granted.

Altogether, the 'uncultivated land' that the *allemannsrett* of today allows everyone access to, that becomes roaming land for today's mobile recreationists and attracts the bearers of land-intensive development agendas in these times of climate and nature crises, must not be mistaken for untouched nature. More so, the wilderness-like landscapes of the sparsely populated northern periphery of Europe can illuminate the ontology of how the realms indicated by binaries like nature and culture, or wilderness and cultivated land, come together.

Theoretical and methodological points of departure

The culturally dense landscape calls for tools for noticing the moral dynamics there. Kenneth Olwig (2019) has considered 'local customs' for this purpose, understood as inherent moralities of what he calls the practised substantive landscape, meaning the corporeally practised and experienced landscape. Olwig differentiates this from the scenic or abstract landscape (Olwig 2019), which is the represented and signified landscape. Today, northern landscapes can be abstractly represented through, for example, maps, artistic depictions, strategic tourism marketing or powerful representations produced through the political economies of our times. Notably, northern landscapes are signified through the moral schemes inherent in the Outdoor Recreational Act of 1957 and in *friluftsliv* as a national cultural configuration.

In line with Olwig, the many people in the Reisadalen area who partake in landscape enactments there are considered part of the practised landscape. However, and considering the concept 'local customs', neither the local geographical qualities of their moral practices nor their historical status as customs, in the sense of being rooted in tradition, can be taken for granted.

Firstly, the abstract versus the practised landscape should not be treated as a dichotomy, in which one realm excludes the other. Inspired by Donna Haraway, I consider how the moral schemes of the generic *friluftsliv* configuration and *allemannsretten* may become 'word made flesh' (Haraway 2016a). Abstract moral schemes do something discursively on-ground and are physically present through, for example, tracks, signs and cabins put up by the DNT. Thus, they make up a scale-spanning infrastructure (cf. Tsing et al. 2024) that does something in the practised landscape. Also, these generic

moralities become entangled in the practised landscape through humans who embody the valued ways of being in the outdoors that have been promoted as a national culture and facilitated by *allemannsretten*. Thus, and in practical terms, abstract moral articulations of how to behave in the outdoors are sometimes made flesh.

Further, the mobile, experiencing bodies of outdoor recreationalists bring diverse temporal-spatial trajectories of meaning (Massey 1994, 2005) into landscapes. Not only does this perspective challenge ideas about the local and traditional in regard to outdoor moralities; it also tells us about generic moral schemes for the outdoors that are not alone in energising moral considerations in the practised landscape. Rather, this analysis takes interest in how moral values of the national outdoor recreation culture are continuously accommodated and negotiated by those who are familiar with this culture. The trekkers in the analysis not only connect and commit to the here and now as they weigh good and bad conduct in the outdoors – they also relate to the varieties of places and times that their life experiences tell of, and thus to the diverse values and concerns these experiences entail.

Regarding the here and now of the practised landscape, experiencing bodies become entangled in assemblages and are exposed to the morally affective encounters that these assemblages imply (cf. Tsing 2015: 292–293; Tsing 2019: 222). Through this, outdoor recreationalists take part in continuous processes in which landscapes are reconstituted. However, it is not only humans who take part in relational processes in which landscapes change (Lorimer 2015; Tsing 2015). So do plants and trees, skis and signs, sheep, dogs, reindeer and many more. Altogether, landscapes are contingent outcomes of relational interactions in which flora and fauna, rivers and forests, weather and technologies take part.

By situating moral matters of the outdoors historically, geographically and materially in the ways described above, the analysis demonstrates some of the 'messy worldliness' that moral practisings of landscapes are entangled in (cf. Puig de la Bellacasa 2017: 10). The material and corporeal attention is felt in the analysis's weighing of how people sense and experience relationships with more-than-humans as well as with other humans (Lorimer 2015; Tsing 2015) when they use *allemannsretten*. As a participant observer, outdoor recreationalist and northerner myself, I also take part in remakings of landscapes, both within the context of this study and otherwise (Granås 2023). Thus, my own experiences and sentience sometimes surface as part of the analysis.

The analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork in the Reisadalen area and encompasses participant observation, archive studies, interviews and conversations. The fieldwork includes dialogues with different people at Storslett – the municipal centre of Nordreisa Municipality and the point at which the valley of Reisadalen starts – as well as in the villages of this more than 90 km long valley, which ends at the brinks of the Finnmark plateau. The research addresses aspects including being out hiking, skiing and the like, alone as well as with others, taking part in various events, and organising

public communication events in the area that concern the use of *allemannsretten*.

A point of departure in this chapter is a selection of interviews conducted together with two colleagues in 2022–2023, including an interview with Eva and two other similarly experienced trekkers, Edel and John. Eva was interviewed individually, while the two others were interviewed together. With the aim of tapping into the morally contested and convoluted landscapes of the area, the outdoor recreation experiences and concerns that these trekkers embody are used as a point of departure for engaging with the broader material from the fieldwork.

På tur – embodied accommodations and enactments of normative friluftsliv

The interview with Eva, a young adult trekker, took us closer to the normative configuration of *friluftsliv* than any other one up to then had. Thus, the talk is an interesting outset for unpacking landscape contestations through the embodied presence of the national culture for outdoor recreation in landscapes around Reisadalen. The ski trip Eva and I took together a few weeks after the interview added further depth to this investigation. I texted her:

> Hi Eva :) I'm Brynhild from UiT. Thanks for the nice talk we had on outdoor life. We talked about maybe going on a *tur* together. I'll be at Storslett next week. Would it be convenient for you to take a *skitur*, for example Wednesday afternoon?

She replied:

> Hi there :) Thanks for the interesting talk. That would be very nice. Looks like the conditions for an afternoon *tur* are good :).

Despite *friluftsliv* being a key concept in talks about outdoor recreation in Norway, these messages in which Eva and I decided to go skiing together illustrate the importance of the word *tur*. *Tur* resembles the French and English use of the word 'tour' while also assessing a wide scope of phenomena, in terms of not only times and places but also activities. A *tur* can range from an evening walk in the neighbourhood to a trekking excursion in the mountains that lasts for weeks, and can be accomplished by, for example, skiing, biking, snowmobiling or hiking. 'Have you been *på tur* [on *tur*] this weekend?' is a common thing to ask someone. Altogether, *tur* is an open, undisputed and unifying term, and is the one that is most used in everyday conversations about outdoor recreation in Norway.

In contrast, the question 'Have you been doing *friluftsliv*?' encourages a discussion of the meanings of specific outdoor activities and thus of the value of certain ways of using *allemannsretten*. As *friluftsliv* has been applied to

name an overarching outdoor culture, the definition of this culture has been based on demarcations that ultimately reject the part that many people's outdoor recreation practices play in a national outdoor tradition. As an emic concept, *friluftsliv* is an unstable identity concept of the outdoors that *does* something, even though it is understood in different ways. Thus, when Eva recited Ibsen's famous 'where-*friluftsliv*-was-put-down-on-paper-for-the-first-time' poem, I interpreted it as a multifaceted act of identification through which she exposed her knowledge of a national outdoor culture and signalled her own familiarity with it. The act – which I understood as subtle and intuitive – was highly relevant, taking into consideration that she knew about my research interests and that we were in the process of getting to know each other as outdoor people. Moreover, the quote matched the view from the mountain brink in a witty way.

Our cooperative partners at Halti National Park Centre, the centre serving Reisa National Park, had suggested that we contact Eva during our fieldwork earlier that winter. Before we started the interview the two of us realised we had met before at *Vandrefestivalen* (the Roaming Festival), organised by the National Park Centre the previous autumn. The four-day event had culminated with a dinner at *Ovi Raishiin*, the national park's visitor point in Reisadalen. *Ovi Raishiin* ('the door into Reisa Valley' in Kven/Norwegian-Finnish) is a rustic facility consisting of small wooden buildings located at Saraelv, deep into Reisadalen a few kilometres from the border with the national park. I remember sensing a striking atmosphere of joy and community around the table that evening. As I have come to learn, Eva is part of a network of outdoor people and professionals involved in the management of nature and outdoor recreation. This network includes the people at the National Park Centre and other institutions in Nordreisa that are cooperative partners in our research.

Before the interview we were told that Eva was into ski mountaineering, meaning that she climbs steep mountains with alpine gear and then skis down by use of slalom or Telemark technique. This type of skiing is relatively new in the north. Its popularity has increased exponentially over the last 20 years and it has manifested itself as a common outdoor practice for many, including people like me. As it turned out, however, Eva identifies more as a trekker. Even though she does enjoy ski mountaineering she articulates a resistance to the practice that Norwegians refer to as *topptur* (peak *tur*). First, she does not like the use of the word *topp* (peak): 'For me it's a *skitur*. If you reach the peak, you reach the peak.' Second, unlike myself, she does not feel that it is the struggle of climbing a mountain or the fun of riding down that makes ski mountaineering attractive. Instead, she emphasises the slow movement through the landscape, the company of friends, and the freedom from stress and from the pressure to perform in any way. Eva further expressed her resistance by pointing to the special equipment-intensive qualities of the ski mountaineering culture, adding that 'You can do so much with mountain skis anyway. You don't necessarily need all that gear to get up on the heights.'

The more basic mountain skis that she prefers are made for cross-country skiing and are part of any Norwegian trekker's equipment. In contrast to the skis that most cross-country skiers use, *langrennski*, the mountain skis are made for skiing outside of prepared tracks and can thus quite literally take you 'off the beaten track'. Additionally, many mountain skis are suitable for free-heel off-piste downhill skiing, at least if you are a good skier like Eva.

The mountain skis Eva wore when we skied together were a second-hand purchase. As we skied along, she signalled her interest in sticking close to a more basic and non-specialised outdoor life, based on less consumption. Altogether, she calls to mind Nansen's exhortations of a true Norwegian *friluftsliv*, which is non-competitive and involves 'getting away from the endless chase, the confusing din' (Nansen 1921: 2–3). *Det enkle friluftslivet* (the simple/basic *friluftsliv*) is a key phrase from the normative *friluftsliv* school. The school, with its ties to deep ecology and critique of the consumer society (Faarlund 1973), draws on the idea that modernity, industrialisation and urbanisation have alienated people from nature. Living a contemplative outdoor life using simple means is a way to educate yourself, reconnect with nature and realise that humanity is 'inseparable from nature' (Rothenberg 1989: 2). Longer hikes have been highlighted as ideal because, as the school's doyen Arne Næss once put it, it may take several weeks before '…the sensitivity for nature is so developed that it fills the mind' (Næss 1989: 179). Even though Eva has never lived a city life, and expresses no need to *re*connect with nature, her descriptions of a preferred outdoor life tick many of the boxes of the normative *friluftsliv* school.

Eva believes that her outdoor life somehow started already back home when her parents 'placed her outside' to play with the other kids in any kind of weather or season of the year in the village in southern Norway where she grew up. These are childhood memories that many Norwegians share, myself included. The true start for Eva – 'That's where it began' – was, however, when she started at a folk high school (*folkehøgskole*) after high school, taking a year off at this exam-free boarding school. There are 85 folk high schools in Norway, and more than 10% per cohort attend such schools these days. Eva chose an outdoor recreation school, which very many of them are. Altogether, the folk high schools are considerable actors in the socialising of young Norwegians into a national outdoor recreation culture. For Eva, the year off came to be decisive for the turns her life then took. She followed up with several years of outdoor education at university. It was during her years there that she was directly exposed to the normative *friluftsliv* thinking, or to 'the tradition there with Nils Faarlund and those people', as she put it.

Moreover, Eva's outdoor life has continued to change since she moved from the south to the Reisadalen area a few years ago. The landscapes of the area have encouraged her to embrace, on her mountain skis, its abundance of varied and less steep terrain. Additionally, moving north has made her more aware of the cultural aspect of outdoor recreation, which she did not learn much about during her education. Along with other experiences as a

newcomer, familiarising herself with landscapes where reindeer stroll has spurred this process. Reindeer take part in enactments of most of the landscapes in the northern periphery of Europe, where the indigenous Sámi practice of reindeer herding has prevailed since premodern times. On our *skitur*, we found ourselves in a shared process of reflection concerning reindeer: as we entered the mountain plateau (Figure 2.1), we came across a sign stating 'You are now entering calving land for reindeer. Show care and keep a distance. Remember that dogs must be leashed. *God tur* [Have a nice *tur*].' The sign was new to the both of us. We asked ourselves when the calving season starts, and hesitantly admitted that neither of us knew. Thus, we started problematising our limited knowledge of the lives of reindeer, and what this ignorance implies regarding our ability to behave responsibly when using *allemannsretten*. Further into the mountain, we also shared our thoughts about snowmobiling, which neither of us do. We concluded that we both acknowledge snowmobiling as a valuable outdoor practice for many, but that the sound of it in the mountains is still hard to tolerate. To Eva, however, the actual driving on the snowmobile can not be considered *friluftsliv*.

Altogether, Eva's awareness of diversities of outdoor practices and consciousness about the different life worlds, perspectives and interests one

Figure 2.1 My dog was in front as Eva and I went skiing in the mountains of the Reisadalen area, following a skiing track marked with sticks in the snow.
Photo: Brynhild Granås

may encounter on-ground (Tsing 2015) in manifold practised landscapes (Olwig 2019) has increased. In retrospect, her background in the rural south, where she was surrounded by farmers and grazing animals, now appears to her as a relevant experience base for evolving as a culturally sensitive outdoor person. Along with her educational background, her outdoor biography tells of relationships with different people, places and ideas (cf. Massey 1994, 2005) that have become part of her moral reflections as she meanders the landscapes here.

Part of this process is that Eva has become more interested in the historical layers of the landscapes. I recently attended a public event at Storslett, organised by the local DNT group, where Eva took part. At the event, people shared stories and altogether celebrated their shared historical landscapes through talks about landscape names in the three languages of Sámi, Kven/Norwegian-Finnish and Norwegian. Overall, Eva is increasingly realising the importance of 'treading carefully', as she put it. The right to roam does not imply that the trekker owns the mountain. Rather than simply copying the ideals of the normative *friluftsliv* school, she continuously reconsiders and accommodates these ideas as she negotiates her presence in northern landscape assemblages (cf. Tsing 2015) and the diversities they entail.

Later, I was told by my contacts at Storslett that the reindeer sign Eva and I saw had been put up by the regional Outdoor Board (*Friluftsrådet*), a professional association that facilitates hiking tracks. Recently, the Outdoor Board has been highly successful in their efforts to facilitate more tracks and get more people *ut på tur* (out on *tur*), in accordance with a 'the more the merrier' philosophy and supported by a public health rationale (see Nord-Troms Friluftsråd 2024). The risk that reindeer will be disturbed has increased accordingly, not least during the calving season when they are particularly vulnerable. Thus, the sign was a measure for complying with the concerns expressed by the Sámi reindeer herders. Whereas the DNT also encourages longer hikes and trekking, the Outdoor Board is focused on facilitating shorter hikes and ski trips, which has become by far the largest phenomenon of the outdoors around here as well as in the rest of the country, and is continuously underpinned by state policies promoting public health (see e.g. Regjeringen.no 2023).

As a final point in the programme for the *Vandrefestivalen* at Storslett in 2022, the National Park Centre had invited a group of around 20 people to a discussion on outdoor recreation and the facilitation of tracks. Many in attendance had been present at the dinner at *Ovi Raishiin* the night before. The background for the discussion turned out to be the activities of the Outdoor Board, whose work many were critical of. In the discussion, a particular phrase from normative *friluftsliv* concerning '*tur for turens skyld*' ('*tur* for the sake of the *tur*') was repeated. In line with Nansen (1921), the point was that hiking practices encouraged by the Outdoor Board are sports rather than *friluftsliv*, as people use these tracks

for exercise and are not outdoors for the sake of the *tur*. Firstly, experiences from this meeting tell of people who embody ideas from the normative *friluftsliv* school in their work managing nature and roaming as professionals and volunteers. They make the word *friluftsliv* flesh (cf. Haraway 2016a). Further, the dynamic of the discussion illustrates how a normative approach to *friluftsliv* may encourage judgements of what does *not* count as *friluftsliv*. As those who were present at this meeting are highly aware, this way of framing outdoor recreation excludes many inhabitants' outdoor practices from the category of *friluftsliv*. This exclusion indicates how the inherent moral scheme of this national culture for valuing practices, technology use and behaviours in the outdoors may be irrelevant or invalid for many.

'Those DNT people': entangled in the webs of a national roaming landscape

On an excursion into Reisadalen in the 1970s, a group of students from the high school at Storslett decided to spend the night at *Nedrefosshytta* (the Nedrefoss Cabin). This DNT cabin, burnt down by the Germans during the Second World War, was later rebuilt and is now the DNT's oldest cabin in Troms County. *Nedrefosshytta* is in the very depth of the valley, right before the DNT-marked hiking track that follows Reisaelva (the Reisa River) ascends towards the Finnmark Plateau. The shortest walking distance to it from where the road ends is about 30 km. As I have experienced myself, the track along the river is a demanding walk. The forces of the flooding Reisaelva tend to tear down trees and take its toll on the riverbanks along the way. When the teenagers had finally made themselves comfortable inside the cabin after a long day out, another group of trekkers suddenly appeared on the doorstep. Quite surprisingly, the new arrivals asked them to leave.

Among the teenagers were Edel, who brought up this incident in when interviewed, and John, both around 70 years old. Their outdoor recreation biographies provide insight into transitions and evolving frictions in the post-war history of the Norwegian outfields, where the modern *allemannsretten* came to prevail from 1957, paving way for the new mobile outdoor recreationalists (Granås & Svensson 2021). Like many Norwegian post-war youngsters, Edel and John were the first generation of outdoor recreationalists in their families. Thus, their ways of going about came to have less to do with the household economy-based outdoor activities of their ancestors. 'I embraced an outdoor life that was useless', said John, who is from a city in the south. Edel, who grew up on a small farm in Reisadalen, explained that her mother would 'never ever *gå til fjells*' (walk into the mountains) without there being sheep to find or berries to pick. Thus, activities in the outfields have traditionally been related to farming and household economic practices. Moreover, this transition in landscape use illustrates the remarkably short historical

timespan within which outdoor recreation has been part of a national consciousness (Sörlin 2000).

As was typical of many northern small farms, Edel's father was away on other job while her mother ran the farm in one of the many villages of Reisadalen that at this point were lively small-farm communities. Edel enjoyed the outdoor work on the farm, where she learned from her mother and could 'unfold herself'. At high school, she became part of a group of young men and women who shared an interest in trekking: 'A fire was lit in me, how great wasn't it to arrive at a shelter, an open shack, and live primitively and get worn out, getting there under one's own steam.'

Edel understood her own way into trekking as a coincidence, but agreed that her farm life experiences had already made her an outdoor person before she became a trekker.

The same went for John, who spent his childhood vacations in his father's home village, where he helped on his uncle's farm and went fishing and berry picking with his parents. Industrialisation and urbanisation had led his parents into the city, but they were still tied to their rural home turfs. As a teenager, John started trekking on his own. Like Edel he found it hard to identify what encouraged him, but asked himself if it was a kind of 'dream', inspired by reading Norwegian polar and adventure literature. This literature, which includes the writings of Fridtjof Nansen, is part of a national folklore that has inspired outdoor lives and introduced young people to ideas from the national outdoor culture since the early 1900s (Granås 2018). John also pointed to his everyday life in a city, where recreational hiking and skiing were already an established culture by then.

Edel and her friends had followed the request of the arriving trekkers who showed them the door at *Nedrefosshytta*. 'It was no problem', Edel insisted at first, as they had then found shelter in the smaller, less comfortable, *Stakerhytta* (staker's/poler's cabin) also located at Nedrefoss. As she continued, however, Edel referred to those who had disturbed them as arrogant *søringer* (southerners), city people, and 'those DNT people'. With John being a *søring* and city boy and she herself a DNT member these days, she said all this with a twinkle in her eye; but when elaborating on the details she indicated that the group of local youth had not been acknowledged as proper trekkers and equals in the outdoors. Thus, 'those DNT people' somehow ignored the organisation's emphasis on sameness in nature (Ween & Abram 2012: 166). Later, Edel herself has embodied the national outdoor culture and contributed to weaving the threads of the DNT further into the material-semiotic fabric of Reisadalen, based on the treasuring of a basic outdoor life in which one accesses the outfields 'under one's own steam'. Today, she takes part in maintaining hiking tracks, looking after *Nedrefosshytta* (Figure 2.2) and organising DNT hikes as a volunteer. Edel belongs to the same network as Eva. As a representative of the DNT, she had been present at the discussion on outdoor recreation during *Vandrefestivalen* the previous autumn.

Figure 2.2 *Nedrefosshytta*, right by Reisaelva in the innermost part of the approx. 90 km long Reisadalen.
Photo: Odd Rudberg

In the northern part of Troms County, where Reisadalen is located, *Nedrefosshytta* stands out as the only DNT cabin. Notably, the further north and northeast one gets in Norway, the fewer DNT cabins there are and the more limited the red-marked DNT trails are. This lack of DNT infrastructure signals the turbulent moral undercurrents of contested northern landscapes. In Reisadalen, ideas regarding preferred ways of using *allemannsretten* that are inherent in a national culture for outdoor life continue to encounter opposition. Edel's story reminded me about a recent conflict at *Nedrefosshytta* that had been described in a previous interview. This conflict exemplifies this opposition and illuminates further qualities of the contested landscapes of the area in the ways it directly addresses others who roam here. Among them are sheep farmers, dog mushers, snowmobilers, salmon fishers and riverboat enthusiasts. Like any landscape, the Reisadalen area will never be signified as only national or only for hikers and trekkers.

The person who had brought up this recent conflict was a man from the local riverboat and snowmobile association. Despite all the talk of trekking, skiing and hiking so far, the dominant outdoor culture in the Reisadalen area is salmon fishing. Nordreisa Municipality's coat of arms is decorated with salmon, and the riverboat is part of the cherished salmon fishing culture here.

Thus, and considering the extensive culture for snowmobiling, the riverboat and snowmobile association is a considerable actor in the area.

The man described a conflict during the 1990s between the DNT and the association he represents in which some inhabitants, who accessed the deepest parts of the valley with motorised riverboats, had started making themselves comfortable at *Nedrefosshytta*, not least by partying there. The management plan for Reisa National Park (Figure 2.3) tells of how *Stakerhytta* at Nedrefoss, where Edel and her friends had once found shelter, was sold by the DNT to the riverboat and snowmobile association in 1997 and moved to Nausti, a few kilometres downriver. The document does not mention the conflict that spurred the DNT to do this and to set 1 krone as the price for the cabin. The conflict provides a glimpse into how inhabitants may oppose the DNT and demonstrate a moral ownership of land, based on other ways of valuing outdoor recreation.

The same man later confirmed to me that the conflict at Nedrefoss had been just as heated as the recent one between sheep farmers and dog mushers in Reisadalen, the latter conflict including police interventions and accusations of physical violence among the involved parties. Today, the villages of Reisadalen are weakened and only a handful of sheep farms remain. At the same time, long-distance dog mushing with Alaskan Huskies has attracted people to some of the villages that offer simple access to good training

Figure 2.3 A glimpse down the 90 km long Reisadalen, as represented on the home pages of Reisa National Park.
Photo: Asgeir Blixgård

landscapes. Some of the mushers also offer dogsledding to tourists. During autumn, quite many mushing teams train on land where sheep are grazing. In interviews, the sheep farmers have explained to us that the dogs scare their sheep, and that they feel that their own way of life in the valley is ignored and unappreciated by the local community, while tourism is applauded and understood as part of the future. In April 2023, along with colleagues I met with local politicians who were dealing with this conflict, to talk about *allemannsretten*. During the coffee break, the man from the riverboat and snowmobile association commented to me that the emotional heat in the conflict at *Nedrefosshytta* had been just as strong as in this one. The difference, however, was that during the conflict in the 1990s they had been able to continue a dialogue. Despite the anger and mistrust involved, they had managed to take control without involving local politicians or other authorities. But the friction between the DNT and the association he himself represents is still there, he added.

If the DNT has put 'hiking in a dominant position in relation to other rural activities' (Ween and Abram 2012: 156), then motorised outdoor life takes us to some of the rural practice of this area that is most obviously in opposition to the national outdoor culture. To the degree that the snowmobile and the riverboat transport people to the mountain lakes and on Reisaelva, both snowmobile and riverboat connect to the traditional household economic practice of fishing. It is practical, and moving 'under one's own steam' is considered irrelevant. Moreover, motorised outdoor life is also about the joy of the ride and meeting up around bonfires to socialise, which is a strong tradition in the area through which people enact landscapes as public spaces.

Nevertheless, the motor engine is a historical newcomer in the outfields. Like the modern motorised riverboat has replaced the traditional non-motorised ones, the snowmobile has replaced skiing. In the archives of the regional museum, more than 70-year-old interviews tell of skiing as a key mobility technology in the area, in communities where every household produced their own wooden skis. Even though motorised roaming is regulated by a separate act (Act Relating to Motor Traffic on Uncultivated Land and in Watercourses), all the changes that come with the motor have transformed the practised landscape in considerable ways and introduced further moral turbulence on the lands where *allemannsretten* prevails.

Concluding discussion

The frictions and conflicts described above illuminate the many layers of northern landscapes, their processual and polyvocal qualities, and the 'inextricably intertwined' relationship between the humans and non-humans (cf. Price 2004: xxi) who take part in the relational practising of these landscapes. As people use *allemannsretten* and access 'uncultivated land', a national moral scheme for the outdoors sometimes becomes a 'practically, engaged universality' (Tsing 2005: 1). When one becomes entangled in landscapes whose history tells of '10,000 years of cultural encounters', this universality

can spur productive frictions, for good and for bad. Even though northern landscapes may be represented as prime examples of pure wilderness, the frictions and conflicts that the histories above unveil bring to life the contested qualities of layered naturalcultural landscapes. Altogether, the nature-culture realms through which the landscapes here unfold tell of human activity as environment-making (Moore 2016: 79) – it is together with reindeer, trout, salmon, insects, lakes, rivers, farmers and many other outdoor recreationalists that the three trekkers reconstitute the practised landscape (Olwig 2019). To put it otherwise, they become entangled in processes through which people have made nature and nature has made people ever since the end of the last glacial period.

Now that Edel and John are getting older, they hope to never access the outfields by motorised means themselves. Rather, they intend to adjust their hikes by making them shorter. Like Eva, and in line with the normative understanding of *friluftsliv*, they value the simple ways of doing outdoor recreation, emphasise that of being on *tur* for the sake of the *tur* (*på tur for turens skyld*) and always long for quiet Still, none of the three trekkers copy the moral schemes of a national outdoor culture, and nor do they directly criticise snowmobiling. Rather, their valuing of ways of roaming is an outcome of their current lives as trekkers in the Reisadalen area as well as of their further life experiences. Times and places, in terms of ancestors, villages and farms they relate to, and the moral ideas these ties entail (cf. Massey 1994, 2005) become relevant in their valuing of outdoor recreation and ways of life in the north. Here, they practise landscapes along with reindeer, Sámi reindeer herders, sheep, farmers, off-road bikers, snowmobilers and many others who assemble here (cf. Tsing 2015). They negotiate their co-presences with the angler they may encounter at the frozen mountain lake, who sits smiling in the sun next to his snowmobile. Moreover, they share an everyday community life with this angler and the many other outdoor recreationalists and landscape users of the area. They are part of a community and are tied to ecologies and landscapes that they are committed to and depend on. With a sensitivity regarding other 'preferred ways of being in nature' than the trekking they themselves do (cf. Ween and Abram 2012: 156), Eva, Edel and John experience, learn, negotiate and advance moral ideas through constitutive encounters (cf. Tsing 2015). The acceptance of moral differences in the outdoors is an outcome of such encounters. As opposed to Nansen and others who have theorised about fundamental moral matters of the outdoors, and in line with all the various outdoor recreationalists and landscape users of the area around Reisadalen, the three of them must 'stay with the trouble' (cf. Haraway 2016b) that comes with the geographical and historical commitments and dependencies of living here.

According to Puig de la Bellacasa (2017), human and more-than-human relationships of commitment and dependencies energise emotions and enactments of care. In such ways, the moral accommodations that the trekkers in the current chapter engage in provide ideas about how 'consideration and due

care' (cf. §2 of the Outdoor Recreational Act of 1957) are enacted in the realms of the practised landscape and rely on dependency relationships there. Still, the complex belongings indicated by the relationships within which they accommodate their outdoor moralities tell of how responsible enactments of *allemannsretten* cannot easily be identified through binaries like locals versus non-locals, or traditional versus modern. Instead, material and corporeal encounters connect moral frictions historically and geographically to people and places within and beyond today's Reisadalen.

At the end of the interviews with Eva, Edel and John, we asked them about ideas they may have for the future of the communities and landscapes of the area. This took us into conversations about tourism development, industrial green transition, and small-scale farming. Regarding tourism, the recent growth in outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism in the north is unevenly distributed in time and space (Jóhannesson et al. 2022). The Reisadalen area is one where tourism has never hit hard and to which few mobile recreationalists find their way. Nevertheless, outdoor recreation here is not practised or experienced in isolation or freed from worries about potential landscape changes to come. What worries the trekkers is that with *allemannsretten* you never know when the crowds will arrive, if ever (Granås et al. 2024). Periphery communities that look to tourism as a potential way forward are exposed to this risk.

More so, Eva, Edel and John are all highly sceptical of the wind energy project that has been proposed in the area. As John put it, 'There is no validity in a green transition that destroys nature'. The green shift they believe in is of another kind, and concerns that of reviving the small-farm tradition and thus the quality of life in the villages of Reisadalen and the landscapes here. Agricultural politics based on neoliberal market ideas and growth strategies have ruined the livelihoods of small-scale farmers in the north. Such politics have depopulated the villages of Reisadalen. Additionally, landscapes have been emptied of grazing animals, resulting in their regrowth and reducing their cultural-ecological qualities. A green transition founded on small farms would be based on the affordances of the landscapes that have been the basis of life around here since premodern times.

As other informants engaged in agricultural politics emphasised, however, there is no national development scheme for any revival of small-scale farming. Thus, hoping for this may sound naïve. Similarly, it may seem ignorant to envision a future without the mass tourism, wind turbines or mining for rare minerals in a community that is marked by economic recession and depopulation. However, Eva, Edel and John are defending alternative future visions against hegemonic development discourses based on the premises of neoliberal green shift regimes. In their envisioning of alternative futures, the normative *friluftsliv* school is powerful in its unique offer to bridge environmental politics and outdoor moralities. This may explain why the words of normative *friluftsliv* are made flesh here, despite this national configuration's otherwise naturalcultural-detached outspring in the urbanised south.

References

Breivik, G. (1978). To tradisjoner i norsk friluftsliv. In G. Breivik & H. Løvmo (eds), *Friluftsliv fra Fridtjof Nansen til våre dager*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 7–16.

Breivik, G. (1979). *Friluftsliv: Noen filosofiske og pedagogiske aspekter*. Oslo: Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

DNT. (2023). DNTs historie. 150 år med turglede. Retrieved December 2023 from www.dnt.no/om-dnt/organisasjon/dnts-historie/.

Elvestad, S. B. (2016). Det var stort sett motstand. Framtid i nord. Retrieved January 2024 from www.framtidinord.no/kultur/i/eP5BGK/det-var-stort-sett-motstand.

Faarlund, N. (1973). Friluftsliv – hva, hvorfor, hvordan. Retrieved May 2023 from www.naturliv.no/faarlund/hva%20-%20hvorfor%20-%20hvordan.pdf.

Faarlund, N. (2021). Full spredning av øko-filosofi med Mardøla-aksjonen. Retrieved July 2023 from www.norgeshogfjellskole.no/full-spredning-av-oko-filosofi-med-mardola-aksjonen/.

Goksøyr, M. (1994). Nasjonal identitetsbygging gjennom idrett og frilufts-liv. *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, 2, 181–193.

Granås, B. (2018). Destinizing Finnmark: Place making through dogsledding. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 72, 48–57.

Granås, B. (2023). Sensing morally evocative spaces. In O. Rantala, V. Kinnunen & E. Höckert (eds), *Researching with Proximity: Relational methodologies for the Anthropocene*. Cham: Springer, 89–104.

Granås, B. & Mathisen, L. (2022). Unfinished indigenous geographies: The endurances and becomings of a Sámi tourism venture. *Polar Record*, 58.

Granås, B. & Svensson, G.E. (2021). På reise med allemannsretten. *Arr – idéhistorisk tidsskrift*, 2, 13–25.

Granås, B., Hoel, M. & Røsbø, J. (2024). Framing by opening up: Approaching matters of concern in nature based tourism. In O. Rantala & D. Müller (eds), *A Research Agenda for Arctic Tourism*. London: Edward Elgar, 125–140.

Gurholt, K. P. (2008). Norwegian friluftsliv and ideals of becoming an 'educated man'. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, 8(1), 55–70.

Gurholt, K. P. & Broch, T. B. (2019). Outdoor life, nature experience, and sports in Norway. Tensions and dilemmas in the preservation and use of urban forests. *Sport and Society*, 22 (4), 573–588.

Gurholt, K. P. & Haukeland, P. I. (2019). Scandinavian friluftsliv (outdoor life) and the Nordic model: Passions and paradoxes. In M. Tin, F. Telseth, J. O. Tangen & R. Giulianotti (eds), *The Nordic Model and Physical Culture*, pp. 165–181. London: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (2016a). Companions in conversation (with Cary Wolfe). In D. Haraway, *Manifestly Haraway*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Haraway, D. (2016b). *Staying with the Trouble. Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Horgen, A. (2022). Friluftsliv, idrett eller sport? Mening og begrepsbruk i Den Norske Turistforenings årbøker, 1868–1979. *Historisk tidsskrift*, 101 (3), 213–228.

Jóhannesson, G. T., Welling, J., Müller, D. K., Lundmark, L., Nilsson, R. O., de la Barre, S., Granås, B., Kvidal-Røvik, T., Rantala, O., Tervo-Kankare, K., & Maher, P. (2022). *Arctic Tourism in Times of Change: Uncertain Futures – From Overtourism to Re-starting Tourism*. Nordic Council of Ministers.

Kaltenborn, B. P., Haaland, H. and Sandell, K. (2001). The public right to access. Some challenges to sustainable tourism development in Scandinavia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 9(5), 417–433.

Lorimer, J. (2015). *Wildlife in the Anthropocene: Conservation after Nature*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.

Moore, J. W. (2016). The rise of cheap nature. In E. Altvater, E. C. Crist, D. J. Haraway, D. Hartley, C. Parenti & J. McBrien (eds), *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*. PM Press, 78–115.

Müller, D. & Viken, A. (2017). Indigenous tourism in the Arctic. In A. Viken & D. Müller (eds), *Tourism and Indigeneity in the Arctic*. Bristol: Channel View, 3–15.

Næss, A. (1989). *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nansen, F. (1921). Tale til ungdommen på Den Norske Turistforenings møde, juni 1921. Retrieved November 2023 from www.naturakademi.com/friluftsinfo.

Nordreisa kommune. (2023). Om kommunen. Retrieved December 2023 from www.nordreisa.kommune.no/om-kommunen.577563.no.html.

Nord-Troms Friluftsråd. (2024). Ut i nord. Retrieved January 2024 from https://friluftsraad.utinord.no/.

Olwig, K. R. (2019). *The Meanings of Landscape: Essays on Place, Space, Environment and Justice*. London: Routledge.

Pedersen, K. (1999). *'Det har bare vært naturlig': Friluftsliv, kjønn og kulturelle brytninger*. PhD thesis, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, Oslo.

Price, P. L. (2004). *Dry Place: Landscapes of Belonging and Exclusion*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Puig de la Bellacasa, M. (2017). *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Rankama, T. and Ukkonen, P. (2001). On the early history of the wild reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus* L.) in Finland. *Boreas*, 30, 131–147.

Regjeringen.no. (2023). Friluftsliv. Retrieved November 2023 from www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/klima-og-miljo/friluftsliv/id1091/.

Reusch, M. (2012). *Allemannsretten: Friluftslivets rettsgrunnlag*. Oslo: Flux Forlag.

Rothenberg, D. (1989). Introduction: Ecosophy T: from intuition to system. In A. Næss, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*, pp. 1–22. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skjerstad, R. B. F. (2021). *Der landet ble samlet: Friluftsliv som norgeshistorie 1940–1970*. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.

Slagstad, R. (2015). *Sporten: En idéhistorisk studie*. Oslo: Pax forlag.

Sörlin, S. (2000). Upptäkten av friluftslandskapet. In C. Sandell & S. Sörlin (eds), *Friluftshistoria: Från 'härdande friluftslif' til ekoturism och miljöpedagogik*. Stockholm: Carlsson, 16–26.

Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction. An Ethnography of Global Connections*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tsing, A. (2015). *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tsing, A. (2019). When the things we study respond to each other: Tools for unpacking the 'material'. In P. Harvey, C. Krohn-Hansen & K. G. Nustad (eds), *Anthropos and the Material*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 221–243.

Tsing, A. L., Deger, J., Saxena, A. K. & Zhou, F. (2024). *Field Guide to the Patchy Anthropocene: The New Nature*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ween, G. & Abram, S. (2012). The Norwegian Trekking Association: Trekking as constituting the nation. *Landscape Research*, 37(2), 155–171.

3 ‘A linguistically outrageous expression’

The semantic evolution of nature protection in Norwegian statutory law from 1910 to 2009

Eivind Junker

Introduction

What can regulatory practice tell us about the human–nature relationship? Like ‘nature’ as such, the legal protection of nature or environment is a concept created by human culture: society decides that certain areas hold specific or general values that are worth protecting. Legal doctrine relies on words and linguistic concepts used in natural, everyday language. The words and expressions used in regard to objects and interests regulated by law carry perceptions and evolve over time in conjunction with societal changes. Legal texts provide a temporal snapshot of how policymakers assess the world around them, and how values are assigned to different parts of it. This chapter concerns the language of nature protection and conservation in Norwegian statutory law. The central question is: To what extent does the formalised language of acts relate to and reflect contemporary conceptualisations of nature, and how does it change over time?

In line with the general topic of this volume, the assumption behind this exploration of legal semantics is that regulatory language illustrates the non-binary relationship of practised landscape in the Nordics (see Chapter 1, this volume). This chapter documents and considers how wording and expressions in legal texts have been used and developed over the hundred years since Norway’s first statutory act on conservation, and whether the evolution in language can serve as a parallel to the human–nature relationship during the same time frame. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of how natural values have been conceptualised and categorised during the twentieth century in Norway.

The specific documents and expressions that are analysed stem from the Norwegian context. However, all the Fenno-Scandinavian countries have a long history of cooperation and exchange of ideas, even within the legislative field (Enggaard 2002: 139–141). Developments in nature regulation have therefore followed comparable tracks in the Swedish and Finnish systems, and relatable linguistic examples can be found there (see e.g. Wramner & Nygård 2010). But to stay within the boundaries of a book chapter, the present study concentrates on Norwegian law.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-3

Context, method and materials

History

Norway has had statutory rules regarding the protection of natural areas since 1910, and the current act regarding nature preservation was enacted in 2009. This chapter investigates the developments in scope and purpose of the nature protection regime over the 100 years from the first act to the current one, based on the terms and language in the acts and associated proposals/bills.

In very broad terms, Norway is a peripheral and sparsely populated country. Wedged between the Atlantic Ocean and Sweden/Finland, this mostly mountainous region was long a rural, rather poor outpost of Europe. Less than two centuries ago, Norway was still a mostly agrarian society where people lived off the natural resources that were available in their relative proximity. However, fortunate political circumstances and abundant natural resources have made Norway one of the most egalitarian, and at the same time richest, countries in the world. The country's industrialisation phase took place in the last part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, after the most massive population increase in its history: between 1815 and 1862, Norway's population almost doubled from 885,000 to 1,702,000 (Myhre 2015a).

The increased population fostered urbanisation, but industrialisation also tied the central and remote parts of the country closer together. In 1854, the first railroad was inaugurated, the number of lighthouses – vital for ship traffic along the coast – increased tenfold (12 to 128 between 1828 and 1870) and telegraph lines were built (Myhre 2015b). Parallel with the National Romantic (and anti-union) movement of the late 1800s, regional awareness also grew stronger; in particular, northern Norway and southern Norway gained traction as relevant concepts.

These different technological and societal developments impacted land use. Infrastructure, industrial production, power production and urban settlements laid claim on increasingly more areas, and pollution and littering increased. From being seen as an almost eternal resource, 'nature' was now something people realised could become scarce. Soon, various interest groups and individuals began arguing for the protection and conservation of its values. This situation is comparable in many parts of the Nordics, which have experienced pressure from both new developments and increased concerns about depletion. Examples in this volume include Granås in Chapter 2 (the right of public access vs. local community use/interests), Salmivuori in Chapter 4 (different understandings of forest/forestry between different actors) and Haanpää in Chapter 7 (conflicts regarding management of water).

Several accounts have been written of the history and development of nature protection in Norway – outlining the historical trends, main actors, controversies and protected values (Berntsen 2011; Berntsen & Norges naturvernforbund 1977; Norderhaug 2002). Bredo Berntsen's bibliography and

compressed historical review are especially helpful resources (Berntsen 2011: 357–393), and a recent comprehensive assessment of the current management of national parks in Norway can be found in Aasen Lundberg et al. (2021). However, researchers have dedicated less attention to the legal language and particularly the evolution of the terms used.

Nomenclature

With the object of interest in this chapter being Norwegian legislative linguistics, some key expressions need translation and explanation. The need for translation is obviously a limitation, due to the implicit value attached to words; such affective aspects are notoriously hard to translate properly. Still, the explanation below will hopefully be sufficient for conveying relevant nuances and enabling the reader to relate them to their own linguistic framework of reference (see examples of Northern Sámi nomenclature for nature/wilderness in Chapter 5, this volume). In the further text, I will use these English equivalents of the Norwegian expressions, adding crucial context or detail when necessary.

The main term used in the first Norwegian nature protection act is *fredning*, literally 'in-peace-keeping' (*fred* = peace), which roughly translates as 'preservation'. In Norwegian, the word *fredning* is normally used in regard to protection through non-interference. As a general term it is now somewhat archaic when used in reference to nature, but is commonly used in discussions of buildings and other human-made objects. However, even the most recent act (2009) uses the term *totalfredning* (total preservation) for its most restrictive measures.

Another central term in the Norwegian legislative language is *bevaring*, literally 'keeping' (*bevare* = [to] keep), which I have translated as 'conservation'. Compared to *fredning*, this expression has more connotations suggesting maintenance and upkeep (including the stimulation of processes necessary to sustain the values to be preserved). A relevant example is nature values that are contingent on agricultural practices, such as traditional hayfields. Over centuries of consistent use such areas have developed into distinct ecosystems, and without continued use the obtained values will deteriorate.

Over the years another term gained traction, namely *vern*, literally 'defence', an expression that carries some militaristic overtones, typically related to a distinct and identifiable outside threat. In the context of nature governance, however, I think it is more fitting to translate *vern* as 'protection'. When used in regard to nature values, this expression includes various levels of restrictions. *Vern* means to reduce negative influences, while at the same time acknowledging that other considerations may supersede the protected nature values and accepting that some changes and reductions of nature are unavoidable. The recent COVID-19 pandemic is an illustrative example of the pragmatic aspects of the term *vern*: in Norwegian, infection control is called *smittevern* ('infection protection'). Authorities protected society against infection through mandates on social distancing, mask use etc., but at the same

time accepted some risk of infection in order to enable the essential services to continue working.

Finally, the fourth central term in Norwegian nature protection is *forvaltning*, literally 'management', which is also the English term I will use. *Forvaltning* is also the general term for (public) administration in Norway (e.g. *forvaltningsrett* = public administration law), and has connotations of due process, transparency and impartiality. However, there is no inherent expectation to preserve or maintain the object being managed. Administration may in principle include the depletion of a resource or damage to natural values, as long as it is done according to relevant procedures and statutory frameworks.

As the analysis will demonstrate, these four expressions (preservation, conservation, protection and management) can be used as shorthand for the levels of strictness in the legal protection of natural values in Norway. This chapter's aim is to assess whether they also represent a trend in one direction or the other, and/or relate to developments in the larger society.

Materials and method

Norwegian (and indeed much of modern Fenno-Scandinavian) law is largely based on enabling legislation, a system in which the parliament adopts acts with room for interpretation and discretion by the government. Rather than specifying exactly which areas or species ought to be safeguarded, an act may state that 'valuable' or 'endangered' areas or species can be designated as protected. To guide the interpretation and practice of these discretionary terms, courts and authorities rely on various sources of information. Central among the sources for arguments are the documents called preparatory works – namely the specific expert reports, governmental bills and parliamentary discussions of the act in question.

This method allows for more dynamic practice and leaves room for further development according to changing needs. However, for such enabling legislation to be successful there is also a need for interpretation and systematic execution by the involved parties. Arbitrary practices will reduce the acceptance of decisions and the overall efficiency of the framework. Therefore, commonly adopted norms of interpretation (such as legal dogmatic method, the prevalent way of establishing legal standpoints in Norway; Graver 2008) are a necessary part of systems based on enabling legislation.

This chapter is based on a document study, and the main source material is comprised of the relevant acts and related bills (proposals from the government to the parliament), including other preparatory works. These texts will be interpreted according to standard legal dogmatic method and language norms. In addition, I will illustrate and illuminate the assessments using other contemporary sources such as legal textbooks and papers, newspaper articles and the like. The purpose of using this choice of method

is to review and establish the stated intention of the relevant statutes. Other methodological approaches, like interviews or quantitative analytics, are less suited for this purpose.

Structure of the chapter

The legislative history of Norwegian nature protection can be split into four phases according to the periods during which the four relevant acts have been in force. I will introduce these over the following pages, beginning with the preservation phase (1910–1954), which was succeeded by the protection phase (1954–1970). With the 1970 act the legislation entered what can be called the consolidation phase (1970–2009), and with the current act it is now in its management phase (2009–). For each of the four phases I will assess the stated scope and purpose of nature protection, focusing on the terms and language in the relevant acts and the associated preparatory works. I will devote special attention to how the acts reflect the lawmakers' intention of safeguarding nature.

After introducing the acts, I will highlight and discuss three overarching insights, relating the acts more closely to the human–nature relationship theme. The most prominent feature is the apparent shift from the wish to preserve nature for historical or scientific importance, to acknowledging the inherent value of nature itself (apart from humans). In parallel, the means of governing nature values seem to have gradually shifted from preservation via conservation to management. Finally, the development of nature values has also influenced the rules regarding compensation.

Norwegian statutory law on nature conservation

First phase (1910–1954): preservation

Societal context

Since the eleventh century (if not earlier), Norway has had rudimentary statutes, royal decrees etc. regarding various natural resources. Especially important were hunting and fishing, and early regulations limited hunting seasons and technologies to preserve the game and fish stocks. Similarly, timber and mineral enterprises depleted forests in parts of the country, provoking regulations from the central government. However, these early variants of nature protection were mainly motivated by a long-term utilitarian perspective (Berntsen 2011: 16–23). The first Norwegian act specifically on nature preservation, the *Lov om naturfredning*, was adopted 25 July 1910. Its stated purpose was to preserve certain phenomena in nature because of their scientific or historical significance (Næss 1913: 79), and its content was modelled on an earlier act regarding cultural or historical artifacts (Gjelsvik & Solem 1936: 167).

Figure 3.1 Hans Gude, *Vinterettermiddag* ('Winter Afternoon'), 1847.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hans_Gude–Vinterettermiddag–1847.jpg (public domain)

This act came about in the wake of the Romantic era. As a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, Romantic ideals typically included emotions, aesthetics and authenticity. In contrast to the scientific rationalisation of nature, Romanticism championed the traditional and cultural practices of society (see e.g. Berntsen 2011: 25–26; Hundstad 2015; Pepper 2019: 84–85). While the roots of Romanticism were the Age of Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, its conceptions were also adapted to the Norwegian context. The Norwegian National Romanticism sought to define the distinctive Norwegian character and qualities through studies of history, folklore, language and traditions (Hyvik 2015). Romantic ideas influenced both politics and social structures as well as art: a well-known example of artistic expression during the Romantic period is the landscape paintings of Norwegian painter Hans Gude.

In addition to the cultural influence, early Norwegian nature conservation legislation also drew inspiration from recent efforts abroad. In the US, Yellowstone National Park was established in 1870 (Landsforeningen for naturfredning i Norge: Østlandske krets 1930: 4). Sweden established its initial act on nature preservation in 1909 – one of the first countries in Europe to do so. Polar researcher Adolf Nordenskiöld is credited with initiating the debate that led to the act (Wramner & Nygård 2010: 15). The committee preparing the

proposal for the 1909 act listed four motives for nature preservation (Wramner & Nygård 2010: 31):

1 Economic motives (preserve forestry, hunting and fishing interests).
2 Scientific interests (study the development of plants and animals).
3 Aesthetic values (natural beauty, especially with the broader public in mind).
4 Cultural heritage (nature influenced and formed by human activity).

The scope of the 1910 act

According to the initial proposal of the act, the King (in practice, the responsible ministry of government) could designate specific occurrences or areas as preserved. The conditions were that the preserved objects were wild plants or animals, or geologic or mineralogic sites, and had scientific or historic importance (Ot. prp. no. 18 (1910)).

However, during the debate in the parliament the act's wording was heavily discussed. Some representatives felt the proposal gave too much power to the administration, for instance arguing that the proposal enabled the government to outlaw all hunting of bears – regardless of which areas the hunting occurred in. Therefore, a counterproposal to the committee was put forward and was ultimately passed (Stortinget 1910: 633–638).

This change in wording significantly narrowed the act's scope. There was no longer room for preservation of specific *occurrences* of plants or animals – like a specific tree or group of trees – unless it could be proven that the specific tree(s) were crucial for the survival of the species as such. Therefore, in 1916, the wording was amended to also allow for the preservation of singular occurrences of plants and animals with historic or scientific value, even if they didn't represent a necessary component of the species as such (Ot. prp. no. 6 (1916)). This change in scope was hardly discussed (Stortinget 1916: 546).

A peculiarity in the discussion of the 1910 act was the issue of naming. The concept of the preservation of nature was relatively new, and the word itself seemed alien to some. One of the representatives in the parliament claimed that *naturfredning* ('nature preservation') was a 'linguistically outrageous expression' (Stortinget 1910: 641, my translation), and proposed that the act instead be named 'the act on the preservation of certain phenomena in nature etc.' (Stortinget 1910: 641, my translation). The opposition to the title was not further elaborated on in the discussion; it was just mentioned that 'nature preservation' was an unfortunate expression. One might infer that the qualms regarding the title were related to the discussion of the content itself, and a fear that using the broader title would legitimise administrative overreach. About 40 per cent of the representatives (27) sided with this notion and voted for the alternative suggestion, while the majority (37) upheld the committee's proposal – thereby introducing the 'outrageous expression' into Norwegian statutory law.

Protective means, compensatory regime and practice

The 1910 act had only one legal device for protection – a royal decision to preserve an area (see the act's first section). However, the act left significant leeway for the government, allowing it to determine which activities should be prohibited within the protected area, as well as any exemptions. Decisions regarding preservation could replace or exempt existing rights, as illustrated by the supreme court judgment delivered on 11 June 1932 regarding the preserved area of Fokstumyra in the Dovre mountains: four men had been fishing in a small lake within the designated preservation area. The men argued that they were entitled to the activity, as owners of their respective farm properties had conducted such fishing since time immemorial. A unanimous court concluded that the preservation also applied to the men – even if they had previously been entitled to fishing in the lake (Rt-1932-655, n.d.). A more recent example of conflicting interests, including fishing rights, is described by Haanpää in Chapter 7 of this volume, regarding water management in the Kiiminkijoki River.

In practice, preservation efforts were relatively sparse during the first decades. In 1911, some alpine areas with important flora were protected (most notably in the Dovre and Sylan regions). Norwegian society was heavily influenced by the country's recent secession from its union with Sweden (1905), and there was a powerful urge to build industry and exploit natural resources to support the newly independent nation (Berntsen 2011: 378). Furthermore, major events beyond the Norwegian borders impacted priorities: the First World War and the subsequent economic depressions shaped people's priorities. Economic and social needs were more immediate than protecting nature, which there seemed to be more than enough of (Berntsen 2011: 379). Still, some minor areas were preserved during the interwar period.

The 1910 act stated that any disadvantage, loss or damage caused by the preservation should be compensated in full by the government. In their 1932 decision, the supreme court noted that the convicted men could have claimed compensation for the loss of their fishing rights. This regime of compensation indicates that, from the onset of legal nature preservation, the parliament accepted that natural areas might have more than one use: even if an area was scientifically or historically significant, it might also have other uses that might be affected by a decision of preservation.

Second phase (1954–1970): protection

Societal context

Nature conservation efforts were limited in Norway throughout the first part of the twentieth century, but were especially sparse during the meagre years of economic depression and unemployment in the 1930s and the five years of occupation and war (1940–1945). In the post-war years there was broad

political agreement on increasing economic growth and living standards; reservations or objections concerning development were few and far between. Still, there was a concurrent rise in the appreciation of nature as an area for recreation and aesthetic experiences. Another important factor was inspiration from other countries:

> The idea of nature protection, i.e. preserving pieces of native nature, has now taken root in almost all civilised countries, where one can still rejoice in small pieces of virgin land. Even the cute little cabbage patch Denmark has protected a piece of its West Jutland heath.
>
> (Lie 1923: 72, my translation)

In 1947, the Ministry of Church and Education therefore appointed a commission to propose a revised act for nature protection. This second act came about in 1954. (The bill proposing the new act was originally put forward in 1953, but due to time constraints in the parliament's proceedings it was postponed until the year after.) In the proposal bill, the Ministry stated that a central motive for the revision was to expand the application and scope of the act.

According to the new act it should be possible to preserve nature not only for scientific or historical purposes but also with regard to visual (aesthetic) qualities, the specific characteristics of a natural environment, or for 'social reasons' (Ot. prp. no. 9 (1954): 2). The last of these was meant to include recreational activities under the public access doctrine (*allemannsretten,* the right of public access), like bathing and hiking. The increase in population, a higher demand for resources and consequently more pressure on land use revealed the need to also protect the 'softer' interests in nature. The practice of outdoor recreation and related 'environment-making' are explored and discussed by Granås in Chapter 2 of this volume.

Having been spared the most extensive consequences of the war, Sweden might have had more time to develop its nature protection legislation during these years. At least, the commissioned report preparing the revised Norwegian act praised the Swedes for having 'a far stronger interest in the nature preservation cause' than was the case in Norway at the time.

The scope of the 1954 act

During the preparation of the 1954 act, the commission considered changing the phrasing in the act's title from 'nature preservation' to 'nature protection', but refrained (Ot. prp. no. 9 (1954): 10, my translation and emphasis):

> The committee has considered the idea of replacing the term *nature preservation* with *nature protection*. This could have a positive effect, as the

> word *protection* can be said to be more comprehensive than *preservation*. In the proposed statute, there are also proposed provisions in which the term protection would fit better than preservation. However, the committee has concluded that there is no reason to change the current, incorporated word preservation in the act.

As this passage illustrates, the general sentiment about the expression *naturfredning* (nature preservation) seems to have developed over the years, from almost half of the parliament finding the term 'outrageous' to its being familiar and well incorporated.

While the committee found the act's current title sufficient, other groups forcefully argued for the name change. A vocal advocate for revising the title was the National Association for Nature Protection (which until its own name change in 1951 had been known as the National Association for Nature *Preservation*). The Ministry agreed with the arguments for changing the title, noting that the new one was more in line with the significant expansion of reasons for preservative measures. Therefore, the proposal to the parliament bore the revised title, and the 1954 act was named the Nature Protection Act.

Protective means, compensatory regime and practice

The main tool in the 1954 act – as in the previous act – was specific decisions on preservation, and the authority to decide was placed with the King in Council (i.e. the central government, in formal meeting with the King). Preservation of a small scope, such as individual trees or groups of trees, could be decided by the relevant ministry.

While this system was closely comparable to that in the previous act, the 1954 act gave room for preserving larger areas. The term 'national park' would not be introduced in the actual wording until the next act, but in the 1950s and 1960s several areas were nonetheless protected as national parks (or surrogates). Notable mention includes the Ormtjernkampen area, first protected in 1954 through an administrative decision but initially not denoted as a national park, finally receiving the title in 1968 through a formal regulation (Bestemmelser for Ormtjernkampen Nasjonalpark, Gausdal Kommune, Oppland 1968). (Ormtjernkampen was long known as Norway's smallest national park.) Additionally, one of Norway's most well-known national parks is of course Rondane, protected by regulation in 1962 as the first to be given the 'national park' denotation.

There was one significant addition in the 1954 act compared to the one from 1910: namely, the prohibition of advertisement outside urban areas. This provision, clearly directed towards keeping the visual qualities of the rural areas intact, included stand-alone advertising signs or similar devices and inscriptions for advertising purposes on houses, mountains, rocks etc. In retrospect, the lack of further protective means was taken as an indication that

Figure 3.2 Harald Sohlberg, *Vinternatt i Rondane* ('Winter Night in the Mountains'), 1914. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vinternatt_i_fjellene_1914.jpg (public domain)

the act was still a preservation act, and some considered it outdated already at the time of its adoption (Ot. prp. no. 65 (1968–1969): 1).

In addition to the material provisions, the 1954 act also prescribed the establishment of a Nature Protection Council, appointed by the government, to provide scientific support for the act's implementation. The Council existed until 1990, when it was merged with the National Council on Outdoor Recreation (Andersen 2020). The Council had no formal power.

In practice, compensation schemes were the same in the 1954 act as they had been in the one from 1910 – owners, users or neighbours could demand compensation for inconveniences, losses or damages caused by preservation decisions. If a particular property lost significant value as result of the preservation, its owner could demand that the government buy the property.

Third phase (1970–2009): consolidation

Societal context

In 1970 the third iteration of Norway's Nature Protection Act was passed, now with an even broader scope. This was a period when nature protection

was high on the agenda. Rachel Carson's seminal book *Silent Spring* had been published in 1962 (Carson 1962), sparking widespread engagement and debate. The EPA (the US Environmental Protection Agency) was established in 1970, and just a couple of years later Norway instigated the world's first Ministry of the Environment, led by Gro H. Brundtland. In parallel, the UN held its United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which resulted in the Stockholm Declaration.

Already by the adoption of the 1954 act, the conception of nature preservation was changing. Norway's neighbour, Sweden, enacted its *Naturskyddslagen* in 1952, which included measures for protecting the landscape and prohibitions on littering. The Swedish act was amended in 1964. Finland saw its first national parks inaugurated in 1938, and a batch of several new ones were established in 1956 (Metsähallitus 2024). In the preparatory works leading up to Norway's 1970 act, the government noted that a revision was due (Ot. prp. no. 65 (1968–1969): 14).

The 1970 act was based on a proposal by the Nature Protection Council, established by the 1954 act. In their discussion of the new act, the council pointed out that nature preservation had initially been concerned with saving rare and interesting species of flora and fauna threatened with extinction, as well as unique geological features and mineral deposits. However, according to the council, modern nature protection had to include the consideration of future generations and their opportunities to experience beautiful and living landscapes. This should be accomplished through sensible use of and care for natural values, based on both 'ethical-idealistic and useability' considerations (Ot. prp. no. 65 (1968–1969): 4).

The dual goals of preservation and use were further elaborated on by the Ministry, stating that in a society like the contemporary one [late 1960s], rapid technical development made certain protective measures necessary in order to ensure nature values for science, research and education (Ot. prp. no. 65 (1968–1969): 15). In addition to this classical protection, the proposed act included a chapter of rules intended to safeguard the landscape and natural environment. The debate in the parliament was overall positive, with all speakers welcoming the modernised act and most comments linked to the administrative system.

The bill was passed unanimously (Stortinget 1970: 608 ff.).

The scope of the 1970 act

The very first section of the 1970 act started with an explicit recognition of nature as a 'national value that needs to be protected'. In continuation, the section contained a more controversial part – a definition of nature protection as a measure for 'allocat[ing] natural resources based on the close interdependence between humans and nature, preserving the quality of nature for the future'. The adoption of a definition sparked debate between the departments in the government, and in the parliamentary process. The Nature

Protection Council had proposed a definition in their draft. Based on comments from the Justice Department (*Justisdepartementet*), the definition was excluded from the proposal to the parliament.

This omission brought strong objections from interest groups, especially the protection-dedicated *Norges naturvernforbund* (Friends of the Earth Norway) (Berntsen & Norges naturvernforbund 1977: 143). However, the definition was reinstated during the committee deliberations, and was ultimately adopted by the parliament. The Minister of Environment lamented this, but said he hoped the definition would stand the test of time (Stortinget 1970: 626).

Another development in the 1970 act was the inclusion in its first section of the general expectation that everyone should show consideration and act cautiously in regard to nature. This part of the first section was seen as part of the act's manifesto, rather than a material rule. Hence, actors were not to be prosecuted for breaching the expectation. Still, the expectation to limit or avoid damage to natural values was connected to the chapter on landscape and natural environment: Section 15 continued the prohibition on advertisements outside urban areas, and Section 16 prohibited littering.

Protective means, compensatory regime and practice

1970 was designated as the European year of nature conservation. Both in Norway and throughout the rest of the world, the public had become much more aware of the negative consequences of technological development and pollution. The 1970 Norwegian act reflected this sentiment by expanding and codifying several new protective means.

First and foremost, Norway finally got a statutory authority to establish national parks. Even though Rondane National Park had been established two years prior, the codification in the formal act added legitimacy to the system. Furthermore, the act introduced three additional types of area protection, namely areas of protected landscape (*landskapsvernområde*), nature reserves (*naturreservat*) and natural monuments (*naturminne*). The four variants of protective devices had different criteria and intentions.

According to the act, designation as a national park was meant for larger, untouched (or mainly untouched) or distinct or beautiful areas. The objective was to protect the landscape with its flora, fauna and natural and cultural monuments from development, infrastructure, pollution and other interference. The designation of areas of protected landscape was meant to safeguard and preserve distinctive or beautiful natural or cultural landscapes. Neither an area's size nor its development status was relevant. However, the act provided an explicit exemption for areas covered by regulation plans according to the Building Act. In other words, protected areas could only be established in rural areas (regulation plans were not mandatory in areas that superior plans designated for farming and forestry activities, or nature interests).

A nature reserves designation was the strictest form of protection in the 1970 act, and was meant to be used on areas with untouched or distinct

nature. A separate criterion was that the area had to have special scientific or pedagogical value, or stand out due of its distinct characteristics. Areas that met these conditions could be preserved (or even totally preserved, *total-fredet*). The final designation variant, natural monuments, was reserved for geological, botanical or zoological objects that were of scientific or historical interest, or otherwise distinct. Such occurrences could also be preserved. The natural monuments designation was the protection form with clearest lines back to the original protection in the 1910 act.

Finally, the act gave the government authority to preserve individual species or groups of plants or animals, on the condition that they were rare or endangered. Such decisions could be linked to a certain area or could apply nationwide.

The different variants of nature protection in the 1970 act clearly show the development of legal instruments regarding conservation. The first acts concerned scientific or historical significance, and later aesthetic or distinctive characteristics, and the relevant measure was preservation. With the 1970 revision, the parliament explicitly determined that untouched nature was worth protecting. The act also introduced a distinction in the *designation* decisions: areas could be laid out (*legges ut*) as national parks or areas of protected landscape, or (totally) preserved (*fredes*) as nature reserves or natural monuments.

Designation as a national park did not interfere with or limit ongoing use but rather simply prohibited new development. Public access, animal husbandry and various forms of resource extraction would still be allowed to continue. In contrast, in nature reserves all human activity could be prohibited under the threat of fine or incarceration. Interestingly, the Norwegian conservation regime introduced in 1970 had (and still has) some deviations from the categories defined by the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) (Ot. prp. no. 52 (2008–2009): 191). Norwegian national parks regularly allow for more human activity than would be expected under the IUCN's Category II (national park) and may in some respects be more related to Category V (protected landscape/seascape). Limitations in this chapter prohibit a closer analysis of the relationship. However, the IUCN points out that many protected areas have multiple objectives and values – and that the IUCN categories are mainly referred to by number anyway, so the linguistic part matters less (Lausche 2011: 27).

Differences in the strictness of protection measures also had consequences on compensation. Owners could still get compensation for economic losses due to decisions under the 1970 act. In 1985, the section addressing compensation was amended so that only nature reserves and natural monuments were covered. Designation as a national park or an area of protected landscape did not give owners the same right. The reduction of compensatory obligations made it easier for the authorities to enable protection of private land – and was based on the notion that the categories without compensation usually allowed for continued use (Ot. prp. no. 46 (1983–84): 17).

Fourth phase (2009–): management

Societal context

Finally, the fourth and current act of 2009 is by far the most voluminous statute of the four, and is heavily influenced by international law. The years between 1970 and 2009 saw a rapid rise in pollution and the development of previously untouched nature, as well as a growing realisation of climate change and biodiversity loss. Notable elements of international policy during these years include the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), both opened for signing in 1992. Other international conventions from this period focused on more specific interests and/or regions, such as the Ramsar Convention from 1971 (wetlands), the World Heritage Convention from 1972 (natural heritage) and the Bern Convention from 1979 (wildlife and flora in Europe). Reflecting the general development of governance and policy, these conventions acknowledge the importance of local communities' use and rights related to nature (Fauchald et al. 2014).

In 2001, the Norwegian government established an expert panel and commissioned a report recommending revisions to the 1970 Nature Protection Act. The panel was given a massive mandate, with the overarching aim of creating a coordinated and coherent set of regulations with common premises for nature management in all sectors of government. The final report, including a proposal for a new act, was delivered in 2004. In their own summary, the members of the panel expressed that the proposed act hade a broad and generally worded scope, as it included provisions for both sustainable use and the conservation of natural environments.

The report made its way through public consultation and deliberations among the departments of government, which resulted in a bill to the parliament (Ot. prp. no. 52 (2008–2009)). The 2009 act's finalisation carried on well into the small hours. At the time, Norway's parliament was still split into two chambers. The upper chamber (*Lagtinget*) meeting to adopt the act on biodiversity was set at 01:52. There was no discussion, and the act was sent to the King for formal approval (Stortinget 2009).

The scope of the 2009 act

Compared to the previous acts, the 2009 iteration significantly broadened the scope. This was a result of the mandate, which stated the ambition to integrate the efforts to manage natural resources throughout the whole government administration. The Ministry of Environment also asked the expert panel to assess whether the provisions of the 1970 act could (and should) be included in a broader act concerning all biological diversity (NOU 2004: 28, 2004, p. 60). In response, the panel's proposal included key principles that should be considered in all decisions with potential effects on biological

diversity – i.e. the precautionary principle, impact assessment requirements, the 'polluter pays' principle, and the requirement of the use of the best available technology/techniques. A result of the broad perspective was that the 2009 act repealed and replaced the Act on Wildlife and the Act on Freshwater Fish in addition to the former Act on Nature Conservation.

The broader scope also warranted a new title. The panel suggested the Act on Protection of Nature, Landscape and Biological Diversity (*Lov om bevaring av natur, landskap og biologisk mangfold – naturmangfoldloven*) (NOU 2004: 28, 2004). After the public hearing, the government sent the proposal to the parliament with a slightly modified title – the Act Relating to the Management of Nature Diversity (Nature Diversity Act) (Ot. prp. no. 52 (2008–2009)). Although the revised title can be perceived as less focused on conservation the alteration was not problematised, either in the bill or in the parliamentary process. Later, head of the expert panel Inge Lorange Backer observed that the bill and subsequent statute followed the structure of the panel's proposal. The same was true of main features of the content – albeit somewhat softened on some topics (Backer 2010: 3). The lack of specific debate on the title may indicate that all parties were satisfied with the content, and felt the title was adequate.

The act's first section provides the objective, and states that the aim is to maintain (*ta vare på*) nature, including its biological, landscape-wise and geological diversity, and ecological processes. With this formulation, the parliament acknowledged nature as a value worth preserving in itself, and as a whole. After establishing the value of nature, the provision continues to point out that maintaining nature is *also* useful for human activity, culture, health and well-being, both now and in the future. This multifaceted aim reflects a perception of nature as practised landscape with various interests attached. Finally, the section specifically adds Sámi culture as a beneficiary (see discussion of Sámi interests in nature management in Chapter 5, this volume).

As the act is broad, its main objectives can be difficult to apply to specific areas within its scope. Therefore, the chapter on area conservation (chapter V) has its own provision with objectives. This is also markedly broader and more diverse than in the previous acts. Section 33 of the 2009 Nature Diversity Act states that area protection should contribute to maintaining variety in types of nature and landscape, a diversity of species and genetics, threatened nature, larger intact ecosystems, distinct natural and cultural historic interests, coherence in landscapes and ecological systems, and reference areas for observing evolution in nature. While broad, the objectives for area protection might be perceived as more binary than the general scope of the act – and thus contain more potential for conflict with, for instance, forestry interests (see Chapter 4, this volume). Each of the possible types of area protection has its own criteria, many of which include some (or more) discretion. The stated scope and objectives are to guide the administration and others in the act's interpretation and practice.

Protective means, compensatory regime and practice

Chapter V of the 2009 act is the part that is the most closely related to the previous acts on nature conservation. The chapter includes provisions for establishing national parks, areas of protected landscape and nature reserves, which were all known from the 1970 act. In addition, the 2009 act introduced biotope protections (*biotopvernområder*) and marine protected areas. The former of these had a parallel in the 1970 act, but without a distinct name. Marine protected areas, on the other hand, had been discussed during the preparations of previous acts, but were not included in the final statutes (NOU 2004: 28, 2004, p. 329).

The various protection measures are largely comparable to those from the 1970 act. The criteria for national parks and protected areas are somewhat more lenient, and nature reserves can be established for more reasons – in line with the broader scope. The act also includes a more comprehensive system of process, including options for temporary protection and activities outside the protected areas that might influence the relevant values. An interesting aspect of the Norwegian regime is its high regard for local participation in the establishment and management of protected areas. Compared to Sweden, Norway has transferred much more of the decision-making in this area to local councils and boards (Fauchald et al. 2014; Hongslo et al. 2016). This can be interpreted as a further step away from the traditional 'preservative' nature protection, allowing for different practices and local use.

In wording, the compensation regime for landowners and other users is more general than in the 1970 act. While all the different forms of protection are included, an important condition is introduced: the government is only responsible for compensating ongoing use. Therefore, if a property is protected as a nature reserve the landowner will no longer be eligible for compensation if the area in question was previously of no particular economic value to them.

Legislative language and the human–nature relationship

Rationale for and scope of conservation

Throughout the legislative history of nature protection in Norway, the purpose and aim have been debated – and the specific implementation of the rules is still contested. Yet, the review above illustrates that lawmakers in Norway have gone from discussing whether 'nature preservation' is a sensible term to acknowledging that nature has an inherent value, and that human useability is just a part of the objective of conservation.

Initially, the Norwegian statutes on conservation were remarkably narrow, in terms of both objectives and scope. The only relevant aim of protection was to preserve certain pieces of nature, namely wild plants/animals or geological/mineralogical occurrences (*vilde planter og dyr, geologiske og*

mineralogiske dannelser eller lignende), for scientific or historical reasons (*videnskabelig eller historisk betydning*). Compared to the contemporary status in Sweden, this first statute seems rather rudimentary. Over the century, however, the reasons and aims have changed. Although there have been vocal advocates outside the national authorities, the Norwegian parliament has also pushed the legislation in a more protective direction. The most notable instance of this was perhaps in 1970, when the Ministry decided to exclude a definition of nature protection in the proposal but the parliament chose to include it nevertheless: nature protection was defined as a measure for allocating natural resources considering the close relationship between humans and nature, and preserving nature's quality for the future (*disponere naturressursene ut fra hensynet til den nære samhørighet mellom mennesket og naturen, og til at naturens kvalitet skal bevares for fremtiden*).

There has also been an interesting development in the legislation regarding the relationship between nature protection and human use. Already the first act acknowledged that protection could limit or exclude other uses, such as fishing or hunting rights (as illustrated by the supreme court verdict in which the judges noted that the defendants could have claimed compensation for their lost fishing rights). Noneconomic human interests were more difficult to recognise in the early stages. However, the public opinion as well as members of the parliament were aware of the use of nature as a health-promoting, recreational space. And already in the 1954 act, aesthetics and peculiarity (*naturskjønnhet eller egenart*) were added to the list of reasons that could mandate protection. It is also worth noting that the Outdoor Recreation Act (*Friluftsloven*) was enacted the same year, codifying the right of public access into statutory law (see Chapter 2, this volume, for a discussion of the practice).

In later years, any notion of a pure 'nature–human' dichotomy is hard to find. The Nordic lifestyle and traditional livelihood are closely related to one's surroundings, and the premise for regulation is that natural resources may have several (potential) uses. In the debate surrounding the 1970 act one member of parliament used the analogy 'sheep or bear', or in modern terms 'power stations and factories or untouched nature', to illustrate the dilemma (Stortinget 1970: 630). The latest act even includes 'sustainable use' (*bærekraftig bruk*) in its general objectives, and 'signs of traditional use' (*natur preget av menneskers bruk gjennom tidene*) as well as 'simple outdoor recreation' (*enkelt friluftsliv*) as reasons to protect areas.

Means and measures

When comparing the available provisions to protect nature over time, there has clearly been a development in Norwegian legislation. From a narrow preservation scheme in the 1910 act to the current, diverse set of several tiers of protection and various means, the possibilities have multiplied. Admittedly, Norwegian lawmakers were perhaps a bit later out of the starting blocks than other Nordic countries. Both Finland and Sweden, for instance, had had

national parks for several decades before Norway codified the ability to protect areas as such.

However, from the 1970 act onward, Norwegian law has had a robust set of means for protecting areas. The separate provisions have also developed over time, inspired by (or at least reflecting) the intertwined relationship between human activity and nature environment in the Nordics. Some examples are mentioned above, for instance the inclusion of cultural landscapes (*kulturlandskap*) as a worthy object of protection. Over time, law- and policymakers have realised that human–nature relationships and use have reduced the amount of 'untouched' nature. An interesting illustration of what this means is the change in wording in the section on national parks from 1970 to 2009. In the former, the act stated that 'untouched or nearly untouched' (*urørte eller i det vesentlige urørte*) areas were candidates for national parks. Forty years later, the criterion was changed to natural areas 'without heavy interference' (*uten tyngre naturinngrep*).

Apart from the specific measures concerning area protection, the hundred years of legal, social and scientific development have produced a legal scheme that largely builds on the premise of constant and continuous interaction between humans and nature. From a governance perspective, it is worth noting that contemporary regulations defer a considerable part of the conservation management to local authorities. Municipalities and local communities have different perspectives than the national government, and their interests and goals sometimes conflict with national policy and aspirations. Thus, researchers have found that local communities adapt and redefine conservation policies to better suit local conditions and needs (Falleth & Hovik 2009).

However, the general principles in the 2009 act require that nature values be taken into account whenever a decision is made, if it can have consequences on biological diversity or other nature. Rather than being a separate sector interest (aligned with, for instance, forestry, transportation, energy, business or others), nature protection is elevated to a level above. This *principle of integration* (Bugge 2019: 148) is among the central pillars of the current Norwegian nature protection law, and represents the perception of a close link between nature and human activity.

Compensation regime

The values attributed to nature are diverse and often contested. Some resources have clear economic value, while others are more aesthetic or ephemeral. (Is the view of a waterfall worth more or less than the electricity produced by using the water for power generation? What is the value of maintaining a bear population, compared to the uncertainty and potential loss of livestock for farmers?) In Norwegian nature protection, the main principle has been that landowners are entitled to compensation for economic losses due to protection decisions. Also on this topic, the evolution of Norwegian legislation has adjusted – seemingly according to the understanding that nature and human activities are diverse and distinct.

In the earlier statutes, owners and users could claim compensation for inconveniences, losses or damages caused by the preservation decisions. The 1970 act specified that the compensation should follow 'regular tort principles' – probably intending to limit the scope of relevant claims. The act was later amended, making compensation available only for those affected by nature reserves or natural monuments. The most recent act reintroduced the possibility for compensation for all forms of protection, but limited it to ongoing use.

Both the general outset, with the right to compensation, and the later adjustment in relevant/accepted claims align with the view that nature does not exist as separate from human activities. Some nature values are considered important to protect, even if they are the result of human interference. Other aspects of nature may be regarded as part of private property (i.e. the right to forestry, hunting etc.), but are still possible to prohibit without compensation. The dominant justification for the current regime – only accepting claims for ongoing use – also seems to rely on the premise that human activity is a presupposed part of nature. However, the possibility of use does not have the same economic protection as actual use.

Conclusion and impact

The legislative language has significantly evolved over the years from 1910 to 2009, along with ideological and political currents in society. Comparison and review of the four statutes and their preparatory work suggest that policymakers and the parliament have sought to find a reasonable scheme for regulating the human–nature relationship. A total prohibition of human activity is reserved for only the most vulnerable cases; in all other situations, various forms of human interaction and use are allowed (and even expected).

This explicit acknowledgement of nature or environment as areas of multiple interests and activities is a contrast to the binary distinction between 'culture' and 'nature' presented in much literature (see overview in Keskitalo 2023, and in the introduction to this volume). Even from the earliest decisions, existing rights and uses have been eligible for compensation if they are reduced or restricted due to protection measures. A central conclusion from the historic perspective on Norwegian nature management legislation is that policy has shifted further away from the binary narrative. Important milestones in this progression were the 1954 expansion of aims (social reasons, in addition to scientific and historical ones) and the 1970 inclusion of a definition of nature protection that encompassed both preservation and use.

Another lesson from the analysis is the apparent move from preservation to management: rather than being a tool for identifying and maintaining instances of 'untouched' nature, the current regulation emphasises the diversity of interests and multiple reasons to take care of nature or environment. Indicative examples of the multifaceted approach are the 1970 definition of nature protection (see above) and the 2009 general aim of management

through protection and use. While the combination of several interests as well as the balancing of preservation and utilisation involve some difficult considerations, the resulting practice opposes the dichotomy of culture and nature. (A comparable disconnect is described in Chapter 6, this volume, reviewing the concepts of wilderness and 'rewilding' in light of policy and practice in Sweden.)

A pending question is whether the Norwegian combination of discretionary regulation and the paradigm of conservation and use will be sufficient to maintain nature values. The 2009 act states that its objectives should be met through protection *and* use. Research indicates that a reliance on local implementation and management transfers conservation controversies from the national to the local level (Aasen Lundberg et al. 2021), and that more priority is given to local interests and needs (Falleth & Hovik 2009). Recent examples from Norway show that a great deal of nature is lost to development without proper oversight (NRK 2024). This may be related to the governance scheme, but further analysis is needed in order to better understand any possible links between policy and result.

Another unresolved issue is how the recently adopted EU Nature Restoration Law (European Council 2024) will influence the Nordic countries. This regulation obliges EU member states to restore ecosystems, habitats and species with common, binding targets. However, as highlighted by several authors in this volume (e.g. Tennberg, Chapter 5; Keskitalo and Andersson, Chapter 6), the understanding and use of 'nature' significantly differ depending on context. Management strategies that are suitable for continental Europe may not fit equally well in the Nordics. When it enters into force, the regulation will be directly applicable within the EU. Nature protection is generally omitted from the EEA cooperation but there are exceptions (like the Water Framework Directive); therefore, the consequences for Norway remain to be determined.

This volume discusses the Nordic human–nature relationship from various perspectives. In this chapter, I have shown how policymakers have conveyed their sentiments and how main expressions in the statutes have developed over the last century. There are still many aspects to investigate, particularly the relationship between law and the geographic, political and economic contexts. Hopefully, this and subsequent research will contribute to the further development of legislative language and practice.

References

Aasen Lundberg, A. K., Gundersen, V., Fauchald, O. K., Vistad, O. I., Fedreheim, G. E., Bardal, K. G., & Gjertsen, A. (2021). Evaluering av forvaltningsordningen for nasjonalparker og andre store verneområder. In *268* (NF-rapport 01-2021). Nordlandsforskning. Retrieved from https://nforsk.brage.unit.no/nforsk-xmlui/handle/11250/2736237.

Andersen, G. (2020). Statens Naturvernråd. In *Store norske leksikon*. Retrieved from https://snl.no/Statens_Naturvernr%C3%A5d.

Backer, I. L. (2010). *Naturmangfoldloven – Kommentarutgave*. Universitetsforlaget.

Berntsen, B. (2011). *Grønne linjer: Natur og miljøvernets historie i Norge*. Unipub.

Berntsen, B. & Norges naturvernforbund. (1977). *Naturvernets historie i Norge: Fra klassisk naturvern til økopolitikk*. Grøndahl.

Bestemmelser for Ormtjernkampen Nasjonalpark, Gausdal Kommune, Oppland. (1968). Retrieved from https://lovdata.no/dokument/LFO/forskrift/1968-06-14-4267.

Bugge, H. C. (2019). *Lærebok i miljøforvaltningsrett* (5th ed.). Universitetsforlaget.

Carson, R. L. (1962). *Silent Spring*. Penguin Books.

Enggaard, K. (Ed.). (2002). *50 år:Nordisk råd 1952–2002: Til nordisk nytte?*Nordisk råd. www.nb.no/items/8c00d6cc0e3bc181929e488d8f440b80?page=141&searchText=rettssamarbeid.

European Council. (2024). Nature restoration law: Council gives final green light. 17 June. Retrieved from www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2024/06/17/nature-restoration-law-council-gives-final-green-light/.

Falleth, E. I., & Hovik, S. (2009). Local government and nature conservation in Norway: Decentralisation as a strategy in environmental policy. *Local Environment*, 14(3), 221–231. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830802692849.

Fauchald, O. K., Gulbrandsen, L. H., & Zachrisson, A. (2014). Internationalization of protected areas in Norway and Sweden: Examining pathways of influence in similar countries. *International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services & Management*, 10(3), 240–252. https://doi.org/10.1080/21513732.2014.938122.

Gjelsvik, N., & Solem, E. (1936). *Norsk tingsrett: Forelesninger*. Oslo: s.n.

Graver, H. P. (2008). Vanlig juridisk metode? Om rettsdogmatikken som juridisk sjanger. *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap*, 121(2), 149–178. https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN1504-3096-2008-02-01.

Hongslo, E., Hovik, S., Zachrisson, A., & Aasen Lundberg, A. K. (2016). Decentralization of Conservation Management in Norway and Sweden – Different Translations of an International Trend. *Society & Natural Resources*, 29(8), 998–1014. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2015.1086456.

Hundstad, D. (2015). Norgeshistorie.no – Regional bevisstgjøring. Retrieved from www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/1548-regional-bevisstgjoring.html.

Hyvik, J. J. (2015). Norgeshistorie.no – Kulturnasjonalismen 1830–1870. Retrieved from www.norgeshistorie.no/bygging-av-stat-og-nasjon/1428-kulturnasjonalisme-1830-1870.html.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2023). *Rethinking Nature Relations: Beyond Binaries*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Landsforeningen for naturfredning i Norge. (1930). *Vern norsk natur*. Oslo: Kretsen.

Lausche, B. J. (2011). Guidelines for protected areas legislation. Retrieved from https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/9869.

Lie, H. (1923). *Mennesket og trærne*. Grøndahl & Søn.

Metsähallitus. (2024). History of nature conservation and recreation. Retrieved 13 November 2024 from www.metsa.fi/en/about-us/organisation/history/history-of-nature-conservation-and-recreation/.

Myhre, J. E. (2015a). Norgeshistorie.no – Befolkningsøkningen. Retrieved from www.norgeshistorie.no/bygging-av-stat-og-nasjon/1406-befolkningsokningen.html.

Myhre, J. E. (2015b). Norgeshistorie.no – Landet bindes sammen. Retrieved from www.norgeshistorie.no/bygging-av-stat-og-nasjon/1407-landet-bindes-sammen.html.

Næss, A. T. (1913). *Haandbok i norsk ret*. Brun.

Norderhaug, M. (2002). *Miljøvernet i går, i dag og i morgen*. Tapir akademisk forl.

NOU 2004: 28 Lov om bevaring av natur, landskap og biologisk mangfold (naturmangfoldloven) (Norges offentlige utredninger). (2004). www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/149bde12e1e24fe983663d38ec6d41e0/no/pdfs/nou200420040028000dddpdfs.pdf.

NRK. (2024). NRK avslører: Slik blir norsk natur ødelagt. 5 January. Retrieved from www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/nrk-avslorer_-44.000-inngrep-i-norsk-natur-pa-fem-ar-1.16573560.

Ot. prp. no. 46. (1983–1984). Lov Om Endringer i Lov Av 19. Juni 1970 No. 63 Om Naturvern.

Ot. prp. no. 6. (1916). Om forandring av paragraf 1 i lov om naturfredning av 25de juli 1910.

Ot. prp. no. 9. (1954). Lov Om Naturvern.

Ot. prp. no. 18. (1910). Om Utfærdigelse Av En Lov Om Naturfredning.

Ot. prp. no. 52. (2008–2009). Om lov om forvaltning av naturens mangfold (naturmangfoldloven).

Ot. prp. no. 65. (1968–1969). Om Lov Om Naturvern.

Pepper, D. (2019). *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism*. Routledge.

Rt-1932-1655. (2023). Retrieved 15 June 2023 from https://lovdata.no/pro/#document/HRSTR/avgjorelse/rt-1932-655-75.

Stortinget. (1910). Stortingstidende indeholdende ni og femtiende ordentlige Stortings forhandlinger.

Stortinget. (1916). Stortingstidende indeholdende femogsekstiende ordentlige Stortings forhandlinger.

Stortinget. (1970). Stortingstidende inneholdende 114 ordentlige Stortings forhandlinger. www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlinger/Lesevisning/?p=1969-70&paid=8&wid=a&psid=DIVL254&pgid=a_0641&vt=a&did=DIVL396.

Stortinget. (2009). Lagtinget – Møte tirsdag den 16. Juni 2009 kl. 01.52 (Møtet ble satt etter midnatt.) – Sak no. 6 [Saksreferat]. Stortinget; Lagtinget. www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Referater/Lagtinget/2008-2009/090616/6/.

Wramner, P., & Nygård, O. (2010). *Från naturskydd till bevarande av biologisk mångfald: Utvecklingen av naturvårdsarbetet i Sverige med särskild inriktning på områdesskyddet*. COMREC.

4 Schematic land-use binaries as a challenge for multivalued forest cultures in rural Finland

Emmi Salmivuori

Where does 'nature' end and 'culture' begin?

'Nature' as an idea is culturally produced: our cultural understandings of nature are personal and emerge in our particular social locations and interactions with the non-human world, varying according to time, place and cultural context (McCumber 2018) as well as what kinds of human and non-human actors are involved in relationships between human and non-human nature (Lorimer 2015). The formation of human–nature relationships and of humans' perceptions of nature is always a cultural and social, and often also a transgenerational, process: previous research on environmental relationships has found that the perceptions of nature and the relationships with the surrounding nature of different groups living side by side at the same time in the same geographical area can significantly differ from each other and are strongly linked to the cultural backgrounds that the different groups represent (Atran & Medin 2008).

Lorimer (2015) emphasises that, instead of directly following the instrumental logic based on the benefits produced by ecosystem services, humans' relationship with nature is often accompanied by subjective emotional experiences. According to him, the distinction between humans and nature is based on how humans and non-humans interact with each other. He claims:

> Here, humans and non-humans – farmers and elephants, corncrakes and conservationists – become what they are through situated interactions over time. Organisms display a degree of what biologists refer to as 'behavioral plasticity', or what social scientists call culture.
>
> (Lorimer 2015: 43)

According to Lorimer (2015), the characteristics of non-human nature that influence our experiences and feelings (*charisma*) guide our perceptions of and relationships with nature, as well as our images of what nature is and what kind of nature we want to produce. Our interaction with nature also produces and defines our cultural, economic and political practices. McCumber (2018: 5) points out that the production of nature is also linked to the prevailing

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-4

power relations in society: those who have the most access to cultural and economic capital dictate, with their own needs and preferences, what kind of nature is produced in which place – what nature should be like, and for whom and how it should be used.

As early as 1991, Bruno Latour claimed that the entire separation of 'culture' and 'nature', or the whole notion of 'modern' based on this separation, is actually nothing but a cultural delusion in which our relationships with nature are disguised with hybrids that connect culture and nature to each other, making visible our relationships and dependencies on nature (Latour 2006 [1991]: 149–206). Still, modern Western societies have tended to try to separate human – or 'culture' – and nature from each other, seeing them as two separate phenomena (Latour 2006 [1991]): 'nature' belongs to the non-human world while 'culture' belongs to humans only. Based on this, the foundation of the management of nature and natural resources in modern Western societies still often sees the human as an actor separate from nature who must dominate, manage and tame the surrounding nature and keep it away from the human world or under constant human control – while also, conversely, protecting nature in specific areas designated as protected from humans by limiting human presence and action there. This approach reflects the dependence of Western societies on the industrial exploitation of nature and natural resources, and on the other hand the tendency to romanticise 'pristine' and 'wild' nature in a temporal context in which the intensive industrial exploitation and control of nature is an established norm (McCumber 2018).

In this chapter I examine this nature–culture binary that exists on the structural nature-management level and its problematic character at the practical level, focusing on modern Finnish human–forest relationships in various rural Finnish contexts. Still today, human living and human activities there are often linked to or dependent on the forest, and the essence of the forest is often strongly influenced by humans. The research focus is on forest owners and forest-using rural entrepreneurs, who have an economic dependence on forests and their use, and on their decision-making processes related to the use of forests and their values that influence these processes.

Forests in Finland: hybrids of nature and culture

The Elovaara region near my home village in North Karelia is a forest reserve and a popular recreation area for locals. It is a mosaic formed by marshes, kettles and sand ridges left by the last ice age, as well as lush mixed forest with deciduous tree species, rare to North Karelian nature, and over-aged clumps of spruces that were originally planted for silvicultural use and later left in their natural state. The information boards along the hiking trail tell visitors that *kaski* culture (burning the forest for agricultural use) was practised in the area for centuries, and that this has contributed to the great diversity of the area's woodland nature. Remains of human settlement can be

found in many places around the area. Right behind the borders of the protected area, traces of modern intensive forestry with extensive clear-cutting are visible, and you can find tracks of elk and white-tailed deer there when snow is covering the land, or hear the barking of hunting dogs during the hunting season in autumn. The area's current shape and species form an interesting combination of human culture and the non-human world, which are closely connected throughout the region.

People living in the territory of Finland have been dependent on forests in many ways throughout the ages: forests have provided habitats for living, nutrition, firewood and construction material, as well as social and spiritual experiences, lifestyles and sources of livelihood. They have been used as the basis for the development of both the national economy and cultural identity (Laitinen et al. 2012; Luttinen & Roiko-Jokela 2012). Forests have also shaped Finnish society and the people living there; but at the same time, people have also shaped the physical nature of forests throughout time, for example through burning, grazing and silviculture (Laitinen et al. 2012; Luttinen & Roiko-Jokela 2012).

Due to this, there is practically no forest in modern Finland that is beyond human influence. Even conserved forests here can be seen as being under human influence because, as McCumber (2018) has pointed out, the practices and criteria of conservation are created by humans, albeit with influence from the various ecological, social and cultural values that forests provide for humans. In addition, forest that is conserved now may have been in physical human use earlier in its history, and this earlier human use – like *kaski* culture – may have even contributed to the formation of the forest's current conservation values (as in the case of the Elovaara region).

Looking at forests in the Finnish context in a Latourian way of thinking, we can see that they are filled with the connections that join culture and nature, such as the human needs, values and practices that have prevailed at different times on the one hand and non-human species and natural conditions on the other. Because of these multiple connections, here forest is practically never purely 'just nature' or 'just culture' – so I claim that it's a typical example of a hybrid, something that represents the way cultural and natural elements blend not just in the modern era but throughout the entire shared history of human and forest.

In this chapter I examine why the traditional (but artificial) Western culture–nature binary is so problematic, and what kind of challenges it produces on a concrete level in nature-management practices for relationships between humans and other nature in rural Finnish contexts today. I focus on the relationships between the forest and the forest-dependent grassroots-level actors through the following research questions:

1 What kinds of intrinsic values do forest owners who own forest for the purpose of economic exploitation attach to their forests and the use of them?

2 How do these recognised values guide forest owners' choices regarding forest management and forest use-related decision-making, as told by forest owners and rural entrepreneurs who use forests?
3 How does external management affect value choices in decision-making related to the use of forests?

Finnish forest owners are an interesting research target for looking at binaries of land use and modern human–nature relationships, because in Finland the interaction between human and forest has been particularly close throughout time; still, the management of forests here has been straightforward and externally controlled, and the forest debate has been polarised in recent decades (Takala et al. 2019). This background offers an interesting framework for forest owners' choices regarding the use of their forests.

According to previous research, while the goals and the parties of the Finnish forest sector have remained unchanged (Katila 2017; Korhonen et al. 2018), many meanings related to the use and valuation of forests have been identified (Kasanen 2011; Häyrinen et al. 2017; Bjärstig & Sténs 2018; Pynnönen et al. 2018; Juutinen et al. 2021; Koskela & Karppinen 2021); and, for example in forest protection new, more flexible, management methods have been developed and put into use (e.g. METSO, the forest biodiversity programme for southern Finland). But is the growing awareness of the diversity of values and more flexible methods in forest management practically reflected in the everyday forest use and decision-making of forest owners and in the operating conditions of various forest-based business concepts practised in rural areas? To answer this, practical experiences and perspectives are needed from forest owners and rural entrepreneurs who are dependent on forests in their business activities.

Binaries in forest management in Finland

The nature–culture binary in nature- and land-use management can be seen in Finland in the way the forest itself has been divided into two types of forest in our forest-management concepts and land-use planning. The majority of our forested land outside of that zoned for other human use is usually categorised as *metsätalousmaa*, 'land for forestry', and the rest as *suojelualue*, 'area for protection'. The categorisation of forest into these two main categories in official contexts reflects well what is understood as 'forest' and its function in modern Finnish forest-management concepts and how these functions have been normalised in official language (cf. Chapter 3, this volume). The goals and means of the management of these two types of forest are still quite strictly defined even in our national law (e.g. the Forest Act; the Sustainable Forestry Financing Act; the Forest Destruction Act; the Act for Common Forest; the Nature Conservation Act), although the alternatives and the decision-making power of the forest owner have increased over the last decade: for example, the Forest Act, revised in 2014, allows the forest owner to decide the age at which to fell their forest and how to do it, and with which

tree species to establish a new seedling. In the previous Forest Act, the forest owner's alternatives in these measures were much more limited.

Today forests cover more than 75% of Finland's land area, and Finland is the most forested country in Europe (MMM 2023). The forests of Finland are in intensive economic use: about 89% of the country's forested area is managed commercial forest, and 74.7 million cubic meters of wood were harvested in 2022 (MMM 2023). Forest industry is one of the most significant sectors for Finland's national economy. The value of forest industry exports was 14.5 billion euros in 2022, which was 18% of all the country's exports (LUKE 2023). The use of wood in large-scale forest industry is significant. For example, in September 2023 the world's largest softwood pulp mill started production in northern Finland, and it has been estimated that 7.6 million cubic meters of wood are processed there annually (Yle 2023); this amounts to about 7.3% of the total annual growth of Finnish forests.

Due to its national significance and great need for wood, the large-scale forest industry has traditionally dominated Finland's forest sector and forest management. According to Katila (2017), in recent decades forest policy in Finland has been strongly focused on the growth of the forest industry. Finnish forest sector is narrow, concentrating around state administration, forest research and big forest industry companies, all of which historically have a well-established role in forest policy (Korhonen et al. 2018).

Nonetheless, forest ownership has recently become fragmented in Finland, and today many forest owners live in cities and have more diverse values and interests in relation to their forests. This has been seen to also increase the demand for services and business forms based on other forest ecosystem services than wood production (Laakkonen et al. 2019). At the same time, it has been predicted that the sustainability transition in society will increase the market for the forest industry's new services and wood-based products with a higher degree of processing, with society's environmental awareness and the striving for lower consumption and a circular economy increasing along with it (Laakkonen et al. 2022), and society striving to replace the use of non-renewable raw materials with that of renewable ones (Lazarevic et al. 2020; Luhas et al. 2019; Karvonen et al. 2017).

However, according to Lazarevic et al. (2020) the structure of the Finnish forest industry and the competition between the production of softwood pulp and sawn timber, as well as the strong position of the concrete industry in the construction sector, do not fully support this development. Finland's forest sector has been criticised for its inability to take advantage of the development and diversify into new sectors and new wood products with a higher degree of processing (Luhas et al. 2019) and renewing in its development old power structures and a 'business-as-usual' operating model based on the large forest industry companies and their interests prioritising the efficient production of inexpensive wood raw material (Korhonen et al. 2018). It has also been criticised for greenwashing its traditional operating logic and operating methods with a 'more-of-everything' paradigm by presenting increased wood

processing and the efficiency of wood production as a solution for sustainability issues in not only Finland (Kröger & Raitio 2017; Halonen et al. 2022) but also Sweden (Ambjörnsson et al. 2016; Lindahl et al. 2017).

According to Rannikko and Salmi (2018), in recent decades, environmental and sustainability issues have been tied even more strongly to the production of natural resources in Finland, and even 'super-productivist' features can be noticed in the use of forests. In modern Finland, productivist thinking often also extends to the production of non-physical nature-based goods: the production and maintenance of various ecosystem services is imagined to require active human management and intervention in nature's own processes, and it's hard to understand that nature and its processes would manage on their own without human intervention. At the same time, a technical solution is primarily sought for human-caused environmental problems as well, instead of trying to influence the sociocultural root causes behind these problems (see Chapter 8, this volume).

However, the simultaneous consideration and promotion of different ecosystem services for forests has been quite inconsistent in policy programmes tied to the paradigm of continuous growth (Blattert et al. 2022). In Sweden, current forest-management practices haven't supported the equal consideration of the different ecological and social values concerning, and uses of, forests identified in forest management but instead favour the economic aspects of wood production at the expense of others (Eggers et al. 2019). In Finland the media has been found to encourage forest owners to follow the guidance of forestry professionals in their forest-related decision-making to implement forest policy goals and protect their own interests, which has been seen to renew the ethos of rational forest utilisation and the business-as-usual paradigm (Peltomaa et al. 2020).

Altogether, despite the changes in society, the business-as-usual operation model in the forest industry has maintained its position, and the needs of large-scale forest industry companies have for the most part continued to define the means and goals of the management of 'land for forestry'. Human control over and management of forest is often highly intensive, ranging from soil conditions to individual trees and the composition of the entire forest ecosystem, which can be seen, for example, when choosing the wood species to be cultivated and forest-management measures, and when combating unwanted plant, fungi or animal species in the forest.

When forest policy has focused on increasing the efficiency of wood production in commercial forests for the needs of the forest industry from decade to decade, there has often been fierce opposition to the conservation programmes promoted in rural Finland through force by the state- or EU-level administration at the same time as, for example, new national parks and Natura2000 areas are being established (Björn 2003; Hiedanpää 2005; Rannikko 2009). This was considered to be because in many of these cases conservation had been implemented through practices based on prohibitions, coercion and restrictions while ignoring the needs, viewpoints and social

connections to forests of locals (Björn 2003; Hiedanpää 2005; Rannikko 2009) or other stakeholders who are marginalised in decision-making (Peltola et al. 2023) in the planning and implementation of conservation.

The means and goals for the management of land with the 'area for protection' designation have entailed promoting natural values and the 'naturalness' of nature, erasing human-made changes there. The locals and their relationships with and dependencies on their forests were also often long ignored in the development of the national parks on a supra-local and structural level to increase tourism there by producing recreational values and experiences for non-local tourists, along with preserving natural values, especially in peripheral rural areas (Puhakka & Saarinen 2013). However, in the case of Finnish Lapland, practising traditional reindeer husbandry in national parks has been allowed there for locals from the beginning (Rytteri & Puhakka 2009), which, however, also supports the experiential nature of national parks and therefore tourism as well.

The functions, use, management and administration of both lands for forestry and areas for protection have therefore often been quite effectively defined at the level of external structures. Recently, efforts have been made particularly to promote the influence of forest owners alongside these traditional ways of management, for example by reforming the Forest Act in 2014, and by introducing new protection programmes based on the voluntariness of landowners, such as the METSO programme.

This 'land for forestry/area for protection' forest-management binary presented above is linked to another binary in our societal management structures, the urban–rural binary, on which regional policy in Finland is built. For the most part, Finland is a region that can be classified as rural. By world standards our cities are often quite small, and the divide between rural village centres and small towns is not always clear, so the border between urban and rural is often rather artificial in the Finnish context. According to Kortelainen (2013), the urban–rural division was initially created for administrative purposes in order to establish the different social positions and roles of different regions.

The urban–rural binary is related to the global centre–periphery binary, which is based on the differences between regions in the distribution of economic and social capital and in the degree of economic and technological development (Fischer 2015): centres are areas where economic and social capital and decision-making power are concentrated, while the peripheries are areas that are subordinate to the centres in terms of power and development, and whose role, set by the centres, is to produce food and natural resources to maintain the centres' growth and well-being.

This is the case in Finland as well, where rural areas have been seen especially as the areas of primary production (Tykkyläinen et al. 2017) whose economic development is often highly dependent on the use of natural resources located there and external connections to markets and external natural-resource management (Halonen et al. 2022), but also as recreation areas for those living in cities (Katajamäki 2013). Finland's national economy

and the regional development of its countryside have had a strong path-dependence on forestry and forest industry. According to Lehtonen and Tykkyläinen (2009: 28–30), this has been one core reason for the decline of the countryside and the intensification of the segregation of rural and urban areas in Finland: when the country's economy opened to global competition after the recession of the 1990s, the regional policy focused on increasing Finland's global competitiveness, establishing globally highly competitive high-tech industrial clusters, producing new innovations and attracting new international investments. This policy favoured urban areas and led to the decline of less competitive, previously protected sectors of the economy and rural areas dependent on the primary production of natural resources and industrial mass production.

Historically, the state has typically exerted strong control over the use of natural resources in peripheral areas, on the one hand to secure the nation's prosperity and on the other to preserve its valuable natural and cultural landscapes (Rannikko & Salmi 2018: 638). At the same time, the functions of forests located in rural areas have also been adjusted by the centres in accordance with the functions set for rural areas: the forests are either commercial, dedicated to growing the forest industry and national economy, or 'wilderness' intended for the preservation of natural values and recreational use. By comparison, urban forests tend to be distinctly neither.

Exploring values behind forest-related decisions

According to earlier literature, the means of traditional structural governance based on the land for forestry/area for protection and the urban–rural binaries often ignore the heterogeneity of rural people and their own values and interests in regard to rural forests, which may differ from the values and goals of the management concepts set in the structures of society. In this chapter I examine these values and needs attached to forests by forest owners, by analysing the interview data collected from different kinds of forest owners and forest-using rural entrepreneurs as well as their impact on the decision-making processes related to the use of forests in various rural contexts around Finland. At the same time, I examine the challenges and effects produced by the existing practices of forest management in terms of considering these different values and needs in those decision-making processes.

This chapter brings its own perspective on the importance of everyday knowledge in the production of knowledge for natural-resource management. As Haanpää points out elsewhere in this book, decision-making regarding the use of natural resources and the production of knowledge to support it is never neutral and objective but is rather always a highly political process involving many competing and conflicting interests. Valuing the knowledge of different actors also reflects the power hierarchy in society. Although expert knowledge is often valued in society more highly than the everyday knowledge of grassroots actors, it is also important to make this everyday

knowledge visible in issues involving the use of natural resources: it brings to light the problems produced by expert knowledge in various practical contexts and in the everyday life of grassroots actors, and highlights alternative future development paths in issues of forest use.

Private forest owners have been extensively studied in recent years, especially in Finland and Sweden. Studies have been particularly interested in the attitudes of forest owners regarding nature conservation and the non-timber production values of forests. In Swedish forest-use studies, it has been found that different non-governmental stakeholders related to forest use attach a wide variety of social and cultural values to forests, combining numerous tangible and intangible aspects such as recreation, employment, cultural heritage, aesthetics, social relationships, biodiversity, fresh water and landscape values (Sténs et al. 2016). The values of forest owners attached to forests have been found to be highly versatile, especially among those forest owners whose ownership is not dominated by the need to generate income (Bjärstig & Sténs 2018). Even forest owners living geographically far from their forests can have close relationships with and meanings for their forests, for example related to their own roots and family connections as well as leisure and recreation (Bergstén & Keskitalo 2019).

Previous studies of forest owners in Finland have found that they have been interested in developing silviculture towards a more versatile use of wood and forest ecosystem services (Häyrinen et al. 2017) and that current forestry practices in commercial forests have aroused dissatisfaction, especially among nature-oriented forest owners (Pynnönen et al. 2018). Although most Finnish forest owners emphasise the economic utilisation of forests in their forest planning, they have been found to have an interest in preserving their forests' landscape and recreational values (Mäntymaa et al. 2018; Tyrväinen et al. 2021), as well as natural values (Pynnönen et al. 2018; Takala et al. 2019; Juutinen et al. 2021), if the financial compensation for this is sufficient.

At least in forest conservation, more flexible and versatile ways of managing forests than traditional ones have gained acceptance among forest owners: studies on the various forest conservation practices have shown that voluntary and temporary conservation practices promote conservation goals better than enforced, regionally concentrated practices of permanent conservation (Sironen et al. 2020). Forest owners are particularly receptive to conservation concepts that do not interfere with their property rights or control, do not limit other forest use besides wood production, and include monetary compensation that considers not only the value of the wood but also nature values (Koskela et al. 2010; Koskela & Karppinen 2021).

Researchers have been calling for new forest-management practices that combine the economic benefit to forest owners with the ecological, cultural and social values of forests (Sténs et al. 2016; Pynnönen et al. 2018; Takala et al. 2019). Because the establishment of nature reserves has not been enough to stop the loss of nature in Finland, researchers have recently proposed the addition of new options for forestry- and nature-oriented forest-management

alternatives. They have suggested for example forestry concepts emphasising nature-management measures and alternative forest-management methods (Ketola et al. 2022: 10), new kinds of ecological compensation systems and new payments for ecosystem services for forest owners (Kujala 2023: 75–83) and 'the Forest Bank concept' – in Finnish called *luonnontuottometsä* (Viitala et al. 2020), a commercial forest where the promotion of nature values and various financial values of different ecosystem services for forests are combined side by side in forestry methods. For now, these options are marginal, at the practical level of forest management.

Although forest owners have been studied a great deal, studies have not distinguished between hobbyist forest owners and owners who are financially dependent on their forests. According to Matilainen et al. (2023), recent years' scientific research on the decision-making of private forest owners regarding forest-based services has focused on binary decision outcomes between few alternatives, while a focus on deeper decision-making processes and 'bottom-up' approaches behind the final decisions has been lacking. And while research related to the use and management of commercial forests has recently often focused on combining the interests of the forest industry and the preservation of nature values, other values and the needs of other actors who are economically dependent on forests have received less attention. Earlier studies have also often focused on the interest in and acceptability of different forest-management options among forest owners, but their connections to the realised actions in forest management haven't been studied to any greater degree.

The study behind this chapter aims to fill these research gaps by examining decision-making processes related to forest use in different Finnish rural contexts, and the values and meanings that forest owners attach to their forests and their use in those processes. I focus on so-called active forest owners – meaning those who own forest and actively use it for business purposes in different ways and/or implement forestry measures in it with the intention of making an income from it – and business-oriented common forests, meaning forests with many owners or shareholders. To get more diverse perspectives on decision-making processes regarding forest use and different forest users' position and possibility to have influence in these processes, the data used in this chapter also includes six interviews with forest-using rural entrepreneurs and small companies who didn't own forests themselves but actively cooperated with forest owners to exploit their forests for their own businesses.

Altogether, the research material consists of 27 interviews collected between June 2022 and December 2022 in various rural contexts all around Finland. Many interviewees had several parallel sources of income or business concepts based on forests, and many were both entrepreneurs and forest owners at the same time: their business activities represented wood production, the carpentry industry, wood construction, forest energy entrepreneurship, sawing activities, the natural product sector, commercial restoration activities, the sale of carbon offsets, and the production of tourism and social-sector services based on forest environments. The studied companies were rather small,

employing 0–20 people in addition to the interviewed entrepreneur. Interviewees who had their own forest-based company were operating as independent companies without directly belonging to large-scale forest industry. The study deliberately aimed to include different forest-based business concepts, as one of its purposes was to diversify the understanding of the forest use and economic opportunities of forests and silviculture among people living and operating in rural contexts.

As the overarching theme of the interviews was increasing and diversifying the economic utilisation of forests and forest-based business activities, those who were interviewed were primarily interested in developing and diversifying the use of forests and the income they earn from them. The interviewees were asked this in advance when they were invited to be interviewed. The goal was to, through an interview study, collect the perspectives of grassroots-level actors who owned forest and/or operated in rural contexts, and examine what kind of factors they felt were relevant when talking about the use and management of forests.

The interviews were semi-structured; this method was used because it has been found to be highly suitable for examining a complex or emotionally sensitive phenomenon, or for seeking perceptions of and opinions about a phenomenon that is relevant to the interviewees (Kallio et al. 2016: 2959).

The interview themes were as follows:

- income generation from the forest and/or forest use and its/their background;
- the future goals and plans for forest use and/or forest-based business(es);
- the regional operating environment and its strengths/constraints for forest-based operational development;
- collaborators and cooperation with forest use and/or forest-based business(es);
- perceived challenges concerning forest use and/or availability of raw materials/forest areas for forest-based business(es);
- future challenges and opportunities for forest use and/or forest-based business(es);
- various alternatives and parties involved in decision-making concerning the use of forests and/or forestry measures in the forest owned or used by the interviewee; and
- knowledge and use of external guidance and services related to forest use and/or forest-based business(es), and perceived development needs in them.

Historically, the values behind human action have been divided into ‘intrinsic values’ and ‘instrumental values’ – certain things with intrinsic value are felt to be valuable and worthy of being cherished in themselves, while instrumentally evaluated things are ascribed value because they help us achieve more valuable things (Oksanen 2000). As Oksanen (2000) emphasised, the process

of forming these different kinds of values for different things is a social process, and the value of things is not eternal but instead depends on those (human or non-human) subjects who ascribe the value in their doings and not-doings through their interaction with various things.

For this chapter, I searched and coded all the sections of interviews in which values and meanings of forest and concrete choices and decision-making processes related to forest use were discussed, and analysed them using thematic content analysis. In the analysis I focused on how the interviewees justified their decisions concerning forest management and use: what kind of factors appeared to be intrinsic values, important things to pursue in themselves when talking about the management and use of forest, and what the effect of external forest management was when there was pressure to make choices between different values in forest-related decisions. As the basis of the interviews was the notion that forests are a source of livelihood or an aspect of income generation for the interviewees, the analysis sought to determine which and whose values guide the economic utilisation of forests and the decision-making of forest owners, and how: how the decisions are made, what is produced in the forests, and why, how and for whom – overall, why forests are used and managed the way they are.

Values and value choices in forest-related decision-making

The analysis looked at what kind of meanings forest owners attach to their forests when talking about their use and management, and how they justified their decisions regarding the use and management of their forests. From the interviews with non-forest-owning operators, their experiences of forest-use planning with forest owners – and especially their experiences of the forest owners' reasons why they did or did not want to cooperate with these operators in the use of their forests – were analysed. The effects of external forest management on forest owners' reactions and value choices in relation to realised forest-related decisions were also explored.

By thematising the meanings and justifications that forest owners attached to the use and management of forests and the decision-making behind it, seven value categories were ultimately formed:

- security of livelihood;
- belongingness and connections produced by it;
- possibility to have experiences in the forest;
- nature and natural values;
- self-reliance and common good for local community;
- perceived responsibility and transparency when using/acting in the forest; and
- property protection and freedom of choice.

These values emerged as guiding factors in slightly different forms depending on the context, when the interviewees discussed their choices and plans concerning forest use and their backgrounds. The various meanings were also

often connected to each other. In this case, different meanings emerged in the same contexts, also serving as mutually explanatory factors.

Security of livelihood

Because forests were a source of income for all interviewees in one way or another, the economic significance of the income from the forest was mentioned in almost every interview in reference to decisions related to forest management and forest use – things were done to ensure one's livelihood and its continuation in the future. The income from the forest and the opportunity to use the forest in one's own business activities were often also the key motivations for owning forest among the forest-owning interviewees.

In the interviews, it was not wood production itself but rather specifically the financial income they were able to earn through it that the interviewees who were forest owners regarded as valuable. The importance of the uniformity of income from the forest was mentioned in almost all of the interviews with forest owners, as was concern about the cyclical sensitivity of the price of wood and the increasing uncertainty around the risks and profitability of forestry. These were also the main reasons why forest owners who were engaged in wood production were considering diversifying their forest-based income generation:

> For us this forestry and forest management, in a way it's just a way for us to get the finances of our family farm there [region in eastern Finland] running … so in practice it doesn't matter at all where that money comes from … so of course we'd like it better if we could get it that way so we wouldn't have to cut down forest, but we need to get it somehow, so now we're searching for different means …
>
> (Forest owner, eastern Finland)

Based on the interviews, the possibility to earn income significantly guided forest owners' relationship with different forest users and forms of use. In general, the interviewed forest owners appeared to be interested to some extent in everything that provides them with income, and were willing to actively promote and secure the conditions for alternatives that seemed particularly profitable or promising from an economic perspective, even at the expense of wood production – whether it involved income-generating forest conservation, carbon compensation contracts, game or natural products or the use of forested land for soil extraction or energy production.

Also, the quality of the wood produced did not seem to be of much interest to the interviewed forest owners as an intrinsic value, except among those who used the wood they produced in their own wood-processing businesses. Neither were they interested in the question of whom the wood is produced for; but when it came to the price they could get for the wood produced, which did matter to them, they were also interested in the buyers and the

quality of the wood. This observation was also mentioned in interviews with entrepreneurs in the wood industry: for example, finding wood raw material that was suitable for construction from domestic forest owners had created challenges for many entrepreneurs specialising in wood construction, but on the other hand, forest owners had often offered the wood they produced directly to these entrepreneurs for purchase after learning that they pay a higher producer price for high-quality wood than large industrial companies do:

> A few lots of spruces [in the North Karelian village] were rejected just because of that: that they didn't meet the qualitative criteria anymore; so that's exactly what it is, that when so many truckloads end up as wood chips, there's not any sense in that. … It makes you spit; not this generation that's grown it, but the next one that will inherit it someday, when it turns out that everything's just pulp, because you can't make money from them anymore, they're fifty-centimetre-thick trees and they're all pulp. Of course it makes you spit at that point when the assumption was that it would be timber …
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in the wood industry, eastern Finland)

Almost all forest owners who produced wood for sale said that they primarily sell wood through a tender competition to the one who pays the most.

Belongingness and connections produced by it

> For me, too, it's 95% other values [as an explanation for] why I have forest; that it's the family farm, and I like to move around outside especially in my own forest, looking at how the trees are growing and how the forest is changing, so that's the number one thing …
>
> (Forest owner, central Finland)

It was notable that there were often found to be long, even transgenerational relationships with forest, with the use of forest, and with the region where used forests were physically located behind the business concepts for forest utilisation observed through these interviews. Several interviewees who owned forest mentioned that they had inherited their forest property from their family and wanted to continue their family's tradition of owning forest. The interviewed common forests' representatives said that common forest shares are valued, and often circulate in the same families as gifts and inheritances, forming a connection between the shareholders and their or their families' home region where the common forest is physically located, even if the shareholders themselves currently lived elsewhere. For many entrepreneurs and forest owners, owning forest or forest-based business activities was indeed a means and an opportunity to continue their own family farm, to cherish connections with their family and home region and its communities, and to cherish their own forest relationship they had inherited from the previous generation.

In several interviews it was clear that many forestry practices and ways of using the forest had been inherited from the previous generation, like planting a particular wood species or excluding a particular forest area from forestry for other uses – doing things for tradition's sake. Concern for the next generation and the importance of ensuring the forest-based benefits and values for the next generation of forest owners were also mentioned in a couple of interviews in regard to the decision-making concerning forest use:

> But just like this thing … like with everything in my own work … just because of the environment of my childhood home, how important it is to the next generation to move … such solid values, like nature values are. This … if you cut down a very old pine tree, it won't return to the way it was during your lifetime, or during the next generation, or during the next, or even during the next after that … a small tree won't become that very old pine tree in an instant.
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in the social sector, eastern Finland)

Especially climate change and its effects on the value and possibilities for use of forest in the future worried generally most of the interviewees, as did concern about the loss of forests' nature values in the future. These concerns guided the interviewees in their choices related to the use and management of forest, sometimes at a concrete level, for example in choosing wood species and logging methods:

> And now when I have small kids … it makes me think, that if I were to do that traditional clearcutting now, like [take the] spruces away, and after that I were to strike up a monotonous clump of spruces there … I think about that, that after fifty years, no matter if I'm alive or not, that my kids have every right to say how very stupid their daddy was; even though he was a professional in that field, he had planted a monotonous clump of spruces in southern Finland fifty years ago …
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in wood industry, eastern Finland)

Possibility to have experiences in the forest

When discussing forest use and forest management, the identification and retention of the aesthetic and recreational values of forests emerged as a value that at least to some extent guided several of the interviewed forest owners' forest use and management; but especially, and not so surprisingly, among those forest owners and entrepreneurs who use forests in their tourism or welfare service products, who presented these values as crucial to these business concepts. The values had often been the basis for forest owners' creation of new economic activities alongside, or even instead of, forestry. These forest-owning entrepreneurs also considered recreation and landscape values in the management of their forests, or even carried out forest management above

these values, aiming for diversity and experientiality in their forests, reflecting an increased use value of the forest from the viewpoint of the practised business concept.

For many interviewed forest owners, these values were important even when they did not receive a direct financial benefit from them. Especially in the vicinity of existing recreational areas, waterfront areas and cottage plots, the landscape and recreational values were said to be considered in the management of forest, for example by favouring cover forestry. The hobby of hunting and having the opportunity to hunt were also mentioned in many interviews as an important motivation for owning forest or a share in a common forest. Often, preserving the forest's multi-use possibilities – not just for the forest owners themselves but for other forest users as well – was also combined with maintaining an acceptability of forestry in the area and a good spirit and cooperation with the local community:

> We have many kinds of contracts with tourism entrepreneurs, we're doing a cooperation with nature photographers, with tourism entrepreneurs … but I cannot say about them that on our scale they would … they're pretty much just nuances, these small entrepreneur contracts; there's no financial benefit in them really, but that's the kind of cooperation we have to do in this region, and we're happy to do it – that we make it possible to have these other actions that are happening in our forest.
>
> (Representative of common forest, eastern Finland)

However, many entrepreneurs offering tourism or welfare services mentioned that even though cooperation with forest owners had mainly worked well, they had also faced difficulties in this regard when it came to the use of the forest. Negative attitudes and prejudices among forest owners as well as difficulty cooperating in forest use and management had led, for example, to the non-implementation of planned tourism projects.

In Finland, there is a right of public access based on the protection of traditions involving moving in nature and the use of nature, which is largely similar to Norway (see Chapter 2, this volume) and allows everyone the opportunity to move in nature and, for example, pick mushrooms and berries without the landowner's permission. The interviews revealed that forest owners sometimes didn't seem to care about the aesthetic and recreational values of their forests in their forest-management decisions regarding other forest users, when they were utilised with the right of public access and did not produce economic benefits for the forest owner. Sometimes the right of public access and the use of forests for leisure activities were also perceived as a risk to forestry:

> Exactly there, where have been hikers at our wilderness lakes and so on, there have been small forest fire outbreaks and so on from time to time,

> started from the campfire, so there are risks too; it's not always so blissful for forest owners to think about that kind of stuff …
>
> (Representative of common forest, western Finland)

However, forest owners could not always preserve recreational values when implementing the measures, even if they had wanted to:

> Especially like traditional forestry guys, foresters and forestry technicians and these guys, they've indeed had such a traditional education, that sparing no wood, let's cut down everything. I was shocked when we had one terribly huge felling there [region in eastern Finland], and very fine old trees indeed had been taken away from there, from a place where they could have been there, like scenically appropriate, and … because I didn't … because I had no time and I couldn't deal with everything … they were lost. And then I just went to cry for them, when they were lying in those ungodly-sized piles there … like, this can't be real, didn't your eyes even tell you [not to cut these trees]? But if you don't give instructions to this kind of technician, or forest machine driver, to, like, save all the trees over a meter in diameter – they won't do it.
>
> (Forest owner, eastern Finland)

As the quote above shows, in some cases, even if the forest owners wanted to protect their forests' landscape and recreational values, it was considered difficult to do this through forest-management measures if these measures were carried out by an external company with other interests.

It was also mentioned that the age structure and type of the forest were factors that made it difficult to bring into use alternative forestry methods that considered better the forest's recreational values, as was the lower price one received for the wood when using such methods.

Nature and natural values

Conserving nature and preserving forests' natural values were constantly mentioned in the interviews in reference to forest management and decision-making, even though these issues were not included in the interview themes. The diversity of nature and its promotion were often considered an important goal, which tended to be associated with a strong connection to the perceived vulnerability of forestry. Many forest owners had fears or even personal experience of threats to forestry caused by environmental changes, such as massive insect damage or destruction caused by increasing populations of elk and deer. Because of this, the goal to promote mixed forest consisting of multiple tree species and trees of differing ages was justified with a will to increase the forest's viability and resistance.

Forest owners' interest in income-generating forest conservation, like the METSO programme and conservation based on EU environmental aid, was

also justified with an increase in the risks posed to forestry and a decrease in profitability; the income-generating forest conservation was seen as a good option for decentralising one's investment and earning income from the forest property in a way that supports the forest owner's own values. It was also believed that voluntary forest conservation would help fulfil the criteria for the FSC certificate and support the sustainability image of forestry and the forest sector. Especially when the case was about an area with lower wood production values and high nature values, conservation there was generally seen as a more reasonable option than wood production, and such areas had sometimes been voluntarily excluded from forestry use even when they had not been accepted for the METSO programme and their exclusion from forestry did not produce income for forest owners.

Some forest owners also justified their forest-management decisions aimed at safeguarding the diversity of their forest and their conservation decisions with a will to safeguard the game values that existed in the forest. In their forest management they wanted to take good care of the vitality of game populations and, for example, protect the breeding areas of capercaillies, even if this came at the expense of wood production or income from wood:

> Of course that wood production is important and the number one thing, but when we ourselves are these kinds of hunters and interested in game … and the well-being of game is important, of course we choose some location or size of group of trees to be spared … and then we use these kinds of ecological corridors, for example when we're doing final fellings, we have some areas where we've wanted to protect, like, an ecological corridor between two felling patterns … if we'd been thinking purely just forestry, then those felling patterns would have been joined to each other completely, and nothing would have been left there in-between, and then we would have just established a seedling there in-between, so we have such a clear … they are also landscape issues, but also about game, ecological issues …
>
> (Representative of common forest, northern Finland)

Self-reliance and common good for local community

When conducting the interviews in summer and autumn of 2022, Russia's war in Ukraine had already been going on for some time, and as a result the wood trade between Finland and Russia had stopped, the price of energy had quickly risen, and Europe was preparing for the threat of an energy crisis with the approach of winter. The effect of these prevailing conditions on the values and appreciation of forests and forest use was evident in many of the interviews, especially in contexts related to forest energy and the appreciation of domestic wood.

Supporting energy self-sufficiency and the increased demand for domestic wood was often connected to many economic, social and ecological values of

forest in the interviews. It was experienced that the demand for domestic energy wood had increased enormously in just a short time, and those forest owners and wood-industry entrepreneurs whose business concepts included the production of forest energy or raw materials for it noted that the social and economic significance of these activities had increased. From the interviews with both the companies that bought energy wood and several forest owners who sold it, it was apparent that the forest owners had recently sold whole fibre cuttings for energy wood because the price of energy wood had been competitive or even better compared to that of fibre wood.

> And then all that energy wood comes for our own use, and we have an energy cooperative like that here, that warms up our halls and our house, and then … there are five other houses involved in that, so … we have a terminal in the yard of our hall, where we make wood chips for the needs of that entire complex …
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in forest industry, eastern Finland)

In some interviews, the forest owners saw this development as promoting their competitive advantage and options in the wood market. They also saw it as supporting the preservation of the natural values and diversity of forests by increasing the value of 'junk wood' that was unsuitable for other wood processing, as well as adding to the reasons for keeping it in one's own forest and improving the profitability of cover forestry. Many interviewed forest owners also produced energy wood for their own use or for residents of the surrounding area to support energy self-sufficiency in their own and other local communities. In addition, many entrepreneurs in the wood industry who themselves owned forest mentioned that their own forest supports the availability of raw materials for their own company's use and enables business operations to continue even during the fluctuations in the wood market and the intensifying competition for wood raw material.

Perceived responsibility and transparency when using/acting in the forest

In addition, the domesticity of wood and other raw materials produced in the forest and the responsibility of the production chain also appeared to be intrinsic values for many of the interviewed forest owners and forest-owning entrepreneurs. For example, applying for certification and other quality systems was justified with the fact that it promotes operational responsibility. However, many interviewees mentioned that they are involved in the certifications mainly because the forestry company or forest-management association requires it, while they themselves did not necessarily show much appreciation for the certifications as measures of responsibility:

> I would say that this certification is pretty much such an indulgence trade, when you know how Finnish … how forests are managed here in

> Finland, and then you think that Russians have got those very same certifications, and that makes me laugh a bit; like, what am I doing with this paper …
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in wood industry, southern Finland)

Many interviewed forest owners and entrepreneurs using wood and other forest products said they appreciated domesticity and local production as a guarantee of responsibility more than certification systems. Many of the interviewed entrepreneurs in the wood industry expressed principled reasons for not using Russian wood, and also often mentioned that their customers value domesticity and local production:

> At the moment we have a project there [a village in eastern Finland]. The customer is from Helsinki; he came to visit me, we went to look at my preference objects here, ready-built buildings, what kind of quality am I doing … and at the same time I'd moved his timbers to the roadside, so we also went to see their stumps, that forest there in my own village, five kilometres from the construction site, that they're from here … so for us that's a kind of certification, that they're at least not coming from Russia; of course now we really, truly don't bring from there, but earlier it was possible, and people bring a lot … That they're from Finland, and they're from here from our own village, and so on, and they're from this forest … and that was quite an important thing for him, and that's the way we do it.
>
> (Forest owner and entrepreneur in the wood industry, eastern Finland)

The interviewed small-scale wood-industry entrepreneurs also felt that, although the competition for wood was fierce, the forest owners valued them and were happy to sell them wood; not only because of the higher price they paid for high-quality wood but also because the owners knew the wood would be used for what it is worth, especially when it was a matter of smaller or more special woodlots or when the entrepreneur and forest owner already knew each other. Tax revenues and other economic benefits for the region from the use of local forests were also highlighted in a few interviews.

Property protection and freedom of choice

Freedom of choice regarding the use and management of one's own forest emerged as an important value in many ways in the interviews. External control and overriding the forest owner's decision-making in issues related to the use of forests were repeatedly described as problematic and as limiting factors in diversifying the use and management of forests. For example, the nature conservation policy dictated by the state and EU levels came up repeatedly in interviews with forest owners as a major concern related to the development of forest use:

> When emphasising it, doing it like voluntarily and in agreement, things are usually more likely to work out than by force, which raises the hairs on the back of many people's necks; then one might even cause big damages on one's forest property, so … it's like … like when these HCV maps [high conservation value qualification of forest defined by FSC certification] came out, or regions, and for one region almost ten hectares of our commercial clump of spruces had been put there, which had been already thinned earlier, and it had this HCV stamp – when I saw it I immediately knocked that woodlot down. Even though that stamp was later removed, that was alright, but… this kind of way, that these things come from somewhere out there without any information and with force, that'll do … that'll end up in this kind of reaction; so this is one such observation, a personal observation, and it'll … I'm not alone in this issue.
>
> (Forest owner, central Finland)

On the other hand, voluntary forest owner-initiated conservation and restoration activities were invariably described as a good and functional practice in interviews with both the forest owners and the company carrying out the restoration of nature sites. The freedom to decide on the use and management of the forest was also mentioned as a key motivation for owning forest in the interviews with the entrepreneurs who had ended up buying their own forest for their business activities and who offered tourism and welfare services or sold carbon offsets. In these interviews, certainty and one's own decision-making power regarding the preservation of the forest in use, and the freedom to make choices related to the forest management based on the needs of one's own business concept, were seen as a facilitating factor, and even a prerequisite, for the continuation of one's own business activities:

> The person who owned it [forest in use], he was going to do thinning for it … and that thinning would not had kill that forest yet I think, but it would had caused huge troubles for us for a moment, that we wouldn't been able to use it, and the traces of it would had probably been quite kind of dubious … and … well we've been using it for years, and I paid extremely salty price from it … because the owner became very difficult … but I wanted to save it, because otherwise all our plans would had changed.
>
> (Forest owner, entrepreneur in social and welfare sector, eastern Finland)

Those forest owners who did not belong to the certification systems, or who mentioned that they wanted to break away from them, justified their opposition to certification with the fact that they felt that the systems supported forest company cartels and acted as a 'necessary evil', limiting forest owners' decision-making power and freedom of choice. Some of the interviewees said that they themselves carry out the forest-management measures in their own

forest so that they can manage it the way they want and can see themselves what is happening there. The forest owners' possibility to influence the planning and implementation of other activities in their forests also seemed to positively affect their attitude regarding these actions.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered the problematic nature of the prevailing binary forest-management practices in rural Finnish contexts, where the interaction between forest and human has historically been particularly intense and the meanings of the forest for people are manifold, but at the same time 'forest' in rural areas has mostly been seen either as the forest industry's raw material reserve or as a nature reserve in traditional structural forest-management practices. The means and goals of the forests' management are often determined in external structures where society's power is concentrated, rather than where the managed forests themselves are typically located (i.e. in rural areas).

This interview research on Finnish forest owners and forest-using entrepreneurs operating in various rural contexts revealed the problematic nature of these binary ways of governing forests and their use in rural contexts. Judging from these interviews, the values and meanings of forests for their owners are much broader and more diverse than management practices typically allow one to assume: forests include a great deal of social, cultural, ecological, financial and well-being-related dimensions and connections in Finnish rural contexts even for those who own forest for the purpose of economic exploitation. While the forests discussed in these interviews are mostly owned and used in order to earn an economic livelihood, the numerous non-economic values and meanings of the different forest owners determine how this livelihood based on forest is produced, as long as the structures guiding the use of that forest allow it.

The interviews also showed that many of these values had both intrinsic and instrumental value at the same time, expressed as things being important to pursue in themselves but also because they helped in the realisation of other important values. For example, promoting and preserving forests' recognised social and ecological values were often seen as a guarantee, or even the basis, for using them in different business activities, while on the other hand the possibility to use them and earn income from them was seen as a precondition for preserving their other values and functions.

Meanwhile, the external forest management often appeared to be straightforward, schematic and lacking sufficient opportunities to be taken seriously, whether it was silviculture or conservation, both of which were criticised by interviewees in this research for insufficiently considering the different values and needs of different forest owners and users. More versatile and flexible options, with greater freedom of choice in the management of forest use, encouraged acceptability and a willingness to cooperate among the interviewed forest

owners, which confirms the findings of previous studies regarding the development needs of forest-use management (e.g. Sironen et al. 2020).

The various personal values and meanings of forest owners often influenced their decision-making processes concerning forest use when seeking the best ways to manage their forests to earn an income from them. Nevertheless, experiences of being ignored and treated unfairly in external forest management had led to a mistrust of external management and a search for new alternatives on their own, sometimes even resulting in solutions contrary to their own ideals, as a protest against external control. The perceived lack of options had sometimes also directed forest owners to act according to the only option available even though it was not to their liking.

As Atran and Medin (2008) have previously shown, the cultural and social context significantly – and often across generations – affects the formation of the prevailing relationship between humans and nature. In the current research this can also be seen in rural Finnish contexts, where the interaction and relationships between human and forest have been historically strong: for most of the interviewed forest owners the forest is not just a business but a lifestyle, an area for social interaction and experiences, a link between generations and local community, and an opportunity to continue operating the family farm or earn a living without needing to move away from one's home village.

The interview material revealed that such deep and diverse connections between the forest and the people using it can hinder its overuse. At the same time, it appeared that external dictates regarding the use of forests that ignore these connections can make forest owners act against their own values and interests, for instance cutting down forest areas or trees that they do not wish to cut down because they see no alternatives to this, or securing their own decision-making power when they fear the forced protection of their forests. This suggests the conclusion that management that considers the local meanings and forms of use of forests could support the preservation and creation of a sustainable relationship with nature. An approach to nature and its use that transcends the prevailing binaries could therefore increase the sustainability of forest use. At the same time, it would diversify the forests in regard to human use and the ways the forests can be used, which in turn could increase the resilience of both forests and economic activity based on their use, as well as help both nature and society to adapt to ongoing environmental changes. This is important in today's world, suffering from a sustainability crisis due to the overconsumption and industrial production of natural resources, in which people have distanced themselves – or have been distanced – from nature through management.

Breaking the prevailing binaries of land use in forest management while allowing greater flexibility for the essence of the forest, and supporting and offering diverse and local management alternatives, could also create opportunities for rural areas to participate in defining themselves and their role in society in relation to forest and forest use. This could strengthen local identities and cultures, opening the doors, for example, to the formation of new business activities, social capital and ways of living in rural areas, and

possibly new chances for 'degrowth business' as well (see Chapter 10, this volume). On a concrete level, this would also require forest services that comprehensively combine the various economic, ecological and social values of different forests, enabling and facilitating interaction and cooperation between different forest owners and actors who need different kinds of forests, forest-based products or ecosystem services for their activities.

References

Act for Common Forest. (2003). 14.2.2003/109 Yhteismetsälaki. www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2003/20030109.

Ambjörnsson, E. L., Keskitalo, E. C. H. & Karlsson, S. (2016). Forest discourses and the role of planning-related perspectives: the case of Sweden. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 31(1), 111–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2015.1070197.

Atran, S. & Medin, D. (2008). *The Native Mind and the Cultural Construction of Nature*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bergstén, S. & Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2019). Feeling at home from a distance? How geographical distance and non-residency shape sense of place among private forest owners. *Society & Natural Resources*, 32(2), 184–203. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2018.1533607.

Bjärstig, T. & Sténs, A. (2018). Social values of forests and production of new goods and services: The views of Swedish family forest owners. *Small-Scale Forestry*, 17, 125–146. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11842-017-9379-9.

Björn, I. (2003). Oikeutta vai kansainvälistä oikeutta? In A. Lehtinen & P. Rannikko (eds), *Oikeudenmukaisuus ja ympäristö*. Gaudeamus.

Blattert, C., Eyvindson, K., Hartikainen, M., Burgas, D., Potter, M., Lukkarinen, J., Snäll, T., Toraño-Caicoya, A. & Mönkkönen, M. (2022). Sectoral policies cause incoherence in forest management and ecosystem service provisioning. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 136, 102689. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2022.102689.

Eggers, J., Holmgren, S., Nordström, E-M., Lämås, T., Lind, T. & Öhman, K. (2019). Balancing different forest values: Evaluation of forest management scenarios in a multi-criteria decision analysis framework. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 103, 55–69. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2017.07.002.

Fischer, A.M. (2015). The end of peripheries? On the enduring relevance of structuralism for understanding contemporary global development. *Development and Change*, 46(4), 700–732. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12180.

Forest Act. (1996). 12.12.1996/1093 Metsälaki. www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1996/19961093.

Forest Destruction Act. (2013). 1087/2013 Laki metsätuhojen torjunnasta. www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2013/20131087.

Halonen, M., Näyhä, A. & Kuhmoinen, I. (2022). Regional sustainability transition through forest-based bioeconomy? Development actors' perspectives on related policies, power, and justice. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 142, 102775. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2022.102775.

Häyrinen, L., Mattila, O., Berghäll, S., Närhi, M. & Toppinen, A. (2017). Exploring the future use of forests: perceptions from non-industrial private forest owners in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 32(4), 327–337. https://doi.org/10.1080/02827581.2016.1227472.

Hiedanpää, J. (2005). The edges of conflict and consensus: a case for creativity in regional forest policy in southwest Finland. *Ecological Economics*, 55, 485–498, http s://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2004.12.007.

Juutinen, A., Kurttila, M., Pohjanmies, T., Tolvanen, A., Kuhlmey, K., Skudnik, M., Triplat, M., Westin, K. & Mäkipää, R. (2021). Forest owners' preferences for contract-based management to enhance environmental values versus timber production. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 132, 102587. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2021.102587.

Kallio, H., Pietilä, A.-M., Johnson, M. & Kangasniemi, M. (2016). Systematic methodological review: developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 72(12), 2954–2965. https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.13031.

Karvonen, J., Halder, P., Kangas, J. & Leskinen, P. (2017). Indicators and tools for assessing sustainability impacts of the forest bioeconomy. *Forest Ecosystems*, 4(2). https://doi.org/10.1186/s40663-017-0089-8.

Kasanen, M. (2011). *Private forest owners' forest management choices in twenty-first century Finland*. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, University of Oulu.

Katajamäki, H. (2013). Pitkät aallot Itä- ja Länsi-Suomen kehityksen muovaajina. In I. Björn, P. Jokinen, J. Kotilainen, N. Schuurman & M. Sireni (eds), *Korpisosiologi (aa)*. Saarijärvi: University Press of Eastern Finland.

Katila, P. (2017). Forestry development priorities in Finnish national forest programmes. *International Forestry Review*, 19(S1), 125–138. https://doi-org.ezproxy.uef.fi:2443/10.1505/146554817822407411.

Ketola, T., Boström, C., Bäck, J., Herzon, I., Jokimäki, J., Kallio, K. P., Kulmala, L., Laine, I., Lehikoinen, A., Nieminen, T.M., Oksanen, E., Pappila, M., Silfverberg, O., Sinkkonen, A., Sääksjärvi, I. & Kotiaho, J. S. (2022). Kohti luontoviisasta Suomea: Keinoja luontopositiivisuuden saavuttamiseksi. *Suomen Luontopaneelin julkaisuja 2/2022*. https://doi.org/10.17011/jyx/SLJ/2022/2.

Korhonen, J., Giurca, A., Brockhaus, M. & Toppinen, A. (2018). Actors and Politics in Finland's Forest-Based Bioeconomy Network. *Sustainability*, 10, 3785. https://doi.org/10.3390/su10103785.

Kortelainen, J. (2013). Maaseutu kaupungissa – kaupunki maaseudulla. In I. Björn, P. Jokinen, J. Kotilainen, N. Schuurman & M. Sireni (eds), *Korpisosiologi(aa)*. Saarijärvi: University Press of Eastern Finland.

Koskela, T., Hänninen, R. & Ovaskainen, V. (eds). (2010). *Metsien monimuotoisuuden turvaamisen keinot ja yhteiskunnalliset vaikutukset (TUK) – tutkimusohjelman loppuraportti*. Metlan työraportteja 158. Retrieved from www.metla.fi/julkaisut/workingpapers/2010/mwp158.htm.

Koskela, T. & Karppinen, H. (2021). Forest owners' willingness to implement measures to safeguard biodiversity: Values, attitudes, ecological worldview and forest ownership objectives. *Small-scale Forestry*, 20, 11–37. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11842-020-09454-5.

Kröger, M. & Raitio, K. (2017). Finnish forest policy in the era of bioeconomy: A pathway to sustainability? *Forest Policy and Economics* 77, 6–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2016.12.003.

Kujala, H. (2023). Nature's supply: Conservation and restoration of ecosystems. In E. Pouta*et al.* (eds), *Assessing the Economics of Biodiversity in Finland: National Implications of the Dasgupta Review*. Publications of the Ministry of the Environment.

Laakkonen, A., Hujala, T. & Pykäläinen, J. (2019). Integrating intangible resources enables creating new types of forest services – developing forest leasing value network in Finland. *Forest Policy and Economics* 99, 157–168. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2018.07.003.

Laakkonen A., Hujala T., Pykäläinen J. (2022). Defining the systemic development of the Finnish pulp and paper industry's business network. *Silva Fennica*, 56(2), article 10599. https://doi.org/10.14214/sf.10599.

Laitinen, E., Haikari, J. & Roiko-Jokela, H. (eds.) (2012). *Ihminen ja metsä: kohtaamisia arjen historiassa. 2, Luontaistaloudesta kaupalliseen metsätalouteen (1850–1950)*. Metsäkustannus.

Latour, B. (2006 [1991]). *Emme ole koskaan olleet moderneja*. Translated by R. Suikkanen. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Lazarevic, D., Kautto, P. & Antikainen, R. (2020). Finland's wood-frame multi-storey construction innovation system: Analysing motors of creative destruction. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 110, 101861. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2019.01.006.

Lehtonen, O. & Tykkyläinen, M. (2009). The emerging shortage of labour in forestry in a remote coniferous region: A brake on the massive use of biofuels. In K. Anderssonn, E. Eklund, M. Lehtola & T. Marsden (eds), *Beyond the Rural–Urban Divide: Cross-Continental Perspectives on the Differentiated Countryside and Its Regulation*. Emerald Group Publishing, pp. 25–55.

Lindahl, K. B., Sténs, A., Sandström, C., Johansson, J., Lidskog, R., Ranius, T. & Roberge, J-M (2017). The Swedish forestry model: More of everything? *Forest Policy and Economics* 77, 44–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2015.10.012.

Lorimer, J. (2015). *Wildlife in the Anthropocene: Conservation after Nature*. University of Minnesota Press.

Luhas, J., Mikkilä, M., Uusitalo, V. & Linnanen, L. (2019). Product diversification in sustainability transition: The forest-based bioeconomy in Finland. *Sustainability*, 11, 3293.

LUKE. (2023). Metsäteollisuuden ulkomaankauppa maittain 2022 (ennakko). Retrieved from www.luke.fi/fi/tilastot/metsateollisuuden-ulkomaankauppa/metsateollisuuden-ulkomaankauppa-maittain-2022-ennakko.

Luttinen, J. & Roiko-Jokela, H. (eds). (2012). *Ihminen ja metsä: kohtaamisia arjen historiassa. 1, Metsän hahmottaminen ja haltuunotto (1500–1850)*. Metsäkustannus.

Mäntymaa, E., Juutinen, A., Tyrväinen, L., Karhu, J. & Kurttila, M. (2018). Participation and compensation claims in voluntary forest landscape conservation: The case of the Ruka-Kuusamo tourism area, Finland. *Journal of Forest Economics*, 33(1), 14–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfe.2018.09.003.

Matilainen, A., Andersson, E., Lähdesmäki, M., Lidestav, G. & Kurki, S. (2023). Services for what and for whom? A literature review of private forest owners' decision-making in relation to forest-based services. *Small-scale Forestry*, 22, 511–535. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11842-023-09541-3.

McCumber, A. (2018). Producing the natural: Mobilities and the managed aesthetics of nature. *Sociology Compass*, 12, e12619. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12619.

MMM. (2023). Suomen metsävarat. Retrieved from https://mmm.fi/metsat/suomen-metsavarat.

Nature Conservation Act. (2023). 9/2023 Luonnonsuojelulaki. www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2023/20230009.

Oksanen, M. (2000). Johdanto. In A. Haapala & M. Oksanen (eds), *Arvot ja luonnon arvottaminen*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, pp. 9–24.

Peltola, T., Arpin, I., Leino, J., Peltonen, L., Ratamäki, O. & Salmi, P. (2023). Management plans as resources in conservation conflicts. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 33, 206–218. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.2014.

Peltomaa, J., Hildén, M. & Huttunen, S. (2020). Diversifying forest expertise: forest journals narrating policy change. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 22(2), 268–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2020.1721273.

Puhakka, R. & Saarinen, J. (2013). New role of tourism in national park planning in Finland. *Journal of Environment & Development*, 22(4), 411–434. https://doi-org.ezproxy.uef.fi:2443/10.1177/1070496513502966.

Pynnönen, S., Paloniemi, R. & Hujala, T. (2018). Recognizing the interest of forest owners to combine nature-oriented and economic uses of forests. *Small-Scale Forestry*, 17, 443–470. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11842-018-9397-2.

Rannikko, P. (2009). Luonnonvarojen käytön oikeudenmukaisuus ja syrjäseudut. *Janus*, 17(3), 248–257.

Rannikko, P. & Salmi, P. (2018). Towards neo-productivism? – Finnish paths in the use of forest and sea. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 58(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12195.

Rytteri, T., & Puhakka, R. (2009). Formation of Finland's national parks as a political issue. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 12, 91–106.

Sironen, S., Primmer, E., Leskinen, P., Similä, J. & Punttila, P. (2020). Context sensitive policy instruments: A multi-criteria decision analysis for safeguarding forest habitats in southwestern Finland. *Land Use Policy*, 92, 104460. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2019.104460.

Sténs, A., Bjärstig, T., Nordström, E-M., Sandström, C., Fries, C. & Johansson, J. (2016). In the eye of the stakeholder: The challenges of governing social forest values. *Ambio*, 45(Suppl. 2), 87–99. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-015-0745-6.

Sustainable Forestry Financing Act. (2015). 23.1.2015/34 Kestävän metsätalouden määräaikainen rahoituslaki. www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2015/20150034.

Takala, T., Hujala, T., Tanskanen, M. & Tikkanen, J. (2019). Competing discourses of the forest shape forest owners' ideas about nature and biodiversity conservation. *Biodiversity and Conservation*, 28, 3445–3464. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10531-019-01831-7.

Tykkyläinen, M., Vatanen, E., Halonen, M. & Kotilainen, J. (2017). Global-local links and industrial restructuring in a resource town in Finland: The case of Lieksa. In G. Halseth (ed.), *Transformation of Resource Towns and Peripheries*. Routledge, pp. 109–135.

Tyrväinen, L., Mäntymaa, E., Juutinen, A., Kurttila, M. & Ovaskainen, V. (2021). Private landowners' preferences for trading forest landscape and recreational values: A choice experiment application in Kuusamo, Finland. *Land Use Policy*, 107, 104478. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.104478.

Viitala, E.-J., Hujala, T., Hänninen, H., Leppänen, J. & Selkimäki, M. (2020). *Luonnontuottometsä: Yhdysvaltalaisen Forest Bank – toimintamallin soveltaminen Suomessa*. Luonnonvara- ja biotalouden tutkimus 65/2020. Helsinki: Luonnonvarakeskus.

Yle. (2023). Kemin uusi jättitehdas nielee vuodessa yli 80 000 junavaunullista puuta ja tuottaa 1,5 miljoonaa tonnia sellua. https://yle.fi/a/74-20050598.

5 Land, nature and culture in Finnish Lapland

Monica Tennberg

Introduction

Geopolitical imaginaries about the European north dominate politics and media today. The European north is seen not only as a site for green transition (European Commission 2021; see also Raspotnik & Østhagen 2021) and a place of increasing competition between different forms of land use (Hanaček et al. 2022; Kangas et al. 2022), but also as a site for nature protection and restoration (Erikstad et al. 2023; Koivunen 2024). Despite the contemporary popularity of geopolitical thinking in northern European politics and societal debates, there is little consideration of the 'geo' in geopolitics, as critical geopoliticians have noted (Dalby 2014; Squire 2015). The prefix 'geo' comes from the Greek word meaning earth', usually understood in the sense of 'ground or land'. The late French sociologist Bruno Latour, a geopolitical thinker himself, criticised contemporary environmental discourses and geopolitical practices – especially in the context of global climate politics – for being disconnected from the land, the basis of life, and suggested landing on the earth as a way to reconnect with the land and the politics concerned with it (Latour 2018; Conway 2015).

Latour saw the contemporary techno-rational practices of climate change governance, such as counting emissions and sinks of greenhouse gases, and producing abstract scenarios for future changes, as disconnected from people's everyday lives and their various land-based livelihoods. From this perspective, land is not a thing in itself for climate change policies, for instance as a sink or a source of emissions, and neither can multiple land relationships simply be captured as calculations for LULUCF (= land use, land use change and forestry in climate policies). Land is more than a site for industrial projects. To Latour, land is the very thin layer on the planet on which all forms of life depend. Land is a social relationship between all living and non-living objects. Multiple 'terrestrial' practices tell us about how we see ourselves and our relationships with human and non-human others in our everyday lives (Latour 2018). Latour proposes to us that we bury ourselves 'in the thousand folds of the landscape' through a pragmatic, situated approach based on a detailed description of plural realities; that is, the way inhabitants view their living

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-5

places and their relationships with their lands (Latour 2018; Goudiard 2023; see also Chapters 4 and 8, this volume, for the use of Latour in different ways).

Furthermore, land matters politically in this era of global climate governance: it is needed not only for producing renewable energy and securing the availability of rare earth minerals for mitigation of greenhouse gases, but also as a place to preserve and restore nature in order to support biodiversity in the warming climate. In the Latourian sense, land is not a passive, separate framework for human action but rather itself participates in reorganising politics (Latour 2018; see also Chapter 7, this volume). Land use is a highly political issue, and debates about it are part of everyday life in Finnish Lapland. Lapland is often seen as a resource region with great economic opportunities and investments despite the recent geopolitical tensions (Lapland Chamber of Commerce 2023). The land in Finnish Lapland is a resource like no other, at the same time abundant but scarce, exploitable but vulnerable, to mention only a few of the typical dichotomies in the discussion about land use. While Lapland represents a third of Finland's total land area, only about 3% of the country's population (approx. 178,000 inhabitants) live in the area.

In this chapter I take a closer look at contemporary issues in land use in Finnish Lapland by presenting a practice-theory-based approach to land, introducing various uses of land in Lapland as well as discussing binary governance practices with two examples that challenge nature–culture and urban–rural distinctions. A central concept in my discussion is land culture, which refers to the multiple traditions and practices related to land that are typical of a specific geographical area. The concept encompasses the relationships between people, livelihoods and institutions and the land they inhabit, use and govern (Throne 2021). The concept of land culture often seems to be reserved for indigenous peoples as their own, particular land-use practices based on their world views and traditional livelihoods. In my interpretation, land culture is the set of social practices that shape the relationship between people and the land they inhabit, beyond indigeneity. Land cultures can be multiple and are often contested, and represent different worlds and are reflected in different land-use practices. Land cultures are public, shared patterns and background assumptions regarding relationships with land. They cannot be reserved for one particular population group at a certain time and place. Even the most extractive use of land can be seen as a kind of land culture.

Practice-theory-based approach to land

Practice theory (Schatzki 1996; Reckwitz 2002) leads us to think about land culture as an integrated set of social practices. From this perspective, our doings and sayings about land and its relationships with places, other things and human activities are social practices, meaning that we know, speak and act in particular ways in our actions with land. However, those practices may vary greatly at individual level. For example, a recent study found this complexity in Finnish human–nature relationships, including a broad range of

views on nature as well as discrepancies in these relationships, suggesting that there is no single particular type of Finnish nature relationship. The study concluded that 'as people value nature in diverse and sometimes conflicting ways, the debates around human–nature relations will continue to exist' (Raatikainen et al. 2024).

Being a resource region for political and economic development, both historically and today, the powerful use of land and changes in this regard in Lapland have affected – and are still affecting – people's experiences and thoughts about themselves and their relationships with their material surroundings. The familiar landscapes have changed, forests have been cut, mines opened, water reservoirs filled and dams built in Lapland (Valkonen 2003; Massa 1983; see also Chapter 8, this volume). People have adapted to and accepted these changes, for example moving south or finding new jobs, or have benefitted from the opportunities introduced by environmental change, such as fishing in artificial lakes. Despite these major environmental transformations, most people who live in Lapland seem to like stressing the natural exceptionality of their everyday surroundings. Lapland has been, and still is, imagined as nature and mainly as a natural landscape (Nykänen 2022).

Societal debates reflect the expectations, hopes and fears of both local, regional and national decision-makers as well as stakeholders concerning the region and the use of its resources. The history of land use in Lapland has had a major impact on people's relationships with land, including both the majority population of Finns and the Sámi, the indigenous peoples living in the European north. In her dissertation, Maija Lassila (2021) points out that while the Finns' experiences, claims and histories greatly differ from those of the Sámi in Finland, today both the Sámi and the Finns have limited means for challenging the dominant assumptions regarding land in Lapland exploitable and there to be developed for various purposes. The development projects and investments in industrial development and logistics in Lapland promise employment, income and prospects for local communities and residents there. However, there are also voices raising concern over the environmental and social impacts of such projects such as, in Lassila's case, in the pro-mining municipality of Sodankylä in Lapland. According to Lassila (2021), due to the dominant dualistic human–nature relationships, supported by the modern knowledge framework and spatial practices of state governance either local inhabitants' diverse land-use practices are considered legitimate nor their concerns can be easily articulated.

Social practices are socially learned, transmitted over time and space, and largely culturally-driven. According to contemporary, Western and European social practice, land is mostly understood as a property to be owned, as an asset and a resource (Chapter 1, this volume). Land becomes a resource when its value – whether economic, social, aesthetic, symbolic or spiritual – is recognised. Land is 'resourcified' for multiple purposes (Hast 2021). Social practices give us the background and tools for understanding what land is all about, and enable us to perceive, produce and organise the land as a resource.

These practices are both private and public, as well as individual and collective, engagements with the material world. Social practices have been institutionalised in many ways in legal and political practices concerning land use, but are also diverse in the context of everyday practices and encounters between people, their surroundings and society (Chapter 1, this volume).

A social practice involving land is an integrated entity made of meanings and emotions connected to land that inform how, when, where and why a practice should be performed: the materials provided by land, such as soil, the surface and all its elements, are the 'stuff' that makes a practice possible and allows it to be performed; while governance – including skills, knowledge and technologies connected to land use – entails knowing how to use, care for and manage land (see Shove et al. 2012). As a governance issue, land is a complicated matter. The way we understand land is in most cases ambiguous, and land matters to different actors in various ways. Furthermore, land is an issue which cuts across various other areas of concern, and as a consequence there are different, multilevel governance practices acting upon land simultaneously and in contested ways (De Vries 2018). Social practices form interconnecting, complex systems via bundles and complexes of practices (Shove et al. 2012). Practices in bundles are co-located at similar sites at similar times, for instance in the case of different but parallel practices of land use for reindeer herding, tourism and nature protection in a national park. Complexes of practice comprise multiple, co-located and dependent practices which may need to occur in a particular sequence, such as cooperation, conflict and competition between land-use practices and practitioners. The task of identifying such bundles and complexes is challenging, as social practices are comprised of interlinked elements and multiple practices are connected to each other. Furthermore, they are linked across time and space while always being in flux in different ways and to varying degrees (Shove et al. 2012).

Social practices can be only studied as situated. For Schatzki (1996), these arrangements of relationships between people, artefacts, organisms and inanimate objects represent a snapshot of the world in a specific situation. Such snapshots can be messy and complex. The practices of land use and governance are constantly changing. Most recently, the ongoing rapid militarisation of the European north is bringing to Lapland more military exercises, military staff and infrastructure, and related traffic on the roads, challenging the current practices of land use on Sámi homeland (Junka-Aikio 2024). Furthermore, while land in Lapland has been developed, transformed and disturbed in many ways, it has also been restored in many ways. The rivers used for timber rafting and swamps for peat production have been restored, and there is ongoing work to restore wetlands, traditional biotopes, forests, small bodies of water and bird waters as well as coastal nature via different government programmes. Various pieces of legislation, rules and regulations, as well as levels of governance, target land practices and related activities. Among the most important national legislation are the Nature Conservation Act (2023) and the Land Use and Building Act (1999, to be renewed in 2025),

both of which include main elements of the Council of Europe Landscape Convention (2016). The Convention promotes landscape protection, management and planning. Further rules and regulations can reasonably be expected when the EU's restoration law comes into force. From the practice-theory perspective, it is these laws and policies in which the binaries between land, nature and culture are made and maintained (Lemke 2015; Schoukens 2020; Schunz et al. 2020).

Natural versus cultural landscapes

Today, Lapland is one of places in northern Europe to implement the EU's plans for green transition in order to advance renewable energy production and search for the rare earth minerals needed for electrification. With these industrial efforts, 'the EU seeks to mitigate, adapt to and recover from climate change-related problems and offer European solutions to ensure a robust green and blue transition' (European Commission 2021: 12). The EU's policies on green transition since 2019 guide our understandings, views and visions of what land is, can be and should be. They drive societal projects of transforming land, both materially and politically, by expressing visions of desirable land futures (yet) to be realised (Li 2014; Jasanof 2015; Sippel & Visser 2021).

Both national and regional decision-makers and stakeholders have welcomed the EU initiative for green transition. In Finnish Lapland, this can be seen in the recent boom in mining (Kröger 2018; Lassila 2021) and renewable energy production (Nystén-Haarala et al. 2021), which has been further enhanced by the recent EU green transition policies and their implementation in Lapland. Lapland is seen to have great potential as a source of wind power and its subsurface contains many important rare minerals. For local and regional decision-makers and planners, the green transition is considered regionally important in terms of economic investments in industrial development. According to an estimate published in early 2022, the EU Arctic region has an investment potential of around EUR 150 billion by 2030, a large part of which is linked to delivering on the green transition. According to a regional view, 'EU funding must support the Arctic's potential as a driver of green growth and digital transition in the EU, while striking a balance with protecting the Arctic nature and fighting climate change' (Vehkaperä 2022).

For the green transition, the European north is a resource region. Land rush or land grabbing – that is, 'the large-scale acquisition of land or land-related rights and resources by a corporate, non-profit or public buyer for the purposes of resource extraction geared towards external consumers (whether external means simply off-site or foreign)' (White et al. quoted in Kröger 2018) – is a global phenomenon. Meanwhile, the Sámi land practices in Lapland clash with the EU's policies for green transition there. Natural environments and lands are essential for the Sámi livelihoods and for the 3000–4000 Sámi who live in Lapland. For instance, the ongoing exploration

of new sites for mines and windmills has raised concern for the future among the Sámi. Furthermore, the recent debates in connection to building a railroad through Lapland, including the special herding and Sámi home areas, to the Arctic Ocean (Itkonen 2021; Kähkönen & Nystén-Haarala 2021) and the forest management practices of the government body *Metsähallitus* in the Sámi home area (Nyyssönen 2022; Valkonen 2023) are seen as threatening the Sámi ways of life and traditional livelihoods. The implementation of the EU's Green Deal policies through industrial development may lead to the Sámi losing access to land and water as these land-intensive industries encroach on the land, piece by piece. For the Sámi, the EU's policies are 'Green Colonialism', showing disrespect for the rights of the indigenous peoples and advancing the dispossession of their lands (Laframboise 2022; Kårtveit 2022).

The Sámi approach to land differs from the EU's or Finnish state's practices. Often, the indigenous land practices are offered as an alternative to the dominant Western, European practices, with the claim that the Sámi have a very close relationship with nature and land. This is problematic: it presents a static approach to both nature and the Sámi, based on an assumption of a close and harmonious relationship between the two. This approach ignores the fact that the areas where the Sámi live are ecologically diverse and changing, and that Sámi ways of living and livelihoods vary significantly depending on historical and local context. Jarno Valkonen and Sanna Valkonen stress that none of this is meant to refute the idea of a special Sámi nature relationship based on the use of land and its significance to the Sámi culture (Valkonen & Valkonen 2014).

In the special reindeer herding area and the Sámi homeland in the most northern parts of Lapland, land is legally classified as a natural landscape although it includes large areas in which the traditional Sámi livelihoods and culture are practised. The Sámi perspective is that, while the landscape may look like a natural one, it still may carry the values and meanings attached to the cultural landscape. For example, the Northern Sámi language contains terms that refer to different relationships with nature depending on the perspective, which may concern the use of natural resources (e.g., for forest use or fishing) or its use as nature. Furthermore, to the Sámi, land is not an outsider; it is part of their everyday life, livelihoods and culture. The Sámi's relationship with nature is place-based, including belonging to and having an obligation to a place, and a recognition of nature as a subject or an agent in its own right (Valkonen & Valkonen 2014; Valkonen et al. 2017; Elo & Magga 2007).

The lesson here is that dominant social practices which value land in Lapland as a resource do not see the complex, entangled human–land relationships and practices among the people there. The practices of governance, Finnish legislation and EU policies maintain the nature–culture distinction despite the multiple entangled relationships people have with land and the ways it is used (see Chapters 4 and 8, this volume). As a result, Lapland is seen as a resource region, a site in need of development and investment, based

on the use of natural resources and land. The governance practices are a problem, treating unused land as natural landscapes waiting to be used and developed, while both local and indigenous inhabitants may have a different view of it. Talking about empty, natural landscapes in Lapland clings onto the Western idea of distinguishing nature from culture, and making nature an object to be either exploited or protected (Väyrynen 2017).

Land use in an urban context

According to the EU, Lapland is mostly seen as a rural, sparsely populated area with only local, rural and indigenous communities. No notions of urban communities or cities in Lapland appear in the EU's land practice (European Commission 2021). In Finnish Lapland, more than half of the population live in cities. The largest city is Rovaniemi, a centre of administration, education and healthcare with approximately 60,000 inhabitants – a third of Lapland's population. Rovaniemi is also a major national tourist destination with more than half a million visitors yearly, second only to the capital region in visitor numbers. The city has a monopoly on city planning, and planning that supports the tourism industry is considered important for the city's economic development. Since 1930, development of the tourism industry has changed the landscape fundamentally by building the infrastructure and services needed for domestic and international tourists. Rovaniemi has grown as a tourist attraction, first as tourists travelled by train and car to see the Arctic Ocean, then to enjoy winter sports at a ski resort built near the city centre in 1965, and later to visit Santa Claus and the Arctic Circle. The city has developed into a mixture of different 'tourism worlds' which offer a variety of activities as well as encounters with local people (Hautajärvi 2023; Rantala & Salmela 2020).

For tourists the main attraction is the arctic nature as a vast, isolated and rugged place, their stories emphasising nature, weather conditions and especially activities located in the winter nature. Snow, extreme weather conditions and changing light conditions are an integral part of experiencing Arctic Lapland (Hakkarainen & Ilola 2018; Varnajot 2020). The urban-arctic nature is an important part of the touristic experience, which raises some questions regarding the role, place and significance of nature in the urban environment. This is very much a case of municipal land-use planning and different strategies for urban development. Particularly the case of the Ounasvaara hill near the city centre of Rovaniemi is an interesting one, considering the distinction between nature and culture in an urban context. In 2008, a representative from the ministry of the environment, invited by the city of Rovaniemi, proposed the establishment of 'a national city park' in Rovaniemi, and along with several stakeholders the city decided to start preparations for its establishment in 2010. The idea of the park – the Ounasvaara hill combining the natural landscape, tourism and recreational use by local inhabitants in the urban environment – was regarded as attractive for development, and as the basis for an 'Arctic city

park' to complete the growing list of other national city parks to be established in different parts of Finland. However, despite thorough preparations, in the mid-2010s the tide turned: the economic conditions worked against the city park, and the area in Ounasvaara was seen mainly as one for tourism in need of more accommodations and activities. In 2017, a proposal was made to stop the preparation of the city park in Rovaniemi. Despite the protests of local inhabitants, the hill is now seen as a site for 'international sports tourism' in the new city strategy for 2024, with tracks for walking, running and cycling, and with plans to build more accommodations for the increasing numbers of tourists the city expects in the future (Löfgren-Autti 2023; Regional Council of Lapland 2022).

Another interesting case for discussing natural landscape in the urban context is the Arctic Garden in the city centre. Today, an eight-hectare piece of land hosts the Arktikum House with its exhibitions, research institute, county museum and a garden near the city centre. Around the building the green area has many different names; officially it is called the 'outdoor area of Arktikum House', but it is also known as the 'Arctic Garden' and 'Arctic Park'. Initially, the idea had been to build a botanical garden and an arboretum to support the activities of the science centre and museum at the Arktikum House. The garden was built in the mid-1990s, with tons of soil brought in to shape the flat landscape into hills, valleys, a swamp and an island, and seeds and seedlings brought from different parts of the Arctic region to create the garden and arboretum on the low-lying shores of the Ounasjoki River. The aim was to represent not only the Finnish Arctic nature but also the 'international pan-arctic' with seeds, plantings and plants from other parts of the region. Local plants like willows and invasive alien species thrived in the garden, while the imported Arctic plants soon suffered due to lack of care. With EU funding, the place was renovated in the early 2010s to become an 'Arctic Park', a multiuse recreational space for local inhabitants and tourists to use year-round and at any time, from bird watchers in the morning to Northern Lights seekers at night. In 2017 a new planning process was started, initiated by the government forestry agency, *Metsähallitus*, to make the park 'a more lively place', a site for new programme activities and services for tourists, for example building a place with restaurant services to observe the Northern Lights, a high-rise tower with a spa, and a sauna building with an outdoor swimming pool in the river (Tennberg 2023).

The city of Rovaniemi clearly struggles with the idea of nature in its urban contexts in land use and planning. These recent developments raise questions: whom is the city built and developed for – locals or tourists? What is the place for natural landscapes in the city? Does the city need to reserve lands for green areas for the future, and even restore some built areas in the future? At the same time, the pressure to make the city greener to tackle the harmful impacts of the warming climate clashes with aims to build more dense urban structure to support a reduction in greenhouse emissions and to ease everyday mobility; and EU policies on biodiversity and nature restoration also demand

that cities become greener. The city of Rovaniemi is now seeking a comprehensive approach to and solution for these questions, developing a strategic city plan for 2050 over the next two years. According to local authorities, 'the purpose is to get rid of fragmented and short-term planning, so that it will be easier for the people of Rovaniemi to anticipate what will happen in their living environment' (City of Rovaniemi 2024). With a long-term strategic master plan the city aims to prepare for future changes, and its new strategy will guide the entire municipality's land use. However, the draft of the plan seems to be very human-centred, based on the idea of a human love of nature but in practice representing a highly utilitarian approach to land use at this point (City of Rovaniemi 2024).

The lesson from this case is that land has multiple meanings, including natural, cultural, historical, social and political ones, and is 'resourcefied' (Hast 2021) for multiple purposes, including natural, protected areas and ordinary everyday sites by legal and planning practices. There is no pure, unspoilt nature in Lapland; there are many extractive 'resourcefications' of land there, by many actors and for many purposes, as a source of not only cooperation but also conflict, for example, between tourism industry and local uses of urban nature for recreation. This is the case for the 'arctic' urban nature; it is a result of a practice made of diverse materialities, multiple and contested meanings of urban arcticness and supporting infrastructure and technology. Post-humanist researchers in tourism studies, for example Anu Valtonen, Outi Rantala and Emily Höckert, suggest a situated, down-to-earth approach to land and ways to care for it by combining insights from the emerging geosocial literature and feminist new materialism as an alternative to the dominant approaches in the local tourism industry to the land (Rantala et al. 2020, 2023).

Down to the earth in Lapland

The concept of land culture(s) helps us to capture these multiple, multilevel practices related to land with certain historical backgrounds. Going beyond the stereotypical nature–culture and urban–rural distinctions seems central to future efforts to study land cultures. The cases discussed in this chapter problematise the distinction between natural and cultural as a complicated matter in both urban and rural contexts. The chapter suggests that we need to more closely explore the multiple land relationships, practices and cultures in order to make sense of contemporary politics and development in the European north.

It is our current practices of governance that maintain the binary approaches in today's land cultures. Challenging binaries in land practices may be done in different ways by problematising the different elements in a practice and the way they are integrated (Shove et al. 2012). One alternative – recrafting practices – involves systematically analysing and intervening in one or more of the three elements of practices (meanings and affects, materialities,

or skills and knowledge) to shift them towards more sustainable or less harmful forms (Shove & Spurling 2013). Such a strategy could involve, as Mikko Jokinen suggests in the context of studying the so-called forest wars in northern Lapland, having more cultural sensitivity; that is, focussing on understanding the importance of meanings and affects in land-use practices and their management in Lapland (Jokinen 2019). Another possible strategy, substituting practices (Shove & Spurling 2013), involves encouraging more sustainable variants of a current land practice, such as changing the dynamics of the 'resourcefication' of land via new practices of ecological compensation; that is, creating markets for selling and buying land-based 'habitat values', for instance rematerialising land instead of making it the object of more government regulation or private, voluntary measures (Hiedanpää et al. 2023). The third strategy, changing how practices interlock, involves understanding how they are connected in time and space, or where and when they take place and how they are governed (Shove & Spurling 2013). This could lead, for example, to an expansion of the knowledge and skills base for governance practices through the development of new, more inclusive land practices for co-management (Sarkki et al. 2022).

Land has been and is still being used, transformed and disturbed in Lapland in many ways. Land is an important part of both contemporary and future regional and national politics, and in the next fifty years the warming climate will have multiple impacts on it, such as greening and changing types of nature as well as the loss of some of them, like certain forms of swamps, in Lapland. Climate policies, both adaptation and mitigation measures, will also change land-use practices in different ways through more dense community structures and new land-use practices for reducing energy consumption and emissions, preparing for floods, and maintaining forests as sinks, for example. The ever-changing lands and land-use practices, as well as our understandings of land cultures, suggest that land – as a terrestrial actor – continues to be a major force in organising politics. Thus, there are good reasons to take a closer look at the 'geo' in the geopolitics of the European north. As the geographer Stuart Elden (2013: 15) asks, 'What would happen if geo implicitly did not mean some economically formed spatial world, but rather land; air and subsoil; questions about land, terrain and territory; earth processes and understandings of the world?' Studying land cultures as well as land-use and governance practices in detail seems to be a much-needed approach for exploring and problematising the 'geo' in northern European geopolitics.

References

City of Rovaniemi. (2024). Rovaniemen strateginen yleiskaava 2050. www.rovaniemi.fi/Asuminen-ja-ymparisto/Kaavoitus-ja-maankaytto/Rovaniemen-strateginen-yleiskaava-2050.

Conway, P. (2015). Back down to Earth: reassembling Latour's Anthropocenic geopolitics. *Global Discourse*, 6(1–2), 43–71.

Council of Europe. (2017). Landscape Convention. Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/16807b6bc7.

Dalby, S. (2014). Rethinking geopolitics: Climate security in the Anthropocene. *Global Policy*, 5, 1–9.

De Vries, W. (2018). Towards a theory of metagovernance of land: Fundamentals and prospects. *Journal of Land Policy and Governance*, 1, 26–36.

Elden, S. (2013). Secure the volume: Vertical geopolitics and the depth of power. *Political Geography*, 34, 35–51.

Elo, T. & Magga. P. (2007). *Eletty, koettu maisema – näkökulmia saamelaiseen kulttuurimaisemaan*. Lapin ympäristökeskus.

Erikstad, L., Hagen, D. & Simensen, T. (2023). Working with natural processes: Restoring a mining landscape in the High Arctic, Svalbard, Norway. *Geoheritage*, 15, 87.

European Commission. (2021). Joint communication on the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A stronger EU engagement for a peaceful, sustainable and prosperous Arctic. Brussels, 13 October. Join(2021) 27 final.

Goudiard, R. (2023). Living on the land: Bruno Latour and the landscape approach on the Bibracte site. Retrieved from www.citego.org/bdf_fiche-document-3036_en.html.

Hanaček, K., Kröger, M., Scheidel, A., Rojas, F. & Martinez-Alier, J. (2022). On thin ice – The Arctic commodity extraction frontier and environmental conflicts. *Ecological Economics* 191, 107247.

Hakkarainen, M. & Ilola, H. (2018). *Arktisen merkitykset Lapin matkailussa*. Matkailualan tutkimus- ja koulutusinstituutti.

Hast, S. (2021). *Yhteensovittamattomat luonnonvarat? Tutkimus Lapin luonnonvaraistumisesta*. Acta Electronica Universitatis Lapponiensis 323. University of Lapland.

Hautajärvi, H. (2023). Miten Suomen matkailua on suunniteltu? Valtiovetoisuudesta markkinaohjautuvuuteen. In S. Veijola & N. Aarras (eds), *Matkailunkestävä Suomi? Vastuullinen suunnittelu kulttuuri- ja luontoympäristöissä*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 59–120.

Hiedanpää, J., *et al.* (2023). Ecosocial compensation of nature–based social values in Turku, south-west Finland. *Socio Ecol Pract Res*, 5, 391–407.

Itkonen, P. (2021). Skolt Sámi and industrialization: State-directed territorialisation and commodification in the Arctic borderlands. *Suomen Antropologi*, 46(1). https://doi.org/10.30676/jfas.v46i1.99917.

Jasanof, S. (2015). Imagined and invented worlds. In S. Jasnoff & S.-H. Kim (eds), *Dreamscapes of Modernity: Sociotechnical Imaginaries and the Fabrication of Power*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 321–341.

Jokinen, M. (2019). Lapin ympäristökiistojen kulttuuriset tekijät. Helsingin yliopisto. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10138/304801.

Junka-Aikio, L. (2024). Training on Terra Nullius? A decolonial approach to militarisation in Sápmi and northern Finland. *Critical Studies on Security*, 2(3), 245–249.

Kähkönen, J. & Nystén-Haarala, S. (2021). Finland's plans of the Arctic Ocean rail line are buried deep beneath the ice – or are they really? *Current Developments in Arctic Law* 9, 4–6.

Kangas, K., Brown, G., Kivinen, M., Tolvanen, A., Tuulentie, S., Karhu, J., Markovaara-Koivisto, M., Eilu, P., Tarvainen, O., Similä, J. & Juutinen, A. (2022). Land use synergies and conflicts identification in the framework of compatibility analyses and spatial assessment of ecological, socio-cultural and economic values. *Journal of Environmental Management* 316, 115174.

Kårtveit, B. (2022). Green colonialism: The story of wind power in Sápmi. In R. Sørly, T. Ghaye & B. Kårtveit (eds), *Stories of Change and Sustainability in the Arctic Region. The Interdependence of Local and Global* (pp. 157–177). Routledge.

Koivunen, N. (2024). Report survey: Unimplemented restoration plans in the Barents region. Retrieved from https://barents-council.org/img/2023-Report_Survey-of-unimplemented-restoration-plans-in-the-Barents-region.pdf.

Kröger, A.M. (2018). The global land rush and the Arctic. In M. Finger & L. Heininen (eds), *The Global Arctic Handbook*. Springer, pp. 27–43.

Land Use and Building Act. (1999). Land Use and Building Act. Unofficial translation. Retrieved from www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990132.pdf.

Laframboise, L. (2022). Brussels looks north: The European Union's latest arctic policy and the potential for 'green' colonialism. Retrieved from www.thearcticinstitute.org/brussels-looks-north-european-unions-latest-arctic-policy-potential-green-colonialism.

Lapland Chamber of Commerce. (2023). The investment potential of the Northern region. Retrieved from https://lapland.chamber.fi/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/lnvestment-potential-Northhern-region-Lapland-Chamber-of-Commerce.pdf.

Lassila, M. (2021). The Arctic mineral resource rush and the ontological struggle for the Viiankiaapa peatland in Sodankylä. Finland. *Globalizations*, 18(4), 635–649.

Latour, B. (2018). *Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime*. Polity Press.

Lemke, T. (2015). New materialisms: Foucault and the 'government of things'. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 32(4), 3–25.

Li, T. M. (2014). What is land? Assembling a resource for global investment. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 39(4), 589–602.

Löfgren-Autti, M. (2023). Rovaniemen kansallinen kaupunkipuisto. Menetetty mahdollisuus? In M. Löfgren-Autti*et al.* (eds), *Puut puistot ihmiset: Puiden ja puistojen kulttuurihistoriaa Rovaniemellä*. Lapin maakuntamuseo.

Massa, I. (1983). *Ihminen ja Lapin luonto: Lapin luonnonkäytön historiaa*. Suomen antropooginen seura.

Nature Conservation Act. (2023). Finland Nature Conservation Act (9/2023; amendments up to 840/2023 included). Translation from Finnish; Legally binding only in Finnish and Swedish; Ministry of the Environment. Retrieved from www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2023/en20230009_20230840.pdf.

Nykänen, T. (2022). *Lapin ihminen Identifikaatiot, ympäristöt ja yhteinen erityisyys*. Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Nystén-Haarala, S., Joona, T. & Hovila, I. (2021). Wind energy projects and reindeer herders' rights in Finnish Lapland: A legal framework. *Elementa* 9(1), 1–17.

Nyyssönen, J. (2022). Frame alignment between environmentalists and the Sámi in the forest dispute in Inari, Finland until the 2000s. *Frontiers in Conservation Science*, 3.

Raatikainen, K. J., *et al.* (2024). The intricate diversity of human–nature relations: Evidence from Finland. *Ambio* 53, 181–200.

Rantala, O., Valtonen A. & Salmela, T. (2020). Walking with rocks – with care. In A. Valtonen, O. Rantala & P. Farah (eds.), *Ethics and Politics of Space for the Anthropocene*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Rantala, O., Kinnunen, V. & Höckert, E. (2023). *Researching with Proximity: Relational Methodologies for the Anthropocene*. Springer.

Rantala, O. & Salmela, T. (2020). More than Santa Claus? The city of Rovaniemi in the quest for balanced urban nature tourism. In D. K. Müller*et al.* (eds), *Arctic Tourism in Times of Change: Dimensions of Urban Tourism*. Nordic Council of Ministers, pp. 18–27. www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1471328/FULLTEXT01.pdf.

Raspotnik, A. & Østhagen, A. (2021). What about the Arctic? The European Union's geopolitical quest for northern space. *Geopolitics* 26(4), 1150–1174.

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a theory of social practices. A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(2), 243–263.

Regional Council of Lapland. (2022). Rovaniemen maakuntakaavaselostus. Retrieved from www.lapinliitto.fi/aluesuunnittelu/maakuntakaavoitus/voimassa-olevat-maakuntakaavat/rovaniemen-ja-ita-lapin-maakuntakaava/.

Sarkki, S., Jokinen, M., Heikkinen, H. I., Nijnik, M., Melnykovych, M. & Kluvánková, T. (2022). 'Going out to get in' – Roles of forest conflicts in bottom-linked environmental governance progressing toward socio-political innovations. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 32(6), 478–491.

Schatzki, T. (1996). *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and the Social*. Cambridge University Press.

Schoukens, H. (2020). Rights of nature in the European Union: Contemplating the operationalization of an eco-centric concept in an anthropocentric environment? In J. C. Pereira & A. Saramago (eds), *Non-Human Nature in World Politics*. Springer, pp. 205–234.

Schunz, S., De Botselier, B. & Piqueres, S. L. (2020). The European Union's diplomacy protecting the non-human nature. In J. C. Pereira & A. Saramago (eds), *Non-Human Nature in World Politics*. Springer, pp. 235–259.

Squire, V. (2015). Reshaping critical geopolitics? The materialist challenge. *Review of International Studies*, 41(1), 139–159.

Shove, E., Pantzar, M. & Watson, M. (2012). *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes*. Sage.

Shove, E. & Spurling, N. (2013). *Sustainable Practices: Social Theory and Climate Change*. Routledge.

Sippel, S.R. & Visser, O. (2021). Introduction to symposium 'Reimagining land: materiality, affect and the uneven trajectories of land transformation'. *Agric Hum Values* 38, 271–282.

Tennberg, M. (2023). Vihreä keidas. Arktisen puutarhan tarina. In M. Löfgren-Autti*et al.* (eds), *Puut puistot ihmiset: Puiden ja puistojen kulttuurihistoriaa Rovaniemellä*. Lapin maakuntamuseo, pp. 68–86.

Throne, R. (2021). Land as agency: A critical autoethnography of Scandinavian acquisition of dispossessed land in the Iowa Territory. In R. Throne (ed.), *Indigenous Research of Land, Self, and Spirit*. IGI Global, pp. 118–131.

Valkonen, J. (2003). *Lapin luontopolitiikka: analyysi vuosien 1946–2000 julkisesta keskustelusta*. Tampere University Press.

Valkonen, J. & Valkonen, S. (2014). Contesting the nature relations of Sámi culture. *Acta Borealia* 31 (1), 25–40.

Valkonen, S., Valkonen, J., & Lehtola, V.-P. (2017). An ontological politics of and for the Sámi cultural heritage: reflections on belonging to the Sámi community and the land. In A. Xanthaki, S. Valkonen, L. Heinimäki, & P. Nuorgam (eds), *Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Heritage: Rights, Debates, Challenges*. Brill Nijhoff, pp. 149–174.

Valkonen, J. (2023). Inarin metsäkonfliktia voidaan tarkastella maapolitiikkana. *Alue ja Ympäristö*, 52(1), 141–143.

Vehkaperä, M. (2022). The EU must harness the potential of the Arctic to drive the green transition. Retrieved from www.ouka.fi/en/news/eu-must-harness-potential-arctic-drive-green-transition.

Varnajot, A. (2020). Rethinking Arctic tourism: tourists' practices and perceptions of the Arctic in Rovaniemi. *Nordia Geographical Publications*, 49(4), 108.

Väyrynen, K. (2017). Luonnosta ympäristöön: luontosuhteemme käsite- ja aatehistoriaa. In M. Myllykangas & P. Pietikäinen (eds), *Ajatusten lähteillä: Aatteiden ja oppien historiaa*. Gaudeamus.

6 Approaching rewilding from different national historical contexts

A cultural rather than natural question

E. C. H. Keskitalo and E. Andersson

Introduction and aim

Much literature has noted that conceptions of the environment vary greatly between different states. Early conservation efforts often focused on conserving what were regarded as 'natural' environments as opposed to human ones (e.g. Purdy 2010). Such a juxtaposition of 'human' with 'nature' has eased, for instance in the recognition that many open landscapes with high biodiversity are the result of human use such as livestock grazing. Mainstream environmental protection today is thus often focused on biodiversity, including man-made features such as meadow landscapes created by grazing, and asserting a need to approach conservation as undertaken in relation to and with the inclusion of local uses (e.g. Antrop 2014).

Despite this multiple-use situation, a conception of environmental protection that has recently gained application is that of 'rewilding'. While this concept is understood in many different ways, the general idea of rewilding that will be discussed here focuses on creating, often large, areas without human influence or management, with wildlife-watching or tourism being the main accepted use there, in some cases added to by management that is considered to be complementary to wilderness, such as indigenous practices. In some cases, 'rewilding' has even aimed to reintroduce historical preindustrial or even Pleistocene conditions, targeting for instance the reintroduction of large vertebrates, particularly carnivores (Jørgensen 2015).

The concept of rewilding was applied first through activism and then in research, and is at present being applied widely: in the original United States (US) context, as well as in Europe within a European network founded in 2011 (Gammon 2017). In addition, rewilding cases across Europe have also been established in national networks (e.g. Gammon 2017; Hoek 2022; Carvalho et al. 2019). However, in Europe, there is a long history of cultural landscapes (Drenthen & Keulartz 2014), which highlights the importance of understanding their meanings and relations in various forms of management and policy initiatives (e.g. Müller 2011).

With a focus on conceptions of land and land use this chapter will analyse rewilding from a discourse perspective, by identifying and reviewing the

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-6

foundational tenets of the approach and tracing these back to literature on wilderness and the development of rewilding approaches and conceptions of wilderness in the US. Based on present literature and debate on rewilding, the foundational tenets are identified and reviewed with reference to the main areas of conflict and criticism within the academic discourse on rewilding, with a focus on Europe. The chapter then traces these conceptions to related ideas such as 'wilderness' that underlie a rewilding approach as based in a particularly US-centred conception of land use. Finally, in order to illustrate the ways in which the foundational tenets of understandings of something as 'wild' may differ from established land-use practice, the chapter compares assumptions about land use that are inherent in the concepts of rewilding and wilderness with those regarding land use in practice, policy and legislation in the European, and particularly the Swedish, case. In this, the chapter draws together established (but often kept separate) discussions on rewilding and wilderness – as well as an empirical case, land use in Sweden – and suggests future areas for research.

Understanding and analysing land-use discourses

How land can be managed and what decisions are made regarding managing – or not managing – land are fundamentally a social and political issue. Land use and understandings of what legitimate use entails can fall anywhere between non-intervention and avoidance of management on the one hand and intensive management and use on the other, and subsequently between what may be seen as 'natural' and 'cultural' areas. However, this kind of distinction belies the fact that 'natural' areas are also impacted by culture: today in the Anthropocene, humans also impact ecosystems through far-away actions that influence climate, pollution and the like. Not undertaking management is also a social, cultural and economic decision (cf. Cronon 1996).

In such an understanding, there are thereby no human conceptions of ecosystems that are not 'cultural', meaning that it is of paramount importance to understand how and in what ways they have been formed. Understanding discourses can constitute a way to do this, as discourse study aims to highlight the boundaries of what can be talked about in a specific setting: what are the main tenets that people need to relate to, even if only to critique and contradict them? What areas are considered self-evident to have to relate to? In Foucauldian discourse analysis, answering these questions is regarded as archaeology, excavating what types of conceptions are prominent in a certain discourse (Foucault 1980; Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983).

Foucauldian discourse analysis has also highlighted the importance of tracing these types of tenets back historically – undertaking a genealogy – in order to elucidate where these specific ideas originated (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983). A major benefit of this is that it allows one to 'denaturalise' the types of assumptions that are often considered given in a specific context, and to show that they have developed in specific historical contexts with specific

assumptions and for specific purposes. Discourse analysis can thereby make it easier to pinpoint and criticise assumptions.

In this chapter, these ideas are applied as epistemological starting points (but, due to limited space, not as fully applied analytical methods), with a Foucauldian archeologically inspired approach aiming to highlight the main foundational, and criticised, tenets of rewilding. This aim is not to say that the approaches to rewilding that are highlighted here are taken in all work that relates to it; instead, the aim has been to highlight the main areas that have both been defined as crucial, based on foundational documents, and have received major critique in literature. The chapter does not aim to cover conceptions of rewilding beyond these, as the discussion of implementing rewilding has come to vary significantly between cases, in some cases also stretching to ideas of 'rewilding humans' and the like (e.g. Maffey & Arts 2023), which will not be discussed here. Instead, the aim is to identify and discuss key criticised areas of conceptions of rewilding. The focus in the criticism is placed particularly on Europe as an area of implementation. In line with this focus, the three main fundamental tenets identified here are 'Rewilding as returning land to its "natural" state'; 'Rewilding as excluding management'; and 'Rewilding as excluding general use'.

The key criticised areas of rewilding are then traced back in relation to historical development, highlighting the US in particular and in line with the development of the rewilding approach there. This analysis is inspired by that in Foucauldian genealogy, whereby key conceptions (such as here wilderness) are traced back to their specific historical origins of terms, conceptions and understandings. The focus here is placed on the academic analysis of the wilderness conception and major authors in this, and also includes some discussion on tourism as made relevant by the uses that are regarded as relevant to areas of rewilding in the foundational sense discussed here as well.

Finally, the chapter contrasts the conceptions discussed here with conceptions in practice, in the case of Sweden and with particular focus on forest. Sweden is chosen as a case because, contrary to much literature stressing the need for mainly local-level involvement in conservation (e.g. Pretty et al. 2009), it illustrates not only established local practices and land use but also the embedding of these at the level of national legislation, and thereby the relevance of the larger system level and organisation at this level in assessing different management approaches (e.g. Keskitalo 2024). Sweden is also relevant as a case as the relatively large geographic area covered by forest in this case may seem 'wild' to the outside observer. With agricultural land often having been seen as 'civilised' from a wilderness perspective (cf. Jahn 2013), the focus on forest thereby also illustrates the diversity of approaches to and uses of land that rewilding perspectives might otherwise conceive of based on a wilderness assumption. In relation to rewilding, Sweden may also be a relevant example not only hypothetically but also because one of the case areas within the Rewilding Europe network has been placed in Sweden (Koninx 2019).

Thus, while Sweden's case description, due to the general country level of the case, largely centres on a more general comparison, in practice the case could come to be influenced by the current rewilding discussion depending on the specific definition, selection and interpretation that are applied to rewilding features, either now or in the future. The case description is developed to relate to the areas that are made relevant in regard to the tenets of rewilding, i.e. the extent to which areas can be considered wilderness or natural, and the roles of management and use.

The main criticisms of the foundational tenets of rewilding

The description here of the main criticisms of the foundational tenets of rewilding focuses on rewilding as returning to land to its 'natural' state, rewilding as excluding management, and rewilding as excluding general use. All of these can be considered to be related to each other, based in the foundational conception of the term rewilding as it developed in the North American Wildlands project: focused on *wilderness exempting human influence, and often larger areas* (e.g. Jørgensen 2015).

Rewilding as returning to land to its 'natural' state

The concept of rewilding was first developed in the North American Wildlands Project, founded in 1991 with the aim of creating *core wilderness areas exempting human influence*. This conception thus highlights the intent for areas to be pristine, wild and outside human influence, which can be regarded as part of both this and the next main identified area, rewilding as excluding management. Areas are to be undisturbed, natural and left alone – outside human influence (e.g. Jørgensen 2015).

At this point, the concept of wilderness involved the presence of the large fauna that were still present there (Jørgensen 2015). However, in later applications – such as an influential *Nature* article in 2005 (Donlan 2005) – it was suggested that the rewilding of North America be based on a restoration of large vertebrates. Constituting the beginning of the popularisation of the concept, rewilding thus came to be seen as a return to a pre-clearance state, sometimes several thousand years ago and sometimes explicitly Pleistocene (Jørgensen 2015; see also Trouwborst & Svenning 2022). Some authors also specifically suggested that rewilding could become the new model of usage for abandoned agricultural land (e.g. Navarro & Pereira 2012). Prior to the development of the rewilding concept, this was also a central argument for a proposed Buffalo commons on the US Great Plains (Popper & Popper 1987).

As a result of criticism of these conceptions of returning to a 'state of nature', rewilding literature has later come to relate to conceptions of wildness as a more open concept than simply wilderness, as will be discussed later.

Rewilding as excluding management

The rewilding concept was taken further in both natural science and activist communities, for instance within activism with the 2011 establishment of the Rewilding Europe network. This network was based in the Netherlands – arguably Europe's most artificially supported environment – and the first European rewilding case study was established on *terra nullius* reclaimed from the sea floor (Gammon 2017). The Rewilding Europe angle combines the idea of species reintroduction with that of the use of abandoned land (Jørgensen 2015); however, this first case, from the Netherlands, which initially escaped criticism from existing users by utilising an area that lacked established use, drew major criticism as its human-introduced large herbivore flocks peaked and then starved to death during harsh winters (Lorimer et al. 2015; Kopnina et al. 2019). National rewilding networks, particularly in the UK in 2015, have followed and subsequently also garnered criticism, especially from existing users (Corlett 2016; Pellis 2019). This is because it is assumed that areas – as in both the Netherlands case and in the North American Wildlands Project – will be left outside human influence or management. This means that even if they were not 'wilderness' from the start, the management is assumed to be akin to one that will 'exempt human influence'; i.e., remove or lack management.

In response to criticism of this exclusion of management, later literature has highlighted that rewilding should be seen as emphasising non-human autonomy (Prior & Ward 2016). This reconceptualisation has taken place in parallel with a refocus on wildness, instead of wilderness, as a basis for rewilding. Thus, the purpose of materially realising pristine environments has shifted to instead acknowledging the plurality and diverse conditions of different spaces. This shift has meant that the initial emphasis on excluding management has softened to one that 'allows Rewilders to create "wild spaces" rather than wilderness', which highlights the agency and role of 'Rewilders' in this creation and management (Ward 2019).

Rewilding as excluding general use

Attempts to apply the rewilding concept in practice have drawn extensive popular criticism from multiple users, mainly in relation to its being ahistorical and unsuited to areas marked by established and multiple land uses. The focus on 'wild' areas that are 'outside human influence' is thus taken to the conclusion that it means that existing uses must be exempted. In this, the focus has instead been placed on uses of nature that are considered transient and could potentially be undertaken without implications on site, focusing on tourism as well as on uses that can be regarded as being related to a more 'original' nature, such as indigenous use (e.g. Koninx 2019). The criticism of excluding general use in such a way has involved all the three aspects of seeing areas as 'natural', excluding management, and excluding general use, potentially as all of these

have been seen to lead to social conflict. In the UK, where rewilding has been discussed for the last ten years or so, Gammon reports that UK 'farmers have defended their ways of life against [*Rewilding Britain* founder] Monbiot's attacks and the existential threat rewilding would pose' (Gammon 2017: 17; cf. Carey 2016). Authors have also noted that seeing rewilded areas as only an object of tourism and not allowing other land uses (except potentially indigenous ones, in areas where this distinction can be made) is not practicable (Koninx 2019). Bone, quoting *Europe Nature Trust*, notes that *Rewilding Scotland* into a 'tourist attraction' would be incorrect as it 'is not wild, rather it is rural … and converting [it back] … would require radical social change' (Bone 2018: 10; see also Martin et al. 2021, 2023 on illustrating how such critiques have also come to change which foundational aspects of rewilding are applied). Other authors have also noted that approaches that express these foundational tenets ignore the very understanding of 'landscape' as 'shaped land', and can be understood as being in line with a British historical enclosure of commons, excluding local use in favour of large landowners (Olwig 2016) and now instead favouring large and similarly economically important tourism interests (Büscher et al. 2012).[1]

The rewilding approach in this type of understanding has thereby been strongly criticised not the least in the social sciences, where authors have even regarded it as resulting in 'green wars' (Büscher & Fletcher 2018) or 'neoliberal conservation', as it is seen as removing land rights from the local population (Büscher & Fletcher 2015; Lansing et al. 2015; Büscher et al. 2012). Proponents and opponents of the concept have argued it out in multiple comment articles (e.g. Cafaro et al. 2017; Büscher et al. 2017).

Other critique has focused on the parts that are central in the original conception of rewilding, for areas to be 'wild' ('natural') and exempt from 'human influence' (i.e. excluding management and general use). Authors questioning the concept have noted that, for Europe, not only does an application of 'wilderness' 'lack … a common physical and spatial definition' (Lupp et al. 2011: 597); 'relatively pristine' or 'wilderness' areas may be considered to constitute only a few per cent of the European area (Schnitzler 2014).[2] Authors have also noted that the ecological benefits and feasibility of rewilding are in doubt (e.g. Nogués-Bravo et al. 2016). The rewilding movement has thus been criticised for enforcing a romanticist view of nature. For instance, it has been noted that:

> [t]he focus on 'charismatic' animals … tends to lend weight to the perception that rewilding may be motivated to some extent as much by the experience of spectacle or thrill-seeking as environmentalism … Such sentiments, it can be argued, are broadly consistent with the sensibilities that have long been associated with the tourist's search for 'authentic' experiences and, correspondingly, the contemporary urbanite's weariness with everyday experience; a search for romantic re-enchantment amongst a sector of society disenchanted with modern urban living and the

> manufactured diversions of consumerism as much as the more laudable aims of restoring biodiversity
>
> (Bone 2018: 11–12)

Thus, Gammon suggests that '[w]hereas in the North American context, rewilding seemed to emerge out of the conservation trends that preceded it, in the European setting, the rewilding departs significantly from the preceding protection regime' (Gammon 2017: 158).

Aiming to qualify a rewilding approach to the admittedly highly cultural landscapes of Europe, authors supporting the concept have suggested that the approach could be modified: applying existing management, acknowledging that Pleistocene environments cannot be recreated in present warmer and more infrastructurally developed areas, and focusing on rewilding in abandoned farmland or 'marginal' land (e.g. Pereira & Navarro 2015; Navarro & Pereira 2012).[3]

What conceptions are rewilding and wilderness conceptualisations based on?

As part of the criticism that the tenets of rewilding discussed above have drawn, there has also been a movement towards understanding it as being based in specific ideological and developmental assumptions. Along these lines, it has been noted that the conception of wilderness in rewilding 'reinforce[s] … a uniquely American paradox' (Carey 2016: 807) that may not reflect either actual or historic conditions, either there or elsewhere. This is because the lands that were conceived of as American 'wildernesses' were originally inhabited by indigenous populations, and thereby did not lack human influence – only an influence that the colonists would recognise (cf. Keskitalo 2024). Thus, it has been suggested that assumptions regarding rewilding in fact reproduce US historically based assumptions regarding land use that differ from European ones.

In tracing the major tenets of rewilding, the conceptualisation of 'wilderness' includes all the different aspects of seeing areas as 'natural' lands, excluding management, and excluding general use. This is because the idea of nature as a 'wilderness' makes it definitionally devoid of human influence (e.g. Carey 2016). 'Wilderness' is considered to describe areas before human influence – notably, before European influence. This conception has been reviewed in a wide-ranging body of literature, in which it is particularly referred to as being promoted by American thought (e.g. Nash 1982; Slotkin 1998). It has further been suggested that the US experience and understanding of nature cannot be understood as separate from its broader frontier experience of large-scale and historically protracted settlement (Slotkin 1998; Nash 1982), i.e. the specific historical circumstances that shaped this understanding of nature.

In practical implementation of these concepts, it has thus been criticised that the 1964 US Wilderness Act defines wilderness as an area 'untrammeled

by man' (i.e. excluding any human use or management), despite the fact that the land that would become the US was inhabited and used in multiple ways long before the arrival of British colonists (Wilhelm 2013). Researchers have concluded that this means that the US Wilderness Act's 'reverence of "wilderness" per se is grounded in an *aesthetic* – not some objectively verifiable state of affairs … [and] generally independent of any *local* … sensibility' (Colburn 2005: 457; cf. Purdy 2010, Lowenthal 2013; Moranda 2015). Today, US definitions of wilderness are further seen as revolving around roadlessness and the absence of human-built constructs (Wilhelm 2013).

Similar to the claim that rewilding is focused on romanticist rather than ecological aims (especially if the latter are understood in relation to biodiversity) (e.g. Bone 2018), authors writing on wilderness have also concluded that 'wilderness' involves something other than a factual state or conditions that are directly relevant to biodiversity (Gammon 2017). Seeking the conceptual roots of the 'wilderness' concept, authors have related the derivation of the word wilderness to being 'bewildered': lost and feeling astray (Gammon 2017). This understanding applied to nature has been considered to be a result of the significant role that the 'frontier' experience – of a 'civilisation' conquering 'wilderness' – has played in American thought and history (e.g. Slotkin 1998; Turner 1921).

Thus, in his classical work on wilderness conceptions in the US, Nash (1982) describes how settlers on the American continent depicted the land as Other to themselves – the settlers were seen as constituting 'civilisation' as a positive force, which was itself defined by its juxtaposition with nature or 'wilderness' (cf. Turner 1921). This was a historically and culturally coloured experience. While hoping for a bounteous Eden, US settlers had to confront their own inability or difficulty to gain outcome in this new, foreign land. This made them come to see wilderness as alien, inhospitable and dangerous rather than as naturalised and known surroundings, such as they might have conceived of nature in the lands they had left. When this experience passed, with more and more of the American continent coming under settler habitation and with 'civilised' agricultural or pastoral use, wilderness – still conceived of as Other – again came to be regarded as Edenic and as an object for preservation; but in the same mythical state that they had imagined it: free from human impact (and ignoring land uses present before their large-scale and agriculturally based colonisation; Nash 1982; see also Cronon 1996).

The understanding of land as 'wilderness' can thus be considered to be based more on a cultural conception and a self-understanding of US settlers than an actual or factual conception of properties of nature (e.g. Kaufmann 1998). It has further been noted that some of these conceptions can be traced back to the Roman Empire and early Christendom conceptions of the lands beyond the border of the Empire or monasteries as wild lands, populated by demons and angels (e.g. Lupp et al. 2011). This can be related to the Edenic or horrific assumptions regarding 'wilderness' that were applied not only in relation to US settlement but also in the romantic movement (Nash 1982;

Slotkin 1998; Lupp et al. 2011). However, the emphasis on a frontier experience and its juxtaposition of 'civilisation' with 'wilderness' has been considered characteristic of the US in the stress placed on it even into the present (for instance in US popular culture; e.g. Kaufmann 1998).

These types of ideas about wilderness have also gained wide spread through American influence. The understanding of tourism as one of the few legitimate uses of wilderness can be said to be related to the common conceptual basis of wilderness and tourism conceptions. Many authors highlight that the romanticisation of wilderness is common not only in the historical development of the conservation movement but also in tourism. Tourism garnered significant focus in the US Wilderness Act in regard to scenic properties (e.g. Purdy 2010; Moranda 2015) and in the romantic movement, which also constituted a basis for early landscape tourism. However, today's criticism, well established within the field of tourism studies, highlights that tourism reproduces the conceptions described above as related to a wilderness conception. Tourism thus often focuses on that which is considered exotic, or even removed in time: it is assumed to differ from the assumed tourist's more naturalised background as urban or modern (that is, 'civilised'), instead locating places of nature in a position related to a historical past and separate from human daily life (akin to 'wilderness'; cf. Howard 2016; Viken and Müller 2017). However, as noted above, this is not something that can be assumed to intrinsically characterise nature areas. Instead, both historical research and a more social constructivist understanding of nature relationships (e.g. Peeren 2018) highlight that nature in such understandings has been defined not in relation to its intrinsic characteristics but by how it was socially experienced, in a cultural and institutional setting, by certain communities at certain times.

Rewilding or wilderness, and the construction of people and places in conservation and tourism discourses, can thereby be seen and analysed as constructed, by reviewing the areas and groups in which they emerge and are expressed, and how they may relate to existing discourses at place (i.e. at the locations where existing conceptualisations and use may be different; cf. Keskitalo 2024).

Later work related to rewilding has highlighted and discussed the historical, colonial and cultural concept of wilderness (e.g. Ward 2019). While some scholars argue that wilderness should not be abandoned but rather needs to be situated 'within the context of a renewed, radical ecology committed to healing the nature/culture split and ending the war on the Other' (Plumwood 1998: 659), others emphasise that 'wild' spaces should be understood as being co-produced (e.g. Whatmore 2002) or even as attempting to decolonise rewilding, by distancing themselves and present practice from the concept of wilderness (e.g. Ward 2019). In this context, *wildness* rather than *wilderness* has been highlighted as the key value of rewilding and has been proposed in order to shift focus from, e.g., an imaginary space of purity and instead open up a possibility for co-production and interrelations between different entities. However, the discussion on wilderness and wildness in not new. In 1999,

Aplet asserted that 'wilderness is neither simply an idea nor a place. It is a place where an idea is clearly expressed – the idea of wildness' (Aplet 1999: 349). Similar to more recent discussion, Aplet stressed 'treating wildness as a quality best expressed in the places we call wilderness, but also infused in special places closer to home' (Aplet 1999: 349), which highlights the concepts' relevance in other areas and ecologies, such as cities (e.g. Owens & Wolch 2019). However, the term wildness still contains implicit historical cultural meanings based on the categorisation of the 'wild' as the Other and more fixed binaries (Whatmore 1999). Whatmore and Thorne (1998: 451) also stress that 'the designation "wild" seems not to have served its animal inhabitants well' within protection policy and management, highlighting their dependence on human desires and valorisation and the unsuitability of geographically and bodily fixating the wild.

The Swedish forest case

This conceptual analysis reveals that understandings of the environment may differ between national contexts and that the US case cannot be assumed to be typical of the human-nature experience in a more general sense. Instead, the Swedish case is potentially similar to many rural areas in Europe although potentially also standing out in the extent to which majority populations are involved in land use in areas that may from the outside seem 'wild'. The case thus highlights a contrast to all the main criticisms of the foundational tenets of rewilding: areas are not wilderness, they are managed and they are part of general use, as discussed below. There would thus be significant implications from carrying assumptions related to these tenets further in applications to land use and conservation.

Nature areas as part of culture, historically and today

Historically, nature use in Sweden and more broadly Fennoscandia was highly varied. It was not only defined by agriculture in thereby transformed or 'settled' nature areas (whereby nature and culture were distinguished in the US case) but also included the application of hunting, fishing and broader use rights across nature areas. The right of public access in Sweden and more broadly Fennoscandia is largely based on the traditional independence of farmers (Dahlberg et al. 2010). In this type of conception, nature is not made separate from or juxtaposed with human use but is rather a part of it. Thus, the concept of 'wilderness' has not gained application in the Fennoscandian languages, which have instead highlighted areas of use outside habitation and agricultural use. This is visible in historical concepts such as *utmark*/*erämaa*, which demoted land that was not under private ownership but to which use rights involving activities like hunting, fishing and the like were applied (e.g. Svensson 2016). Agricultural practice was thus historically never considered the sole expression of a right to land, and both preceding Sámi rights to land

for pastoralism or hunting practices and broader *utmark*/*erämaa* practices were acknowledged at the time that areas were included under the Swedish (then Swedish–Finnish) state, i.e. far before American colonisation and the spread of wilderness or frontier thinking (e.g. Svensson 2016; Beery 2011).

Areas were thus not conceived of as wilderness even in a historical sense; instead, conceptions like *erämaa* highlight the nature of their use. The early establishment of national parks in Sweden was inspired by conservation ideals from Germany and North America involving the preservation of wilderness for scientific, aesthetic and nationalistic reasons (Dahlberg et al. 2010), but was also highly interlinked with the democratisation of nature and the access and practice of outdoor recreation (*friluftsliv*) as part of the nationalist ideal (e.g. Beery 2011). A number of established civil organisations and the welfare state provided the foundation for the country's contemporary nature-inclusive cultural identity (Sandell & Sörlin 2008).

Such a multiple, institutionalised use of land manifests itself in Sweden and more broadly Fennoscandia even today, as the landscape is used by actors from forestry to reindeer husbandry, tourism and local recreation and use (rural population as well as to a great extent second-home owners), hunters, berry and mushroom pickers, mining, wind and water power, road and air networks, telecommunications and others. About two-thirds of Sweden is forest, which may seem 'empty' to the modeler who applies central European delimitations for habitation: 'there are only seven urban areas in Sweden with more than 100,000 inhabitants' (Nordlund et al. 2017: 167; cf. Ceauşu et al. 2015). However, these lands are not empty but are rather used for multiple purposes, by populations who may live on site as well as in urban areas while still maintaining their link to these areas. Land in Sweden is largely (about 50% of all forest land) owned by small-scale family forest owners, who – even when they do not reside on their land full-time – may have second homes there and actively manage their lands. Second homes are also a familiar feature to Swedes at large, among whom, similar to Norwegians and Finns, over half the population may have access to a second home (e.g. Pouta et al. 2006).

Nature areas as managed and part of general use

As noted above, a large part of Sweden is covered by forest. While this might seem 'wild' to the untrained eye, forest in Sweden today is generally managed. In this is included that most of Sweden's forest today is planted, and thus even forest that may look natural to the untrained eye has typically been both previously logged and planted. This means that ecosystems are not natural that they are pristine, but are instead managed; albeit often in relation to what species were naturally there and a high percentage of domestic trees. Plant material, however, is regularly engineered today and specific plant varieties are chosen for specific situations as well as with the aim of adapting to climate change (cf. Keskitalo et al. 2016). This has multiple implications for forest ecosystems, for instance in regard to which natural species thrive

and the degree to which the forest functions as a well-developed ecosystem (as socially debated, e.g. Laszlo Ambjörnsson et al. 2016), but all cases evidence the thoroughly managed nature of land.

While the use of forest for forestry is well established, other groups also have rights of use, even on private land. These different groups regularly come into conflict, and could thus be regarded as not only maintaining use rights but also limiting potential increased use by other interests (cf. Keskitalo 2008): a sort of conflict in uses that itself may serve to delimit increased use and thereby to some extent serve to protect existing land use. Much use of and access to nature areas is made possible by the Swedish right of public access, often regarded as typical of the Nordic countries and allowing free roam over even private land under a 'damage not' principle that nevertheless allows for berry and mushroom picking and the like (Thulin et al. 2015). Berry and mushroom picking is common, often connected to rural or second-home habitation, and in some cases has been assessed as constituting two-thirds of land's non-timber value (Mattson & Chuanzhong 1993; see also Turtiainen and Nuutinen 2012). This type of principle thereby supports the interest among many groups in maintaining nature areas. Reindeer husbandry – institutionalised in Sweden as an indigenous Sámi right with some exceptions for other populations but in Finland a right of all the country's population – constitutes another layer of rights, namely formal use rights to husband reindeer over large areas, including private lands (e.g. Keskitalo 2008).

Other prominent and well institutionalised nature uses are hunting and fishing – rights of Sámi groups in specific areas, these are also rights of landowners in general. Hunting is a well integrated social feature – historically even a 'majority culture' – that today is practised by about 300,000 people, or 3% of the population (von Essen et al. 2015; cf. Ljung et al. 2014). In this regard it has been noted that 'a feature of Swedish wildlife is the widespread distribution and proximity to public life, i.e., most wildlife species, herbivores, and predators alike are not confined to specific national parks or wildlife refugee areas but rather may be observed close to all major cities, on public, as well as private land' (Thulin et al. 2015: 652). Institutionalised as early as the thirteenth century, hunting has also been relatively widespread in Sweden, unlike in other parts of Europe where it was the purview of the elite: in Sweden all landowners gained hunting rights in 1789 and all tenants soon thereafter, and the still relatively powerful Swedish Hunting Association was established in 1830. Until the 1900s the moose hunt was a pivotal community event (some may say it still is today), and it is presently conceived of within a framework of 'wildlife care' with a goal of encouraging sustainable wildlife populations (*viltvård*; von Essen et al. 2015; cf. von Essen 2017). Fishing, and the wide availability of public fishing rights at low cost, make fishing a widespread nature use as well (Thulin et al. 2015).

In relation to these characteristics taken together, Sweden, like the Nordic countries at large, has also been said to be characterised by a great focus on outdoor recreation. As Margaryan notes, '[t]he majority of the Swedish

population frequently participate in a variety of outdoor recreation activities' (Margaryan 2016: 2–3). However, as these also include the practices discussed above, made possible by specific historical developments and presently encased in rights for nature use, authors have argued that the conception of this in the Swedish language (Swe. *friluftsliv*) is not possible to comprehend only through English terms such as 'outdoor recreation' (Beery 2011). Beery sees it as also including a common component of environmental consciousness or an attachment to nature (Beery 2011) and notes that, in a Swedish context compared to an American one, 'given enduring cultural elements in Norway and Sweden's wild places, nature may be better perceived as evolving a culturebased rhythm' (Beery 2011: 42). These types of differences between assumptions regarding land, particularly in historical US and Fennoscandian discourses, are further discussed in Keskitalo (2024).

With some relation to this, modern nature tourism in the Swedish case has thereby been characterised by its relation to multiple other land uses (Margaryan & Wall-Reinius 2017, Margaryan 2016). While in an international context Sweden has a great deal of nature and particularly forest areas with multiple uses, at the same time the country has a large tourism industry with actors at the national, regional and local levels, a significant nature component in its tourism, and identified potential for increasing the market in wildlife-watching tourism (among other things involving the 'big four' predators as well as moose as a tourism flagship species present there; Margaryan & Wall-Reinius 2017; Thulin et al. 2015). However, in the tourism industry the existence of these activities is typically regarded as being supported by the well developed infrastructure and interrelation with other multi-use industries in Sweden: extensive road, air and telecommunication networks (historically developed often by and for other industries, such as forestry or mining), extensive tourism facilities including hotel and other accommodation and lodging opportunities, and networks of guides and trails and the like that cater to the tourist and support local practices alike (Margaryan 2016). Nature use and 'wilderness' tourism in the Swedish case is thus enabled by rather than separate from significant human involvement, and indeed embeddedness, in supposed 'wilderness' areas.

Discussion and conclusion

Authors have concluded that 'there is a worrying lack of consensus about what rewilding is and what it isn't' (Nogués-Bravo et al. 2016: R87). There is also a growing discussion on the decolonisation of rewilding and its conceptions of wilderness, wildness and wild (e.g. Ward 2019). Along these lines, rewilding and wilderness approaches have been broadly criticised for those conceptions of land that focus on nature devoid of use; that is, exempting land use beyond tourism or viewing. The review of literature here illustrates that this can be regarded as an understanding based in highly historically and culturally specific experiences, particularly characteristic of the US one. Later

sections of the chapter illustrated conceptions that highlight the range of multiple uses that can be seen embedded in legislative, policy and local practice on not only local but also national level with regard to nature use in Sweden. The case also illustrates that forest, which has seldom been a focus in rewilding or wilderness discussions, cannot be conceived of either as 'wilderness' or through the agricultural lens with which wilderness is often constructed.

Most importantly, the case illustrates that conservation, restoration, rewilding and wilderness-related policy development, practices and activism need to be conceived of not in the abstract but instead in relation to their impacts on existing land uses and land areas that are far from empty and cannot be conceived of in their range of practices and interests based only on, for instance, the modelling of population density (cf. Ceauşu et al. 2015; Nordlund et al. 2017). This stresses the need for more holistic conservation approaches and alternatives that acknowledge and comprise social and political realities and choices (cf. Büscher & Fletcher 2019; Massarella et al. 2022), and that the 'wild'/'natural' in 'the "expert" re-orderings of these already inhabited ecologies in the networks of science, trading and governance, is a deeply political, and rightly contested, business' (Whatmore & Thorne 1998: 452).

This chapter thus suggests not only several areas that are relevant for more qualitative and culture-focused research on assumptions in conservation, but also the need to more broadly consider the varying institutional – legislative, policy and practice – contexts of nature use, and the different national or other understandings these are based in, rather than seeing them as given. Paying attention to the cultural conceptions inherent in understandings of wilderness, rewilding and related concepts can also serve to illustrate why proponents as well as opponents of, for instance, rewilding adhere to their arguments and do not meet in discussion: their assumptions regarding the use of nature will likely have been formed by different experiences and assumptions – such as national context or mirrored local assumptions – concerning nature and nature use, which will lead to varying positions in debate.

However, by conceptualising nature as an issue of culture – and, as in the Swedish case, a matter of local and national institutions of nature use rather than empty areas – it may also be possible to start questioning what conceptualisations may lead to a desired state. Here, the emerging multiplicity in rewilding and the conceptions of wild, wildness and wilderness must thus be clarified with an aim to be able to assess any possible consequences of the implementation of concepts. In this, unclarities regarding concepts may result in users reverting to the 'tough baggage' of wilderness as it has been embedded in discourses on areas. Thus, as Saunders, quoted in Beery, writes: 'We need a better understanding of the human-nature experience and a more compelling language to express what we value' (quoted in Beery 2011: 6–7).

Notes

1 These types of positions against or for a more integrated nature-culture view of nature in use, and one exempting human use beyond tourism, are also reproduced with regard to discussions on national park developments and nature-protection-related policies. Thus, while champions of rewilding have strongly criticised efforts that support natural-cultural developments (such as UNESCO's 2017 designation of a national park as an area of outstanding universal value; Gammon 2017), authors supporting such more integrated natural-cultural views have instead noted that forest cultural heritage, which is seldom protected and as a result has often been the subject of policies either favouring nature conservation or timber production, may be particularly vulnerable to shifts under a rewilding approach (Agnoletti & Santoro 2015).

2 However, given its increased attention, wilderness was nevertheless introduced as a policy issue with the 2009 passing of an EC resolution calling for increased wilderness protection. There are also various organisations that apply wilderness concepts (focused on wilderness rather than necessarily rewilding) in Europe, such as PAN Parks and Wilderness Europe (Jones-Walters & Čivić 2010).

3 However, authors such as these do not always distinguish between 'marginal' agricultural land, or land that is sparsely populated, and land that may be used by multiple interests but appears 'uninhabited' in large-scale modelling built on more urban criteria that omit smaller habitations (e.g. Ceauşu et al. 2015; cf. Nordlund et al. 2017). Nor are distinctions always made that note that land may be used in other ways than those involving agriculture (e.g. Navarro & Pereira 2015); and as a result, a broader understanding of the multiple policies, institutions and uses involving land has seldom been in focus to date.

References

Agnoletti, M. & Santoro, A. (2015). Cultural values and sustainable forest management: the case of Europe. *Journal of Forest Research*, 20(5), 438–444.

Antrop, M. (2014). Interpreting diversity in the European landscape. A comment on perspective essays by Agnoletti and Schnitzler. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 126, 81–83.

Aplet, G. H. (1999). On the nature of wildness: exploring what wilderness really protects. *Denv. UL Rev.*, 76(2), 347–367.

Beery, T. (2011). *Nordic in nature: Friluftsliv and environmental connectedness*. Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Bone, J. D. (2018). Rediscovering the 'noble savage': The rewilding movement and the re-enchantment of the Scottish Highlands. *Scottish Affairs*, 27(4), 465–485.

Büscher, B. & Fletcher, R. (2018). Under Pressure: Conceptualising Political Ecologies of Green Wars. *Conservation and Society*, 16(2), 105–113.

Büscher, B. & Fletcher, R. (2019). Towards convivial conservation. *Conservation & Society*, 17(3), 283–296.

Büscher, B., Fletcher, R., Brockington, D., Sandbrook, C., Adams, B., Campbell, L., … & Holmes, G. (2017). Doing Whole Earth justice: A reply to Cafaro et al. *Oryx*, 51(3), 401–401.

Büscher, B., Sullivan, S., Neves, K., Igoe, J. & Brockington, D. (2012). Towards a synthesized critique of neoliberal biodiversity conservation. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 23(2), 4–30.

Büscher, B. & R. Fletcher (2015). Accumulation by conservation. *New Political Economy*, 20(2), 273–298.

Cafaro, P., Butler, T., Crist, E., Cryer, P., Dinerstein, E., Kopnina, H., … & Washington, H. (2017). If we want a whole Earth, nature needs half: A response to Büscher et al. *Oryx*, 51(3), 400.

Carey, J. (2016). Core concept: rewilding. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(4), 806–808.

Carvalho, L., Mackay, E. B., Cardoso, A. C., Baattrup-Pedersen, A., Birk, S., Blackstock, K. L., … & Solheim, A. L. (2019). Protecting and restoring Europe's waters: An analysis of the future development needs of the Water Framework Directive. *Science of the Total Environment*, 658, 1228–1238.

Ceauşu, S., Hofmann, M., Navarro, L. M., Carver, S., Verburg, P. H. & Pereira, H. M. (2015). Mapping opportunities and challenges for rewilding in Europe. *Conservation Biology*, 29(4), 1017–1027.

Colburn, J. E. (2005). The indignity of Federal wildlife habitat law. *Ala. L. Rev.*, 57, 417.

Corlett, R. T. (2016). The role of rewilding in landscape design for conservation. *Current Landscape Ecology Reports*, 1(3), 127–133.

Cronon, W. (1996). The trouble with wilderness: Or, getting back to the wrong nature. *Environmental History*, 1(1), 7–28.

Dahlberg, A., Rohde, R. & Sandell, K. (2010). National parks and environmental justice: Comparing access rights and ideological legacies in three countries. *Conservation and Society*, 8(3), 209–224.

Donlan, J. (2005). Re-wilding North America. *Nature*, 436(7053): 913–914.

Drenthen, M. & J. Keulartz. 2014. Introduction. In M. Drenthen & J. Keulartz (eds), *Old World and New World Perspectives in Environmental Philosophy*. Springer, pp. 1–14.

Dreyfus, H.L. & Rabinow, P. (1983). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. University of Chicago Press.

Feldman, J. W. (2004). *Rewilding the islands: Nature, history, and wilderness at apostle islands national lakeshore*. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power and strategies. In C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*. Pantheon Books, pp. 134–145.

Gammon, A.R. (2017). *Not lawn, nor pasture, nor mead: Rewilding and the cultural landscape*. Dissertation, Radboud University, Nijmegen.

Hall, C. M. (2015). Tourism and biological exchange and invasions: a missing dimension in sustainable tourism? *Tourism Recreation Research*, 40:1, 81–94.

Hoek, N. (2022). A Critical Analysis of the Proposed EU Regulation on Nature Restoration: Have the Problems Been Resolved? *European Energy and Environmental Law Review*, 31(5).

Howard, C. A. (2016). *Mobile Lifeworlds: An Ethnography of Tourism and Pilgrimage in the Himalayas*. Routledge.

Jahn, B. (2013). *Liberal Internationalism: Theory, History, Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Jones-Walters, L. & Čivić, K. (2010). Wilderness and biodiversity. *Journal for Nature Conservation*, 18(4), 338–339.

Jørgensen, D. (2015). Rethinking rewilding. *Geoforum*, 65, 482–488.

Kaufmann, E. (1998). 'Naturalizing the nation': the rise of naturalistic nationalism in the United States and Canada. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(4), 666–695.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2004). *Negotiating the Arctic. The Construction of an International Region*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2008). *Climate Change and Globalization in the Arctic: An Integrated Approach to Vulnerability Assessment*. Earthscan.

Keskitalo, E.C.H., Bergh, J., Felton, A., Björkman, C., Berlin, M., Axelsson, P., Ring, E., Ågren, A., Roberge, J.-M., Klapwijk, M. J. & Boberg, J. (2016). Adaptation to climate change in Swedish forestry. *Forests*, 7, 28.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2024). *Frontier Thinking and Human-Nature Relations: We Were Never Western*. Routledge.

Koninx, F. (2019). Ecotourism and rewilding: The case of Swedish Lapland. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 18(4), 332–347.

Kopnina, H., Leadbeater, S. & Cryer, P. (2019). Learning to rewild: Examining the failed case of the Dutch 'New Wilderness' Oostvaardersplassen. *International Journal of Wilderness*, 25(3), 72–89.

Lansing, D., Collard, R. C., Dempsey, J., Sundberg, J., Heynen, N., Büscher, B., … & Fletcher, R. (2015). Nature Inc.: Environmental conservation in a neoliberal age. *Environment and Planning A*, 47(11), 2389–2408.

Laszlo Ambjörnsson, E., Keskitalo, E. C. H. & Karlsson, S. (2016). Forest discourses and the role of planning-related perspectives: the case of Sweden. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 31(1): 111–118.

Ljung, P. E., Widemo, F. & Ericsson, G. (2014). Trapping in predator management: catching the profile of trap users in Sweden. *European journal of wildlife research*, 60(4), 681–689.

Lorimer, J., Sandom, C., Jepson, P., Doughty, C., Barua, M. & Kirby, K. J. (2015). Rewilding: Science, practice, and politics. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 40, 39–62.

Lowenthal, D. (2013). Eden, Earth Day, and ecology: Landscape restoration as metaphor and mission. *Landscape Research*, 38:1, 5–31.

Lupp, G., Höchtl, F. & Wende, W. (2011). 'Wilderness' – A designation for Central European landscapes? *Land Use Policy*, 28(3), 594–603.

Maffey, G. & Arts, K. (2023). Human rewilding: Practical pointers to address a root cause of global environmental crises. In S. Hawkins, I. Convery, S. Carver & R. Beyers (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Rewilding*. Routledge, pp. 374–382.

Margaryan, L. (2016). Nature as a commercial setting: the case of nature-based tourism providers in Sweden. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21(16), 1893–1911.

Margaryan, L. & Wall-Reinius, S. (2017). Commercializing the unpredictable: Perspectives from wildlife watching tourism entrepreneurs in Sweden, *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 22(5), 406–421.

Martin, A., Fischer, A. & McMorran, R. (2023). Who decides? The governance of rewilding in Scotland 'between the cracks': Community participation, public engagement, and partnerships. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 98, 80–91.

Martin, A., Fischer, A., McMorran, R. & Smith, M. (2021). Taming rewilding-from the ecological to the social: How rewilding discourse in Scotland has come to include people. *Land Use Policy*, 111, 105677.

Massarella, K., Krauss, J. E., Kiwango, W. & Fletcher, R. (2022). Exploring convivial conservation in theory and practice. *Conservation & Society*, 20(2), 59–68.

Mattsson, L. & Chuanzhong, L. (1993). The non-timber value of northern Swedish forests, *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 8(1–4), 426–434.

Moranda, S. (2015). The emergence of an environmental history of tourism. *Journal of Tourism History*, 7(3), 268–289.

Müller, M. (2011). How natural disturbance triggers political conflict: Bark beetles and the meaning of landscape in the Bavarian Forest. *Global Environmental Change*, 21, 935–946.

Nash, R. (1982). *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Yale University Press.

Navarro, L. M. & Pereira, H. M. (2012). Rewilding abandoned landscapes in Europe. *Ecosystems*, 15, 900–912.

Navarro, L. M. & Pereira, H. M. (2015). Rewilding abandoned landscapes in Europe. In H. M. Pereira & L. M. Navarro (eds), *Rewilding European Landscapes*. Springer, pp. 3–23.

Nogués-Bravo, D., Simberloff, D., Rahbek, C. & Sanders, N. J. (2016). Rewilding is the new Pandora's box in conservation. *Current Biology*, 26(3), R87–R91.

Nordlund, A., Schenk, T. & Westin, K. (2017). Forest beliefs in an urbanizing world: Views on and usage of forest areas among persons with and without a migration biography in Germany and Sweden. *Society & Natural Resources*, 30(2), 160–176.

Olwig, K. R. (2016). Virtual enclosure, ecosystem services, landscape's character and the 'rewilding'of the commons: the 'Lake District' case. *Landscape Research*, 41(2), 253–264.

Owens, M. & Wolch, J. (2019). Rewilding cities. In N. Pettorelli, S. M. Durant & J. T. du Toit (eds), *Rewilding*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 280–302.

Peeren, E. (2018). The affective economies and political force of rural wildness. *Landscape Research*, 44(7), 834–845.

Pellis, A. (2019). Reality effects of conflict avoidance in rewilding and ecotourism practices–the case of Western Iberia. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 18(4), 316–331.

Pereira, H. M. & Navarro, L. M. (2015). Preface. In H. M. Pereira & L. M. Navarro (eds), *Rewilding European Landscapes*. Springer, pp. v–x.

Plumwood, V. (1998). Wilderness skepticism and wilderness dualism. In J. B. Callicott & M. P. Nelson (eds), *The Great New Wilderness Debate*. University of Georgia Press, 652–690.

Popper, D. E. & Popper, F. J. (1987). The Great Plains: From dust to dust. *Planning*, 53(2), 12–18.

Pouta, E., Sievänen, T. & Neuvonen, M. (2006). Recreational wild berry picking in Finland—reflection of a rural lifestyle. *Society and Natural Resources*, 19(4), 285–304.

Pretty, J., Adams, B., Berkes, F., De Athayde, S. F., Dudley, N., Hunn, E., … & Sterling, E. (2009). The intersections of biological diversity and cultural diversity: towards integration. *Conservation and Society*, 7(2), 100–112.

Puhakka, R., Sarkki, S., Cottrell, S. P. & Siikamäki, P. (2009). Local discourses and international initiatives: sociocultural sustainability of tourism in Oulanka National Park, Finland. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(5), 529–549.

Purdy, J. (2010). The politics of nature: climate change, environmental law, and democracy. *The Yale Law Journal*, 1122–1209.

Prior, J. and Ward, K.J., (2016). Rethinking rewilding: A response to Jørgensen. *Geoforum*, 69, 132–135.

Sandell, K. & Sörlin, S. (2008). *Friluftshistoria: Från 'härdande friluftslif' till ekoturism och miljöpedagogik* [Nature-based outdoor recreation history: From strengthening recreation to ecotourism and environmental education]. Carlsson.

Schnitzler, A. (2014). Towards a new European wilderness: Embracing unmanaged forest growth and the decolonisation of nature. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 126, 74–80.

Slotkin, R. (1998). *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Svensson, E. (2016). Iscensättning av utmarksbruk – en innovationshistoria. In I. Gustin, M. Hansson, M. Roslund & J. Wienberg (eds), *Mellan slott och slagg. Vänbok till Anders Ödman*. Institutionen för arkeologi och antikens historia, Lunds universitet, pp. 267–272.

Trouwborst, A. & Svenning, J. C. (2022). Megafauna restoration as a legal obligation: International biodiversity law and the rehabilitation of large mammals in Europe. *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law*, 31(2), 182–198.

Thulin, C. G., Malmsten, J. & Ericsson, G. (2015). Opportunities and challenges with growing wildlife populations and zoonotic diseases in Sweden. *European Journal of Wildlife Research*, 61(5), 649–656.

Trigger, D. S., Y. Toussaint & J. Mulcock (2010). Ecological restoration in Australia: Environmental discourses, landscape ideals, and the significance of human agency, *Society and Natural Resources*, 23(11), 1060–1074.

Turtiainen, M. & Nuutinen, T. (2012). Evaluation of information on wild berry and mushroom markets in European countries. *Small-scale Forestry*, 11(1), 131–145.

Turner, F. J. (1921). *The Frontier in American History*. Henry Holt and Company.

Viken, A. & Müller, D. K. (eds). (2017). *Tourism and Indigeneity in the Arctic*. Channel View Publications.

von Essen, E. (2017). Whose discourse is it anyway? Understanding resistance through the rise of 'barstool biology' in nature conservation, *Environmental Communication*, 11(4), 470–489.

von Essen, E., Hansen, H. P., Källström, H. N., Peterson, M. N. & Peterson, T. R. (2015). The radicalisation of rural resistance: how hunting counterpublics in the Nordic countries contribute to illegal hunting. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 39, 199–209.

Ward, K. (2019). For wilderness or wildness? Decolonising rewilding. In N. Pettorelli, S. M. Durant & J. T. du Toit (eds), *Rewilding*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 34–54.

Whatmore, S. (1999). Rethinking the 'human' in human geography. In D. Massey, J. Allen & P. Sarre (eds), *Human Geography Today*. Polity Press, pp. 24–39.

Whatmore, S. (2002). *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

Whatmore, S. & Thorne, L. (1998). Wild(er)ness: Reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23(4), 435–454.

Wilhelm, C. (2013). For the birds: Challenging wilderness in the Everglades. *J Environ Stud Sci*, 3, 153–166.

7 Competing translations of environmental knowledge

The case of Viinivaara groundwater extraction plans

Olli Haanpää

Introduction

Water is a central element when it comes to environmental management, governance and natural resource utilisation. For this reason, water is also a seminal topic in political ecology literature (Swyngedouw 2009). Questions that situate water in the context of social and cultural meanings and different knowledge practices make it interesting from an anthropological point of view as well. In the anthropology of water, it is often depicted as an inherently multifaceted element that escapes reductionist approaches to knowing about its flows and its relation to the environment and to society. Instead of being just a mute object in nature, water also has a political and social dimension through which it participates in the formation of societal relations (Ballestero 2019; Krause & Strang 2016). Thus, many researchers tend to turn to more relational conceptualisations of water. By replacing a purely hydrological understanding of water with a more nuanced hydro-social one, the research focus shifts to the societal circumstances in which particular instances of water are defined. It is now widely recognised that water has multiple meanings, and to understand its flows, it needs to be approached as a simultaneously sociocultural, physical and technological assemblage (Usón et al. 2016; Linton & Budds 2014).

From different understandings, knowledges and relations concerning waters follow different ways of managing them. Defining water purely as a natural resource to be harnessed and controlled is closely connected to a technocratic management of waters (i.e. operating under the notion that water is best understood by experts of hydrology and best governed by an overarching authority such as the state; de Rijke et al. 2016; Linton 2014). On the other hand, when water management becomes problematic or is debated for one reason or another, the messy multiplicity of social and ecological relations in which the water is situated is revealed. Water can prove difficult to control and manage through knowledge, especially in the context of large social-ecological systems under constant change and reformation (Waylen et al. 2023; Carroll 2012). In situations of many sources of uncertainty, environmental knowledge easily becomes contested and politicised (Turnhout 2018).

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-7

In this chapter, I focus on a particular nature-political dispute regarding the utilisation of groundwater to supplement the public water supply of the City of Oulu in northern Finland. Currently, the dispute is centred around plans by the city waterworks, a public utility in Oulu, to extract groundwater from Viinivaara, which is a virtually unpopulated wilderness-like forested esker area approximately 70 km from Oulu on the territory of two neighbouring rural municipalities, Utajärvi and Pudasjärvi (Oulun Vesi 2017). The dispute has become a highly complicated political issue that reflects the contested and contradictory meanings of the water in the region. The main bone of contention involves the groundwater's significance for the ecosystems in and around Viinivaara, including parts of the Kiiminkijoki River system and Olvassuo aapa mire complex, which are both protected in the EU's Natura 2000 network (FCG Suunnittelu ja Palvelu Oy 2017; Pöyry Finland Oy 2017). Most importantly, there are significant differences in the interpretations of key environmental indicators that point to the potential impacts of the water extraction. The competing parties in the issue have quite contradicting conceptions of the integrity and reliability of the water-related knowledge, which brings forth many uncertainties when it comes to governing the waters. Therefore, it all comes down to what can be said with certainty about the water, whose knowledge counts, and which kinds of understandings eventually come to be influential in the decision-making (cf. Linton 2021).

I investigate how different knowledges about the waters of Viinivaara form and how the circulation of the different conceptions among the wider network of actors relates to governing the waters. I especially focus on how the binary distinctions involving environmental knowledge production dissolve while contradictory understandings of the water issue are produced and circulated. Primarily, the clear-cut distinction of objective expert knowledge as the opposite of vernacular experience-based knowledge becomes questionable when the facts prove to be only pieces of the puzzle of doing knowledge-based environmental governance (cf. Fischer 2000; Negev & Teschner 2013).

To rethink the local-expert knowledge binary in a new way, I lean on concepts from actor-network theory (ANT). I analyse the Viinivaara dispute as a competition of *translations* of environmental knowledge, as different actors struggle to stabilise their contested viewpoints within the wider actor network of regional environmental governance (cf. Callon 1986). Commonly, local and expert knowledge practices are contrasted by comparing the different ways of knowing, whereby experts are expected to rely on scientific or technical methods while laymen are expected to rely on practical observations and experience. Yet, all knowledge is performative and is based on the contexts and conditions of the knowledge production (Turnhout 2018). Thus, I will argue that, while the differences in methods and knowledge practices are influential, the competing versions of actor-network-building through translation resemble each other, which further blurs the local-expert binary.

This study pertains to the 'Co-planning of land use sector climate change mitigation in the Kiiminkijoki river catchment' (MATKI) research and

development project, funded through the Finnish Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry's Catch the Carbon Research and Innovation Programme (Luonnonvarakeskus 2024). The Viinivaara issue relates very closely to the project due to the influence of groundwater in the Kiiminkijoki River system. The extent to which altering the groundwater flows in Viinivaara affects the Kiiminkijoki and especially adjacent mires, streams and lakes, as well as the restoration efforts in the river basin area, is still under debate. The Kiiminkijoki River basin also features in Chapter 8 of this book, in which Heikkinen et al. discuss how the contemporary types of environmental restoration measures, characterised by technological fixes instead of addressing societal root causes of environmental degradation, lead to a further blurring of the nature–culture binary. The case area in that chapter – a restored wetland on a historically drained lake – is situated relatively close to the Viinivaara esker, and the context of both cases is related to the overall restoration aims around the Kiiminkijoki. Consequently, a few of the informants are the same, although for the most part these two cases are not directly related to each other.

Networks of environmental knowledge

The networked, politicised process of knowing about and deciding on the utilisation of the waters of Viinivaara can be described – in terms of actor-network theory – as a competition of translations (cf. Callon 1986; Latour 1999). Obviously, when environmental management is planned and the facts of the matter are defined, people cannot be directly in contact with all the related elements and actors in question. Instead, we rely on mediators such as statistics, maps, documents and other types of representations that quite literally translate all the relevant entities and dynamics so that they can be understood as part of a coherent actor network. By controlling how this translation happens (i.e. becoming the *obligatory passage point* of the actor network), it is possible to stabilise certain understandings in order to garner support from other relevant actors as subsequent decisions are made (Boerboom & Ferretti 2014). The translation can of course fail if the participants in the actor network do not play their part according to the plan. The political process might not work in the favour of the water extraction project, or the water itself can act in unexpected ways, and suddenly all the uncertainties become difficult to manage (Callon 1986; Chou 2012).

Following the ideas of relational and distributed agency developed in ANT, the actor roles can be assigned to various other-than-human entities as well. By their own materiality and through the process of translation, technological artifacts and even various natural objects also actively participate in the formation of social reality (Latour 2005). Thus, the relevant actors in the Viinivaara case are spread out far and wide, including everything from the political representatives and various institutionalised experts to conservation legislation and previous court decisions, and even from the different measurement technologies to rare moss species, and to the water itself. In practice,

much of the dispute about the Viinivaara waters centres around questions such as how the different methods of knowledge production influence the factual basis of understanding the waters, what kinds of roles the various institutional elements (like the Natura 2000 status of the Kiiminkijoki River system) play, and how the water 'behaves' in the environment. Indeed, amid all the different knowledge practices, produced facts, network-building and endless piles of legal documents is the water, which sometimes behaves in unpredictable ways. Water becomes an active participant as its actions are followed by investigating, on the one hand, 'where it goes', 'how it absorbs into the ground' and 'what it is providing to the ecosystems and species'. On the other hand, the waters of Viinivaara are deeply meaningful in a social and cultural sense, which gives the water a particular kind of political agency. Through its contested social and political meanings, water itself becomes an active participant in the dispute involving water governance (cf. de Rijke et al. 2016; Chapter 5, this volume, on land as a participant in political organisation). Therefore, the contest over defining the waters of Viinivaara has become a complicated collection of hydrological knowledge, technical details, cultural meanings, contradicting values and different relationships between society and nature.

In the Viinivaara case, an especially highlighted feature of the forementioned translation process and the involved representations of nature is their transformative reality-building capacity. Representations of nature are formed in an active process depending on the concrete social and material conditions in which knowledge is produced, which makes environmental knowledge also inherently performative and political (Turnhout 2018). For this reason, controlling how the facts of the matter are formed, presented and eventually circulated among the stakeholders is highly influential in terms of constructing the shared understandings and decision-making regarding environmental management (Carroll 2012). Building networks and gaining allies to support certain conceptions can be seen as an essential part of the knowledge production itself. The more and the stronger the connections are – be they social or material – the more convincing the knowledge claims become. It can even be said that the very realness of the knowledge depends on its connectedness (Kullman & Pyyhtinen 2015).

In the next sections, I will look at the contested nature–cultural network-building process concerning the Viinivaara waters, leaning on empirical material gathered during ethnographic fieldwork between 2022 and 2023. The research field can be described as multi-sited as the relevant social groups, locations and events are scattered both geographically and temporally (Campbell & Lassiter 2015). I collected the research material through participatory observation in contextually relevant locations, through thematic interviews of experts and other stakeholders, and from publicly available sources such as recordings of city council meetings, public statements by various institutions, and legal documents. Although the Viinivaara area itself is very sparsely populated, the most fruitful events of this research process

have been my visits to the springs of Viinivaara and other places alongside the Kiiminkijoki which the research participants have considered significant. In this study I am not able to go through all the historical developments of the Viinivaara water extraction plans in detail, as the discussions have been going on since the 1980s. Instead, I focus on the recent developments that are relevant, considering the current groundwater dispute. A better understanding of how a dispute like the one involving the Viinivaara groundwater develops might help alleviate such disputes in the future.

Weaving the nature-political webs around Viinivaara

Contemporary discussion about the groundwater utilisation began due to a need to improve the City of Oulu's public water supply. The household water quality in Oulu is currently considered good, but the problem is its source. The inner-city area and its population of over 100,000 relies solely on cleansed surface water from the Oulujoki River, which has been deemed too precarious a situation in terms of preparedness for sudden disturbances. To achieve the required 'risk assessment level' issued by Finland's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the City needs to find an alternative water source (Oulun Vesi 2017). In 2014, the ELY Centre of Northern Ostrobothnia,[1] which is responsible for the regional implementation of governmental policies, issued a notice to the City stating that the decision regarding the water supply had dragged on too long and needed to be made as soon as possible (ELY Centre 2014). By that point, the water supply question had become a constantly resurfacing topic of political dispute in the city council.

The city waterworks has regarded the potential of harnessing the groundwater in the Viinivaara area as the perfect solution to the water supply problem mostly for technical reasons, even though this is controversial due to the conservation values in the region. The groundwater in the Viinivaara esker is pure enough to be used as household water nearly untreated and, according to the waterworks, the amount of forming groundwater is sufficient to be used as the city's sole alternative water source (Oulun Vesi 2017). Therefore, most of the pre-existing investigations concerning the various options for ensuring the water supply have been done in regard to Viinivaara, although other plausible options are constantly referred to in the debate. The most notable alternative that has been suggested is the distributed model, which would entail increasing the water extraction from the several smaller groundwater reservoirs closer to the city (Rantala et al. 2017).

In the debate, the organisational actor network consisting of various public agencies, consultant companies and politicians emphasising the security of public services and city centre-focused urban development was formed around the idea of implementing the existing plans of the city waterworks within a relatively short time frame. One of the most common arguments for commencing with the Viinivaara plan was indeed the understanding that the decision-makers have enough facts, the current knowledge was sufficient, and

more investigations would just cost more resources and time. From this perspective, the water came to be defined as mostly a security and preparedness, public services and urban development issue, while gathering more knowledge about the other plausible options was presented as an unnecessary hinderance to solving the pressing water supply problem. The existing body of knowledge made the Viinivaara option the most established one, which arguably shows the power of network-building alongside the technical knowledge production. One of the city council members who opposed the Viinivaara option even commented that:

> It would have been wise to also investigate the other options earlier. It is not an acceptable rationale for decision-making that some option has just been investigated more. So, if you smashed your head against the wall yesterday, it might not be wise to continue tomorrow but rather think about alternative behaviour patterns.

According to Rantala et al. (2017), the political process involving the final decision regarding the water supply development issue was quite nuanced, with various kinds of strategies for manipulating the decision-making from both sides. In any case, after a very tight vote the city council decided that the Viinivaara groundwater would be the alternative water source for Oulu. The waterworks proceeded with preparing the official permit application alongside the new environmental impact assessments, which were finally submitted in 2017 for proceedings of the Regional State Administrative Agency (AVI), the state organisation responsible for legal permits.

To secure the licence to extract, the city waterworks' aim has been to reduce the uncertainties regarding the impacts of water extraction by representing the environmental dynamics as controllable in the form of clear and quantifiable data. The first test pumping of the Viinivaara groundwater was already conducted many decades ago and since then the knowledge base has been piling up, consisting of a plethora of hydrological, geological and biological surveys and analyses. This accumulated knowledge is presented in an impressive package of statistical representations, figures, graphs and maps buried inside a daunting quantity of highly detailed assessment documents. A good example of this are the groundwater flow simulations, that are represented in a map form showing the estimated reduction in the aquifer's water level due to potential water extraction at certain locations. The simulations are based on a 3D hydrological model of the whole project area, that spans over 30 square kilometres. The model has been constructed and calibrated with the data produced by measuring the groundwater level and water flow amounts from the springs during several years (Oulun Vesi 2017; Pöyry Finland Oy 2017). The translation of the related natural processes into more easily transferrable numerical and graphical information represents the water and the related environmental entities as participants of the actor network in a particular way, making a convincing case for supporting the water extraction project (cf. Lien & Law 2011; Callon 1986).

Thus, from the waterworks' point of view, the assessments have resulted in an undeniable body of knowledge that clearly supports the groundwater extraction from the Viinivaara region. A representative of the waterworks commented on the process of assessing the environmental impacts around Viinivaara as follows:

> Vastly nuanced and precise work has been done. … There's modelling of the groundwater, water system assessments and the multicriteria evaluation of the Nuorittajoki and Kiiminkijoki Rivers that was done in 2014. … Also, the assessments of the springs – there are dozens in the area – impacts on them are assessed very carefully. The assessment has received praise from the experts: that it's done on a very high level. It's almost like science, what's been done in the classification of the springs.

Although the environmental impact assessments have been extensive and detailed, the actual environmental impacts remain debatable. Even the waterworks assumes that there will be some negative impacts on the water system due to the extraction, and thus the water extraction permit application includes appeals to alter some of the protected springs (Oulun Vesi 2017). The main contested point, therefore, isn't whether or not there are impacts but rather how *significant* they are. Significance is the keyword, because avoiding the need to consider the potential significant harm to Natura 2000 habitats saves the waterworks the trouble of appealing for an alteration of the conservation status of the wider Natura 2000 areas, after which receiving the water extraction permit might be unlikely. To appease the worries related to potential harmful environmental impacts, the water extraction plan includes methods of monitoring and reacting to changes in the conditions due to the water extraction. For example, during low current periods the waterworks is prepared to lead water directly from the pumping facilities to the nearby natural streams, which would make it possible to maintain the affected environment close to the project area (Oulun Vesi 2017). This way, the waterworks can be seen as planning to create a particular type of artificial TechnoGarden structure to govern the groundwater in Viinivaara as a hybrid technical-natural system, which would require constant monitoring and managing (see Chapter 8, this volume, in regard to TechnoGarden scenarios in environmental management). In any case, the waterworks is presenting the potential impacts of the water extraction as well understood and contained, and the figures produced in the environmental impact assessment are allowed to speak for themselves.

For now, the attempts to secure the permit for extracting groundwater from Viinivaara have failed, even after extensive rounds of expert hearings, field studies and investigations that have been going on at varying intensities for more than two decades. The previous plan to replace Oulu's entire supply with groundwater was denied in 2012 by the Administrative Court of Vaasa, following complaints by several stakeholders representing multiple different state and non-state organisations as well as private citizens (Päätös/Decision

no. 12/0363/1). The current plan to secure an alternative water source for exceptional times requires significantly less water, although due to technical reasons the extraction would need to be continued to some degree at all times (Oulun Vesi 2017). In December 2023 the AVI finally accepted the latest water extraction permit application, six years after the waterworks filed it. Since then, all the involved parties have been engaged in interpreting this almost 800-page legal document while preparing for the lengthy process of handling the matter at various court levels before any kind of solution can be achieved.

Thus, the waterworks has been trying in several ways to secure the position of obligatory passage point regarding management of the Viinivaara waters. The water, springs, natural sites, and local flora and fauna have been translated into numbers, statistics, maps and percentages in order to paint a picture of vastly nuanced and detailed work on the environmental impact assessment based on technical expert knowledge. To gain support among other stakeholders such as the political representatives and certain public institutions, the waterworks has stressed the official risk assessment level and the sense of responsibility regarding public services, and the claim that it is possible to achieve a simple, controlled implementation of the plan supported by the detailed investigations. During the process of securing the waterworks' viewpoint, the constructed actor network of environmental knowledge and management is expanded to the policy level, namely in reference to the Natura 2000 status, the EU Water Framework Directive, and national nature conservation and water legislation. In sum, the city waterworks' long-lasting project of building the heterogenous actor network to support the water extraction project in Viinivaara has been based on the claims that the environmental impacts are insignificant or can be contained on the one hand, and that the project is necessary and urgent on the other.

Competing translations of the Viinivaara waters

The opposing side in the Viinivaara issue is more decentralised than the city waterworks and includes, for example, members of the fishermen's association of the Kiiminkijoki, other environmental NGOs and local landowners, who have been observing the development of the river area for decades. Many politicians and some public institutions, especially a few individual officials working in them, have also expressed their strong opposition to the water extraction plan. While these opponents are working together to some degree, the reasons they oppose the water extraction are relatively diverse.

Most of the opposition boils down to the conception that the significance of the Viinivaara waters is far too great to be endangered by the city centre-focused development of the public services. The waters of Viinivaara are an essential part of maintaining the good state of the surrounding protected areas and water systems, which depend on the fresh, oxygen-rich groundwater surfacing from the esker. The balance that the year-round flowing spring water creates in the adjacent streams, lakes and mires is considered far more

fragile than the promoters of the water extraction project claim. In addition to the ecological significance, the waters of Viinivaara are also culturally important and meaningful. The wilderness-like Viinivaara area is a rare collection of 26 natural springs that form a regionally unique natural site, revered by many local people. The springs, some of which are considered exceptionally beautiful, are important places to visit in order to enjoy the unusual natural environment that surrounds them. It is not uncommon to hear people refer to the springs as even 'magical' or 'holy'. Thus, for many people, the idea of extracting the waters of Viinivaara and mixing them with purified Oulujoki River water to be used for washing cars or flushing toilets appears as an abomination.

The local stakeholders do not trust that, in the midst of planning the natural resource utilisation for the benefit of the city centre, the environmental impacts and cultural value of the environment in the border regions are being adequately considered. Instead, the water extraction is often regarded as part of the more general dynamics of the centre-focused development of Oulu, which has arguably involved some degree of negligence of the surrounding rural areas in terms of social development and environmental conservation. As also depicted in two other chapters in this book (Chapters 4 and 5), rural or peripheral regions may often be seen as designated areas of primary production for the benefit of regional or even global centres of consumption and development. In the Kiiminkijoki River basin area specifically, the massive-scale drainage of the peatlands for forestry and peat production in previous decades has drastically deteriorated the state of the river. The water quality has worsened due to a diffuse loading of nutrients and suspended solids from drained areas, and the extremes between floods and dry seasons have increased due to the peatlands' lost capacity to absorb water. From the local perspective, one of the most important outcomes has been the disappearance of the local naturally spawning Baltic salmon population, which has been a culturally significant regional change (Sarkki et al. 2024). In practical terms, much of the environmental management around the Kiiminkijoki water system has become the responsibility of local volunteers, while municipal support has been relatively scarce. Nevertheless, the fishermen's association of the Kiiminkijoki, among others, has been very active in trying to restore the state of the waters and fisheries. Considering their limited resources, the results have been quite promising. Among the local environmental restoration actors, there are high hopes of returning the river to its earlier state as an important fishing site and turning it into an appreciated travel destination, which in turn would boost the general vitality of the area. Obviously, pumping some of the best water away would not necessarily help the restoration efforts. Thus, local stakeholders are working hard to increase the disapproval of the notion of extracting the Viinivaara groundwater, even among higher legal authorities.

An important aspect of the Viinivaara dispute is the opposition's attempt to challenge the city waterworks' abstraction of the waters of Viinivaara, as

depicted in the previous section. The city waterworks presents the project area as mostly empty and unpopulated without significant cultural meaning, and the value-related discussions on the issue have mainly only included considerations of the environmental conservation as required by law. The consequence of reducing the local environment, and especially the groundwater, into abstract and quantifiable objects of knowledge is a detachment of the water extraction issue from the involved local sociocultural, political and historical dimensions that are relevant in the landscapes in question (cf. de Rijke et al. 2016; Linton 2014). Nevertheless, for the people who live and spend time near the Viinivaara area, the local landscape is definitely practised and has inherent value, even though the region is largely unpopulated (cf. Chapter 2, this volume, on the binary between abstracted and practised landscape). The waterworks has thus focused on the technical aspects of environmental management while disregarding the opposition's viewpoint by claiming that they are only objecting in principle, whereas developing the public water supply is an important and urgent task. A representative of the waterworks commented on the issue as follows:

> Nowadays it seems that opposition always forms against these projects, local opposition. … We recognise certain impacts to the water systems, but on the other hand we have the mandate and responsibility to prepare and ensure the water supply for a large residential area. So, we're on the right track with a good reason, and the options have been adequately considered. And considering the lifecycle costs of the project this is a rational, and the best, solution to implement.

Beneath the issue the cultural values of the spring sites play an important role, but on the surface the argumentation focuses mostly on the mathematics of the water and the legal requirements regarding environmental management. The locals' main complaint is that the environmental impact assessments seem to have been conducted with a strong commitment to make the water extraction project feasible in one way or another despite the opposition. Thus, much of the dispute is condensed into technical details, such as the estimated amount of groundwater that forms in the aquifer and the runoff from the natural springs to the surface water systems. For example, according to the opponents, the yearly rainfall and the absorption rate of water into the aquifer used by the waterworks have been systematically overestimated to reach the desired amount of groundwater yield. Disagreement regarding these figures arose in 2016 during a survey visit organised on site in Viinivaara as part of the environmental impact assessment process, as told by a former forest expert and an opponent of the water extraction plan:

> That same day, I called the Finnish Meteorological Institute and asked for the area's (interpolated) rainfall data for the whole period of observation. … I think it costed approximately two hundred euro, and after an

> hour the figures were in my e-mail. … I calculated the mean yearly rainfall, and it was about 50–60mm lower than reported by the City of Oulu waterworks. … They just took the rainiest season from 2000 to 2012. And they didn't report the evaporation. Still, the application claimed that this was the newest information available.

These numbers are central, of course, because the groundwater yield can be calculated, and the feasibility of the extraction plan evaluated, based on the estimated amount of water formation. The activists have pointed out many problems in the assessments, questioning the certainty of the numbers used in the calculations, which they claim are often invented at someone's desk without any actual empirical basis. The consultants who were hired to conduct the assessments are considered unreliable and partisan in the issue, despite their expert status. The previously mentioned opponent of the water extraction expressed his distrust in the following way:

> They have a pretty weak basis (the figures). … One can have many opinions about the assessment. Mostly, they're not based on any observations or long-term measurements of, for example, the water levels in the lakes. They're just expert assessments, … modelling. And the results are also interpreted quite arbitrarily.

Because of this distrust, local stakeholders have been engaging in their own projects of alternative knowledge- and network-building. Quite interestingly, the locals have consciously chosen the strategy of challenging the very basis of the knowledge claims in the assessments in order to directly undermine the certainty, as well as the neutrality and integrity, of the waterworks. The strategy of focusing on knowledge and legal processes has been considered more effective than resorting solely to traditional forms of activism such as political demonstrations and campaigning, which are other aspects of the opponents' repertoire that they use from time to time (Lauhava 2013). This way, they can attempt to position themselves as somewhat equal stakeholders alongside the waterworks and the City of Oulu. Some of the local activists commented on the process as follows:

R1: They [certain political representatives] said we should organise demonstrations. But for God's sake, it doesn't work like that!
R2: I told them I'm not going to start a riot. As long as the law holds, we'll watch how the situation develops.
R1: And we're on the right side of the law!

The opponents' project can be regarded as a parallel version of the actor-network-building process as it involves alternative versions of translation (i.e. the environmental knowledge production), appeals to the institutional and political actors, and relating the entire issue to the legal framework of environmental management and natural-resource use. Moreover, pointing out

certain fallacies in the knowledge and partiality of organisations such as the ELY Centre of northern Ostrobothnia, which should officially act as a neutral institution governed by public law, forms a strong argument in questioning the fairness and reasonability of the entire project.

Because the assessments based on questionable initial information and modelling do not convince the local activists, they rely on firsthand experience and observations concerning the changes in the water system between different seasons and conditions. The most concrete way this alternative conception is produced involves directly observing the water flows from the Viinivaara springs. This is done from special measurement dams which are used for monitoring the water runoff to the streams that are adjacent to the sites where the water pumps would be installed if the plans to extract were realised. The water runoff is observed by measuring the height of the water in the middle of the V-shaped hole in the dam and converting this measurement into litres of water per second by referring to a simple graph designed for this purpose.

These measurements are conducted at different times of the year in several places and are then compared to the figures presented in the city waterworks' water extraction plans. In most cases, the conclusion is that the planned amount of water extraction is much higher than the amount of water measured to be flowing out from the springs. Thus, if the extraction were to commence as planned, some of the springs would effectively be destroyed or severely damaged. The empirical observations suggesting a real danger of ruining the springs naturally

Figure 7.1 Pentti Marttila-Tornio, chairman of the fishermen's association of the Kiiminkijoki, measuring the spring water runoff near Hämyhete spring.
Photo: Olli Haanpää

cause a great deal of concern among the stakeholders who prioritise conservation of the natural springs and their affected environment. In fact, according to the locals, some deterioration has already occurred merely due to the investigations. For example, Hämyhete, one of the most notable springs, had changed drastically already in the early 2000s due to test pumping. In the summers of 2022 and 2023 when I visited the site of this natural spring, which had previously looked like a pond or an oasis in the middle of a lush forest, only the dry banks of the pond were visible. Furthermore, the idea of securing a reliable alternative water source for the City of Oulu becomes questionable when in practice the amount of water wouldn't suffice for several months of the year.

Through their measurements, the local stakeholders are tying the 'natural actor' – namely the water itself – to their version of the actor network of environmental knowledge in a new way. Building more connections works towards a more convincing argument that challenges the conception of the water's behaviour in the area as depicted in the official environmental impact assessments. As discussed earlier, very often the locals simply claim that despite the extensiveness of the water extraction plan the figures it presents are just plain unrealistic, produced by flawed practices, or based on vague assumptions. By conducting an alternative translation of the environmental knowledge (i.e. going on site to do the measurements and maths themselves), they make the waterworks' version of the actor network more brittle as the locals' version gains rigidity through new connections. Emphasising the uncertainties and fallacies in the official assessments calls into question the waterworks' position as the knowledge authority and thus the obligatory passage point in the issue.

In addition to the water's behaviour, drastic differences can also be noted in the different conceptions of its influence in the nearby water systems, which for many local stakeholders is often the main concern regarding the general restoration efforts. The waterworks has claimed that, with groundwater extraction, the reduction of the water in the Nuorittajoki River, the largest tributary of the Kiiminkijoki, would be on average approximately only 0.7%, and during the summertime's low flow would rise to a monthly average of just 7%, which is still considered a mild impact (Oulun Vesi 2017). This calculation does not carry much weight among the people who have observed firsthand the changes in the water's quality and temperature between the different seasons. Local activists living near the potentially affected water systems stated:

R1: When I went swimming in the summer it was noticeable how the water got colder as the amount of water decreased [in the Nuorittajoki]. If there weren't groundwater in there, then obviously it should get warmer! But it got colder as the amount decreased. That proves that the amount of groundwater in the river is significant!

R2: We have precise figures about that. They're from the gauges of the Finnish Environment Institute. The water temperature dropped 9 degrees Celsius over only two weeks [in the dry season].

Compared to the centralised, professional waterworks-led project to extract groundwater from Viinivaara, the opposing side is quite scattered and operates with considerably fewer resources. Obviously, the measurements and observations conducted by the activists are also not inherently more accurate than those in the official environmental impact assessment. Furthermore, the opposing side definitely has an agenda, which they do not hide. Mainly, they worry that something might happen to the regions' water systems and the still untouched natural springs, which besides their inherent conservation values are extremely culturally important. On the other hand, the waterworks does not express its possible political reasons for clinging to the Viinivaara option as explicitly as the locals express their reasons for opposing it. When the water is translated into more transferrable form with a great deal of technical detail, any other motives or possible inaccuracies than purely technical or managerialist ones are hidden from sight, at least for readers who are not fully devoted to the matter. Therefore, when it comes to the decision-making, attempts can be made to disregard the opposition as irrational, or to accuse them of downplaying the importance of developing the public services in urban areas and of focusing instead on biased 'regional politics'.

Still, in many cases the activist-produced knowledge about the environment is aligned with some of the statements by different experts, with whom the locals actively try to be in contact with for consultation and to gain support for their knowledge claims. Indeed, various experts believe they are on the right track with their interpretations. Many, for example, question the feasibility of modelling groundwater behaviour so precisely in such a large area with variable soil types. Doubts are cast as to the origin of the data used in the modelling, which could result in an underestimation of the environmental impacts of the groundwater extraction. Metsähallitus, the state forest agency managing the state-owned lands, expressed the following in an official statement:

> Metsähallitus notes that there might be a significant risk of possible systematic error in the assumptions regarding the total amount of groundwater formation that are used in the modelling.
>
> (Metsähallitus 2017)

The rate of water absorption to the aquifer used in the application was also commented on in the official statement of the ELY Centre of southwest Finland, which acts as the official point of contact in the issue:

> Small changes in the assumptions affect the result, and the figures are subject to uncertainty. The high absorption rates stated in the permit application, especially 65% in Viinivaara, feels oversized because a mean figure this high is generally the absolute maximum in exceptional circumstances.
>
> (ELY Centre 2017)

Regarding the impacts on the adjacent lakes, the environmental impact assessment also provides quite an optimistic conception. The consultant hired by the waterworks determined that, in Olvasjärvi Lake near Viinivaara, the proportion of groundwater is only 27% and the extraction would thus cause no significant harm (Pöyry Finland Oy 2017). In a master's thesis (Wiman 2021) within a larger University of Oulu-led research project studying the eutrophication of the lakes in the Viinivaara region, these estimates were contrasted. According to the thesis, the groundwater proportion in Olvasjärvi is in fact up to 85%, based on empirical measurements and a calculation of the water's G-index.[2] The conclusion in the thesis is that, if groundwater inflow to the lakes were disturbed, their water balance would change critically. Moreover, in my study, an individual expert from Metsähallitus commented on the importance of the groundwater for the lakes around Viinivaara:

> It (Marttisjärvi Lake) stays alive in a way thanks to the groundwater from Viinivaara. The oxygenated spring water keeps it alive during the winter. … Olvasjärvi, Timosenjärvi, Marttisjärvi and Ahvenlampi are the lakes that would suffer if the groundwater were to go. On that basis, we've opposed the Viinivaara project. It would threaten the state of these lakes very strongly.

Of course, it must be noted that the city waterworks has its hands tied due to the official requirements of improving the security of Oulu's water supply, which is gaining ever more urgency in these times characterised by many global crises and general uncertainty. Nevertheless, the direness of the water supply situation is also a debatable issue, and many question the decision to continue the planning of water extraction in Viinivaara when there may be other less politically flammable options available. The situation was adeptly commented on by an official at the ELY Centre of northern Ostrobothnia:

> I would be very worried to be a resident of the Oulu inner city and to be dependent on that water (purified river water). If there's one oil truck that falls into the river upstream, then what? … So, something must be done. But this Viinivaara [issue] has been grinding there for at least 20 years so one would think that somewhere else [the water] might be found too. … The stubbornness [of the City of Oulu] in the issue is very strange. Still, I have no doubts that the locals aren't yielding. They're definitively not giving up.

Conclusion

I have investigated the dispute over the Viinivaara groundwaters as a contested actor-network-building process through translations of environmental knowledge. Although highly nuanced cultural and political meanings regarding the waters can be traced, the dispute focuses mostly on various technical details used in order to control the epistemological interface between the water, the

environment and politics. Below the surface of the dispute, water itself plays an important part as the centrepiece of the whole issue through its multiple cultural meanings and environmental connections. A detached position whereby the waters' behaviour could be interpreted objectively doesn't exist (cf. de Rijke et al. 2016; Usón et al. 2016). Instead, the constructed facts are given a mediatory role of conveying the various conceptions of the water among different stakeholders, who all have their agendas, be they explicit or not.

Returning to the binary distinction between expert and local knowledge, it can be concluded that in a highly politicised and complicated matter such as the Viinivaara groundwater issue, the forementioned binary dissolves when it comes to the neutrality and integrity of knowledge. Local laypeople become experts through observational and experiential knowledge when the issue focuses on the detailed local environmental and cultural impacts of the water extraction. At the same time, the experts basing their arguments on seemingly neutral knowledge-production practices become partial political players when attempts are made, based on public interest and institutional pressures, to force an environmental management project through the bureaucratic system despite relentless opposition (cf. Negev & Teschner 2013).

As is established in various anthropological accounts of water, it is as much an inherently social, cultural and political element as it is material (Ballestero 2019). Following Bruno Latour's (1993) idea of the proliferation of nature–cultural hybrids, the modernist dualistic distinction between nature and culture, which in this case manifests itself as the detachment of water from its cultural, technological and discursive aspects, only seems to paradoxically increase the complexities of water management. In other words, maintaining an attitude towards water as a purely material object of hydrological knowledge and technocratic governance contributes to an artificial disjunction of natural and human systems (see Chapter 1, this volume), which can cause unexpected complexities in environmental management (Linton 2014). Failing to recognise the multiplicity of water while planning its utilisation poses the risk of ending up in a complete political cul-de-sac.

In terms of developing more reasonable, usable and agreeable environmental governance, it would be beneficial to realise and truly consider the local viewpoints regarding the project areas in question instead of trying to exclude them by hiding behind abstractions produced in the environmental impact assessments, which in fact contain many fallacies. Indeed, one of the main differences in the understandings between the different sides of the Viinivaara dispute is the attitude towards the landscape as either abstracted or practised (cf. Chapter 2, this volume). From the perspective of the City of Oulu waterworks, the area is defined by various objects of knowledge that are measurable and controllable in a more or less straightforward way. For the opponents of the extraction, this kind of instrumentalist viewpoint seems detached from the local practices and cultural meanings, and even from the many local ecological nuances that are lost in translation when attempts are made to model complicated natural processes as a controlled totality.

The strategy of producing more facts can, to an extent, contribute to a more convincing argument supporting implementation. On the other hand, if the objective of the entire project is not seen as right or fair by citizens, as is the case in Viinivaara, simply producing more facts won't necessarily lead to wider acceptance. Furthermore, disregarding many valid points about aspects other than technical ones and values associated with the region in question, and avoiding the considerations of other plausible options that might be more agreeable, seems to only increase distrust and result in unnecessarily complex, daunting political processes. Development might receive broader legitimacy if the goal-setting and planning were more shared and done in a more participatory way (Fischer 2000).

In the end, the local activists striving to conserve the natural springs of Viinivaara will probably not be able to secure a status similar to that of obligatory passage point like the waterworks, even though many experts agree with their knowledge claims. What the opponents instead have achieved is a dismantling of the position of knowledge authority and certainty that the waterworks has tried to construct. As a result, the situation has been complicated to the extent that the focus has shifted to the legal rulings that are in the process once again. As I write in this chapter, results are awaited from the proceedings of the Administrative Court of Vaasa, which is now assessing the issue based on all the available material, including the pleas of the various stakeholders supporting or opposing the water extraction. Thus, the Administrative Court has become the real obligatory passage point in the issue. When the final decision eventually arrives, the actor network around the Viinivaara waters will shift once again to a new formation as the dispute continues through the different levels of the legal system. The discussions about the Viinivaara groundwaters will probably continue in one way or another for years to come, while the water supply issue remains unresolved.

Notes

1 'The Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY Centres) are responsible for the regional implementation and development tasks of the central government' (ELY Centre 2023). In the Viinivaara groundwater case, the ELY Centre of Southwest Finland has been appointed as the official point of contact. The local ELY Centre of Northern Ostrobothnia has been disqualified from the task due to partiality in the issue.
2 The G-index is calculated based on the isotopic composition of the water. It provides information on the groundwater proportion, in percentage, of all the water that ends up in a lake (Wiman 2021).

References

Ballestero, A. (2019). The anthropology of water. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 48, 405–421.

Boerboom, L. & Ferretti, V. (2014). Actor-network-theory perspective on a forestry decision support system design. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 29, 84–95.

Callon, M. (1986). Some elements of a sociology of translation: Domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 196–233.

Campbell, E. & Lassiter, L. E. (2015). *Doing Ethnography Today: Theories, Methods, Exercises*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Carroll, P. (2012). Water and technoscientific state formation in California. *Social Studies of Science*, 42(4), 489–516.

Chou, T.-L. (2012). ANT analysis on the river management of urban Taiwan: A case study of Keelung River in Taipei Basin. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 2(3), 203–213.

de Rijke, K., Munro, P. & de Lourdes Melo Zurita, M. (2016). The Great Artesian Basin: a contested resource environment of subterranean water and coal seam gas in Australia. *Society and Natural Resources*, 29(6), 696–710.

ELY Centre. (2023). Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment. Retrieved from www.ely-keskus.fi/en/web/ely-en.

ELY Centre. (2017). Lausunto/Statement: Dno. VARELY/116/2017. Source: AVI web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from http s://ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

ELY Centre. (2014). Kehotus/Request: POPELY/81/07.02.2013. Source: AVI web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from http s://ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

FCG Suunnittelu ja Palvelu Oy. (2017). Oulun Vesi liikelaitos. Olvassuon Natura-arviointi. Täydennys. Source: Aluehallintovirasto web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from https://ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

Fischer, F. (2000). *Citizens, Experts, and the Environment: The Politics of Local Knowledge*. Duke University Press.

Kullman, K & Pyyhtinen, O. (2015). Toimijaverkosto. In K. Eriksson (ed.), *Verkostot yhteiskuntatutkimuksessa*. Gaudeamus, pp. 109–126.

Krause, F. & Strang, V. (2016). Thinking relationships through water. *Society & Natural Resources*, 29(6), 633–638.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Latour, B. (1999). *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press.

Lauhava, S. (2013). *'Syvissä vesissä': Ympäristökiista Viinivaaran pohjavesihankkeesta 2000-luvun alussa*. Master's thesis, University of Oulu.

Lien, M. E. & Law, J. (2011). 'Emergent aliens': On salmon, nature, and their enactment. *Ethnos*, 76(1), 65–87.

Linton, J. & Budds, J. (2014). The hydrosocial cycle: Defining and mobilizing a relational-dialectical approach to water, *Geoforum*, 57, 170–180.

Linton, J. (2014). Modern water and its discontents: A history of hydrosocial renewal. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Water*, 1.

Linton, J. (2021). Political ecology and river restoration. In B. Morandi, M. Cottet & H. Piégay (eds), *River Restoration*. John Wiley.

Luonnonvarakeskus. (2024). Co-planning of land use sector climate change mitigation in the Kiiminkijoki river catchment. Retrieved from www.luke.fi/en/projektit/matki/.

Metsähallitus. (2017). Lausunto/Statement: MH 4488/2015. Source: AVI web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from https:// ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

Negev, M. & Teschner, N. (2013). Rethinking the relationship between technical and local knowledge: Toward a multi-type approach. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 30, 50–59.

Oulun Vesi. (2017). Viinivaara-hankkeen lupahakemus. Source: Aluehallintovirasto web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from https://ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

Pöyry Finland Oy. (2017). Oulun Vesi. Viinivaara hankkeen Kiiminkijoen Natura-arviointi. Arvioinnin täydennys. Source: Aluehallintovirasto web portal. Vesi- ja ympäristölupien tietopalvelu. PSAVI/761/2017. Retrieved from https://ylupa.avi.fi/fi-FI/asia/1371271.

Rantala, L., Sarkki, S., Karjalainen, T. P. & Rossi, P. M. (2017). How to earn the status of honest broker? Scientists' roles facilitating the political water supply decision-making process. *Society & Natural Resources*, 30(10), 1288–1298.

Sarkki, S., Haanpää, O., Heikkinen, H. I., Hiedanpää, J., Kikuchi, K. & Räsänen, A. (2023). Mainstreaming nature-based solutions through five forms of scaling: Case of the Kiiminkijoki River basin, Finland. *Ambio*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-023-01942-0

Swyngedouw, E. (2009). The political economy and political ecology of the hydro-social cycle. *Journal of Contemporary Water Research & Education*, 142, 56–60.

Turnhout, E. (2018). The politics of environmental knowledge. *Conservation and Society*, 16(3), 363.

Usón, T. J., Henríquez, C. & Dame, J. (2016). Disputed water: Competing knowledge and power asymmetries in the Yali Alto basin, Chile. *Geoforum*, 85, 247–258.

Wiman, V. (2021). *Utajärven Viinivaaran alueen järvien rehevyys ja pohjavesivaikutteisuus*. Master's thesis, University of Oulu.

Waylen, K.A., Blackstock, K.L., Marshall, K. & Alba, J-B. (2023). Navigating or adding to complexity? Exploring the role of catchment partnerships in collaborative governance. *Sustainability Science*, 18, 2533–2548.

8 Blurring binaries and environmental management practices from agricultural productivism to TechnoGarden fixes

Hannu I. Heikkinen, Olli Haanpää, Karoliina Kikuchi, Simo Sarkki, Anna Ruohonen, Élise Lépy and Aleksi Räsänen

Introduction: environmental management and TechnoGardens

Climate change, water quality and biodiversity are pressing concerns and policy targets today. The need for new environmental management measures has been increasingly directing environmental policies and practices since the United Nations 1992 Earth Summit Conference in Rio de Janeiro. However, the magnitude of environmental changes and the urgent need to take necessary corrective actions, such as increasing carbon sequestration or supporting the recovery of biodiversity, lead us to ponder how nature has been protected and managed in the past and currently, and how this reflects on our understanding of relationships between nature and culture.

As Carina Keskitalo writes in the introduction of this volume, nature has often been understood in both society and research through a disjunction from human systems. On the one hand, it is claimed that this nature–culture binary is characteristic of Western thought and it has long troubled, for example, anthropology (Descola 2013; Escobar 1999), increasingly in connection to an ever-emerging modernity and the environmental problems that progress in parallel (Latour 1994, 2004). On the other hand, an intensifying use of natural resources has long been seen as a cornerstone of overall human evolution (White 1959). In sociology, Anthony Giddens (1994: 175) has even defined 'productivism' as a concept that characterises the ethos of our times, whereby 'work' defines both us as humans as well as our relationship with our environment, and 'mastery [over nature] can quite often mean caring for nature as much as treating it in a purely instrumental or indifferent fashion' (Giddens 1994: 209). Finally, he concludes that all ecological debates today concern managed nature (Giddens 1994: 211).

Indeed, the fast industrialisation, urbanisation and exponentially increasing human impact on the environment during the twentieth century also amplified the discussion of human–nature relationships, and this epoch has widely characterised the scholarly world and politics for decades. To safeguard the essential ecosystem functioning for our societies, a recent discussion has suggested that, instead of returning to less intensive land-use management after

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-8

Figure 8.1 Example of a constructed wetland site in Juopuli in the Kiiminkijoki River basin in northern Finland. The site was visited as part of a workshop with forest owners.
Photo: Hannu I. Heikkinen, 2022

productivism ethos, land use should be engineered even more so that ecosystem services and benefits to society can be maximised (Hewett et al. 2020).

When we visited a newly constructed wetland site near the village of Juopuli in the Kiiminkijoki River basin in northern Finland in October 2022, we were struck with the intensive engineering there. Our visit was part of the 'Co-planning of land use sector climate change mitigation in the Kiiminkijoki River catchment' project, in which we organised a small workshop for forest owners to discuss catchment management. Before the workshop we visited the wetland whose aim is to purify the waters of the intensively managed forest areas upslope. We researchers, perhaps, were expecting a nature-like landscape; but instead, what we saw was an artificial body of water surrounded by meandering dykes with bare peat on top (Figure 8.1).

Our visit to the site reminded us how the reliance of technological environmental management fixes was one of the main scenarios in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA 2005). In the MA process, initiated by the United Nations in 2001, more than 1,360 experts had the objective of assessing the consequences of ecosystem change for human well-being and offering a scientific basis for actions redeemed necessary for enhancing the sustainable use of nature. In the assessment, the reason for environmental degradation was said to be related to a lack of understanding in regard to how dependent human well-being is on that of nature. This surprisingly prescient assessment brought the concept of ecosystem services to public awareness and increased the discussion on the importance of keeping up these services and the necessary nature conservation and restoration measures. The MA (2005) sketched four

future scenarios of the possible evolution of ecosystem services: Global Orchestration, Order from Strength, Adapting Mosaic and TechnoGarden. In this chapter, we focus particularly on the TechnoGarden scenario as our point of reference to currently popular nature-based management solutions, such as the creation of carbon sinks. The TechnoGarden scenario describes the artificial production of ecosystem services with the help of technological engineering solutions and market-oriented institutional reforms, such as biodiversity and carbon offsetting and emission trading.

Given the characteristics of technological environmental management fixes as observed at the local site at Juopuli Lake, and described in TechnoGarden scenario, we can problematise the relationship between TechnoGarden and productivism practices. These can easily be considered opposite binary approaches to environmental management, with productivism being characterised by industrialism and an intensification of resource uses and TechnoGardens involving the protection and conservation of nature while enhancing sustainability. In this paper, we argue that the difference between the productivism and TechnoGarden types of environmental management is not entirely clear-cut. By problematising this relationship, we can reflect on the nature–culture binary not only on a theoretical level but also on the practice level of local people, who are often 'living in and with [nature]' (Giddens 1994: 208) and for whom drawing fundamental distinctions between nature and culture, or between conserving and managing nature, is difficult.

In this chapter, we discuss how the current TechnoGarden type of nature management both resembles and differs from production-focused land management, and how both seem to lead to a further blurring between nature and culture. We exemplify the nature–culture binary dilemmas by looking at both the historical and current management of the wetlands and peatlands near the village of Hetekylä in the Kiiminkijoki River basin in Finland. We selected the environmental history of the Hetekylä case for two reasons. First, it illustrates that the current state of certain environments and the need for corrective measures there are often the result of the actions of multiple actors on varying scales (see Chapter 7, this volume) as well as the cumulative nature of environmental changes (see Österlin et al. 2022) when people live in, take care of, and try to make good life in a place that is important to them. Second, experiences from past human interventions in the state of an environment can offer important lessons to consider in planning the next set of engineering solutions for mitigating environmental changes or simply fixing the mistakes of a previous era. As such, this case offers fertile ground for reflecting on the assumed binaries between nature and culture, and between the productivism and TechnoGarden types of environmental management practices. The Hetekylä case showcases many

of the changes that have also occurred elsewhere in the Kiiminkijoki River basin and beyond.

Study area, materials and methods

The Kiiminkijoki River basin is a 3824 km^2 peatland-dominated area in rural northern Ostrobothnia in Finland. Over 50% of the study area is covered by peatlands, of which approximately 60% have been drained, mainly for forestry purposes. The forests on mineral soil cover 40% of the catchment while only a small proportion is used for agricultural (1.7%) or residential, industrial and peat mining (2.2%) purposes (Sarkki et al. 2023). The region has traditionally relied on primary production, especially forestry and peat energy production and a combination of small-scale agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting (Nieminen, Vahtola & Satokangas 2008). Approximately 15% of the catchment, including the river and its tributaries, is protected by the EU Natura 2000 network (EEA 2024). The river's conservation value is due to its being free-flowing and including many small tributaries in a near-natural state, which are important spawning grounds for migratory fish.

Despite the protected areas and non-existent dams, the river and its catchment have been used by humans for millennia, but increasingly since the late nineteenth century. Rapids in the river have been dredged for log floating, forest areas have been intensively managed, and some of the peatlands have been utilised as agricultural or peat production areas. The transformations in the river and its catchment have had multiple socio-ecological impacts. While the water quality is good or even excellent in the upstream reaches some of the tributaries have only satisfactory or even poor quality, as they are near the wetlands surrounding Hetekylä, along the Nuorittajoki tributary (Finnish Environment Institute 2023). Additionally, the suitable habitat area for numerous animal and plant species has diminished, greenhouse gas fluxes to the atmosphere have increased, recreation possibilities have decreased, and migratory fish, including salmon, have virtually disappeared from the river.

The key wishes of many residents are practical and local: an improvement of the water quality and a return of the salmon. To enable the latter, it has been acknowledged that transformations in the land use will be required, including the restoration of peatland areas and less intensive forest-management practices. At the same time, the river basin land uses are encountering pressure through European Union (EU) policy regarding the green transition and the river's designation by the Natura 2000 network (EEA 2024). For example, the EU biodiversity strategy (European Union 2020) and Nature Restoration Law (European Union 2024) are increasing pressure for the restoration of peatlands and other habitats in the region. Furthermore, Finland plans to be carbon neutral by 2035, and this plan includes carbon

sequestration by the land-use sector and particularly forested areas (Ministry of the Environment 2023).

The study discussed in this chapter is attached to the 'Co-planning of land use sector climate change mitigation in the Kiiminkijoki river catchment' (MATKI) project, funded through the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry's Catch the Carbon research and innovation programme. The key challenge is to find win-win solutions for achieving carbon neutrality, enhancing biodiversity and restoring heavily drained areas while maintaining societal resilience and, for example, the possibility for forestry to function as a profitable livelihood.

Our qualitative research material consists of 41 interviews with 48 interviewees (35 men and 13 women), a survey of 35 local respondents, and participatory workshop series with a total of more than 50 participants, conducted in 2022–2024. Informed consent was obtained for all recorded interviews, and in the case of informal talks and workshops the research purpose, as well as the fact that the research materials would be used only for scientific purposes, was clearly stated. The coding strategy of using multiple sources of information – interviews, participant observation and workshop discussions – involved a provisional coding method (Saldaña 2016). The research material was categorised into the classes of land use and restoring practices, recognised problems, possibilities to solve the challenges, reasoning about the acceptability of potential solutions, and identified involved actors. During the analysis, the predetermined codes were revised when needed. In this chapter, we offer quotes from the material as examples of relevant stakeholders' reasoning.

We examine the historical changes around Hetekylä, such as the draining of Hetejärvi Lake (Figure 8.2) and the dredging of the Nuorittajoki River, through an analysis of documents, local history projects, interviews, participant observation and wetland restoration plans conducted by the Forest Centre, a state-funded advisory organisation and partner of the MATKI project. Materials referring to environmental history were organised in chronological order, emphasising local experiences, narration and meaning-making (see Kidambi 2012: 230).

The Kiiminkijoki River basin is included in two of the chapters in this volume. Olli Haanpää (Chapter 7) describes the conflict over the Viinivaara groundwater extraction, while in this chapter we focus on the village of Hetekylä and the wetlands nearby, located approximately 10 km north of Viinivaara. While the two chapters refer to some of the same informants, for instance those who are active in the Kiiminkijoki River fisheries district, most of the informants they feature are different. They represent local land and forest owners, residents, activists, experts, and different professions and interest organisations. However, these categories often overlap. In addition, it is important to note that the majority of our project partners, collaborators and informants have a common interest in water quality and the state of the local environment, and stakeholders emphasising economic profits from forest are probably underrepresented.

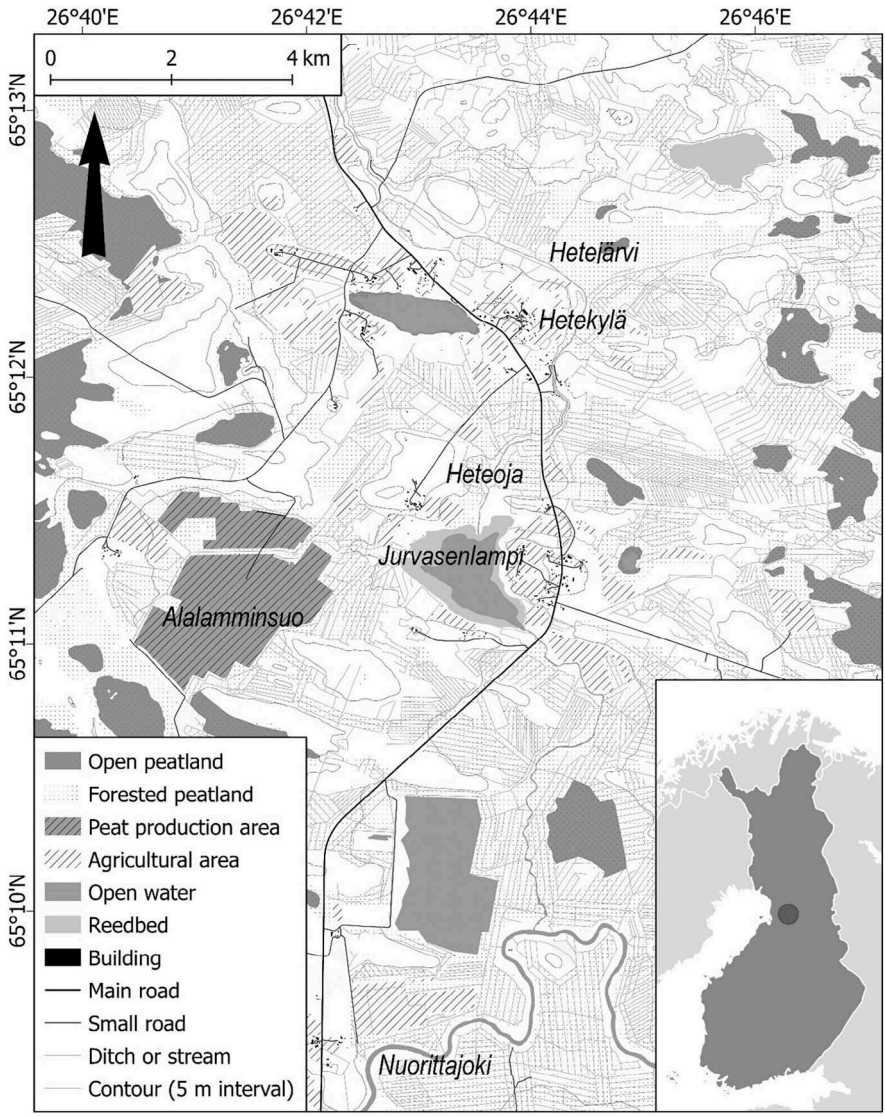

Figure 8.2 Map of the Hetekylä area in northern Finland.
Data source: Topographic Database of the Land Survey of Finland (CC BY 4.0 license); map by Aleksi Räsänen

Draining and restoring wetlands surrounding the village of Hetekylä

Hetekylä, with some 100 dwellings and 248 inhabitants in 2018, belongs to the municipality of Pudasjärvi, approximately 70 km east of the city of Oulu. The Nuorittajoki River runs through the area and releases its waters into the Kiiminkijoki River. The first human traces in the area are dated at 400–170

BCE. Based on place names and oral histories, it has been deduced that the area's previous population were Sámi (Jurvansuu & Jurvansuu 2020).

Permanent peasant colonisation began in the sixteenth century, especially in the high grounds on mineral soil (*kuivat*) between lakes and peatlands. Traditionally, livelihoods have been a combination of many sources, including reindeer herding, forestry and timber floating (Sarkkinen 2020a). In general, the Finnish relationship with peatlands has been ambivalent, from religious respect for them and fear that they would be sources of frost to dreams of intensified agri- and silvicultural production (Enbuske & Ruuskanen 2021). An important episode in the country's agriculture began in the form of an expansion of fodder production and the forming of new farms through an extensive draining of lakes and wetlands from the eighteenth century onwards. These measures were conducted by peasant companies through governmental subsidies (Anttila 1967). In the Hetekylä area a total of four larger lakes, including Hetejärvi Lake, and several smaller ponds and mires (Figure 8.2) were drained between approximately 1856 and 1881 (Jurvansuu 2020a). A local resident and history activist explained that, for her and the local community, this episode represented progress and new possibilities:

> Hetekylä is one of the oldest villages in Pudasjärvi, with documented inhabitation since the sixteenth century … The same families who have relied on rural livelihoods since then still live here. Hetekylä has always been progressive, and this was also the reason for draining the lakes. This created meadows and fodder for animal husbandry.

In peatland-dominated areas, rivers and ditches rapidly began filling up with suspended solids. A major clearing of drains had to be organised as early as 1937–1939 (Jurvansuu 2020b). Lake drainage and the clearing of drains were done by damming and ditching through manual labour. Due to this, these early environmental engineering efforts offered locals a great deal of wage labour possibilities, which was a rare asset in rural areas at the time (Anttila 1967; Jurvansuu 2020a; Figure 8.3). The importance of draining works for locals and its disappointing results in the long run were described by a reindeer herder and farmer in the following way:

> No one wanted to migrate from here at that time and we had big families, so everyone thought it [draining and clearing] was a good job, but … I think the benefits lasted only a short time, if we consider how huge projects those were.

Another reason for early environmental engineering in peatland areas and rivers was a need for channels for timber floating. For example, from 1780 onwards, the newly established sawmill on the Koiteli rapids downstream on the Kiiminkijoki River needed timber. For log-floating purposes, a sequence of major clearing works was arranged in both the Kiiminkijoki and

Figure 8.3 Clearing of the Heteoja drain in 1938.
Reproduced with the permission of Ritva Jurvansuu (see Jurvansuu 2020b: 761)

Nuorittajoki Rivers and their tributaries (Sarkkinen 2020b). A retired forestry professional emphasised that channelling works were harmful to migratory fish and increased the fluctuation in water levels:

> It [the river] had formerly been cleared for log driving, which [floating] was not even practised here for a long time, but the channel was cleared to be so narrow and deep that it resulted in the loss of spawning grounds [sands]. And you can see the results downstream [floods and dry seasons].

The next episode that impacted the water quality and landscape was the large-scale drainage of peatlands for forestry purposes. This phase began with governmental support in the 1950s, with intensifying mechanisation and a modification of forest grounds. Characteristic of this period in the late twentieth century (see Giddens 1994) was that the drainage of peatlands through ditching was called 'improvement of forests', the namesake of a government-supported advocacy association (Metsänparannussäätiö) (Kokkonen & Makkonen 2015). The extent of the peatland drainage in Finland is easy to imagine by taking a look at a random aerial image or topographic map of a peatland area; the ditched landscape near the village of Hetekylä illustrates this well (Figure 8.2). Controversial relationships between locals and the

forest-management practices were apparent in the interviews, and a younger female forestry professional openly pondered the impacts of agricultural traditions and work ethic:

> You don't need permission for small-scale forestry ditching, but what is small-scale? Some [foresters] have excavators and they like to dig. I tell them don't go digging there; it doesn't make any sense even economically. However, they might go digging just for the joy of digging … That's an old idea, that you must do something to be diligent. The forest will grow when you do things to it. It's hard for some people to understand that a forest may grow even if you don't do anything there.

However, the mentality of taking care of the profit and growth of forests was not only a common denominator among many local landowners but was also emphasised by forest owners' interest groups and forestry societies that advised forest owners. The silvicultural interest was expressed, for example, as follows:

> Profit is the main interest of the forest owner. In a way or another … And then this ditching, we cannot say it hasn't spoiled waters, but if forests hadn't been ditched here in this catchment, there would be fewer forests growing … Ditching, which was done in the past, increased the surface of growing forests a lot. Ditched peatlands, where trees grow now, are carbon sinks in a way.

The map of Hetekylä (Figure 8.2) also reveals another important characteristic of local land use: the area is exposed to another industry that heavily impacts water quality, i.e. peat production (see Enbuske & Ruuskanen 2021). The peat production area of Alalamminsuo was operated by a government-owned peat production company in the first two decades of the 2000s, with this production ultimately terminated in 2020. When peat production ceases and certain after-use management (e.g. initiation of revegetation with ash spreading) has been conducted, the landowner can choose what to do with the site (Laasasenaho et al. 2023); for the after-use management in Alalamminsuo, for example, the company tried growing reed canary grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*). During the peat production phase it was promised that the site would offer much-needed labour opportunities (Kaleva 2004), but locally it was not remembered for offering jobs but rather for its harmful impacts on the water quality. During the interviews, an elderly woman described the period as follows:

> The 1970s increased forestry ditching and the beginning of peat production resulted in all the bodies of water in Hetekylä becoming loaded with humus. The debris ended up in the Nuorittajoki and the Kiiminkijoki. Before this, the waters were clear and there were swimming places in the

Heteoja ditch and the Sammakkolampi and Ahvenlampi ponds. After the 1980s there were no waterways suitable for swimming.

The result of these biomass and peat-production efforts was that the vegetal invasion of Jurvasenlampi Lake and the eutrophication of other bodies of water speeded up. Ultimately, this has impacted the water quality of the downstream systems of the Nuorittajoki and Kiiminkijoki Rivers.

In the 2000s, the current interests in restoration and in fixing the former excesses began to emerge. To improve the quality of the waters, the advisory organisation the Forest Centre made a restoration plan with landowners, for example for Jurvasenlampi Lake in 2022 (Koukkari 2023; Figure 8.4) to stop the diffuse load of nutrients and suspended solids caused by the drainage of peatlands. The secondary objectives were to support biodiversity and to store carbon. What is revealing for this present era that emphasises restoration is that the name of the current environmental engineering project, directly translated from the Finnish term *luonnonhoitohanke*, is 'nature nurturing project' (Koukkari 2023), compared to the 'improvement of forests' projects through forest drainage in the mid-twentieth century (see Kokkonen & Makkonen 2015). At the writing

Figure 8.4 Drone photo of Jurvasenlampi Lake in summer 2023. In the middle the historical draining ditch, and in the upper part the new bottom dam, surface-draining peatlands and water-clearing channels are clearly visible.
Photo: Ville Koukkari, 2023

of this chapter in 2023, the project has been completed by an earthwork contractor. The restoration plan (Koukkari 2023) consists of:

- one open wetland, 4.6 ha. (compound of three different ponds);
- four tailing ponds (drain deltas and mouth of Alaoja creek);
- one bottom dam/watershed;
- two plug-up drains;
- 11 peat deposit areas; and
- the remaining 40 ha. of drained Jurvasenlampi Lake serve as a surface-draining field.

In a way, the local statement that 'Hetekylä has always been progressive' fits the current positive nature-restoration attitudes as well. Instead of draining peatlands to improve farming possibilities, contemporary wishes involve constructing new wetlands, and if possible, filling the forest ditches that have not been beneficial to forest growth. However, constructing wetlands (Figures 8.4 and 8.5) and restoring rapids are also intrusive methods which require labour and investment, and which

Figure 8.5 As time goes by, new blurred binaries of nature and culture emerge and can provide cultural ecosystem services for people, in the jargon of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, or as locals would conceptualise it, provide a pleasant native living environment. The photo above shows the example of the finished and 'rewilding' state-constructed wetland of the Kalamäki restoration site near the Kiiminkijoki River.
Photo: Olli Haanpää, 2022

also deteriorate water quality in the short run. Nevertheless, even though locals have experienced this in the past they acknowledge that, without active management and new wetlands for filtering humus from water, nature's own succession processes and clearing of waters would take too long for them to see the benefits. A local forestry engineer and entrepreneur furthermore acknowledged and explained the maintenance needs for these kinds of artificial restoration projects:

> [Tailing ponds and bottom dams] decrease [the humus] load when they're done correctly and kept up. As I said, even if a good tailing pond is made, if you don't maintain it over the next 30 years – you don't empty it and keep it up – it will quickly be filled. It can be filled in a couple of years without maintenance. Then, within the next 15–20 years it won't work, and solid matter will end up in the downstream waterways.

Notwithstanding how supportive many local project partners were of restoration projects on their peatland and wetland properties, most of them did not want the conservation efforts to compromise their commercial use of forests. Restoration projects supported by local landowners were located on low-productive forests and wet peatlands that had been drained decades ago but had seen no remarkable improvement in forest growth, or involved river and lake restorations, which did not have an impact on forestry but would directly benefit fishing and recreational purposes. For most of the forest owners, the primary objective of forest property is still to produce wood. This was especially emphasised by most of the proponents of the forestry industry as well as forestry societies as local advisory organisations, but it was also evident at the workshops in discussions with forest owners in regard to the alternative forms of reaping benefits and earning income from forest. The following citation is drawn from the discussions at the workshop in Juopuli, downstream along the Nuorittajoki River, which was mentioned in the introduction. The workshop, held on 18 October 2022, dealt with the acceptability of different compensation schemes for increasing carbon intake or preserving standing forests:

FOREST OWNER 4: Land should produce something. There are nature values.
RESEARCHER 1: In principle, profit comes from timber now; but could the income come from carbon? Would forest owners accept income from [storing] carbon?
FOREST OWNER 4: It would take a lot of convincing – that could be tight!
RESEARCHER 2: Why is that? Forest is a resource, but could you take same income from carbon. Prices of carbon versus income from harvest?
FOREST OWNER 4: It's hard to think like that. Forest has raised Finland up, elevated it. And it's still like that. Naturally, if a load of money is drawn from abroad – sure, then we'll buy oil.
FOREST OWNER 6: Sure, if money's coming in, and subsidies. If the result is the same, why not, if hunting rights stay in place, and berries. If the losses could be compensated, then perhaps.

The nature–culture binary and environmental management

The environmental history and current restoration efforts involving the wetlands surrounding the village of Hetekylä, along a tributary of the Kiiminkijoki in Finland, show us the complex and blurred relationships between culture and nature, and especially their dynamic interplay. Two policy phases can be delineated from the environmental management history of Hetekylä. The first is an agri- and silvicultural period, which could be called a productivism management phase in Giddens's (1994) terminology and which is characterised by engineering practices including, for example, draining lakes and peatlands to produce essential 'resources' of the time such as timber, crops and fodder. The second is the current restoration period, which can be called TechnoGarden management phase, in the MA (2005) terms, with engineering fixes such as constructed wetlands and restored rapids, and which produce the 'ecosystem services' that are valued in our time, such as water purification or carbon sequestration, but also fix the environmental problems caused by the previous productivism management phase.

Our key argument is that active human interventions and TechnoGarden thinking have come to be a paradigmatic and often unproblematised method for halting environmental degradation and restoring ecosystem functions. Furthermore, in a way, TechnoGarden approaches continue the historically active nature–culture interplay and lead to a further blurring of binary distinctions between nature and culture. TechnoGarden thinking is paradigmatic in, for example, nature-based solutions – i.e. those that address societal challenges through the management of nature (Nesshöver et al. 2017) and that have been promoted by, among others, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (2020). The logic is also visible in (supra)national environmental management policies, including the EU's (2020) Biodiversity strategy for 2030 and Finnish national climate policy (Ministry of the Environment 2023).

Our categorisation between the productivism and TechnoGarden management phases is not a clear-cut distinction, even if the aims differ. Both rely on active human intervention and engineering solutions. Temporally, they coexist and can be in conflict locally (see Chapter 7, this volume). The conflicting purposes, means and practices of active management were expressed in the interviews, for example as follows:

> I can give one horrible example of many. The fisheries district made a restoration plan [for a tributary] where we found grayling fry by electrofishing. A hundred metres upstream, a landowner dug steep open ditches into a slope that releases waters directly into the river and he dredged a flood plain, which releases floodwaters into the river during flooding periods. With no one's permission but his own!

The conflict over the Viinivaara groundwater extraction which Olli Haanpää describes in this volume is another example of TechnoGarden thinking in the

same Kiiminkijoki River catchment area, downstream from the Hetekylä waterbodies. With the Viinivaara project, the City of Oulu waterworks is also trying to improve and secure the availability of tap water in a time of potential crises, environmental accidents or precipitation changes due to climate change. However, the extraction of groundwater on a major scale would contradict the restoration efforts that other actors are implementing in the nearby peatlands and streams. Indeed, the Viinivaara water extraction plan is itself a kind of TechnoGarden project, with many suggested technological bandages for mitigating or preventing the negative impacts that it would cause (see Chapter 7, this volume).

Binary distinctions, such as active management (including revegetation and rewetting, Khorchani et al. 2020) and passive management (such as protecting standing forest and relying on natural succession; see Carey 2006), tend to be emergent and fluid: disjunctions emerge and become blurred in the interaction between historical and contemporary encounters, as well as nature's own succession processes. Therefore, the binary between active and passive environmental management is true only on defined temporal scales. Natural processes continue without human meddling; but if we as a society want to reach certain goals, or fix our own impacts in our lifetime, we often need to take corrective actions instead of waiting for nature's (un)recovery at its own pace. And even though some ecosystems may not return to their original or desired state despite management, at times novel environments which serve desired ecosystem functions should be created (Hobbs et al. 2009). Furthermore, even the 'rewilding' of nature does not often refer to bringing nature back without humans but in practice is rather another type of engineering solution (see Chapter 6, this volume).

It is important to note, though, that while active management measures were quite easily accepted in the interviews and workshops, passive management approaches caused scepticism and simply seemed not to match the traditional work-emphasising practices that people have used in order to live in and with nature (see Giddens 1994). This productivism mindset is also evidenced in this volume by Emmi Salmivuori (Chapter 4), who extensively cites and analyses the lines of thought of contemporary forest owners in Finland. Passive protection of forestry areas is also often criticised by forestry professionals and industry representatives, because of the implications it has on practices at the regional or even international level. This is exemplified in the quote below:

> We should think about the forest owners' interests when choosing forestry practices. And we should also consider the bigger picture of the regional economy and so on. It is important to keep the forests growing and producing. If we make them into reservations, even the carbon sink will eventually start declining.

Productivism- and TechnoGarden-related policy approaches both seek to dominate nature by managing ecological structures and processes, but for

different purposes. Historical productivism seeks to optimise environmental resources and produce direct livelihood and income possibilities, while the TechnoGarden seeks to maintain and enhance ecosystem functioning in order to enable possibilities for good human life in general in the future. To put it in the language of MA (2005), the differences relate to productivism being almost exclusively focused on provisioning ecosystem services (e.g. the production of food and raw materials) while TechnoGarden also takes into account cultural (e.g. aesthetic experiences and recreational opportunities) and regulating services (e.g. carbon sequestration, managing water flows) (MA 2005). However, both approaches emphasise the instrumental values of nature and a unidirectional flow of services from nature to people, instead of reciprocal relationships and the intrinsic value of nature (see Giddens 1994; Chan et al. 2016). In the Hetekylä case and in our other study materials, this was manifested in a favouring of active management measures, which boost forest growth and are claimed to have environmental benefits, as explained below by a forestry professional:

RESEARCHER: How could it be done [minimising the nutrient and solid-matter discharge from the forestry areas]?

FOREST EXPERT: With water protection structures. Today … we cannot claim that the ditching wouldn't have caused issues. The effect of forest ditches is quite large.

RESEARCHER: So, in principle, if the water protection measures are done there will still be discharge?

FOREST EXPERT: Yes, there's discharge, and the river's long, and the catchment area's large [points at the area on the map]. It's terribly large. … But if we never dug the ditches, then surely the forest growth in the area would be minimal. … The drained peatlands have turned into areas growing wood, and there are carbon sinks as well.

RESEARCHER: Yes. But then when the trees are harvested it's obviously not a carbon sink anymore.

FOREST EXPERT: No, it's not. We need new forest there anyway. In time it will again be [a carbon sink]. By having different age structures in the forest, we can maintain the growth. Growing forest is a great portion of the carbon sink in Finland.

Productivism and TechnoGarden approaches also decouple the binary of culture and nature. The productivism view regards nature as something that we have 'mastery over' – something to be managed for human purposes, as Giddens (1994: 209) put it. Nature is out there to be conquered and to become enculturated. TechnoGarden considers nature to be a precious asset for providing ecosystem services and mitigating the environmental change caused by previous cycles of environmental engineering. However, both approaches lack balanced ideas regarding how nature and culture are

embedded and, to use another of Giddens's (1994: 208) conceptualisations, how we are 'living in and with [nature]'. For example, the concept of the Anthropocene points at an even more extreme blurring of the binary between culture and nature by asserting that the entire Earth is already influenced by human activities in a way that is comparative to the influence of geological processes (e.g. Crutzen 2002).

Productivism and TechnoGarden approaches are somewhat problematic as regards their ideas concerning change and stability. For instance, the productivism view ignores negative human impacts on the environment. This has led to devastating environmental problems across the globe, and our Hetekylä case illustrates these dynamics on a local scale. TechnoGarden is problematic as it tries to legitimise the status quo by claiming that nature management and engineering solve environmental problems. In this way it supports the business-as-usual society, which has been detrimental within planetary boundaries (Rockström et al. 2023).

The limits of both productivism- and TechnoGarden-type fixes for managing environmental issues are evident. First, there is a danger that human intervention will lead to path dependency and ecosystems' dependence on human maintenance practices. Our case study on the environmental history of Hetekylä shows how drained peatlands and dredged riverbeds, but also constructed wetlands, require continuous maintenance, as discussed by our informants in the 'Draining and restoring wetlands surrounding the village of Hetekylä' section. Second, TechnoGarden fixes belong to a series of bandage-type solutions to wicked problems (see Rittel & Webber 1973). They try to solve problems caused by previous sets of technofixes to the environment, which in turn had tried to fix issues of a different time and context when the reasoning behind the fixes was different, as our local case example revealed. Therefore, technofixes offer only a temporal solution to urgent problems. If these bandages deceive society into ignoring the root causes of environmental degradation – i.e. consumerism and an overuse of natural resources – and ultimately the transformational change that is needed, this development risks leading to an ever-expanding set of environmental problems and following fixes, which would force us to ultimately terraform the entire Earth as one vast TechnoGarden daydream.

The way forward: from engineering to naturecultures

In the fieldwork it became clear that, despite the acknowledged limits related to TechnoGarden management, its practices seem to fit quite painlessly into the agricultural and silvicultural continuum. We interpret this as a continuum of productivism mindsets which emphasise bringing transparent, morally accepted benefits directly to an investing stakeholder as a return for invested labour. This seems to enhance the possibility to gain local acceptance for actions when applying urgently needed and even rough environmental engineering solutions, such as constructed wetlands, compared to methods that

need more fundamental changes in people's thinking regarding how benefits from nature can be obtained. For example, according to our interviews and workshops, different passive carbon storage and sequestration methods, and even the passive protection of standing forests or applying less intrusive forestry methods, seem to be harder to accept even when one's economic losses would be compensated. This is probably because the logic of economic compensation for doing less or nothing does not easily fit the traditional productivism work ethic and mindset.

We argue that TechnoGarden-type active interventions that emphasise fixes continue the traditional invested labour focusing on human–nature interactions of productivism, and because of this, are more straightforward for local landowners to understand, trust and apply. However, an important conceptual binary distinction is that while the current technofixes produce 'ecosystem services', restore 'ecosystem functions' (Hewett et al. 2020) and increase carbon sinks in the stakeholders' conceptualisations of policy and science, for locals the benefits appear as local tangible goals, such as restored beautiful native landscapes and improved fishing grounds. The current technofixes contribute to the local way of 'living in and with [nature]' (Giddens 1994: 208). When it comes to local acceptance of certain active management measures, it is important that we simply accept that local values and motivations can be different, so that we can also pass by this binary distinction and find win-win solutions for both the local community and the broader society.

Given the challenges identified in productivism and TechnoGarden approaches, and to create room for hope in these times of environmental angst, we want to mention a third approach that we call 'naturecultures', using Donna Haraway's (2003) conceptualisation (Table 8.1). This suggestion is based on literature and views that have emerged over the last decade regarding the urgent need for transformative societal change, which can be defined as 'a fundamental, system-wide reorganization across technological, economic and social factors, including paradigms, goals and values, needed for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, good quality of life and sustainable development' (Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services 2019). It is hoped that the call for such transformative change will catalyse sustainable human–nature interactions.

The concept of natureculture was identified by Donna Haraway (2003) to blur the binaries related to nature and culture as well as human and non-human. Following this view, nature and culture are not opposites but rather share partial but important connections and are co-dependent on and co-created by each other. Attention has been given to the kinds of knowledge and societies the binaries sustain, including those that are underpinned by nature–culture, subject–object, body–mind, individual–society (Latimer & Miele 2013) or traditional-modern polarities (Latour 1994). Deconstructing binaries also has relevance for environmental policy. Uggla (2010) shows that the concept of nature is not stable and neutral but is rather a political concept that must be negotiated and filled with meaning according to context. By

Table 8.1 Deducing productivism in regard to TechnoGarden and naturecultures.

	Productivism	*TechnoGarden*	*Naturecultures*
Rationale	Managing nature to optimise resources for today	Mitigating environmental change for tomorrow	Enhancing sustainable co-evolving of naturecultures
Decoupling	Culture from nature (belief that nature, once properly managed, can be controlled to ensure human well-being)	Nature from culture (belief that, once properly managed, nature's resilience can be enhanced to mitigate human-caused environmental change)	Abandoning nature–culture binary
Change and stability	Ignoring environmental change and its significance for sustainability	Maintaining cultural persistence that compromises sustainability	Achieving transformative change by nurturing reciprocities between people and nature
Management of nature	Managing ecological processes to optimise resources	Managing ecological processes to compensate for unsustainable lifestyles	Managing ways by which human livelihoods relate to nature
Domination by optimisation	Dominating nature by engineering to optimise environmental resources	Dominating nature by engineering to optimise ecosystem services	Dominating nature over society to stay within planetary boundaries

drawing attention to the idea of deeply intertwined naturecultures, we seek to offer space for rethinking sustainability and transformation towards a desirable future. This can inform not only change in the ways we understand linkages between nature, culture and sustainability, but also future approaches that can dodge the pitfalls that are associated with both productivism and technofixes.

New conceptualisations – such as Haraway's (2003) naturecultures or Bruno Latour's (1994) hybrids for deconstructing binaries that are proven harmful – are not straightforward recipes for a sustainable future but can pave the way forward. In a similar way, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA 2005) drew the world's attention to how dependent human well-being is on that of nature, even as it fell into the ancient pitfall of anthropocentrism. Instead, by accepting embeddedness and reciprocal relationships, we might have a better chance to find more balanced ways for human–environment interactions in the future.

However, the traditional productivism logic behind the intrusive management of the environment to get resources runs deep in the cultural human–environment traditions through which we have learnt to live by and within

nature for generations, as exemplified in our Hetekylä case study. Technological fixes are a logical extension of this intrusive management history, and this cultural fit is essential for their social acceptability. Meanwhile, a transformative change and a natureculture mindset are harder to achieve in a short time span. Nevertheless, wider cultural and economic change is needed in the longer term. This challenge is global, but as our case study points out, specific local dynamics reflect these wider issues and problems even on a planetary scale.

References

Anttila, V. (1967). *Järvenlaskuyhtiöt Suomessa*. Kansatieteellinen arkisto 19. Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys.

Carey, A.C. (2006). Active and passive forest management for multiple values. *Northwestern Naturalist*, 87(1), 18–30.

Crutzen, P. (2002). Geology of mankind. *Nature*, 415(23). https://doi.org/10.1038/415023a.

Chan, K.M.A., *et al.* (2016). Opinion: why protect nature? Rethinking values and the environment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113, 1462–1465. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1525002113.

Descola, P. (2013). *Beyond Nature and Culture*. University of Chicago Press.

EEA. (2024). Kiiminkijoki. Retrieved from https://natura2000.eea.europa.eu/?views=Sites_View.

Enbuske, M. & Ruuskanen, E. (2021). Metsien ja soiden rikkaus ja raivaus. In E. Ruuskanen, P. Schönach & K. Väyrynen (eds.). *Suomen ympäristöhistoria. 1700-luvulta nykyaikaan*. Vastapaino, pp. 151–200.

Escobar, A. (1999). After nature: Steps to an antiessentialist political ecology. *Current Anthropology*, 40(1), 1–30.

European Union. (2020). Biodiversity Strategy for 2030. Retrieved from https://environment.ec.europa.eu/strategy/biodiversity-strategy-2030_en.

European Union. (2024). Nature Restoration Law Regulation (EU) 2024/1991 of the European Parliament and the Council of 24 June 2024 on nature restoration and amending Regulation (EU) 2022/869. Retrieved from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32024R1991&qid=1722240349976.

Finnish Environment Institute. (2023). Vesikartta. Retrieved from https://paikkatieto.ymparisto.fi/vesikarttaviewers/Html5Viewer_4_14_2/Index.html?configBase=https://paikkatieto.ymparisto.fi/Geocortex/Essentials/REST/sites/VesikarttaKansa/viewers/VesikarttaHTML525/virtualdirectory/Resources/Config/Default&locale=fi-FI.

Giddens, A. (1994). *Beyond the Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics*. Polity Press.

Haraway, D.J. (2003). *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. Prickly Paradigm Press.

Hewett, C.J., Wilkinson, M.E., Jonczyk, J. & Quinn, P.F. (2020). Catchment systems engineering: An holistic approach to catchment management. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Water*, 7(3), e1417. https://doi.org/10.1002/wat2.1417.

Hobbs, R., J. Higgs, E., and Harris, J., A. (2009). Novel ecosystems: implications for conservation and restoration. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 24(11), 599–605. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tree.2009.05.012.

Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. (2019) *Summary for Policymakers of the Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity*

and Ecosystem Services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. IPBES Secretariat. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3553579.

International Union for Conservation of Nature. (2020). *Global Standard for Nature-Based Solutions. A User-Friendly Framework for the Verification, Design and Scaling Up of NbS*. International Union for Conservation of Nature. https://doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.CH.2020.08.en.

Jurvansuu, J.A. (2020a). Hetejärven, Isovuorman, Vähävuorman, Lokalampien, Akanlammin ja Alalammin kuivatus. In T. Sarkkinen (ed.). *Hetekylä. Savupirteistä nykyaikaan*. Pudasjärven kansalaisopisto/Pudasjärven kaupunki, pp. 748–759.

Jurvansuu, R. (2020b). Nuorittajoen, Alaojan ja Heteojan perkaus vuosina 1937–1939. In T. Sarkkinen (ed.). *Hetekylä: Savupirteistä nykyaikaan*. Pudasjärven kansalaisopisto/Pudasjärven kaupunki, pp. 760–762.

Jurvansuu, R. & Jurvansuu, M. (2020). Hetekylän nimihistoriaa. In T. Sarkkinen (ed.). *Hetekylä. Savupirteistä nykyaikaan*. Pudasjärven kansalaisopisto/Pudasjärven kaupunki, pp. 17–20.

Kaleva. (2004). Alalamminsuolta turvetta pari kymmentä vuotta. Turvetuotanto Pudasjärven Alalamminsuolla pääsee alkamaan todennäköisesti 2–3 vuoden kuluttua. Retrieved from www.kaleva.fi/alalamminsuolta-turvetta-parikymmenta-vuotta/2088488.

Khorchani, M., Nadal-Romero, E., Tague, C., Lasanta, T., Zabalza, J., Lana-Renault, N., Domínguez-Castro, F. & Choate, J. (2020). Effects of active and passive land use management after cropland abandonment on water and vegetation dynamics in the Central Spanish Pyrenees. *Science of the Total Environment*, 717(137160). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2020.137160.

Kidambi, P. (2012). Time, temporality and history. In S. Gunn & L. Faire (eds), *Research Methods for History*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 220–237.

Kokkonen, J. & Makkonen, T. (2015). *Metsänparannussäätiö 1955–2015*. Metsänparannussäätiö.

Koukkari, V. (2023). *Jurvasen kosteikko – vesienhoito – luonnonhoitohanke*. Metsäkeskus.

Laasasenaho, K., Lauhanen, R., Räsänen, A., Palomäki, A., Viholainen, I., Markkanen, T., Aalto, T., Ojanen, P., Minkkinen, K., Jokelainen, L., Lohila, A., Siira, O.-P., Marttila, H., Päkkilä, L., Albrecht, E., Kuittinen, S., Pappinen, A., Ekman, E., Kübert, A., Lampimäki, M., Lampilahti, J., Shahriyer, A.H., Tyystjärvi, V., Tuunainen, A.-M., Leino, J., Ronkainen, T., Peltonen, L., Vasander, H., Petäjä, T. & Kulmala, M. (2023). After-use of cutover peatland from the perspective of landowners: Future effects on the national greenhouse gas budget in Finland, *Land Use Policy*, 134(106926). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2023.106926.

Latimer, J. & Miele, M. (2013). Naturecultures? Science, affect and the non-human. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30(7–8), 5–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276413502088.

Latour, B. (1994). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (2004). *Politics of Nature. How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*. Harvard University Press.

MA. (2005). *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Scenarios, Volume 2*. Island Press. Retrieved from www.millenniumassessment.org/en/Index-2.html.

Ministry of the Environment. (2023). Finland's national climate policy. Retrieved from https://ym.fi/en/finland-s-national-climate-change-policy.

Nieminen, A., Vahtola, J. & Satokangas, R. (eds.) (2008). *Jokivarren savuista kasvukunnaksi: Kiiminki 150 vuotta*. WS Bookwell Oy.

Nesshöver, C., Assmuth, T., Irvine, K. N., Rusch, G. M., Waylen, K. A., Delbaere, B., Haase, D., Jones-Walters, L.*et al.* (2017). The science, policy and practice of nature-based solutions: an interdisciplinary perspective. *Science of the Total Environment*, 579, 1215–1227. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2016.11.106.

Österlin, C., Heikkinen, H.I., Fohringer, C., Lépy, É. & Rosqvist, G. (2022). Cumulative Effects on Environment and People. In S. Sörlin (ed.). *Resource Extraction and Arctic Communities. The New Extractivist Paradigm*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 109–124.

Rittel, H. W. J. & Webber, M. M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences*, 4(2), 155–169. https://doi.org/10.1007%2Fbf01405730.

Rockström, J., Gupta, J., Qin, D., … & Zhang X. (2023). Safe and just Earth system boundaries. *Nature*, 619, 102–111. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-06083-8.

Saldaña, J. (2016) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 4th edition. Sage.

Sarkki, S., Haanpää, O., Heikkinen, H.I., Hiedanpää, J., Kikuchi, K. & Räsänen A. (2023). Mainstreaming nature-based solutions through five forms of scaling: Case of the Kiiminkijoki River basin, Finland. *Ambio*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-023-01942-0.

Sarkkinen, T. (ed.) (2020a). *Hetekylä. Savupirteistä nykyaikaan*. Pudasjärven kansalaisopisto/Pudasjärven kaupunki.

Sarkkinen, T. (2020b). Nuorittajoen uitto. In T. Sarkkinen (ed.). *Hetekylä. Savupirteistä nykyaikaan*. Pudasjärven kansalaisopisto/Pudasjärven kaupunki, pp. 748–759.

Uggla, Y. (2010). What is this thing called 'natural'? The nature–culture divide in climate change and biodiversity policy. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 17(1), 79–91. https://doi.org/10.2458/v17i1.21701.

White, L. (1959). *The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilizations to the Fall of Rome*. McGraw-Hill.

9 Experiencing untouched nature in the great indoors

On the production of wilderness in Arctic resort enclaves

Dorothee Bohn

Introduction

While the preceding chapters illustrate how the nature–culture binary unfolds in everyday land use, legal texts and wildlife management, this one examines the significant role of the private sector in shaping wilderness imaginaries and practices. This is done using the example of nature-based tourism targeted at international markets, which is of growing economic importance to many sparsely populated regions across northernmost Europe (Runge et al. 2020). Politically, the travel sector is promoted as a beneficial economic activity for areas that are rich in natural amenities but lack the potential to attract other industries. Nature-based tourism is seen as an easy option for entrepreneurship due to the sector's low entry barriers and as a means of sustainable development, uniting environmental protection aims with social development and economic growth (Bohn 2024).

Particularly Arctic-themed tourism has been on the rise in northernmost Europe over the past two decades (Varnajot & Saarinen 2022). This form of export-oriented travel focuses on producing highly commodified nature-based activities during wintertime (Rantala et al. 2018). Arctic tourism relies on imaginaries of snow-covered and clean wilderness, building upon frontier mythologies of the Arctic as an exotic no man's land (White et al. 2019). A tourism product in which the Arctic theming and the idea of pristine wilderness are especially salient and condensed are resort enclaves (Bohn 2024). Intensifying international demand for these venues, coupled with development authorities' financial support allowing tourism firms to invest in expanding such facilities, has led to a notable spread of Arctic-themed resort enclaves all over northernmost Europe, including Iceland (Bohn et al. 2023).

Drawing upon the example of resort enclaves, this chapter examines how Arctic wilderness is produced in nature-based tourism. Empirically, the study analyses the online presentation of Arctic-themed resort enclaves in northernmost Europe. In this context, the latter refers to the regions of Finnish Lapland, Norrbotten in Sweden, Nordland, Troms and Finnmark in Norway, and Iceland. The qualitative thematic analysis is driven by Neil Smith's (2008) production of nature thesis, which allows us to challenge the dichotomic view

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-9

of nature and society by showing how seemingly wild environments do not simply constitute an undomesticated antithesis to urban human-built environments but are purposefully created within socio-economic contexts. Given its Marxist foundations, the production of nature thesis places particular emphasis on the role of capitalism in guiding the use of nature vis-á-vis people's interactions with each other and non-human life. The analysis therefore focuses on unearthing the characteristics of tourist enclave wilderness and the type of experiences that travellers can have inside this environment. The ensuing discussion interprets the findings in broader socio-economic contexts. In doing so, the chapter contributes to this edited volume by unravelling the nature–society binary of Nordic or Arctic wilderness from the vantage point of capitalist accumulation processes. Moreover, this analysis contests the prevailing conceptions that nature-based tourism either invites urban dwellers for a limited amount of time into an authentic and unchanging wilderness to 'become one with nature' (Scholz 2012) or 'stages' inauthentic experiences and natures for ephemeral entertainment (MacCannell 1999). Staging invokes spatial reversibility, temporal limitation and a clearly delineated ensemble of actors involved in developing tourism. In turn, the notion of production refers to a multiscalar process that is non-reversible but ever-evolving and, as such, is not limited to professional tourism operators and tourists but is rather a phenomenon that reflects broader socio-economic practices within natural environments.

Production of nature thesis

Neil Smith's production of nature thesis, first published in 1984 and rooted in Marxist political economy, asserts that people socially produce nature through labour. The latter is conceived of broadly and refers not only to wage labour but to all productive and creative activities that transform nature into use and exchange value (Ekers & Loftus 2012). The production of nature thesis thus represents a universal approach as 'it excludes no society because every society must apply labour to furnish itself with food, clothing, shelter, etc., and because every production process transforms raw materials and thereby alters and constructs the physical environment' (Eaton 2011: 247). However, Smith's (2008) approach to the relationship between nature and society does not mean that a 'natural' nature predating human life has ceased to exist due to the pervasiveness of capitalistically organised human activities and technological progress. It also differs from strong constructivist ontology, which holds that reality resides solely within human conception and regards nature as being entirely socially constructed. The production of nature thesis instead implies that nature exists independently of people's ideas about it. However, our knowledge of nature is socially mediated, and human alterations of natural environments progress through historically and geographically specific practices (Ekers & Loftus 2012). The technological instruments that furnish people's subsistence and consumption desires, alongside the specific social orderings that mediate the labour relations that

are necessary for any productive process, endow this nature–society metabolism with a time- and space-specific form (Swyngedouw 2006). Hence, the production of nature co-evolves with societal transformations.

Smith (2008) develops his argument in a historicising fashion along the thoughts of Marx and Engels, who emphasise that the methodisation of generating regular material surplus transformed not only the relationship between humans and nature but also that between people themselves. Continuous surplus furthered the division of labour, which led to the stratification of society into classes – slaves, wage labourers, commercial traders and capital owners – and eventually to the formation of social institutions, most notably a state apparatus. These social institutions guide individuals' relationships with and access to nature, both ideologically and materially. In Smith's words:

> The production of a permanent social surplus allows human society to begin the long process of emancipating itself from the constraints of nature. On the other hand, however, this increased control is necessarily social control, and although it assists the emancipation of human society as a whole from nature, it does so only by developing the internal differentiations within society.
>
> (Smith 2008: 59)

The availability of surplus shifted the focus of production from creating use-value goods to exchange-value commodities. This transformation was accompanied by the emergence of markets, money as a means of exchange, and towns as central trade places. The term 'exchange value' denotes the quantitative relationship between commodities (i.e. how one commodity's worth is valued against that of other commodities). In Marxist theorisation, the value of a commodity is expressed by the time- and space-specific socially necessary labour time required to produce it. Concerning human–nature relations, Smith (2008) underlines that the preoccupation with exchange value production led to a takeover of first nature by second nature. First nature refers to Smith's (2008) theorisation of a material nature of use values crafted through labour. Social relationships entirely produce second nature, as material nature is reduced to exchange values and the laws of the market. Nature, therefore, appears both as a material and an abstract entity (Ekers & Loftus 2012). Under capitalism, the production of exchange value is a structural necessity, and the 'appropriation of nature and its transformation into means of production [and commodities] happens for the first time at a world scale' and in an ever-expanding manner due to the need for economic growth in capitalism (Smith 2008: 71).

On a macro-economic level, the growth imperative theory holds that states need growth in order to finance social insurance systems and the public sector at large so that national security and democratic legitimacy, as well as international competition, can be maintained (Richters & Siemoneit 2019). Income taxes represent the primary source of state revenue and are dependent on high

employment rates, which hinge on an economy that keeps up with global technological progress. On the microeconomic level, the coercive laws of competition oblige firms and capitalists to continuously reinvest in technological innovation and efficiency gains in order to stay in business (Harvey 2014).

Regarding the nature–society dichotomy, the production of nature thesis holds that while humans are a part of the natural world, the relationship between nature and humankind results from social activities, structures and technology. It opposes bourgeois environmental ideas that frame pristine natural landscapes as distinct from society and human utilisation, often leading to exclusionist nature conservation interventions (Greenbaum 2005; Smith 2023). It also rejects idealising visions of nature as a benevolent Mother with whom misguided (capitalist) humanity might live in harmony (again) through better and sustainable consumption (Scholz 2012). However, in Smith's conception, the nature–society dualism is a typical practice of capitalist societies due to the need to commodify the means of subsistence and the commons (Sevilla-Buitrago 2015). Examples are the privatisation of water supplies (Budds & Loftus 2023) or the green grabbing of land as part of energy transformation and environmental green agendas including, for instance, biocarbon sequestration, biofuels, ecotourism and carbon offsetting schemes (Fairhead et al. 2012).

The production of nature and touristic wilderness in northernmost Europe

Smith's production of nature thesis offers valuable insights into nature-based tourism for several reasons. Firstly, the term 'production' shifts the focus on purposive processes, including labour divisions, the distribution of ownership of the means of production, and the unintended side effects of a society's material conduct, such as climate change. The framework therefore allows us to question the dominant benign image of nature-based tourism as a win-win option for saving 'untouched' nature from extractivist or agricultural use while generating employment and sustainable economic growth (Ávila-García & Sánchez 2012). Secondly, it sheds light on the broader socio-economic and cultural conditions under which such natures become desirable destinations. Indeed, perceptions of aesthetically pleasing landscapes are culturally and historically contingent. For instance, uncultivated Nordic landscapes gained their desirability as travel destinations with the Romanticism movement, and images of 'wild' northern nature became prominent cultural identity markers of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalist movements in Sweden (Bohn & Keskitalo 2024). Another dimension of the social relationships involved in the production of nature in tourism involves the power relations between favoured target markets, the people who should serve the travellers, and those who are perceived as disrupting the tourist experience. Indeed, the displacement and marginalisation of local people due to tourism development projects are common occurrences at many destinations worldwide (Devine & Ojeda 2017).

Thirdly, the production of touristic nature entails material actions – referring to spatial planning and construction – as well as discursive practices such as place branding and promotion. Tourism organisations and businesses boost specific place images that strategically highlight certain natural and sociocultural features for a desired target audience while omitting others (Büscher & Fletcher 2017). For instance, in Jukkasjärvi, a popular northern Swedish winter destination for international travellers, tourism entrepreneurs rely predominantly on imaginaries of pure nature, but sideline the long-standing industrial and resource-extraction heritage of the whole region (Keskitalo & Schilar 2017). According to Salazar (2020: 770), imaginaries denote 'culturally shared and socially transmitted representational assemblages… [that shape] how people act, cognise, and value the world'. In tourism, imaginaries mediate place experiences and are simultaneously 'demonstrably collective' and 'ontologically particular' (Leite 2014: 262).

The imaginaries embedded in the touristic production of nature in northernmost Europe transformed significantly over time. During the twentieth century, domestic vacationing revolved around outdoor recreation in the pleasure periphery, including hiking, fishing, hunting, camping and cross-country skiing. In the heyday of the Nordic welfare state, which lasted roughly from the after-war period to the early 1980s, Nordic governments actively fostered domestic tourism as part of a broader political project to craft a loyal, egalitarian and nature-loving, but technologically advanced, society through mass consumerism (Bohn & Keskitalo 2024). From the 1980s onwards, this 'democratic model of tourism' (Anttila 2014: 325) was increasingly replaced by travel production as a means of regional development in sparsely populated areas. Particularly in Finnish Lapland, tourism developed notably because many municipalities invested in winter sports resorts and promoted winter tourism for international markets.

Due to rising demand triggered by international media reports about the Northern Lights, inbound tourism in northern Norway, mainly from January to April, has been growing since the 2010s (White et al. 2019). In Iceland, tourism was identified as a regional development pathway in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008/2009, which hit the Icelandic banking system particularly hard (Jóhannesson et al. 2010). Since then tourism has developed rapidly, with the sector accounting for 8.5 per cent of the island's GDP in 2023, which is among the highest among the OECD countries (Statistics Iceland n.d.). However, tourism there peaks in the summer and concentrates mainly in the southwest Golden Circle region and the Reykjanes peninsula (Jóhannesson et al. 2010). In northernmost Sweden, tourism has traditionally been driven by domestic travellers who engage in nature recreation during the summer months, but international winter tourism is constantly growing in certain hotspots (Bohn et al. 2023).

Overall, the tourism sector in northernmost Europe is highly diverse. There are semi-professional micro-firms owned by people who finance their desired lifestyles by offering nature-based vacations for domestic and international travellers, as well as growth-oriented businesses and hotel chains that operate several tourist venues and target predominantly international markets (Carson et

al. 2018). Nevertheless, regional tourism development strategies mainly promote the expansion of export-oriented travel and hospitality as part of economic policy efforts for entrepreneurship and job creation in sparsely populated areas (Bohn 2024). Another similarity among regions across northernmost Europe is that nature-based tourism for international markets relies heavily upon people-free and pristine wilderness imaginaries (Jóhannesson et al. 2010; Keskitalo & Schilar 2017; White et al. 2019). Saarinen (2005) suggests that this touristic wilderness is a product of marketing, landscaping, visual representation in social media, spatial planning and economic development governance and, as such, is a creation of social processes. Figure 9.1 showcases how wilderness in northern-most Europe is commonly presented to international travellers.

Moreover, traditional wilderness in the Nordic countries, including Iceland, is a cultural landscape that – although it is uncultivated – people derive use value from, for instance by reindeer herding, hunting, fishing and foraging (see Chapter 2, this volume). Even conserved wilderness, which corresponds to protected areas and national parks, is not unaffected by human interference, given that its very emergence is a by-product of industrialisation and its management depends on the prevailing sociocultural values (Saarinen 2005).

Figure 9.1 The advertisement displayed at Rovaniemi Airport, Finnish Lapland, highlights the central role of wilderness imaginaries in international traveller markets.
Source: author

Another defining feature of the touristic wilderness in northernmost Europe is the geographical marker 'Arctic'. Tourism businesses and destination management organisations use the Arctic to provide places across the circumpolar North with an easily recognisable yet exotic image (Bohn 2024). The reference to the Arctic renders tourist destinations in northernmost Europe even more remote and pristine by adding cryosphere and frontier elements (White et al. 2019). Moreover, it ties places with different sociocultural histories and ecological features into a globally circulating pop culture imaginary of a snow-covered no man's land (Keskitalo 2017). The association of northernmost Europe with the Arctic is a relatively recent phenomenon, having developed since the end of the Cold War and culminating in the foundation in 1996 of the eight-state Arctic Council cooperation between Canada, the US, Russia, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Iceland (Keskitalo 2004). This political extension of the Arctic to regions in climatically sub-Arctic Europe was accompanied by historical 'American New World' representations of settlers and explorers (Keskitalo 2017: 34). Although such understandings largely misrepresent the nature, culture and economy of the regions of northernmost Europe, they gained firm traction within tourism produced for international markets (Bohn 2024).

Arctic-themed resort enclaves

Tourism, as a primarily capitalistically organised activity, necessitates the creation of exchange value (Hof & Blázquez-Salom 2015). Regarding the generation of profits in nature-based and landed tourism, free natural gifts must be privatised and removed from common access in order to charge entrance fees, or tourism entrepreneurs need to provide services that tourists are willing to purchase. For instance, gateway communities close to free-to-access national parks can earn money from tourism either directly by offering accommodations, hospitality and retail services, or indirectly if tourism constitutes an economically important local livelihood and employees consume products and services in other sectors (Puhakka & Saarinen 2013). From a Marxist perspective, human labour is a precondition for spurring the creation of exchange value, because land (or nature) alone bears no such capacity. Young and Markham (2020: 289) note that exchange value develops in landed tourism products through 'the co-presence of workers-as-labourers and workers-as-consumers'.

A globally successful tourism product that extracts exchange value from nature is the resort enclave (Ávila-García & Sánchez 2012). The latter refers to a single-purpose facility, typically physically and socially segregated from surrounding host areas, where travellers consume an environment produced for their enjoyment and to meet their aesthetic expectations (Edensor 2001; Manuel-Navarrete 2016). Conventionally, an enclave contains all recreational activities, food and drink services and accommodations, so that tourists do not need to leave this sheltered space. Moreover, resort enclaves embody the capitalist differentiation-homogenisation dialectic (Smith 2008). While these touristic venues display a high level of internal homogeneity, which renders

each place easily comprehensible for international travellers regardless of the destination's cultural and natural conditions (Wall-Reinius et al. 2019), a certain degree of differentiation from tourists' mundane surroundings is a necessary pull factor. Yet, this variation rests firmly upon the tourist-generating culture's collective imagination of the destination and media-fuelled expectations (Keskitalo & Schilar 2017).

Even though the presence of a tourist enclave seems to destroy the very idea of pristine wilderness, Smith (2023) finds that these venues frequently utilise imaginaries of untouched nature in their branding and marketing. There are many examples of popular destination imaginaries in which enclave environments and untouched wilderness converge, such as the huts of luxury resorts located along a palm tree-lined beach of a Caribbean island or the glamping safari camps surrounded by wildlife in the African savannah. Although such mergers of wilderness and resort enclaves are primarily associated with tourism in the Global South (Wall-Reinius et al. 2019), since the 2010s similar facilities have been replicating in northernmost Europe as well (Bohn et al. 2023). These venues are characterised by the reference to an Arctic wilderness, which materialises in the strong focus on winter tourism, architecture and the offered nature-based activity products. Architectonically, the Arctic is reflected in the use of wood and glass, mute colour schemes, and Nordic minimalist interior design to create an indoor environment with a natural feel. While the accommodation venues are commonly single-unit lodges built as glass igloos or wooden cottages with floor-to-ceiling windows, exclusive boutique or ice hotels, or glamping tents, can also be found (Bohn 2024). Landscaping inside venues is kept to a minimum in order to merge the buildings into the surrounding natural environment. Figure 9.2 features some examples of

Figure 9.2 Examples of Arctic-themed resort enclave accommodations in Finnish Lapland. Source: author

accommodation architecture at Arctic-themed resorts. Enclaves generally operate a small, exclusive restaurant that serves top-notch Nordic cuisine. Guests can often book beauty and wellness treatments or engage in nature-based outdoor activities, organised by specialised local activity providers.

Methods and materials

To understand how these enclaves produce Arctic wilderness for touristic consumption, this chapter analyses the product descriptions provided on the websites of the respective tourism firms in northernmost Sweden (Norrbotten), Finland (Lapland), Norway (Nordland, Troms and Finnmark) and Iceland. These texts are seen not merely as discursive marketing imaginaries seeking to persuade potential tourists to book a stay at these venues, but also as representations of actual practices. Promotional texts reflect material place-making practices as the created expectations must be met by the tourist venue, given the increasing importance of online peer-to-peer reviews for business performance and travel decision-making (e.g. Keskitalo & Schilar 2017). Moreover, the imaginaries evoked in marketing materials must be grounded in existing place representations and collective ideas in order to be meaningful and thus desirable to potential consumers (Salazar 2020). The production of nature thus evolves simultaneously through discourses and material practice.

This study builds upon thematic analysis, a method for 'identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ("themes") within qualitative data' (Clarke & Braun 2017: 297). The first step of this examination was to locate and map the Arctic-themed enclaves in northernmost Finland, Sweden and Norway, as well as Iceland. Figure 9.3 displays the locations of the 105 resort venues found in the online search via Google and destination management websites. The criteria for including tourism venues on the list were that the business must operate as a resort offering accommodations as well as food and activity services. Additional selection markers were that these touristic venues must emphasise the Arctic and wilderness in their architectural and product theming. For the analysis, the retrieved venues were represented with the first letter of the country where they are located and a number; thus, the 52 enclaves in Finnish Lapland are labelled F1 to F52, the 13 Icelandic venues are labelled I1 to I13, the 19 Norwegian facilities are labelled N1 to N19, and the 21 Swedish resorts are labelled S1 to S21.

The second step revolved around analysing the enclaves' online descriptions of Arctic wilderness. For this, deductive code categories derived from the literature review were established. During the repeated reading of the texts, inductive codes emerged as well. Overall, the analytical process was guided by the following two research questions:

- What are the characteristics of touristic Arctic wilderness?
- How are the target consumers supposed to experience Arctic wilderness in the resort enclaves?

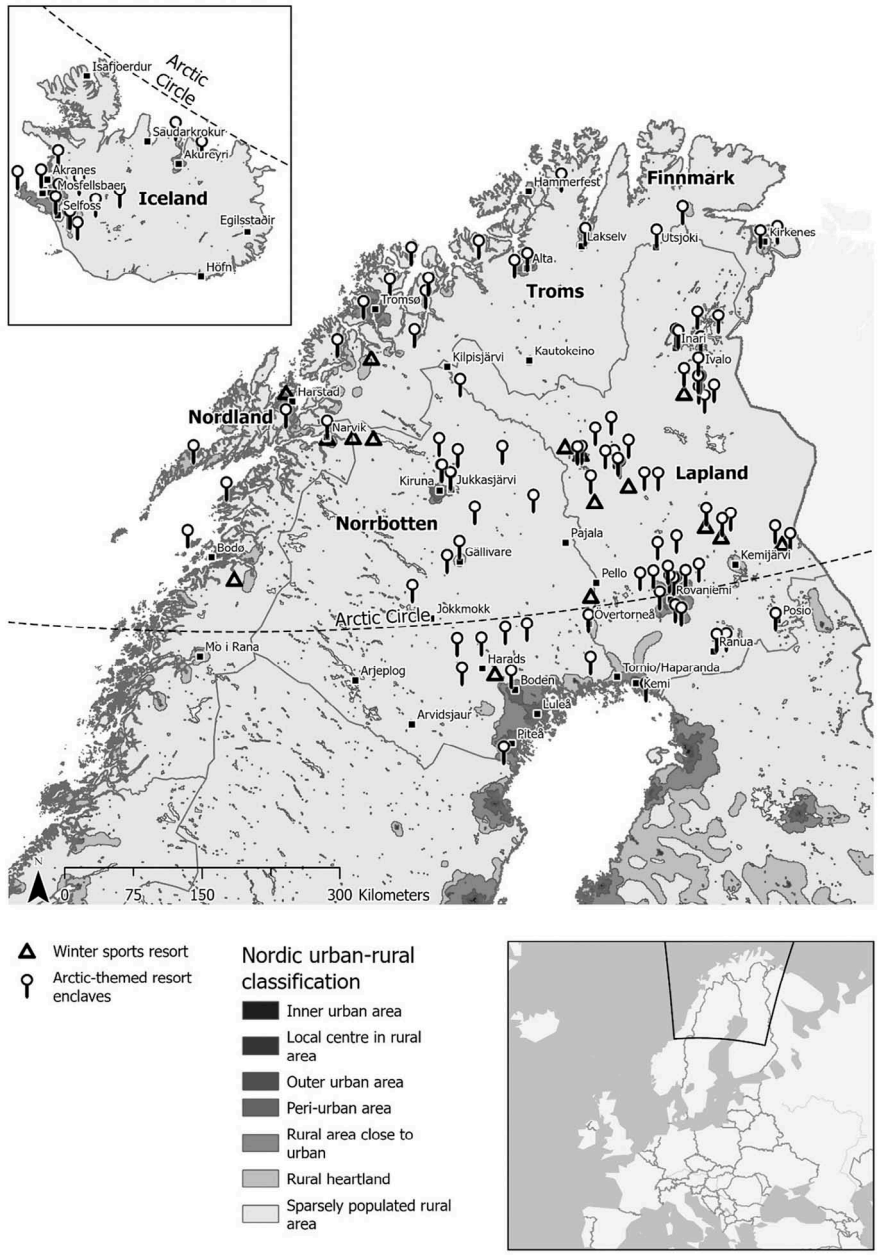

Figure 9.3 Overview of resort enclaves across northernmost Europe. Source of Nordic urban–rural classification data: Nordregio (2023)

The third step entailed the creation of themes based on the combination of individual codes. The fourth and final step involved discussing and explaining the findings regarding local wilderness production in the context of global capitalist relationships between humans in nature.

The production of wilderness in Arctic-themed enclaves

Characteristics of wilderness in resort enclaves

A closer look at Figure 9.3 reveals that although the examined resort enclaves emphasise their location in 'pure' (F38), 'unspoilt' (F43), 'untouched' (S18) or 'pristine' (S5) wilderness, these venues are predominantly situated close to urban infrastructure and not in nature conservation areas or national parks. Touristic utilisation, particularly motorised activities and the construction of tourist venues, is not permitted in strictly protected Nordic nature reserves and parks (Byström & Müller 2014). The 'wild nature' marketed by resorts constitutes mostly uncultivated land near settlements that humans have used and modified for centuries. However, these places may appear 'pristine' to international travellers coming from densely populated generating regions. Enclaves also highlight the closeness to urban infrastructure as an asset for holidaymakers. A short distance to transport hubs not only makes these venues convenient to reach but also allows tourists to enjoy the amenities of winter sports resorts and cultural attractions while being able to retreat to the 'peace and quiet' (F14) of the resort environment, where relaxation in nature awaits as a contrast to 'the hustle and bustle of the hectic city life' (F18).

Hence, this touristic nature is primarily presented as natural and unadulterated, and as an antithesis to urban life and culture. Exceptions to this include businesses owned by Sámi entrepreneurs with a background in reindeer herding. These owner-managers underscore the cultural and economic use of the land. Other firms in Iceland, for instance I7, emphasise the 'rich cultural heritage' of the island and the enclave's close location to historical and contemporary cultural sights.

Regarding the actual flora and fauna of the touristic wilderness surrounding the resorts, the examined online descriptions remain relatively unspecific, referring to a unique yet homogeneous 'Arctic nature' (e.g. S10). 'Arctic wildlife' (e.g. S9) is frequently mentioned, but with no deeper explanation of local vegetation and ecosystems. Some providers promote the fauna that awaits incoming tourists. For instance, the 'winter birds will be there to welcome [the travellers]' (F1), guests may wake up to the soothing sounds of 'birds and butterflies' (I9), and it is possible to 'hear the squirrels and small birds outside and even see them through the big window [of glamping tents]' (N2). In terms of vegetation, 'deep' (N11), 'taiga' (S8), 'boreal (S10) or oxygen-rich old and new growth forest' (S2) provides the ideal setting to engage in outdoor activities and 'to explore the healing benefits of stillness' (S2). Other mentioned features of 'Arctic nature' (N18) are the 'uninhabited fells' (e.g. F23) and the 'bogs and

infinite vastness' (S16) of northernmost Sweden and Finland, the Norwegian fjords (e.g. N4) and the Icelandic 'lava fields' (I13).

In contrast to these superficial descriptions of local ecosystems, far more attention is given to the landscape in the analysed online marketing texts. Three distinct qualities characterise the landscape of the Arctic-themed resort enclave: its utility for outdoor activities, its health-enhancing benefits and, most importantly, its visual appeal. Indeed, the sceneries surrounding the accommodation venues are described in greater detail here, using adjectives such as 'breathtaking' (N16), 'picturesque' (F46), 'awe-inspiring' (F48), 'stunning'(F14), 'incredible' (F16) or 'amazing' (S18), with promises that they will leave the onlooker 'spellbound' (N16). In addition, the tourist gaze (see Urry & Larsen 2011) is directed towards the skies. All resort enclaves underscore spectacular, 'majestic views' (N14) of the star-filled night sky and the aurora borealis due to the absence of light pollution.

Altogether, the 'wilderness' surrounding the Arctic-themed resort enclaves is portrayed mainly as 'otherworldly' (e.g. I8) and 'mystical' (S1). While some firms advertise their venue as 'a drop of paradise' (F13) or a 'heaven' (N18), or declare that the 'north of Sweden … [is] a winter wonderland with a blanket of white snow that sparkles' (S9), others draw comparisons to places elsewhere in order to express the otherworldliness of northernmost Europe's nature. Examples include the Icelandic resort I8, which invites travellers to 'unwind the clock of modern life and unlock the door to a wonder of the world', or the Swedish venue S18, which stresses that 'with no light, sound, or air pollution, this is a place where you can disconnect from the outside world and experience untouched nature in its purest form'. The latter is also echoed by the Finnish resort enclave F27, which asserts that such a place that combines 'tranquility, pure air and beautiful nature into an Arctic experience … is rare to come by'.

Keskitalo and Schilar (2017: 418) point out that such production of touristic wilderness or 'worldmaking' does not so much reflect the actual state and land use of nature in northernmost Europe, omitting the industrial history as well as the lived realities of the people dwelling in the regions, as it perpetuates imaginaries about nature that are easy to understand and are reproducible for international holidaymakers. Instead of specific aspects of local flora and fauna, the production of resort wilderness focuses on the landscape as an otherworldly and exotic scenery, just like in Disney's two *Frozen* movies (White et al. 2019). The reference to the Arctic as a mystical, homogeneous sphere even enhances this process (Varnajot & Saarinen 2022).

Tourists can easily capture, reproduce and share the idea of wilderness limited to landscape vistas on social media. However, it is not only travellers who 'naturalise/authenticate' these imaginaries of Arctic wilderness in their online trip reviews; local destination management organisations in northernmost Sweden, Finland and Norway, as well as Iceland, also use wild nature discourses and images to promote '"what sells" in an international marketplace' (Keskitalo & Schilar 2017: 418). Another feature of this produced

wilderness is its relational character. The resort enclave providers position their venues as places far away from modern life, surrounded by pure and seemingly unchanging nature. They offer holidaymakers a temporary escape from the reality of environmental, noise and light pollution elsewhere. As such, many tourism firms emphasise their corporate efforts to preserve and 'take care of [this local] nature' (e.g. N11) in touristic wilderness production but largely refrain from mentioning the impacts of travel consumption on climate change, which affects ecosystems around the world (Demiroglu et al. 2024).

The wilderness experience in the great indoors

The examined resort enclaves seek to primarily attract healthy, wealthy double-income couples without kids (DINKs), friend or business groups and content creators who are 'inhabitants of the metropolis' (F14) and in need of 'deep relaxation and healing' (S2). Most resorts therefore indicate that they cater to 'adults only', as young children disturb peaceful 'sleep [and] … the silence and serenity of Lapland' (F46). For these target groups, the enclaves are presented as a 'retreat' (I8), 'getaway' (N17) or 'hideaway' (S11), which offers a romantic and luxurious yet inspiring environment for once-in-a-life-time honeymoons and weddings. The enclaves promise a place 'where memories are created and remembered for the rest of your life' (S18). Some venues also encourage longer stays during which guests can 'reset … [their]senses' (N15) and 'immerse themselves in the serene beauty of our nature' (S11) to experience a transformation of the self. For instance, tourism firm N15 states:

> Enjoy seeing your ideas and ideals transform; savour unexpected encounters with your deepest self as expectations melt away. Perhaps the rhythm of the waves will help you to hear yourself more clearly. Or a night owl discovers they're an early bird now the northern light [*sic*] makes their schedule.
>
> We invite you to treat the place as a lab. Experiment with yourself, with your processes and let the architecture of the place facilitate intimate meetings with nature in every moment.

Likewise, the resort enclave F48 highlights that the nature encounter may even transform one's worldview:

> After visiting this magical part of the globe where we breathe the purest air in the world, drink water straight from the rivers and streams, and where the snow is always white… You will see the world in a different way.

These two excerpts are indicative of all the examined cases, as self-care and a return 'back to the roots' (see Keskitalo & Schilar 2017) in a natural nature endowed with 'healing qualities' (F45) are foregrounded as the primary

experience offered by the Arctic-themed resort enclaves. The focus on 'mindfulness' (N11) and one's inner world as avenues for feeling 'better, in peace, space and time' (S2) feed into the current psychological and emotional self-improvement trend. The latter combines the capitalist need for employees who regulate their behaviour to meet the demands of contemporary accumulation regimes and work life with spirituality, a rapidly growing consumer market (Payne 2016). This self-improvement journey is predominantly an experience centred on individualism. However, travellers are assured that they can consume and 'indulge' (S11), and 'enjoy life at its purest' (F5) 'without feeling guilty' (F3) because the Arctic-themed enclaves are devoted to responsible tourism. Individualism is also promoted by the few resorts that position themselves as family-friendly venues. The emphasis at these venues is on providing a 'wonderland holiday' (F17) so that people can spend quality time with their families. Only one tourism firm in northern Sweden (S6) explicitly addresses learning about indigenous Sámi culture and local ecosystems as an objective of one's enclave stay, thus adding a broader social purpose to touristic consumption in nature.

Complementing this strong prominence of inwards-oriented, soothing experiences facilitated by an 'aesthetically pleasing' (F46) environment, the range of purchasable services includes mostly soft nature-based activities. According to Rantala et al. (2018), the term 'soft' denotes outdoor tourist activities that are not overly physically demanding and are accessible to people after just a brief introduction. In most cases, no specific skills for managing in nature or sporting prowess are needed, as all excursions are guided and planned with tourists' safety in mind. Common 'Arctic adventures' (F46) are aurora borealis safaris, dogsledding, ice-fishing, snowshoe walking, cross-country skiing, reindeer farm visits, whale watching and hiking. Motorised activities, such as snowmobiling or driving quad bikes, are also popular holiday bucket-list items. For instance, a resort in Iceland (I2) emphasises that a good opportunity 'for extreme adventure' can be found in their 'ancient glaciers with engines' programme, which lets people ride snowmobiles on the glaciers and quad bikes on highland offroad trails. In the context of these activities, nature is not a sphere where people need to test their physical limits or challenge themselves mentally; instead, it is pleasant scenery to gaze at in admiration and awe.

Nevertheless, the primary means for truly becoming 'one with nature' (F45) in the Arctic-themed enclaves entails spending time inside the rooms or glass cabins. All the analysed companies underscore that the floor-to-ceiling and rooftop windows provide an 'amazing view straight into the wilderness. From the top window, … [guests] have a full view of the sky – Northern Lights, stars, or the midnight sun in the summer' (N11). Moreover, the accommodation venues are all 'carefully designed' (F15) and constructed 'to offer unobstructed views, free from the distractions of urban development and light pollution' (N17), whereby 'the nature outside is part of … [the] stay inside' (F43) also because 'natural and sustainable materials with a rich history bring

the surrounding nature indoors' (S11). Simply 'lying on the bed and gazing upon the sky … [makes one feel] being a part of … nature' (F40). As such, there is no need 'to leave the igloo [the cabin or room] at any point during … [the] stay' (F25). Indeed, the great indoors of the resort enclaves are 'a safe environment to enjoy Lapland's incredible nature' (F16) through the large 'panorama windows' (F39) and from the 'comfort of an electric adjustable bed, wrapped in high-quality bed linens' (F10).

A further prominent dimension of this indoor wilderness experience at the Arctic-themed resort enclave is its framing as 'ethical luxury'(I12). This 'new luxury' (F45) is not so much focused on the accumulation of flashy status symbols and unbridled hedonism as it revolves, as mentioned, around personal self-realisation and meaningfulness through the consumption of exclusive but responsibly produced experiences and services (Iloranta 2019). Hence, this approach to luxury tourism seeks to facilitate travellers' self-development and the creation of memorable moments instead of enhancing a person's social status (Bauer et al. 2011). The examined resort enclaves realise an environment for such practices through architecture and interior design. By using 'premium-quality materials' (F15) and furniture coupled with minimalist decor, the accommodation venues offer an indoor environment devoid of 'artificial noise, or visual clutter' (N14). The view of wilderness sceneries completes the indoor ambience, and 'luxury meets nature in perfect harmony' (F36). Additionally, the analysed resorts foreground privacy and exclusivity as focal attributes of a luxurious stay. The seclusion is not limited to the accommodation facilities themselves but also extends to their outside environment. For example, tourism firm F45 guarantees guests a stay at 'the most exclusive high-end private wilderness'.

Thus, wilderness as a product in Arctic-themed enclaves is predominately limited to a visual and disembodied experience. From the sheltered indoor environment of the glass igloo or the lodge, travellers are invited to spend time inside and let their gaze linger over the sceneries and the sky. Other physical sensations that belong to encounters with nature, such as sounds, smells, feeling cold or warm and being stung by mosquitoes, are largely absent. The produced touristic wilderness is therefore a sanitised but highly commodified environment where all disturbing elements are carefully screened out (Real 1977) in order to create a tranquil, private space where wealthy people can find an escape from their hectic urban life and mental overload.

Discussion and conclusions

Through the lens of Smith's (2008) production of nature thesis, this chapter explored how export-oriented resort enclaves in northernmost Europe discursively and materially produce wilderness. Owing to its origin in historical materialism, the analytical endeavour of the production of nature thesis is to uncover how nature is transformed in order to generate exchange value in capitalist systems and how these processes are linked to people's relationships

with each other in nature. Findings indicate that the wilderness produced by the examined tourist resort enclaves is predominantly located close to urban infrastructure. Although humans have modified these areas for centuries, resort businesses promote these spots as pristine natural environments, offering wealthy urban dwellers a luxurious and private retreat for self-care and relaxation.

Driven by the economic requirement to generate exchange value, resulting in a highly commodified tourist space, the produced wilderness of the Arctic-themed resort enclaves is endowed with four distinct features. Firstly, the natural environment surrounding the tourist venues is presented as a rare, healthy, noiseless, otherworldly and unchanging landscape. This imaginary constitutes an antithesis to the daily news of worldwide accelerating ecological degradation, the devastating consequences of climate change, and social unrest. Most enclave-providing companies foreground their ecologically and socially responsible commitment to the destination, ensuring their guests that they can enjoy guilt-free vacations. Hence, this touristic wilderness constitutes an appealing consumer product because it promises to provide a temporary escape from work and daily routines (Keskitalo 2023) and from one's social responsibility, as an enlightened citizen, to care for the planet. Passing obligations for ecological care downwards to the individual consumer is a characteristic feature of contemporary capitalism. This process has manifested itself in green consumerism as a mainstream policy option for fixing ecological degradation and accelerating climate change (e.g. Spash 2021). However, there is a well noted gap between people's ecological consumer intentions and their actual behaviour (ElHaffar et al. 2020), and the enclaves provide their guests with an easy option to maintain a green self-image while handing over all responsibility for socio-environmental care to the tourism firm.

Secondly, the tourist enclave wilderness is principally limited to epic landscapes and the skies above. Overlooking locally specific ecosystems in favour of distant sceneries helps tourism firms retain the imaginary of a pristine nature paradise seemingly untouched by time and human interventions. Framing nature in terms of landscapes widely recognised in popular culture, such as the snow-covered Arctic (White et al. 2019), also helps attract a broad market. Although the destination landscapes differ from the usual habitats of generating markets, incoming tourists recognise and can make sense of these tourist environments because they are familiar with these places through traditional broadcast and print media, as well as social media. Travellers do not need to be biophilic naturalists (Greenbaum 2005) or serious outdoor enthusiasts to engage in the nature-based tourism marketed by the enclaves, as no special knowledge or skills are required. Furthermore, the scenic quality of nature can be commodified like no other human sensation thereof. Unlike smells, sounds, tastes and tactile stimuli, the view can easily be turned into a product by privatising visually appealing natural areas and charging access fees (Young & Markham 2020).

This aspect leads to the third component of wilderness produced by resort enclaves in northernmost Europe, namely its overarching indoor character.

Given the right of public access in the Nordic countries (see Chapter 2, this volume), it is challenging for tourism businesses to create profitable nature-based tourism products, particularly for domestic markets (Lundmark & Müller 2010). Thus, in order to generate maximum exchange value, tourism firms are increasingly targeting international markets and selling the view of nature as an experience that takes place inside a premium-priced luxury venue. The 'obsessive provision of views' is also symptomatic of contemporary capitalist architecture in general (Soules 2021: 167). A sublime panorama integrated into a luxurious yet highly standardised built environment is easily evaluable and tradable on international markets because all locally specific details, which make it difficult to compare buildings and require specialised expertise, are erased. Tourists can thus compare the value for money of tourist accommodation facilities and services worldwide (e.g. Wall-Reinius et al. 2019). At the same time, the view adds a touch of exoticism and the feeling of being elsewhere.

This process also relates to the dialectical relationship between geographical differentiation and equalisation that is immanent in capitalist socio-economic development (Smith 2008). Natural, economic and social differences are the basis for all capitalist dynamics, including the division of labour, the acquisition of new markets, product innovations and the generation of exchange value. Simultaneously, capitalism triggers spatial equalisation due to its tendency to reproduce identical infrastructures and productive forces (Smith 2008). Taken together, differentiation and equalisation constitute a relentless seesaw, manifesting itself in investments and disinvestments in different economic sectors and regions (Harvey 2014). The results of this process are socio-spatial and economic boom-and-bust cycles. The cases examined here showed how tourism, as a capitalistically organised economic sector, homogenises space. The Arctic-themed enclaves in northern Norway, Sweden and Finland, as well as Iceland, not only provide identical services in similarly decorated built environments for the same target group but also produce the very same imaginary of wilderness and the touristic practice of how to experience it, even though environmental features of the examined regions differ markedly from each other.

Fourthly, these wilderness indoor and outdoor environments are marketed by the enclaves with an emphasis on their private character, resulting in the erasure of 'undesirable' natural and social elements (Real 1977: 51). The secluded wilderness enclave promises the rich a high degree of privacy and minimal interaction with locals, workers or other guests. Indeed, many destinations worldwide have shifted from affordable mass tourism to upmarket tourism at luxury resorts, offering their guests a private hideaway for a premium price. This trend is frequently presented by destination management organisations as a strategy for more sustainable and profitable tourism (Fletcher 2019; Hof & Blázquez-Salom 2015). Nonetheless, the demand of (wealthy) people for segregation in seemingly natural environments reflects broader social processes. The rising insecurity and global complexity caused by climate change and socio-economic unrest have left people worldwide in

doubt and fear regarding both their present and future well-being and material safety. A typical individual as well as political response has been to retreat from collectivist ideals and global solidarity (Crouch 2019; Kuti & Marschall 2022). Practices like prepping for the end times and building private bunkers (Garrett 2020) or living off-grid in the country (Vannini & Taggart 2013) are on the rise globally as individuals lose their trust in political, social and economic systems. By socially and spatially isolating themselves, people seek to take their existence and protection from social and natural threats into their own hands. When it comes to the rich, segregation from other socio-economic classes is surging in both urban and rural areas (Atkinson 2015; Soules 2021; Winkler 2013). Given the cumulative adverse effects of climate change and pollution on natural habitats, exclusive access to unspoilt nature is becoming increasingly rare and is a desirable feature of new luxury properties (Iloranta 2019). The worldwide tourism market is responding to this demand and producing such venues accordingly (Ávila-García & Sánchez 2012).

This analysis has shown that, although the production of wilderness by the Arctic-themed resort enclaves happens locally, it follows global trends. Immanent in this process is also a paradoxical twist of the nature–society dichotomy. On the one hand, the Arctic-themed resort enclaves perpetuate the imaginary of a pristine wilderness entirely detached from modern human life. As such, the binary opposition of an exotic natural other to society (or culture) enhances the desirability of this tourism product. On the other hand, wilderness for touristic consumption is produced 'all the way down' (Ekers & Loftus 2012: 234) with respect to the nature imaginary and the material practices involved in crafting the touristic experience thereof. The highlighted features of the enclaved Arctic wilderness correspond more to globally circulating yet homogenising popular culture images than to the actual state of local nature, while tourists are supposed to get to know this natural sphere from the inside of a highly commodified indoor environment.

Hence, this form of nature-based tourism raises questions regarding its merits as a management tool for socially and ecologically sustainable conservation in northernmost Europe. From the point of view of traditional wilderness, the enclaves' focus on providing a 'private', people-free wilderness for their guests clashes with the Nordic concept of everyone's right to roam freely in nature (Chapter 2, this volume). Even though some lands are privately owned, people are allowed to use these areas for food foraging, reindeer husbandry and outdoor recreation (Saarinen 2005). Indeed, a common criticism of resort enclaves at destinations around the world is that these development initiatives lead to the displacement of local people and encroach on their land-use practices (Ávila-García & Sánchez 2012; Devine & Ojeda 2017). Today, this aspect might not constitute a pressing problem for sparsely populated areas in northernmost Europe because the number of resorts is still comparatively low. However, if these venues continue to mushroom, particularly in scenic spots that are close to urban areas and are also frequented by locals, conflicts of interest might arise between resident land users and the tourism industry.

For conserved wilderness, highly commodified nature-based tourism might represent a threat because it necessitates built environments (Young & Markham 2020) and reduces nature to landscape scenes that can be packaged and sold to be gazed upon from a distance. Thus, the question emerges as to how the tourism sector's need for exchange value generation is balanced against the protection of non-scenic biodiversity and fragile ecosystems. Research in this area underscores that the economic valuation of nature, a central feature of market-based conservation approaches, is generally highly problematic as it tends to preserve mainly financially profitable natural habitats (Fletcher 2019). In addition, market-based approaches tend to displace human behaviours that are relevant to conservation, such as collective action, civic duty and a desire for equity, while increasing people's tolerance for inflicting harm on others due to the prospect of financial gain (Cinner et al. 2021). Finally, the boom-and-bust cycles of capitalist markets may jeopardise long-term conservation efforts.

In conclusion, Smith's (2008) production of nature thesis provides a valuable approach to resolving the nature–society binary embedded in the idea of wilderness from a materialist viewpoint. Nature is conceived of as a process and product of human social relationships, including economic interests, power configurations, consumer trends and political ideologies. A frequently highlighted issue of this structurally oriented perspective is its limited attention to agency (Archer 1982). Future research could adopt a more holistic framework and study how agents perpetuate the production of wilderness for mainstream markets, and how individuals challenge these practices and imaginaries through alternative actions.

References

Anttila, A. H. (2014). Leisure as a matter of politics: The construction of the Finnish democratic model of tourism from the 1940s to the 1970s. *Journal of Tourism History*, 5(3), 325–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2013.868532.

Archer, M. S. (1982). Morphogenesis versus structuration: On combining structure and action. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 33(4), 455–483. https://doi.org/10.2307/589357.

Atkinson, R. (2015). Limited exposure: Social concealment, mobility and engagement with public space by the super-rich in London. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(7), 1302–1317. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X15598323.

Ávila-García, P. & Sánchez, E. L. (2012). The environmentalism of the rich and the privatization of nature: High-End tourism on the Mexican coast. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39 (6), 51–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X12459329.

Bauer, M., von Wallpach, S. & Hemetsberger, A. (2011). 'My little luxury': a consumer-centred, experiential view. *Marketing Journal of Research and Management*, 1(11), 57–67.

Bohn, D. (2024). *Arctic geographies in the making: Understanding political economy, institutional strategic selectivity, and agency in tourism pathway development*. Doctoral thesis, Umeå University.

Bohn, D., Carson, D. A., Demiroglu, O. C. & Lundmark, L. (2023). Public funding and destination evolution in sparsely populated Arctic regions. *Tourism Geographies*, 25(8), 1833–1855. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2193947.

Bohn, D. & Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2024). Unpacking the multispatial configurations of metagoverning tourism development: a longitudinal application of the TPSNE framework. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2024.2351386.

Budds, J. & Loftus, A. (2023). Water, neoliberalism, and commodification. In S. Hellberg, F. Söderbaum, A. Swain & J. Öjendal (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Water and Development*. Routledge, pp. 144–152.

Büscher, B. & Fletcher, R. (2017). Destructive creation: capital accumulation and the structural violence of tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(5), 651–667. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2016.1159214.

Byström, J. & Müller, D. K. (2014). Tourism labor market impacts of national parks. *Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsgeographie*, 58 (1), 115–126. https://doi.org/10.1515/zfw.2014.0008.

Carson, D. A., Carson, D. B. & Eimermann, M. (2018). International winter tourism entrepreneurs in northern Sweden: understanding migration, lifestyle, and business motivations. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 18(2), 183–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2017.1339503.

Cinner, J. E., Barnes, M. L., Gurney, G. G., Lockie, S. & Rojas, C. (2021). Markets and the crowding out of conservation-relevant behavior. *Conservation Biology*, 35 (3), 816–823. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.13606.

Clarke, V. & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), 297–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613.

Crouch, C. (2019). *The Globalization Backlash*. Polity Press.

Demiroglu, O. C., Bohn, D., Dannevig, H., Hall, C. M., Hehir, C., Lundmark, L., Nilsson, R. O., Olsen, J., Tervo-Kankare, K., Vereda, M. & Welling, J. (2024). A virtual geobibliography of polar tourism and climate change. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2024.2370971.

Devine, J. & Ojeda, D. (2017). Violence and dispossession in tourism development: a critical geographical approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(5), 605–617. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1293401.

Eaton, E. (2011). On the farm and in the field: The production of nature meets the Agrarian Question. *New Political Economy*, 16(2), 247–251. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2011.542802.

Edensor, T. (2001). Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879760100100104.

Ekers, M. & Loftus, A. (2012). Revitalizing the production of nature thesis: A Gramscian turn? *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(2), 234–252. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132512448831.

ElHaffar, G., Durif, F. & Dubé, L. (2020). Towards closing the attitude-intention-behavior gap in green consumption: A narrative review of the literature and an overview of future research directions. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 275, 122556. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2020.122556.

Fairhead, J., Leach, M. & Scoones, I. (2012). Green grabbing: A new appropriation of nature? *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2), 237–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2012.671770.

Fletcher, R. (2019). Ecotourism after nature: Anthropocene tourism as a new capitalist 'fix'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(4), 522–535. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2018.1471084.

Garrett, B. (2020). *Bunker: Building for the End Times*. Scribner.

Greenbaum, A. (2005). Nature connoisseurship. *Environmental Values*, 14(3), 389–407. www.jstor.org/stable/30302108.

Harvey, D. (2014). *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*. Oxford University Press.

Hof, A. & Blázquez-Salom, M. (2015). Changing tourism patterns, capital accumulation, and urban water consumption in Mallorca, Spain: a sustainability fix? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(5), 770–796. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2014.991397.

Iloranta, R. (2019). Luxury tourism service provision – lessons from the industry. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 32, 100568. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2019.100568.

Jóhannesson, G. T., Huijbens, E. H. & Sharpley, R. (2010). Icelandic tourism: past directions – future challenges. *Tourism Geographies*, 12(2), 278–301. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680903493670.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2004). *Negotiating the Arctic. The Construction of an International Region*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2017). Images of the northern and 'Arctic' in tourism and regional literature. In A. Viken & D. K. Müller (eds), *Tourism and Indigeneity in the Arctic*. Channel View Publications, pp. 30–49.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2023). *Rethinking Nature Relations: Beyond Binaries*. Edward Elgar.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. & Schilar, H. (2017). Co-constructing 'northern' tourism representations among tourism companies, DMOs and tourists. An example from Jukkasjärvi, Sweden. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 17(4), 406–422. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2016.1230517.

Kuti, É. & Marschall, M. (2022). Global civil society in retreat: Is it cyclical or existential? In M. Hoelscher, R. A. List, A. Ruser & S. Toepler (eds), *Civil Society: Concepts, Challenges, Contexts*. Springer, pp. 205–215.

Leite, N. M. (2014). Locating imaginaries in the anthropology of tourism. In N. B. Salazar & N. Graburn (eds), *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches*. Berghahn Books, pp. 260–278.

Lundmark, L. & Müller, D. K. (2010). The supply of nature-based tourism activities in Sweden. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, 58 (4), 379–393. https://hrcak.srce.hr/63595.

MacCannell, D. (1999). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. University of California Press.

Manuel-Navarrete, D. (2016). Boundary-work and sustainability in tourism enclaves. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 24(4), 507–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1081599.

Nordregio (2023). New urban–rural typology of Nordic countries. https://nordregio.org/maps/new-urban-rural-typology-of-nordic-countries/.

Payne, R. K. (2016). Mindfulness and the moral imperative for the self to improve the self. In R. E. Purser, D. Forbes & A. Burke (eds), *Handbook of Mindfulness: Culture, Context, and Social Engagement*. Springer, pp. 121–134.

Puhakka, R. & Saarinen, J. (2013). New role of tourism in national park planning in Finland. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 22(4), 411–434. https://doi.org/10.1177/1070496513502966.

Rantala, O., Hallikainen, V., Ilola, H. & Tuulentie, S. (2018). The softening of adventure tourism. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 18(4), 343–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2018.1522725.

Real, M. (1977). *Mass-Mediated Culture*. Prentice-Hall.

Richters, O. & Siemoneit, A. (2019). Growth imperatives: Substantiating a contested concept. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 51, 126–137. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.strueco.2019.07.012.

Runge, C. A., Daigle, R. M. & Hausner, V. H. (2020). Quantifying tourism booms and the increasing footprint in the Arctic with social media data. *PLOS ONE*, 15(1), e0227189. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0227189.

Saarinen, J. (2005). Tourism in northern wildernesses: Nature-based tourism development in northern Finland. In C. M. Hall & S. Boyd (eds), *Nature-Based Tourism in Peripheral Areas: Development or Disaster*. Channel View Publications, pp. 36–49.

Saarinen, J. & Wall-Reinius, S. (2019). Enclaves in tourism: producing and governing exclusive spaces for tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 21(5), 739–748. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1668051.

Salazar, N. B. (2020). On imagination and imaginaries, mobility and immobility: Seeing the forest for the trees. *Culture & Psychology*, 26(4), 768–777. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X20936927.

Scholz, J. (2012). Myth busting: Living in harmony with nature is less harmonic than it seems. In: R. W. Belk, S. Askegaard & L. Scott (eds), *Research in consumer behavior*, Vol. 14. Emerald Group Publishing, pp. 297–313.

Sevilla-Buitrago, A. (2015). Capitalist formations of enclosure: Space and the extinction of the commons. *Antipode*, 47(4), 999–1020. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12143.

Smith, N. (2008). *Uneven Development. Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, 3rd edition. The University of Georgia Press.

Smith, S. P. (2023). The 'untouched' frontier: an unsustainable imaginary in the anthropocene. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 31(6), 1430–1446. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2022.2051042.

Soules, M. (2021). *Icebergs, Zombies, and the Ultra-thin: Architecture and Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton Architectural Press.

Spash, C. L. (2021). Apologists for growth: passive revolutionaries in a passive revolution. *Globalizations*, 18(7), 1123–1148. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2020.1824864.

Statistics Iceland. (n.d.). The share of tourism in GDP estimated at 8.5% in 2023. www.statice.is/publications/news-archive/national-accounts/the-share-of-tourism-in-gdp-2023-provisional-estimates/.

Swyngedouw, E. (2006). Circulations and metabolisms: (Hybrid) natures and (cyborg) cities. *Science as Culture*, 15(2), 105–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/09505430600707970.

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Sage.

Vannini, P. & Taggart, J. (2013). Voluntary simplicity, involuntary complexities, and the pull of remove: The radical ruralities of off-grid lifestyles. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 45(2), 295–311. https://doi.org/10.1068/a4564.

Varnajot, A. & Saarinen, J. (2022). Emerging post-Arctic tourism in the age of Anthropocene: case Finnish Lapland. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 22(4–5), 357–371. https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2022.2134204.

Wall-Reinius, S., Ioannides, D. & Zampoukos, K. (2019). Does geography matter in all-inclusive resort tourism? Marketing approaches of Scandinavian tour operators. *Tourism Geographies*, 21(5), 766–784. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1375975.

White, P., Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. & Heimtun, B. (2019). Framing the land of the Northern Lights. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 78, 102739. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2019.06.006.

Winkler, R. (2013). Living on lakes: Segregated communities and inequality in a natural amenity destination. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 54(1), 105–129. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12002.

Young, M. & Markham, F. (2020). Tourism, capital, and the commodification of place. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(2), 276–296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519826679.

10 Practising degrowth as a business?
Transcending binaries

Iana Nesterova and Jens Rennstam

Introduction

Mainstream (neoclassical) economics has invited humans to think about our economic systems as separate from nature or the environment. But despite this theoretical disjunction between humanity and nature, the reality has always been such that humans are a part of nature (see Chapter 1, this volume). This is recognised in ecological economics, a field of study originating from the environmental critique of the 1960s and 1970s and established more formally in the 1980s as a distinct field. Ecological economics is grounded in the assumption that humans and human systems (including our economic systems) are part of nature and, unlike neoclassical economics, addresses issues related to the embeddedness of the economy in nature (Spash 2024). Central to the argument in ecological economics is criticism of the possibility of sustaining infinite economic growth (Daly & Townsend 1993). As Daly (1993: 15) succinctly summarised, 'in a finite world continual growth is impossible' (Daly 1993: 15). Consideration of the impossibility of continual economic growth has given rise to a movement that critiques the pursuit of economic growth at the expense of nature's, humans' and non-humans' well-being, critiques capitalism as a system based on economic growth, and seeks ways for humanity to co-exist harmoniously with nature and within itself. This currently thriving and growing movement is called degrowth.

Apart from being a movement, degrowth is also an anti- and post-capitalist field of research that calls for deep transformations in societies, including civil society, state and production[1] (Buch-Hansen et al. 2023, 2024). Degrowth questions, challenges and seeks alternatives to capitalist structures and agents. As a common form of organising production and service provision in a capitalist society, business has been questioned by degrowth advocates (Nesterova & Robra 2022). At the heart of many businesses is the pursuit of profit and growth, which are powerful forces behind capitalism (Foster et al. 2010). Large corporations relentlessly create demand and rely on long, obscure supply chains. They take part in the exploitation of humans, non-humans and nature, and hold and exercise the power to subsume and undermine local businesses and direct tendencies on the market. Many large corporations have

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-10

limited liability and are run primarily in the interest of their shareholders (Veldman & Willmott 2013), even though they operate in ecologically destructive economic sectors such as petroleum and mineral extraction and processing (Levy 1995) – not to mention hierarchies and a vastly unequal remuneration of humans depending on their position in these hierarchies. Such businesses are not all, or always, bad. They make products accessible and even affordable to more humans (Dauvergne 2018). They produce necessary products such as medicines and trains – which will also be features of a degrowth society – and often have the financial resources to develop better products and materials. The problem is that along with these good things come the bad ones as well.

In contrast to the hypothetical and problematic large corporation described above, we can imagine an almost perfect degrowth business. This business is local and small. Perhaps it grows, but it does so slowly and organically, and it produces to satisfy genuine human needs. It uses natural, biodegradable and local materials, deals with waste effectively and has plans for products' aftercare. Its processes of sourcing, production and distribution are as transparent as possible. It is a pleasant place for humans to work, and is mindful of fellow beings, including animals and plants. However, most businesses are neither our first nor our second example but are somewhere in between, combining more and less degrowth-compatible characteristics. For example, in our research we notice that the motivations behind running a business, even a for-profit one, are plural and diverse. In the same business, a desire to make a profit can co-exist with a desire to serve humans, to produce more sustainable goods, to channel one's passion or craft, and to be more flexible and independent (Nesterova 2024a).

In this chapter, we aim to go beyond simple answers and binaries such as degrowth/not degrowth. We contemplate how business can play a positive role in degrowth transformations, while recognising that it is not an easy space to navigate for either businesses or degrowth researchers on our journeys of producing hopefully useful knowledge. This chapter is organised as follows. In the following section, we dive into the principles of a business for a degrowth future. In Section 3, we discuss different models of a business for a degrowth society. Section 4 focuses on existing nuances and loose ends that inevitably arise when contemplating a contentious topic. In Section 5, we contemplate various binaries that we encounter in our research and discuss them in relation to a case of a small, craft wine producer in northern Sweden. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

Principles of business for a degrowth future

At the very beginning of degrowth as a field of research, degrowth scholars focused primarily on the macroeconomic level. While this focus was essential at the time, it meant that the microeconomic level of businesses and consumers did not receive sufficient attention. In recent years, we have observed the field of degrowth becoming more diverse and curious about a plurality of

issues and questions. Among other topics, degrowth scholarship has recently begun to contemplate the principles that degrowth businesses can adopt in order to step onto degrowth paths and potentially become part of a future degrowth society (e.g. Hankammer et al. 2021; Nesterova 2020). Such principles are usually crystallised around the domains of the environment, humans (community, employees, customers) and the motivation behind doing business. In this section, we bring together many principles that businesses should adopt in order to be part of a degrowth future. We say 'many' rather than all to honour the nascent and exploratory nature of the degrowth business field.

To capture these principles, we use Roy Bhaskar's four planes of being (Bhaskar 2008). We have chosen this framework as it allows us to holistically consider businesses' *being in the world*, from the inner being of the individual humans involved, to relationships between humans, to social structures and, finally, to material transactions with nature (Buch-Hansen & Nesterova 2021, 2023; Nesterova & Buch-Hansen 2024). Using this approach reminds us that the transformation of a business is not simply a matter of, say, reducing its carbon footprint or considering the spirituality of its manager; it is a matter of many mechanisms working together. Table 10.1 summarises the principles of business for degrowth (Buch-Hansen et al. 2024).

Table 10.1 Principles of business for degrowth.

Planes	*Principles*
Material transactions with nature	Producing for genuine needs Producing sufficiently Localisation Reducing waste Natural, recycled, recovered materials Designs for durability/extending the products' and materials' lifetime
Social relations	Deepening connection with customers Deepening connections with fellow businesspersons Deepening connections with activists, researchers, local governments Collective learning about sustainability Sharing (knowledge, resources)
Social structures	Shaping sustainable socio-economic conditions Engaging in formal and informal networks spanning private and public sectors Creating infrastructures for handling waste
Inner being	Transformation of the self and one's worldview Care in regard to others and nature

Material transactions with nature

At its heart, degrowth concerns reducing the matter and energy throughput of human societies and honouring nature's limits (Buch-Hansen et al. 2024). While matter and energy throughput reduction applies to business activities, it is not as simple as saying that all production by all businesses needs to downscale. Indeed, some businesses may need to grow in both size and in number as this would allow them to take part in slower production and consumption, localisation and cleaner energy. Examples include small-scale and local organic agriculture, renewable energy production and storage, and craft/artisanal production of useful goods. Other businesses cannot be part of a degrowth future. Here, examples include anything fast (food, fashion, furniture) and destructive, such as the petrochemical industry.

Production in a degrowth society should focus on meeting genuine human needs rather than creating wants (Koch et al. 2017). The question of what constitutes genuine needs is challenging. For example, food (a human need) is deeply intertwined with culture, tradition and ritual. Moreover, needs differ depending on the region, its natural structures and its climate, as well as humans' individual circumstances. The production needs to be sufficient. In other words, avoiding crossing nature's limits in itself is not enough: it must be done while also ensuring that every human being has enough.

Localisation is a prominent, though contentious, principle within degrowth (Trainer 2012). Localisation entails significantly reducing the complexity and geographical reach of supply chains in order to, for instance, reduce food miles and honour what nature provides in the local region. Yet, it is important to avoid seeing 'local' as necessarily sustainable. For instance, growing greens and herbs in the winter in northern Sweden is associated with high energy use (Nesterova 2022).

Businesses need to reduce waste and avoid treating nature as a sink for it, and considering waste as not their responsibility. Here, insights from circular economy scholarship may be helpful (Nesterova & Buch-Hansen 2023). Products can be designed in such a way that minimises waste, and it is important that infrastructures be in place to support circularity initiatives. Businesses also need to reconsider the nature of materials that are used in the process of production and service provision, for instance focusing on using materials that are natural, local, recycled and recovered.

It is important that everything that is produced be designed to be a part of humans' lives for as long as possible. This means designing goods that are durable and repairable, and providing high-quality advice for aftercare.

Social relations

It is essential to deepen connections with customers, fellow businesspersons, activists, researchers and local governments in everyday life. This allows humans to learn about genuine sustainability collectively, sharing their

knowledge and struggles. In our own research (Nesterova 2024a), we notice that small businesses develop close relationships with customers who, via offering advice and sharing their experiences with a business's products, help direct the business along a more sustainable path. The business then avoids producing what is not needed and what customers will not use. Engaging in deep conversations and collaborating with degrowth researchers can also be helpful and inspiring for businesspersons; for example, degrowth scholars working at business schools can invite businesspersons who have adopted unconventional ways of doing business to speak to their students.

Social structures

To align with degrowth, businesses and businesspersons need to take part in shaping genuinely sustainable socio-economic conditions. For instance, they can shift their focus from creating demand to encouraging sustainable consumption. They can provide more secure jobs, embrace proposals such as a shorter workday and a shorter work week, and advocate for corresponding policies. They can also engage in formal and informal networks in both the private and public sectors to contribute to a change in the culture towards sufficient and genuinely sustainable production and slow, sufficient consumption. Businesses can co-create infrastructures that handle waste. For example, they can take back and reuse or refill their packaging, or share their waste with other businesses for whom it is instead a resource.

Inner being

This dimension of degrowth has received insufficient attention to date (Buch-Hansen & Nesterova 2023). And yet, for unsustainable systems and structures to change, humans need to actively participate in transforming such structures, as well as reproducing structures that are nurturing and sustainable. Changes in systems and changes in worldviews do not have to be seen as disconnected or conflicting; they can be seen as a dialectic (Buch-Hansen & Nesterova 2021). For degrowth-compatible business practices to be genuinely sustainable and last into the future, they need to stem from deeply transformed worldviews. Often, degrowth is criticised for being a negative concept – in simple terms, the word 'degrowth' does not sound nice and welcoming. Inner being is a space where *growth* is necessary and can be facilitated (Buch-Hansen & Nesterova 2024); such growth entails that, for example, in empathy, solidarity, compassion, care, concern, and love for the self, human and non-human others, and nature.

When discussing business practices on the four planes of being, it is important to remember that the constellation of practices depends on the nature of business. For example, the nature of materials and waste should be considered in a manufacturing business and is less important for, say, a sustainability consultancy.

Models of business for a degrowth future

Small firms

The view of small firms as a good option for degrowth can be found in the past as well. For Max-Neef (1992), smallness or human scale indicates transparency, a lack of bureaucracy and a relative ease in solving problems as they become manageable. Schumacher's (1973) advocacy of smallness is also well known within degrowth. Schumacher (1973) suggests that small-scale operations are less likely to be harmful to nature than large-scale ones because their individual impact is smaller in relation to the recuperative forces of nature. In addition, small-scale agricultural production helps to reduce people's alienation from nature (Foster et al. 2010); and the existence of many small firms, instead of a few large ones, can reduce the time and energy required for individuals to reach their workplace (Trainer 2012). Furthermore, small-scale production can decentralise the power currently claimed by large businesses. While there are multiple good, degrowth-compatible aspects of small firms, there are also many other, less degrowth-compatible, ones that need to be considered. For instance, small firms can still produce unnecessary and even wasteful products. Their products can be niche and expensive. Small firms, like any other firm, can be unpleasant places to work in. Often, they do not have the same power to finance research and development or to educate their employees. In other words, it is important to avoid romanticising small firms.

Large businesses

The issue of large businesses is a contentious one within degrowth. It is uncertain what will happen to these businesses in a degrowth future. On the one hand, considering the downsides of large corporations that we outlined above, large businesses appear to be incompatible with degrowth. On the other hand, it is doubtful that a degrowth society can exist without the large-scale production of products such as medicine and railways (for an alternative, see Gowdy 2020). Additionally, small-scale producers often rely on large-scale production; for instance, the small, local business we will use later in this chapter as an illustrative case uses sugar produced by a large Danish company. While some production by large businesses can be replaced with that by small, local, independent firms, this cannot be said of every aspect of modern economy, such as high technology. Rather than saying that large businesses cannot be part of a degrowth society, the point is that their share of the world production needs to be reduced and the ways they are owned and run need to change. For example, large businesses can be nationalised to a greater extent (Buch-Hansen et al. 2024) and their governance focused on adopting as many principles of degrowth as possible (outlined in the previous section). Contemplating large businesses can start with those that are already on more sustainable (though not degrowth) paths, such as B-corps (Hankammer et al. 2021).

Craft and artisanal producers

One example of a business type with particular potential for supporting degrowth principles is craft-based production. At a general level, craft scholarship suggests that craft organisations are guided by 'the desire to do a job well for its own sake' (Sennett 2008: 9), prioritise human engagement over automation and standardisation (Kroezen et al. 2021) and tend to develop epistemic and caring relationships with the objects they work with (Luckman 2015; Rennstam & Paulsson 2024). This does not make them anti-capitalist – craft organisations have owners and workers, and are subject to market mechanisms – but it does make them inclined *not* to prioritise profit maximisation and growth. Instead, they prioritise other aspects, many of which embody degrowth principles; we shall briefly mention three of them here (for a more in-depth discussion, see Rennstam & Paulsson 2024; Vincent & Brandellero 2023).

First, craft organisations focus on *sufficient* rather than maximum production and profit. This is due to the orientation towards doing a job well for its own sake and the caring relationship with the objects they work with. In mass production, the objects that are worked with are viewed primarily as instruments for profit and growth: if they cost too much to produce or don't sell well enough, they are often discontinued. But in craft, such a view tends to be seen as a threat to the possibility to do a good job, as well as to the satisfaction that comes from working relatively slowly, closely, and manually with materials. Craft workers are known to focus on making 'fewer better things' (Adamson 2018) and on quality and making things last (Luckman & Andrew 2020). While this may not maximise their profits, it can generate sufficient resources to keep the business going, and as a result of this crafters typically experience their work as meaningful (e.g. Sennett 2008).

Second, craft organisations tend to have an attitude towards *technology* that rhymes well with a degrowth society. While mass production typically views technology as an opportunity to automate production and thereby minimise the cost of labour, craft accepts technology only as long as it does not interfere with the prioritisation of human engagement and still renders the production process understandable (e.g. Luckman 2015). Craft thus entails a view of technology that deviates from today's technological determinism, which promotes the norm that businesses should use technologies (e.g. robots, AI) to automate human labour *because they can*. Instead, craft suggests a more degrowth-friendly view whereby businesses should use technology only as long as it does not compromise humans' engagement with the objects they work on. Such a view is in line with the notion of technology known in degrowth thinking as a 'convivial tool', an enabling tool but not a master (Illich 1973).

Third, craft facilitates the *relocalisation* of production, which is an important aspect of a degrowth society. Today, mass-producing organisations scan the globe for cheap raw materials and components, which allows them to

produce cheaper goods; but they are often cheap because the environmental costs are not included in the equation. Craft is inherently small-scale and tends to draw resources from the local environment, creating local communities of production and consumption around crafted products such as craft beer (Fox Miller 2017) or hand-crafted clothes (Luckman 2015). This encourages not only shorter transportation distances but also more restrained production and consumption, and more transparent production processes, all of which are supportive of degrowth ideas.

Existing nuances and loose ends

When diving into the link between degrowth and business we encounter not only multiple opportunities for contemplation, discussion and research, but also challenges. As teachers, researchers and consumers, we notice nuances, contentious and difficult topics, and unanswered and uncomfortable questions in relation to the relationship between degrowth and business.

Imperfections

In the current system, a perfect 'degrowth business' does not exist. Businesses, like any other social entity, exist within a destructive and exploitative capitalist system. Often, businesses engage in less sustainable activities not because businesspersons and employees intentionally want to reproduce capitalism or destroy nature. Rather, they have to navigate the system in which they are operating. In our own research, we notice that businesspersons are often aware of ecological degradation and have ideas about how to improve their business, but are constrained by financial barriers. Other barriers may include a lack of access to knowledge, a lack of necessary structures, or even a lack of time. But it is important to avoid interpreting imperfection as incompatibility with degrowth. Rather, we need to seek ways to help businesses take more degrowth-compatible paths.

Niche products

Many of the businesses that align as closely as possible with, for instance, the degrowth business framework (Nesterova 2020) are those that make products that are niche. Such products may use natural, high-quality ingredients and be zero-waste. The business itself might be small and non-growing. The only issue is that the products are something that only materially wealthy consumers can afford. It appears to be possible to help more consumers buy such products via, for example, providing a universal basic income, universal basic services, subsidies or vouchers, or even encouraging consumers to practise voluntary simplicity and minimalism, which helps one focus on fewer but better-quality objects. But it is also important to move beyond such niche examples when contemplating the link between degrowth and business. Craft

is one example of a former niche mode of production that has gained new influence – craft beer probably being the most striking example, with the number of craft breweries having increased exponentially over the past 20 years in both Sweden and abroad (Lindberg 2023; Thompson 2018) – but it remains to be seen whether it will remain craft-oriented or be co-opted by mass production.

Non-growth

Non-growth might seem a logical principle for a business on a path towards a degrowth society. We notice that it is often the businesses that have already adopted many of the degrowth principles outlined above that do not intend to grow, or intend to grow slowly and organically. Here, the problem is that they do not take market shares from mass production and growth-oriented businesses, thus often staying within niches. These may be hobby, craft-based or lifestyle businesses, and are often run by humans who value flexibility and freedom. Such persons see employing more humans and expanding production as detrimental to their own well-being, and also regard expanding production as something that can compromise the high quality of their products. It could be the case that more humans need to be encouraged to establish businesses that are small and based on, for instance, craft and skill. Yet, this strategy is used by growth advocates as well, and degrowth needs to be careful with employing similar strategies and must explain how their strategies differ. For example, growth in the number of local food businesses, local renewable energy and storage businesses, and craft businesses can be encouraged.

Changes in ownership

When researching businesses, we notice that we often take a snapshot of business practices at some moment in time. And yet, business is a social entity on a journey; this means that it is constantly in a process of becoming. Many aspects of a business may change, and it is important to contemplate the issue of ownership. A change in ownership can be for the better – for instance, a business can become worker-owned. However, it can also be bought by a large corporation of a type that is not degrowth-compatible. The resilience of small businesses that resist growth and profit maximisation is therefore an important topic of research.

Large businesses

On our academic paths, we are often asked what will happen to large businesses in a degrowth society. Considering how destructive and powerful large businesses are, many of them will not exist in a degrowth society and much more business activity will be small. Today, however, large businesses dominate. Many of them produce unnecessary products that are bad for humans,

non-humans and nature, such as fast and ultra-fast fashion. But there are also many large-scale producers that make goods that are useful or even necessary – such as life-saving medicine, technologies that help reduce harm from nuclear waste, and parts for trains – that degrowth scholars themselves use and advocate. The difficult issue of large firms needs to feature more prominently in the degrowth discourse.

Degrowth and the state

Businesses on their own cannot bring about a degrowth society. The emergence of a degrowth society is a function of civil society, the state and business working in unison. The state needs to play a prominent role. For example, a state that currently supports green growth can revise the definition of 'green' and use elements of degrowth business to define what types of production and which firms qualify as genuinely 'green', and offer support to such firms. The state can also help in facilitating craft and artisanal production. For instance, they can help with financing, introduce lower taxes for small-scale and localised production, and provide necessary education and universal basic income and grants to allow humans to step onto the path of running their own small firm rather than working for, say, a large corporation.

Voluntary change

When contemplating the link between degrowth and business, we noticed that a question would often arise: why would businesses want to change? Why would businesspeople want to adopt the principles we outline in this chapter? Why would consumers want to step onto corresponding paths? In our research, we see that adopting these principles often puts businesses in a disadvantageous position. They are not able to compete on price because, for example, they produce locally, pay higher wages and buy expensive, certified organic ingredients to make their products. Remaining small means that they cannot take advantage of economies of scale and scope. And obviously, encouraging consumers to buy their products more rarely and take good care of them instead of repurchasing contributes to smaller profits. We notice that these businesspeople recognise the importance of caring for something larger than them, such as the Earth, the soil or future generations. In this sense, they are akin to the self-actualising individual that is emphasised in the humanist scholarly tradition (Maslow 1970). While the issue of human nature is outside the scope of this chapter, we propose it as an avenue for future research.

Consumption

A business cannot become a degrowth business if consumption does not align with the principles of a degrowth society. In such a society, overconsumption

needs to decrease (Buch-Hansen et al. 2024). Social movements that advocate stepping away from overconsumption include, for example, minimalism (Nesterova 2024b), zero-waste (Martins Felix et al. 2023) and voluntary simplicity (Elgin & Mitchell 1977, 1978). These movements emphasise developing a different way of relating to objects, money, waste, success. Despite the existence of ideas and ideals for better consumption patterns, real-life implementation is challenging. This is not only because our culture promotes seeing goods as extensions of ourselves (Marcuse 2002); it is also due to multiple obstacles to practising an alternative mode of living (Nesterova 2024b). Such obstacles include a lack of alternatives nearby, judgement from fellow humans, a lack of access to land, and the amount of time that participating in these alternatives takes.

Binaries and an illustrative example

Considering the messiness that characterises the study of business in degrowth transformations, it may seem easier to say that business should not be part of degrowth. Yet, such a proposal is not helpful for many businesses existing today. It also excludes many fellow humans, such as businesspersons and business employees, from participating in discussions on degrowth transformations. Human beings are at the core of any business, and are capable of learning, change and reflection, as well as having a natural concern for the world around us (Sayer, 2011). The selves of these human beings are likewise not stationary but are rather in the process of becoming (Naess 2016). We find it helpful to envision business not only as a social entity but also as a process or a journey. A journey can be imagined as navigation of the existing landscapes in society with its various and diverse features, both capitalist and non-capitalist (Gibson-Graham & Dombroski 2020). The notion of navigation, rather than a sudden shift, necessitates transcending binary thinking. It is an invitation to begin thinking in gentler, non-essentialist, nuanced terms. Navigation allows for trial and error, and an acceptance of the fact that a business may incorporate various tendencies – both positive and negative, ecological and not so ecological, place-sensitive and not place-sensitive. Below we will discuss some of the binaries that we identify in our own research and theorising on the role of business in degrowth transformations (see Nesterova 2024a). Like any knowledge, the list of binaries is naturally not final; we intend for it to serve as a starting point and as a liberating way to think.

To illustrate the process of transcending the binaries, we will use the case of a craft wine producer in Norsjö in northern Sweden. Iana Nesterova researched this company in 2022 using a case study approach. The methods used in the case study included semi-structured interviews with the businesspersons via in-person meetings on the business premises and online meetings, as well as two extensive site visits that included observation of the production process as well as unstructured conversations. During this research Iana also took notes, read online materials and materials provided by the businesspersons, and travelled

throughout the local region to better understand what the *place* where the business is located, and where the berries grow, looks and feels like. The business was established in 2018 by a couple who had been making wine from wild berries[2] at home for personal consumption as well as sharing with friends and family. The business has three employees, including the couple who established the company, and production takes place year-round. The wine is produced mainly from frozen local wild blueberries and lingonberries, which the business sources from several local suppliers. For some flavours of the wine, apple cider and raspberries are also used; the raspberries are farm-grown in another EU country. Non-alcoholic wine – essentially concentrated blueberry juice packaged in what looks like a wine bottle – is produced on another company's site as it requires a different manufacturing process that involves largely automated production, and the case business does not have a production line that can meet the demand for this wine.

Wine production is perhaps a controversial topic in relation to degrowth, as degrowth advocates the satisfaction of genuine human needs. However, food is a challenging area to explore, as apart from satisfying nutritional needs it also connects deeply with traditions and rituals in human societies (Jungell-Michelsson & Nesterova 2024). Producing wine in northern Sweden from blueberries and lingonberries can contribute to the localisation and consumption of local products rather than those imported from far-away places. In the case of blueberries and lingonberries in northern Sweden, they grow naturally without the need for farming and the negative effects that come with it. Below we will discuss how we navigate various binaries as researchers of degrowth and business.

Growth versus non-growth

A business is not simply either growing or non-growing. This is especially true considering the diversity of growth types. That is to say that growth can indeed be tangible, for instance in the case of expanding a business's productive capacities. But it can also be intangible. For instance, growth can take place in meaning, happiness, creativity, care, learning, empathy or solidarity. Moreover, growth can be also uneven. It can depend, for instance, on the year or the preferences, opportunities or personal journeys of the businesspersons. During some periods of time a business may grow and during others it may contract, or it may maintain its productive capacity and number of employees. At the same point in time it can grow in some domains but not others, for instance expanding its range of products but maintaining its number of employees. In some industries, growth for a more ecological society is desirable. With localisation strongly emphasised in degrowth (Norberg-Hodge 2019; Trainer 2012), local industries such as organic agriculture, local food production, local renewable energy and storage may grow.

The wine producer has grown as a business since 2018 and expanded its production from making wine for friends and family to selling it via

restaurants and Systembolaget, which is the state monopoly in Sweden with the exclusive right to sell alcoholic beverages above a certain alcohol percentage. The owners would like to acquire more equipment (steel vats for fermenting berries) to further expand their production in order to reach more people. Their hope is that more customers will consume wine made from local berries rather than grapes that do not grow in northern Sweden. At the same time, they do not want to expand the range of their products. Thus, the case illustrates how certain aspirations to grow can co-exist with a desire to maintain the focus of a business, in this case craft berry wines.

Businessperson versus degrowth advocate

Related to the binary discussed above, the binary of seeing businesspersons as utilitarian and supportive of capitalism while seeing others (e.g. degrowth advocates) as normal human beings should be transcended. Perlman (1983: 31) once noted that a 'businessman is a human being whose living humanity has been thoroughly excavated'. Yet, businesspersons are diverse: each businessperson is a unique human being with their own aspirations, worldviews and life philosophies, hopes, ideas and circumstances. The owners of the wine business are entrepreneurs. One of them was working as a business manager and the other owned another company when they established the wine business. However, they also emphasise their passion for the product and their commitment to sustainability and localisation. They are aware of the ecological degradation and the need to participate in transforming society towards one that co-exists harmoniously with nature. All this is true alongside their recognition of the need to make a profit and invest it in production, such as purchasing more steel vats in order to expand the production.

Agency versus structure

A business is neither solely an agent nor a structure. While in research, depending on the research question, it may be helpful to see a business as either an agent or a structure, it is important to remember that businesses are simultaneously both. An ignorance of the constellation of structures (political, economic, cultural) in which a business is embedded leads to a lack of recognition of the power to which a business may be subject. Seeing structures but not individual humans and their agency within them leads to a belief that humans within businesses, as well as businesses themselves as communities of humans, are ineffectual. This is disempowering. While the owners of the wine business indeed exercised their agency and creativity when they established their business, one of the most constraining structures that the business undoubtedly faces is found in the legal aspects of alcohol sales in Sweden. Products whose alcohol content is above a certain percentage can only be sold via the state monopoly Systembolaget. As there is no section for Swedish berry wine in these stores, it is placed where it is challenging for customers to notice it.

Moreover, the wine is mostly available only in local Systembolaget stores. In other words, this case illustrates how the agency of the businesspersons and their desire to reach more people is constrained by the legal framework.

High technology versus low technology

In the degrowth discourse, lower technology has been advocated (Heikkurinen & Ruuska 2021; Nesterova 2021). However, it is rare to come across a business, particularly in our industrialised world, that uses only low technology. Even if a product is seemingly low technology the supply chain may involve high technology, or the business may still benefit from high technology such as banking services, postal services, laboratory services or the Internet. Within the same business, high and low technology can meet in a unique constellation. For instance, the process of gathering wild blueberries and lingonberries for wine production is low technology. They are picked by hand in the local forests. The process of fermentation itself is rather straightforward and traditional, using only berries, sugar, water and yeast. The labels are put on the bottles manually with the help of a simple device, and the bottles are washed manually. However, the business also relies on high technology. The bottling process is no longer manual. The wine's quality is tested in a laboratory in Denmark that uses expensive, high-tech equipment, and sending the samples from Sweden to this laboratory is also done using high technology. Going further back, the supply chain of the wine business reveals that producing the equipment used for making the wine itself requires high technology. In other words, it is difficult to define our case as simply either a low- or high-technology business. It involves a combination of different technologies of varying complexities, and there are upgrades and changes over time. In this business, low technology like a simple fermentation process meets high technology like a mobile payment system and conventional banking.

Local versus global

Often, a business is not simply either local or global but rather both. In our own research, we notice that the fruits and berries used for the production of wine in the Nordics are mostly local. Yet, the equipment used to produce the wine is not. As multiple locally produced goods require ingredients or equipment to be imported from other countries, businesses serving primarily the local region or employing local people may still use equipment and services from other places. While the berries the wine business uses come from the local area, the equipment and some skills used in the process of production are not local. For instance, the equipment, such as the steel vats, comes from Italy. The skills needed to design the process of wine production from berries were sourced in Canada. While the label was designed by a local artist in northern Sweden, the finishing elements of the packaging come from Germany. The laboratory that tests the quality of wine is based in Denmark.

Business versus the world

Business can hardly be separated, either ontologically or for the purpose of research, from the rest of the world. Naess (2002: 15) rightly notes that 'a sharp distinction cannot be drawn between ourselves and the world', or between social entities and the world around them. Businesses are obviously connected to the world via their human beings as humans are not merely owners, managers or employees of a business; they are members of families, civil society, political parties, various networks, groups and communities. Businesses are also connected with the world via their products, using materials and energy, paying taxes, and interacting with consumers, suppliers, distributors, tourists and many others, including nature and non-human life. It is impossible to tell where the wine business ends and the world begins. The idea of making wine on a larger scale came from the owners' own experiences of living close to nature. They connect their product with local nature, local non-humans and topography, and contemplate how the extended daylight hours there affect the blueberries that are used to make their wine.

All the binaries above affect the assessment of the extent to which a business is compatible with degrowth. Labelling a business as essentially a *degrowth business or not a degrowth business* is therefore likely to be counter-productive to sustainability transformations. Transcending this binary means thinking of a business as a community of humans on a journey of deep transformations. In the same business, elements of degrowth business can and do meet more conventional elements, and while the economic system constrains businesses, new business practices may also change the system. Often, businesspersons are aware of this. They often have desires to change more conventional practices, but do not always have access to knowledge and funding. Many have plans to change conventional practices and are experimenting with alternatives (Nesterova 2024a). A good approach for researchers to take in order to make sense of the relationship between degrowth and business is to analyse the journey of a business, investigating how it navigates the complex socio-economic structures and systems, how its practices unfold over time and what motivates businesspersons to implement certain practices and forego others.

Concluding remarks

Ecological degradation is so severe that it is unsurprising that humans, including academics, are looking for solutions. Some of these solutions are radical and adventurous, and degrowth is certainly one of them. When contemplating a genuinely sustainable society, some go so far as proposing that we need to become hunter–gatherers again (Gowdy 2020). While degrowth proposes a more realistic pathway, it still includes a radical restructuring of our societies. What exactly this radical restructuring means and entails is the subject of unfolding debates. Naturally, questions around business arise. Will business be part of a degrowth society? If not, then what will replace it? If it

will, what will that look like? We consider it useful to engage as many fellow humans and social entities in degrowth transformations as possible. This includes businesspersons and businesses. In this chapter, we captured the principles and practices that businesses should adopt on their journeys towards a degrowth society, discussed several types of business in relation to degrowth, and disclosed multiple nuances and loose ends we may meet on our own journeys of researching the role of business in degrowth transformations. As researchers, we need to help businesses step onto transformative paths rather than simply suggest that business is not compatible with degrowth. What can help us find more useful and realistic solutions for business is seeing business in processual terms and avoiding labelling it as degrowth or not degrowth. In our own research, we notice that a perfect degrowth business does not exist; rather, there are many businesses that incorporate various degrowth-compatible practices.

As a final note, we would like to comment on the role of the Nordic countries as potential agents for change in a degrowth direction. In teaching and interacting with fellow humans in different spaces in international academia and beyond, we often notice a hopeful attitude towards Sweden and other Nordic countries as genuine sustainability pioneers. Indeed, there are many cultural aspects that are conducive to genuine sustainability and degrowth. For example, *friluftsliv* can enhance nature connectedness (Beery 2012; see also Chapter 2, this volume). Forest kindergartens (*skovbørnehaver*), which first appeared in Denmark in the 1950s, are spaces where young children can learn about nature and non-human beings, connect with nature and begin to develop a love for it rather than seeing it as something that is separate from them. There are also multiple examples of small businesses in the Nordics that are on genuine sustainability paths (Nesterova 2024a).

However, while there are indeed degrowth-compatible developments in the Nordics in general and in Sweden specifically – where our case is located – the approach to sustainability is oriented towards green growth (*grön tillväxt*) (e.g. Svenskt Näringsliv 2020) rather than degrowth (*nerväxt*). The green growth discourse tends to reproduce the status quo rather than aiming to transform society and its structures.

For degrowth-compatible practices to thrive, policies need to be degrowth-compatible as well rather than supporting green growth. Such policies can entail, for instance, encouraging other forms of business than the corporate form; lowering taxes for small, local businesses; or supporting a universal basic income that would create space for humans to start a small business or make a business out of their hobby (Buch-Hansen et al. 2024). One problem with degrowth-compatible policies, at least in Sweden, is that they are not very popular (see Buch-Hansen et al. 2024: ch. 7). Another problem is that existing support, as in the case of Green Transition North (https://greentransitionnorth.se), is directed towards large businesses and businesses involved in electrification and digitalisation (Green Transition North 2024) rather than, for instance, craft businesses and businesses involved in local, organic agriculture.

To conclude, the survival and prosperity of businesses on degrowth journeys hinges on both structure (e.g. policy) and culture (norms and values regarding what constitutes good production, good business, good consumption, good life) as well as the available 'identities' in the business landscape (e.g. 'the careerist' versus 'the craft producer'). Accordingly, politicians and other decision-makers need to reconsider which structures, cultures and identities they are promoting in their policies, and consumers need to rethink what kind of systems, norms and values they are reproducing through their consumption.

Notes

1 We believe that the degrowth production and service provision landscape will include many forms, and that business is only one form among many. Alternative forms of organisation include household and community production, foraging, swap shops (*byttestationer* in Danish), repair cafes and libraries. Some aspects of production and service provision can be decommercialised altogether. In this chapter we focus especially on *business*.

2 The business we use as an illustrative example uses frozen wild berries that it buys from suppliers, whom the businesspersons believe are ethical and trustworthy. While we did not research the suppliers, we find it important to highlight that the industry of berry picking is not without its challenges. For example, 'labour conditions for migrant berry pickers are an ongoing source of concern, with recurring accounts of exploitation which have damaged the industry's reputation and resulted in calls for strengthened regulation' (Plummer et al. 2024: 2).

References

Adamson, G. (2018). *Fewer, Better Things: The Hidden Wisdom of Objects*. Bloomsbury.

Beery, T. H. (2012). Nordic in nature: friluftsliv and environmental connectedness. *Environmental Education Research*, 19(1), 94–117. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2012.688799.

Bhaskar, R. (2008). *Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom*. Routledge.

Buch-Hansen, H., Koch, M. & Nesterova, I. (2024). *Deep Transformations: A Theory of Degrowth*. Manchester University Press.

Buch-Hansen, H. & Nesterova, I. (2021). Towards a science of deep transformations: Initiating a dialogue between degrowth and critical realism. *Ecological Economics*, 190, 107188.

Buch-Hansen, H. & Nesterova, I. (2023). Less and more: Conceptualising degrowth transformations. *Ecological Economics*, 205, 107731.

Buch-Hansen, H. & Nesterova, I. (2024). Deepgrowth: Self-transformation towards harmonious being. *Ecological Economics*, 224, 108281.

Buch-Hansen, H., Nesterova, I. & Koch, M. (2023). An economics of deep transformations. *Real-World Economics Review*, 106, 42–46.

Daly, H. E. (1993). Introduction to essays toward a steady-state economy. In H. E. Daly & K. N. Townsend (eds), *Valuing the Earth: Economics, Ecology, Ethics*. MIT Press, pp. 11–50.

Daly, H. E. & Townsend, K. N. (eds). (1993). *Valuing the Earth: Economics, Ecology, Ethics*. MIT Press.

Dauvergne, P. (2018). *Will Big Business Destroy Our Planet?*Polity Press.
Elgin, D. S. & Mitchell, A. (1977). Voluntary simplicity. *Planning Review*, 5(6), 13–15.
Elgin, D. S. & Mitchell, A. (1978). Voluntary simplicity: life-style of the future? *Ekistics*, 45(269), 207–212.
Foster, J. B., Clark, B. & York, R. (2010). *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism's War on the Earth*. Monthly Review Press.
Fox Miller, C. (2017). The contemporary geographies of craft-based manufacturing. *Geography Compass*, 11(4), 1–13.
Gibson-Graham, J. K. & Dombroski, K. (2020). Introduction. In J. K. Gibson-Graham & K. Dombroski (eds), *The Handbook of Diverse Economies*. Edward Elgar, pp. 1–24.
Gowdy, J. (2020). Our hunter–gatherer future: Climate change, agriculture and uncivilization. *Futures*, 115, 102488.
Hankammer, S., Kleer, R., Mühl, L. & Euler, J. (2021). Principles for organizations striving for sustainable degrowth: Framework development and application to four B Corps. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 300, 126818.
Heikkurinen, P. & Ruuska, T. (eds). (2021). *Sustainability beyond Technology: Philosophy, Critique, and Implications for Human Organization*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
Illich, I. (1973). *Tools for Conviviality*. Calder & Boyars.
Jungell-Michelsson, J. & Nesterova, I. (2024). Digging for roots of sufficiency in the food industry. In M. Gossen & L. Niessen (eds), *Sufficiency in Business*. Transcript, pp. 135–154.
Koch, M., Buch-Hansen, H. & Fritz, M. (2017). Shifting priorities in degrowth research: An argument for the centrality of human needs. *Ecological Economics*, 138, 74–81.
Kroezen, J., Ravasi, D., Sasaki, I., Żebrowska, M. & Suddaby, R. (2021). Configurations of craft: Alternative models for organizing work. *Academy of Management Annals*, 15(2), https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2019.0145.
Levy, D. L. (1995). The environmental practices and performance of transnational corporations. *Transnational Corporations*, 4(1), 44–67.
Lindberg, S. (2023). *Den nya ölkulturen*. Bonnier Fakta.
Luckman, S. (2015). *Craft and the Creative Economy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Luckman, S. & Andrew, J. (2020). *Craftspeople and Designer Makers in the Contemporary Creative Economy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Marcuse, H. (2002). *One-Dimensional Man*. Routledge.
Martins Felix, S., Kreziak, D. & Mencarelli, R. (2023). Exploring citizens' zero-waste journeys through practice theory: Empirical investigation and public policy implications. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 43(2).
Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and Personality*. Harper & Row Publishers.
Max-Neef, M. A. (1992). *From the Outside Looking in: Experiences in 'Barefoot Economics'*. Zed Books.
Naess, A. (2002). *Life's Philosophy: Reason and Feeling in a Deeper World*. The University of Georgia Press.
Naess, A. (2016). *The Ecology of Wisdom*. Penguin Classics.
Nesterova, I. (2020). Degrowth business framework: Implications for sustainable development. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 262, 121382.
Nesterova, I. (2021). Small, local, and low-tech firms as agents of sustainable change. In P. Heikkurinen & T. Ruuska (eds), *Sustainability beyond Technology: Philosophy,*

Critique, and Implications for Human Organization. Oxford University Press, pp. 230–253.

Nesterova, I. (2022). Being in the world locally: Degrowth business, critical realism, and humanistic geography. *Frontiers in Sustainability*, 3, 829848.

Nesterova, I. (2024a). *Degrowth, Depth and Hope in Sustainable Business: Reflections from Denmark, Finland and Sweden*. Routledge.

Nesterova, I. (2024b). Being of deep transformations: A personal journey inspired by Clive L. Spash, *Environmental Values*, 33 (2), 122–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/09632719231184615.

Nesterova, I. & Buch-Hansen, H. (2024). Depths of sufficiency in business: Diving through the planes of social being. In M. Gossen & L. Niessen (eds), *Sufficiency in Business*. Transcript, pp. 85–96.

Nesterova, I. & Buch-Hansen, H. (2023). Degrowth and the circular economy: Reflecting on the depth of business circularity. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 414, 137639.

Nesterova, I. & Robra, B. (2022). Business in a strongly sustainable society? In D. D'Amato, A. Toppinen & R. Kozak (eds), *The Role of Business in Global Sustainability Transformations*. Routledge, pp. 201–216.

Norberg-Hodge, H. (2019). *Local Is Our Future: Steps to an Economics of Happiness*. Local Futures.

Perlman, F. (1983). *Against His-Story, against Leviathan*. Black & Red.

Plummer, P., Andersson, J. & Lennerfors, T. T. (2024). Foraging for development: An analysis of the Swedish wild berry innovation system. *Agricultural Systems*, 216, 103901.

Rennstam, J. & Paulsson, A. (2024). Craft-orientation as a mode of organizing for postgrowth society. *Organization*, online ahead of print. https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084241231461.

Sayer, A. (2011). *Why Things Matter to People: Social Science, Values and Ethical Life*. Cambridge University Press.

Schumacher, E. F. (1973). *Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*. Random House.

Sennett, R. (2008). *The Craftsman*. Penguin.

Spash, C. L. (2024). *Foundations of Social Ecological Economics: The Fight for Revolutionary Change in Economic Thought*. Manchester University Press.

Svenskt Näringsliv. (2020). Grön tillväxt styr ekonomin mot ett hållbart samhälle. Retrieved from www.svensktnaringsliv.se/eu-kontoret/gron-tillvaxt-styr-ekonomin-mot-ett-hallbart-samhalle_1005549.html.

Thompson, D. (2018). Craft beer is the strangest, happiest economic story in America. *The Atlantic*, 19 January. Retrieved from www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2018/01/craft-beer-industry/550850/.

Trainer, T. (2012). De-growth: Do you realise what it means? *Futures*, 44, 590–599.

Veldman, J. & Willmott, H. (2013). What is the corporation and why does it matter? *M@n@gement*, 16(5), 605–620.

Vincent, O. & Brandellero, A. (2023). Transforming work: A critical literature review on degrowth, post-growth, postcapitalism and craft labor. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 430, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2023.139640.

11 Conclusion

E. C. H. Keskitalo

Introduction

Drawing upon examples from different cases and levels in Fennoscandia – here Norway, Sweden and Finland – this book has illustrated the great variety, but also historicity, that exists in land use. Land and water use must be understood within the context of embedded practices, which are sometimes encased in law but which also reflect a large breadth and multiplicity. The range of existing practices is enormous, the result of which is that any management intervention will almost necessarily touch upon very different assumptions and uses.

Just what these assumptions and uses are will also differ depending on what sectors and levels of different practices become involved. Thus, for instance, in this volume, cases on forestry illustrate both embedded large-scale productivist assumptions as well as the varied assumptions of local forest owners. The cases also illustrate the range of assumptions that come to influence what can be done in areas, not least under increasing globalisation.

The book also shows that international tourism as well as the application of broader geopolitical assumptions about or conceptions of the areas may lead to the emergence of yet other assumptions about areas, which in fact are used to restructure or influence existing practices. Several of the book's chapters note such a consideration, also in relation to the notion that 'green transition' may come to influence existing uses.

A concern here is that more abstracted conceptions of areas – that are not grounded in what actually exists there – may increasingly focus on the areas as resources rather than sites and places for existing practices. Some of the book's chapters thus caution not only against actions that do not relate to existing understandings of logics but also against actions or interventions that promote unsustainable or incorrect understandings of areas. For this reason, the types of social analysis that are described in this book may play a crucial role in our understanding of what types of values are actually involved in environmental management, and in designing environmental management interventions.

The various chapters of the book, highlighting different aspects of these considerations, are discussed below. Several chapters point out the importance

DOI: 10.4324/9781003481041-11

of and embeddedness of layers of different understandings that are in place, what one might call 'land culture', for instance. Other chapters highlight the varying scales and sectoral aspects of land and water use. These chapters show that different sectors as well as different scales of use – for instance, ranging from individual forest owners to larger-scale forestry – may conceive of use differently, as will different actors, such as those in fishing and forestry. This variety also includes actors in environmental administrative positions that found their actions in more abstracted – rather than practice-based – conceptions of areas.

Taken together, the book thus highlights not only the specific cases but also the ways in which larger-scale assumptions may intersect with the types of management measures that are preferred or can be undertaken. It also highlights the even further removed or abstracted assumptions regarding land or nature that may in fact come to restructure or reorganise what types of management and organisation are possible – and not always in line with the existing understandings in areas. The crucial consideration here is that conceptions that misdescribe areas must not be made the foundation of policy or management interventions.

'Land culture'

In Chapter 5, Monica Tennberg describes the Finnish Lapland case as one that is made up of multiple groups with what Tennberg describes as specific 'land cultures' or practices that encompass people and their relationship with land. This is similar to what Brynhild Granås shows in Chapter 2, describing the embedded nature of nature relations in the case of outdoor practices and the right of public access (*allemansretten*) system in Norway.

Both chapters discuss the varied and diverse understandings of areas as part of the heritages of multiple groups. Granås problematises the understandings that may vary between people when it comes to what does and does not constitute acceptable practices. In this, the chapter thus also problematises the heritage of what people may or may not consider acceptable, among other things in relation to the role of national-level organisations that have historically promoted specific understandings of practices, and in relation to the more recreational side of being in nature. It thus also highlights the entangled nature of what are regarded as established and accepted practices and from where they derive.

Tennberg then problematises simplifying assumptions about such a land culture in northern Finland that pit Saami and other local understandings against each other, as well as problematising simplifying understandings of areas as wildernesses. The chapter also discusses the assumptions concerning green transition in which these multiple and interconnecting land uses are not conceived of, and in which land may thus instead be regarded as involving resources to be managed through external governance systems. Similar to Granås's chapter, this one advocates caution, stressing the need to understand governed areas in more

depth than merely through external understandings, which will not be specific enough to cover local understandings and may also enforce binaries that either are not present in such a way in areas or create interpretations that enforce certain land uses and roles of certain actors in them.

In Chapter 3, Eivind Junker contextualises the conceptions of nature use even further, delving into the case of nature protection law in Norway. While in the preceding chapter Brynhild Granås was able to point out the multiple ways in which even individuals today relate to complex constructions of nature use that centre on (but also highlight specific types of) involvement with nature, Junker similarly shows that Norwegian nature protection laws were enacted within a context of use – or what might be seen as a particular 'land culture', to use the term applied by Tennberg. Underscoring the conceptions that Granås's chapter also illustrates, Junker writes: 'In the later years, any notion of a pure 'nature–human' dichotomy is hard to find. The Nordic lifestyle and traditional livelihood are closely related to the surroundings, and the premise for regulation is that natural resources may have several (potential) uses'.

Taken together, these chapters, focused on the descriptions of what could be called 'land culture', thus illustrate the importance of understanding not only practices themselves but also their variety. Other chapters then further highlight the ways in which practices may relate to both sector and scale, and the variety that may exist among them.

The varying scales and sectoral aspects of land and water use

Already in the discussion above, one might be able to see a contrast between abstracted conceptions of areas, whereby they are assessed from external viewpoints assumed to be applicable to multiple areas, and practice-based conceptions, whereby areas are seen as specific and are assessed based on internal practices within them. The variety in these types of understandings – as well as how they may differ even among what may from the outside be assumed to be similar perspectives – is highlighted in chapters that take up forest and water use from different aspects. Two chapters discussing the same watercourse thus highlight very different aspects of what types of management interventions are considered possible, largely in relation to what types of actors – in relation to particularly fishing or forestry – are involved. Another chapter then illustrates the variety of conceptions in forestry, addressing the case of small-scale forest owners and illustrating that existing management interventions may not always suit their wishes for forest management.

Thus, Chapter 4 by Emmi Salmivuori describes the case of forest owners and rural entrepreneurs using forest in Finland. The chapter illustrates the thoroughly managed character of forest in the areas, where nature is far from removed from human use and where excesses of human use are potentially tempered by long-term investment in the areas, such as the conception of family forest for heritage. This may suggest that the fact of an investment in

or a commitment to local use and a local connection may itself support the continued relationship with nature and management for multiple values and not only production. Like much other literature, this chapter thus illustrates the case of forest use and forest ownership as marked by multiple features, ranging from economic and productivist values to belongingness and a focus on preserving forest as what might be regarded as a heritage – for use, but also in a way that would enable values for descendants into the future. It also emphasises the existence of multiple values, including both the productivist feature of forestry and the fact that family forest owners delimit this use to be able to, for instance, provide values such as different experiences. Here, Salmivuori particularly suggests that the multiple values of forest owners would need to be better integrated in higher-level forest management and in providing management options for forest owners.

Chapters 7 and 8, by Olli Haanpää and Hannu Heikkinen et al., then look at management cases along the same watercourse in Finland from different perspectives, in chapters that illustrate both the variety of interests but also how they could be interpreted as relating to larger broad logics.

Chapter 7 by Olli Haanpää illustrates that what in earlier chapters has been discussed in terms of practices or land culture may be highly specific and also differ in regard to assumptions concerning use in the same areas, or uses that are extended or emphasised following new resource-use situations or demands. In line with Salmivuori's chapter, this one can thereby be considered to call for caution in how new demands are integrated with existing systems and how existing systems are or are not able to mitigate them. In contrasting practice understandings with understandings based on abstracted landscapes, this chapter thus underlines the need for environmental management to consider what types of assumptions, and what ways of knowing about areas, in fact shape this management.

Chapter 8 by Hannu Heikkinen et al. instead discusses a case along this river course that deals with peatland restoration in areas previously drained for forestry. While the previous chapter focused on a management intervention for the purposes of groundwater extraction, managed by a waterworks company, this one focuses on a peatland restoration intervention managed by an advisory forest centre organisation. Different to, for instance, the fishers' association highlighted in the previous chapter, who were a large part of the local users in focus there, in this chapter the focus is largely on forest landowners and forestry-related assumptions in relation to the management intervention of the peatland restoration. In this, the chapter also illustrates the need for property owners in some cases to be able to provide from the areas, and the fact that nature relations must thereby be seen in relation to what kinds of uses are economically incentivised and thus sometimes the ones that are made possible.

Thus, while Chapter 7 illustrates that a variety of actors along the river course focus on the local use, Chapter 8 illustrates an overarching productivist logic including also local actors, by which people are more open to having interventions and management in the landscape than to not actively

managing. Another difference between the two chapters involves the types of systems along the river course that they focus on: in identifying a productivist logic, Heikkinen et al. (Chapter 8) focus largely on forestry-related systems, while Haanpää (Chapter 7) looks at groundwater management. A conclusion from comparing these two examples along the same river course thus also entails how management assumptions may be formed or influenced either by larger (as in Haanpää's case), more abstracted administrative assumptions, or by (as in Heikkinen et al.'s case) sectoral assumptions regarding forestry. However, in this case the great variations among private forest owners, previously highlighted by Salmivuori in Chapter 4 of this volume, must also be considered: particularly, Salmivuori illustrated that small-scale forest owners, even in her case focusing on active forest owners who are economically reliant on forestry, would like to choose from a broader range of management options than those available in larger-scale forestry and forestry services.

The two river course chapters thus highlight not only different users but also different types of interests and sectoral cultures that either contradict administrative assumptions or highlight broader productivist assumptions. These chapters can thereby, along with Salmivuori's, be taken to also illustrate something that has been well researched in the Fennoscandian cases: the specific type of forestry culture that may both govern which types of interventions become possible and which ones are considered practicable or suitable in forest lands. Here, especially, the significant impact of forestry companies, who are often the ones who undertake management measures, and the overarching culture of forestry has often been highlighted. This is regarded as a limitation on the agency of small-scale forestry owners in Salmivuori's chapter, and as an overarching assumption in Heikkinen et al.'s chapter in this volume. The book thus both highlights not only potential overarching cultures of forestry but also how this may differ from a more multiple understanding among small-scale forest owners (as in Chapter 4, this volume; see also Bergstén and Keskitalo 2018, Andersson and Keskitalo 2018).

Thus, these three chapters, taken together, illustrate the extreme variety among understandings and the need to understand each case in relation to how it may relate to assumptions in different sectors and communities, as well as in relation to local practices. Together, the chapters can thereby be said to illustrate the emphasis in this book on the need for any management interventions to understand – as other chapters have expressed it – the different land (or water) cultures that may exist.

External understandings

Finally, as highlighted in the discussion above, the embedded nature of existing practices means that management interventions and new nature-use developments must be seen in context. For instance, some chapters in this volume (e.g. Chapters 2 and 5) have urged caution in regard to a 'green transition', whereby areas come to be seen as resource areas rather than sites

and places in their own right. Others have also highlighted that conceptions and understandings do not necessarily travel well: for instance, Junker's discussion of language in his chapter can also be seen as urging caution regarding the risk of concepts' nuances being lost when they are translated to English; Junker, for instance, highlights different terms that might mainly be translated as 'protection' but have other, different, understandings in Norwegian. Similarly, as Brynhild Granås shows in her chapter, the Norwegian concept of *tur* refers to something more than simply outdoor recreation, and should not necessarily be understood simply as such. These chapters thus illustrate the importance of the concepts and practices in local language and context that are crucial to understanding the role of the specific practices

In relation to this, several of the chapters then explicitly either compare conceptions at different scales in the cases with externally developed ones, discuss the impact of external organisations of use and assumptions about areas, or even discuss the potential for existing uses to contribute to conceptions in which they might not otherwise be seen. In Chapter 6, E. C. H. Keskitalo and Elias Andersson highlight this type of focus on the need to understand local, regional or even national land uses in order to not enforce understandings that are external to and may not fit with them. The focus in the chapter is on summarising some of the discussions and critique of a rewilding approach and the related discussion of wilderness, and contrasting these with what could be regarded as land culture-based approaches in Sweden. The paper highlights the separation between human and nature that has resulted from conceptions of areas as wildernesses whereby practices and human actions are removed from nature. The study then counterposes a wilderness conception of areas with actual policy and practice situations in the example of nature areas in Sweden, with a focus on forest areas.

The chapter thus adds to the understanding of forest as it has also been discussed in other chapters with a focus on, for instance, forest owners or forestry. The study highlights the way in which external assumptions about areas – in this case seeing them as 'wilderness' – may impose binary understandings that separate people and nature in ahistorical ways, and that in fact do not reflect actual practices elsewhere. Thereby, the chapter cautions against assumptions about areas based on the use of historically developed concepts that have not been assessed for the area. While this point has also been made in much recent work on rewilding – in which the focus has, for such reasons, instead been on an idea of 'wildness' – the chapter also cautions that using unclear concepts may run the risk that understandings retain earlier conceptions. In the case of conceptions involving assumptions regarding the wild, there is a long history that cautions us to instead review the existing situations and practices at specific sites in order to discuss what types of environmental management may fit with them (e.g. Cronon 1995).

This understanding, that seeing areas as 'wild' may lead to specific practices that are not grounded in actual situations, is highlighted by Dorothee Bohn in Chapter 9. Here, Bohn discusses the construction of understandings

of nature in tourism and particularly international tourism, in cases across northern Norway, Sweden and Finland. Drawing on literature on the production of nature, the chapter illustrates how tourism, especially large-scale tourism, operates through a focus on binaries whereby the 'unusual' is sold to an assumed mainly urban population. With regard to the cases she reviews, the product is mainly the vista or view of an assumed unspoilt nature that nevertheless is to be enjoyed through an almost seamless infrastructure whereby the tourist easily can travel to the area and to specific 'wilderness lodges'.

Bohn's chapter thereby highlights how this construction of areas contributes to a specific understanding focused on 'wilderness' areas, in which the areas' socially situated nature and the multiplicity in which they exist are removed. Instead, the focus is on easy access and comfortable recreation with a concentration on the view. This orientation thus does not support any clear means of interaction with nature or being in nature but only, in the extreme, an observation of a selected section of 'nature' – with a focus on that which is visible from the lodges and their specially developed 'glass igloos'. The chapter thus strongly illustrates an international tourism practice whereby humans and human practices are considered to be removed from a pristine nature. In this, the chapter can be said to illustrate the risk that interaction with landscapes or the people in them is not supported, and the possibilities to transcend binaries or increase one's understanding due to a visit may thereby be limited.

Chapter 10, written by Iana Nesterova and Jens Rennstam with a focus on degrowth, then attempts to outline how business could be constructed in ways that focus on transactions with nature and social relations. Their assumption is that such businesses will almost inherently need to be small-scale, in order to take in the types of specific relations that have been discussed throughout the book. Illustrating the ways in which local actors may then conduct business in other ways than those assumed in such literature, Nesterova and Rennstam take the case of a small-scale berry wine producer in northern Sweden, showing that this type of practice can be considered to transcend conceptions of economic practice in literature. In this case, production with more artisanal and locally related qualities can be competitive on a specific market and also align with the focus of the entrepreneur. They thus highlight cases that, in the light of a larger transformation of society, could be seen as working in other ways than, for instance, Granås and Tennberg both caution us in this volume about in regard to a larger-scale green transition in which areas are conceived of as resource areas.

Take-home messages

The chapters in this book have focused on describing an array of land- and water-use practices that relate to nature. They have looked into crucial parts of nature uses, drawing on cases in Norway, Sweden and Finland but in this

also exemplifying relations that may exist in other areas. Overall, the book thus underlines the importance of understanding the relations to existing land-use systems and existing management and governance in the areas.

The book thus places the focus on a crucial issue with regard to environmental management; that is, the systems by which different actors and interests are – or are not – able to negotiate their understandings (cf. Keskitalo 2024). The chapters can largely be said to illustrate the importance of governance and management systems' inclusion of different actors in order to, for instance, not only delimit the role of external conceptualisations of areas (such as 'wildernesses') but also delimit conceptualisations in which balances between interests that may, for example, serve to maintain existing established nature uses by multiple actors are disincentivised. Examples of these may include regulation or commercial interests that do not compensate for losses and thereby force more short-term uses. Other examples may include the prominence of more active management-style actions discussed in earlier chapters, which, for instance, may mean that management options that include multiple values, as requested by small-scale family forestry, are not provided (e.g. Chapters 2, 4 and 5, this volume).

Thus, key to all these considerations may be the possibility for local levels to, within their context, be able to negotiate or mitigate development pressures (Keskitalo et al. 2017). Historically, a significant possibility in this regard has been situated in the relatively large local determination powers of municipalities in the three countries in focus here. Among other things, this relates to local planning, in which the municipality has what in Sweden is seen as a 'planning monopoly'. Such systems mean that, to varying yet somewhat similar extents in the countries, it has been possible for local actors to act in a determining way on environmental management in the areas (cf. Bjørnå & Weigård 2020). Examples of this – which may be considered positive or negative depending on which side one sees them from – include, for instance, the possibility to veto wind power (e.g. Söderholm et al. 2007). This can be considered negative from the perspective of the need for green power development, but positive in cases in which it may support reindeer husbandry and nature conservation, for instance through less fragmentation of pastures and land areas (given the necessary access infrastructure for developing and maintaining developments).

However, in some cases, such as mining development, the state may also explicitly override local municipal decisions (Pölönen et al. 2020), and historically, large developments like water power have had major consequences locally (e.g. Nordtveit 2015). The way in which income from such large developments has or has not been gained locally also differs between countries, and thus to varying extents contributes to living countrysides – as well as to the maintenance of interests residing in rural areas, who are thereby economically strong enough to stand up for rural interests (cf. Cruickshank 2009). In addition, forest management (in forestry) can largely been seen as a parallel system to that of municipal planning, in which productive forest is

managed within the forestry system (including large corporations) with no direct impact from the municipal planning system (e.g. Stjernström et al. 2013). The roles of local as well as state and sectoral actors in these cases are thus both multiple and varying.

In this book, while illustrating that in some cases national-level legislation and policy – such as on nature use or *allemansretten* – may also relate to not only national interests as conceived on international levels but also to regional and local conceptions of nature, the focus has been on the notion that land-use practices or 'land culture' must be understood (cf. Chapters 2 and 5, this volume). In relation to this, and so that any such understanding does not remain only on the knowledge level, it is also crucial to balance systems so that interests representing different actors and actor groups, and thereby different land- and water-use conceptions, are not just seen as participants in specific processes but are also institutionalised in and have a continuous say in the decision-making. Although skewed by the role of the larger land uses such as forestry and mining – which have historically been highly important not least economically and to whose favour legislation, for instance, has thus been preferenced in some cases (Kunnas et al. 2019; Bjärstig et al. 2018) – the prominence of multiple groups and interests in nature–culture relations may have influenced what type of nature–culture integration we see today.

However, this also means that an overarching question arises in regard to the types of pressures that increasingly come to influence these situated understandings and systems. Several of this book's chapters have illustrated the role of larger-scale conceptions (such as in Chapter 5 by Tennberg) and international business structures (more as context in Chapter 4 by Salmivuori, and explicitly in Chapters 9 and 10). The increasing impact of larger scale structures, such as in the case of tourism utilising external conceptions that do not match those on site, thus risk restructuring practices in a way that delimits the role of local understandings. Economic pressures are also key to the incentivisation of practices, where the smaller artisanal examples highlighted by, for instance, Nesterova and Rennstam (Chapter 10) must compete with larger-scale and sometimes difficult to trace (and assess) products (e.g. Keskitalo 2008).

One of the greatest (or perhaps *the* greatest) influences on the types of practices highlighted here is thereby that of international contexts, seen in conceptions such as 'wilderness' and resource-use pressures.

In addition, environmental change will increasingly come to constitute a source of pressure on these land-use systems. Like all systems, present environmental management is adjusted to present as well as historically developed systems, and has its foundation in business-as-usual (e.g. Andersson & Keskitalo 2018). As existing environmental systems come to shift, with increasing extreme events and increasingly limited foreseeability – potentially resulting in actors not being able to assume the types of practices or uses they relate to – this will result in pressures on different actors and on the relationship between them, including the systems that regulate this.

The big question is thus how the existing – areally based although imperfect – governance and environmental management systems can avoid skewing nature use in relation either to the large-scale interests that may come to exert increasing pressure on systems (see e.g. Pohjanmies et al. 2021), or to increasing use as environmental changes may limit the production that different actors rely on.

In the cases reviewed here, one crucial consideration may lie in integrating the complex understandings in areas into management logics and in particular any use of binaries that exist. As Dorothee Bohn shows Chapter 9, international tourism may largely – as has also been observed elsewhere, as she notes – be driven by the idea that the tourist 'escapes' 'civilisation' to visit the untrammelled 'wilderness' and the assumed indigenous practices related to it. The idea thereby remains that one can travel back in time, so to speak, but to specific areas. This construction thereby incentivises specific practices and representations in tourism, which may be economically beneficial to specific entrepreneurs but may simplify areas – and even allow those who visit them to continue to see 'rural' areas as 'devoid of people', 'backwards' or the like (cf. Sherval 2009; Prout & Howitt 2009). Such assumptions are of course the most dangerous in cases in which those who maintain such representations are in decision-making positions, which would support, for instance, assumptions about land being 'free for the taking', offering 'unlimited resources' and the like.

An important focus should thus lie in correctly representing areas – economically and practically speaking, so that, for instance, those who visit them expecting to see 'wilderness' are made aware of the multiple practices and complex relationships in these areas. In addition, the use of concepts that relate to binaries should be cautioned – we are not in simple 'wildernesses' but in practice landscapes, and this should be reflected in management and governance.

References

Andersson, E. & Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2018) Adaptation to climate change? Why business-as-usual remains the logical choice in Swedish forestry. *Global Environmental Change*, 48(1), 76–85.

Bergstén, S. & Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2018) Feeling at home from a distance? How geographical distance and non-residency shape sense of place among private forest owners. *Society & Natural Resources*, 32(3): 1–20.

Bjärstig, T., Thellbro, C., Stjernström, O., Svensson, J., Sandström, C., Sandström, P. & Zachrisson, A. (2018). Between protocol and reality – Swedish municipal comprehensive planning. *European Planning Studies*, 26(1), 35–54.

Bjørnå, H. & Weigård, J. (2020). From public to private accountability in Norwegian local government. *SAGE Open*, 10(3), 1–11.

Cronon, W. (1995) The myth of wilderness. In W. Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. W. W. Norton.

Cruickshank, J. A. (2009). A play for rurality – modernization versus local autonomy. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25, 98–107.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2008). *Climate Change and Globalization in the Arctic: An Integrated Approach to Vulnerability Assessment*. Earthscan.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2024) *Frontier Thinking and Human–Nature Relations: We Were Never Western*. Routledge.

Keskitalo, E. C. H. (2023) *Rethinking Nature Relations: Beyond Binaries*. Edward Elgar.

Keskitalo, E. C. H., Karlsson, S., Lindgren, U., Pettersson, Ö., Lundmark, L., Slee, B., Villa, M. & Feliciano, D. (2017) Rural–urban politics: changing conceptions of the human–environment relationship. In E. C. H. Keskitalo (ed.), *Globalisation and Change in Forest Ownership and Forest Use: Natural Resource Management in Transition*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 183–224.

Kunnas, J., Keskitalo, E. C. H., Pettersson, M. & Stjernström, O. (2019). The institutionalisation of forestry as a primary land use in Sweden. In E. C. H. Keskitalo (ed.), *The Politics of Arctic Resources: Change and Continuity in the 'Old North' of Northern Europe*. Routledge, pp. 62–77.

Nordtveit, E. (2015). History of water law in Scandinavia. In T. Tvedt, O. McIntyre & T. Woldetsadik (eds), *A History of Water, Series III, Volume 2: Sovereignty and International Water Law*. I. B. Tauris, pp. 105–127.

Pohjanmies, T., Eyvindson, K., Triviño, M., Bengtsson, J. & Mönkkönen, M. (2021). Forest multifunctionality is not resilient to intensive forestry. *European Journal of Forest Research*, 140(3), 537–549.

Pölönen, I., Allard, C. & Raitio, K. (2020). Finnish and Swedish law on mining in light of collaborative governance. *Nordisk Miljörättslig Tidskrift*, 2020(2), 99–134.

Prout, S. & Howitt, R. (2009). Frontier imaginings and subversive Indigenous spatialities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25(4), 396–403.

Sherval, M. (2009). Native Alaskan engagement with social constructions of rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25, 425–434.

Söderholm, P., Ek, K. & Pettersson, M. (2007). Wind power development in Sweden: Global policies and local obstacles. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 11 (3), 365–400.

Stjernström, O., Karlsson, S. & Pettersson, Ö. (2013). Skogen och den kommunala planeringen. *Plan*, 1, 42–45.

Index

Note: locators in *italics* and **bold** refer to *figures* and **tables** respectively.