

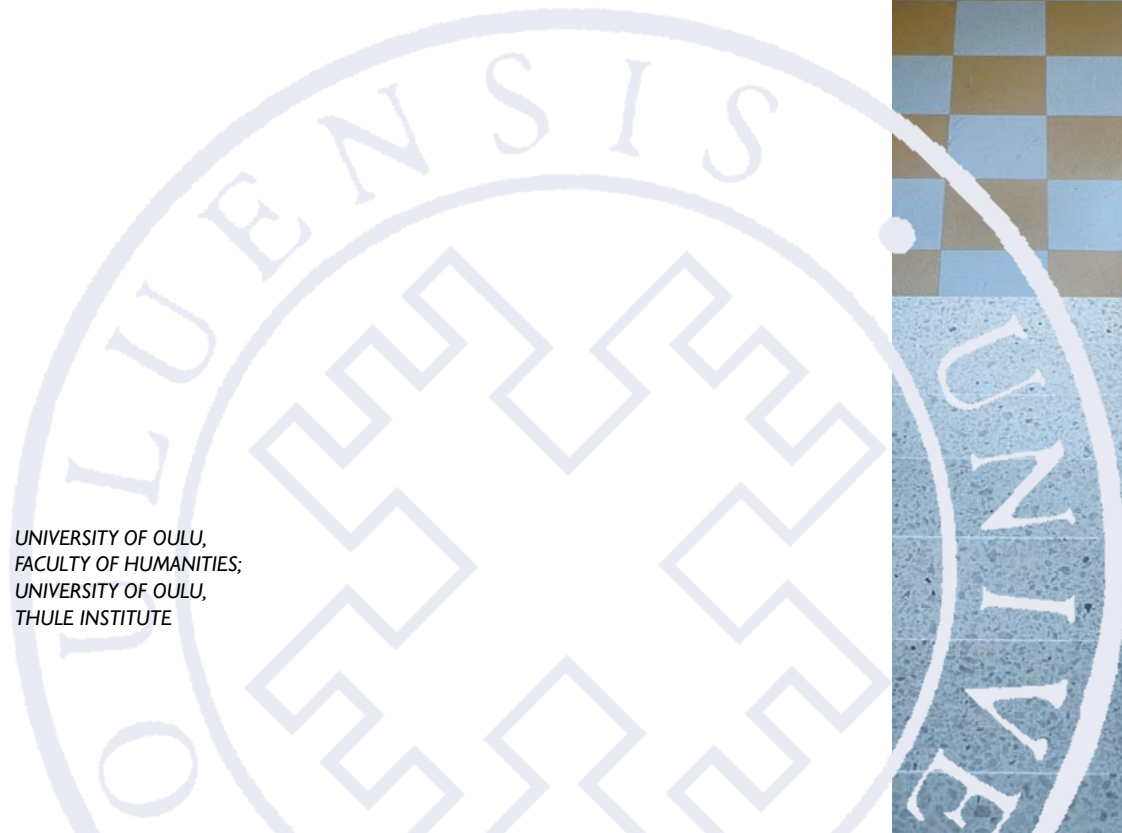
Simo Sarkki

'THE SITE STRIKES BACK':
MULTI-LEVEL FOREST
GOVERNANCE AND
PARTICIPATION IN
NORTHERN FINLAND

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SIMO SARKKI

**'THE SITE STRIKES BACK':
MULTI-LEVEL FOREST GOVERNANCE
AND PARTICIPATION
IN NORTHERN FINLAND**

Academic dissertation to be presented with the assent of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Oulu for public defence in Keckmaninsali (Auditorium HU106), Linnanmaa, on 19 December 2011, at 12 noon

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Abstract

New forms of environmental governance are implemented with promises associated with more flexible and participatory decision-making. However, resistance towards these ways of doing decisions occurs also in relation to forests in northern Finland. This thesis seeks to explain this resistance and to discuss how participation in the context of multi-level environmental governance can be enhanced. A combination of anthropological fieldwork methods and concepts from environmental politics is used to create a bottom-up research strategy to examine forest governance. Based on theme interviews, planning documents and press releases of various actors, this thesis identifies problems for hybrid forest governance modes, which combine State, market, and civil society actors in decision-making processes.

Based on selected topical case studies regarding state-owned commercial forests in Inari, Forest Lapland, Muonio, and Liperinsuo three different governance modes are identified: a State-based mode with a participatory dimension and two 'pressure' modes taking place via market-based campaigns of environmental NGOs and local protests. Concerning the protected areas, namely Malla Strict Nature Reserve and the Pallas-Ylläs and Oulanka national parks, one governance mode is identified as taking place on the vertical park managements – international conservation agencies – local resource users axis.

A major explanation for resistance towards the different governance modes is that decision-making processes neglect site-specifics. Related problems include missing stakeholders, lack of site-specific discussions in planning processes, generalised concepts used in standardisation practices, engagement of 'faraway' stakeholders in decision processes, and lack of transparency. As a result, 'the site strikes back' responses, i.e. pressure campaigns, protests, opposition, and rumours have emerged. In order to mitigate resistance, this thesis proposes ways to enhance participation and deliberation in forest governance. However, the utility of these suggestions is challenged by polarised views and a lack of trust between the different parties.

Finally, hypotheses explaining resistance towards decision-making are formulated. Also, contributions to environmental anthropology are outlined, and further questions relevant for research on environmental governance are posed.

Keywords: applied environmental anthropology, commercial forests, ENGOS, local livelihoods, multi-level environmental governance, participation, protected areas

Sarkki, Simo, 'Paikan vastaisku': monikerroksinen metsien hallinta ja kansalaisosallistuminen Pohjois-Suomessa.

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Tiivistelmä

Uudet ympäristöhallinnan muodot lupaavat parempaa kansalaisosallistumista ja joustavuutta päätöksentekoon. Kuitenkin näitäkin hallinnan muotoja vastustetaan myös Pohjois-Suomen metsiin liittyen. Tässä väitöskirjassa pyritään selittämään vastarintaa metsien hallintaa kohtaan valtion omistamissa talousmetsissä ja suojelualueilla. Väitöskirjassa yhdistetään antropologisia kenttätymenetelmiä ja ympäristöpolitiikan käsitteitä. Pohjaten teemahaastatteluihin, suunnitteludokumentteihin, lehdistötiedotteisiin ja www-sivuihin tämä väitöskirja määrittää ongelmia hybrideille hallinnan ja päätöksenteon muodoille, jotka koostuvat valtioon, markkinoihin ja kansalaisyhteiskuntaan liittyvien toimijoiden vuorovaikutuksesta.

Pohjaten ajankohtaisiin metsäkiistoihin Inarissa, Metsä-Lapissa, Muonioissa ja Liperinsuolla kolme erilaista hallinnan muotoa erotellaan: valtiovetoinen hallinnan muoto, johon kansalaisyhteiskunta linkittyy osallistavien prosessien kautta sekä kaksi ”painostusmuotoa”, jotka koostuvat ympäristöjärjestöjen markkinapohjaisista kampanjoista sekä paikallislähtöisistä protesteista. Mallan, Pallas-Ylläksen ja Oulangan suojelualueisiin liittyen määritellään yksi hallinnan muoto, joka muodostuu puistojen hallinnoista, kansainvälisistä suojelutoimijoista sekä paikallisista luonnonkäyttäjistä.

Näitä hallinnan muotoja yhdistää se, että niiden kohtaama vastarinta johtuu paikkakohtaisen päätöksenteon puutteista. Ongelmat liittyvät päätöksentekoprosesseista puuttuviin intressiryhmiin, suunnitteluprosesseissa käytyjen keskustelujen yleisluonteisuuteen, yleispätevien käsitteiden käyttöön standardoimisprosesseissa erityisesti suojelualueilla, läpinäkyvyyden puutteeseen sekä kaukaisten toimijoiden osallistumiseen paikallisiin päätöksiin. Näiden ongelmien seurauksena paikkakohtaisuutta ei huomioida riittävästi hallinnassa, mistä seuraa 'paikan vastaisku' protestien, huhujen, vastustuksen ja kampanjoiden muodossa. Vastarinnan syntymistä voitaisiin ehkäistä parantamalla osallistumista ja neuvottelua, joskaan parannusehdotuksetkaan eivät ratkaise luottamuksen puutteeseen ja osapuolten näkemysten napaistumiseen liittyviä ongelmia.

Väitöskirjassa luodaan hypoteeseja, jotka selittävät ympäristöhallinnan kohtaamaa vastarintaa. Lisäksi väitöskirja tarjoaa antia sekä uusia tutkimuskysymyksiä erityisesti ympäristöantropologialle.

Asiasanat: monikerroksinen ympäristöhallinta, osallistuminen, paikalliset elinkeinot, soveltava ympäristöantropologia, suojelualueet, talousmetsät, ympäristöjärjestöt

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I am also very grateful to Professor Hannu I. Heikkinen, who has put considerable efforts into supervising my work. Hannu has also worked as my colleague when co-writing some of the articles published as part of this PhD thesis. I would also like to thank my other supervisors Professor Mark Nuttall and Docent Juha Hiedanpää for constructive comments on my thesis synthesis and articles. Also, reviewers Docent Anja Nygren and Docent Eeva Berglund put considerable efforts into commenting the manuscript of my thesis. Furthermore, I would like to thank various colleagues for stimulating discussions.

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Simo Sarkki, Oulu, 19.11.2011

Abbreviations

CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
EU	European Union
FiDiPro	Finland Distinguished Professor Programme
FFCS	Finnish Forest Certification System
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
FSEV	Forest with Special Environmental Values
IUCN	World Conservation Union
LEP	Landscape Ecological Planning
MA	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
NRP	Natural Resource Planning
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHS	Natural Heritage Services of Metsähallitus
PEFC	Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification
PAN Parks	Protected Area Network (PAN) Parks
RHC	Reindeer Herding Cooperative
UN	United Nations
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

List of original articles

- I Sarkki S (2008) Forest Dispute and Change in Muonio Northern Finland. *Journal of Northern Studies* 2(2): 9–29.
- II Puhakka R, Sarkki S, Cottrell SP & 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.
- III Heikkinen HI, Sarkki S, Jokinen M & Fornander DE (2010) Global Area Conservation Ideals versus the Local Realities of Reindeer Herding in Northernmost Finland. *International Journal of Business and Globalisation* 4(2): 110–130.
- IV Sarkki S & Heikkinen HI (2010) Social Movements' Pressure Strategies during Forest Disputes in Finland. *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research* 2(3): 281–296.
- V Sarkki S, Heikkinen HI & Puhakka R (2011) Boundary Organisations between Conservation and Development: Insights from Oulanka National Park, Finland. Manuscript.

In Article II, Stuart Cottrell had good knowledge about other certified PAN Parks, and he drafted or translated the interview questions with Pirkko Siikamäki to fit the Finnish context. Siikamäki was the head of the project on which Article II is based and conducted most of the 40 semi-structured interviews in 2007 with Cottrell and transcribed them. Furthermore, Cottrell contributed significantly to the innovation of the approaches used in the theory, introduction, methodology, and conclusions sections. After guiding the direction which the article took, Cottrell and Siikamäki commented on the manuscripts and made editorial changes to the whole manuscript. In the actual writing process, my responsibility was to write the theoretical section, to equally co-author the discussions and conclusions with Riikka Puhakka, and to comment on the introduction, background and results sections. The transcribed interview material was analysed by Riikka Puhakka in order to come up with the results section. Puhakka also had the main responsibility for writing the paper.

In Article III, I collected and analysed the material for the Pallas-Ylläs case. The material related to the Malla case was collected and analysed by Mikko Jokinen and Hannu I. Heikkinen. The approach used in the paper was developed by Hannu I. Heikkinen and myself, and we co-authored the introduction, the discussions and the conclusions. The other authors made comments, offered comparative perspectives and made editorial revisions to the article.

In Article IV, I collected and analysed the material for all three cases, in addition to being the responsible author. After discussing with my supervisor,

Hannu I. Heikkinen, I sketched the approach for first drafts. The final versions were revised and co-authored with Hannu I. Heikkinen.

In Article V, I collected and analysed most of the study materials (11 of 16 theme interviews), and I had clear responsibility for innovating the approach and for writing the paper in all phases and in all sections. The other authors made comments, presented questions and offered special case expertise to assist in the analysis.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Governing sites in multi-level contexts

“Anthropologists do not study villages, they study in villages” (*Geertz 1973: 22*).

The point that Geertz is making is that even if anthropologists often study remote sites, villages or islands, they do not focus just on the villages themselves, but also on the various currents and breezes shaping the villages. In other words, places, or sites, are open and hybrid meeting places for various issues and people, and the uniqueness of a site can be found from the particularity of the mixture of influences found together at the site (*Massey 1999*). These influences are local and global, social, economic, and ecological, and their mixture forms the uniqueness of the sites. By site, I mean here simply different locations and places which are influenced by decision-making often in the context of multi-level governance.

How can these unique sites be governed ‘successfully’? In recent writings as well as in policies and real-world practices, participation has become a catchword when talking about ‘good’ environmental governance. Participatory decision-making, in contrast to top-down decision-making has various promises linked to flexibility, responsiveness, adaptability, and fairness of the decision-making systems. Decision-making and participation are not happening only in state-led participatory planning processes, but also in the wider field of environmental governance, which encompasses various and often complex processes between the state, market actors and civil society at multiple levels from local to global (e.g. *Lemos & Agrawal 2006*). Thus, I see decision-making happening in a wider field of governance, while the concept of planning is narrower including formal decision-making and participatory processes.

In general, the idea of environmental governance seems promising for answering the criticism towards top-down approaches on environmental decision-making particularly by emphasising participation. The promise of participation and governance is also manifested regarding forests. Community-based forestry programs have been developed, chain-of-custody certificates are used by forest companies (*Auld et al. 2008a*), forest-related decision-making has been decentralised (*Agrawal et al. 2008*), conservation agencies are using more and more inclusive rhetoric instead of expert-led strict protection of biodiversity

(Wilshusen *et al.* 2002), certifications are developed for protected areas to ensure sustainable tourism (Honey 2007), and ecotourism programs developed in the faith that they will contribute to local social development (Duffy 2008). These approaches to forest governance have a significant impact on forest resources and their utilisation around the world.

Environmental governance and participation form an interesting research topic as many of the governance mechanisms have been implemented into practice during recent years, and currently, there also seems to be no challenger for the idea of governance and its promises (see Batterbury & Fernando 2006). Thus, it can be expected that promises of inclusivity will work as a motivator for many policies and practises also in the future. This study offers insights to multi-level environmental governance and participation based on examinations of forest sites located in northern Finland.

1.2 Forest governance in northern Finland

The forests in northern Finland offer a fruitful location for examining environmental governance. The study areas are located both in state-owned commercial forests, and state-managed protected areas. This dual focus was chosen because local people, especially traditional nature users (reindeer herders and hunters), are influenced by both domains of governance. It is also interesting to work with two distinct sets of case studies in order to get a more holistic view on forest governance in northern Finland.

State-owned commercial forests in northern Finland have been under contested debates during the last two decades, and there have been various conflicts over the ways of using the forests. The main actors engaged in these conflicts have been the state forestry enterprise Metsähallitus, forest companies, such as Stora Enso, environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS), local communities including reindeer herders, other traditional resource users, and tourism entrepreneurs (e.g. Lawrence 2007; Raitio 2008; Riipinen 2008; Gritten 2009; Articles I, IV). In line with more general developments, Metsähallitus has also implemented participatory processes and stated that they can reduce conflicts and make decision-making more acceptable (Loikkanen *et al.* 1997). Despite the emergence of participatory processes arranged by Metsähallitus, resistance and conflicts have prevailed (Raitio 2008). Continuance of the disputes implies some fuzziness in the delivery of the promise of participation, on which this thesis embarks on.

There have been no open disputes regarding protected areas, but still contradictions exist. Furthermore, increasing the role of international actors in protected area governance offers an interesting research topic. Relevant international actors include the European Union's (EU) protected area network Natura 2000 (Rekola *et al.* 2000; Hiedanpää 2002; Mazzullo 2005), which however, is not a major focus here, unlike the less researched protected area certification PAN Parks, the World Conservation Union's (IUCN) protected area classification system, and their influence on local traditional resource uses via changes in protected area governance. These international actors have also included promises of participation into their agendas (IUCN 2008: 28; PAN Parks 2011). An interesting question is how these so-called integrated objectives, encompassing both ecological and social targets, in protected area governance are manifested at a local level. Despite existing participatory structures and 'integrated objectives', opposition and rumours about the roles of international conservation agencies have emerged (Articles II, III, V).

I label the ways of resistance: pressure campaigns, protests, opposition and rumours as 'the site strikes back' responses to existing modes of governance in commercial forests and protected areas.

1.3 Objectives of the study

I assume that 'the site strikes back' responses are due to diverging interests of different stakeholders, but they have also emerged because of problems in the ways of making decisions. This thesis seeks explanations to 'the site strikes back' responses from problems related to decision-making processes. In order to examine and explain resistance to forest-related decision-making, I formulate more detailed research questions:

1. How can forest governance be conceptualised in a multi-level context, and how do the approaches used in the five articles relate to this conceptualisation of multi-level governance (Section 2)?
2. What is forest governance like in northern Finland? Various distinct but highly connected governance modes are identified in order to illuminate the decision-making context in which 'the site strikes back' responses occur (Section 3).
3. What are the problems associated with the identified modes of forest governance, and how can resistance towards the existing modes of forest

governance be explained? Special focus is on problems relating to participation regarding various local actors as well as environmental NGOs. Here participation is understood widely, encompassing not only formal planning processes, but also the various ways of campaigning to influence forest-related decision-making (Section 3).

4. How could 'good' forest governance be enhanced in northern Finland? Proposals are made on how governance and opportunities for participation could be developed in both commercial forests and protected areas. Furthermore, these proposals are placed under a critical gaze, and their limitations are discussed (Section 4).
5. What are the more general lessons learned from these examinations, which could also be applied to other areas? These lessons and assumptions can be used as testable hypotheses for other cases and as an inspiration for further research. Also, the contributions of this research to the field of environmental anthropology are outlined (Section 5).

1.4 Methodological strategy

The research objectives are reached by a methodological strategy combining anthropological fieldwork methods and concepts from the literature on environmental politics and environmental social science. I argue that this strategy offers a powerful tool for examining multi-level environmental governance and the promises of participation.

Traditionally, anthropologists have chosen a remote location, often an island, as their research site. Then the task for anthropologists has been to do ethnography: to describe the study area in detail. The goal of the anthropologist or ethnographer is to grasp the 'native's' point of view by doing fieldwork (Malinowski 1922). Ethnographic fieldwork has been a central and distinguishing feature of anthropology, and has been labelled as a fundamental 'methodological value' of anthropology (Stocking 1992: 282; Gupta & Ferguson 1997). However, I have not done 'hardcore' ethnographic fieldwork in terms of months-long participant observation. Instead I rely on more 'narrow' ethnographic methods: theme interviews and examinations of various policy and planning documents, press releases, and web-pages of relevant actors. Yet, I feel that these methods are sufficient for 'telling the story' about forest governance in northern Finland.

In the increasingly globalised world, field sites for anthropologists are changing. There are hardly any remote islands left to examine. Instead, it has

become essential also for ethnography to unravel the nature of localities in the globalised world. Furthermore, the strength of anthropology might not be its focus on the local, but its attentiveness towards the political influences and issues found in and having an influence on certain localities (Gupta & Ferguson 1997). This focus provides space for creating applied and policy-relevant knowledge on the governance of different sites (see Van Willigen 2002).

Decision-making related to specific sites is by no means influenced only by local people, but is taking place in an increasingly international and multi-level manner. I frame the subject of the research by using the concepts of ‘multi-level environmental governance’ and ‘participation’. These concepts are wide enough to allow space for the ‘native’s’ point of view, but they are still useful for framing the topic of the research.

To grasp the ‘native’s’ point of view towards forest governance, I have used ethnographic fieldwork methods, mainly theme interviews (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2010), and additionally some participant observation (Dewalt & Dewalt 2002) in planning meetings. While being interested about the site-level and the effects of multi-level governance on certain localities, I have made theme interviews on stakeholders at the local and regional levels (e.g. reindeer herders, hunters, representatives of local and regional ENGOs, tourism entrepreneurs, and representatives of Metsähallitus’s Forestry Unit and Natural Heritage Services, n=61). These are the actors whose viewpoints I make an effort to understand, and in a sense they are the ‘natives’ in this research.

The interviewees were mainly middle-aged men, mainly reindeer herders and hunters but also local tourism entrepreneurs. The representatives of Metsähallitus’s Forestry Unit and Natural Heritage Services as well as ENGO members were both men and women and were selected for interviewing on the basis of their positions within their organisations.

The transcribed theme interviews form the main body of my fieldwork material. The themes discussed in the interviews varied according to stakeholder group and case. In general, the interviews aimed to map the contradictions between the various stakeholders in relation to land-use, and to shed light on the processes of decision-making in the examined cases. Using the same set of themes for interviews across the stakeholder groups and cases would not have worked, because the different groups have different views on the issues, and the cases are unique, even though similarities exist.

It can be remarked that a stakeholder group missing from this study material regarding protected area governance are the local tourism entrepreneurs. Some

interesting things could have been discovered concerning, for example, the Pallas-Ylläs national park where a tourism entrepreneur wants to re-build Hotel Pallas, which is located in the park. The same tourism entrepreneur was, in fact, opposed to logging and paid Metsähallitus for abstaining from logging in the forests of northern Muonio (Article I). This highlights the fact that one and the same actor may act very differently in relation to nature conservation in different situations. Secondly, it would have also been interesting to interview tourism entrepreneurs in the Oulanka national park, and to ask how the PAN Parks protected area/sustainable tourism certification has influenced their business. This would have created a more nuanced picture of PAN Parks' influence on various local actors. This thesis presents PAN Parks as a threat to local traditional nature users' rights, but less attention is given to the issue of how the certification has actually benefited local tourism entrepreneurs working as local PAN Parks partners. Secondly, national and international representatives of ENGOs are also absent as interviewees in this study. However, ENGOs have widely published press releases regarding the disputes in commercial forests, and scrutiny of these press releases has helped me to grasp their views on the issues.

I have complemented the interview material by examining press releases, strategy papers, management plans, and web-pages relating to the various actors. These complementary materials have enabled the possibility of studying forest governance from a wider variety of perspectives. The materials collected for this study also frame the field or 'island' consisting of the actors influencing or being influenced by decision-making in relation to the chosen forest sites in northern Finland. I have chosen the sites for examination by following topical discussions and debates over commercial forests and protected areas in northern Finland. Table 1 gives an outline of the study areas and related materials collected by myself. However, as most of the articles are co-written with other authors, they have brought their own materials to the articles and only the materials collected by myself are presented in the table. Yet some of the articles are partly based on a larger body of materials collected by other authors. The material for Article II consists of 40 semi-structured interviews not collected by myself, and Article III includes 29 expert interviews not conducted by myself. Also, in Article V, additional five theme interviews not done by myself were included into the paper. As this thesis examines seven case studies, the material concerning the individual cases is sometimes not very extensive, and the whole diversity of local points could not be grasped with this amount of interviews. This is, of course, a challenge, but in my consideration there is, in fact, a trade-off between examining

only a few cases with extensive material and examining a larger amount of case studies with narrower material. I chose to examine multiple cases, which enables comparisons and the identification of common patterns across the cases.

Table 1. Study sites, and materials collected by Sarkki.

Located in:	Study sites	Material	When the material was collected	Relates to articles
Commercial forests				
	Inari	Press releases, public discussions, WWW pages, published literature	2008–2011	IV
	Forest Lapland	Press releases, public discussions, WWW pages, published literature	2009–2010	-
	Muonio	15 theme interviews, public discussions, planning documents	2007	I & IV
	Liperinsuo, municipality of Puolanka	10 theme interviews, press releases, WWW pages, planning documents	2008	IV
Protected areas				
	Malla Strict Nature Reserve	–		III
	Pallas-Ylläs national park	25 theme interviews, planning documents, observation of management planning meetings	2005	III
	Oulanka national park	11 theme interviews, planning documents, WWW pages	2008–2010	V

For this synthesis, the results of the articles are not simply duplicated here, but rather I largely re-analysed the materials collected by myself in order to create a coherent narrative for the synthesis. In addition, a new framework applicable to all of the cases concerning multi-level environmental governance was constructed, and the approaches used in the articles are linked to this overarching framework (see Section 2.5). Content analysis was used to analyse the material (Tuomi &

Sarajärvi 2004). I approached the material with the general theme of participation in multi-level forest governance in mind. I classified the material into different 'piles', which form sub-themes for the question: 'problems pertaining to modes of governance and participation'. The different 'piles' then form subsections in Section 3 (Strauss & Corbin 1990). From these subsections, I build generalised assumptions using the case study approach, which stresses that individual cases can divulge something about larger phenomena (Laine *et al.* 2007). Here, the examined cases are used to make assumptions about participation and resistance in the context of multi-level environmental governance (Section 5.1).

This thesis is part of the field of environmental anthropology, and the methodological strategy of this research is formed from the combination of anthropological fieldwork methods and concepts from environmental politics (e.g. multi-level environmental governance, participation). Disciplinary distinctions are sometimes difficult to make with problem-oriented research approaches. However, it can be said that, generally, from the perspective of environmental politics, the point of departure would be on specific policies, instruments, planning tools, or institutions shaping and being part of environmental governance. Instead, this thesis takes the site as the point of departure, and then maps the various forms of environmental governance and related actors influencing the site (e.g. Carrier 2004). This viewpoint offers a bottom-up approach to environmental governance. The power of anthropology is in examining environmental governance at the scale of people, where the promise of participation can be tested in real-world contexts. It is difficult to say much about the actualisation of the promises of governance from the global or even national level without focus on site-level processes and problems. Thus, combining concepts from the literature on environmental politics with anthropological methods offers a powerful research strategy for examining participation in the context of multi-level forest governance.

This research strategy also allowed the development of practical suggestions for enhancing 'good' forest governance. It is worth remarking that there is a normative underpinning in this research that criticises top-down and non-participatory forms of governance. Hence, the normative underpinning favouring co-management and collaboration between different actors is apparent in this synthesis as well as in most of the articles included in this thesis. This normative underpinning can be said to be common to many anthropologists, at least in cases where the anthropologists do not cling to relativism, which does not leave space

for normative arguments. Here I aim to escape from extreme relativism and to develop practical suggestions for policy and practice.

This normative stance is somewhat challenging as one must be careful about how to present the arguments and frame the questions. A good balance between materials and normative development suggestions is essential for maintaining the credibility of the research results and the recommendations for policy and practice. This balance was sometimes challenging to keep, avoiding too ‘radical’ or biased recommendations, which do not have sufficient grounding in research material. This balance was also challenged by the very different viewpoints of the interviewees. Thus, this leads to the crude fact that selection has to be done regarding whose views are to be taken into account more than those of others. Here I give more emphasis on the views of local traditional nature users and ENGOs than, for example, representatives of Metsähallitus. However, I have tried to be critical even towards ENGOs and traditional nature users and to keep the balance between the diverse views.

1.5 The argument in a nutshell: ‘the site strikes back’

In this thesis, I argue that ‘the site strikes back’ in the form of dissatisfied stakeholders. Resistance towards decision-making is caused by various ways of neglecting site-specifics. The argument is formed by first identifying different governance modes in place in northern Finland. In relation to state-owned commercial forests, three analytically distinct but highly interlinked hybrid modes of governance are identified: 1) state-based governance with a participatory dimension, 2) ENGO- and market-based pressure mode, and 3) self-organised community-based pressure mode. The two pressure modes aim to alter the decisions made in the state-based governance mode. Regarding the state-based and the ENGO- and market-based modes of governance I argue that they both neglect site-specifics, which has resulted in severe criticism towards the way of doing decisions. The self-organised community-based mode, which gained its momentum during the Muonio forest dispute and was also present in some aspects of the Inari case, is tempting in its emphasis on local level issues, but in practice hard to implement systematically. Self-organising processes are difficult to design, and the effective working of the community-based mode would require a rather unified opinion at a local level that is often not the case. I make a development suggestion for state-based forest governance, which could prevent the emergence of the pressure modes, but this suggestion is not without problems.

Even though these three distinct modes of commercial forest governance are identified, this does not mean that these modes do not overlap. The two pressure modes have emerged as a response to problems in the state-based governance mode, and the pressure modes also feed into and change the state-based governance mode. In addition, the three modes themselves are also hybrids in the sense that the state-based governance mode also includes participatory processes where the views and concerns of civil society actors are incorporated. The ENGO- and market-based mode is also a hybrid driven by ENGOs' actions, which are utilising market logic especially in that a more responsible and 'greener' image would provide competitive advantage or reduce the likelihood of the emergence of a non-responsible image for market actors, such as the forest industry. With a non-responsible corporate image, profits might suffer via consumer preferences towards green products. Finally, the self-organising local mode of governance is also a hybrid in the sense that it often utilises various national and international structures, such as courts at various levels (the Inari case). On the other hand, the local self-organising mode can also consist of spontaneous local appraisal aiming to impact the state-based forest governance (the Muonio case). Thus, all three modes of governance identified in relation to commercial forests are hybrid and tightly related to each other.

One hybrid mode of governance regarding protected areas is identified: vertical governance including international actors (e.g. the EU and its Natura 2000 network, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the PAN Parks protected area/sustainable tourism certification), park management, and local traditional resource users. Problems regarding protected area governance included lack of transparency, which created rumours about conservation organisations among local resource users. However, increasing transparency may not be enough for creating ideal conditions for participation, as the concepts used frequently by conservation organisations (e.g. natural state, wilderness, recreation) are by no means universally shared, but instead have diverse meanings and embody value statements. Thus, when negotiating about the boundaries and rules of protected areas, the concepts used should also be opened and subjected to negotiation in order to increase possibilities for participation. Furthermore, local heterogeneity was not always sufficiently acknowledged, and representatives from diverse local groups were not always included into the planning processes. This highlights somewhat similar conclusions as with commercial forests: enhancing the site-specific dimension in concepts and negotiations would create more room for local participation in protected area governance.

The key argument here is that contradictions and disputes are based on contestations over individual sites and their use, and hence decision-making processes should pay sufficient attention to site-specifics. Neglecting site-specifics leads to ‘the site strikes back’ -responses, which are manifested by protests, campaigns, opposition, rumours, and criticism of the stakeholders in concern.

1.6 Choosing the study sites

The fieldwork related to this study began in 2005 in western Lapland within the ‘*Landscape Laboratories*’ project. My task in the project was to create indicators for socially sustainable land-use related to reindeer herding. The results of these studies were published in my Master’s thesis (Sarkki 2006), a project publication (Jokimäki & Jokimäki-Kaisanlahti 2007), and in a book consisting of articles by socio-culturally oriented researchers in the ‘*Landscape Laboratories*’ –project (Tuulentie 2009). My interest was evoked during this research by two issues. Firstly, the effects of the quest for ‘natural state’, also supported by the IUCN classification, seemed to be relevant even for the local people living adjacent to the Pallas-Ylläs national park. We wrote an article about this, combining the Pallas-Ylläs case with the Malla Strict Nature Reserve case (Article III). Later, I chose to continue examining the influences of international actors on protected area governance especially from the point of view of traditional resource users. The Oulanka national park seemed to offer an interesting case study regarding international influences. The Oulanka national park is a certified PAN Park, which is a European-wide certification aiming to promote sustainable tourism and a balance between conservation, economic development and social development. There was an ongoing project related to the Oulanka National park, and I received an opportunity to work with some of the researchers in the project (Articles II, V).

Contradictions between the state-owned forestry enterprise Metsähallitus and a local coalition opposed to loggings regarding commercial forests in northern Muonio appeared as an interesting research topic already during the ‘*Landscape Laboratories*’ project. The contradictions in Muonio turned into a dispute at the turn of 2006 and 2007 (Article I). In 2007, I received funding for my PhD research from the FiDiPro project ‘*Human-Environment Relations in the North: Resource Development, Climate Change and Resilience*’ led by Professor Mark Nuttall. This enabled me to continue working on my PhD thesis and the Muonio case. Regarding commercial forests, I chose two additional topical forest dispute

cases from northern Finland for further examinations: The Liperinsuo dispute in the municipality of Puolanka and the well-documented dispute in Inari. Here I noticed that the formal participatory planning processes, especially Natural Resource Planning facilitated by Metsähallitus, were not working from the point of view of many stakeholders. Unsatisfied groups attempted to find other ways of influencing decision-making in relation to commercial forests (Articles I & IV). Also, recent developments regarding the Forest Lapland dispute suggested that ENGOs in particular are an integral part of decision-making, even though many of them have generally not taken part in Metsähallitus's planning processes.

In conclusion, the cases were selected on the basis of topical discussions and debates over forest governance in northern Finland. Each of the articles tells a story about multi-level forest governance from diverse perspectives. In this PhD synthesis, I combine the insights from the articles with some new interpretations in order to form a coherent narrative about forest governance in northern Finland. Next, I develop a framework for multi-level environmental governance, which is applicable across the various case studies. I also explore the links between the approaches used in the articles and a governance framework in section 2.5. I developed a multi-level governance framework in order to devise a common approach to multiple case studies, since the articles are using different approaches the governance framework aims to provide an overarching framework to approach the empirical material used in this study.

2 On environmental governance

The decision-making strategies, structures and instruments have been under change during last decades. Especially the state's role in environmental decision-making has changed, while various non-governmental actors have gained footing in decision-making at various levels. In the early 1980s, the state's failures to address environmental problems were a clear indication of the state's inability to direct environmental governance from the top-down (Görg 2007). From the mid-1980s onwards, the tendencies of deregulation, neoliberalism and privatisation created challenges for the states also in the field of environmental governance (Mol & Spaargaren 2002), and from the mid-1990s onwards, the discussions about globalisation reinforced the idea that the nation state was losing its former authority, even its monopoly, in environmental decision-making (Spaargaren & Mol 2008). The emergence of multiple supra-national political and economic institutions and mechanisms diminished the capacity of the state for economic interventions (Wapner 1996). Also, the emergence of global environmental problems at the centre of politics has resulted in the acknowledgement that international cooperation is needed to address them. The globalisation of environmental problems has contributed to the creation of new organisations and institutional arrangements related to environmental governance. The new processes of policy formation often include non-state actors, such as corporations, NGOs, and other civil society groups, and can contribute positively to environmental governance (Lemos & Agrawal 2006: 300). In conclusion, these developments signify that an increasing number of actors from multiple levels, from global to local, are taking part in environmental decision-making, and also have influence on site-level decisions.

2.1 Defining environmental governance

For comprehending and explaining the changes taking place in the decision-making process, the concept of (environmental) governance has emerged. Despite the various definitions of environmental governance (Table 2), there seems to be a consensus on that the boundaries between states, market actors and the civil society are becoming blurred as new styles of governing emerge (de Loë *et al.* 2009). Broadly speaking, governance can refer to forms of democratic politics, but also to power relations between the state, the market actors and the civil

society (Batterbury & Fernando 2006; Lemos & Agrawal 2006; Biermann & Pattberg 2008).

Table 2. Definitions of environmental governance.

Reference	Definition
Andonova & Mitchell (2010: 257)	<i>Global environmental governance</i> : the norms, rules, laws, expectations, and structures established to guide behaviour according to a set of public purposes.
Biermann <i>et al.</i> (2009: 3)	<i>Earth system governance</i> : The interrelated and increasingly integrated system of formal and informal rules, rule-making systems, and actor-networks at all levels of human society (from local to global) that are set up to steer societies towards preventing, mitigating, and adapting to global and local environmental change and, in particular, earth system transformation, within the normative context of sustainable development.
Lemos & Agrawal (2006: 298)	<i>Environmental governance</i> refers to the set of regulatory processes, mechanisms and organisations through which political actors influence environmental actions and outcomes.
Paavola (2007: 97)	<i>Environmental governance</i> should be understood broadly so as to include all institutional solutions for resolving conflicts over environmental resources.
Pahl-Wostl (2009: 355)	<i>'Resources management'</i> refers to the activities of analysing and monitoring, developing and implementing measures to keep the state of a resource within desirable bounds. The notion of <i>'resource governance'</i> takes into account the different actors and networks that help formulate and implement environmental policy and/or policy instruments.

2.2 Multi-level environmental governance

Environmental challenges are increasingly reported, and for example biodiversity and related ecosystem services are in danger, and this brings new challenges for environmental decision-making (MA 2005). Environmental issues are considered to be multi-level in character, and related problems require also decision-making strategies that address these challenges at multiple levels (e.g. Rauschmayer *et al.* 2009a). Even though pressures on the environment and responses to these pressures, for example, efforts for conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity and natural resources, are often global and international in character, they have a strong local reach (Escobar 1998, 2001; Redford & Brosius 2006). Furthermore, according to the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA 2003:

120–121) human-environment relations at the local level are seen as major direct causes for biodiversity loss. However, local level explanations are not enough, because various drivers and pressures influencing the environmental performances of various actors exist at multiple levels (Rauschmayer *et al.* 2009a). Hence, it has become increasingly obvious that research on environmental decision-making has to address multiple levels. Otherwise, the accounts of the governance systems will most likely be insufficient. As a result, there is a growing body of literature focusing on multi-level environmental governance (Hooghe & Marks 2003; Eckerberg & Joas 2004; Paavola 2007; Rauschmayer *et al.* 2009a; Andonova & Mitchell 2010).

As noted above, the role of the state in environmental governance is changing, as the boundaries between various actors are constantly blurred in a multi-level decision-making context. Thus, understanding multi-level governance processes becomes a key issue for understanding what is happening. There has been '*a shift in the locus, agency, and scope of environmental politics and governance across scales*' (Andonova & Mitchell 2010: 257). According to Rauschmayer *et al.* (2009b), there are at least two reasons why environmental governance must be examined from various levels, including local. Firstly, even though local level issues are important, they are not the only ones influencing the environment. Local level actors may lack the capacity to act sustainably, or rules and incentives may be imposed on local actors from upper levels. Secondly, and conversely, efficient and working policies cannot be designed without acknowledging the site-specific knowledge at a local level.

Generally, two types of cross-level integration processes have been identified: vertical and horizontal. In vertically integrated multi-level governance, the nation state and its organisations still have a leading role and can, to some extent, steer environmental decision-making. However, lower level actors gain more possibilities for influencing national decision-making, and ideally these lower level actors influence even national and international actors. On the other hand, various kinds of international actors also influence local level practices and decision-making. Ideally in the vertical multi-level governance mode, decision-making takes place in a balanced combination of bottom-up and top-down governance strategies (Hooghe & Marks 2003; Eckerberg & Joas 2004; Andonova & Mitchell 2010).

Horizontal integration in multi-level governance means that responsibilities are moving from governmental actors and authorities to non-governmental actors, such as local communities, ENGOS, and the private sector. This horizontal shift

can take place at all levels from local to global. Governmental actors' autonomous positions are challenged by 'new' political actors and stakeholders. The new actors and governance mechanisms often challenge the established forms of representative democracy (Eckerberg & Joas 2004). Horizontal integration increases the number and types of actors and networks engaged in decision-making (Andonova & Mitchell 2010: 257).

2.3 Hybrid modes of environmental governance

Various idealised types of environmental governance have been defined, which more or less all include vertical and horizontal integration. De Loë *et al.* (2009) identified five ideal types of governance, which are labelled as follows: 1) legal regulation by governments, 2) economic regulation by price mechanisms, 3) civil society with the citizens in a dynamic role, 4) cooperative management, where *'an array of [organized] actors (e.g., government, nongovernmental organizations, private) interact in a collaborative manner'*, and 5) *'contextual Control and Self-Regulation, where Sub-systems or actor networks form and address environmental issues'*, and *'governments intervene to provide corrective measures when necessary'*. However, these ideal models of governance can rarely be found in the real world, and instead, hybrid forms of environmental governance are more common (Lemos & Agrawal 2006; de Loë *et al.* 2009: 15–16).

Examples of hybrid forms of environmental governance include the combination of co-management and government regulation. This can happen via participatory procedures where citizens can influence decision-making within the system set up by the state organisation. Also, a combination of economic regulation, the civil society model and self-regulation can be conceptualised. Pressure groups, such as ENGOs, campaign for changing corporate and state organisations' performances. Civil society actors create pressure on economic actors by 'naming and shaming' (see Welford 2002), which might lead to self-regulation by the economic actors, as they fear that bad publicity would reduce their profits (see Article IV). Furthermore, single areas are not governed by a single governance system, but often by many parallel governance systems (see Barton *et al.* 2009).

Lemos & Agrawal (2006: 310) have made an effort to categorise some of the hybrid modes of governance. Figure 1 shows that environmental governance takes place on the state–market actors–civil society axis, and that there are

various hybrid strategies and ways of interaction between the three groups of actors. The ways of interaction are by no means exhausted by the figure. Nevertheless, the figure gives a good departure point for environmental governance.

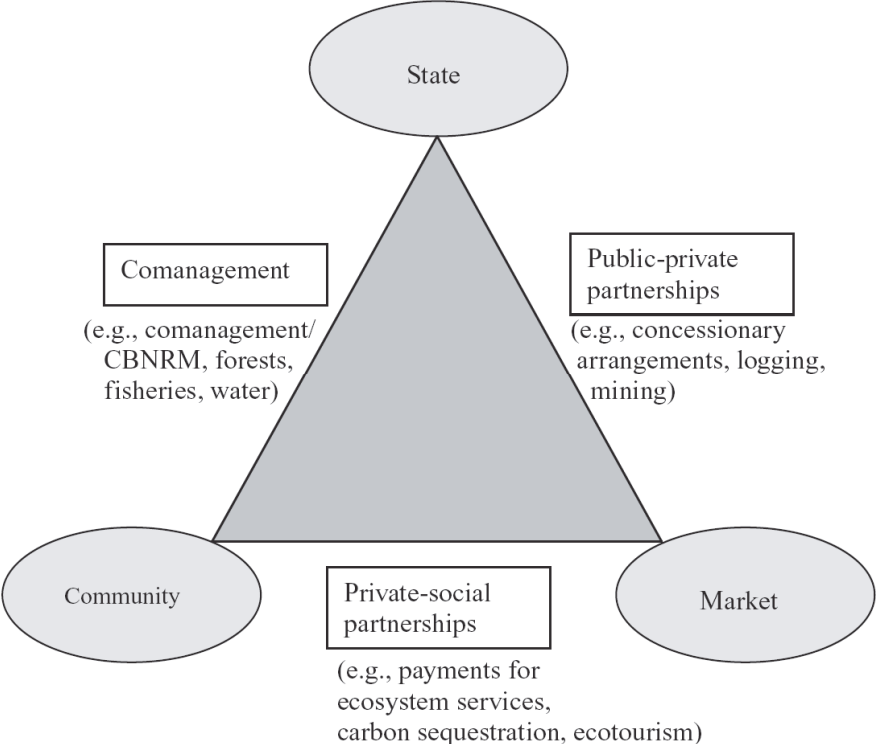


Fig. 1. Environmental governance on the state–markets–community axis. Source: Lemos & Agrawal (2006: 310).

Next, I will elaborate on the model of environmental governance by Lemos & Agrawal (2006), with insights gained from northern Finland. I want to change the triangle into a square by breaking the civil society down into two radically distinct groups: resource-using communities and (E)NGOs. Adding one piece to the puzzle leads towards a more detailed examination of the relationships between the different types of actors.

To emphasise the multi-level context of governance, I have included three levels into the governance square (Figure 2). Site-level is located in the centre of the figure surrounded by national and sub-national levels. This first square is

meant to portray the actors directly engaged with site-level decision-making. The actors are grouped into four categories: the state, market actors, local and traditional resource users, and NGOs. Yet, these actors might be at different distances from the site, but in the cases regarding forest governance in northern Finland, the actors have been engaged in the decision-making processes. These four actor groups have relationships to each other, and these relationships are case-specific. The categories are indicative in the sense that in the real world, for example, reindeer herders might also be tourism entrepreneurs, which makes them both traditional nature users and market actors. Furthermore, it is often difficult to differentiate between national and international NGOs, but NGOs often have a more national or more international scope.

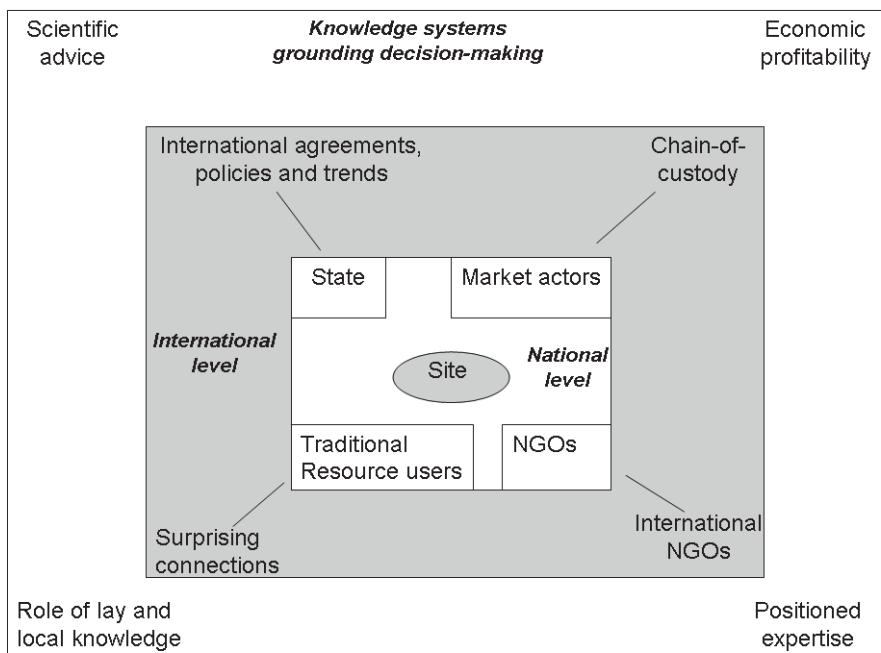


Fig. 2. Actors and relationships of environmental governance in a multi-level context.

The second square portrays international actors. An assumption is made that the four types of actors in the first square have diverse relationships to the upper levels. The state and its organisations are linked to the upper levels particularly via international agreements and policies. Market actors, on the other hand, are linked to the upper levels through chain-of-custody relationships. The upper level

for market actors may not be dependent on the geographical level of the actors, but in this regard, the location of the actor in the production chain is more important. And those further up (close to users of the final products) in the chain influence the lower level actors in the chain, for example, by requiring more sustainable production practices. ENGOs often have links to their mother organisations on the international scale. Yet, it is often difficult to distinguish between international and national NGOs. Furthermore, the typical kinds of international relationships for the local resource users' group are harder to define. These relationships may include international agencies for indigenous people or surprising relationships which cannot be easily labelled. Of course, regarding all the four groups, the international relationships are probably always more nuanced and diverse than proposed by Figure 2.

The third square portrays the most typical kind of knowledge used by the four types of actors. State organisations as well as international environmental agreements, policies, and trends rely most typically on scientific information. Market actors often base their decisions on market logic, meaning that (short term) profit maximisation often guides their decisions. ENGOs also use scientific information, but, in general, the ENGOs can be said to use scientific knowledge more selectively. Local resource users are often fighting for their local/lay knowledge to be taken into account in decision-making often dominated by technical expertise.

2.4 'Good' governance and participation

Having a general view of what environmental governance consists of, it is now time to look at the relationships between different actors in terms of literature. This is done through the concept of participation. I understand participation as happening not only in multi-stakeholder participatory planning processes but also outside these formal processes via, for example, pressure strategies and campaigns. Often these pressure strategies feed back into the planning processes. Hence, it becomes imperative not to look only at processes especially designed as participatory forums, but also at issues happening in the wider field of governance. Participatory processes are often facilitated by state organisations, and thus encompass the vertical relations between the state and lower level actors, such as traditional resource users and local and regional ENGOs. On the other hand, the pressure strategies are based on horizontal connections at various levels. What

kinds of issues rise from these vertical and horizontal means of integration regarding 'good' governance?

'Good' governance can be seen to consist of five components: participation, openness, accountability, effectiveness, and coherence (Rauschmayer *et al.* 2009a). Here, I focus on participation. During at least the last two decades there has been growing interest on participation (e.g. Beierle & Cayford 2002; Reed 2008), and the focus has often been on developing criteria for achieving a normative ideal of participation (Webler 1995). To narrow down the scope of research, I focus on two criteria of participation: participant composition (e.g. Webler *et al.* 2003, Mascarenhas & Scarce 2004; Carter & Howe 2006), and deliberation and quality of discussions (Barabas 2004). In addition, I examine the pressure strategies of various stakeholders as being part of participation (Article IV).

Participant composition

The first thing to note when thinking about a good participation process is the inclusion of an appropriate, representative, fair and balanced range of stakeholders (Webler *et al.* 2003; Mascarenhas & Scarce 2004; Carter & Howe 2006). By stakeholder, I mean generally an actor with an interest in a problem or an issue, and the concept of stakeholders includes all individuals, groups, or organisations directly influenced by the actions, or others who may contribute to the problem-solving process (Gray 1989: 5; Jamal & Getz 1995: 188).

When looking at a participatory process, it is essential to ask who are included in the process as participants. People cannot speak for their interests or present their views unless they are included into the process. Involving citizens and communities and choosing their representatives is not a straightforward task, as different types of communities exist (Harrington *et al.* 2008), and local communities are not homogenous units, but different types of sub-groups exist within communities (Agrawal & Gibson 1999; Goodlad *et al.* 2005). In addition, different levels have to be taken into account (Sneddon *et al.* 2002). For example, people in different parts of a planning district, even if belonging to same group, may have different interests and objectives. Here, the question is: do the views of the representatives in the process reflect the views, concerns, and interests of the ones whom they represent, and do they have enough 'expertise' to speak for and about other peoples' issues, problems, and concerns?

Quality of discussions

The relevant stakeholders being included in the planning process, it is also useful to look at the quality and fairness of the discussions themselves (see Webler *et al.* 2003). Normatively, all participants should have the same possibilities to participate, and also the genuine opportunity to influence the decisions (Chase *et al.* 2004). Possible problems relating to the quality and fairness of discussions include, but are not exhausted by the following issues. Firstly, it is possible that participation is not done for ‘democratic’ ends, but instead it might be used to legitimate narrow interests (Masuda *et al.* 2008). Secondly, lack of openness and transparency often cause problems, and underlying assumptions, both scientific and political, should be opened for the participants (see Webler *et al.* 2003). Key concepts used in the discussions may embody assumptions and also objectives. Hence, it has been seen as an important issue to ensure that there is explicitness and shared understanding about key concepts and about the goals of the process (Chess & Purcell 1999; Mabee & Hoberg 2006). Furthermore, lack of agreement on goals and concepts jeopardises an otherwise successful process (Lachapelle *et al.* 2003).

Some authors argue that consensus orientation is important for a good process (e.g. Susskind 1999). Consensus building is defined by Susskind (1999: 6) as ‘*a process of seeking unanimous agreement. It involves a good-faith effort to meet the interests of all stakeholders. Consensus has been reached when everyone agrees they can live with whatever is proposed after every effort has been made to meet the interests of all stakeholder parties*’. However, Coglianese (1999) has argued that in a consensus building process, the ultimate goal shifts away from reaching a quality decision towards reaching an agreeable decision. Furthermore, consensus building will not work in situations where stakeholders have divergent understandings regarding the problem at hand (van de Kerkhof 2006). Stirling (2008) makes a distinction between policy processes and scientific knowledge production processes: policy processes tend to focus on consensus and ‘close-down’, while knowledge production processes may have a better opportunity to ‘open-up’ inclusively and to be truly deliberative. Consensus orientation ultimately makes pluralism impossible and presupposes singularism (see Stirling 2008).

The idea of deliberation comes from Habermas's (1970) idea on the conditions of the ideal speech situation. According to van de Kerkhof (2006: 282) ‘*deliberation refers to a process of argumentation and communication in which*

the participants engage into an open process in which they exchange opinions and viewpoints, weigh and balance arguments, and offer reflections and associations'. In addition, van de Kerkhof (2006) states that the importance of deliberation relates to the problem definition. In a consensus building process, it is assumed that all participants agree on the problem, hence it is readily defined. In contrast, in a deliberative process, the problem can be discussed by the participants. A deliberative process can result in finding a common understanding (consensus), but that is not a prerequisite (Delli Carpini *et al.* 2004, van de Kerkhof 2006; Stirling 2008).

Participation outside planning processes

Often, interested or concerned stakeholders try to move the issue from planning processes to the wider field of governance, especially when they are excluded from or otherwise disappointed in the participatory processes and their outcomes. The planning processes are often arranged and sometimes also dominated by state organisations, leading to resistance and unsatisfied stakeholders (Raitio 2008).

Some ENGOs have been institutionalised in national and international policy-making (Doherty & Doyle 2006). However, when working within the formal structures of governance, ENGOs have often overestimated their influence, and the official procedures have been criticised for leading to unsatisfactory compromises or to neutralisation of radical agendas (Cartwright 2003; Whelan & Lyons 2005). For example, Greenpeace has remained outside formal governance and relies on direct action (Rootes 2006). Consumer boycotts and market-based campaigns have become meaningful in environmental governance (Tsoukas 1999). Auld *et al.* (2008b) argued that if 1) specific environmental and social standards, 2) third-party oversight and 3) sanctions or incentives are absent, firms tend to not change their practices, even if they say otherwise. Here, the role of ENGOs and the certifications promoted by ENGOs play an important role. Certification systems provide standards against which a company's environmental or social performance can be evaluated (Auld *et al.* 2008a). Then, ENGOs function as a third party, which places corporations under a critical gaze inspecting whether the standards are met or not. If irresponsible corporate behaviour is detected, 'name and shame' strategies are often used by ENGOs in their efforts to create sanctions for irresponsible corporations (Welford 2002). However, corporate social responsibility (CSR) is not legally instituted and in a way exceeds legal regulation.

This means that CSR-related mechanisms work outside ‘democratic’ instruments, and thus might be criticised by various actors (Frankental 2001).

Similarly, rural social movements often engage in politics outside formal participatory planning processes. The expressed causes of mobilisation of rural social movements are usually linked to the cultural and symbolic aspects of identity and the risk of their loss. The movements defend the rural way of life, economy, and environment against external threats (Gorlach *et al.* 2008). These rural social movements do not necessarily represent the opinion of the whole community, which contains various positions (Agrawal & Gibson 1999; Peet & Watts 2004), even though they may claim to represent the whole community in order to be more influential (Cohen 2000).

In addition to social and environmental movements, international conservation organisations and policies also have roles to play in environmental governance. Regarding environmental ENGOs, the increasing number of environmental agreements has also provided the ENGOs with new means of promoting their agendas (Gulbrandsen 2003). Furthermore, international environmental organisations and policies often set goals for practices at lower levels by imposing new rules, and also by creating new kinds of discourses, which are adopted to national and local practices. Escobar (2001) has argued against globalcentrism, and defends the role and relevance of certain places and site-specifics. It has been shown that acts of naming the world and its characteristics are never innocent, and thus it should be asked what views of the world the naming shelters and propagates (Escobar 1998: 55). The acts of naming can be done, for example, through concepts (e.g. biodiversity, natural state, wilderness, recreation, and even participation), classification systems, or principles and criteria, and these often tend to be done at the global or international scale in contrast to co-producing the definitions with local actors in different locations. In addition, conceptualisations relating to ‘natural state’ and biodiversity often see local traditional resource uses as a threat by default, without explaining how and why the threat is formed (see Tsing 2005: 95–101; Igoe & Brockington 2007). These definitions can also feed into planning processes as process organisers often adopt the international definitions to their work. The lack of transparency in particular might become a problem, when the definitions of concepts and classification systems are used without opening them for stakeholders, even though they would embody certain value positions (see Carolan 2006).

There seems to be also many other problems in terms of ‘fair’ participation in the wider field of governance. The direct actions by social movements and especially by ENGOs have their problems regarding ‘fairness’. For example, Greenpeace has been criticised for downplaying social justice in their campaigns (Doherty & Doyle 2006) and for supporting only narrow interests (Kellow 2000). In response, it has become increasingly important in environmental campaigning to argue also from the standpoint of human rights (Woods 2006). Environmental discourses are also increasingly reframed around the notions of justice, rights, and equity (Agyeman 2002) instead of radical biocentrism (cf. De-Shalit 2001). Furthermore, social movements have encountered a critique that they have reported simplified risks to local livelihoods for political purposes (cf. Lacy 2002). In conclusion, different strategies for participating in environmental governance have their problems regarding ‘fairness’. Before examining these issues through empirical examples, I outline some of the links between the approaches used in the articles and the multi-level governance framework.

2.5 Articles and their links to the multi-level governance framework

Here I briefly introduce the articles included in this thesis and the approaches taken in them. In addition, links are made between the approaches presented in the articles and the multi-level environmental governance framework.

Article I approaches the Muonio forest dispute from the angle of adaptive co-management, which stresses social learning, horizontal and vertical linkages, trust building, the consideration of management approaches as educational experiments, and the sharing of rights and responsibilities in order to form site-specific and adaptable governance systems for natural resources. This links well with ideas about multi-level environmental governance, as both adaptive co-management and multi-level environmental governance stress horizontal and vertical linkages. Article I and the adaptive co-management approach provide insights on the questions about the emergence of site-specific governance solutions, and about the dynamics between trust building and networking during a dispute situation in the context of multi-level governance. The approaches of adaptive co-management and, especially, social capital have been criticised for ignoring the often unequal power relations between the different parties. This synthesis provides a more nuanced picture of the power relations also evident in the Muonio case, especially by outlining some problems in Metsähallitus’s planning processes. These problems launched protests and campaigns outside

Metsähallitus's planning processes. Next, the Muonio protest fed into Metsähallitus, which then co-created a site-specific solution for the disputed state lands in Muonio with the local coalition. Thus, the dispute was, in fact, an essential part of creating a site-specific governance solution for Muonio.

Article IV also considers commercial forestry and continues the trend of examining ways to influence forest governance outside Metsähallitus's planning processes. Particularly, focus is on how coalitions involving actors from multiple levels are built in order to influence state-based forestry decision-making. Additionally, Article IV considers the characteristics of a site as being important elements when forming multi-level coalitions. Insights from the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as developed especially by authors such as Bruno Latour (e.g. 2005) and Michel Callon (e.g. 1986), are drawn upon in order to examine how features of physical sites allow for coalition building. For example, sites containing biodiversity values can be combined with various blueprints and initiatives which consider biodiversity as being important. Similarly, sites providing reindeer pastures essential for free-grazing reindeer herding can be combined with actors emphasising rights to practice one's culture, such as the UN Commission on Human Rights. Thus, ANT considers even non-human actors as having agency. However, in Article IV non-humans are not considered as being symmetrical with human actors regarding their agency, but they are still seen as actors with relevance. This approach helps to grasp the relevance of the physical characteristics of a site when building a coalition for campaigning for changing forest governance. Also, these physical characteristics differ in their ability to attract and attach actors to the coalition from multiple levels. For example, in the case of the Inari dispute, the arguments including the relevance of the physical characteristics of the disputed sites were mobilised in various places including the UN Commission on Human Rights, stock holder meetings of the forest company Stora Enso, Stora Enso customers' offices, and the sustainability indexes for the responsible companies. In the framework of multi-level governance, these various locations where arguments are mobilised are of key concern. The multi-level governance framework takes the horizontal and vertical linkages of actors into consideration, and the focus is no longer so much on the coalitions between non-humans and humans, but in the ways in how these coalitions are mobilised in multi-level socio-political processes encompassing various campaigns for influencing forest governance.

Articles II, III, and V deal with protected areas. Article II focuses on the socio-cultural and institutional sustainability of the Oulanka national park, which

is certified with the PAN Parks protected area/sustainable tourism ecolabel. The article concludes that the local population is heterogeneous in their views towards the Oulanka national park and its socio-cultural and institutional sustainability. Institutional sustainability focuses on flexibility, conflict management strategies embedded in institutions, and also on the participation of national park governance. Socio-cultural sustainability focuses on participation, the distribution of costs and benefits, and on cultural continuity. Considerations on socio-cultural and institutional sustainability also provide an approach to multi-level governance, providing a normative approach to enhancing protected area governance and to the choice of issues to consider when designing institutions for ‘good governance’. Article II is also relevant to multi-level governance as it examines the links between the European-wide protected area/sustainable tourism certification, PAN Parks, and a heterogeneous local population.

Article V basically continues from the results of Article II, particularly the result that from the heterogeneous local population, traditional nature users are probably the local group that is in the sharpest contradiction with the national park and the PAN Parks certification in the Oulanka region. Article V can be viewed as being part of literature critical to conservation, as it considers PAN Parks as a way to further neoliberal market-based conservation governance, as the certification combines sustainable tourism with protected area management. Article V also concentrates on views about how to design institutions enabling ‘good governance’. In Article V, the concept of ‘boundary organisation’ is used to illustrate the fact that in Oulanka park management, Metsähallitus, which is a state organisation, has actually worked quite successfully in mediating between the pressures coming from PAN Parks for stricter protection, and local concerns relating to rights to use the park. In the context of multi-level governance, the concept of ‘boundary organisation’ can be used to conceptualise organisations working in-between different levels from local to international. Boundary organisations can be also seen as acting between neoliberal conservation efforts and the concerns of local traditional nature users. It is concluded that standardisation efforts to ensure a sufficient conservation status and to increase sustainable tourism may produce benefits for park management and tourism entrepreneurs, while generating simultaneous pressure to reduce reindeer herders’ and hunters’ rights to use the park. Furthermore, standardisation efforts may pose a threat to site-specific flexibility of protected area governance. In conclusion, there is a contradiction between local concerns and neoliberal conservation that could be alleviated by successful boundary work by a state-based park

management, which can also promote and negotiate site-specific solutions with the certification.

Article III focuses on the Malla Strict Nature Reserve and the Pallas-Ylläs national park approaching the issue from the point of view of the distinction between nature and culture. This distinction is seen to have been put forward by nature conservation agencies such as the IUCN (World Conservation Union), and it is considered problematic from the viewpoint of local reindeer herders and hunters. An approach from cognitive anthropology is used to illustrate the divergent perceptions of 'natural state' by nature conservation-related experts and officials. Also, here proposals are made on how to develop 'good' governance further. It is seen that concepts such as 'natural state' and 'sustainability' should be clearly defined in each context, and these definitions are by no means self-evident as shown by examining the divergent views on natural state. This article links to multi-level governance, for example, by stressing the importance of searching for and finding common definitions (for, e.g., 'natural state' and 'sustainability') between parties from multiple levels. This stresses the fact that as concepts move in vertical and horizontal governance networks, their meaning should be outlined and negotiated at the various points where they are used. Non-negotiated movement of concepts brings challenges for site-specific governance, as the concepts often carry assumptions with them that may not be suitable for the sites where these concepts are further applied. Lack of negotiation of the content of concepts may also often lead to the decrease of trust between the different parties. Article III also shares the normative underpinning of this thesis that the local people's possibilities for participating in governance should often be enhanced.

In conclusion, the five articles together approach multi-level environmental governance from a diversity of views, and the approaches used in the articles link to the general framework of multi-level environmental governance as outlined above. Having laid down the conceptual approach of this thesis, it is time to move on to consider some empirical examples of forest governance from northern Finland.

3 Modes of forest governance and their problems

In northern Finland, the main uses for forests are forestry, tourism, nature conservation, and traditional uses consisting of reindeer herding and hunting. Next, I will give brief introductions to these forest uses and their relationships before I move on to examine different modes of governance and their problems.

State-owned forests are managed in Finland by the state organisation Metsähallitus. The forests are divided into two categories: commercial forests and protected areas. Metsähallitus's Forestry Unit is responsible for managing the commercial forests, and Metsähallitus's Natural Heritage Services manages the protected areas (Metsähallitus 2011). In northern Finland, most of the forests are owned by the state, whereas in southern Finland the majority of forests is privately owned.

Metsähallitus's Forestry Unit is a state enterprise responsible for managing state-owned land and water areas, and it operates under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Metsähallitus's Forestry Unit uses participatory tools in order to combine different interests in state-owned commercial forests and to ensure the economic, ecological, and social sustainability of forest management (Metsähallitus 2011). Metsähallitus's Forestry Unit also needs to take into account societal responsibilities in its actions. These responsibilities are biodiversity conservation, promoting employment, taking recreational and scenic values in its loggings into account, and safeguarding the prerequisites for reindeer herding and the Sámi culture (Act of Metsähallitus 1378/2004 § 4).

Protected areas in Finland are also managed by Metsähallitus, but by a different sub-unit: the Natural Heritage Services (NHS) that operates under the Ministry of Environment. Protected areas are the main means of sustaining biodiversity in Finland. Metsähallitus's NHS plans the use of the protected areas with management planning tools. These tools include citizen participation and assessment of the current state of protected areas, existing values, threats, and objectives for management (Metsähallitus 2011).

In Finland, reindeer herding is practiced both by the Sámi and by Finns. The reindeer herding area is divided into Reindeer Herding Cooperatives (paliskunta), which have their own leaders. Reindeer can move freely within the area of a given Reindeer Herding Cooperative (RHC), both in commercial forests and in protected areas (e.g. Heikkinen 2002). The only exception is the Malla Strict Nature Reserve where reindeer herding is prohibited (Jokinen M 2005; Article III).

In Finland, and especially in the north, forestry has been the most beneficial form of land-use during the latter half of the twentieth century. It has contributed not only to the growth of the national economy, but also to the well-being of the local people. However, the mechanisation of forestry has drastically decreased the amount of jobs in the industry. In the 1950s, around half a million men worked in forestry, but in 2004, forestry and the forest industry together employed only around 90,000 people (Laine *et al.* 2006). However, forestry is still an important livelihood for many people in the north. On the other hand, tourism, particularly nature-based tourism, is increasing and brings income to the local and regional levels (Tuulentie & Järviluoma 2005). The role of tourism in regional development has been emphasised, and it has been debated whether nature-based tourism and forestry are compatible with each other (see Saarinen 2007; Tyrväinen *et al.* 2010). Article I presents a case study on the clash of forestry and tourism in Muonio, western Lapland.

Industrial forestry has been considered as being harmful for reindeer herding, especially in Inari, where there has been a long history of conflicts between forestry and reindeer herding (Nyyssönen 1997; Kyllönen & Raitio 2004; Raitio 2008; Article IV). From the reindeer herders' perspective, industrial forestry reduces winter pastures, which are important for free-grazing reindeer herding. The existence of winter pastures reduces pressure for additional feeding, which again would increase costs for herders. The Inari conflict has not included only reindeer herders and the state forestry enterprise Metsähallitus, but ENGOS (e.g. Greenpeace) have also been key actors in the disputes over forestry practices in old-growth forests. Another set of sites debated between Greenpeace, Metsähallitus and the forest company Stora Enso, which is the biggest customer of Metsähallitus, is found in Forest Lapland (Metsäläpin suojelemattomat... 2009). A smaller debate between ENGOS and Metsähallitus took place in Liperinsuo, located in the municipality of Puolanka (Article IV).

Reindeer herding is usually considered as being compatible with nature conservation, because protected areas conserve winter pastures from logging and tilling methods. However, contradictions regarding nature conservation objectives and reindeer herding also exist. For example, in a Management Effectiveness Evaluation conducted for the Finnish protected areas, reindeer herding was defined as the biggest threat to nature values in the protected areas of northern Finland (Gilligan *et al.* 2005: 149–150). The contradictions between reindeer herding and nature conservation are examined in the cases of the Malla Strict Nature Reserve and the Pallas-Ylläs and Oulanka national parks (Articles III, V).

In the following sections, I examine three different modes of governance in commercial forests, and one mode in relation to protected areas. Even though three governance modes are analytically distinguished in relation to commercial forests they are tightly interrelated with each other. For example, the governance modes presented in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 have emerged as a direct response to the problems in the state-based governance mode outlined in Section 3.1. Special attention is paid on the problems of these different governance modes.

3.1 State–civil society relations in a vertical governance system

Regarding commercial forests, the state's forestry enterprise Metsähallitus initiated participatory planning tools in the mid-1990s. The background for these tools can be found in various sustainable development-related agreements (e.g. Convention on Biological Diversity, Agenda 21) which have been ratified by Finland, which has encouraged Metsähallitus to adopt new participatory tools for forestry planning (Sandström *et al.* 2000). In the mid-1990s, Metsähallitus saw promise in the development of participatory planning and developed it voluntarily. Public hearings were held and stakeholders were invited to give their input into the local and regional discussions on forest planning (Hellström 2001; Wallenius 2001; Raitio 2008: 37). According to Metsähallitus's guidebook on participatory planning, participation is needed, for example, because it can prevent open disputes (Loikkanen *et al.* 1997: 13).

Metsähallitus has generally facilitated two kinds of participatory processes. Landscape Ecological Planning (LEP) processes were executed between the years 1996 and 2000. They were participatory in nature, and they aimed to be transparent and to enhance multi-directional collaboration between Metsähallitus and local interest groups. While aspiring to create ecologically sustainable forestry plans, LEPs also aimed to create plans acceptable to different stakeholders (Karvonen *et al.* 2001). At the same time, Metsähallitus also developed Natural Resource Planning (NRP), which works at the regional level (there are seven planning areas in Finland), whereas LEPs function at smaller scales. NRPs are usually made for the next ten years, and their goal is to create an ecologically, socially, culturally, and economically sustainable plan for the use of natural resources in a given area. NRPs include a wide range of stakeholders into planning processes. For example, in the NRP of Upper Lapland, there were four working groups, one regional and three related to the municipalities in the area (Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki). The regional working group included stakeholders

from, for example, the tourism and forestry sectors, the Sámi Parliament, regional environmental NGOs, science, reindeer herding, and fishing (Sandström *et al.* 2000).

In the NRP processes, the participants can vote between different kinds of alternatives, especially relating to the scope of forestry within the region. The alternatives are often labelled something as follows: the forestry option, the recreational option, the reindeer herding option, and the ecological option. The alternatives differ in respect to the amount of cubic meters to be logged. Furthermore, for example, the recreational option includes some restrictions near tourism routes, and takes scenic values into account more than the forestry option does. One option is then chosen for the whole planning region based on stakeholder consultations.

Despite these participatory processes, disputes over commercial state forests in northern Finland have prevailed (Articles I, IV). Previous studies, especially by Kaisa Raitio, have identified problems in Metsähallitus's participatory planning procedures. The problems include:

- Metsähallitus facilitates the processes, even though it is simultaneously an interest group,
- economic goals often determine the actualisation of societal responsibilities, not vice versa,
- there is a lack of legal mechanisms requiring participatory planning,
- informal institutions emphasise the importance of wood production, which makes Metsähallitus more rigid to change (Kyllönen & Raitio 2004; Kyllönen *et al.* 2006; Raitio 2008).

Here I do not focus on the above problems. Instead, based on examinations of the processes leading to disputes in Muonio and Liperinsuo, I identify three problems related to the multi-level context in Metsähallitus's regional NRP processes. The three problems relate to: 1) missing stakeholders from other than the regional level, 2) the scope of the discussions being regional, not local and site-specific, and 3) general guidelines being used at various sites without flexibility.

Missing stakeholders

In relation to the Muonio dispute, a local coalition consisting of representatives of a local ENGO, Finnish reindeer herders, a game association, and tourism

entrepreneurs opposed the logging plans of Metsähallitus concentrating on northern Muonio. The local coalition argued that their views had been neglected in the planning processes, and that Metsähallitus still uses the NRP decisions as a justification, even though according to the local coalition, there was no agreement on loggings. For example, the municipality of Muonio had given six statements on not accepting loggings in northern Muonio (Haapala 2007). The lack of agreement was also partly caused by the missing stakeholders, and the problems of representation which were apparent, for example, in the case of the reindeer herders in Muonio. In the western Lapland NRP, reindeer herding was represented by a herder from another Reindeer Herding Cooperative (RHC) than Muonio, and this representative was not well-informed about the concerns of herders in the northern corner of the Muonio RHC. An interviewed herder from northern Muonio concluded that: *'It is this kind of expert that Metsähallitus uses to justify its decisions'*. Furthermore, in site-specific negotiations concerning northern Muonio that emerged after the open protest, reindeer herding was not represented by the leader of the Muonio RHC, but a herder from the northern Muonio subgroup of herders. According to both the leader of the RHC and the herder from northern Muonio, the leader of the RHC did not have detailed enough knowledge about the forests and pastures in northern Muonio. Thus, he could have given statements that were pro-logging, which would have harmed herding in the northern parts of the RHC (Article I).

In relation to the Ostrobothnia NRP processes and the Liperinsuo dispute, some national ENGOs complained that they had not been part of the NRP negotiations. However, these ENGOs were active during the open dispute (Article IV). Metsähallitus replied that as the scope of the NRP processes is regional, hence the stakeholders included as participants are also regional, not national. In the end, the comments by the national ENGOs were included into the published plan (Louhisalmi *et al.* 2007).

The missing stakeholders from other than the regional level have been active and key stakeholders in the disputes. This highlights the fact that it would be beneficial to also have actors from the lower and upper levels as part of the negotiations. However, if this is not possible due to a limited number of participants or lack of resources, clear cross-level linkages should be established in the negotiations. Next, I will examine the regional NRP processes in relation to the discussion of site-specifics.

Scope of discussions

The second Natural Resource Planning process for western Lapland took place between 2004 and 2006 (Hiltunen *et al.* 2006). The interviewed representative of Metsähallitus stated that during the Natural Resource Planning, the plan was presented to the municipal council of Muonio, and at that time no special requests occurred. The interviewed member of the municipal council told about the occasion when Metsähallitus presented the Natural Resource Plan to the council in 2005. He is also a reindeer herder, tourism entrepreneur, and one of the key members in the local coalition opposing the loggings. He described that the representatives of Metsähallitus presented different models for loggings in western Lapland and the members of the council could then mark a cross on each alternative with three choices: best, good, not acceptable. The interviewed reindeer herder had commented that it is ridiculous to say anything about how forests are used on the level of the whole western Lapland, not concerning specific sites in the northern Muonio. Related and general criticism towards the western Lapland NRP process was given by a representative of a regional ENGO: *'discussions about the general amount of cubic meters took the attention away from the forestry methods and the individual areas to which the collaboration group could have had something to say'*.

In relation to the Ostrobothnia NRP (Louhisalmi *et al.* 2007), similar critique was presented by a representative of an ENGO. The representative considered that NRPs might be a good tool for strategic regional planning, but they can not cope with site-specifics. Furthermore, the representative considered Landscape Ecological Plans as being better in coping with site-specifics. Liperinsuo had been defined in LEP processes as an A-site, which requires negotiations before loggings. In the Ostrobothnia NRP, Liperinsuo was defined as a 'Forest with Special Environmental Values' (FSEV), the category between full protection and industrial logging (Heinonen *et al.* 2004: 48–50). ENGOS expected that they would have a possibility to participate in the management planning of the Liperinsuo FSEV, but found out that Metsähallitus was logging in the FSEV without proper negotiations with ENGOS. As a result, ENGOS arranged an on-site protest in Liperinsuo (Article IV). The site-specific management of the FSEV was not agreed upon in the regional NRP and there was not enough room for participation in the site-level FSEV management planning.

The above illustrations seem to imply that Natural Resource Planning does not properly enable the discussing of site-level issues. However, NRP processes

are still used as justification for loggings, even though there is no agreement on site-specifics. This lack of consensus at the site-level has been a key driver for the emergence of disputes in relation to state commercial forestry.

General guidelines imposed on diverse sites

In Liperinsuo, ENGOs did not accept loggings in Forests with Special Environmental Values (FSEV) done within the guidelines set by the environmental guidebook of Metsähallitus (Heinonen *et al.* 2004). The reason for this lack of commitment was that ENGOs considered the establishment of the two FSEV sites as their only achievement in the regional NRP process, and there was no opportunity for them to participate in the site-level decision-making. Thus, even though the loggings were done within the limits set by environmental guidelines, they were not satisfying for the ENGOs because of the lack of opportunity for participation in site-level decisions. On the other hand, in Muonio the local coalition opposing loggings emphasised that normal buffer zones around tourism routes and other tourism relevant areas would not be enough in Muonio. The members of the coalition were afraid that the image of the area would be damaged by loggings, even if scenic values were taken into account during the loggings (Article I). In conclusion, general guidelines might work in a normal situation, but when strong counter-interests exist, site-level negotiations are necessary in addition to working according to the general guidelines.

State-based governance and problems of consensus orientation

The chosen regional level for NRP processes impacts on the scope of participant composition in these processes as well as the scope of the discussions within the processes. The level of these processes is regional (there are seven planning areas in Finland), and they cannot take the variety of potential participants at local and national levels into account. This is a problem relating to representative participant composition (see Webler *et al.* 2003; Mascarenhas & Scarce 2004; Carter & Howe 2006).

Regarding the quality of discussions and the chosen regional scope of the NRP processes, I argue that NRP processes seem to be typical consensus seeking processes with related problems, and especially problematic is the search for a regional compromise. Divergences between different actors' views, wishes, concerns, and dreams concerning the use of the forests have been explored, for

example, by a dreaming exercise at the beginning of the Ostrobothnia NRP's stakeholder consultations (Louhisalmi *et al.* 2007: 101–106). However, the open-ended dreaming exercise soon shifted to voting for the best available strategic alternative for the region. This was strongly criticised by a representative of an ENGO taking part in the process, who emphasised that the final result of the plan did not reflect the dreaming exercise at all. When shifting from dreaming to voting the goal of the process is no longer reaching a quality decision, not even an agreeable one, but finding the 'best' option out of the available regional alternatives.

Stirling argues that when searching for the 'best' decision, the decisions that come out of the process have the *'instrumental merit of conveying clear, practical justification for decision-making'*, instead of acknowledging *'legitimately divergent interpretation embodied in the preceding deliberations and negotiations'* (Stirling 2008: 279). From the point of view of the critical stakeholders, this is exactly what happened: dreams and views were presented, but during the process the divergent views were merged into one 'best' regional option by forcing pluralism into a single solution. This is then considered as the 'best' available compromise, and then used as a justification for actions within the limits set by the chosen 'best' option. This relates to findings regarding Metsähallitus's 'You can't please everyone' frame, which basically means that Metsähallitus considers that its decisions cannot please everyone because of divergent interests (Raitio 2008).

The quest for the 'best' option inevitably leads to the exclusion of some stakeholders' views, and reduces acceptability and commitment towards following the decisions (Stirling 2008). Regional consensus orientation makes pluralism about site-specific concerns impossible and forces singularism into an area where agreement does not exist. Here we can ask: could everybody be pleased if the process allowed variation within the regional decision instead of forcing a regional compromise on divergent site-specific wishes?

While various other reasons for the failures of Metsähallitus's planning processes to prevent disputes have been identified, lack of attention to cross-level issues and site-specifics in regional planning processes also matters in creating a fertile atmosphere for disputes. As a result, a variety of actors, including local nature users, tourism entrepreneurs, and ENGOs, have searched for new ways to influence decision-making. Next, I will look at two kinds of pressure mode in forest governance that have been initiated because of a lack of acceptability towards the decisions made in the NRP processes.

3.2 ENGO- and market-based governance mode

During the last decades, ENGOs have become an integral part of forest-related decision-making. According to Rannikko (2003: 168–171) forest-related environmental activism began in Finland much later than in other Western European societies. The probable reason for this was that in Finland, forestry has been nationally important, and thus, the position of pro-forestry stakeholders has been strong (e.g. Rytteri 2006). The conflicts over Kessi, Talaskangas, Murhijärvi, and Hattuvaara represented disputes over old-growth forests in Finland, in which ENGOs were active (Roiko-Jokela 2003). According to Raitio (2008: 34) these disputes represented a new kind of activism in relation to Finnish forests. Before, disputes had been under the surface, but now they escalated into open conflicts. Raitio explains this by stating that forest activists, local people and organised ENGOs had tried to get their voice heard in Metsähallitus, the Ministries and the Parliament, but due to a lack of response they needed new ways to influence forest policies.

Leino-Kaukiainen (1997: 214) has stated that questions about the preservation of old-growth forests and biodiversity rose into Finnish discussions in the mid-1980s. The UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 further supported the taking of these themes into the agenda of environmental movements. In the Kessi conflict, Finnish ENGOs formed a coalition for the first time with activists from Central Europe (Raitio 2008: 34). Furthermore, spontaneity and locality of the earlier environmental movements turned into expertise oriented internationally generated actions, which sought to gain media attention and to pressure forest companies and state organisations (Berglund 2001; Rannikko 2003: 170–171; Rantala & Primmer 2003). In addition, Rannikko (2003: 170) argues that in the Finnish forest debates of the 1990s, scientific rhetoric replaced the ethical and political arguments (see also Berglund 2001).

The internationally oriented campaigns against the loggings in old-growth forests had impacts on the wood market: the demand of wood from the disputed areas was seen to decrease (Hellström 2001: 23). The introduction of Greenpeace into the Finnish forest debate enabled ENGOs to alter the forestry side's view about environmental questions (Rannikko 2003: 169). The Finnish forest industry started to consider also the views and concerns of international ENGOs and consumers. This 'dramatic shift' in the Finnish forest industry's attitude towards improved acknowledgment of environmental and social issues took place in the

early 1990s (Donner-Amnell 1995: 216–217; see also Hellström 2001: 23; Rytteri 2003).

There are at least two separate reasons for the ‘dramatic shift’. Firstly, attention towards corporate social responsibility has increased in general, and also with the internationalisation of Finnish forest industry (Mikkilä 2006; Panwar *et al.* 2006). International campaigns of ENGOs on the big publishing houses in Europe, who are important customers of the Finnish paper companies, such as Stora Enso, pressurised companies into adopting ‘greener’ strategies also in their wood procurement policies from the Finnish state forests. As a response to the greening strategies of European publishing houses, the green image of paper companies was becoming a competitive advantage in international markets as customers mostly in Central Europe began to demand a verification for acceptable origin of wood (Hellström 2001: 23; Rytteri 2006: 131; Raitio 2008: 35–36).

The second reason for the ‘dramatic shift’ can be found from international agreements, which have provided justification and argumentative tools for ENGOs’ campaigns. For example, ENGOs’ argumentation in Finnish forest disputes is often linked to the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certification, and also other international environmental agreements, initiatives and developments, such as IUCN’s Countdown 2010 and the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (see Donner-Amnell 1995: 217; Raitio 2008: 35–36). Next, I will take a look at two problems related to the ENGO- and market-based pressure mode.

Pressure strategies ‘detour’ ‘democratic’ structures of decision-making

ENGOs, especially Greenpeace, have campaigned against loggings in Inari and Forest Lapland by pressuring not only Metsähallitus and its largest customer Stora Enso, but also informed customers of Stora Enso about unsustainable practices (Article IV; Metsäläpin suojelemattomat ... 2009; Greenpeace Forest Rescue Station 2011). The Finnish forest industry has been afraid of a bad image, and, for example, Stora Enso has encouraged Metsähallitus to arrange extra negotiations pertaining to Forest Lapland (Stora Enso 19 February 2009). In addition, in 2007 Stora Enso asked Metsähallitus not to deliver wood from disputed forests in Inari (Raitio 2008: 183). In relation to Inari, the Sámi Council had contacted ethical indexes and listings to inform the public about the unjust logging practices supported by Stora Enso (Lawrence 2007; Sámi Council 8 June 2007). Going up in the chain-of-custody resulted in increased pressure on Stora Enso and

Metsähallitus. Figure 3 portrays the various pressures created by the ENGOs, the Sámi council (especially in Inari), and researchers (especially in Forest Lapland) against the planned forestry actions. Some ecologically concerned researchers wrote an open letter to Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, where they outlined concerns about the loss of ‘natural forests’ nationally and globally, and proposed that planned loggings in ‘natural forests’, especially in Forest Lapland should not be done. The ENGOs linked their web-pages to the researchers’ letter, which gave further justification for the ENGOs’ claims (Sarkki & Karjalainen manuscript.)

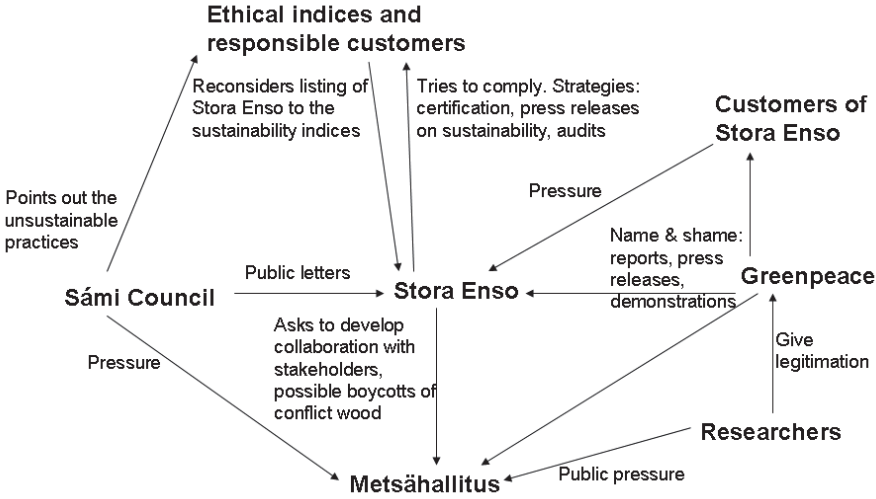


Fig. 3. Pressures on Stora Enso and Metsähallitus. The figure is abstracted from the Inari and Forest Lapland cases. The researchers are more closely related to Forest Lapland, and the Sámi Council and the ethical indexes are specifically related to the Inari case.

Forest certifications have also had a role to play in the pressure strategies of ENGOs. ENGOs and the Sámi council have been arguing for the Forest Stewardship Council’s (FSC) certification, and pointing out that the Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification (PEFC), and its Finnish version Finnish Forest Certification System (FFCS), is not able to secure the indigenous rights of the Sámi people or biodiversity values (Greenpeace & Finnish Nature League 2001; Greenpeace 2004; Sámi Council 30 August 2005, 16 September 2005; Lawrence 2007; PEFC Watch 2011).

PEFC/FFCS is more dominated by land-owners and forest industry than the ENGO oriented FSC. In Finland, the forestry sector was strong enough to be able to win the battle over forest certification, and as a result, the PEFC was taken into use. One of the key arguments was that the global criteria of the FSC do not fit into different localities; hence more flexible and national criteria are needed (Cashore *et al.* 2007; Auld *et al.* 2008a). Basically, the ENGOs have lost the certification battle in Finland, but still try to keep up the discussion about the certification, for example, by using the concept of High Value Conservation Forest (HVCF), which is taken from the FSC. Finnish ENGOs have been strongly propagating the FSC and they have published various reports on the issue (see PEFC Watch 2010). However, for many years, these efforts had little effect, which can be explained by the existence of parallel criteria. The PEFC certification has provided Metsähallitus and forestry industry a means by which they can defend themselves against the claims of critical NGOs reporting unethical practices. Thus, ambiguity in the certification criteria has created room for forestry actors, including corporations, to choose the criteria which they themselves prefer. Nevertheless, the FSC certification has provided NGOs with alternative criteria against which to measure the performance of Stora Enso and Metsähallitus. Also, international agreements have provided increasing justification for ENGOs in their campaigns and argumentations (cf. Gulbrandsen 2003).

Concerning the participants in the governance system, ENGOs, especially Greenpeace, the Sámi Council, Stora Enso and its customers, ethical listings, and a couple of Sámi reindeer herders, became the centre of the decision-making process. These are quite different from the stakeholders taking part in NRP processes. Traditionally, the pro-forestry stakeholders have had a strong position in forestry-related decision-making, and have strongly criticised ENGOs in particular for being undemocratic. The reason for this criticism is that in the midst of protests and campaigns, various pro-forestry stakeholders felt excluded from the decision-making. The decisions within the ENGO- and market-based mode of governance led into over-running the previous decisions made in the state-based system, especially in the NRP processes (Jokinen H 2005; Rytteri 2006: 149–153; Raitio 2008: 120–124; Regional Council of Lapland 22 February 2009). Thus, whereas various stakeholders and academics have claimed that Metsähallitus's participatory processes often do not give genuine opportunities for participation for those criticising the loggings, similarly the pro-forestry stakeholders have felt excluded from the ENGO- and market-based governance mode. Furthermore,

even though the ENGO- and markets-based pressure mode can be seen to have emerged from neglecting site-specific concerns of stakeholders in state-led forestry planning, it itself had the same problem, but with a different group of stakeholders, namely the pro-forestry actors.

Faraway stakeholders are drawn into decision-making

In relation to ENGOs' (e.g. Greenpeace) campaigns, a variety of 'new', and often faraway stakeholders have been drawn into local level decision-making. The campaigns have been directed towards Stora Enso and its customers, and this has created pressure for Metsähallitus to change its logging practices. The entry of new trans-local actors into decision-making can lead to local level conflicts. Examples illuminate this further.

In the Inari case, Greenpeace established its 'Forest Rescue Station' in 2005 and formed a coalition with some Sámi reindeer herders. As a response, local pro-forestry actors established an 'Anti-Terror Info Centre', the actions of which were directed against the joint campaign of Greenpeace and the Sámi reindeer herders. In addition, the intervention of Greenpeace caused local level conflicts within the community. Prior to Greenpeace's 'Forest Rescue Station', the local community was rather unified in its opinion, which was that Metsähallitus should not log as much as it does. However, Greenpeace was considered to be an international actor, who did not have legitimacy to decide on how the forests of Inari should be used. The 'against Greenpeace' camp identified themselves even with the state, for example by writing placates stating that: *'The forest is owned by the state of Finland (us—the local people)'*, and supported Metsähallitus's loggings. As a result of the Greenpeace's intervention, the relationships at the local level suffered significantly (Riipinen 2008: 193–210).

The Forest Lapland case has its background in the so-called Dialogue Process (2003–2005), which emerged because of pressure from the customers of Finnish forest companies, who were informed about the contradictions concerning the loggings in northern Finland. The Dialogue Process took place between ENGOs and Metsähallitus. Various areas were negotiated and, as a result, roughly 55,000 hectares of land were permanently excluded from commercial forestry. An agreement was reached concerning approximately 2/3 of the hundreds of sites, but according to the ENGOs, the process was ended prematurely (WWF 17 June 2005). The reason for the sudden end of the process was criticism coming from various directions. Firstly, the Director of Metsähallitus stated that customers of

Metsähallitus have been under pressure from ENGOS, whose goal is simply to maintain the destructive image of the Finnish forest industry (Rytteri 2006: 149). Secondly, regional pro-forestry stakeholders called for more knowledge about the regional socio-economic impacts of additional conservation (Jokinen 2005). Thirdly, in 2005 roughly 113 small and medium size enterprises signed a petition stating that they do not believe that the Dialogue Process will bring any benefits for the small and medium sized wood processing industry. Furthermore, the petition declared that the costs of additional conservation are paid by the state and locals, not ENGOS, large enterprises, or their customers (Rytteri 2006: 151).

Forest Lapland was left out of the Dialogue Process decisions, and ENGOS, particularly Greenpeace, continued to campaign against loggings in Forest Lapland. Also, a group of researchers wrote an open letter to Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, hoping that the remaining natural forests would be protected in Finland (Researchers' letter 2007). Replies to this letter came from the Finnish Forest Research Institute, commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and from Metsähallitus. Both replies stated that Forest Lapland already has a conservation rate of 40 %, and additional conservation areas are not ecologically necessary. The researchers replied that there are not many natural forests remaining nationally, at a European or global scale. Hence, the forests in Forest Lapland are also important (Hanski *et al.* 2007). Loggings stopped for a while but continued again in 2009, and hence the ENGOS activated their campaign again. The campaign was opposed also by regional pro-forestry stakeholders. The Regional Council of Lapland expressed its worries about additional conservation in Forest Lapland, stressing that the ecologically significant areas in Forest Lapland are already protected. This press release was directed against the ENGOS' Forest Lapland campaign. Furthermore, the press release stated that *'The regional decision-makers of Lapland disapprove strongly of the manner in which environmental organisations are exploiting Lapland for their own political ends'*, and the council hoped *'that the international customers of the forest industry also understand the true reality of nature conservation in Lapland'* (Regional Council of Lapland 22 February 2009).

Also, at the beginning of 2009, Stora Enso outlined its position in relation to Forest Lapland by stating that a large portion of Forest Lapland is conserved and that biodiversity values are thus protected. In addition, Stora Enso declared that the loggings are sustainable and in line with the FSC certificate according to Stora Enso's audits. Finally, Stora Enso stated that it encourages face-to-face dialogue

between Greenpeace, Metsähallitus, and other relevant stakeholders (Stora Enso 9 February 2009, 19 February 2009).

In Autumn 2009, Metsähallitus initiated a site-specific negotiation process outside Natural Resource Planning to reconcile the different interests concerning Forest Lapland. The common goal of all included stakeholders was to find solutions which do not endanger the wood supply for sawmills and forest industry or the acceptability of their products. On the other hand, the goal included that biodiversity values or reindeer pastures would be maintained with the new land use decisions (Metsähallitus 11 September 2009).

At the end of October, representatives of Metsähallitus, Greenpeace, Sámi Parliament, a joint body of Finnish RHCs, the forestry sector, Lapin Liitto and the environmental centre of Lapland reached a compromise, which permanently excluded some 35,000 hectares from forest use. The press release was signed by the representatives of Metsähallitus, Greenpeace and Lapin Liitto. The press release stated that this agreement will recover the questionable reputation of the products of Lapland's forest industry in the European market, which is important as the foreign customers of the Finnish forest industry have been worried about the loggings in Lapland's natural forests (Metsähallitus 27 October 2009). According to a representative of Greenpeace, the agreement was possible, because customers of the Finnish forest industry do not want to buy wood from natural forests valuable from the viewpoint of conservation. The representative also pointed out that local interests, such as the needs of reindeer herding, support saving the forests. This agreement also ended the Greenpeace campaign in Forest Lapland (Greenpeace 27 October 2009).

Discussing the ENGO–market mode of governance

While the formal planning processes can be seen to take place between the state organisation and civil society actors, the wider field of governance also incorporates market actors more strongly and is international in scope (Wapner 1996; Tsoukas 1999; Welford 2002; Article IV). In addition, ENGOs have experience of professional campaigning, which include not only on-site protests, but actions in various locations. In a way, these market campaign attempts to influence decision-making are a way to 'detour' the usual decision-making process by the state organisation Metsähallitus.

Here the essential question is how the 'detouring' of a planning process actually happens? According to Auld *et al.* (2008b), in order for companies to

adopt more responsible practices, three issues are needed: 1) criteria against which the corporate performance can be compared, 2) outside monitoring of the fulfilment of the criteria, and 3) that there are incentives to comply with the criteria or negative effects resulting from non-compliance. According to Frankental (2001), if there is no positive or negative and often financial incentive for corporations to comply, then they do not have the motivation to do so, and instead of changing practices, the corporations remain in 'denial'. In the Finnish forestry debates, ENGOs have used, for example, the FSC certification as criteria against which to measure the performance of forestry actors, and they have acted as outside monitoring agencies. Incentives to comply with the ENGOs' views come through market-based pressure, which is created, for example, by pressuring customers of the Finnish forest industry. The above-mentioned three issues mentioned by Auld *et al.* (2008b) help to explain how the 'detouring' of decisions made in a planning process actually happens.

This 'detouring' and pressuring has been criticised by pro-forestry stakeholders in Finland, and the problem of 'fairness' in ENGO campaigns has been widely reported even in the literature (see Kellow 2000; Doherty & Doyle 2006). As a result, worried, ecologically oriented and possibly even socially responsible companies have pressurised Metsähallitus to make decisions to conserve some areas in state-owned commercial forests from logging. Without the clear international dimension, campaigns would often be inefficient, as was the case in Liperinsuo (Article IV). In addition, these campaigns draw new stakeholders as active participants to the disputes. It is no longer the state organisations with few active and rather local stakeholders who take part in decision-making. Instead, ENGOs justify their actions by various international agreements, policies, and certifications, and the companies far in the chain-of-custody also have their say in the matter. Also, in some cases, ethical indexes for responsible companies have been drawn into the campaigns (Lawrence 2007). In conclusion, the ENGO- and market-based governance mode has also encountered criticism. Perhaps surprisingly, this criticism is in a way very much similar to the criticism towards Metsähallitus's NRP processes: there are stakeholders missing from the decision-making forums, and their criticism deems the decisions as unfair, and they reject the ways of doing the decisions. In general, both governance modes, the state-based mode, and the ENGO- and market-based mode, have neglected the site-specific concerns of some stakeholders, who have then accused the decision processes of being illegitimate and unfair.

3.3 Self-organising local governance mode

The self-organising mode of forest governance can be found in the Muonio and the Inari case. By self-organising governance mode, I mean the ways in which local communities take part in decision-making outside state-based formal governance. These self-organising styles of governance are similar to ENGO- and market-based governance in that they aim to create pressure towards the state and its organisations in order to influence their decisions. They differ from the ENGO- and market-based mode in that the key actors are local, and that they do not usually aim to create pressure through market actors, like ENGOs, but create other innovative ways to pressure and challenge state-based governance.

In Inari, Sámi reindeer herders have long been criticising Metsähallitus's participatory planning processes for not being fair for the Sámi minority. Despite the dissatisfaction of the reindeer herders and ENGOs, loggings have mostly continued in the controversial areas defined by Metsähallitus as commercial forests and by reindeer herders as valuable winter pastures (Raitio 2008). While Greenpeace launched its market-based campaign in 2005, reindeer herders complained to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry about the perceived injustices. As a result, the Ministry organised round table negotiations on the situation. However, these means did not solve the dispute between the herders and Metsähallitus (Raitio 2008: 177–179).

As the loggings continued in the contested sites, some Sámi herders made pleas to various courts, where they stated that the loggings were threatening their rights to practise their culture. Regarding the claim to the District Court of Lapland, the court decided in October 2005 that the loggings in old-growth forests, defined by herders as important winter pastures, should not continue before the Court has made a decision. However, the court set a bail of one million euros for the reindeer herders for paying the possible losses of Metsähallitus caused by delays in loggings. The herders could not afford to pay the million euros (Raitio 2008: 179; Riipinen 2008: 203–204), and hence made a claim to the UN Commission of Human Rights. The UN recommended that Finland should refrain from practices which might diminish the Sámi people's rights to practise their culture (Riipinen 2008: 203). Metsähallitus did not stop the loggings until after the Ministry of Foreign Affairs called them off (Raitio 2008: 179). The intervention of the UN Commission of Human Rights made the Sámi claims more legitimate (Lawrence 2007: 174). Interestingly, the decision of the UN was

opposed by 17 ethnic Sámi from Inari, who were also Metsähallitus's forestry workers. They sent a complaint to the UN, stating that

- the logging moratorium made their right to earn their living legally impossible,
- the UN has no authority to determine what values the Sámi should approve,
- the majority of the Sámi in the Nellim village (in Inari) were not opposed to the loggings.

The UN did not reply to this letter (Raitio 2008: 180). Figure 4 presents some of the self-organising strategies of the Inari reindeer herders.

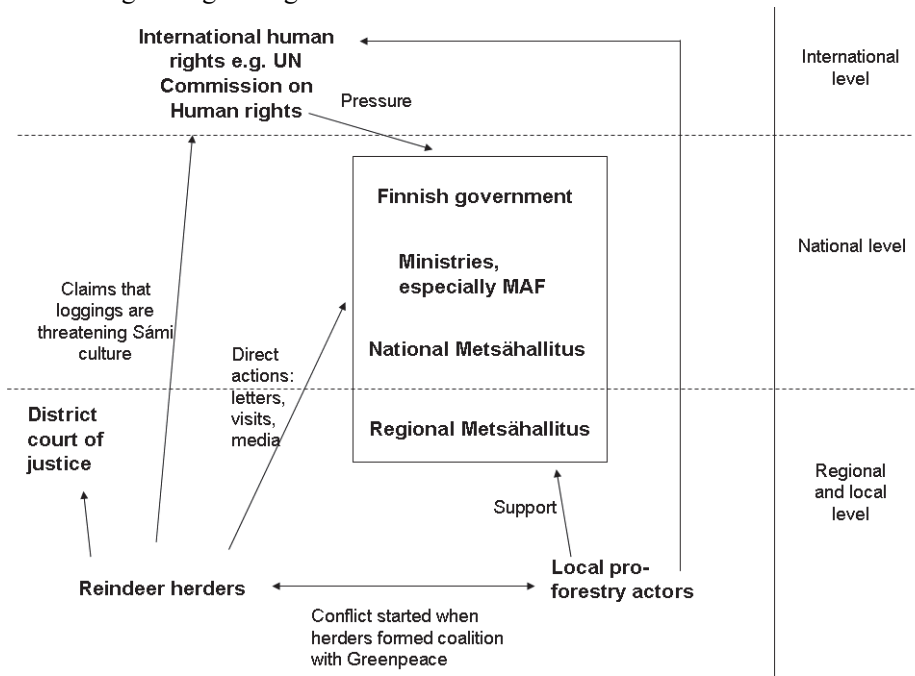


Fig. 4. Self-organising pressure strategies in a multi-level governance context in Inari.

In Muonio, similarly as in Inari, environmental concerns together with the feeling of a lack of opportunities for participation were the key drivers for launching self-organised pressure strategies. In the Muonio dispute, ENGOs did not play a role, but the local coalition opposing the loggings wanted to keep the issue in their own hands even though an intervention of ENGOs would have been possible. Key actors of the local coalition stated that they had learned their lesson from the Inari

dispute and wanted to avoid the local level dispute that might result from the intervention of Greenpeace. In addition, the key actors in the local coalition said that they utilized their connections to national politicians, the media, and, to some extent, foreign tourism agencies, who worked with local tourism entrepreneurs (Article I; Figure 5).

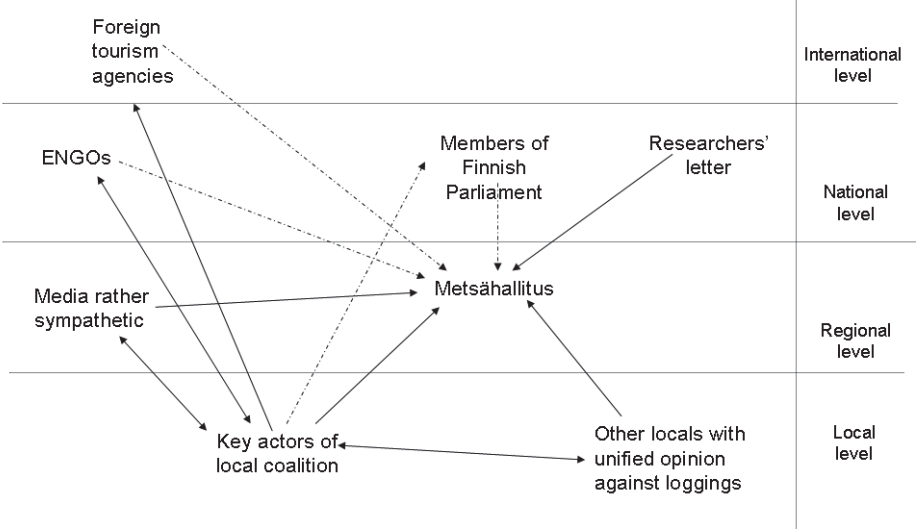


Fig. 5. Self-organising governance mode in Muonio during dispute.

Returning to the definition of contextual control and self-regulation by de Loë *et al.* (2009: 16), it can be said that the Muonio protest fits rather well into this category of governance. An actor-network was formed rather spontaneously around a specific environmental issue, and the Muonio case can be said to have been locally democratic, as there was a unified opinion against logging in northern Muonio. In Inari, the self-organisation utilised various courts, as it seemed that direct pressure on Metsähallitus and the Ministry did not have the desired effect. Some key issues can be identified related to the Muonio and Inari cases.

Self-organisation requires that actors are able to form effective networks to challenge state-based governance

There is no readymade structure for self-organising governance, but the actors have to create one in order to participate effectively. In Muonio, the key members

of the local coalition were active in forming networks with various actors, who then created pressure for Metsähallitus to take the local concerns into account. In Inari, effective intervention required filing various law suits and required a lot of personal resources from the key actors.

Effective organising requires a rather unified opinion at the local level

In Muonio, probably more efficient than trans-local networks, was the fact that the local community was unified against logging (Article I). In this situation, it was very difficult for Metsähallitus to legitimate its loggings. The local front was unified for two main reasons: 1) forestry does not benefit the local community, and nature-based tourism is a large and growing industry in Muonio, and 2) the participatory processes arranged by Metsähallitus had not properly acknowledged the local people's concerns as expressed by the key members of the local coalition. Thus, there was no trust towards Metsähallitus or the claim that Metsähallitus would have logged using softer forestry methods. If there had been a trust relationship between Metsähallitus and the local coalition, it could have been possible that the local coalition would have accepted some soft logging in the disputed areas. After the local protests against logging, Metsähallitus launched negotiations with the local coalition concerning the forests in northern Muonio. The disputed forests were leased to the municipality and the local tourism entrepreneurs for an undisclosed sum of money, and there would be no logging in the next ten years (Metsähallitus 27 February 2007; Article I).

In Inari, the issue was complicated by the heterogeneous opinion at the local level, and this is probably one reason why the Inari dispute has lasted for years. Stora Enso also used an argument in Inari that since there are also Sámi forest owners and lumberjacks in addition to the critical reindeer herders, they do not know *'which opinions of the Sámi are to be taken into account'* (Lawrence 2007: 173). Similar argumentation has been used by Metsähallitus and the Ministry, emphasising that forestry is essential for local and regional socio-economic development and that reindeer herding is not the only land use form that should be considered in the decisions. These arguments are well-grounded, as the joint campaigns of the reindeer herders and Greenpeace also evoked fierce local opposition in Inari (Riipinen 2008).

In 2009, Metsähallitus and the Paadar brothers, the concerned Sámi herders, reached an agreement over the Inari dispute. Metsähallitus promised not to log for 20 years in the areas defined by the brothers. Operations in such forests where

loggings have previously taken place will continue. This agreement stopped the legal processes in various courts, including the UN Human Rights Commission. Metsähallitus was content about the decision as it enables the possibility for forestry operations in other areas in Inari. The Paadar brothers were also pleased with the decision, stating that they are pleased to continue traditional reindeer herding in Nellim (Metsähallitus 24 August 2009). The areas set aside from forestry operations cover roughly 16,000 hectares (STT 24 August 2009). And even though the areas defined by Greenpeace and herders covered approximately 90,000 hectares, this decision ended Greenpeace's Inari campaign.

In Inari, not even the reindeer herders are a unified group, but there is actually an ongoing dispute within the Ivalo RHC between the same Sámi reindeer herders from Nellim who made the complaint to the UN Commission on Human Rights and the main part of the Ivalo RHC. This dispute started in 2011 and concerns forced butchering of reindeer in the Nellim sub-group, because they are said to exceed the acceptable number of reindeer in the Ivalo RHC. Thus, there is pressure for herders in Nellim to butcher their reindeer for exceeding the allowed number of reindeer. This dispute is in some instances claimed to derive from the forest dispute which was especially fierce in 2005, when the contradictions between the reindeer herders in Nellim and Ivalo, both within the Ivalo RHC, started. The agreement between Metsähallitus and the Paadar brothers ends if the traditional free-grazing herding within the disputed forests ceases. Furthermore, the forced butchering would reduce the number of Nellim reindeer so much that the agreement with Metsähallitus could end because of the suggested, but not yet implemented, butchering. Regarding the butchering, the herders of Nellim made another complaint to the UN, which stated that there should be a time-out in the dispute and that the issue should be solved without forced butchering (Lapin Kansa 22 September 2011; Suomen YK-liitto 26 September 2011).

Self-organised pressure strategy as governance mode

The cases of Muonio and Inari showed that even locally generated pressure strategies can be effective. In Inari, it is difficult to say which impacted more, the pressure from the ENGO–markets axis or the court cases initiated by the Paadar brothers. Conversely, the Muonio case showed that keeping the issue in local hands, instead of international professional campaigns, can provide a powerful justification for the counter-arguments against logging (see Gorlach *et al.* 2008;

Article I). The critical stakeholders have often detoured state-based processes through international campaigns or via strong local opposition. Thus, it seems that justification by national level issues has become more contested than before (see Donner-Amnell & Rytteri 2010), and issues and concerns from the local and international levels have become a stronger force in defining forestry practices at various sites.

Even though two governance modes additional to state-based governance were identified in commercial forests, I argue that it would be better to develop the state-based system further, rather than abandon it altogether. The ENGO- and market-based system also had severe problems in acknowledging site-specific concerns, while having some uncontrollable side-effects, such as local level conflicts. On the other hand, the self-organising civil society mode of governance required a rather homogeneous opinion at the local level, as well as effective networking. In addition, it would be a rather Utopian idea to leave forest governance to the ENGO- and market-based system or to self-organising civil society. Furthermore, the two pressure modes have developed as responses to the state-based mode, and they have to be considered as being highly interlinked with the state-based governance mode.

3.4 Vertical protected area governance

Protected area governance differs from commercial forest governance. However, some similarities can be found: the increasing role of international actors is evident even in protected areas, and there have also been problems that can be labelled as neglect of site-specifics. Protected areas are managed by Metsähallitus's Natural Heritage Services, which uses management planning especially in national parks. However, my focus is not so much in management planning, but on the international connections of Metsähallitus and their influence on Metsähallitus's relationship to local traditional resource users. There have been confrontations between nature conservation objectives and economic interests throughout the history of Finnish parks. Opportunities for local livelihoods have not been greatly reduced because of the opposition of parks for economic reasons (Rytteri & Puhakka 2009). However, this thesis argues that international pressure for stricter conservation has increased in recent decades. Finland joined the EU in 1995 and the Natura 2000 project was launched in order to update conservation to match the European standards and to measure the level of Finnish conservation. Natura 2000 has led to redefinitions of the meaning of protected area boundaries,

which again have various consequences at the local level (Rekola *et al.* 2000; Hiedanpää 2002; Mazzullo 2005). Less examined international–park management–local relationships include the influence of the IUCN classification and the PAN Parks protected area/sustainable tourism certification.

IUCN’s classification system is based on American conservation tradition, the so-called ‘Yellowstone model’, which emphasises conservation of wilderness for future generations. The history of the idea of wilderness has been treated in various sources (e.g. Nash 1982; Runte 1990; Cronon 1995; Haila 1997; Spence 1999; Jacoby 2001), sometimes in specific relation to Finnish discussions (e.g. Saarinen 1996; 1999, 2002; Puhakka 2007: 41–51, 85–113). Whereas North American discussions on wilderness have considered the ‘natural state’ of nature as something to be preserved from human interference for future generations, the traditional Finnish conception of wilderness (‘erämaa’) has also incorporated cultural practices into the idea of wilderness (Haila 2003: 175). In northern Finland, this culture has meant particularly reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, and berry picking (see Lehtinen 1990).

The ideological basis for the management of Finnish national parks lies much in the United States. In the 1970s, Finnish conservation experts made several trips to the USA to learn more about national park management. The experts brought influences from the US National Park Service to Finland, to Metsähallitus’s management practices. These influences are, for example: the goal of protecting the original natural state, the use of management planning to achieve the conservation goals, the zoning of protected areas, and an emphasis on environmental education (Perttula 2006: 49–57). Contradictions may arise when diverse conceptualisations of wilderness and ‘natural state’ meet in protected area governance. Here, the argument is that even though the IUCN classification is meant merely to measure the state of conservation in a given area, it also gives incentives for protected area managers to lift the status of their park in the classification, often by trying to create more ‘natural’ conditions in the protected areas (see West *et al.* 2006; Agrawal & Redford 2009; Article III).

The PAN Parks protected area certification is an example of combining conservation objectives with tourism. The PAN Parks protected area certification aims to combine nature conservation with sustainable tourism in order to create triple win situations regarding nature, economy, and local social development. Interestingly, PAN Parks sees the conservation of wilderness as its key mission (PAN Parks 2011), and again the definition of ‘wilderness’ is close to the American model. Introduction of PAN Parks and sustainable tourism into the

Finnish protected areas is part of a wider development, where protected areas are no longer seen merely as tools for nature conservation, but also as vehicles for regional development (Puhakka 2007: 175–176). In Finland, nature-based tourism is growing, which is also reflected in the number of visits to national parks. The total number of visitors in Finnish national parks increased between the years 2000 and 2005 from roughly 800,000 to 1,400,000 (Heinonen 2007: 114). As a result of these developments pertaining to tourism and protected areas, some protected areas have adopted certifications, such as Europarc and PAN Parks, for developing sustainable tourism. The Europarc ecolabel has been adopted in two national parks: Syöte and Koli. Also, two national parks have been certified as PAN Parks: Oulanka and the Archipelago park in southwestern Finland. This thesis provides a case study of the Oulanka national park and the PAN Parks certification (Articles II, V).

The PAN Parks initiative provides a third-party certification system under the WCPA (World Commission on Protected Areas) Framework for Management Effectiveness. PAN Parks was established in 1997 by the WWF and the Dutch leisure company Molecaten. A park becomes certified following verification carried out by a team of independent experts in accordance with PAN Parks' five principles, each with specific criteria: natural values, habitat management, visitor management, sustainable tourism development, and tourism business partners. The minimum size of a PAN Park is 20,000 hectares with a wilderness/core zone of at least 10,000 hectares in its natural state, which represents the most undisturbed expanses of Europe's remaining natural landscapes. The PAN Parks criteria do not permit extractive uses in the core zone (e.g. hunting/culling, fishing or motorised transportation) even if based on traditional use. PAN Parks exerts pressure towards certain management options through the verification process, but national legislation is complied with. PAN Parks claims to combine wilderness protection with sustainable tourism, which *'provides real benefits for the rural communities in and around the protected areas'* (PAN Parks 2011). However, as PAN Parks favours a non-interventive conservation approach, it also prefers exclusion of semi-domesticated reindeer; it has claimed that any impacts of semi-domesticated reindeer on ecosystems should resemble those of wild forest reindeer, which are defined as a 'natural species' of reindeer. PAN Parks has *'the ambition to protect fragments of unlogged boreal forest from intensive reindeer herding.'* (PAN Parks 2011).

Regarding protected area governance modes, two distinct modes can be distinguished: 1) a mode where park governance is formed in interplay between

park managements, the Finnish law, and EU regulations, and 2) a mode, which is increasingly influenced by tourism development and includes protected area and tourism certifications. However, here I consider the PAN Parks certification also as part of vertical protected area governance. For actors at the local level, the horizontal diffusion of governance at the international level is irrelevant, but the important issue is, what kind of rules will be formed regarding protected areas and their use. Figure 6 portrays actors in a multi-level context related to the governance of protected areas in northern Finland. Next, I will outline some of the problems found in protected area governance.

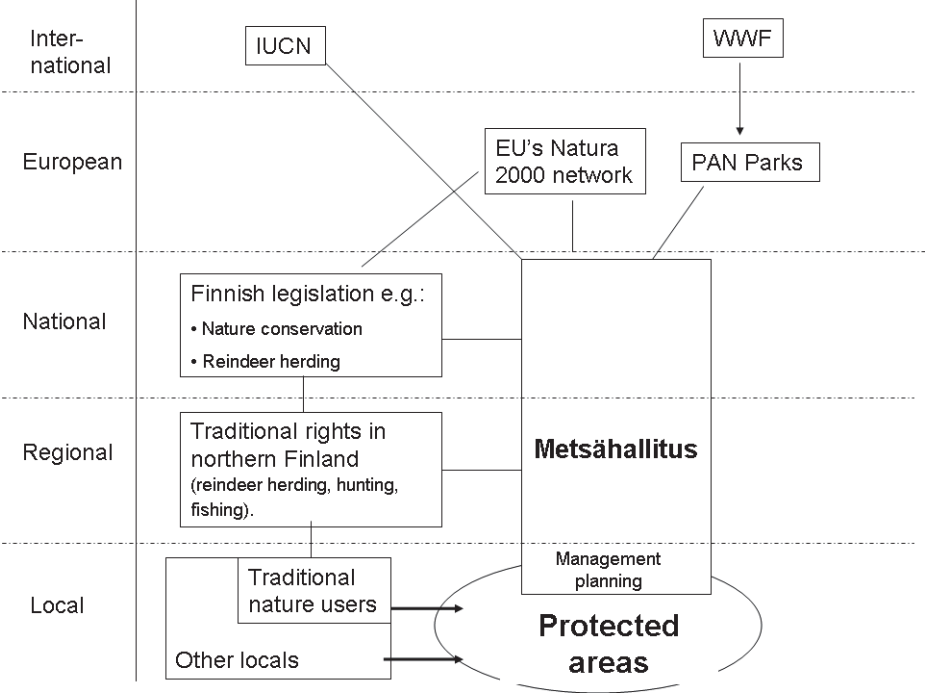


Fig. 6. An illustration of vertical protected area governance. PAN Parks is only relevant for the Oulanka national park (adapted from Article V).

Lack of transparency regarding international influences

International influences became visible in the Pallas-Ylläs national park when the park went down in the IUCN classification. The status decreased because of reindeer herding and hunting. The park management responded to this by

imposing and by trying to impose new regulations on hunting and reindeer herding, and was able to raise the status back to level II, the usual category for national parks (Sulkava & Norokorpi 2008: 64). The decision to increase hunting prohibitions was considered poor by some local nature users. Only the local game association was contacted when planning the restrictions, and other interested people had no opportunity to take part in the discussions. Regarding reindeer herding, the proposed limitations to the herders' motorised transportation within the park, a legally secured right, were considered absurd by the interviewed herders. The planned restrictions on motorised transportation never materialised (Article III). In Malla, IUCN's Ia classification was cited as one of the original reasons to enforce regulations excluding reindeer herding from the reserve. There have been discussions of even fencing the Malla Reserve in order to prevent the impact of reindeer (Jokinen M 2005; Article III).

In Oulanka, there were also attempts to enforce the conservation regulations with fences. Particularly, it was suggested that the core zone of the ONP be protected from the impact of reindeer with fences (PAN Parks 2002). According to a representative of Metsähallitus, there is an evident contradiction between the PAN Parks criteria and extractive reindeer herding in the core zone, and when compatibility is assessed with the knowledge derived from overgrazing problems (e.g., sheep) in Europe, it is understandable that PAN Parks has a rather strict view on herding. Even though the fence idea was abandoned, PAN Parks (2007) still considers reindeer herding as a major issue requiring more intense monitoring and regulation, especially in the core zone. PAN Parks also wants to ban bear hunting in the core zone.

The above examples stress that international actors have created pressures for stricter protection. The influences of international conservation agencies on park managements have not been communicated transparently. This has resulted in rumours among local resource users about the objectives of international agencies and their influence on park management. These rumours were especially apparent in the Pallas-Ylläs and Oulanka national parks (Articles III, V). In Pallas-Ylläs, local resource users believed that if the park raised its status in the IUCN classification of protected areas, it would receive more funding from EU. In Oulanka, local resource users were rather incognisant of the objectives of PAN Parks, even though PAN Parks' goal is also to benefit local people. For example, not even the interviewed leader of the reindeer herding cooperative in the Oulanka area had heard about the fencing plan directly from PAN Parks or Metsähallitus. According to him, the secrecy around the issue cast a negative

shadow over the whole idea of PAN Parks, and he stated that: *'I am sceptical about PAN Parks because I have not found out what its final purposes and goals are'*. Another herder in the Oulanka area stated that: *'when knowledge reaches you as a rumour, it automatically makes you defensive because you do not know what the actual case is'*.

When the role of international actors is not communicated clearly they become a kind of shadow participant in protected area governance. As their role and influences are unclear, it also becomes difficult to participate in debates concerning these actors. Similarly, as in the ENGO- and market-based governance system, here local opposition might also be evoked, when influences from faraway and international actors increase. Even though international conservation agencies, such as PAN Parks, may produce local benefits, they often define local environments from the point of view of global public goods. Wilshusen *et al.* (2002) have reviewed some debates between the stricter protectionist camp and those in favour of more integrated objectives. They have discovered that protectionists often argue that protection of biodiversity is a moral imperative, and that we have to consider nature and biodiversity as a global public good. The counter-argument is that the moral argument for strict conservation ignores: 1) the variation in cultural moral conceptions, 2) that 'global public good' refers to elite interests, and 3) that, by this argument, human rights are overrun by nature's rights. The problem with the 'global public good' justification is that it often ignores the burden of actors on the local level.

Concepts in conservation rhetoric

Concepts used by classifications and certifications aim to standardise the level of conservation, or at least to standardise the ways of evaluating conservation. Furthermore, standardisation relates to the technical 'one size fits all' idea of governance, and the creation of standards is linked to the inclusion and exclusion of actors and activities relating to biodiversity conservation (Igoe *et al.* 2008: 180–181). Describing the divergences in understandings of the concepts used in standardisation can reveal problems behind standardisation efforts using 'one size fits all' ideas.

The concepts commonly used in conservation rhetoric, 'natural state', 'wilderness', 'recreation', and 'biodiversity', articulate problematic universals and include hidden value statements about what the nature should be like in protected areas, and how it should be used or left unused (Escobar 1998; Tsing

2005: 95–101; Carolan 2006). However, various conceptualisations of the role of humans and their livelihoods in a ‘natural state’ environment can be found, and divergences also exist within expert communities (Articles III, V).

The problem with the concept of ‘natural state’ is that it often supports the axiomatic exclusion of local resource users from protected areas, because the resource users are taken to be a threat by default. In Malla, the prevailing hypothesis that reindeer grazing constitutes a threat to all rare and endangered species became contested, as it was found that while grazing disturbs as well as threatens some species, others gain advantage and benefit from reindeer grazing. Hence, it seems necessary to identify more clearly the species and ecosystem functions that the conservation applications wish to support (Jokinen M 2005: 316; Article III). Similarly, research on the impact of reindeer on the Oulanka national park questioned the negative impacts of the current grazing pressure on ‘natural state’, and concluded that the current grazing pressure is actually quite close to the hypothetical grazing impacts of wild-forest reindeer (Metsähallitus wilderness... 2010; Article V).

Also, the concept of recreation can be seen from the tourists’ perspective as a cultural design. It does not see local traditional nature uses as recreational practices, as they were seen by local traditional resource users. In Oulanka, one of the interviewed traditional resource users stated that *‘local people do not merely want to explore the park with their eyes; they also want to do something in it’*. Similar statements were also made by traditional resource users in Pallas-Ylläs: *“For locals, the park is defended by the fact that it ensures the recreational use of the area; however, it doesn’t work if fishing, [herding] and hunting are not allowed.”* In addition, traditional resource users in both Pallas-Ylläs and the Oulanka area saw themselves as parts of the wilderness areas and also of the natural state, not as threats to it. They argued that reindeer herding cannot be a threat to nature as reindeer have been in the area for centuries, and still there is nature to protect.

In this light, it seems that concepts often carry implicit assumptions on the relationships and the moral codes of conservation with them. These concepts are neglecting site-specifics and local conceptualisations of nature. A local nature conservationist from the Pallas-Ylläs region summarises the idea of ‘natural state’: *‘There is no such thing as natural state, and has never been. Nature is in constant dynamic movement, in the past without human interference, and during the last centuries it has been influenced by people’*. Thus, ‘natural state’ is a very political concept, as it requires defining the preferable condition for nature. In Oulanka,

park management was able to negotiate a more site-specific conception of 'natural state' with PAN Parks, and as a result, the idea of fencing was abandoned. Even though the negotiations required some ecological research and PAN Parks did not lean on the resource users' local knowledge, it shows that knowledge can also flow from the local level to the international level (Article V). These kinds of cross-scale negotiation would be important for unfolding the axioms hidden in the concepts used in nature conservation.

Heterogeneous communities

One explanation for the rumours about international agencies found among local resource users is that the participatory processes were unable to include all the relevant stakeholders from the local level. In Pallas-Ylläs, the hunting association was considered to represent the views of local nature users. In Oulanka, and especially related to PAN Parks, the local forum initiated by PAN Parks, the local PAN Parks Group, included representatives of local villagers, but no specific representative for reindeer herders or hunters. It can be argued that in both cases, wider participation and communication concerning the planned and actual prohibitions on local nature uses could have alleviated the rumours.

Regarding the Malla Strict Nature Reserve, there was also an internal conflict between the Sámi reindeer villages of Gova-Labba and Vasara, which was considered to be detrimental to any kind of sustainable grazing arrangements. Both reindeer villages considered that Malla belongs to their traditional grazing areas. It was also stated in public that if the other village grazed in Malla, the other village would also bring their reindeer there to graze. Thus, Malla was, and still is, part of the villages' competition for grazing lands (Jokinen & Heikkinen 2005: 40–42). This highlights the fact that the potential future conflict resolution mechanisms would also have to take this internal conflict within reindeer herders into account.

We noticed in Oulanka that at the local level, there is heterogeneity in the views towards PAN Parks and related development (Article II; see also Törn *et al.* 2008). The issue of local level heterogeneity is also acknowledged in the literature on tourism–protected area partnerships. For example, Jamal & Stronza (2009) focus on collaboration between multiple stakeholders, and they attribute the success of achieving sustainable destination management to the fact that local community members have legitimacy as partners in the planning and development of the protected area. However, they note that one of the key

remaining challenges for sustainable protected area–tourism partnerships and for destination management lies in the heterogeneity of local communities. This results in the requirement that planning processes should include more than one or few members of the local community.

Problems in protected area governance highlight somewhat similar conclusions as with commercial forests: the neglect of site-specifics in concepts, communications, and negotiations is the key to understanding the contradictions and rumours concerning protected area governance. In general, international conservation pressures seem to promote stricter conservation, and in some cases, it even comes close to the ‘fences and fines’ approach to conservation (see Wilshusen *et al.* 2002; West *et al.* 2006). This is surprising as at the global scale many conservation organisations have also adopted social objectives for protected area governance (Schelhas 2001; Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2004; IUCN 2008; PAN Parks 2011). However, some cross-level learning about site-specifics has also taken place, for example, concerning PAN Parks’ abandonment of the idea of fencing to create more natural conditions in Oulanka.

3.5 Conclusions about the governance modes and their problems

My key argument is that decisions concerning individual sites and their use function as a basis for disputes and contradictions. Hence, participatory processes could pay more attention to local sites in order to prevent the disputes and to resolve contradictions. Otherwise the ‘the site strikes back’ in the form of opposition, rumours, and campaigns by unsatisfied stakeholders. Table 3 gives an overview of the problems and advantages of the different governance modes identified in this section.

Table 3. Modes of forest governance and their problems.

Type of governance mode	Actor(s) who have the most decision power	Background assumptions	Problems	Advantages
State-based with a participatory dimension	Metsähallitus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participatory tools (NRP) can prevent disputes and have also other benefits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The regional scope of NRP processes results in problems pertaining to participant composition and quality of discussions. When implementing national or regional guidelines more flexibility towards site-specifics is needed The system has created uncommitted stakeholders and disputes have prevailed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The participatory dimension has potential to take community concerns into account Effective coordination in the state-based system
Market and ENGO-based governance	ENGOs and their allies; actors high in the chain of custody (e.g. international customers of Finnish forest companies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Green' production is important for customers. This creates economic incentives for companies to adopt greener production strategies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Democratic' structures of decision-making are detoured Decisions are mostly not negotiated but made under pressure Effective participation requires resources and skills Uncontrollable side-effects (e.g. local conflicts) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An alternative to the state-led system. Brings new stakeholders into decision-making

Type of governance mode	Actor(s) who have the most decision power	Background assumptions	Problems	Advantages
Self-organising local governance	Local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community-based decisions are the most legitimate - Community knows how to best manage the resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Requires strong leadership and active key actors - Requires that the community is rather unified in its opinions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can address site-specifics effectively unless overrun by state decisions
Vertical International-State-community governance mode in protected areas	Metsähallitus's NHS mediates between international influences, laws, and the participation of local communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Park management can benefit from international influences and standardisation processes - Laws and management planning secure the rights of traditional nature users 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Acknowledgment of heterogeneous local communities is not always good - Poor communication, especially about the agendas of international actors. - Concepts such as 'natural state' are supported at the international level, but do not often fit into local ideas about nature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rather good coordination of diverse influences and interests by park managements - Participatory management planning in place

In conclusion, there is a variety of problems in forest governance that often fall under the category of neglecting site-specifics. The following section outlines some development suggestions for taking site-specifics into account in forest governance more effectively.

4 Practical suggestions for forest governance

Andonova & Mitchell (2010) propose that scholars should direct some effort to examining what are the likely effects of rescaling in the field of environmental governance. The relevance of identifying idealised models of environmental governance has been also criticised, and a research agenda, which would focus on the problem-solving capacity of multi-level governance systems has been called for (Duit and Galaz 2008: 329). Furthermore, what are the strategies available for mitigating or preventing the risks included in the increasing of multi-level environmental governance?

The problems presented in the previous sections can be condensed into a single phrase: neglecting site-specifics in multi-level governance practices leads to contradictions and disputes. 'The sites strike back' via stakeholders concerned about the fate of the sites. Furthermore, most often the reason for contradictions and dispute is the agreements or contestations over site-specifics. However, it is not only local actors who are interested in site-specifics, but actors from multiple levels are also drawn into decision-making and engage in debates over site-specifics. Next, I will make some proposals on how to enhance the acknowledgment of site-specifics in forest governance in northern Finland.

4.1 Commercial forests

The three governance modes identified regarding commercial forests, state-based, and the two pressure modes: the ENGO- and market-based mode and the self-organising local mode of governance, are by no means separate systems. In fact, Metsähallitus has responded to the two pressure modes by launching site-specific extra negotiations. These negotiations have taken place in Inari, Forest Lapland, concerning various disputed forest sites in northern Finland (the so-called Dialogue Process), and also in Muonio. The purpose of these negotiations has been to re-establish trust between the stakeholders (Raitio 2008), to secure the acceptability of the wood production practices in northern Finland in the eyes of the international customers of Finnish forest companies, and to secure ecological values in northern Finland (Metsähallitus 11 September 2009). The Natural Resource Plans are then supposed to be updated on the basis of the results of these site-specific negotiations. Table 4 summarises the reasons, potentials, problems, and results of some site-specific negotiations that have taken place in northern Finland during the last decade.

Table 4. Potentials and problems in site-specific negotiation.

Case	Reason for site-specific negotiations	Potentials in practices	Problems	Result
Inari RHC-specific negotiations	Metsähallitus launched a Reindeer Herding Cooperative (RHC) based pilot project to build trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Good idea for more RHC-specific planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Polarised views – Lack of trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No agreement
Inari round table in 2005	Pressure on Metsähallitus via Stora Enso resulting from a campaign by reindeer herders and ENGOS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Negotiations led by outside facilitator. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Polarised views – Neither side accepted each other's proposals – Herders hoped to negotiate with the Ministry, which was absent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Metsähallitus terminated the logging moratorium a few months after the negotiations
Forest Lapland negotiations in 2009	Pressure on Metsähallitus via Stora Enso resulting from a campaign by ENGOS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Linked to NRP – Good selection of relevant stakeholders for the sites. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No material available 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement to move ca. 35,000 ha permanently outside forestry
Dialogue Process 2003–2005	ENGOS' proposal for dialogue was backed up by pressure from foreign customers of Finnish forest industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bargaining between sites – Idea of linking the dialogue decisions with NRPs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of participation of pro-forestry stakeholders. – Expansion of the original scope led into problems of acceptability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement over 2/3 of the sites, but ended prematurely according to ENGOS

Case	Reason for site-specific negotiations	Potentials in practices	Problems	Result
Muonio Landscape Ecological Plan	Part of Metsähallitus's planning system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Good selection of local stakeholders. – Critical comments also published in the plan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Critical comments were published but did not affect the later logging plans in controversial sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – It was said that the negotiations will continue in the NRP process
Muonio negotiations 2007	Open protest in Muonio and a wide local front against the loggings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Good selection of relevant local stakeholders – Metsähallitus had mandate to do the decision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Polarised debate – Lack of agreement even on what was discussed in a previous meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Metsähallitus leased the dispute forests to tourism entrepreneurs and the municipality for the next ten years.
Liperinsuo FSEV Management Planning	Metsähallitus did voluntarily some minor participatory efforts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – There is potential for creating a category between industrial forestry and full protection in FSEVs, and for creating acceptable decisions – FSEV management planning provides space for site-specific participatory efforts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Expectations and reality of opportunities for participation in FSEV management planning did not meet – Working according to general guidelines does not secure the acceptability of the decision – No guidelines for participation regarding FSEV management planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Metsähallitus logged the areas according to the guidelines set in the environmental guidebook, and according to the regional decision in the NRP process. ENGOS were disappointed and arranged an on-site protest leading nowhere.

Taking a lesson from the previous site-specific negotiations (Table 4), a development suggestion for Metsähallitus's NRP process can be formulated. An additional task for Natural Resource Planning would be to map potential conflict areas in the process and then launch more site-specific negotiations on these locations with relevant stakeholders. The areas on which there is agreement would be managed as planned in the regional strategy. This largely reflects the current practices of the NRP. Another point would be the mapping of problem areas and launching site-specific discussions regarding these defined sites. In site-specific deliberations, divergent views would be explicated and properly explored without the requirement of an agreement and with a neutral facilitator. The results of these sub-deliberations could then be brought back into the regional plan. If there were many sites under negotiation within the planning area, there would be a possibility of bargaining between the different sites. Adding a site-specific component to the NRPs could have the following benefits:

- Bringing the contested sites into discussions with stakeholders. These discussions would probably enhance the trust of stakeholders towards Metsähallitus as they would deem their interests acknowledged by the planning practices of Metsähallitus.
- Increasing the ability to include relevant stakeholders into the negotiations. These stakeholders could also be from lower and upper levels than the NRP region.
- If there were many 'problem sites' within the same NRP area with the same stakeholders, the stakeholders could bargain about the sites. It would be more likely that they would accept 'losses' in other sites, if they would gain advantages in other sites. In current NRPs, it seems that some are satisfied while others feel that they lose in the process of regional compromise-making. These site-specific negotiations would enable the possibility for all stakeholders to 'win' the debate at some sites. This could improve the commitment of the stakeholders to the decisions.
- Allowing more divergent views regarding site-specifics to be explored within the process.
- Pro-active planning and the possibility for preventing disputes, in the sense that potential dispute sites are mapped during the planning process and taken under discussion with relevant stakeholders. These site-specific deliberations would possibly create a mitigation mechanism for halting the movement from

the state-based system to other forms of governance where decision-making happens through different actors and different kinds of dynamics.

4.2 Protected areas

Even though there have been no open disputes regarding protected area governance in northern Finland, as in relation to commercial forests, contradictions exist. It seems that a major reason for the rumours and resistance towards nature conservation is the lack of effective two-way communication between local and international actors. Enhanced communication, transparency, the acknowledgment of heterogeneous local actors, and the explication of the concepts and problem definitions of the different actors could enhance protected area governance from the viewpoint of local resource users. Structures for doing this already exist: management planning meetings and the Local PAN Parks Group in the Oulanka national park. Next, I will propose some suggestions for alleviating the above problems.

In Article V, we have developed ideas regarding park management as a kind of boundary organisation (e.g. Guston 2001) between international conservation agencies and local nature users. We have found that the Oulanka park management has been rather successful in its boundary work regarding the mediation between divergent preferences of the PAN Parks certification and local traditional nature users over the management options. It could thus be beneficial for park managers to see themselves not only as conservationists but also as mediators between different stakeholders at different levels. This role would include open communication to multiple directions. The communicative efforts could include transparency of the different actors' agendas, the explication of the concepts used, and outlining diverse management options. These communications could pay particular attention to heterogeneous local groups, and focus especially on those who might be burdened by conservation. This would increase the transparency of conservation governance. Lack of transparency is problematic from a normative point of view, but is also a practical problem, as it reduces the possibilities of resource users for accepting reductions to their rights (Dahlberg & Burlando 2009). Furthermore, insufficient communication leads to distrust, which has been seen as a major explaining factor for local opposition towards adjacent parks (Stern 2008) and one of the main problems for successful collaboration (Kyllönen *et al.* 2006).

One of the problems identified was that, for example, the concepts of ‘natural state’ and ‘wilderness’ tend to see local nature uses axiomatically as a threat to nature. The definitions formed at the international level are often not flexible enough to take into account local conceptualisations, and often seem to promote rather inflexible views with the ‘one size fits everywhere’ logic. Furthermore, international standardisation efforts via the use of classifications and principles and criteria are often not adapted to acknowledge local concerns. It can be argued that the concepts should go beyond transparency, and that the content of the concepts should be co-produced by the various engaged stakeholders. The co-production could take place in deliberative meetings between local nature users and the park management, which would communicate the standpoints of international conservation actors. Co-production of the concepts used would be important for participation as the implicit assumptions hidden in the concepts used in the standardisation efforts produce outcomes in the material world.

Currently, the mapping of the benefits has been started, for example, by using the Money Generator Model (Metsähallitus & Metla 2009), which is used to calculate how much money protected area visitors leave in the area. However, these models tell nothing about the internal distribution of income, and it seems that those engaged with the tourism industry are the ones who benefit most from the protected areas financially. Of course, some of the traditional nature users are engaged with tourism businesses, but not all. Thus, those outside the growing tourism industry do not get the benefits from conservation, but might be left with the burden in the form of reduced use rights of the protected areas, if the pressure for stricter conservation turns into action. Management plans are successful in mapping existing and potential environmental impacts (e.g. Sulkava & Norokorpi 2008). However, there is also a need for something like social impact assessment. Another benefit would be that the costs of conservation would be identified, and then possible compensation programmes or alleviating measures could be put into practice. This would be reasonable, as currently the general benefits of conservation and threats to conservation objectives are assessed, but specific burdens to traditional nature users are seldom addressed by these assessments.

4.3 Problems with the suggestions

In this section, I consider the problems regarding participation identified by representatives of Metsähallitus. The three problems are:

- Metsähallitus arranges participatory meetings, but people are not interested enough to attend the meetings.
- It is problematic that there is distrust between local people and Metsähallitus. However, this distrust is due to historical relationships between the forest administration and locals, instead of the current participatory practices.
- Metsähallitus has tried to negotiate a compromise, which the opposing side rejected.

Participatory structures exist, but people do not attend the meetings

Regarding both protected areas and commercial forests, representatives of Metsähallitus expressed in the interviews wonder at the fact that people do not attend participatory meetings even if they are arranged. This was used as a counter-argument against the problems in participation and communication which were blamed on Metsähallitus. The statement was made explicit, for example, in relation to the Oulanka national park, and has found support also in the research. A questionnaire for the local people in the Oulanka area (n=314) revealed that they did not perceive their possibilities for participation in relation to ONP development as being satisfactory. But according to the questionnaire, the locals also lacked motivation to take part in the planning processes regarding the park (Cottrell *et al.* 2008). However, the study did not distinguish between traditional nature users and other groups of locals. Thus, it cannot be known which groups lacked motivation to participate.

In relation to commercial forests, an interviewed reindeer herder stated that Metsähallitus arranges participatory meetings until they get acceptance for logging. After several participatory meetings, only few have enthusiasm to attend the meetings. Thus, there is no one to object against the loggings, and therefore acceptance is not difficult to receive. This is a very interesting point, as the lack of participation is usually considered as a problem. This also highlights the fact that too many meetings can cause fatigue towards participation. Hence, a limited amount of meetings could be useful for the planning process. Also, lack of motivation to participate in planning processes and fatigue towards participation pose challenges for successful deliberations and consensus building. It seems that instead of the idea of ‘the more participation the better governance’, there is a limit to the amount of participation that people can take. Governance does not improve by making stakeholders tired of participation. Yet, it would also be dangerous to retain the idea that people are not interested. This highlights the fact

that participatory negotiations should be used with caution, instead of seeing them as a magical solution to every contradiction.

Regarding missing stakeholders, some actors remain outside the formal decision-making processes and have influence through other means. In commercial forests, for example, Greenpeace has not taken part in NRP processes, but it has still been one of the key actors influencing forest governance in northern Finland. Regarding protected areas, EU, IUCN, and PAN Parks have influence on decision-making, but not by having representatives in the planning processes. These examples point to a problem I label as ‘shadow’ stakeholders. These actors are certainly involved in the decision-making, or at least influenced by the decisions, but absent from the formal planning processes. These missing stakeholders can deem the decisions as illegitimate. In addition, it is interesting to note that these ‘shadow’ stakeholders come from various levels. In the context of multi-level governance, the decision processes would benefit from including stakeholders from various levels, and when their participation is impossible, the multi-level connections could be made explicit by the convenors of the processes.

Historical distrust

Many of the interviewed representatives of Metsähallitus explained the existing distrust of locals towards park management by the historical relations between local resource users and government officials responsible for forest and protected area management. These officials often came from southern Finland, and cared little about local views. The resulting feelings among peripheral nature users have been labelled as hatred for superiors (‘herraviha’) (see Massa 1994; Ruuttula-Vasari 2004; Sarkki 2006). This historically derived distrust cross-cuts all three cases in protected areas, and it has also been discussed in relation to Malla (Jokinen M 2005: 6–13) and Oulanka (Ruuttula-Vasari & Juvonen 2006).

Explaining the problems in communication and participation by past history is most likely a correct but incomplete explanation. The negative side of the historical explanation is that responsibility for the problems is actually assigned to historical issues instead of current practices. Here, a useful departure might be to acknowledge that the historical distrust exists, but also to focus on how to overcome it by means of the current practices and procedures. In fact, the acknowledgement of heterogeneity at the local level even in communication and participatory practices could be an important step towards alleviating the historical burden.

Negotiations aim for self-interest, not compromise

This is an important criticism towards deliberative participatory processes. Deliberations can also be seen as constant competition between the parties and as power-plays. Also, rather than trying to find a consensus, the participants might pursue their self-interests in the negotiation settings (e.g. Munton 2003; Arias-Maldonado 2007).

In relation to the Muonio dispute, members of the local coalition declared that they did not want to accept even sensitive loggings in the disputed forests. The members of the local coalition did not trust Metsähallitus, and they believed that if they gave Metsähallitus logging permission, Metsähallitus would eventually log everything (Article I). The emergence of an agreement and consensus would require open-minded participants (Barabas 2004). This could be unrealistic in cases where the conflict has lasted for years and viewpoints are polarised. Here, the use of an external facilitator could help to alleviate the polarisation of the debate (Kyllönen *et al.* 2006).

As concerns commercial forests, a site-specific negotiation tool would not take away the assumed problems regarding the informal institutions emphasising the importance of wood production (Raitio 2008). This tradition makes pro-forestry stakeholders 'less open-minded'. On the other hand, critical stakeholders, such as some reindeer herders and ENGOs, would also have to be open-minded towards 'middle ground' suggestions. Yet even in a polarised situation, the possibility for bargaining between the different sites within an NRP area could lead to the discovery of smaller consensus areas, as happened in the Dialogue Process between ENGOs and Metsähallitus.

Furthermore, the Malla case is illuminating in that even rather large scientific assessments emphasising different points of view on a contradictory situation cannot make the contradictions disappear, and that mutual learning does not necessarily take place despite third party interventions (see Jokinen M 2005; Article III). The Malla case was still acute in 2010, as the biological research station of University of Helsinki was going to submit an official proposal for the construction of fences around Malla in order to exclude reindeer to Metsähallitus, which is currently responsible for the management of Malla. A conservation expert stated in a newspaper interview that '*reindeer have eaten and walked over my research site ... this issue is shameful for Metsähallitus*' (Angervuo 2010). In conclusion, third party interventions and deliberative processes are not a panacea for all problems.

5 Discussions and conclusions

By examining several cases, I have identified the types of forest governance in use in northern Finland. I have also identified participation-related problems, which were found in these different modes of governance. The problems resulted in disputes, uncommitted stakeholders, lack of acceptance, and rumours. In general, I have argued that there are various ways by which the current governance modes neglect site-specifics in decision-making processes. This might be due to increasingly international stakeholders taking part in forest governance in northern Finland. Presumably, multi-level governance is not going to disappear, but vertical linkages are probably going to increase and horizontal connections will likely grow at the different levels. This creates challenges for furthering 'good' governance and participation in a multi-level setting. I have outlined some development suggestions for state-based governance modes in commercial forests and protected areas.

My conclusion is that by paying careful attention to site-specifics in planning systems, concepts, and communication could prevent opposition towards the existing modes of forest governance. Not only are local actors concerned about site-specifics, but various actors at multiple levels have also taken part in decision-making concerning the forests of northern Finland. Opposition towards decisions and the current modes of governance in protected areas as well as in commercial forests can be explained by the various ways of neglecting site-specifics, which have resulted in 'the site striking back'. A future challenge for planners and implementers is to successfully mediate between the divergent interests and knowledge of actors coming from various levels.

This research contributes to the literature on environmental governance by stressing the importance of allowing for site-specific negotiations in the context of multi-level environmental governance. I have suggested that improved deliberations on site-specifics between stakeholders from multiple levels could enhance the acceptability of environmental governance, although these deliberations have their limitations. Next, I will make generalised assumptions based on the case studies on how to explain the resistance towards multi-level governance and 'the site strikes back' responses.

5.1 Explaining resistance towards multi-level governance

Lack of cross-level participation

Multi-level environmental governance processes may have difficulties regarding the participation of relevant actors from various levels at the same time. This becomes a problem as the processes often have an impact on and are impacted by issues at multiple levels. For example, regional processes have an impact on the lower levels, and thus the acceptability of the regional processes would increase with the participation of lower level actors. The participation of lower level actors could enrich, for example, regional decisions, and make the realities of the local level an integral part of upper level decision-making (Section 3.1). On the other hand, upper level actors might also have an interest on lower level decisions, or they may even influence the decisions. Upper level actors could introduce the bigger picture into the decision-making (Section 4.1). In conclusion, in order to address these multi-level influences, participants from multiple levels are required to bring the cross-level connections more strongly into discussions. It is probable that missing but interested stakeholders from upper and lower levels will oppose the decisions, when they are excluded from the decision-making.

'Faraway' stakeholders

Increase in vertical and horizontal relations and connections in forest governance have also brought 'faraway' stakeholders into the centre of decision-making. Local level actors may have difficulties in understanding the justification of the 'faraway' stakeholders to engage in site level decision-making. The emergence of 'faraway' stakeholders in decision-making also explains resistance towards various modes of governance (Sections 3.2, 3.4; Articles III, V). The resistance towards 'faraway' stakeholders could be alleviated by being clear and transparent about their roles and agendas. However, this kind of resistance might be hard to overcome, because of existing suspicions towards faraway actors. In a way, this is in contradiction with the proposal to increase cross-level connections and to engage stakeholders from multiple levels. Yet, transparency can be considered better than the maintenance of these faraway actors as shadow stakeholders who influence the decisions in any case.

Upper level decisions implemented at lower levels without opportunity for participation

With regard to cross-level participation, the case studies showed that it is important to arrange participatory efforts when upper level decisions are implemented at lower levels. Even if an issue were agreed on at an upper level, it does not mean that the new rules or practices would be accepted when implemented at lower levels. Hence, participation in larger level decisions is not always enough, but participation is often needed at multiple levels, at least in cases where strong contradictory interests exist. In addition, resistance is also likely to emerge when the larger level processes do not allow for discussion about site-specifics, but are still used to justify site-level practices (Section 3.1).

Including 'veto' players

Increasing horizontal integration at multiple levels has resulted in 'veto' possibilities for some actors via pressure strategies. From the point of view of 'good' governance it might be wise to include these 'veto' players into the formal (state-based) decision-making processes. This could reduce the movement of governance into the 'pressure' modes, which are often considered as 'non-democratic' and often involve uncontrollable effects and side-effects (Sections 3.2, 5.2; Article IV).

Concepts used in cross-level governance and standardisation practices not open for debate

Concepts used in cross-level governance and standardisation practices should be opened for debate, especially when moving from one level to another and across sites. Concepts do not have universal meanings, but instead they have different implications and meanings in different localities. Thus, general concepts should be negotiated and opened for discussion when moving them from upper to lower levels (Section 3.4; Article III). Concepts often embody value statements and readily given problem definitions, which should be opened. In addition, moving a concept horizontally from one locality to another is not without problems (Article V), but here, the actual content of the concepts would also be essential to negotiate.

Lack of acknowledgement of heterogeneity within levels and groups

The actors at each level and often in each group are frequently heterogeneous, and different kinds of stakeholders should be mapped in order to come up with a relevant communication strategy and plan for participation (Article II). This would make the problem of representation visible to the organisers of the processes. Moreover, even if all interested parties could not be included as participants, at least the organisers of the process would have knowledge on what kind of sub-groups exist within the different levels and stakeholder groups.

5.2 Highlights for environmental anthropology

The examinations in this thesis have contributed to the literature on problem-focused environmental social science. I would like to discuss and highlight several issues relevant to environmental anthropology, and to illustrate further research questions and to outline how my research contributes to some discussions in environmental anthropology.

Environmental campaigns and coalitions in multi-level setting

Firstly, I would like to discuss the anthropology of environmental campaigns and multi-level coalitions. For example, Brosius (1999a) has stressed the various ways that indigeneity is used in environmental campaigns. It has been noted that indigeneity may be used in a strategy called ‘strategic essentialism’, which means that indigenous people are constructed as and argued to be rather unchanging and sometimes also ‘primitive’, for example, in their relationship towards nature. In strategic essentialism, indigenous people are seen as rather static non-changing entities for political reasons (Kuper 2003: 395). Thus, it can be said that the production of indigeneity is a political process (Dove & Carpenter 2006: 44). Brosius (1999b) has concluded that in Malaysia, ENGOs utilised essentialist images of local indigenous people, but after the ENGOs’ campaign was over, the ENGOs left the locals alone with their struggles. In Inari, the intervention of Greenpeace created a local conflict between those taking the side of Greenpeace and those who were against Greenpeace’s intervention. Reindeer herders and Greenpeace presented reindeer herding as the authentic way of being Sámi, and the UN Commission on Human Rights also took a stance for reindeer herders instead of Sámi forestry workers. These considerations show that images of local

and especially indigenous people can play a critical role in environmental campaigns in a multi-level setting. Furthermore, critical examination of the images deployed will continue to be an interesting research topic for anthropologists. What forms of indigeneity or locality are shadowed by the use of simplistic images for political purposes? This shadowing might, in fact, produce ‘the site strikes back’ responses, as happened in Inari (Section 3.2). Here an anthropologist can contribute especially by providing more nuanced accounts of local heterogeneity, and outlining forms of indigeneity that are shadowed by essentialist image production. Essentialist argumentative politics in a multi-level setting may produce local conflicts, as between the Sámi reindeer herders and the Sámi forestry workers in Inari. There might thus be a trade-off between, on the one hand, picturing indigeneity in simplistic terms as an essentialist entity, thus producing effective arguments in international settings, and on the other hand, providing accounts on local heterogeneity but at the same time losing potential to justify arguments with clear essentialist images.

The Inari case illustrates well how essentialist arguments regarding indigenous people are politically mobilised. Anthropologists of environmental campaigns, such as Brosius (1999b) and Tsing (1999), often focus on indigenous people. Coalitions between local and international actors, such as ENGOs, are often considered as more effective social movements than appraisals that are purely local. For example, Tsing (1999: 393) has stated that collaborations between urban environmentalists and local people *‘are one of the most promising social movements of our times’*. However, the Muonio case illustrates that a wide non-indigenous local front can also provide powerful justification for environmental campaigns, and in fact, the potential participation of Greenpeace in the campaign was feared to shatter the local front and thus lead to the breakdown of the local justification against logging (Article I). In a multi-level governance context, these observations are interesting. It may be that ‘locality’ and the closeness of the site can form even more effective justification for a campaign than a coalition between urban ENGOs and rural people.

Whose ‘good’ governance?

Environmental campaigns are also interesting in how they relate to ‘good’ governance. Environmental campaigns and pressure modes of governance in commercial forests have taken place outside participatory planning processes arranged by Metsähallitus. Many pro-forestry actors respond negatively to the

overrunning of these 'democratic' planning processes. However, in Finland, the relationship between forestry and democracy has been interesting, as the traditional role of Metsähallitus has been to support Finnish forest industry (Rytteri 2006), and the years between 1960 and 1980 in particular can be considered as an era of corporativistic democracy, as well organised actors in Finnish forest industry strongly influenced policies and the Parliament. The corporativism can be explained by the strong importance of the forest industry to the whole nation (Raitio 2008: 30–32). The corporativism continued even in the 1990s and 2000s, especially in relation to forest certification, when the forest industry influenced the choice of the industry and land-owner dominated PEFC forest certification over the FSC certification, which is preferred by ENGOs (Cashore *et al.* 2007). However, from the 1990s onwards, ENGOs and social movements moved forest policy discussions to the public arena and used market-based pressure strategies to influence forestry-related decision-making. This can perhaps be conceptualised as public deliberative democracy, where the best argument wins the public debate (see Dryzek 2000). This new space for democracy altered previous power relations, and pro-forestry actors have been rather disappointed as ENGOs overran their decisions by means of pressure strategies and public debates. Also, it has been noted in the literature that it may be problematic that ENGOs use a large amount of non-parliamentary power (Chapin 2004). Yet, on the other hand, Metsähallitus's planning processes have been criticised for not being fair towards stakeholders critical to logging. Thus, provocatively these stakeholders have the choice of being dominated by pro-forestry actors in the planning processes or of trying to have an influence by means of pressure strategies, which are criticised for not being democratic.

Here, the essential question is how 'good' governance or democracy is defined. Are the public and market-based pressure strategies a form of democracy or merely competition which is won by the side with the most resources and expertise to work in public and create pressure? And is this more or less democratic than corporativism or decisions based on state-based participatory processes? ENGOs and civil society groups do not work within parliamentary democracy, and thus criticism towards them is understandable. However, it can also be seen that the ENGOs and civil society groups should have a right to participate in societal decision-making, and it could be rather dangerous if these groups were suppressed by the state. Thus, perhaps good governance and democracy can also be seen as being more than only parliamentary decisions or state-led participatory planning processes. These issues highlight the complexity

around debates on ‘good’ governance. Furthermore, when different actors accuse each other for undemocratic actions, it is rarely defined what the parties actually mean by ‘good’ governance or democracy. Some are accused of corporativism, biased participatory processes, and others of pressure strategies outside the democratic structures (Section 3.2). Moreover, working within the above forms of democracy has led to ‘the site strikes back’ responses.

In respect to protected areas, the question is particularly interesting in relation to international actors and their power over protected area governance (Articles III, V; Section 3.4). For example, it is seldom outlined how, for example, the IUCN classifications or the PAN Parks certification feed into protected area governance, and what are the relationships between the decisions made in management planning and the influence of the international actors.

These debates highlight the fact that anthropology has excellent reasons for taking part in the discussions considering ‘good’ governance (see Section 2.4) and democracy. It is also a danger that anthropologists remain in a relativistic position without making any kind of proposal or policy recommendation for enhancing ‘good’ governance. In this thesis, I have tried to overcome the trap of relativism, and to make some suggestions for enhancing ‘good’ governance in commercial forests and protected areas.

Nature–culture distinction

The distinction between nature and culture and its implications to protected area governance has been an interest of environmental anthropology at least for the last two decades (e.g. West *et al.* 2006). This thesis has showed that this focus is still relevant (Articles II, III, V; Section 3.4). I would like to further point out two related issues which may serve as points of departure for future research in environmental anthropology concerning the nature–culture distinction: the problematics of standardisation practices in conservation governance, and the distinction between discourse and practice.

Firstly, I want to emphasise the importance of examining the relationship between discourse and practice. Related to Oulanka national park, PAN Parks’ general discourse seems to be that the certification will benefit both conservation and local social objectives. However, as seen in the case study (Section 3.4; Article V), there seems to be a difference between, on the one hand, PAN Parks’ management recommendations for enhancing conservation to meet the standards set by the certification and, on the other hand, the general discourse of local

benefits also used by PAN Parks. That is to say that stricter conservation will be problematic from the point of view of local traditional nature users' rights to use the park as a pasture or as hunting grounds. It is possible that PAN Parks assumes that local benefits will emerge because of the growing number of tourists. However, tourism does not benefit all the locals equally. Here, anthropology can contribute by recognising the different local groups, such as, in this case, the reindeer herders, the hunters, and the tourism entrepreneurs. The general discourse on integrated benefits for conservation and social objectives may be true, but only to some extent, as the negative and positive effects of the certification may be unevenly distributed at the local level. Thus, the relationship between discourse and practice becomes more nuanced than assumed in the generalised rhetoric encompassing integrated objectives via growing nature-based tourism. At the international level, the conservation discourse is increasingly recognising integrated social and ecological objectives, but what is the actual relationship between these integrated promises and local level practices? I believe that this question will be of interest even in the future, and here an analytical distinction between discourse and practice becomes relevant for deconstructing the actualisation of discursive promises in site-level practices. I also believe that this question is becoming more and more acute with the growing policy recognition of the problems around the loss of biodiversity and deteriorating ecosystem services.

The standardisation of nature conservation by means of international classifications, principles, and criteria is part of the effort to ensure a certain level of conservation and to measure the level of conservation in various localities (Articles III, V; Section 3.4). While putting different conservation areas within the same parameters may help conservationists to design and implement enhanced conservation practices, the same parameters may often not be flexible or adaptive to local social and ecological circumstances. This is a problem especially for local people, whose realities are often ignored in these internationally driven standardisation practices. This inflexibility may reduce local acceptance towards protected areas, which, however, is a key to the long-term success of conservation efforts. Yet, in this thesis I have conceptualised park managements as functioning as boundary organisations, in-between mediators between international standardisation efforts and local concerns related to the use rights of protected areas. Successful boundary work between the international and local levels may be able to balance the clash between local realities and international standardisation efforts. These boundary organisations should understand both

sides and also be able to create mutually understandable communications. Even though boundary work may be successful, transparency is also important for building trust and halting local rumours about international conservation agencies and their links to park managements (Article V). In conclusion, I suggest that some of the future work of environmental anthropologists and scholars working within the critical conservation literature paradigm would focus, among other things, on the friction between international standardisation efforts and local concerns. The concept of boundary organisations may help to understand how multi-level governance works, how the gap between standardisation and local concerns could be bridged, and 'the site strikes back' responses can be mitigated with enhanced sensitivity towards site-specific governance.

Construction of levels from local to global

While the topic of this thesis is multi-level forest governance, it is essential to consider the nature of the various levels. Here I argue that the levels from local to global are not ontologically or politically given but under continuous construction leading to various kinds of intersections between the levels. Recently, ideas about the construction of scales and levels have emerged, according to which geographical scales and levels are not given entities, but socially constructed (Herod & Wright 2002). Similarly, Swyngedouw (2004: 132–133) considers *'scalar configurations as the outcome of socio-spatial processes that regulate and organize social power relations'*. The idea of the construction of a scale or level basically means that scales are in a process of shaping and re-making, and this entails power relationships between the state, market-actors, and civil society (see also Riipinen 2008: 38–42). Here I want to emphasise the fact that the construction of a level or scale has policy relevance for site governance. Two issues deserve more attention. Firstly, the construction of the administrative level, which directs the scope of, for example, planning processes. Secondly, I will illustrate how the global invades local sites through the discourse of (global) public goods.

Firstly, I argue that the construction of the regional scope for Metsähallitus's Natural Resource Planning (NRP) processes leads to political struggles concerning the definition of who are included in these processes as relevant participants. It was remarked in Section 3.1 that the regional scope of the NRP processes excludes from both the lower and upper levels actors who would still be part of the regional decision-making processes. Also, the discussions within the

processes are impacted by the chosen administrative level. Thus, the chosen level for participatory processes greatly influences participant composition and discussions. Thus, the construction of the appropriate level for a planning process is, among other things, very much a political choice. The suggestion for a site-specific negotiation tool (Section 4.1) aims to correct some of the biases generated by the regional scope of the NRP processes, and it was concluded that additional site-specific negotiations could correct some of the problems involved in the regional scope of planning, and consensus might be easier to achieve on a site-by-site basis rather than for the whole region.

Secondly, global and local are highly intertwined at the sites, even in the struggles, for example, between the discourse of global public goods and the emphasis on local people's rights. Regarding protected areas, conservation agencies often see the meaning of a protected area in terms of public good, which should be protected. In contrast, local traditional nature users see protected areas as something to which they have use rights, and the invasion of the global public goods thinking poses a serious challenge on the local use rights in protected areas (Articles III, V; Section 3.4). Similarly, in commercial forests and ENGOS' campaigns, the forests are seen as a public good, which should be protected from industrial logging. And here, international agreements, initiatives, and certifications give justification for ENGOS considering the local sites as public goods. Also, the researchers' letter (2007) constructed the sites in Forest Lapland as a public good, arguing that the sites must be protected even though in Forest Lapland the protection rate was already over 40 % (Sarkki & Karjalainen manuscript). Thus, local sites are global to a large extent in the sense that they are often seen to contribute to the national, European and global biodiversity, and also to cultural diversity (Article IV; Section 3.2). The studies on how the global invades local sites will also be important for future anthropological research. This question concerning the global invasion of local sites is especially relevant for equity: should local people's rights be overrun by global benefits, and how to develop fair and sustainable management options in the intersections of global and local?

5.3 What is new in this research?

Finally, I outline the issues that are new in this research. These are not necessarily new in the sense that they have not been presented before. Thus, 'fresh' might be

a better word for describing these issues. I argue that this research has presented empirically, methodologically, and theoretically fresh ideas.

Empirically, this research has contributed to the critical literature on forestry planning by outlining formerly overlooked reasons for the shortcomings of, for example, Metsähallitus's Natural Resource Planning, and also by developing proposals to enhance participation and deliberation in forestry and protected area planning. Regarding protected areas, international influences coming from the IUCN and PAN Parks were only touched upon.

The bottom-up methodological approach to environmental governance combined anthropological fieldwork methods with concepts from environmental politics. Instead of taking a mainstream environmental politics approach to environmental governance, I started from the 'site', then mapped the key stakeholders and sought to find their views on environmental governance. A mainstream approach would have been to approach environmental governance from the point of view of a specific policy instrument. My approach is applied in the sense that it aims to make suggestions for enhancing 'good' governance. This applied site-based approach could also be repeated in other locations. The approach consists of the following steps.

- Choosing a specific location and a group of sites for examination.
- Identifying the basic governance mode(s) in place in these sites. These modes are often hybrid, in the sense that they are not solely based on the state, market actors or civil society, but on combinations of these groups of actors. There could also be parallel governance modes in place at the same sites.
- Choosing your point(s) of interest from the criteria of 'good' governance (e.g. flexibility; accountability; legitimacy, participation).
- Mapping the key stakeholders and choosing from whose perspective the situation is viewed.
- Comparing the chosen normative ideals of 'good' participation against the empirical cases.
- Developing proposals to enhance 'good' governance.
- Being critical even towards your own proposals.
- Forming generalised assumptions on how to enhance 'good' governance or on how to explain the shortcomings of the governance modes.

This thesis is theoretically fresh in its focus on hybrid modes of governance, instead of merely focusing on the state-, market- or civil society-based

governance modes individually. The distinction between the state, market actors, and civil society has been discussed for decades, but efforts to identify hybrid governance modes are more recent. Regarding civil society, I have distinguished between resource-using communities and ENGOs. This distinction is naturally quite self-evident, but not always acknowledged when theorising on environmental governance. This distinction allows for a more nuanced examination of different groups of actors, which again helps in identifying hybrid modes of environmental governance. Further work could be done in identifying more groups, whose interactions form the hybrid governance modes. This study has also looked critically at the catchwords relating to participation and deliberation in the literature on environmental governance (see Section 4.3). This means that these concepts, which also have a normative dimension, were not taken for granted. Normative suggestions for promoting participation and deliberation were also contested. However, multi-stakeholder participation and deliberation still seem promising if compared to governance modes based on, for example, state-led top-down decision-making or solely on ENGO- and market-based governance.

Multi-level governance has great potential, and it also seems inevitable in today's world of cross-level integrations and the global-local character of environmental issues. This research has contributed to the literature on environmental governance by identifying problems and making proposals on how to enhance participation in a multi-level governance context. If these problems and proposals are taken into account, the governance modes have a better possibility to mitigate 'the site strikes back' responses.

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