

Democratic implications of new modes of governance (NMG)

Case: the national park process in DK

Boon, T.E. (corresponding), Nathan, I., Lund, D.H.
Forest & Landscape Denmark, University of Copenhagen

The paper may not be cited without the permission of the authors.

Abstract

Currently, there are strong, international concerns for democratising nature policy processes through new modes of governance. This appears from, e.g. the EU White Paper on Governance, Agenda 21, and the Aarhus Convention. The National Park process in Denmark is an exemplary case of New Modes of Governance, understood as a network based form of steering with multiple decision makers and decision points.

There are opposing theoretical views with regard to new modes of governance (NMG)'s implications for democratic decision making. One view is that NMG enriches democracy by increasing opportunities for stakeholders to take part in decision making. Through deliberative processes it is possible to establish confidence, trust and consensus among actors with opposing views and interests. New, active and able citizens are recruited and empowered to take part in policy making. Another view is that NMG undermines representative democracy and the sovereign role of the State, for instance because the distinction between State and citizens becomes blurred, whereby citizen rights are endangered. Networks depend on consensus and cannot handle conflicts and opposing interests. Therefore, minorities tend to get marginalised. The same is true to those who have no resources or time to participate.

The different points of view depend on the underlying model of democracy. In this paper, we distinguish between a representative and a deliberative understanding of democracy. From these we deduce four central questions, we investigate how each of the two understandings relate to these four questions, and subsequently we explore what the case of the National Park pilot process in Denmark tells us about each of these four questions.

The analysis showed that from a representative democracy understanding, NMG is likely to.. From a deliberative democracy understanding, NMG is likely to ...I.e. it depends on the understanding of democracy.

The analysis of the national park pilot project case in Denmark showed that at least in this case, it is not so that... whereas it cannot be falsified that...

1 Introduction: What are the democracy effects of NMG?

There is a move from government towards governance in natural resources management and environmental decision-making. I.e. a move away from hierarchical, top-down, rule-based steering based on clear objectives towards a steering where the objectives are unclear and need to be defined together with the affected stakeholders, and where there is interdependency of actors in terms of reaching objectives, leading to a network based steering. More specifically, (network) governance can be defined as '(1) relatively stable, horizontal relations between interdependent but relatively autonomous actors, (2) who interact and try to influence each other through negotiations, (3) that take place within an institutionalised community, (4) that is self-regulating within limits often set by political authorities, and that (5) in a broad sense contributes to political steering' (Sørensen & Torfing 2005: 15).

Network governance can be seen as an effort to be more adaptive to the complex environmental problems with high degree of uncertainty, hereby improving effective steering. But what are the democratic implications?

The aim of this paper is to investigate under what circumstances and based on what criteria, it can be said that NMG strengthens or weakens democracy, taking a point of departure in two main understandings of democracy, and exploring it through a case of the national park pilot project (NPP) in Denmark.

The NPP was a policy process initiated by the Minister of Environment to explore the potential for establishing national parks in Denmark.

2 Theory

Several models of liberal democracy exist (for an overview, see Held 2006). A main distinction remains, however, between theories that perceive democracy as a procedure (representative) and theories that perceive democracy as a form of life (deliberative¹).

From a representative democracy perspective, the ideal democracy is one that, through procedures, allows citizens' the largest possible freedom *from* the state, and equal right to control the Government through elections (e.g. Protective democracy as articulated by James Mill and Jeremy Bentham (cf. Held 2006:78), Competitive elitist democracy articulated by Joseph Schumpeter (cf. Held 2006:157) and the neo-liberalist idea of Legal democracy as represented by Hayek (cf. Held 2006:207)). Democratic success is when there is an efficient distribution of policy output, based on

¹ We choose the term 'deliberative democracy' to indicate the importance of deliberating dialogue to the process of empowering citizens through active participation. We acknowledge, that this is not fully in line with the definitions presented by Held (2006), as he uses 'deliberative democracy' to denote a particular form of democracy, parallel to, e.g. 'participatory democracy', whereas we use it more as an 'umbrella concept', including also 'participatory democracy'.

a transparent decision-process with distinct separation of roles and responsibilities. Open, uncensored public debate enables citizens to make informed political choices between competing political elites, and transparency allows citizens to hold politicians accountable for their actions (Sørensen and Torfing 2005b).

From a deliberative democracy perspective, the ideal democracy is a form of life ((Held 2006:215) where freedom and equity is about ensuring all citizens access *to* the state, to participate in societal matters, hereby stimulating a common democracy culture along with self-development (e.g. John Stuart Mills model of Developmental democracy, cf. Held (2006: 92), Participatory democracy as articulated by Carole Pateman, cf. (Held 2006: 215) and, Deliberative democracy, cf. Held 2006: 253)).Held (2006:215) characterises the justification of a participatory democracy as ‘a society which fosters a sense of political efficacy, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a sustained interest in the governing process’. Decision-making is considered a dynamic process where interests emerge and change through dialogue. Therefore decision-making can not be separated from those who are affected. A democratic polity is not defined by its institutions, but by a common political identity that constructs a ‘we’. Democratic success is when the affected/those affecting can see themselves as part of the decision. Equity is understood as all citizens’ capability to exert a substantial influence on decisions affecting them. So it is less about formal access to channels of influence, but more about the political empowerment of citizens, including acceptable living standards (resources), proper education (competencies) , political self-confidence (know how) and trust in the political system. Participation is therefore not merely about election of representatives, but also various forms of participation throughout election period that may empower citizens (Sørensen and Torfing 2005b).

From a representative democracy perspective, NMG undermines representative democracy : sovereign role of state & procedures so citizen-state border is blurred & rights endangered?

From a representative democracy perspective, governance networks are perceived as a democratic threat for a number of reasons. First, they undermine the sovereign role of the state and related procedures. When decision-making competence is handed over from the state to governance networks, it weakens the ability of elected representatives to control the political processes and outcomes. Second, there is no longer a clear distinction between state and citizens, hereby removing the basis for citizen protection from the state. Third, some but not all are given opportunities to participate outside the election periods, increasing political inequity. Fourth, networks between politicians and administrators undermine the separation of legislative and executive powers (Sørensen and Torfing 2007). Fifth, there is limited publicity and transparency in networks, undermining people’s ability to make informed political choices and to control and sanctions the actions of political elites.

From a deliberative democracy perspective, NMG enriches (deliberative) democracy:

Increased part. opportunities (unequal access)

New citizens are recruited and empowered (reinforces elite?)

Trust and consensus built (cannot contain conflict so minorities are marginalised?)

From a deliberative democracy perspective, NMG enriches (deliberative) democracy by increasing opportunities for stakeholders to take part in decision making. Through deliberative processes it is possible to establish confidence, trust and consensus among actors with opposing views and interests. New, active and able citizens are recruited and empowered to take part in policy making. But also from this perspective there is worry about the risk of limited openness and transparency in networks.

Having outlined the hypothetical implications of NMG to democracy, we turn to empirically investigating these in the national park pilot project process. We address four sub-questions in turn, which we operationalise into a set of subquestions:

(1) Were there increased opportunities to participate?

-were there more and varied forms of involvement as compared to earlier?

-did opportunities to participate aim at more/broader groups of the public as compared to earlier?

-were there opportunities for early and continuous participation?

-did participation equally allow for influence to all affected parties?

The counter assumption would then be: was unequal access, did it increase political inequity?

(2) Were new stakeholders given access to the process and were they empowered?

-did new stakeholders participate as compared to who traditionally participates?

-did participants gain awareness of the opportunity to participate?

-did participants gain capacity/ability to participate? ('rules of the game' (who, how, when, where), technical knowledge, networks, resources)

-did participants gain will to participate?

-did participants use their capacity to seek influence?

-did participants gain a sense of ownership and right to influence decisions related to the local landscape?

The counter assumption would then be: was it merely reinforcing the existing political elite

(3) Did trust building and networking take place?

-were networks created and/or sustained?

- was there a shared understanding of each others' positions in relation the topic at hand?

- was there agreement on distribution of rights and responsibilities?

- did trust increase?

The counter assumption would then be: could networks not contain conflict so minorities were marginalised?

(4) Was the representative democracy undermined?

-do participants refer back to politically elected representatives?

-sociodemographically representative participation (with equal access to influence the process)?

-is there interest based representative participation (with equal access to influence the process)?

-does the affected public perceive itself represented by any of the participants?

- was the process transparent and with publicity?

The counter assumption would then be: did it weaken ability of elected representatives to control the political process and undermining separation of legislative and executive powers?

3 Methods and case

The proposed hypotheses of the effect of NMG on democracy are empirically investigated in the case of the national park pilot project process (NPP) in Denmark 2003-2006. The NPP was a government initiated process comprised by seven pilot projects around the country, aimed at investigating the potential for establishing national parks in Denmark (Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006c).

The NPP was chosen as case because it represents a network based form of steering with multiple decision makers and decision points and with a high degree of complexity. Moreover, the process was designed with an explicit view to ensure extensive participation. We selected one of the seven pilot projects, Kgs. Nordsjælland as an “embedded case” because the participatory processes that took place in this area were new and not formerly used in natural resources management in Denmark, and because it clearly demonstrated the potential conflicts between different landuses: Denmark is characterised by intensive farming, private ownership and recreational use of land and no wilderness (Wilhelmudvalget 2001). Plans for larger areas of land such as national parks usually will include not only State owned land but also private property and is therefore likely to affect a range of different people and interests, and hence has a large potential for conflicts. This is not least so in Kgs. Nordsjælland, which is the most densely populated of the seven selected areas, and which has a significant proportion of privately owned land as well as many natural and cultural values.

Kommentar [TB1]: Shortly outline the criteria for defining a case as a NMG and then how this case fulfils these criteria

Data

Data were retrieved through 24 interviews with key informants identified through snowball sampling, analysis of process documents (minutes, reports, etc) and results of a survey conducted as part of the citizen summit (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

Kommentar [TB2]: Who?

Kommentar [TB3]: What was in the survey?

The National Park Pilot Project

The National Park Pilot Project (2003-2006) was initiated by the Danish Government after recommendations from the OECD in 1999 and later on the government appointed Wilhelm

Committee in 2000 had recommended to establishing national parks. The aim of the pilot project was, through a participatory set-up to investigate the possibility for conserving larger, contiguous nature areas in Denmark. The project was not legally binding, and the Government did not oblige itself to any final implementation. A detailed outline of the process can be found in Boon et al. (2009).

After a prolonged process of identifying and selecting feasible areas (2000-2002), where the Danish government and a particular NGO, 'The Outdoor Council', were the main actors and where the municipalities had a final say, the national pilot project finally came to comprise of seven different pilot projects in different parts of Denmark.

The pilot projects were initiated by letters from the Minister of Environment in April- November 2003, all deliberately designed to ensure voluntary approaches, extensive popular participation, and inter-sectoral coordination, including sectors such as agriculture, nature conservation, rural development, tourism, and recreation (Boon et al. 2009). Following the initiation letter, the final proposals from the steering groups should "...significantly strengthen nature...the values regarding cultural heritage and...the possibilities of the population to experience nature. It is the task of the steering committee in dialogue with the local population to make a report, describing the visions for, content of and delimitation of a possible national park" (Schmidt 2003d).

Each pilot project was governed by a local steering group with members representing the aforementioned interests and with mayors from the affected municipalities. The overall process was followed by a National Advisory Group (NAG), comprised by the chairmen of the local pilot projects and national representatives of NGOs and business at a national level.

The individual projects were terminated by the end of 2005 with submission of their final reports to the National Advisory Group. The overall, national project terminated March 1 2006 with submission of the NAG's final report to the Ministry of Environment. Successively, there was a debate in the Danish Parliament, which concluded by the passing of a Bill on establishing national parks in Denmark. By 2009 the Bill has been passed, and the first national park has been established in Northwestern Jutland. Not surprisingly, the national park was established on what was entirely state owned **land**.

Kommentar [TB4]: Overgang?

Sub-case: The national park pilot project in Kgs. Nordsjælland

The area proposed for the pilot project "Kgs. Nordsjælland" is located approximately 35 km from Copenhagen in a densely populated area.

Approximately 205,000 citizens live in the municipalities located in the area. The area includes one of Denmark's largest forests as well as two of the largest lakes. The area proposed for national park consists of 39,447 hectares of which nearly half is privately owned; three core areas (I, II and III on the map) and four corridors (1, 2, 3 and 4 on the green parts of the map). There are many valuable

nature areas; 60 % of the core areas are designated as protected areas already according to the Natura 2000 directives (Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005b).

In September 2002, the MoE sent a letter to the counties and municipalities² in Kgs. Nordsjælland enquiring whether they were in support of the idea of having a national park. The answers were mainly positive but the municipalities and the local farmers were concerned about the extent of private property included in the early proposals and the possible future limitations on existing farming practices (Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005b).

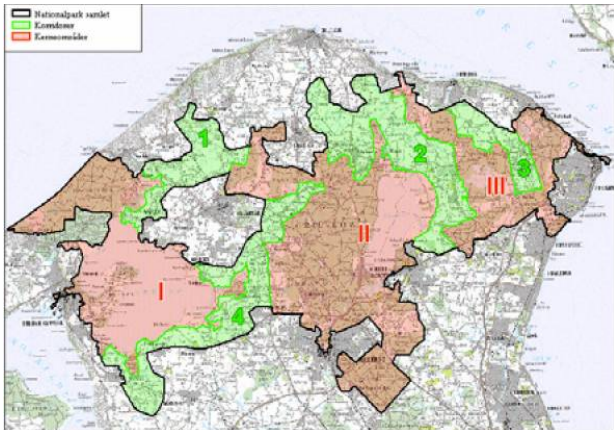


Figure 0-1: Map of pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland

The task was to carry out a pilot project which included Grib forest, Esum Lake and several other state owned areas and corridors to bind these nature areas together. In winter 2002, the MoE invited the Frederiksborg State Forest District to send a pilot project proposal to the MoE. This proposal was prepared together with Frederiksborg County and sent in 15th January 2003. The five involved municipalities found that the proposed geographical demarcation was too wide-ranging, but they could support a pilot project based on state owned areas and eventually involving adjoining areas, so this was discussed in the following months.

The local authorities (the five municipalities, two state forest districts and Frederiksborg County) presented a revised proposal at public meeting at 21st May 2003. The general attitude among the public was positive, but the association of farmers in Northern Zealand remained sceptical. Following this, the local state forest district held a special meeting with the farmers, but they did not arrive at a solution and because of this disagreement, the area was not selected in the first round.

In summer 2003, the agricultural association prepared a letter to the MoE, proposing that the state owned core area Gribskov and Esum Sø, would be selected as pilot project area, and ecological corridors to bind together the core areas were also mentioned as a topic but not specified. The state

² Helsingør, Græsted-Gilleleje, Helsingø, Fredensborg-Humlebæk, Frederiksværk and Hillerød. Later the municipality of Skævinge also joined the process

forest districts wanted a specification of the corridors. The county council and two municipalities (Helsingør and Græsted-Gilleleje) decided to co-sign the letter together the agricultural association, even if it did not include the specifications about corridors requested by the state forest districts. On the 20th November 2003, the MoE invited the farmers, the municipalities, the local representatives of the Outdoor Council, and the local branch of the Danish Society for Nature Conservation for yet another meeting. In the end all the parties agreed to support the pilot project and the MoE decided to initiate the pilot project (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a; Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006a).

The MoE and the Outdoor Council granted 3.8 million DKK to this specific project. The funds could be used for administration (1 mio. DKK) conducting participatory processes (1.2 mio. DKK), to buy expert advice and analyses relevant to the project (0.8 mio. DKK) and minor, physical project (0.7 mio. DKK) (Kgs. Nordsjælland 2005b).

The pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland was chaired by the steering group (19 members) who were responsible for major decisions and for implementing the project. The steering committee members represented the county (political head of the board of technology and environment), the five municipalities (mayors), the two state forest districts (forest supervisors), two farmers associations (chairmen), three green NGOs (Danish Society for Nature Conservation, Nepenthes, Birdlife Denmark) the regional cultural council (chairlady), four organisations representing outdoor interests (Outdoor Council, Danish Hunters Association, Danish Sports Federation, Contact Group Esrom Lake) and one representing communication (director of a local exhibition centre). Two of the nineteen members were women.

The steering group held nine ordinary meetings, a vision seminar at the beginning of the process, and two full-day scenario workshops towards the end of the process. Along with the work of the steering group, the participation process was divided into four phases with each their main objective, cf. the table below. The participation process in Pilot Project Kgs. Nordsjælland was designed with the assistance of the Council of **Technology**.

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
When	26/5 and 12/6 2004	Sept - Dec. 2004	26/2 2005	14/4 and 18/5 2005
How	Introductory meeting Café Seminar + arranged excursions 10/6: Vision seminar (steer. group)	Ten thematic working groups Workshops	Citizen summit Representative sample (15.000) of citizens were invited to discuss and prioritise the proposed actions	2 Scenario workshops for steering group to prepare final report (10/9:Public meeting)
Aim	Inform about the project, participation opportunities and conditions	Initiate studies to support the decision process.	Get a qualified response from citizens reflecting	Formulate a vision for a national park, based on scrutiny of

Kommentar [TB5]: Indsæt evt. en kolonne til i tabellen hvor styregruppens gennemgående indsats indgår. Og synliggør sekretariatets rolle.

	Generate ideas and proposals about what a national park is. Make visible and discuss the different interests related to the national park area Form thematic working groups	Propose actions Discuss significant questions among affected stakeholders	their priorities	scenarios and results from the project. (10/9: present final report)
Who	Open for everyone, 110 and 120 citizens showed up, resp. (Vision seminar, only for steering group members)	Open for everyone, 180 participated	A representative sample (15.000) from Frederiksborg county was invited. 529 participated. They were well-educated, equally men/women, over-representation of people 46-65 year old (Thematic w. groups were not invited)	Steering group (21 representatives from municipalities, county, NGOs, agriculture, and state forest districts) (10/9: Open for everyone)
What		Corridors I-IV Cultural heritage Nature Rural development Recreation, Traffic and paths, The Frederiksborg Horse	Corridors I-IV, lower speed limits on roads, put out beavers, put out large grazers and fencing	Vision for national park and demarcation, possible action plan
Output	Ten thematic groups were formed	The thematic groups produced 6-700 pages and 70 proposals for action. Ten of these were used at the citizen summit	Voting results for the ten proposals	30/6: Final report
Outcome				

Kvistgaard Consult (2005a), Kgs. Nordsjælland styregruppe 2004a.

Phase I: An information meeting and a café seminar was held at the beginning of the process. The meetings were publicly announced and 110 and 120 participated, respectively.

Phase II: Based on these two meetings, ten thematic working groups were formed. The working groups were open for everyone and each group held 4-7 meetings. In total, 180 persons participated (out of originally 200 who had signed up). Each thematic group had a chairman and was connected to a person from the extended secretariat to give advice and technical support (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

Parallel to the thematic groups, a group for young families and their children was formed and the involved families took part in a future workshop held September 2004 (Nielsen et al 2005).

In the period September – December 2004, each of the 10 thematic groups prepared a report with ideas and proposal for action related to their specific theme (Kgs. Nordsjælland styregruppe 2005a). In total, the groups produced 70 proposals covering 600-700 pages. The thematic working groups handed in their reports to the steering group in December 2004. A couple of the thematic groups continued to meet also after this process had ended.

Phase III: The steering group and secretariat chose ten of the most controversial and visionary proposals to be discussed and prioritised at a citizen summit aimed to be socio-demographically representative. This means, that the proposals drafted by the non-representative thematic groups would be subject to a socio-demographically representative voting. Hereby, the prioritised proposals would gain legitimacy beyond the mere persuasive character of the proposals.

The citizen summit was held in February 2005. The aim was to have a socio-demographically representative sample of 7-800 citizens (18 years or older) from Frederiksborg County to participate. The thematic groups were not invited. Instead, 10,000 people were sampled and invited, but the attendance rate was low, so additionally 5,000 invitations were sent out. Out of 580 who signed up, a total of 529 citizens participated in the citizen summit (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a). With each invitation a 'newspaper' was attached with information about the project and the ten proposals to be discussed at the summit (Kongernes Nordsjælland 2005b). The ten proposals were about (1) how extensive should a corridor be? (2)-(5) Should there be corridors to the North, East, West and/or South of the core pilot project area (Gribskov and Esrom Sø)? 6) Should areas be fenced to allow for large grazers, eventually introduction of new species? 7) Re-introducing beavers in Danish waterways? 8) Outdoor recreation and public access in the national park – is zoning needed? 9) Should the drained lake 'Søborg sø' and surroundings be restored? 10) Should the speed limits of the traffic through the national park area be lower, and some roads eventually be closed? (Kongernes Nordsjælland 2005b)

The summit was governed by 75 facilitators, 10 steering group members and a number of technical assistants. The summit was held in a large room with a stage and a large screen, several tables with 7-8 persons at each table, and an electronic voting system. The ten proposals were presented one at a time on the large screen. For each proposal, different scenarios were presented. Each table then discussed the different scenarios for 20 minutes, and finally there was an electronic voting process, and the voting results were presented on the large screen within a few seconds after the voting had ended. Finally, at the end of the meeting, the citizen summit as a process was evaluated, under the attendance of the MoE (Teknologirådet 2007).

The citizen survey was representative in terms of gender, but not in terms of age, as there was an overrepresentation of people between 46-65 years old, in particular those 56-65 years old. Citizens from all groups of society were represented, - farmers, craftsmen, retired people, people with academic education, students (Kvistgaard 2005a).

Phase IV: In the fourth phase, the steering group – assisted by the secretariat - formulated a vision and action plan for a possible, future national park in Northern Zealand. The process was facilitated through two scenario workshops and was based on the output from the thematic working groups, the citizen summit, and technical reports produced by consultants. At the first workshop 14 April 2005, the steering group discussed three different scenarios and connected visions, prepared by the extended secretariat. Based on this discussion, the steering committee's executive committee asked the extended secretariat to prepare one new scenario and vision. This was then to be discussed and ratified at the second workshop 18 May 2005.

(<http://www2.skovognatur.dk/frederiksborg/Nationalpark/default.htm>). Prior to this meeting, the two agricultural associations handed in a letter/note to the steering committee to be discussed at the meeting. In this note, the agricultural associations stated that they could not support any of the scenarios that had been proposed at the first scenario workshop and they required that the geographical demarcation of the national park should be re-scaled to 'the original point of departure, with Grib Skov and Esrom Sø as the core area' (Frederiksborg Amts Familielandbrug and Nordsjællands Landboforening 2005). The final pilot project report was handed in to the MoE on 30 June 2005, and presented to the public on a public meeting on 10 September 2005.

Besides the public meetings, the thematic groups and the citizen summit, the public was invited to attend public excursions (at least four) and exhibitions focused on the proposed national park area.

The project had its own home page where all information related to the process was publicly available (<http://www2.skovognatur.dk/frederiksborg/Nationalpark/default.htm>). There was also an electronic mail box at the home page where people were invited to hand in comments and ideas.

The project further disseminated information through the local newspapers. The project was occasionally mentioned in the national newspapers and broadcasted in regional television and the radio. Still it is likely that only a minor segment of the general public is aware of the existence of the pilot project (Interview 12). A minor survey among participants at the citizen summit also showed that relatively few knew about the project prior to the invitation to attend the summit (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

The MoE and the Outdoor Council granted 3.8 million DKK (0.5 mio. Euro) to pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland. Of this, 32 % (1.2 mio DKK= 0.16 mio. Euro) was spent entirely on the participation process, the remaining budget being spent on administration (1 mio. DKK), expert advice and analyses (0.8 mio. DKK), and minor, physical projects (0.7 mio. DKK) (Kgs.

Nordsjælland 2005b). In addition to this, there was significant work support from the affected county and municipalities. All participants contributed on a voluntary (unpaid) basis, including chairmen of thematic working groups.

4 What are the democratic implications of NMG?

What are then the democratic implications of new modes of governance, as reflected in the case above? We address the four subquestions in turn: (1) were there increased opportunities to participate? (2) were new stakeholders given access to the process and were they empowered? (3) did trust building and networking take place? (4) was the representative democracy undermined?

Were there increased opportunities to participate?

Traditionally, involvement in nature policy debates have taken place mainly at national and regional level, mainly as corporate involvement in boards associated with law administration, or as public hearings related to formulation of acts, plans or projects (Boon 2001). In 1994, user councils were introduced at state forest districts, as a minimum being consulted on an annual basis about forest management practices (Boon & Meilby 2000). More recently, there have been attempts at broader involvement, e.g. in the formulation of a national forest programme where a national conference was combined with input from the state forest user councils and public input on postcards handed out on the annual 'day of the forest' (Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2002).

Kommentar [TB6]: uddyb

At the time of the NPP, the counties were responsible for country side planning, nature conservation/restoration, and state forest districts were responsible for forest management. In contrast, municipalities at local level did not have any jurisdictions related to the country side, and as such took little interest in these areas. Agricultural areas were (and are) largely regulated by legislation and policy instruments aimed at regulating agricultural production, administered by the Ministry of Agriculture, and with farmers as the main stakeholders. As agricultural areas cover 62 % of the land area (Danmarks Statistik 2008), this had significant impact on country side management. Country side planning is a passive, general regulation, setting the frame for future development, but not requiring active change for specific areas.

Consequently, prior to the NPP, participation at the national level mainly involved corporate stakeholders, whereas the public at broad has only recently become the focus of attention. And at the regional level, participation was restricted to stakeholder hearings in relation to nature restoration projects, and state forest user councils being consulted on an annual basis about state forest management (Boon and Meilby 2000).

The NPP provided new and more opportunities to participate

The NPP provided new and more opportunities to participate, by including both national and local level. As outlined in the case description, the local level process was governed by a steering group comprised by corporate stakeholders. Supported by the secretariat and a consultancy firm, they conducted a participatory process based on four phases. The four phases alternated between involvement of only a limited group of stakeholders and involvement of citizens at broad, the introductory public meetings through public announcement, and the citizen summit through invitation to a socio-demographically representative sample of the local population. Besides this, experts were paid to provide written input to the process. Unfortunately, these reports came mainly to late to be included in the policy process.

Were there opportunities for early and continuous participation?

The answer depends on the perspective. Seeing the NPP as a step-stone to drafting an act on national parks, it can be considered a process of early and continuous involvement, but not at all stages and not for everyone:

Within the local NPP, the steering group was given only few directions from the Minister of Environment as how to proceed. So it was largely up to the local steering group how to identify the potential for and possible design of a national park. They then chose the four phase model that allowed for early and continuous participation for people living within the area, albeit with shifting participants, besides the steering group.

Kommentar [TB7]:

From a national perspective, however, the designation of the six project areas took place in a closed dialogue between the Ministry of Environment, the mayors of the local municipalities and the local, agricultural associations. This means that citizens, whose local areas were not selected, were automatically excluded from participating in the process. And the steering committee was open to some parties (mayors, representatives from Outdoor Council and Nature Conservation Association) whereas others, like Danish Bird Association perceived that they had to fight their way through to get access (xx).

And albeit apparently having a de facto veto right, the agricultural representative in the local NPP felt that it was a closed process.

Also, the overall, national design of the NPP process can be considered a rather closed process. The process had early involvement of Agriculture, as they lobbied the Minister of Environment to let him know that they would only participate given that he could promise full voluntariness and that if any farmer was against, the projects would not be carried out (Int xx). This was formulated in the opening letter to the local projects as a requirement of ‘voluntariness and local support’ – but how much disagreement does it take not to have local support?

And the Outdoor Council also demonstrated influence by doubling the budget with funds from the national football polls under the pre-requisite that they would get a national board to control the

local processes and – apparently – that one of their people could chair that board. They also proposed to include three additional projects, but as they were rejected, the Outdoor Council established these three projects parallel to the main process. By 2009, one of these parallel projects (Skjern Å) has been pointed out as a coming national park area within the frames of the National Park Act.

And finally, by framing the nature politics discussion to be about national parks, the underlying problem, the continued loss of biodiversity (Wilhelmudvalget 2001), was effectively squeezed out of the public agenda, hereby also alternating the legitimate of some stakeholders over others to participate in the process.

So to the question whether participation equally allowed for influence to all affected parties, the answer is no. Additionally, participants experienced that they were unequally equipped with resources and time to participate, e.g. comparing ‘professional NGOs’ with a volunteer working with rural development in her own area. And the Outdoor council getting influence partly due to their access to distribute the national polls for various purposes.

New, active citizens & empowerment?

Put on the edge, participation in nature politics has formerly mainly been with corporate stakeholders, i.e. representatives of environmental and outdoor recreation NGOs, Agricultural associations, research institutions, public authorities. And there was a sectored division between nature conservation politics, and agricultural politics, mainly excluding stakeholders other than the agricultural, to voice opinion about the potential role of the country side and nature, including how it shapes our everyday lives.

With the NPP, new actors entered the arena of nature policy making, and the arena was expanded to embrace also agriculture, hereby allowing local citizens legitimate access to participate in decisions related to the country-side.

Aim to reach beyond traditional, corporate involvement

The NPP in Kgs. Nordsjaelland was deliberately designed to combine a more corporate involvement (steering group) with opportunities for broad citizen involvement (public meetings, thematic groups, citizen summit). Still, there was a tendency that also the thematic groups were comprised by the particularly interested, practically meaning ‘the usual suspects’, i.e. elderly (50-70), men (75 %), well educated, and representing NGOs. For the summit, invitations were sent to a socio-demographically representative sample of the population within the area. This did have an effect as the summit was representative in terms of gender, but not in terms of age, as there was an overrepresentation of people between 46-65 years old, in particular those 56-65 years old. Citizens

from all groups of society were represented, - farmers, craftsmen, retired people, people with academic education, students (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

It was the particularly interested that showed up

The participation process was evaluated in each of the seven NPPs. These evaluations show that those participating were predominantly well-educated men at the age of 45-50 or more. Women, families with small children, etc. participated less frequently (Niras 2005a).

Potentials for a less uneven gender distribution

Men were overrepresented in the steering committee (90 %) and the thematic groups (75%). According to a staff in the national secretariat for the NPP, it was –and usually is- difficult to ensure gender equality in the committees and the advisory group. Because both the organisations would like those holding the top posts in the organisations to participate, and these posts were mainly held by men (Interview 21). However, according to the Act on gender equality, the organisations are to suggest both a man and a woman to participate. Generally this means that the representatives from the organisations are men, and the women represent the public authorities (Interview 21). However, it appears that women are willing to participate if only they get the chance, as the citizen summit had equal gender representation (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

Mayors were new participants.

The mayors of the involved municipalities were new, important actors in nature policy, being members of the local steering committees. Nature management and planning of the country side used to be beyond the jurisdiction and – therefore – interest of the municipalities. With the structural reform of 2007, this has become the responsibility of the municipalities. As such, the national park discussion may have stimulated the municipal interest in and taking responsibility for these new tasks.

Difficult to engage 'the ordinary citizen' and who is she?

Several of the informants claimed that, at the national level, one of the most important impacts of the process was to raise awareness among the general public, and particularly among the affected citizens regarding nature conservation in general (Interview 9, Interview 11, Interview 12, Interview 13, Interview 16, Interview 19, Interview 20, Interview 22).

Locally, though, members of the secretariat in Kgs. Nordsjælland were disappointed of how difficult it was to involve the 'ordinary citizens'. Most of those who participated were members of an environmental NGO or had an education related to the themes of the national park discussions. Considering the efforts to have local participation, they felt that there were still too high a number of people who were not aware of the process (Interview 12, Interview 24).

The process led to the recognition by the forest supervisor that it is an illusion to be able to involve 'the ordinary citizen'. They may not be interested or want to be involved. Some feel they have elected the local and national politicians to protect their interests and may feel that this sort of process override the representative democracy and they therefore are forced to spend time and energy on representing themselves (Interview 12, Christensen 2006). Also, "the ordinary citizen does not represent anyone but him-/herself and it would be unfair if his/her voice should count the same as an NGO" (Interview 12). And even when people are socio-demographically representatively invited, it still is only the people with a special interest in the topic at hand that show up (Interview 12).

As a comment to this viewpoint it might be worth noticing that each citizen between 18 and 70 years is on average member of 3.5 associations (Torpe 2000), indicating that if you have an interest to pursue, then you sign up for an organisation. In this perspective, a division between the 'ordinary citizen' and 'the organized' seems less relevant.

In this perspective, the real development potential of the NPP lies in empowering local people and authorities to consider the country side as an integral part of the shaping of local identity and development, and allowing for forum where defending interests are set aside for the benefit of a learning-based, exploratory approach.

Legitimate access to discuss use of agricultural land

Traditionally, agricultural land use has mainly been a legitimate concern of the farmers, agricultural industry and Ministry of Agriculture. With the NPP, mayors, and stakeholders representing environmental, recreational and rural development interests were given legitimate access to discuss the use of agricultural land in a rural development and nature conservation context. Hereby, NPP has 'opened up' the local country side to be a legitimate issue for discussion not only by farmers but by all local people.

Citizens participating became more aware of values of their land.

It was a deliberate aim of this process to have a 'local anchoring and sense of ownership' of the NPP through broad, local involvement (Schmidt 2003b). According to the informants this was achieved, at least for the citizens actively participating in the process, as they became more aware of the values of their local areas which strengthened local identity and furthered enthusiasm about a park (Interview 9, Interview 12, Interview 16, Interview 21, Interview 22, Interview 24, Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

The participation process in each pilot project may have enhanced a 'participatory culture' that will positively affect any future efforts towards establishing a national park in the area, as suggested for the pilot project 'Kongernes Nordsjælland' (Niras 2005a). Also, the NPP has most likely created more public awareness and dialogue about nature policy and rural development (Interview 9,

Interview 11, Interview 12, Interview 13, Interview 16, Interview 19, Interview 20, Interview 22). The process has functioned as a lever for a general debate about nature.

Empowerment understood as political efficacy

Empowerment can be understood as political efficacy, comprised by internal efficacy (knowledge about the policy contents, knowing how to influence the process) and external efficacy (perceived responsiveness of politicians) (Goul Andersen 2004). International studies of political efficacy have rated citizens in Denmark among those who are most likely to think they have access to articulate their viewpoints, *and* to experience responsiveness by politicians (5,45 and 4,27 on a scale from 0-10). This is only exceeded by the Netherlands, whereas, e.g. in Norway is lower (3,87 and 3,27) and Russia far lower (1,73 and 1,51) (Goul Andersen 2004:60).

So the relative level of political efficacy is already high. But in relation to nature and country side policy, there might be a development potential, due to, on the one hand, the technical character of the policies and, on the other hand, the immediate relevance of the country side to peoples everyday lives as space of residence, recreation and production.

Goul Andersen (2004) finds that, on average, Danish citizens find national level politics the most interesting. When it comes to perceived political efficacy, citizens perceive themselves better informed in relation to national than to local level politics, but they experience stronger action competence (knowing how to influence) as well as political responsiveness at the local level as compared to the national level.

Goul Andersen (2004) also find that perceived political efficacy is unequally shared, as middle-aged score higher than other ages, male higher than female, and highly educated higher than lower educated. The social inequity is smallest for perceived political efficacy at the local level.

This implies that a decentralisation strategy as the one applied in the NPP may enhance participation and a more equal access. But, as also mentioned by Goul Andersen (2004), it does not compensate for lack of influence on national policy making, not to mention at the EU level, where citizens largely rate themselves as poorly equipped both in terms of knowing about and knowing how to influence, and in expected responsiveness of politicians towards their input.

Did the mix of agricultural and non-agricultural stakeholders then have any impact on policy recommendations? Well, in the project 'Kongernes Nordsjælland' the agricultural stakeholders did not support the recommendations from the rest of the group, so in this case they did not find common ground.

Building of trust and networks?

Trust and norms are core factors for how democracy works, cf. Putnams work on social capital

(1993). To operationalise social capital, Torpe (2000) distinguishes between liberal oriented norms about political tolerance (freedom of speech and religion) and republican norms about public engagement (feeling responsible to contribute to solving social problems, staying informed, voting, respecting other people's attitudes), and a common factor, social trust (generalised trust towards other people). The distinction is in line with this paper's distinction between a representative and a deliberative democracy perspective. In a national survey of Danish citizens attitudes and practices related to participation, Torpe (2000) finds that there is a positive correlation between democratic norms and social trust on the one hand and, on the other hand, four elements related to citizens' attitudes and behaviour: discussing politics with others, perceived political efficacy, trust in public authorities and individual participation in organisations (Torpe 2000:271). In contrast, he does not find an effect on norms and trust of participating in local networks (Torpe 2000:266).

The question here is then whether the NPP generated new networks and if these network activities were likely to increase trust among stakeholders and to strengthen norms of political tolerance and/or public engagement.

Networks were established

A short answer to this is: Yes, but... The work in the local working groups created networks that for some of the thematic groups in Kgs. Nordsjælland continued beyond the NPP process. Most of the informants *participating* in the process felt that the process had furthered trust building and a mutual understanding among the participants (Interview 9, Interview 12, Interview 16, Interview 21, Interview 22, Interview 24, Kvistgaard Consult 2005a). At the Citizen summit of the pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, the participants were asked what they thought of the process. The results showed that they were generally satisfied with the process (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a).

A convenor of a local steering committee felt that the bottom-up approach had been valuable. The fact that the local community was given the opportunity to self-regulate meant that some of the prejudices different actors had about national parks were eliminated. If a park had just been designated from above, these prejudices would still prevail (Interview 16). Furthermore did the bottom-up approach and the local participation strengthen the local identity of the people and give anchorage to the possible future national park (Interview 22).

Some thought the process and interactions in the various groups had been one of the main strengths; and that people listened to each other, there were ample opportunities to get involved if you wanted (Interview 24). Political opponents came to know each other and trust-building took place, which created a greater willingness to hear the arguments of the other and reach compromises.

The process created networks that will be useful in the future, among those networks between municipalities which will be very helpful to them after the municipal reform giving the municipalities some of the authority functions regarding nature management which used to reside in

the counties (Interview 14). Moreover, the process laid a foundation for future cooperation between the National Forest and Nature Agency and the municipalities (Interview 12).

The forest supervisor in pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland considered participation not only as a means to a specific end, but as a new mode of policy making, where the goal is to achieve consensus, and not just leave decision-making in nature management to the public officials. The forest supervisor argued that it was also out of simple need: (1) The increased complexity of managing for multiple interests makes it necessary to consult other stakeholders, and these stakeholders may provide solutions that the public manager would not have thought of himself. The basis for decision-making becomes more informed. (2) The structural reform has made municipalities the new, key co-operation partners to the state forest districts. (3) The National Forest and Nature Agency used to do nature restoration on state owned land, primarily, but they will increasingly become facilitators for nature restoration on land owned by other stakeholders (Interview 12).

For the National Forest and Nature Agency the process has been a step in a direction where the employees gradually must adapt to a role as process facilitators rather than their traditional role of executing the policies decided by the Minister of Environment (Christensen 2006, Interview 12). This is a result of an increased emphasis on participation and an increasing number of situations where the National Forest and Nature Agency are to facilitate implementation of projects on land not owned by the state. An informant has seen the national park process as an important step in creating networks between municipalities, which he deemed important because the counties and their knowledge is being dispersed as a result of the municipal reform (Interview 14).

On the positive side, the forest supervisor recognised that involving e.g. an NGO may allow for innovative, low cost solutions with significant, beneficial environmental impact, as they can bring in a very specialised knowledge, the forest managers do not have beforehand (Interview 12).

The process caused some new actors to enter the arena, most notably the mayors of the involved municipalities. In the pilot project areas, the national park process may have given the municipalities an incentive as well as inspiration to take up the new 'green' responsibility, the municipalities have acquired with the municipal reform.

Nevertheless there are still conflicts of interests between land-use and conservation (Interview 22).

Difficult to manage minority viewpoints, like that of Agriculture, in network processes

A critic of governance networks is that they are based on trust and reciprocity, whereas by their nature they cannot contain conflict (Kjær 2004), so in a case of conflict (decision-making is fundamentally conflictual), networks tend to include some (the powerful) and exclude others (minority viewpoints), i.e. social antagonism (Mouffe 2000, Sørensen & Torfing 2005a).

This was also the case in the NPP where the local farmers comprised the minority: From the outset, the national branch organisation Danish Agriculture did not welcome the overall NPP. When they participated it was, according to the deputy director of Danish Agriculture, with the aim to 'minimise the damage (to landowners, ed.) and do whatever possible to ensure that eventual management restrictions will be financially compensated and that solutions are made on a voluntary basis' (Interview 6).

In the case of Kgs. Nordsjælland there was fundamental disagreement about the aim of the national park process. According to Skov- og Naturstyrelsen (2006c) the aim was to prepare a plan for combining the state owned nature areas through corridors. These corridors would run across private farmland. In contrast, the local farm organisation representative entered the process with the understanding that the plan should aim at covering only state owned land (Interview 18).

This disagreement was not resolved during the process. In a letter to the MoE, the local farming organisations labelled the pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland "...a closed process with lack of will to include the viewpoints of the Agriculture and their worries in relation to a coming national park" (Nordsjællands Landboforening og Sjællandske Familielandbrug 2005b).

The agricultural organisation representatives left the process before the final report was handed in, as they were not satisfied with the geographical demarcation of the national park area, and they did not trust the guarantees of complete compensation if restrictions were imposed on land use. A representative pointed out, that one of the important lessons he had learned was that when participating in a process such as the national park process, there is a significant difference in the time different participants can spend on preparation for meetings, some participate alongside a full time job, whereas others has more time available. This affects the influence they are able to have in the meetings. He felt that the secretariat had too much influence, also because they were more used to this type of process. For example he would have liked more debate on the content of a national park, in particular the management of the state owned forested areas and possible ways to improve tourism facilities in the forests (Interview 18).

As expressed by a couple of informants, this was the main weakness of the NPP that the farmers withdrew and no agreement was reached (Interview 12, Interview 13). It meant that the final report did not get the legitimacy coming from interest based representation, making it less likely that the Parliament would base its decisions on the report, even less that it would point at this pilot project area as a national park in the near future.

What went wrong? The main conflict was about the right of farmers to use their land for production purposes, or to be properly compensated where restrictions are needed, or not (Interview 18). Basically, there were no stakeholders arguing that farmers should not be compensated. Farmers were recognised by other stakeholders for their detailed local knowledge of the area (Interview 14)

and some stakeholders expressed that through this process they had gained increased understanding of the difficult role landowners were in (Interview 15). But agricultural representatives in NPP Kgs. Nordsjælland remained sceptical whether they could trust public authorities to treat landowners in a fair way (Interview 18). A keyword to the national park project was/is 'trust' and 'trust building'. An informant pointed out that extensive participation was needed because otherwise it would be very difficult to get landowners committed to the national park process, because landowners distrusted public authorities, due to past, bad experiences (Interview 9). For instance the Natura 2000 areas had initially been appointed without any public consultation and landowners were told that it would have no practical consequences for land management, which turned out not to hold true. The local forest supervisor compared the NPP in Kgs. Nordsjælland with a parallel project in the area of Mols and said that the main difference is that in Mols there have been 30 years of trust building dialogue between the authorities and landowners, whereas the process in Kgs. N. is totally new. He would personally have preferred more time for trust building with landowners prior to the national park pilot project (Interview 12). And an official from the national park secretariat concluded that to have landowners participating it is important that it is outlined what the implications of the proposed project to the individual property are and how the landowner will be compensated. But the task of the pilot project process and the way it was planned created significant uncertainty to this end (Jensen 2006: 11).

Ability to manage conflicts of interest

The critic that governance networks cannot contain conflict can be elaborated further: According to Kjær (2004) there is ignorance of who loses and how losers could be compensated. In practice this means that a study of governance should not only look at decisions made, but also the decisions that were *not* taken, interests that were squeezed out or suppressed from the political agenda during the process:

Interest conflicts were squeezed down to be resolved at local level

The NPP bottom-up approach can be interpreted as a comfortable way for the Government to squeeze down any possible conflicts of interests over different uses of nature and between different geographical regions, to the local, administrative-political level: At the outset of the pilot project process, the stakeholders were told to come up with a consensus agreement (final project reports) as the only foundation for continued efforts towards establishing national parks. Such consensus agreements would provide the interest based legitimacy for preparing and Act on National Parks to pass through the Parliament without difficulty. With this approach, conflicts would either be resolved locally, or alternatively, conflictual case areas would be screened out before it entered a Parliamentary, political level, e.g. the NPP case of Læsø, where a local majority vote resulted in the project being closed down. And the potential pilot area 'Skjern Å' was already screened out in the pre-selection phase, ostensibly due to some local farmer protests (Interview 14)³

³ However, exactly the Skjern Å area was continued as a 'parallel NPP' financed by the Outdoor Council, and by 2009, this is one of the five areas given priority by the Government as future, national parks.

Kommentar [TB8]: Flyt evt. om i slutdiskussion eller omvendt

There were widely differing perceptions about what the objectives of a 'national park' are. Among other things, this is reflected in the position papers that many stakeholders presented on their web sites, Birdlife Denmark (www.dof.dk), the Social Democrats, Danish Agriculture, etc. The contested elements were: is the aim to improve biodiversity and nature quality and if yes, then how? Is the aim to improve public access to recreation and should access be unrestricted or restricted in some areas due to species protection? What should be the role of tourism and rural development? Should agriculture and forestry be restricted or continue unchanged? Will designation of a national park require that traffic is regulated and restricted, cf. the citizen summit? What is the role of cultural heritage conservation vis a vis, e.g. nature conservation? In addition, some stakeholders missed a dialogue about the communicative and PR aspects of establishing a national park (Interview 14). In the national advisory group (NAG) there was uncertainty about the contents of the concept as well. Even more so because the NAG was told not to give instructions to the pilot projects (Interview 22). But after four meetings, the environmental NGOs WWF, Danish Nature Conservation Association, Birdlife Denmark and the Outdoor Council joined forces and presented a paper in which they stated that the first and foremost criterion for establishing a national park is that nature quality should be improved.

People living in not-selected areas were practically excluded

There were conflicts over the influence of the national versus the local level. A standing critic of the process was that as it is about *national* parks, the process should allow for nation-wide participation as well, also the selection of national park areas. The designation of pilot areas had taken a departure in the recommendations from the Wilhjelms Committee (Wilhjelmudvalget 2001), including a list of potential areas. But the final selection of areas had been based on a closed process of negotiating with local mayors and scoping attitudes towards NPP in the local agricultural communities, hereby potentially omitting areas that might be of nature conservation interest but where the practical feasibility of implementation was poor due to lack of support from municipalities and farm organisations. The pilot areas being designated, the Minister of the Environment focused much on 'popular anchorage' and 'local ownership' (Schmidt 2003d) and, hence, to de-emphasize national viewpoints in the NPP (Jensen 2006). The National Advisory Group (NAG) was initially not intended but came about because the Outdoor Council offered to double the budget of the NPP on the prerequisite that the NAG was established (Interview 9). Consequently, the pilot project steering group was mainly composed by local stakeholders, although also people outside the pilot project might be interested in how a nature area of national interest is managed. This local composition led to a relatively stronger focus on local interests, including tourism potentials, compared to conservation of national heritage (Jensen 2006:11).

Disagreement over local versus national control of the NPP

Also in the local NPP there were disagreements over the balance between local and national control. In the Læsø pilot project the steering group asked permission to revise and delimit the appointed,

potential national park area to the land, and not sea as well. But the NAG and the National Forest and Nature Agency went against it, and the Outdoor Council even sent a letter to the MoE to make her go against it. The reasons for wanting to keep the sea territory was that some of the most significant nature values and habitats are found here, whereas local reasons to not want it was fishery interests. And in the NPP of Vadehavet there was similarly a demand that a national park should be under local, not national control (Interview 9).

Ignorance of financial aspects – who benefits and who loses

A third area of conflict – that was deliberately ignored - was how the national parks will be financed, who benefits and who loses, cf. also the critics brought forward by Kjær (2004) on networks. This topic was not directly addressed in the pilot projects except in a report analysing the prevailing schemes and subsidies, and reports showing the likely welfare economic effects of establishing national parks. The good intention was that participants then could focus on discussing the contents of a national park and its organisation without being restricted by budget concerns. The major disadvantage was, however, that financing continues to be *the* key factor in ensuring the establishment and success of national parks. And potentially financially affected stakeholders, producers from Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, had reasons to be more concerned about this matter than other, not directly affected stakeholders. But also other stakeholders, e.g. the environmental NGOs had this concern, as this was underlying the debate on whether a prioritisation of national parks would lead to less priority and, hence, funding to other nature management activities. And, e.g. Birdlife Denmark was also concerned about the future organisation of the parks. They were worried whether an organisation structure with a fund independent from the Ministry of Environment would also incur the risk that the national parks might on the one hand be claimed a flag ship and ‘success’ of the Ministry of Environment while on the other hand be underfinanced in its daily management, as the Ministry will always be able to claim that to be the responsibility of the fund (Interview 22).

Financing was similarly ignored at the citizen summit, where participants were asked to vote for or against ten proposals – they did not have to prioritise nor consider costs and benefits of implementation of the ten proposals, neither those of restricted management in corridors on private land, nor those of reduced traffic speed through the national park area.

Did the NPP narrow or broaden the national nature policy discussion?

The political opposition argued that the NPP was mainly a PR-stunt from the Government (elected in 2001) to demonstrate action on environmental protection, to draw attention from the significant budget cuts that had been made in the Ministry of Environment when the Government came to power. From this perspective, the NPP framed the nature policy discussion to a much more narrow focus of ‘national parks- if and how’ than how to conserve nature. And delegating the NPP to the local level, the focus on purely nature conservation (as represented by IUCN) was replaced by a much wider focus on also recreation, rural and tourism development and agricultural production.

But it may as well be argued that the NPP stimulated the discussion of setting priorities in Danish nature management: to discuss whether some - and then which - areas/habitats/species are more valuable than others? Are Natura 2000 habitat more valuable than other areas, and which potential national park areas are the most valuable – and from what criteria? Are we operating with an ‘A’ and ‘B’ nature? This can be considered a continuation of the work done by the Wilhelm Committee and be claimed the first efforts to formulate an actual nature policy and strategy, as the nature policy conducted so far can more be considered as effects of and reactions to other policies, mainly agricultural policy (e.g. as claimed by Gade (2006).

Deliberation

The strength of the NPP Kgs. Nordsjælland was the combination of interest based representation in the steering group and thematic groups with the socio-demographically representative invitations to the citizen summit. Hereby the process both gained legitimacy from the interest based representation, the potential for deliberating discussion *and* the legitimacy from socio-demographic representation.

The NPP was organised with the aim to exchange viewpoints. The overall process started with only few guidelines from the Minister of Environment, known as ‘the blank paper’. This was a problem because it left much uncertainty to farmers as to what the potential outcome of the process would be, cf. the discussion above. But in a deliberation perspective it could be perceived beneficial, as participants were give space to co-define the task as well as how to solve it.

From a deliberation perspective, it could be considered a problem that the steering group and thematic groups were mainly comprised by participants that first and foremost considered themselves representatives of an interest group. In the meetings they could tend to stick to pre-defined interests and exclude themselves from engaging in the open dialogue where mutual learning could lead ones perceived interests to change and where new, common interests may emerge. And the interviews did indeed indicate a rather strategic approach to participation: At the national level, the tourism representative aimed at mainly observing and keeping a low profile until the national parks had become a reality (Interview 19). Ministry of Transport was represented mainly to see to that decisions were in accordance with legislation (Interview 21), and Danish Agriculture participated, not the enable and co-develop national parks, but to ‘limit the damage’ done on Agriculture as a business (Interview 6). This is an impediment to deliberative dialogue that is based on the assumption that interests emerge and are transformed in dialogue, with new, shared interests and visions potentially emerging. So a risk from broad interest representation as in the National Advisory Group was that it would be the lowest common denominators the parties could agree upon rendering the result vague and insignificant. According to an informant this was to some extent the case in the evaluations of the individual pilot projects which were descriptive rather than valuating (Interview 20).

Young (1990) takes a slightly different perspective to this: the problem isn't whether people represent interests or not – the problem is that deliberative democracy rests on the basic assumption that people should at all be able to transcend their particularities (Young 1990:103). So rather than expecting participants to ignore their interest based background, or looking for the 'ordinary citizen' as a replacement, it is suggested, cf. Young (1990:184-185, in Held 2006:244) that the argumentative modes of reasoning are supplemented by other modes of communication, including, e.g. narratives, hereby revealing experiences and understandings that might otherwise remain unarticulated.

In this light, the thematic groups could have benefitted from having a facilitator. They were not organised to ensure deliberation (structure and facilitation). One of the chairmen of the thematic groups said yes to participate and become chairman, because she thought the process looked interesting and because she likes to coordinate. She was disappointed to find out that it was not what she had thought. She wanted to discuss the overall aspects of rural development, but the other members wanted to discuss particular things either how to protect farmer interests, or how to avoid horse riding paths (Interview 14).

In contrast to the thematic groups, the citizen summit had facilitators, stressing rules like 'listening to each other', and 'respect for each others' viewpoints' (Kvistgaard Consult 2005a). and the steering group held a workshop with the aim to develop ideas and visions in common (Kgs. Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2004a.)

Did NPP undermine the representative democracy?

From a representative democracy perspective it is a potential, democratic threat to have governance networks as it undermines the equal right to influence, and undermines the separation of the governing and those being governed for. But what is representation and when is representation adequate? We can distinguish between two different criteria: One is concerned with prediction and explanation: If the aim of a process is to provide decision-makers with advice on the effectiveness of different policies, then we want responses from the public that are statistically representative so they can be used for generalising to the whole population (O'Neill 2001). Another criterion for representation is normative, - that representation should provide political legitimacy to a decision-making process in terms of appropriate representation of all relevant interests, judgements, concerns and/or values. Hereby it becomes relevant to ask what is being represented, who is doing the representation and what the source of legitimacy is (O'Neill 2001). What is being represented? Is it the particular interests of individuals or groups, is it their common interests? Or is it their values, opinions, preferences, their will, their discourses, or their identities that are the object of representation? Should they belong to, e.g. a particular community, or be locally affiliated and how is 'community' or 'local affiliation' then defined? From a representative democracy perspective, it will be appropriate to consider the representation of interests, as democracy then is a question of

Kommentar [TB9]: Gennemskriv

aggregating or compromising among conflicting interests and preferences. As opposed to this, the aim of deliberative democracy is to provide a forum where judgements and preferences are transformed through reasoned dialogue, and where the opportunity exist that new, common interests emerge. Hereby, what is being represented are judgements that are open to change through reasoned dialogue, and the deliberation has implications for what is being represented (O'Neill 2001). The key to success of a deliberative process is, that the outcomes of the group process are communicated by each interest group representative to his/her support base, enhancing the legitimacy of the process outcome from the individual participants to each of the interest groups represented.

What is then the source of legitimacy of the representation? Legitimacy can be obtained through authorisation and democratic accountability, as it is achieved through, e.g. elections. Another source of legitimacy can be that the representative should share identity with the ones he/she represents. A third source of legitimacy can be the knowledge, expertise or judgement that it takes to allow an individual to speak or act on behalf of a group. The two latter may conflict or coincide, as a viewpoint can be that a shared identity is a precondition for getting proper knowledge about the interests and aspirations of the particular group. However, none of the two latter sources of legitimacy replace the need for authorisation and accountability. And exactly that presents the major challenge to deliberative institutions such as, e.g. consensus conferences and focus groups. None of the participants are authorised to speak for the group they are taken to 'represent', nor are they accountable to them. From that perspective, such institutions are legitimised mainly in their role of formulating options and possible recommendations (O' Neill 2001). To overcome this, methods have been developed that combine deliberation with socio-demographic representativity (Hansen 2000), like the citizen summit in the NPP of Kgs. Nordsjælland.

Legitimacy of the participation process

If participation is to provide political legitimacy, the surrounding society has to consider the process as being representative to the relevant stakeholders, cf. The above discussion on representation and legitimacy. If the participants fail to represent their support base, and provide feedback from the participation process to their support base, legitimacy towards the support base may be lost.

Another risk is that the wider public does not consider the participation process itself legitimate, and uses other means to influence decision-making and, possibly, overrule the decision of the participants.

What was before:

Ideal of representation – that politicians make decisions. Practically, can be argued that nature and landscape politics has been sectoralised and expert dominated, a political –administrative issue, the 'nature' areas managed by S&N, and Nature Cons. Act by counties. Whereas 'farmland' managed

by Ministry of Agriculture in close collaboration with Agriculture, at national level, whereas there has been no local jurisdiction to regulate farmland.

The principles of representative democracy were not undermined in the NPP

First of all, the process 'only' served as input to formulating and adopting an Act on National Parks, a decision that was ultimately made by the National Parliament, i.e. elected representatives being accountable towards their constituents.

Second, steering committee and national advisory group were comprised by stakeholders representing well-recognised interests, hereby providing political legitimacy (Interview 24) to the NPP process and the following Act on National Parks, making it more likely that it would find broad support in the Parliament.

Third, the citizen summit provided legitimacy to the process by being based on socio-demographically representatively sampled invitations. As an informant noticed, then a local mayor supported the re-introduction of beavers in the local lakes and streams with specific reference to the citizen summit where a majority of participants supported this idea (Interview 24).

Fourth, the municipal mayors were engaged in the local NPPs as legally elected representatives of the local public,- hereby creating a link between local government and national government.

Fifth, the process was organised with a very clear 'shadow of the hierarchy', the process being initiated by the Minister of the Environment and meta-governed by the NFNA acting as secretariat. In this perspective, the process was merely an unbinding consultation, a preparation to the drafting of an Act on national parks, which follows a traditional parliamentary procedure of drafting an Act.

And finally, once up and running, the NPP was transparent in terms of how money was spent, but also that all documents and minutes from meeting were accessible to everyone on the internet (Interview 17).

But in some ways it did challenge the principles

The democratic problem with the process from a representative democracy perspective was:

First, only local people were given access to participate in the local pilot projects even it was about a national park

Second, the selection of pilot projects was among those showing positive interest, among number of areas appointed by Wilhjelmudvalget. There might be national interests in relation to other areas as well.

Third, the local mandate was not very clear from the onset of the local pilot projects, some of the informants pointed to the initial uncertainty and the so-called 'blank paper' as a problem to the process initially, giving the actual work process a slow start (Interview 12, Interview 20). That the

Minister of Environment emphasised that agreement should be reached if national parks were to become reality, hereby giving all participants a sort of veto only added to the initial insecurity of where the process was to go (Interview 20, Interview 22). For the national politicians the set-up of the process could be considered very convenient; the unpleasant decisions were transferred to someone else, i.e. the steering committees and the National Advisory Group (Interview 20).

It was also unclear how to interpret the Minister of Environment's requirement for 'voluntariness and local support' (Schmidt 2004). Would objections from one farmer be considered 'significant local resistance' so that a NPP would not be undertaken? And would objections from, e.g. one school teacher? Uncertainty to this end may have impeded the dynamics of the steering groups, as it would be a success criterion in itself to keep agriculture on board so as to maintain interest based legitimacy of the process.

Fourth, also due to the unclear mandate and potential consequences of the NPP, some participants were urged to participate out of a fear of otherwise not having their interests represented. A participant stated it the way that she felt 'Forced to spend my winter evenings on this'. However, the process was visibly conducted with a steering hand behind. The whole participatory process was a preparatory work to Parliamentary process of formulating an Act about national parks, with Parliamentary politicians as the final decision-makers.

Fifth, a concern for some of the informants was the insecurity of the funds being allocated to national parks when designated. The worst case scenarios were that there would not be sufficient funds set aside for both national parks and simultaneously live up to the demands of various EU directives, or that there would barely be enough for these two efforts leaving nothing for nature protection outside national parks and habitats and hence 'A' and 'B' nature would be a reality (Interview 16, Interview 20, Interview 22).

Legitimacy problems of process output due to skewed representation?

- Overrepresentation of elderly men in the steering committee and thematic groups, the particularly interested. Underrepresentation of women, young people, the less educated.
- Are interest representatives (like Agriculture) actually representative to their members? E.g. organic farmers, small-scale versus large-scale farmers.
- Only people from within the pilot project areas could participate in the local project. It could be criticized from the point of view that 'national parks' is a matter of legitimate, national interest to all citizens in Denmark. This fostered concerns that people living outside the pilot project areas were not sufficiently taken into consideration, as they were not represented in the local steering committees. It is the responsibility of the national, elected politicians to serve the interest of the general public (Interview 19). On the other hand this responsibility can also be ascribed to the

public officials who did have a significant influence on the process. The matter of representation was an important point of debate in the process.

- Difficulty of managing minority viewpoints. How to weigh saliency of interests and influence? Farm representatives felt squeezed out. But from a rural development perspective, it is a sign of democratisation if Agriculture's monopoly to voice opinion on the use of the country side is broken.
- Participants in citizen summit were not accountable towards anyone but themselves: It is easy to vote in favour of large ecological corridors, when it is someone else who must renounce their rights (Interview 9). And it is easy for people to vote in favour of traffic limitations on roads they rarely use to the detriment of the daily commuters (Interview 12).
- A weakness that several of the informants pointed to was the time constraints. When a process involves interest organisation representatives they must be provided enough time to consult with the members of their organisations. During the process this was sometimes a problem. Furthermore there was so much reading material to each meeting that it was impossible for some of the participants to fully familiarise themselves with the material (Interview 9, Interview 21). Resources are limited in the organisations, e.g. the national agricultural organisations could not allocate too many resources to the national park process as it took place simultaneously with other important processes (Interview 6). This created a certain dependency on the secretariat and the National Forest and Nature Agency in particular (Interview 9, Interview 14).
- Stakeholders not equally active – different motivations and different resources/time to participate. Eg. 'professional NGOs versus an occasional volunteer in community development
- There was broad representation in the national advisory group (NAG) as well as local steering groups. Some were considered obvious members, like DN and FLR, whereas others had to motivate the relevance of their presence in the pilot project steering groups, like DOF and Nepenthes. The national advisory group had representatives from different public authorities (Ministry of Traffic, Ministry of Agriculture a.o.) predominantly to make sure that the suggestions of the board was in accordance with existing legislation (Interview 21).
- Metagovernance: Since the National Forest and Nature Agency took part in all local processes and were the secretariat to the National Advisory Group they were able to influence the agenda to a great extent and it became the view on nature values of the National Forest and Nature Agency that became dominant (Interview 20). It is a matter of perspective if this is perceived to be a strength or a weakness. From the perspective of the National Forest and Nature Agency (Informant 15) it is important to be careful to make clear the national priorities and avoid any doubt of the extent of the local mandate; it is most unfortunate and unprofessional if the State has to change something that was decided locally in order to conform with existing rules and regulations. The informant felt that the local projects had been left much to themselves, and that they could have been supported more from the National Forest and Nature Agency (Interview 15).
- Did NFNA have vested interests, in becoming future administrators of the national parks. Might as well have been privatised.

- The strongly professionalised public administration of NFNA can be considered democratised 'from below' through this participatory process.

5 Conclusions

Our aim with this article has been to nuance the discussion about NMG effects on democracy by outlining how it depends on the theoretical perspective taken, and by demonstrating how specific research questions can be deduced for case-specific analysis of the overall research question. I.e. to qualify the theory debate about NMG but also provide a framework for understanding how disagreement over management practices may relate to different perceptions of what democracy it.

From a representative democracy perspective a basic worry about NMG was that the network (participation) process could undermine the decision competencies of the publicly elected representatives, hereby also undermining the accountability structures within this system.

But as we have seen, this was far from being the case for the NPP, one reason being that the NPP mainly served as input to a Parliamentary decision that might otherwise be mainly a political-administrative exercise at the level of the NFNA, a second being that the NPP case was a restricted form of NMG, a steering network nested within public bureaucracy, and a third being that the inclusion of mayors can be considered an attempt of democratising from 'below'

From a deliberative democracy perspective, NMG would contain the potentials of getting new and more stakeholders to participate, and empowering stakeholders through deliberation. On the other hand, it could be worried that exactly the network approach would have difficulty containing conflict and agonistic respect, leading to exclusion of minority viewpoints and re-inforcing the political elite, rather than empowering and giving voice to minorities as well as to new participants with potentially new perspectives on the issue at hand.

The NPP *did* create increased opportunities to participate. Those recruited were still mainly the 'usual suspects', i.e. the particularly interested, with a bias towards elderly, men, well-educated and representing NGOs. But the citizen summit approach demonstrated that it is possible to attract, e.g. a larger share of women than normally seen, although 'the ordinary citizen' is still hard to mobilise, maybe because she doesn't exist in real life.

So from the NPP in Kgs. Nordsjælland we can hardly conclude that it increased political equity. The main achievement was to include municipal mayors, who could then act as legally elected representatives of the local public. And that stakeholders other than from Agriculture were given legitimate access to voice opinion on the use of the country side.

As regards the ability of networks to deal with conflicts, it appeared that the NPP indeed did have trouble in dealing with minority viewpoints coming from the farmers, as they felt squeezed out of the process. But if we zoom out for a second, it may be considered a deliberate aim of the Ministry of the Environment to design the NPP in such a way so as to initiate and enhance discussion between stakeholders representing agriculture and other stakeholders, hereby challenging the monopoly of Agriculture to largely decide on the use of the country side, while still maintaining a de facto veto right for Agriculture in the NPP. This is in line with the thinking of Young (1990) who recognizes the tendency of deliberation processes to 'repress differences' (Young 1990:100), as it seeks to reduce diverse and complex forms of reasoning to one viewpoint. As a strategy 'to promote a politics of inclusion' she suggests, among other things, to grant veto rights in public policy making to significantly affected groups (Young 1990: 184-185, summarised by Held 2006: 244)⁴.

In this perspective the NPP may be considered to add to the democratisation of environmental decision processes in Denmark through empowerment of non-farmers to discuss and articulate their interests related to the country side beyond a farm production perspective. It may have enhanced awareness among participants of the public dimension of country side management – that landscapes shape our perceptions of who we are and what we can do, as individuals and communities.

A final comment goes to the perspective of NPP as an effort of decentralising nature policy to a local level. In one perspective, the potential benefits might be a more equal and active participation, cf. Torpe (2004) who found that people experience larger political efficacy at local than national and EU level. This should then also be a potential benefit of the subsequent municipal structural reform in 2007, where nature conservation tasks were handed over from regional counties to local municipalities. And by the NPP having mobilised mayors to engage in discussions about the use of the country side for nature conservation and rural development, the NPP may have partially laid the ground for a positive local development.

But in another perspective, the delegation of nature policy responsibilities to the local level may be considered to the detriment of nature as well as democracy. The secretary general of WWF Denmark saw a general development in nature policy where the State is losing influence to both the international and the local level. He considered the role of the Government to ensure nature conservation as a national interest, a legitimate concern of all citizens. The NPP was an example of the government transferring national responsibility to the local level, where all Danes living outside of the project areas were the ones really losing influence on which nature areas are of national importance to protect (Carstensen 2006).

⁴ But Young's (1990) concern is with groups whose social location tends to exclude them from political participation, and considering the privileged role of Agriculture to lobby the Minister of the Environment prior to the NPP process, they can hardly be said to meet this criterion.

In continuation of this, the political opposition suspected that the national park process was merely a ‘spin-project’ by the Government parties, meant to create a perception of a Government that made an effort to conserve nature as well as being progressive in terms of participation and a more direct democracy, and hereby draw away attention from the critics from the opposition and environmental NGOs after the Government had cut the environmental budgets with about 20-30 % shortly after the elections in 2001. Following this understanding, the Government parties just wanted to stall the process of actually designating nature reserves, hoping that the demand of local support combined with the broad interest representation would strangle the national park idea from its birth (Interview 17, Interview 20, Ryding 2006a). In this perspective, the NPP had forced participants to spend time on symbolic policies rather than the substantial improvements, e.g. changing farming policies to include nature conservation concerns.

Was the distinction between representative and deliberative democracy useful?

Yes, the two perspectives helped to identify weaknesses and strengths of network governance, e.g. inability of networks to deal with minority viewpoints.

Yes, the case illustrated that evaluation of ‘success’ and a ‘successful design’ depends on underlying understanding of democracy.

Future design of pp-process should explicitly take this into account, in outlining the underlying democracy assumptions for the design (for instance different pp methods allow for representation and deliberation to various degrees, cf. Hansen (2000).

And in network processes, whether ‘participation’ in bureaucracy, or a network with metagovernance, there should explicitly be made room for a discussion among participants about: what is democracy – what would *we* prefer – and what would that imply in terms of the ‘rules of the game’ in this process?

The aim of this paper was to illustrate – not if new modes of governance are good or bad to democracy-, but to illustrate that how we evaluate this depends on the democracy perspective we take. In this paper, we have illustrated this by taking two main perspectives, a representative and a deliberative democracy perspective, respectively, well aware, that this is a crude simplification of the diversity of democracy understandings that prevail. We operationalised this into a set of specific research questions and then applied it to the NPP case. Besides the conclusions we could draw as regards the specific case, we suggest to also use this insight to understand the disagreements that emerge over ‘the good policy process’ simply due to different underlying understandings of what a ‘good democracy’ is.

Kommentar [TB10]: gentagelse . Skriv i stedet hvordan man kan bruge forståelsen af forskellige demokrati-perspektiver til at udvide og uddybe demokratiseringen af natur- og miljøpolitik. –også set i lyset af Torpes konstatering af at vi føler os afmægtige overfor politik på EU-niveau.

References

- Agerskov, B. and Schmidt, H.C. 2003. *Aftale mellem Friluftsrådet og Miljøministeriet [Agreement between the Outdoor Council and the Ministry of Environment]*.
- Aagaard Nielsen, K., and Nielsen, B.S. 2004. *Foreløbige resultater af borgerinddragelsen. (Værkstedsforløbet) i Pilotprojekt Nationalpark Møn/Oktober 2004.* [Preliminary results of public participation in Pilot project National park Møn]. Roskilde Universitetscenter, Roskilde.
- Boon, T.E. 2001. *Conceptualisation and evaluation of public participation in Danish state forest management.* Ph.D.-Dissertation. Royal Veterinary & Agricultural University, Danish Forest & Landscape Research Institute.
- Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H. and Nathan, I. 2009. *The national park pilot process introducing new forms of governance in Danish nature politics.* Research Report 1-2009. Institute of Forest, Environmental and Resource Policy, Universität für Bodenkultur, Vienna.
- Boon, T.E. and Meilby, M. 2000. Enhancing public participation in state forest management: a user council survey. *Forestry* 73, pp. 155-164.
- Brandt, C.W. and Qvistgaard, M. 2004. *Virkningsevaluering af borgerinddragelse i nationalpark Mols* [Evaluation of participation in national park Mols]. Thesis, Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Copenhagen.
- Buttenschön, R.M. 2004. *Store græssere til naturpleje. Analyse af effekter* [Large grazers for nature management impact assessment]. KVL, Copenhagen.
- Carstensen, K. 2006. Hvordan får vi globale, nationale og lokale interesser til at spille sammen? - Erfaringer udefra. [How do we integrate global, national and local interests?]. In: Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H., og Nathan, I. 2006. *Nye spilleregler i dansk naturpolitik?* [New rules of the game in Danish nature politics?] Arbejdsrapporter Skov & Landskab nr. 34. Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Frederiksberg. Pp. 49-55. www.sl.kvl.dk/upload/ar_sl34.pdf
- Center for Regional og Turismeforskning, Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Danmarks Turistråd 2004. *Rapport over for-projekt Case Møn til Nationalparker Danmark – udvikling af et bæredygtigt Aktiv Ferie-produkt* [development of sustainable, Active Holiday Product, case Møn]. Center for Regional og Turismeforskning, Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Danmarks Turistråd, København.
- Christensen, J.B. 2006. Ændringer i naturpolitikken - nationalpark-processen og borgerinddragelse [Changes in nature policy – participation and the national park process]. In: Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H., og Nathan, I. 2006. *Nye spilleregler i dansk naturpolitik?* [New rules of the game in Danish nature politics?] Arbejdsrapporter Skov & Landskab nr. 34. Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Frederiksberg. Pp. 39-47. www.sl.kvl.dk/upload/ar_sl34.pdf

CFUL (Center for Forskning og Udvikling i Landdistrikter) 2005. *Evaluering af borgerinddragelsen i pilotprojektet: Marin Naitonalpark Læsø – en pagt med naturen* [Evaluation of public participation , case Læsø]. Center for Forskning og Udvikling i Landdistrikter, Esbjerg.

Clausen, L.T. 2004. *Unge Møn-borgere syn på natur- og lokalsamfund* [Young Møn citizens' view of nature and local society]. Roskilde Universitetscenter, Roskilde.

Danmarks Statistik 2008. Landbrug 2007. Statistik om landbrug, gartneri og skovbrug. Danmarks Statistik, København.

Dansk Landbrug and Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 2005. *Mener Fødevarerministeren vi har natur nok?* Press release by Dansk Landbrug and Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, 17 October 2005.

Daughjerg, C. 2005. *Landbrugets politiske indflydelse* [The political influence of the Agricultural trade]. In Minter, E. 2005. xxx. Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, København. Pp. 172-186.

Den Nationale Følgegruppe 2006. *Rapport fra den nationale følgegruppe vedr. nationalparker* [Report from the national advisory group regarding national parks].

http://www2.skovognatur.dk/nationalparker/Nyt_presse/Rapport_endelig.pdf.

Folketinget 31-3-2005. *1. behandling af lovforslag nr. L89: Forslag til lov om ændring af lov om naturbeskyttelse (Udmøntning af kommunalreformen)*, [1st reading of bill no L89: Proposal for amendment of Act on nature conservation]. L89. 31-3-2005.

Folketinget 30-5-2006. *Møde nr. 95 – tirsdag d. 30. maj 2006. Forhandling om redegørelse nr. R17: Miljøministerens redegørelse af 19/5 2006 om nationalparker.* [Debate in the Parliament about statement on national parks, 30 May 2006]

http://www.folketinget.dk/?/Samling/20051/salen/R17_BEH1_95_44_16.htm

Frederiksborg Amts Familielandbrug and Nordsjællands Landboforening 2005. *Bilag til styregruppemøde 18. maj 2005. Landbruget gør status over Pilotprojekt Nationalpark Kongernes Nordsjælland.* [Appendix to steering group committee meeting 18 May 2005. The Agriculture considers the state of affairs within Pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland].

http://www2.skovognatur.dk/frederiksborg/nationalpark/Organisation_moeder/Styregruppe/referater/landbofor-skrivelse.pdf

Gade, S. 2006. Naturpolitik før og nu [Nature policy in past and present]. In: Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H., og Nathan, I. 2006. *Nye spilleregler i dansk naturpolitik?* [New rules of the game in Danish nature politics?] Arbejdsrapporter Skov & Landskab nr. 34. Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Frederiksberg. Pp. 29-38. www.sl.kvl.dk/upload/ar_sl34.pdf

GoFor 2004. New modes of governance for sustainable forestry in Europe. Annex 1, Description of work. In: Contract for specific targeted research or innovation project. Contract no. 6447GoFor,

within Sixth Framework Programme Priority 8.1 'sustainable management of Europe's natural resources.

Goul Andersen, J. 2004. Et ganske levende demokrati. [A fairly living democracy]. Magtudredningen. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Aarhus.

Grønning og Lind 2004. *Analyse af den biologiske mangfoldighed i nordsjællandske statsskove*. Grønning og Lind, København.

Hansen, K. M. 2000. Folkehøringen som ny demokratisk metode [Deliberative Poll as a new democratic method]. *Metode og Data* 82: 10-31.

Hansen, H.P. and Clausen, L.T. 2003. *Videnskabelse som grundlag for demokratisk naturplanlægning* [online]. Roskilde Universitetscenters hjemmeside. Tilgængelig på Internet: <URL:<http://www.ruc.dk/teksam/forskning/Forskningscenter/Publikationer/Videnskabelse.pdf>>

Hajer, M. A. 2003. Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void. *Policy sciences* 36 (2): 175-195.

Hedegaard, C. 2006. Miljøminister Connie Hedegaards tale på Danmark Naturfredningsforenings repræsentantskabsmøde, Faaborg, den 12. april 2006 [The MoE's speech at the general assembly of the Danish Nature Conservation Society, 12 April 2006]. http://www.mim.dk/Ministeren/Taler/2006-04-22_+DN_repr%C3%A6sentantskabsm%C3%B8de.htm

Held, D. 2006. Models of democracy. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Jensen, S.M. (ed.) 2005a. *Pilotprojekt Kongernes Nordsjælland – styregruppens samlede rapport til miljøministeren* [Final report, pilot project North Zealand]. Pilotprojekt Nationalpark Kongernes Nordsjælland og Skov- og Naturstyrelsen. Available at internet: <http://www2.skovognatur.dk/Frederiksborg/nationalpark/default.htm>

Jensen, B.G. 2005b. *Pilotprojekt Lille Vildmose Nationalpark. Erhvervsøkonomisk analyse af nationalparkprojektet. Teknisk rapport* [Business economic analysis of national park project Lille Vildmose].

Jensen, J.H. 2006. Fra statsstyring til borgerinddragelse. En jordbrugsakademikers erfaringer fra Skjern Å projektet og nationalparkarbejdet. In: *Momentum* 3 -2006: 8-11. [J.H. Jensen was one of the key officials in the NPP secretariat in the National Forest and Nature Agency during the pilot project phase, and he has been involved in drafting the Act on National Parks as well].

Kgs. Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2004a. Natur, kultur og borgerinddragelse. Idéseminar for styregruppen for pilotprojekt 'Kongernes Nordsjælland', Hellebæk Avlsgård den 10. juni 2004.

http://www2.skovognatur.dk/Frederiksborg/Nationalpark/Organisation_moeder/Styregruppe/styregruppe_ref_visionsseminar.htm

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2004b. Referat af det 1. styregruppemøde d. 12. januar 2004 [Minutes from the first meeting in the Steering Committee].

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2004c. Referat af det 2. møde i styregruppen [Minutes from the 2nd meeting in the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2004d. Referat af det 3. møde i styregruppen [Minutes from the 3rd meeting in the Steering Committee].

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005a. Informationsavis. Borgertopmøde om nationalpark Kongernes Nordsjælland, lørdag d. 26. februar i Helsing Hallerne. [Information newsletter. Citizen summit about national park Kgs Nordsjælland].

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005b. Pilotprojekt Kongernes Nordsjælland - styregruppens samlede rapport [Pilot project Kongernes Nordsjælland - the report of the steering committee]. Copenhagen, Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.
http://www2.skovognatur.dk/Frederiksborg/nationalpark/Om_pilotprojektet/Rapport_web.pdf.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005c. Referat fra 2. scenarieværksted [Minutes from the 2nd scenarion workshop]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005d. Referat fra det 4. styregruppemøde [Minutes from the 4th meeting in the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005e. Referat fra det 5. styregruppemøde [Minutes from the 5th meeting in the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe .2005f. Referat fra det 6. styregruppemøde [Minutes from the 6th meeting of the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005g. Referat fra det 7. styregruppemøde [Minutes from the 7th meeting in the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kgs.Nordsjælland Styregruppe 2005h. Referat fra det 8. styregruppemøde [Minutes from the 8th meeting of the Steering Committee]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen.

Kjær, A.M. 2004. *Governance*. Polity, Oxford.

Kvistgaard Consult 2005a. *Evaluering af borgerinddragelsen i pilotområdet Kongernes Nordsjælland*. [Evaluation of the participation for the pilot area Kongernes Nordsjælland]. Available online at http://www.sns.dk/frederiksborg/nationalpark/Om_pilotprojektet/EndeligNS.pdf

Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1999. *Århuskonventionen - konventionen om borgernes miljørettigheder. Ret til viden. Ret til at deltage. Ret til at klage* [Aarhus convention. The

convention about citizens' environmental rights. Rights to knowledge. Rights to participate. Rights to appeal decisions]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, København.

Miljøministeriet 2002. *Danmarks natur. Ansvar for at beskytte den og glæden ved at benytte den.* [Nature policy statement]. Miljøministeriet, København. Available at internet: http://www.mim.dk/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2002/1002_naturpolitisk_redegorelse.htm

Miljøministeriet 2006a. *Redegørelse om nationalparker Maj 2006.* Miljøministeriet, København.

Miljøministeriet 2006b. *Udkast. Forslag til Lov om nationalparker.*

Mouffe, C. 2000. *The democratic paradox.* Verso, London.

Naturhistorisk Museum, Molslaboratoriet 2005. *Den tørre fauna. Pilotprojekt Mols Bjerge. Rapport for naturarbejdsgruppen* [Dry fauna. Pilot project Mols]. Naturhistorisk Museum, Molslaboratoriet, Århus.

Naturrådet 2001. *Nationalparker i Danmark – diskussion på baggrund af udenlandske eksempler.* [National parks in Denmark]. Arbejdsrapport nr. 3. Naturrådet. København.

Nielsen, H., Thuesen, S.R. and Dahlstrøm, A. 2005. *Menneske og natur i Nordsjælland. Et borgerinddragelsesprojekt for forældre og børn i pilotprojekt Kongernes Nordsjælland.* [Humans and nature in Northern Zealand. A participation project for parents and children in pilot projekt: Kongernes Nordsjælland]. Roskilde Universitet, <http://www.ruc.dk/upload/application/pdf/b0d8da54/Menneskeognatur.pdf>.

Niras 2005a. *Gennemgang af slutrapporter fra nationalpark-pilotprojekter. 7 forslag til nationalparker* [Analysis of final reports from all seven pilot projects]. NIRAS Konsulenterne, København.

Niras 2005b. *Erhvervs- og samfundsøkonomisk analyse af Marin Nationalpark Læsø – en pagt med naturen. Visioner, scenarier og økonomiske analyser* [Financial analysis of pilot project Læsø]. Niras konsulenterne, København.

Niras 2005c. *3 Forslag til nationalparker. Det kulturhistoriske landskab på Roskilde- og Lejre-egnen, Nationalpark Skjern Å, Naturpark Åmosen-Tissø* [Three national park proposals. The culture historical area Roskilde-Lejre, National park Skjern Å, Nature park Åmosen-Tissø]. Friluftsrådet, København.

Nordsjællands Landboforening og Sjællandske Familielandbrug 2005a *Afgrænsning og indhold af Nationalparken Kongernes Nordsjælland. Landbrugets forslag* [Demarcation and content of

national park Kongernes Nordsjælland. The proposal of the Agriculture. Including accompanying letter to the Minister of the Environment]. Nordsjællands Landboforening og Sjællandske Familielandbrug, Frederiksborg Amt.

Nordsjællands Landboforening og Sjællandske Familielandbrug 2005b. Brev til Miljøminister Connie Hedegaard af 30 Juni 2005. Pilotprojekt Kongernes Nordsjælland. [Letter to the Minister of the Environment, 30 June 2005 regarding Pilot project Kongernes Nordsjælland].

Nørgaard, E. M. and Stenild, M. 2003. *Borgerinddragelse – et middel til realisering af nationalparker i Danmark? – et casestudie af opstartsfasen på Møn* [Evaluation of participation in pilot project Møn]. Den Kgl. Veterinær- og Landbohøjskole, Frederiksborg.

Nørring, N.P. 2006. Dansk Landbrugs rolle i naturpolitikken - ændringer gennem de seneste år [The role of the Danish Agriculture in nature policy - experiences from the past years]. In Boon, T.E., Lund, D.H., og Nathan, I. 2006. *Nye spilleregler i dansk naturpolitik?* [New rules of the game in Danish nature politics?] Arbejdsrapporter Skov & Landskab nr. 34. Center for Skov, Landskab og Planlægning, KVL, Frederiksborg. Pp. 57-62 www.sl.kvl.dk/upload/ar_sl34.pdf.

OECD (1999): *Environmental Performance and Reviews-Denmark (1st cycle) – Conclusions & Recommendations – Denmark* [online]. [citeret d. 28. okt. 2002] Available at internet <http://www.oecd.org/pdf/M00019000/M00019902.pdf>

O'Neill, J. 2001. Representing people, representing nature, representing the world. *Environment and planning C: Government and policy* 19: 483-500.

Pedersen, A.G., and Pedersen, K.K. 2003. *Lokal borgerdeltagelse i naturpolitikken – belyst ved en spørgeskemaundersøgelse af mønboernes holdninger og forventninger til en national naturpark på Høje Møn* [Survey of local participation, Møn]. Roskilde Universitetscenter, Roskilde.

Putnam, R. 1993. Making democracy work. Civic traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Regeringen 2002. *Naturpolitisk redegørelse til Folketinget 9. oktober 2002. Danmarks Natur – ansvaret for at beskytte den og glæden ved at benytte den.* [Nature policy statement to the Parliament 9 October 2002. Nature in Denmark – responsibility for protecting it – the joy of using it]. http://www.mem.dk/nyheder/presse/Dep/1002_naturpolitisk_redegorelse.htm

Regeringen 2004 (The Danish Government). *Handlingsplan for biologisk mangfoldighed og naturbeskyttelse i Danmark 2004-2009* [Biodiversity action plan 2004-2009]. Miljøministeriet, København.

Regeringen 2006. *Skriftlig redegørelse. Naturpolitisk redegørelse 2006 af 5/10 06. Fremtidens natur – vores ansvar. Redegørelse nr. R2.* [Nature policy statement 2006 of 5/10 2006. Future Nature – our responsibility].

Ryding, T.M. 2006a. Debatmøde om dansk naturpolitik [Debate on Danish nature policy].

Ryding, T. M. 2006b. Det nye naturspil [The new nature game]. In: *Momentum* 3, september 2006. Pp. 21-23.

Schmidt, H.C. 2003a.. The MoE's speech at the conference "Befolkningens holdninger og ønsker til naturen" på Christiansborg, 02-04-03 [online]. Miljøministeriets hjemmeside. Available at internet: <URL:http://www.mem.dk/ministeren/Taler/0403_holdninger_til_naturen.htm>.

Schmidt, H.C. 2003b. "Miljøminister Hans Chr. Schmidt's indlæg på pressemødet om nationalparker" [Press release about national parks]. Homepage of Ministry of the Environment. http://www.mim.dk/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2003/national_parker.htm

Schmidt, H.C. 2003c. "Levende natur i et levende landskab" [Living nature in a living landscape]. Available at www.mem.dk/ministeren/Artikler/1104_levende_natur.htm

Schmidt, H.C. 2003d. *Igangsættelsesbrev, Møn* [Initiation letter, Møn].

Schmidt, H.C. 2004. "Miljøminister Hans Chr. Schmidt's indlæg på pressemødet om pilotprojekter for nationalparker" [Press release about pilot projects for national parks]. Homepage of Ministry of the Environment. http://www.mim.dk/Ministeren/Taler/Arkiv/170204_pilotprojekter_for_nationalparker.htm

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 1995c. *Retningslinier for brugerråd* [Guidelines for user councils]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, 5 May 1995, SN-2110-0010, Copenhagen.

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2002. Danmarks nationale skovprogram [National Forest Programme Denmark]. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2002.

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2005. www2.skovognatur.dk/nationalparker

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2005a. Til Netværksgruppen for erhverv. NOTITS til brug for drøftelsen 25. januar 2005. (forslag til prioritering af tilskuds- og støtteordninger). Letter from the National Park secretariat in the National Forest and Nature Agency, to the network on business affairs. 21. January 2005, j.nr. SN 2001-014-0058

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2005b. Til Netværksgruppen om formidling, turisme og friluftsliv. NOTITS til brug for drøftelsen 27. januar 2005. (forslag til prioritering af tilskuds- og

støtteordninger). Letter from the National Park secretariat in the National Forest and Nature Agency, to the network on communication and tourism. 25. January 2005, j.nr. SN 2001-014-0058

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2005c. Referat af møde i arbejdsgruppen om tilskuds- og støtteordninger, 22.februar 2005 kl.14. [Report of meeting in working group on schemes and subsidies 22/2 2005].

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006. *Nationalpark pilot projekt Kongernes Nordsjælland*.
<http://www2.skovognatur.dk/Frederiksborg/nationalpark/default.htm>.

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006a. Baggrund for nationalparkprocessen.
http://www2.skovognatur.dk/nationalparker/Om_nationalparker/baggrund_foerWilhelm.htm.,

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006c. Forslag til lov om nationalparker [Proposal for Act on National parks].

Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2006e. *Nationalpark pilot projekt Kongernes Nordsjælland*.
<http://www2.skovognatur.dk/Frederiksborg/nationalpark/default.htm>,

Strange, N., Hjortsø, C.N.P., and Helles, F. 2005. *Evaluation of a multi-criteria analysis in public policy: a case study of the national park policy process in Denmark*. Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Copenhagen. Draft paper.

Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. 2005a. Netværksstyring. Fra government til Governance. Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. 2007. Theoretical approaches to governance network failure. In: Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. (eds.) 2007. *Theories of democratic network governance*. Palgrave MacMillan, Houndmills, pp.95-110.

Teknologirådet 2007. 13.225 meninger om nationalpark I Nordsjælland. [13,225 opinions about a national park in Northern Zealand].www.tekno.dk/subpage.php3?article=1139&toppic=kategori2&language=dk
[visited 10 January 2007].

Torpe, L. 2000. Foreninger og demokrati. In: Goul Andersen, J., Torpe, L. and Andersen, J. (eds.) *Hvad folket magter. Demokrati, magt og afmagt*. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets forlag, København. Pp. 79-122.

Wilhelmudvalget 2001. *En rig natur i et rigt samfund* [A rich nature in a rich society].
Wilhelmudvalget, København. <http://www.sns.dk/udgivelser/2002/87-7279-378-3/html/default.htm>

Interviews

- Interview 5. Tove Maria Ryding, chairman of the NGO Nepenthes, 5-8-2006
- Interview 6. Niels Peter Nørring, deputy director in Danish Agriculture, 14-8-3006
- Interview 9. Bent Agerskov, chairman of the National Advisory Group, former chairman of the Outdoor Council, 17-8-2006.
- Interview 10. Per Tærstøl, chairman of steering committee in pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, mayor of Helsingør, 18-8 2006.
- Interview 11. Thomas Færgemann, head of department of policy in Danish Nature Conservation Association, 29-8-2006.
- Interview 12. Jens Bjerregaard Christensen, head of secretariat in pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, forest supervisor at Frederiksborg State Forest District, 2-11-2006.
- Interview 13. Philip Heimburger, member of steering committee, pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, former member of Frederiksborg county council for Danish People's Party, 25-11-2006.
- Interview 14. Poul Erik Pedersen, member of steering committee, pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, chairman of the Outdoor Council in Frederiksborg County, 25-11-2006
- Interview 15. Nanna Jensen, chairman of thematic group on rural development, pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland, 29-11-2006.
- Interview 16. Ejner Frøkjær, chairman of steering committee, pilot project Thy national park, mayor, 2-12 2006
- Interview 17. Bo Jellesmark Thorsen, Ole Hjorth Caspersen, Jette Hansen-Møller, researchers at Skov & Landskab, KVL 8-12 2006.
- Interview 18, 8-12-2006, Member of the Steering Committee Kgs. Nordsjælland representing an agricultural interest organisation
- Interview 19. Niels Henrik Larsen, member of national advisory group (NAG), VisitDenmark, 11-12 2006.
- Interview 20. Torben Hansen, member of the parliament (Social Democratic Party), member of the parliamentary board on environment and planning, 12-12-2006.

Interview 21. Jakob Harrekilde Jensen, national park secretariat, the National Forest and Nature Agency, 13-12 2006.

Interview 22. Christian Hjort, chairman of Birdlife Denmark, 22-12 2006.

Interview 24. Karin Jensen, former employee in Frederiksborg county and the extended secretariat of pilot project Kgs. Nordsjælland.