National Parks policy and planning: A comparative analysis of friluftsliv (Norway) and the dual mandate (New Zealand).

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National Parks policy and planning:

A comparative analysis of friluftsliv (Norway) and the dual mandate (New Zealand).

Abstract

Conservation management in Norway is anchored in the historical tradition of friluftsliv although Norway’s evolving economic policy signals that growing priority is being given to recreation and nature-based tourism development in association with protected natural areas (PNA). Here we present the results of an international comparative study that examined conservation policy and recreation/tourism management in Norway and New Zealand, where a legislated dual mandate of conservation and tourism in PNAs is longstanding. Our analysis of conservation policy and planning documents in Norway and New Zealand highlights important contrasts in conservation and recreation/tourism management that are deeply embedded in national socio-historical contexts. Our findings highlight lessons that may be learned and applied in Norway. However we also caution that the application of lessons from New Zealand’s ‘utilitarian conservation’ policy context may require a reformulation or refinement of the friluftsliv tradition.

Keywords: Political ecology, environmental philosophy, protected natural areas, nature-based tourism, friluftsliv, Norway, New Zealand.

1.0 Introduction

In recent years the Norwegian government has committed to economic succession, driven primarily by historical dependence on the oil industry (since 1970) and recent volatility of oil prices (Holter, 2015; The Guardian, 2015). The changing economic policy setting in Norway is also influenced by the commitment of the Norwegian government to achieve carbon neutrality in all sectors of its economy by the target year of 2030 (Gössling, 2009). The response has been to actively encourage alternative industries (e.g., renewable marine energy production, aquaculture) and regional economic diversification to address the decline of rural economies (Vik et al., 2010). Norway is renowned for areas of outstanding natural beauty with an extensive system of protected natural areas (PNAs) that could be capitalised upon to
stimulate growth in tourism (Stensland et al., 2014) through branding, marketing and visitor
management strategies (Regjeringen.no, 2015). These national and regional economic
development strategies signal a political will to move towards a more diversified post-oil
economy. Within this context our paper focuses on the strategic priority given to the
development of tourism in association with Norway’s national parks and other protected
natural areas.

Efforts to develop Norway’s national parks in the interests of tourism is inevitably set within
the historical context of conservation management policy and practice in Norway.

Conservation management in Norway is embedded in a longstanding tradition of simple
outdoor recreation among its citizens (Government of Norway, 2012). Known as friluftsliv
(outdoor living), this tradition is one of unrestricted access to engage in simple and self-
organised outdoor recreation activities in nature. Friluftsliv is a uniquely Scandinavian term
that expresses a way of engaging with nature (Faarlund et al., 2007). It is understood in various
ways by Norwegians but is generally taken to denote experiences of nature that are relatively
independent and self-reliant. The tradition of friluftsliv is evident in the philosophy of deep
ecology (Næss, 1989), which highlights the intrinsic value of nature, which should be
respected and protected. Friluftsliv is embedded in Norwegian national identity and is clearly
outlined in Norway’s Outdoor Recreation Act (1957), as is the individual public access right
(allemannsrett), allowing anyone to access (by foot, ski etc) uncultivated land independent of
land ownership. Little or no conservation management priority has historically been given to
visitor services, facility development or tourism marketing in association with National Parks¹,

¹ It is important to note that the Norwegian Trekking Association (Den Norske Turistforening - DNT) has
played an important role as facilitator since DNT was established in 1868, well before Norwegian national
all of which fall outside the provisions of the Outdoor Recreation Act (1957). The philosophy of *friluftsliv* stands in obvious contrast to the commodification of nature experiences (Reis, 2012) through tourism development.

Informed by political ecology and environmental philosophy, this paper presents an international comparative analysis of the Norwegian and New Zealand conservation management policy settings as they relate to tourism. New Zealand serves as the comparative case because of its long tradition of nature conservation and economic development through recreation and tourism management in national parks (Hall & Higham, 2000). New Zealand’s approach to conservation and tourism is referred to as the dual mandate, which alludes to the twin planning priorities of nature conservation and visitor management. New Zealand’s dual mandate stands in contrast to the Norwegian tradition of *friluftsliv*, but is consistent with Norway’s new policy initiatives that recognise the tourism potential of Norway’s national parks. In performing this analysis we set out to understand and explain the extent to which contrasting PNA policy models are compatible with tourism development. In doing so, we sought to critically explore the extent to which Norway’s conservation policy setting is compatible with the drive to develop nature-based tourism in protected natural areas.

### 2.0 Political ecology and environmental philosophy

This paper draws upon the conceptual framework of political ecology (Douglas, 2014). The term political ecology is attributed to Wolf (1972) who argues the need to “understand how parks were created (see [http://english.turistforeningen.no/](http://english.turistforeningen.no/)). DNT, with 250 000 members, has been loyal to the principles of outdoor recreation, and offer various visitor services within the national parks.
environmental and political forces interact to affect social and environmental changes through
the actions of various social actors at different scales” (Stonich, 1998: 28). Political ecology
calls for an integrated approach to understanding human-nature relations through the actions of
socio-political actors that play out along a range of analysis scales (from the global to the
local). As Stonich (1998: 29) points out, political ecology addresses the “ideologies that direct
resource use (and)… the role of the state in determining and implementing policies (that) effect
resource use”. It addresses the social relations of actors (or stakeholders), and the power
structures that mediate the relationship between society and nature (Escobar, 1996). Such
processes control the extent to which people have access to nature, and the ways in which
people are able (or not able) to interact with nature (Quiroga, 2009).

Douglas (2014) applies political ecology to the study of tourism to acknowledge the
importance of political, economic, social and ecological contexts, highlighting two theoretical
lenses; the social construction of nature and the production (and consumption) of nature.
Within political ecology, the social construction of nature arises from poststructuralism,
recognizing that “…representations of reality are inextricably linked to the physical world”
(Douglas, 2014: 9). According to this theoretical lens the politics of economic development in
Norway (and elsewhere) is shaped by power structures that construct nature in accordance with
development principles that are economic and ecological. The production of nature (Smith,
1984) examines the (historical) relationship between society and nature in terms of the
processes of production. The production of nature thesis seeks to understand material nature in
relation to conceptual understandings of the natural world (Douglas, 2014).

Political ecology dovetails with the well-established notion that nature is socially constructed,
and that nature conservation is a profoundly political process (Henning, 1987; Cronon, 1995). This approach draws attention to the culture of nature, arguing that nature is produced (i.e., via acts of legislation and policy statements) and consumed (i.e., via outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism) in accordance with environmental philosophies that are politically (re)defined based on values that differ between societies and cultures and change over time (Glacken, 1967). Acts of environmental legislation are manifestations of the cultures of nature (Evernden, 1992; Cronon 1995), which are anchored in environmental philosophy (Brennan & Lo, 2010).

In environmental philosophy intense debate surrounds the values that are attached to nature (Sarkar, 2012). According to Sarkar (2012: 29), the pursuit of wild nature can be “…interpreted in two strikingly different ways”. First, environmental philosophy refers to wildness in terms of the non-human environment, which is powerful and unpredictable. It is this wildness (absence of human control) that defines wild nature which, if compromised, denotes the end of nature (McKibben, 1989). The search for relatively untouched wild nature underpins the Norwegian tradition of friluftsliv (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968). Secondly, nature can be understood as wilderness; a cultural concept (Evernden, 1992) that is politically defined in accordance with the principle of minimal human influence. This principle may be interpreted in political, economic and ecological terms (Sarkar, 2012), which afford degrees of wilderness that may vary from wild lands, national parks, and marine protected areas (MPAs), to urban parks, eco-sanctuaries, zoos and aquaria.
The values that societies attached to nature may be understood by way of the diffuse terminology of anthropocentrism, biocentrism and ecocentrism (Brennan & Yo, 2010). Anthropocentrism ascribes human values to wild nature in a way that embraces utility and accommodates demand value. Anthropocentrism presumes that wild nature may be protected to provide ecosystem services such as fresh water, hydro-electric power generation, and opportunities for recreation and tourism (Hall, 1995). Biocentrism attributes intrinsic value to all living entities (human and non-human animals). Ecocentrism moves beyond biocentrism to accommodate collectives (species) and non-biological nature (geological features, wild rivers) in ethical and moral deliberations (Sarkar, 2012). Norwegian environmental philosophy has, since the 1960s, been influenced by the ideology of ‘deep ecology’, which moves beyond ecocentrism further still, to accommodate inter-generational equity and justice in respect to the long-term future of the environment (Næss, 1989). These philosophies can be considered to exist at points along a continuum rather than as fundamentally distinct categories.

3.0 The production and consumption of nature

In the early 1980s Dubos (1980: 14) reflected that "we have reached a paradoxical situation, that we can save (nature) only by introducing into wild areas the ordering and discipline that is becoming increasingly objectionable in civilised life". Addressing such a reality requires that the values associated with nature are discussed and debated. At the same time, policy and planning frameworks were being developed in the North America to inform the management of recreation and tourism (Dearden & Rollins, 1993; Higham & Maher, 2006). The development of management frameworks such as the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS)
and Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) in North America from the late 1970s (Dearden & Rollins, 1993) highlights the fact that the designation of protected natural areas (PNAs), as well as the design and implementation of conservation management practices are socio-culturally, historically and politically situated (Dearden & Rollins, 1993). Indeed Mose (2007) reminds us that conservation management can be performed in accordance with ‘traditional’ or ‘dynamic innovation’ management paradigms. The former addresses the protection of ecosystems in a ‘static’ approach to nature preservation whereas the latter, addresses the conservation of nature in a way that accommodates social-ecological perspectives relating to recreation, tourism, local business interests and traditional land use.

Eagles, McCool & Haynes (2002) articulate three critical aspects of conservation management for recreation and tourism in PNAs. They argue that the development of nature-based tourism in association with conservation management fundamentally requires a sound legislative framework, effective planning systems, and the use of a range of management tools to achieve desired outcomes. Building upon Eagles, McCool & Haynes (2002), here we argue that tourism and conservation management systems in PNAs are comprised of four hierarchical elements (Figure 1). First and foremost, conservation management systems are built upon (1) environmental legislation that arises from political systems, as determined by the environmental philosophies that prevail at particular periods of time (Hall, 1992). Robust environmental legislation determines key policy directions, and the availability of resources for implementing key tourism and conservation management objectives (e.g., biodiversity conservation, nature protection, recreation and tourism, environmental education and conservation advocacy) (Pedersen, 2002). All aspects of conservation management in PNAs,
including recreation and tourism management, have their basis in the jurisdictional legal framework (Higham & Maher, 2006).

Figure 1. Protected Area Management policy and planning hierarchy (Source: Adapted from Higham & Maher, 2006).

Environmental legislation

Conservation policy context

Management Strategies and Plans

Management Actions

In Norway the Nature Protection Act (*Lov om naturvern*) from 1954 establishes the basic principles for nature conservation policies, especially the governmental justification and permission to establish larger protected areas, and – usually – without compromising the right to public access and traditional *friluftsliv (allemannsrett)* within their boundaries. These principles are upheld in more recent legislation. Norway had until 2015 lacked a visitor management strategy for national parks. However, traditional *friluftsliv*, public access rules and codes of conduct (to behave with consideration and due care, personal responsibility not to disrupt nature, respect landowners’ and other visitors’ interests) that are stated in the *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957) apply to national parks. The key acts of environmental legislation
relating to recreation and tourism in Norway today include Norway’s *Nature Conservation Act* (1970) [replaced by the *Nature Diversity Act* (2009)]\(^2\), and New Zealand’s *National Parks Act* (1952) [replaced by the *National Parks Act* (1980)] and the *Conservation Act* (1987), respectively. From these pieces of legislation arise (2) *conservation management policies*. These are formal policies that are developed to interpret the relevant legislation and inform conservation management decisions and actions (Pedersen, 2002). New Zealand’s key policy documents include the General Policy for National Parks (2005), the Conservation General Policy (2005), and the Visitor Strategy (1996).

These policies inform (3) *management strategy and plans* which arise from “the process of setting goals and then developing the actions needed to achieve them” (Newsome et al., 2002: 147). The development and implementation of visitor management systems has occurred in the North American protected area context since the 1970s (Eagles & McCool, 2002). Various frameworks have been developed to provide protected area managers with planning tools that enable management plans to be developed. Various different management planning frameworks now exist (Eagles & McCool, 2002; Newsome et al., 2002), with the more widely adopted frameworks including the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC), Visitor Impact Management (VIM), Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) and Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) frameworks (Stankey, Cole, Lucas, Petersen and Frissell, 1985; Dearden & Rollings, 1993). These frameworks outline differing approaches to the management of visitor experiences and impacts (Boyd & Butler, 1996; Newsome et al 2002).

\(^2\) For PNAs a statutory administrative regulation (*verneforskrift*) is put in place in each territory.
Finally (4) management actions are required to deliver upon the goals and objectives of the planning system (IUCN, 1991; Newsome et al., 2002; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Higham & Maher, 2006). Management actions link planning objectives to the achievement of planning outcomes through a regulatory regime (Maher, 2004; Hammitt, Cole & Monz, 2015). They may include site (e.g., site hardening) or visitor management. Visitor management includes direct (e.g. regulation of access) or indirect (e.g., influencing users through the provision of visitor information) management of visitors (Newsome et al., 2002). Management actions, therefore, occur along a continuum, from soft/indirect interventions (e.g., information and advocacy), to hard/direct actions (e.g., hardening of the physical environment and restrictions on site access or use). Managers may deploy various management actions in order to achieve certain outcomes in accordance with planning frameworks (Newsome et al, 2002).

The line of argument that underpins this paper is that in order to implement significant changes in economic policy in relation to national parks and nature-based tourism, it is critical to understand the historical conservation management context. A critical aspect of recreation and tourism policy and planning is a clearly defined link between the activities of users, the values and attributes of PNAs, and the impacts of visitor activities (Eagles & McCool, 2002). The importance of a framework to understand and manage these elements is fundamental to the production and consumption of nature (Hammit & Cole, 1998; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002; Pedersen, 2002; Newsome, Moore & Dowling, 2002). This paper seeks to provide insights into the legislative, policy, planning and management contexts for national parks in Norway, as informed by the friluftsliv tradition, by way of a comparative
analysis of the New Zealand’s long (and contrasting) history of utilitarian conservation (Shultis, 1991; Hall & Higham, 2000), as expressed in the dual mandate.

4.0 Methods

Recent changes in Norwegian economic policy relating to nature-based tourism and national parks reflect an approach to conservation management (and recreation/tourism) that has long existed in other parts of the world, highlighting the potential value of comparative policy analysis (Baum, 1999). Historically, comparative studies have been employed less in the tourism context than in other research traditions (Nicholson & Pearce 2001; Baum 1999). Comparison is a process through which similarities and differences between two (or more) phenomena are explored and analysed (Warwick & Osherson, 1973). Baum (1999) explains that comparative research in tourism may be used to gauge performance on a longitudinal basis, assess relative performance against a similar or competing destination or attraction, identify alternative strategies, benchmark against competitors, learn from the experiences of others, and interpret current events or trends in terms of future events. The purpose of the comparative analysis reported here is to draw insights into new or alternative conservation management strategies as informed by contrasting national policy contexts, and as influenced by historical national nature conservation practices. We also set out to shed light on lessons that can be learned from the experiences of others (Baum, 1999).
Comparative research involves specific consideration of research design and purpose (Nicholson & Pearce 2001) including factors such as the choice of case studies, factors to be examined and conceptual and measurement equivalence (Pearce, 1993; Nicholson & Pearce 2001. Comparative analyses that cross national or cultural boundaries, as in the current case, require that consideration is given to similarities and differences in the values, ideas, attitudes and symbols of participant groups (Kozac 2001). For our research purposes, a ‘lesson drawing’ approach (Rose 1991) was adopted. Lesson drawing questions the circumstances under which an effective programme in one geographical context can be transferred and applied to another context. This is a popular approach for policy-informing research (Baum, 1999, Stone, 1999). Rose (1991: 4) proposes that this approach “raises the possibility that policymakers can draw lessons that will help them deal better with their own problems”. The comparative lesson drawing approach unfolds in four steps.

The first step, according to Rose (1991), is to assess potential comparative programmes with inspirational responses to the question at hand. In Step 1, New Zealand was identified as the basis for comparative lesson drawing. This step involved a preliminary analysis of the respective geographical and political contexts in Norway and New Zealand. This analysis established that Norway and New Zealand are similar in physical geography and domestic population/urbanisation with considerable north-south latitudinal variation (and seasonality that increases with latitude), diverse flora and fauna and both coastal (e.g., island and fiord) and landlocked (e.g., alpine; mountainous) PNAs. Both Norway and New Zealand have continued to expand their respective national park systems in recent years. However, most critically, conservation management in New Zealand is based on a legislated dual mandate that offers informative contrasts with Norway’s tradition of friluftsliv. The dual mandate, which is
legislated in New Zealand’s *Conservation Act (1987)*, describes the kindred goals of nature conservation in perpetuity, and fostering public engagement in conservation, including the sustainable management of recreation and tourism (Higham & Maher, 2006). New Zealand was selected as the comparative case for our analysis in order to draw insights from the contrasting approach of Norway’s *friluftsliv* tradition and the longstanding and dynamic protection and use *dual mandate* that exists in New Zealand.

Step 2 involved the conceptualisation of the issue(s) that exists. Informed by the literature addressing the consumption and production of nature, our research was framed by the fourfold hierarchical conceptualisation of conservation management outlined and reviewed above (see Figure 1) (Dearden & Rollins, 1993; Stankey et al., 1985; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Newsome et. al., 2002). In step 3 comparative analysis was performed to identify and interpret elements of policy convergence/divergence. Our comparative analysis was performed by way of a content analysis of key environmental legislation, conservation policy and visitor management strategy and planning documents (Table 1). Content analysis affords the freedom to perform interpretations of text to uncover the meaning of documented policy and planning statements (Jennings, 2001). While this can be performed without the structure of *a priori* knowledge or guiding concepts, the researcher is “responsible for analyzing the contents of the communication texts and explaining their meanings based on the social setting of the context from which they are drawn” (Jennings, 2001: 202).

Insert Table 1: Key acts of environmental legislation and conservation management policies: Norway and New Zealand.
To ensure that data interpretations reflected real world situations, our research team comprised of six scholars, both Norwegian and New Zealand nationals, who were familiar with the Norwegian and/or New Zealand conservation policy contexts (Sarkar, 2012). This ensured that the meaning of texts could be explained and contrasted within context (Jennings, 2001). Analytical units were defined as key acts of legislation, policies, and planning and management statements, and organized by classification type. Manual content analysis was performed by linking parts of the text to the overall intent of the documents under analysis. Structuration took place whereby data were ordered according to the predetermined set of categories (see Figure 1). We also drew upon relevant published sources to inform and explain our interpretations. This comparative content analysis then informed a qualitative empirical lesson drawing analysis, which allowed insights to be drawn and recommendations to be considered (Step 4).

5.0 Results

Norway and New Zealand have numerous national parks, which collectively form the centrepiece of extensive national systems of PNAs (Table 2 [A]; [B]). The historical development of the respective systems offers immediate contrasts (Table 2 [C]). National parks in Norway have a relatively short history. The first park (Rondane National Park) was designated in 1962. At this time a developing ecological ethic prevailed in many western societies, none more so than Norway (Næss, 1989). Guided by the values of nature conservation, the protection of ecosystems was considered to be the principal objective of national parks (Eagles & McCool, 2002; Mose, 2007). New Zealand’s first national park,
Tongariro National Park, was established in 1887 (the fourth in the world), as a gift to the Crown (government) from the Māori Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi (tribe). This ‘gift to the nation’ was inspired by the cultural values associated with protecting the volcanic peaks of Tongariro that are tapu (sacred) to the Ngati Tuwharetoa people. Tongariro is now recognised by UNESCO as one of twenty-eight mixed cultural and natural World Heritage sites. The Scenic Preservation Commission (New Zealand) was established in 1903. The commission received multiple recommendations from the general public between 1903 and 1906, and this resulted in the designation of Fiordland National Park (now Te Wahipounamu World Heritage Area) in 1905, and others at regular intervals in the decades that followed.

Insert Table 2: Comparison of the Norwegian and New Zealand conservation management context.

It is evident that the historical rationale that underpins these systems also offers immediate contrasts (Table 2 [C]). In the Norwegian context, the importance of wild nature and nature conservation has been the paramount concern that has guided national parks policy. High degrees of naturalness and the general absence of artefactualism (human facilities) have been guiding principles. Some of the first park proposals were therefore quite small areas, in order to meet these criteria, e.g. Femundsmarka National Park (Kirke og undervisningsdepartementet, 1964). Since Rondane (c.1962) a further 36 national parks have been gazetted on the Norwegian mainland, and protected areas (of which national parks make up the biggest share) comprise 17 per cent of the total land area (Miljøstatus Norge, 2014). Norway has thus experienced a relatively rapid development in its national park system in the
half century from 1962. Most of Norway’s national parks (and all the early ones) are located in relatively remote, mountainous natural areas.

By contrast, the history of New Zealand’s protected area system is steeped in a utilitarian conservation ethic (Hall & Higham, 2000). Recognising the rise of European Romanticism (Hall, 1992), the New Zealand government in 1901 created the Department of Tourism and Publicity (now Tourism New Zealand [TNZ]), the first national destination marketing organization (DMO) in the world, to promote New Zealand’s natural (and cultural) environment and to foster international inbound tourism (Hall & Higham, 2000). Indeed many of New Zealand’s more recent national parks (e.g., Kahurangi National Park 1996; Rakiura National Park 2002) have been consciously designated to encourage spatially dispersed patterns of tourism and foster regional economic development. New Zealand’s PNA system has been continuously developed since 1887 in accordance with a dual mandate of protection of nature in perpetuity, and use for recreation and tourism (New Zealand Conservation Act, 1987). Indeed the dual mandate has developed to now extend to inter-agency partnerships between the Department of Conservation and local government, commercial tour operators, marketing agencies (including TNZ), local/regional conservation groups and community trusts (non-profit organization) (Table 2 [C, D]). The utility of PNAs in both Norway and New Zealand has included grazing and hunting (among other things) but New Zealand’s utilitarian conservation has clearly extended to the systematic development of recreation and tourism in association with national parks.

5.1. Legislation/Regulation
The first element of the conceptual model (Figure 1) recognizes that conservation management is grounded in a sound legislative framework (Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002). The legislative framework for Norway’s national parks is centred on biocentric values that give priority to the protection of wild nature (Holt Jensen, 1978; Government of Norway, 2012).

The founding principle of conservation management in Norway is described as classical nature protection in the *Nature Diversity Act* (2009) (Government of Norway, 2012). Secondary to the overriding objective to preserve Norway’s wild nature is the prescriptive right and principle of common access (*allemannsretten*), which is stated in Norway’s *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957). These acts of Norwegian law provide for several rights, of which unrestricted foot access is the most extensive (Hammitt et al, 1992). The *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957) supports self-organised, simple outdoor recreation activities, which is reflective of Norway’s *friluftsli*v tradition. Little or no reference is made to visitor services, facility development (except paths) or tourism marketing, which fall outside the provisions of the *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957).

The main goals for national parks are embedded in the Nature Conservation Act (1970) (Government of Norway, 2007) in which the founding principle of national parks is stated in the act’s section 3:

“In order to preserve large areas of natural habitat that are undisturbed or largely undisturbed, distinctive or beautiful, areas of land owned by the state may be designated as national parks… The landscape and the flora, fauna, natural features and
archaeological and architectural monuments and sites shall be protected against
development, construction and other disturbance.”

The strong emphasis on nature protection is evident in this text. No explicit reference is made
to human user interests (apart from the general values that the national parks are supposed to
protect, and the term ‘beautiful’). The principle of common access (allemandsretten) is central
to the Norwegian legislation (Table 1). As in New Zealand, there are no entry fees or
restrictions for visitors to Norway’s national parks, but unlike New Zealand no concessionary
provisions exist for tourism businesses to operate within the national parks. The Norwegian
Trekking Association (DNT) has a number of staffed or unstaffed visitor cabins and maintains
a network of signposted hiking and cross-country skiing routes both inside (in agreement with
national park authorities) and outside park borders (DNT, 2012). Because Norway’s national
parks are established mainly on Crown (public) land with a long subsistence farming tradition
(e.g., fishing, hunting, grazing), small and primitive cabins do exist for safety and shelter
reasons and use of these cabins is considered to belong to the friluftslix tradition. The legal
mandate for the management of national parks make little or no provision for managing visitor
experiences where the focus of park managers falls largely upon nature conservation
(Hoffmann & Jatko, 2000).

The historical context in New Zealand stands in contrast. The philosophy that prevails in New
Zealand - that wilderness should be treated in awe - dates to European Romanticism (Shultis,
1991; Oelschlaeger, 1991), which influenced European colonization of New Zealand in the
nineteenth century. While lowland areas were systematically cleared for agricultural
production (Hall & Higham, 2000), early Europeans marvelled at the sublime nature of the Southern Alps. In 1886 while exploring the Southern Alps (South Island, New Zealand), James McKerrow declared that; "Manapouri, with its wooded islets and peninsulas and fantastic bays and coves, and its girdle of high mountains and waterfalls is... an inspiration... to every beholder" (Easdale 1988). New Zealand’s PNA system has been developed over the course of the last century in accordance with a dual mandate of protection of nature in perpetuity, and use for recreation and tourism (as long as it is consistent with protection in perpetuity) (New Zealand Conservation Act, 1987).

An anthropocentric philosophy, which underpins the (largely) unrestricted enjoyment of New Zealand’s protected lands by New Zealanders and international tourists, is a cornerstone of the New Zealand’s environmental legislation (Department of Conservation 2005). This is clearly evident in the National Parks Act (1952) which states that the purpose of National Parks is to “preserve in perpetuity …for the enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive qualities or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest”. New Zealand’s National Parks Act (1952) allows for public rights of access so that visitors may “receive, in full measure, the inspiration, enjoyment, recreation and other benefits that may be derived from mountains, lakes and rivers”. Section 4 (2), (a)-(e) of the (revised) National Parks Act (1980) outlines that while national parks are to be maintained in their natural state, freedom of access to national parks is assured, conditional only on management actions that may be considered necessary to safeguard the distinctive qualities of national parks. Thus, the National Parks Act (1980) requires a balancing of the
need to protect the distinctive character of conservation lands with “public access and enjoyment”.

The historical legislative context in both Norway and New Zealand has evolved quite rapidly in recent years. In Norway the nature protection legislation has been replaced by the Nature Diversity Act 2009 (Government of Norway, 2012). In a presentation of the new law, former Vice-Minister Heidi Sørensen of the Norwegian Ministry of the Environment said that sustainable use and conservation for the first time is seen ‘in context’ (Norwegian Ministry of the Environment, 2010). This also applies to the wider territory, i.e. the adjacent land outside the protected areas, where human use should not be detrimental to essential natural values. The broader scope is formulated in the first section of the Nature Diversity Act:

“The purpose of this Act is to protect biological, geological and landscape diversity and ecological processes through conservation and sustainable use, and in such a way that the environment provides a basis for human activity, culture, health and well-being, now and in the future, including a basis for Sami culture.” (Section 1 - purpose of the Act).

Evidently human activity and user interests are now integrated into the very purpose of the act. Nevertheless, in listing the specific objectives relating to protected areas, only nature conservation goals are stated (Section 33) and no user interests are mentioned. By contrast, among the various nature preservation goals “natural environments that reflect human use through the ages (cultural landscapes) or that are also of historical value” (Nature Diversity Act 2009) are specifically addressed. Section 34 of the Nature Diversity Act (2009) states that
an individual protected area shall be established by the King in Council through a regulation that defines the purpose of protecting a given area and its limits, and that “importance shall be attached to safeguarding ecological functions of significance for achieving the purpose of protection and the resilience of the ecosystem to external pressures”. It is also said that “the continuation of sustainable use” that reinforces the purpose of protection shall not be precluded by this regulation. The act does not mention anything in particular about changing forms of sustainable use or the introduction of new forms of nature-based tourism activities.

In New Zealand the last two decades has witnessed the rapid further expansion of PNAs. Since 1998 extensive areas of New Zealand’s high country (typically alpine tussock grasslands that have historically been heavily grazed under a crown lease system) have been subject to tenure review. The Department of Conservation has participated in the review of crown pastoral leases under the Land Act 1949 and the Crown Pastoral Lands Act 1998 (Department of Conservation 2000/2001). Under tenure review many former high country sheep stations, predominantly in the central South Island, have been incorporated into the conservation estate and designated as forest parks or conservation areas (under Section 25 of the Conservation Act 1987). These areas have been designated to protect their natural and historic resources and to provide a "... less restricted range of recreational activities than national parks... including tramping, camping, fishing, and shooting for a variety of game" (Statistics New Zealand 1995).

Thus, New Zealand’s conservation estate consists of an expanding series of PNAs, some of

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3 Many high country sheep stations were established in New Zealand in the 1890s under 100 year crown leases. These leases began to expire in the late 1990s and the New Zealand government engaged in re-negotiation of Crown leases to bring productive land into freehold (private ownership) and high country areas into the conservation estate (PNA system).
which are located close to population centres, each with varied but, nonetheless, clearly stated
recreation and tourism values.

While the Norwegian legislative context is clearly evolving, it continues to stand in contrast to
New Zealand PNA legislation. Norway has maintained a tradition of limited facility
development and commercial activities in the national parks (Haukeland & Lindberg, 2001).
Consequently public resources allocated to national park management has been far below that
of other developed countries – both in terms of financial means and numbers of staff (Lindberg,
2001). The societal background for this lack of legislative support is linked to the strong
tradition for simple outdoor recreation activities (friluftsliv) among its citizens. The legislative
context for national parks is based upon strict conservation rules and limited active
management.

5.2. Conservation management policy setting

The first principal Norwegian act on nature protection came into effect in 1954 (Lov om
naturvern) (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968). However, conservation management
policy in Norway is most directly shaped by the Nature Council (1964). Upon the
recommendation of the Nature Council (1964) a differentiation in Norway was made between
the ‘nature park’ and ‘national park’ (naturpark vs. nasjonalpark) concepts (Kirke- og
undervisningsdepartementet, 1964). The former was intended to represent the strongest form of
nature protection (‘untouched nature’), while the latter was intended to also serve outdoor
recreational interests. While the Nature Council (1964) took no account of nature-based
tourism, this passage does serve as a reminder that this is not a straightforward ‘single mandate’
(Norway)/‘dual mandate’ (New Zealand) comparison, insofar as national parks in Norway were intended to also serve recreation interests. However, following this precedent, tourism development interests have received very modest consideration in later national park policy and planning documents through to the new millennium. The concept of ‘nature park’ was not applied any further in Norwegian protection policies. The two categories (nature park and national park) were merged into the single category of National Park.

This perhaps explains why Norway’s national parks policies have been developed in accordance with a dominant biocentric environmental philosophy. Provision for outdoor recreation in Norway’s national parks has largely remained a user concern in line with the Act on Outdoor Recreation of 1957 (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1969). Outdoor recreation takes place in practically untouched nature (‘friluftsliv og rekreasjon i mest mulig urørt natur’) (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968). However, traditional uses in the form of summer grazing, fishing and hunting are also allowed within the parks’ borders in most cases.

The New Zealand policy context stands in clear contrast. Below the level of legislation, the planning and management requirements of New Zealand’s Department of Conservation are guided and informed by a series of policies and strategies that have been developed, with consultation, in accordance with the Conservation Act (1987). New Zealand’s General Policy for National Parks (NZCA, 2005) and Conservation General Policy (DOC, 2005) provide guidance for managers, industry and members of the public regarding such things as the provision of recreational opportunities. These policies inform management strategies and plans,
and guide management actions. They articulate the Department’s conservation management strategies and plans, which stand in obvious contrast to the Norwegian context. Three key policy documents include the General Policy for National Parks (2005), the Conservation General Policy (2005), and the Visitor Strategy (1996).

The management of the conservation estate in relation to recreation and tourism is fundamentally addressed in the Visitor Strategy (1996) policy statement, which provides guidance for the Department’s provision of visitor services. The Visitor Strategy (1996) was developed in inter-agency consultation with conservation and tourism stakeholders such as the New Zealand Conservation Authority, Federated Mountain Clubs, New Zealand Tourism Board, the Ministry of Commerce Tourism Policy Group, New Zealand Tourism Industry Association and members of the public. The Visitor Strategy (1996) addresses five key management goals (Table 3), which demonstrate a commitment to a holistic approach to visitor planning. It articulates a commitment to such things as the protection of natural and historic values, collaboration with indigenous Māori, the delivery of a wide range of recreational opportunities, appropriate and safe visitors facilities and services and development and maintenance of relationships with communities, recreation clubs and conservation groups (Department of Conservation 2005). The provision of visitor services is addressed in the regional conservation management strategies (CMS) and management plans for national parks, which are periodically reviewed in a process that involves public consultation. These plans do vary but must be consistent with the Conservation General Policy 2005 and Visitor Strategy 1996.
Table 3. Department of Conservation visitor strategy: Issues and goals.


The Norwegian national policy context is dynamic (Stensland et al., 2014), and various national policy documents from the last decade have signalled an emerging importance being ascribed to tourism developments associated with national parks. The ‘Mountain Text’ (Fjellteksten) (2003) (Finansdepartementet, 2003; Miljøverndepartementet, 2005), for example, signals a clear desire to increase sustainable economic development in mountain areas, including the national parks, as far as national park regulations allow. The ban on commercial activities in Norway’s national parks was lifted in 2003. In a signal of a growing policy change the Ministry of Trade and Industry has in the last decade made various pointed statements. In the “Action plan for tourism industries” (Nærings- og handelsdepartemenet, 2005), national parks are mentioned as a specific component of the new national branding strategy for tourism in Norway. The government’s tourism strategy (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2007) emphasizes the importance of sustainable tourism development in protected areas, and highlights the importance of improved accessibility, more hiking tracks, enhanced parking facilities and information provision to enhance awareness of, and increase visitation to, the national parks. Norway’s tourism strategy (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2012) highlights the value of national parks in terms of tourism branding, which is linked to local economic value creation.
In Norway, the changing policy context has further evolved in recent years. The Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management (the directorate changed its name to the Norwegian Environment Agency (Miljødirektoratet) in 2013) launched a pilot project where appointed localities adjacent to national parks which meet certain criteria were given status as ‘national park municipalities’ and ‘national park villages’ (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2012). In 2008, 23 ‘national park communes’ and 5 ‘national park villages’ were assigned a protected trademark logo that may be used in the marketing of their areas; the number has increased to 33 ‘national park communes’ in 2014 (Miljødirektoratet, 2014a). The intention here was to increase visitor interests in the communities in question and the adjacent national parks, and to demonstrate that national parks may be considered an asset for the local communities. A policy reform was put in place in the wake of the implementation of the Nature Diversity Act (2009). The Norwegian Ministry of the Environment invited affected municipalities to inaugurate local national park boards comprising political representatives of involved municipalities, county authorities and possible Sami interests (the Sami Parliament) (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2010). No specific national park user interests are represented on the national park boards, but advisory committees may be established to support the boards. National park managers are now encouraged to form management ‘nodes’ (forvaltningsknutepunkt) comprising of members from the Norwegian Nature Inspectorate (Statens naturoppsyn - SNO), local mountain boards, national park staff, etc.

The New Zealand policy context has also evolved over the last decade. Department of Conservation policy documents are periodically updated in the form of published ‘Statements of Intent’ (SOI). The SOI for the period 2005 – 2008 outlined important refinements to the Visitor Strategy (1996). It notes that “New Zealand’s heritage needs to be preserved and
protected so people can enjoy and benefit from it, while people’s support for conservation is
linked to their appreciation and valuing of our heritage” (SOI, 2005, p. 13). The SOI (2005-
2008) also outlined an initiative to work more closely with the tourism industry and private
enterprises while ensuring that conservation values are not compromised, through the
application of the concessions management system. The importance of recreation, tourism and
public-private partnerships is also evident in the most recently published SOI (2013). Five
strategic drivers for the period 2013-2017 are identified in that document (DOC Statement of
Intent, May 2013: p. 12), including economic growth through supporting business and
innovation. This strategic driver seeks to increase business opportunities on public
conservation land, and revenue generation opportunities that are consistent with conservation
values, through the establishment of more public–private business-conservation partnerships.
This signals new directions in utilitarian/economic conservation management in New Zealand.

5.3. Management Strategies and Plans

Management policies and plans are embedded in the friluftsliv tradition, at the heart of which
lies a commitment to outdoor recreation that is simple, self-organised and independent
(Government of Norway, 2012). As a direct consequence, Norway’s national parks have been
designated with little or no specific attention to visitor management planning. In some cases
management plans have been put in place several years after the designation of individual
parks. Others still do not have an approved management plan, although management planning
is now required for all national parks in accordance with the Nature Diversity Act (2009),
which states that:
“A draft strategic management plan shall be presented when a decision is made to protect an area. When an operational management plan is also relevant, it shall be part of the strategic management plan” (Section 35 (national parks).

Management plans for national parks are intended to contribute to “an active and predictable” management of a protected area (Directorate for Nature Management, 2010a, p. 7). These are required to articulate the purpose and goals of conservation efforts in a given national park. Co-operation with affected local interests is required in the management planning process and the principle of transparency in management is seen as necessary and important to create trust and to avoid or manage conflicts. It is a requirement that park plans are submitted to the Directorate for Nature Management (now the Norwegian Environment Agency) for approval.

The Nature Diversity Act also describes the administrative method for protection processes and notifies that such procedures shall be “... carried out in the closest possible cooperation with landowners, right holders, interested commercial parties and representatives of the local community...” (Section 41). The proposals for the protection of an area shall be announced to the public (Section 42) and a consultation process regarding proposal for protection regulations shall be put in place in accordance with the Public Administration Act (Section 43).

The Nature Diversity Act offers little guidance on if or how local industries such as nature-based tourism businesses should be accommodated. The Act does make reference to user permits where it is stated that “any person shall act with care” (Section 6) and in the same section that “the duty of care” is considered to be fulfilled if the conditions for the permit are met. Management decisions shall as far as possible be based on scientific knowledge and in
addition, importance is given to “…knowledge that is based on many generations of experience through the use and interaction with the natural environment, ... and that can promote conservation and sustainable use...” (Section 8). This is also underlined in the Management Handbook (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2010a, p. 5). Here emphasis is given to the “precautionary principle”, although it is stated that “lack of knowledge shall not be used as a reason for postponing or not introducing management measures”. Moreover: “Any pressure on an ecosystem shall be assessed on the basis of the cumulative environmental effects on the ecosystem now or in the future” (Section 10). A practical consequence is that user interests are ignored because knowledge of the ecological impacts from human activity is lacking and there is little resourcing of the study of potentially negative impacts. Therefore the ‘precautionary principle’ (Fennell & Ebert, 2004) is often the chosen base for management decisions.

However, in line with the increasing recognition that the national parks may serve as crucial tourism attractions and not least so for international visitors, the Norwegian Environment Agency has recently launched two projects that are now in progress related to a) developing a template for visitor strategies and b) launching a national park branding strategy for Norway (Miljødirektoratet, 2014c). These projects are also a management response to the expected increase in national parks visitation. A visitor strategy for one park with high visitor numbers, Jotunheimen National Park, has so far been elaborated (Fylkesmannen i Oppland, 2012). Four pilot projects including Jotunheimen National Park were initiated in 2014, in order to develop visitor strategies in national parks. This signals a belated move towards national park planning that extends to visitor management. A design development project was conducted in 2014, and
a new branding and visitor strategy was launched by the Norwegian Environment Agency in 2015 (Miljødirektoratet, 2015a). The catchphrase is now “Velkommen inn” (“Welcome inside”), and a new management handbook to implement the new strategies has been published very recently (Miljødirektoratet, 2015b). The management resources allocated to these recent initiatives is not clarified; however, the budget for national park management in 2015 was at the same level as the year before, and the recent proposal for 2016 shows a small budget increase in addition to greater attention on visitor strategies.

Such efforts directed towards visitor management are much more longstanding and rigorously developed in New Zealand. In sharp contrast to the prevailing situation in Norway, the anthropocentric environmental philosophy is clearly apparent in the strategic management and planning regime that exits in New Zealand. The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) management framework was adopted by New Zealand’s Department of Conservation in 1993 (Department of Conservation 2005). The ROS framework was adapted in consultation with key recreation groups, and has been applied to enable land managers to inventory, plan for, and protect opportunities for recreation (Higham & Maher, 2006). In adapting the ROS planning framework to New Zealand a seven-fold classification of national park user groups (and visitors to other PNAs) was developed. This system classifies visitors according to their facility and service needs; their setting, activity and experience preferences; and the degree of risk accepted in their activity (Table 4) (Department of Conservation 1996). Defining these discrete and dynamic user groups serves as a first step towards planning for a spectrum of recreational opportunities, each with unique facility and service requirements. The ROS management and planning framework was adopted nationally and has subsequently been
applied regionally to all PNA designations in New Zealand. This provides a national visitor management planning framework.


5.4. Management Actions

The previous absence of a national visitor management framework of PNAs in Norway is noteworthy, as it is reflected in the general lack of systematic management action in many of Norway’s national parks. The Management Handbook (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2010a) simply underlines ‘the nature experience value’ (naturens opplevelsesverdi) of protected areas based on simple outdoor recreation (enkelt friluftsliv), especially in those parks where such friluftsliv is part of the protection mandate. No reference is made to nature-based tourism activities as regards to the goal of area protection, but with reference to a whitepaper about outdoor recreation (Miljøverndepartementet, 2001), the Management Handbook asserts the importance of the public’s understanding of nature as a way to gain public support for nature protection. This is the equivalent of public engagement and conservation advocacy as outlined in New Zealand’s Visitor Strategy (1996).

The Management Handbook (2010) offers few clear guidelines for management of national parks. It notes that precisely formulated ‘protection goals’ (bevaringsmål) should be defined and serve as a planning instrument to protect nature qualities with adequate management.
measures. Attempts have been made to address societal objectives (e.g., nature-based recreation and tourism). Those efforts have tended to be unsuccessful due, in all probability, to Norway’s biocentric policy context. Increased user pressure from new forms of outdoor recreation is commonly viewed as one of a series of challenges for conservation management. “Differentiated management” for various zones (delområder), and the use of maps as planning tools, are recommended (Management Handbook, 2010; Chapter 5.2), with management for differing user types and volumes. However, planning specifications are poorly formulated and not well linked to protection goals and concrete guidelines.

According to the Management Handbook (2010), the management plan process should identify protection and user interests. Simple and nature-friendly outdoor recreation (enkelt friluftsliv) with scant use of technical equipment is mentioned in a template for the regulation (verneforskriften) of national parks (Management Handbook, 2010). Chapter 5 of the Management Handbook (2010) refers to regulating visitation in fragile environments, providing information at unsafe sites (to prevent accidents), reducing conflicts between various users, disseminating knowledge about nature, history and cultural heritage (e.g., tracks with information signs), and improving accessibility at entry points (parking areas), especially in association with larger and more user intensive parks. National park centres are intended to inform visitors about nature protection, inspire nature-friendly outdoor recreation, and disseminate information about park management. The potential roles of the tourism interests are limited to the distribution of brochures, as potential actors in developing tracks and signposts (as DNT does in association with managers) and nature guiding.
The new guidelines for visitor management in the wake of the branding strategy for Norwegian PNAs (Miljødirektoratet 2015b) aim to strike the balance between high-quality visitor experiences, economic benefits for local communities and safeguarding protected natural values. This instruction manual seeks to provide managers with instruments to build a knowledge platform as regards susceptible natural resources, visitor/ user interests and tourism industry provisions. Guidelines are also available concerning the shaping of gateway areas, trailheads and viewpoints (recognisable physical design profile, information facets, etc.) (Miljødirektoratet, 2015c).

The longstanding anthropocentric philosophy underpinning environmental legislation and conservation management in New Zealand has allowed for a long-term commitment to the development and refinement of visitor management actions in the New Zealand context. In this context reference is made to visitor sites and assets which are defined as “spatially defined places managed to provide visitor services for priority visitor groups…” (Cessford & Thompson, 2002). The Department of Conservation manages recreational facilities (including huts, tracks, boardwalks and bridges, among many others), each of which is referred to as a visitor asset, through the Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP). The VAMP framework, developed by Parks Canada (Dearden & Rollins, 1993) to complement and incorporate the principles of ROS, includes the definition of the visitor sites at which the assets are located, the accurate inventory of all visitor assets, development of legal and service standards for asset groups (e.g. tracks and huts), inspection programmes for all assets against the specified standards, the application of life-cycle modelling for each asset (i.e., to predict maintenance and replacement costs, and specify work schedules), and specification of other...
key management information relating to each site (e.g. key natural and cultural values, impact issues, priority visitor groups, management plan specifications, publication resources)

(Cessford and Thompson, 2002).

All site and asset data are incorporated into a centrally managed Visitor Asset Management System (VAMS) database accessible to DOC managers (central) and rangers (field-based). The Department of Conservation’s extensive VAMP system constituted, as at June 2005, of 3700 visitor sites and over 35000 visitor assets including approximately 992 huts; 148 campsites; 12,800km of tracks; 2200km of roads; 550 car parks; 1500 signs; 1,680 toilets; 13,464 structures (e.g. bridges, boardwalks, jetties, boat-ramps); 400 amenity areas (e.g. car parks, picnic areas, viewpoints) and 1100 other buildings (e.g. shelters, shower blocks) (DOC, 2005; Higham & Maher, 2006). This overview of visitor assets managed by the Department of Conservation confirms the importance of the role of this government department as an agency of recreation and tourism management in New Zealand.

The management actions of the Department of Conservation extend to visitor information. The DOC 2004/2005 Annual Report (DOC, 2005: 73) notes that visitor information is critical to enable people to enjoy New Zealand’s national parks. The Department of Conservation manages thirteen visitor centres and seven regional visitor centres (DOC, 2005). It also provides interpretation services through such actions as guided talks, audio-visual displays, interpretive signs, maps, publications and comprehensive online material and booking systems (see http://www.doc.govt.nz). In some New Zealand cities DOC information centres now exist under the same roof as existing regional tourist information centres.
Conservation information and advocacy is also served through the DOC system of commercial concessions. A concession is an authorisation to conduct a commercial activity within an area of public conservation land. In 2006 there are approximately 1600 tourism concessions (tourism businesses) operating in New Zealand’s PNAs. DOC regional concession managers oversee an integrated system of planning (considering concession applications in accordance with Conservation Management Plans), allocating concessions to successful applicants, and monitoring concessionaire activities. By way of the concessions system tourism operators are able to provide visitors products and services in protected areas, which include many of New Zealand’s most iconic tourism activities. A review of the concession system conducted in 2004 (DOC, 2004) highlighted the further potential for commercial tourism operators to contribute to the management of protected areas, provide world-class visitor experiences and further engage public conservation advocacy. These management actions, developed systematically over many decades, highlight lessons that could be adapted and applied to serve the conservation and regional economic development aspirations that have been articulated by the Norwegian government in recent years.

6.0 Discussion and conclusions

Political ecology provides a contextual lens for analyzing the problems and potentials of sustainable tourism in the context of people, nature, and power (Douglas, 2014). Informed by political ecology, this paper highlights the fact that sharp contrasts in environmental legislation, which are informed by the long-standing biocentric and anthropocentric environmental philosophies, underpin quite distinct nature protection and conservation practices in Norway
and New Zealand. This point underlines the importance of the *friluftsliv* tradition in Norwegian society. Norwegian conservation management context builds upon the principles of *friluftsliv*. However those principles may be understood, they are manifest in unrestricted foot access to engage in simple independent outdoor recreation activities in nature. *Friluftsliv* clearly represents an important element of Norwegian tradition and is enshrined in legislation in Norway’s *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957). This tradition is a cornerstone of Norway’s legislative framework for PNAs, which is anchored in a ‘traditional’ conservation management paradigm that centres on the protection of intact ecosystems in a ‘static’ approach to preservation (Mose, 2007).

This approach, typical of the period when the development of Norway’s national park system began in the 1960s, has been replaced in many parts of the world by a new ‘dynamic innovation’ paradigm, which is founded on an integrated approach to conservation management (Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002). While centred fundamentally on the conservation of nature, the dynamic innovation paradigm accommodates social dimensions of conservation management in the form of recreation and tourism engagements as well as local interests in that may include tourism businesses and traditional land use interests (Mose, 2007). The integrated approach has a long-standing place in New Zealand’s history of conservation management. Recent policy statements in Norway signal a move towards integrated management of Norway’s national parks (Finansdepartementet, 2003; Miljøverndepartementet, 2005; Nærings- og handelsdepartemenet, 2005; 2007; 2012) but these policies are in the very initial phase of being implemented in national park management strategies, planning and actions. Norway’s historical context of environmental legislation is deeply entrenched and has
had long-standing implications for conservation management. One implication has been a lack
of financial and human resource commitment to national park planning, a situation that is not
unique to Norway given the general lack of social science expertise that prevails in national
park management in many parts of the world (Higham & Vistad, 2011; Stenseke & Hansen,
2014).

This paper highlights some of the challenges inherent in the paradigmatic shift from a
traditional (static) to an integrated (dynamic) conservation management regime. In spite of
recent national policy statements that signal a growing political interest in integrated
conservation management, Norway’s national parks are narrowly defined in terms of
recreation and not well developed for nature-based tourism. While the legislative contexts in
Norway and New Zealand are unlikely to converge, lessons can be learned and applied, while
respecting the friluftsliv tradition, at other levels of our fourfold conceptual framework (Figure
1). A national management framework is required to oversee the evolution toward integrated
management practices, and applied in a way that reflects the nature preservation values that are
historically important in Norwegian society. This is perhaps particularly urgent in the case of
national parks that are now receiving increasing recreation and tourism use. The launching of
the new branding and visitor strategies for the national parks can be seen as a response to this
need.

Currently nature-based tourism is not well expressed in the visions and goals for national park
management in Norway. Consequently new forms of outdoor recreation and distinct visitor
markets are not clearly understood or accommodated by PNA managers. This highlights the
current lack of comprehensive strategic visitor management planning. A more inclusive and integrated strategy might reflect the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum model adopted by New Zealand’s Department of Conservation in 1996, which allows for the differentiation of discrete national park user groups, which in turn informs zoning and visitor management practices. However, given the Norwegian policy context, it seems unlikely that Norway’s national parks will be zoned in accordance with the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum as has occurred in New Zealand over the last two decades. It is more likely that national parks themselves will continue to represent the ‘primitive/undeveloped’ equivalent of New Zealand’s back country, while areas outside the park boundaries (including entry points, villages and settlements) are managed as buffer zones to provide the equivalent of New Zealand’s front country designations (see Table 4).

Based on a comparative lesson learning approach, we highlight informative lessons but also caution against adopting conservation management models from elsewhere without careful consideration of aspects of unique national context. This paper offer insights in conservation management practices that reflect fundamentally different philosophical positions. It also reminds us that differences between Norway and New Zealand may lie as much along a traditional-modern use axis as along an anthropocentric-biocentric environmental philosophy axis. The extent to which the economic development potential of nature-based tourism associated with Norway’s national parks can be achieved with respect to the tradition of friluftsfolk is an open question, although it should be noted that Sweden and Finland have similar traditions and have developed comprehensive visitor management strategies. This point may motivate us to review how the friluftsfolk tradition is now understood, and how reformulation or refinement of the friluftsfolk tradition is currently taking place. Comparison
with other Scandinavian contexts (e.g., Sweden and Finland), where visitor management approaches have been effectively developed, may prove to be very informative in this respect.

Bell, Tyrväinen, Sievänen et al. (2007) discuss changes and the increased importance of outdoor recreation and nature tourism in Europe, and the influences from societal development (e.g. urbanisation, demographic changes). Odden (2008) documents both changes and stability of the *friluftsliv* practice. A review of several visitor studies in different Norwegian national parks (Vistad & Vorkinn, 2012) indicated that the majority of Norwegian visitors typically appreciate recreational infrastructure, while international visitors tend to prefer the low level of facilitation for nature tourism in Norwegian PNAs. This finding challenges some images of the position of traditional *friluftsliv* among Norwegians. Perhaps there also are lessons that New Zealand can learn from Norway. The traditional use principles that are well established in Norway may be informative to New Zealand where traditional Māori land uses have been poorly acknowledged and accommodated in conservation management practices.

As we write this paper, a National Park branding and visitor strategy is being embarked upon in Norway (based on four pilot visitor strategies in association with specific national parks, i.e. *Jotunheimen, Rondane, Hallingskarvet* and *Varangerhalvøya* national parks). These efforts are being engaged despite inertia in addressing the manner in which national parks are defined in the Norwegian policy context, or consequential changes in national park planning and management regulations. Due to the work on pilot visitor strategies, new visitor studies were implemented in 2014 in *Hallingskarvet* and in *Varangerhalvøya* (Vistad, Gundersen & Wold, 2014). They both confirm the diversity in the visiting population, and that the two national parks attract quite different segments; again, foreigners are less supportive of tourism
infrastructure compared to Norwegians. Here, experiences from New Zealand that identify a spectrum of visitor segments might be a relevant input. This policy status quo signals the need for an empirical study to engage policy-makers and conservation managers in an investigation into the possibilities and pitfalls inherent in the transition from a traditional to an integrated paradigm for national parks management. This represents the next step in our comparative lesson-drawing analysis.

References


Bell, S., Tyrväinen, L., Sievänen, T., Pröbstl, U. and Simpson, M. 2007. Outdoor Recreation and Nature Tourism: A European Perspective. *Living Reviews in Landscape Research* 1-2. 46 pp. [http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/de/](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/de/)


Table 1: Key acts of environmental legislation and conservation management policies: Norway and New Zealand.

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<tr>
<th>Environmental legislation</th>
<th>Norway</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Norwegian Environment Agency</em> (<em>Miljødirektoratet</em>) (2013)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>The launching of the Norwegian Environment Agency’s branding and visitor management strategy for national parks</em> (2015)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A] Legislation/Regulations</strong></td>
<td>Biocentric philosophy underpins the legislative context for Norway’s National Parks.</td>
<td>Anthropocentric philosophy underpins the legislative context for New Zealand National Parks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narrow range of PNA designations</td>
<td>Wide and expanding range of PNA designations; each with distinct policies an public engagement, advocacy, education, recreation and tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principle of common access (<em>alleminsretten</em>)</td>
<td>Free access to all PNAs; user pays philosophy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Legislation drawn from a tradition of simple outdoor recreation activities (<em>friluftsliv</em>) among Norwegian citizens.</td>
<td>The purpose of National Parks is to &quot;preserve in perpetuity ...for the enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive qualities or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest&quot; (National Parks Act 1952).</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>National Park authorities principal focus is the protection of wild nature. Organised tourism of a modest scale possible under agreement between National Park authorities and the Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT)</td>
<td>Department of Conservation required under legislation to implement a ‘dual mandate’; protecting nature in perpetuity, and fostering recreation and tourism as long as it is consistent with protection in perpetuity (Conservation Act 1987).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal facility development for recreation and tourism across all PNAs</td>
<td>Varying levels of facility development for recreation and tourism across a range of PNA designations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Adaptive management (<em>målstyr forvaltning</em>) is seen as a promising instrument to develop outdoor recreation (<em>friluftsliv</em>) and the local tourism industry without compromising natural values.</td>
<td>Forest Parks are designated primarily to protect forested mountain catchments but also provide a &quot;... less restricted range of recreational activities than national parks... including tramping, camping, fishing, and shooting for a variety of game&quot; (Statistics New Zealand 1995).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Environment are supporting adaptive management (<em>målstyr forvaltning</em>) projects in order to develop a ‘dynamic and knowledge based management’.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Legislative context for tourism in PNAs unclear

[B] Policies

Biocentric philosophy

- No accommodation of new (non-traditional) recreational activities.
- Accommodation of Sami cultural values.

Commitment to “...enjoyment of undisturbed natural areas” - Nature Diversity Act (2009).

Anthropocentric philosophy centred on nature conservation and use.

Continuously evolving policy context.

Commitment to new and emerging recreational activities and tourism operations.

Inter-agency collaborations (conservation and tourism).


[C] Management Strategies and Plans

Dominant biocentric philosophy

No systematic management planning for recreation and tourism in PNAs.

Management planning now required under the Nature Diversity Act (2009).
Different approaches exist at the regional level.

“A draft strategic management plan shall be presented when a decision is made to protect an area. When an operational management plan is also relevant, it shall be part of the strategic management plan.” (Nature Diversity Act, 2009 Section 36).

Blended biocentric and anthropocentric ‘dual mandate’ philosophy.


ROS adopted nationally and applied regionally to all PNAs in New Zealand.

County governor’s responsibility to ensure that a management plan is developed for national parks and other PNAs, and submitted to the Directorate for Nature Management for approval (Office of the Auditor General, Norway, 2005-2006).

Seven-fold user classification of discrete visitor groups developed to classify visitors according to their facility and service needs; their setting, activity and experience preferences; and the degree of risk accepted in their activity
Limited human and financial resources for management planning in PNAs. Particularly acute given rapid development of Norway’s National Park system since 1996.

[D] Management Actions

Absence of a systematic regime for management actions in National Parks. Recreation and tourism management fundamental to the dual mandate of conservation management.

Management Handbook (2010) developed to provide generic recommendations.

Visitor assets managed in accordance with the Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP) that was developed by Parks Canada and adopted by the Department of Conservation (NZ).

Pressures of recreation described as one of a number of challenges.

All site and asset data are incorporated into a centrally managed Visitor Asset Management System (VAMS) database accessible to DOC managers and rangers.

Soft management actions, through the provision of information, seen as critical to recreation and tourism management in PNAs.

Department of Conservation concession system allows authorisation to conduct commercial activity within PNAs in accordance with clearly defined permit conditions.
### Table 3. Department of Conservation visitor strategy: Issues and goals.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Policy statement</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 1</strong> Protection</td>
<td>To ensure that the intrinsic natural and historic values of areas managed by the Department are not compromised by the impacts of visitor activities and related facilities and services. (This links closely to other key department strategic initiatives such as the biodiversity action plan and the historic heritage strategy.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 2</strong> Fostering visits</td>
<td>To manage a range of recreational opportunities that provide contact with New Zealand’s natural and historic heritage; and provide a range of recreational and educational facilities and services consistent with the protection of the intrinsic natural and historic values of Department-managed areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 3</strong> Managing Tourism Concessions on Protected Lands</td>
<td>In managing a range of recreational opportunities, to allow the private sector to provide visitor facilities and services where they do not compromise the intrinsic natural and historic values of areas managed by the Department and do not compromise the experiences or opportunities of other visitors.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 4</strong> Informing and Educating Visitors</td>
<td>To share knowledge about our natural and historic heritage with visitors, to satisfy their requirements for information, deepen their understanding of this heritage and develop an awareness of the need for its conservation. (This goal operates alongside 'Conservation Connections', the Department’s public awareness strategy.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 5</strong> Visitor safety</td>
<td>To provide visitors with facilities that are safe and are located, designed, constructed and maintained in accordance with all relevant legislation and sound building practices to meet appropriate safety standards. To raise visitor awareness of the risks present in department-managed areas and the level of skill and competence they will require to cope with these risks.</td>
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</table>
Table 4. Recreation Features of Visitor Groups to Conservation Lands in New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visitor Groups to Conservation Lands</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recreation Features</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settings and Accessibility</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nature of visit and activities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experience sought</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Facilities sought</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Visitor types and numbers</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZ and overseas visitors. High numbers if sites at scheduled stops or key attractions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced, fit, young, male, NZ in low numbers. Fewer overseas, lack required knowledge, experience, opportunity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visitor types and numbers</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZ family groups stay longer, independent overseas mostly 1 night while touring country. High peak summer use.</td>
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