



Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development
Unit of Environmental Communication

Participation – Lost in Translation?

– a study of active public involvement in the implementation
of the Water Framework Directive in Sweden

Madeleine Julin

Junna Maltseva

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences

Department of Urban and Rural Development

Unit for Environmental Communication

Authors: Madeleine Julin
Junna Maltseva

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Supervisor: Hans Peter Hansen, The department of Urban and Rural Development; Unit of Environmental Communication, SLU

Examiner: Tarla Rai Peterson, The department of Urban and Rural Development; Unit of Environmental Communication, SLU

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Abstract

In 2000 the Water Framework Directive (WFD) entered into force in the European Union. The Directive aims at improving water quality and achieving a good water status for the next generations.

This paper aims at studying the implementation of the EU WFD in Sweden in relation to public participation within water management. There is no clear definition in the text of the WFD of how this public participation should be achieved, which allows for many different interpretations of how participatory processes should be carried out.

Empirical data of two case studies from different parts of Sweden, Kiladalen (in Södermanland) and Gotland, was used to analyze constraints and opportunities for deliberative democratic processes to emerge. The analysis was based on theories of ecological modernization and public participation.

The study indicates that deliberative democratic processes depend on willingness and knowledge of authority representatives who have the power to decide over public involvement. Since the legally binding requirements for participation in the WFD are very low, institutions with no interest and/or knowledge in including the public in decision making can choose not to use higher level of participation than required. On the other hand freedom to interpret active involvement of the people allows the creation of deliberative democratic process from the very beginning, defining the problem and creating a common view of the future, in order to deal with environmental threats.

Keywords: participation, Water Framework Directive, water management, water council, Kiladalen, Gotland

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1 Introduction

In December 2000 the Water Framework Directive (WFD) entered into force in the EU and became a guiding document in designing the management of the water resources in Europe on national and international level. Besides ecological and chemical norms and standards one of the main features of the WFD (European Parliament, 2000) is its emphasis on “*active involvement of all interested parties in the implementation of the Directive*” (Article 14) and public participation stated in the Article 14 of the Directive. The WFD justifies the importance of the involvement of the public in the water management and gives three main forms of it:

- “*Active Involvement in all aspects of the implementation of the Directive, especially – but not limited to – the planning process.*”
- *Consultation in three steps of the planning process.*
- *Access to background information*” (Drafting group, 2002, p.17).

This basically refers to the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) on public participation, according to which people have:

- “*the right to have access to information on the environment held by government authorities;*
- *the right to participate in the decisions taken by these authorities that affect the environment, and*
- *the right to review and legally challenge such decisions*” (European Commission, 2008, p.12)

One of the concerns that come out of the definition of public participation both in the Aarhus convention and in other documents on this issue is that public involvement in the decision-making process is addressed as an essential part, but not regulated.

The WFD does not elaborate further on the ways of ensuring the public participation. However there are a number of additional documents issued to interpret and facilitate the implementation of participation in relation to the WFD. The issue of public participation is pointed out in each one of them, however there is a lack of direct and clear instructions and guidelines about how this participation can be achieved and bring good results.

Water Note #12 (European Commission, 2008) says that “*public participation means giving the public and stakeholders the opportunity to influence the outcome of the plans and then working processes*” (p.2) and a bit further it continues that participation “*leads to shared decision-making, where they become jointly responsible for the outcome of a plan*” (p.2). The question that arises from this formulation is how this opportunity to influence decision-making processes can be applied and guaranteed? How and by what means can people participate? What is the legislative and administrative framework for this participation in its outcomes?

Another document issued by European Commission is the “*Guidance on public participation in relation to the WFD*” (Drafting group, 2002). The purpose of this document is to “*assisting competent authorities in the Member States and Accession Countries with the implementation of Article 14 of the Water Framework Directive*” (p.3). In addition to the common statements about the importance and benefits of the public participation it also says that “*Essential to active involvement is the potential for participants to influence the process*” (p.17). Further this document states that when it comes to the participatory method of consultation “*the process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no formal obligation to take on board people's views*” (p.19). The document further explains different levels of participation and recommend best practice to be more than required by the WFD. The space for interpretations and ways of implementing participation within the frames of the WFD is thus very wide. Here the second question arises: what is regarded as a potential to influence? How can this be achieved?

One may also argue that these overall EU documents shall provide the main aims and general policy to be followed in the management of the water resources, while the specific ways in order to achieve these aims should be designed and elaborated by the respective authority boards in the Member states.

Indeed, the WFD put a basis to the development of national legislation in the water management in the EU countries. In Sweden the WFD was made complementary to the existing Environmental Code in 2004. The WFD had direct impacts

on the water management regulation in Sweden and resulted in establishment of regional Water District Authorities (Vattenmyndigheter)

One of the ways to ensure the public participation according to the WFD was establishing water councils based on the river basin principle, consisting of local representatives. The process of establishment of the water councils in Sweden began in 2007 and still continues in some places. Several years of water councils' existence and work have faced many challenges but also reached some results in the water management. The water councils are assigned to:

- contribute to the holistic perspective on the water resources;
- provide a forum for dialog between local population and the respective authorities;
- ensure that the right actions are taken in the right place;
- ensure good local base for the decisions taken;
- have the opportunity to influence the decision-making process before the decisions are made;
- stimulate the voluntary actions. (Vattenmyndigheterna, 2010)

Thus the water councils contribute directly to the implementation of all three main principles of the article 14 of the WFD.

However in practice the introduction of participatory processes in water management is to some extent completely new and sometimes an unclear task both for the authorities in charge of the water management issues, for the water councils and for local people. Besides, the interpretation of the purposes and the very phenomena of public participation in the environmental sphere can also vary greatly.

1.1 Theoretical background

1.1.1 Modernity

Ever since we started to understand the impact and effects of human action on the environment we have tried to deal with the problems these actions may cause. Science has long been our choice of method when trying to find out more about our environment, the effect we have on it and the way to handle problems related to the effect of human activity on the environment. The difficulty with the rational approach of science and the perception that science can bring us the answers has become questioned when scientific evidence turn out to compete with each other,

or at times when science has not been developed enough to be able to give any answers at all. (Giddens, 1994)

How are we supposed to deal with this problem? The green movement appeared as a reaction to our exploitation and consumption of nature in order to gain maximum profit at its expense (Giddens, 1994). Giddens (1994) argues that the social world is as natural as nature itself and the solution to the problem of modernity does not lie in going back to old traditions of living and the perception of nature having a greater value than the social world, as often claimed by 'greens'. But neither does it lie in the scientific rationality alone. We are faced with the uncertainty of scientific results and competing truths about the causes of environmental impact, where science and technology itself is even producing risks and harmful effects to nature and humans (Giddens, 1994). The rationality of science is not enough but other rationalities including values, ethics and aesthetics of living need to be included in order to deal with the problematic of modernity (Giddens, 1994).

The science alone is not able to deal efficiently with environmental challenges we are facing today. The environmental question has gained recognition and become an important political question all over the world. In the report 'Our common future' (United Nations, 1987) of the Brundtland commission, the need to manage our environment and its resources is recognized as crucial one in order to manage our future in this world. The report does not only consider environmental sustainability, but also include economic and socio-political sustainability, thus emphasizing the necessity of combining different rationalities in order to achieve sustainable development. The environmental question has been incorporated in the political and institutional framework as a way to manage our lives in this world of environmental risks and uncertainties.

1.1.2 Institutionalization

Even though the environmental question has been recognized and institutionalized in order to deal with environmental problems Elling (2008) is questioning why environmental problems then only seem to get bigger. Values and aesthetics have a place in the way we decide and regulate human impact on the environment (Elling, 2008). The institutionalization and internationalization of the environmental question, referred to as ecological modernization, have a very pragmatic way of dealing with problems. Instead of serving the citizens, institutions colonize them by not taking in their perspectives and knowledge, thus having a one sided approach to ecological modernization (Elling, 2008).

Hajer (1995) suggests a more reflexive way of policy making in institutions saying:

“The ideal of a reflexive ecological modernization is a democratic process of deliberate social choice out of alternative scenarios of development (or indeed non-development). This social choice is not confined to instrumental rationality (concerning questions of ‘how to do’); reflexive ecological modernization should also stimulate the debate on norms and values that should be the carriers of the modernization processes” (p.280).

Instead of the currently established procedure of commenting on already made proposals, a more democratic policy making within ecological modernization includes citizens’ participation from the beginning of the process (Hajer, 1995). The processes of defining the problem and implementing policies should run in parallel rather than be separated in order to increase the reflexive potential (Hajer, 1995).

Hajer (1995) continues by saying that

“...ecological modernization fosters a public domain where social realities and social preferences determine which actions should be taken, which social practices are to be respected and which conventions or practices should be changed ... The challenge for reflexive ecological modernization lies much more in finding new institutional arrangements in which different discourses (and concerns) can be meaningfully and productively related to one another, in finding ways to correct the prevailing bias towards economization and scientification, and in active intersubjective development of trust, acceptability, and credibility” (p.281).

Thus both the definition of the problem and finding the solutions to deal with it shall be incorporated in new institutional arrangements without prevailing of one or another sphere of competence. Hajer (1995) suggests that the situation where scientific experts’ opinions are taken as ultimate truth should be changed saying that *“the public understanding might well be much more mature than many politicians and experts would like us to believe”* (p.283).

The current institutional procedure for dealing with environmental questions has a rather conventional and pragmatic character with predomination of the scientific rationality. However other rationalities exist in society and should be taken in to account in order to achieve sustainable and legitimate decision making. This can be done through a deliberative democratic process that ensures public participa-

tion. Thus public participation should be incorporated in the institutional framework for dealing with environmental questions.

1.1.3 Participation

The concept of participation and its meaning has been debated by several authors. Arnstein (1969) argues that participation and the different forms it takes in society are corresponding to the level of citizen power. She criticizes the way in which the term 'participation' has been used to mask the exertion of power from power holders. She grades participation on a scale she calls 'The ladder of citizen participation', which ranges from pure manipulation of citizens from power holders to full citizen control.

Mosse (2001) criticize the way participation is used within programs of rural development, questioning how participation in different projects are carried out and what they contribute to, saying that in some cases 'participation' is just seen a necessary thing for legitimizing projects to get funding but is not really contributing to outcomes.

Collins and Ray (2006) takes another approach to participation than Arnstein (1969), criticizing her "Ladder of citizen participation" to put restrictions of the way we think about participation and power in policy making and natural resource management situations. They emphasize the importance of social learning in the way we manage complex environmental problems with high uncertainties involving multiple interdependent stakeholders. The social learning involves the collective engagement of people to learn together about their environment and the problem they are faced with (Collins and Ray, 2006). The research of Collins and Ray (2006) is based on projects for water resource management in UK and the EU where social learning has been a focus and their conclusion suggest that "*social learning can be understood as an emerging governance mechanism to promote concerted action, thereby enabling transformation of complex natural resource management situations*" (p.1).

Smith (2003) argues that "*opportunities for citizens' engagement create dialog and more legitimacy to political authority*" (p.56-57) but the main conditions to be fulfilled are inclusiveness – both presence and voice – and unconstrained dialog, as opposition to the strategic or instrumental rationality. He concludes by saying that such a democratic deliberation "*provides conditions under which the conflict between environmental (and other) values can be appreciated, and solutions to complex environmental problems sought*" (p.76).

Thus one can argue that nowadays an efficient and sustainable construction of the modernity (and the future) requires the contribution and cooperation of the different scientific fields and the local living experience. The problems concerning natural resources cannot be solved by natural science alone. The planning and management of the environment cannot be conducted by the administration without bringing in local experience and local needs.

But how can this “ideal conditions” of deliberate democracy, described by Hajer, Smith and others, be achieved in the present model of political and institutional structure? How to embed the local knowledge and experience to the institutional framework? How to find the space for the deliberative processes?

There are many who promote participation for democratic and legitimacy reasons, but there is also an awareness of the problems to create true participation. Participation is seen as a key issue in many legislative documents. However often there are no clear instructions on how this participation should be achieved. This allows for many different interpretations and institutional procedures for participation. One example is the WFD of the European Parliament and Council.

1.2 Justification of the problem

Public involvement in the management of the natural resources is one of the bright examples of the development of democratic processes in our society. As we have seen from the discussions of Hajer, Smith and others, it seems that in the world we are faced with today none of the specific professional perspectives (scientific, administrative or other) can provide the integrated and holistic approach to the management of the natural resources. On the contrary, this holistic (and thus sustainable) approach can only be reached by combining all of these perspectives and spheres of knowledge and experience.

The question about establishing regulations of the system of public participation and consultation is of very high priority in today’s society. The democratic values and rights have been clearly expressed. The ways and tools for executing these rights are being suggested and discussed. There is a number of works and research studying the participatory and democratic processes, the frameworks for these processes in the society and the ways to guarantee and apply public rights stated in Aarhus Convention. Examples of existing knowledge concerning the democracy and participation issues in the management of the natural resources are earlier mentioned Collins and Ray (2006) and “Reinventing the Commons” by Emil Sandström (2008). The latter work provides as well a very good example of con-

ducting a comparative case study research within the field of the environment communication.

This thesis aims to analyze how participation is interpreted and practiced in relation to the implementation of the WFD in Sweden. We will focus on the institutional framework for the decision-making that allows public participation. Different interpretations of participation can influence the deliberative process and thus are important from a democratic perspective.

1.3 Problem formulation

Basing on both background of the social theories concerning public participation in the environmental issues and the empirical context of practical studies performed during the work on this paper, we are going to address the following problem:

Public participation and other democratic processes are considered essential for the integrated management of natural resources and sustainable development. This is also stated in the WFD. However the aims, ways and framework for the participatory processes remain unclear. This can influence how participation is being interpreted and carried out by different institutions. Our aim in this study is to analyze the practice of public participation in Swedish water management in order to identify possible constraints and/or opportunities for a deliberate democratic process.

In order to study these problems we need to answer the following research questions:

1. How is participation being interpreted within the WFD?
What definitions of participation can be found in the text of the WFD and related guiding documents on participation?
2. How is participation understood and achieved by the institutions responsible for the implementation of the WFD in Sweden?
What procedures and activities are undertaken by the authorities in order to achieve participation? This can be studied through documents of the Water District Authorities, the County Administrative Boards (CAB) and interviews with authority representatives.
3. How is the actual participation perceived by the “participants”?
This can be studied through interviews with local population involved in water issues and communication with authorities in relation to the WFD.

In order to answer our research questions we will analyze the implementation of the participatory approach in the management of water resources in two case studies:

One case study focus on the water councils' work on Gotland and the other on the implementation of the WFD in Kiladalen, Södermanland. The cases will be analyzed within the discourse of public participation and deliberate democracy, basing on the theoretical framework.

The present work is divided into several parts. In the first part we will discuss the methods and aims of our empirical investigation that was undertaken in order to study our research questions more thoroughly and to look on the issue from inside. In the second part the theoretical concepts of participation and democratic processes are studied and connected to participation as stated by the WFD. The third part presents more thoroughly two case studies that were described briefly above. In the fourth part we analyze the both case studies, with the help of an analytical framework, based on theory.

2 Method

Since the goal of our research is to analyze the practices of the implementation of the WFD in Sweden within the framework of the theories of participation and ecological modernization, we decided to design the empirical part of our work as a multiple case study research.

As Yin (2009) argues, “*The evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust*” (p.53). The multiple case studies give the opportunity to study and compare both different sources of evidence (documentation, interviews, direct observation, archival records etc.) and different data from the similar sources of evidence, which enables for “triangulation of data” between different data resources, different evaluations, different perspectives on the same data (theory triangulation) and different methods used (Yin, 2009).

However, the multiple case studies have also certain limitations, since they can be more time-consuming and provide abundance of documentation which is hard to process (Yin, 2009). These risks can be reduced by the thorough planning and design of each case study, having in mind as well the overall aim and design of the whole research itself.

Another risk when using a multiple case study approach can be that it might result in “*a weak basis for scientific generalization*” (Sandström, 2008, p.67). However in the present qualitative research we are dealing not with a statistical generalization, but with analytic generalization. Thus the theoretical framework developed for the whole research (and hence similar for the both case studies) prior to the empirical data collection provides guidelines both for the selection of the data collection methods, sources of evidence and for triangulation and analysis of the results. As Yin (2009) puts it: “*in analytic generalization a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study*” (p.36).

We have chosen a qualitative research interview as our main method for empirical data collection. This method enables us to get an understanding of how our respondents experience the world they live in. By conducting semi-structured interviews with people affected and/or involved in the implementation of the WFD we can obtain “*descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena*” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.3). The interviews have a structure and a purpose and the conversation is a questioning and listening approach aiming to obtain knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). It may seem easy to conduct an interview but in order to conduct research interviews with good quality you need to thoroughly think through what kind of knowledge to be obtained and the implications of your questions and actions while interviewing. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) emphasize the importance of practice when it comes to develop interviewing skills. We have applied the knowledge and practice from our education in order to carry out interviews that contribute with valuable knowledge in relation to our research questions.

Of ethical reasons we do not publish names of any of our respondents. The respondents will also have access to the final report.

The empirical part of the present research is designed as two case studies of the management of the water resources in the county of Gotland and the area of Kialadalen in Södermanland.

The combination of the two cases allows us to study similarities and differences in the implementation and interpretation of the national legislation within similar institutional frameworks. In both cases the main executive power and hence the initiative in implementation of the requirements of the WDA belongs to the CAB. However the present conditions of the water bodies, local concerns and perspectives of the responsible officials are different. How does it influence the water management in these particular places? How do the authority boards understand this “public participation” which is proclaimed by the WFD but not described clearly in it? What are the consequences of the different interpretations?

Based on general information available on Internet and from our own experiences we had an assumption that the water management issues are handled very differently in the two selected areas and that it might depend on the differences in perspectives and understanding of the concept of public participation. We decided to study these issues more thoroughly, based on the theoretical and methodological framework.

Our empirical data consist of information collected from available Internet resources (websites of the CAB Gotland and Södermanland, Water District Authorities, water councils etc.), from documents or publications related to the issue and

from our interviews. In the Gotland case interviews were carried out in Swedish and summarized in a report in Swedish which can be found in Appendix 1. The relevant quotations used in the text were translated in to English. In the Kiladalen case the interviews were carried out in Swedish and translated in to English, thus quotations from interviews are translations of actual Swedish quotes from respondents. Parts of the interviews found to be relevant and connected to our research can be found in Appendix 2. Interviews were not transcribed, firstly in order to keep anonymity of the respondents and secondly due to the fact that the design of the framework of this research does not allow us to incorporate and discuss all the peculiarities and details of the data we managed to collect. However some of the details will be brought up in the discussion and comparison of our two cases.

One case study was performed in the county of Gotland which belongs to the South Baltic Sea water district and the other one in Kiladalen in the county of Södermanland, belonging to the North Baltic Sea water district. These two studies were carried out separately by the two authors of this paper. J. Maltseva carried out the study in Gotland and M. Julin the study in Södermanland.

Our field studies consisted mostly of interviews with people involved directly or indirectly in the water management issues – landowners, authority representatives, members of different organizations and societies. Besides the interviews we have also studied documentation (reports, newsletters, articles) and activities of the organizations in charge of the water management in the respective areas.

The criteria for the selection of the respondents was their interest and involvement in the water issues on different levels (those who execute power and those who are subject to it; those who are supposed to ensure participation and those who are supposed to participate) and their belonging to the different societal groups (authority representatives, societies' representatives, local people not involved in any other groups, etc.) Through the combination of different perspectives on the current water management we could both achieve a rather broad view of the whole situation in the area and also get to know small details and peculiarities which may have an impact on the situation.

Obviously our study could not include all those involved in the water management issues and implementation of the WFD in Sweden or even in the selected areas. However, since our research is very much focused on the processes on grassroot level, we believe that the collected data will help us to understand these processes in a broader context through analytic generalization to the theoretical framework.

During our work with interviews we tried our best to be as objective and neutral as possible. However we fully realize that a 100 % objectiveness cannot be

achieved in this type of the research. All the interviews are qualitative ones and hence summaries of the interviews and our analysis of the results is thus our own interpreting of the information received from the respondents. However, since we are not involved directly in the issue and are not an “interested party”, we tried to understand equally the positions of all parties involved and to look on the research issue from outside.

2.1 Gotland case

The field study on Gotland took three weeks of interviewing, a couple of preparatory weeks and roughly eight part-time weeks of processing and analyzing the results, summarizing interviews and writing a report (see Appendix 1).

Several conversations with officials responsible for the implementation of the WFD on Gotland, and thus in charge of the work with the water councils, took place during the preparatory stage in order to obtain general information about the work of the water councils on Gotland and the contacts of the board members of each water council. The interview topics were also discussed and planned.

The respondent group consisted mainly of the board members of the water councils, representing different sectors – business and industry, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) and farmers. It also included representatives of the authorities and local people not involved directly in the water councils’ work, but engaged in water issues. In total 20 respondents were interviewed, 8 women and 12 men (see Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of the number of the respondents on Gotland

	Female	Male
Authority boards		
CAB	3	1
Municipality		1
Water district authorities	1	
Water Councils		
SEPA representatives	1	3
Business, industry	1	1
Farmers	1	1
Other		3
Local citizens	1	2
Total	8	12

The respondents were contacted firstly via e-mails or telephone. Most of them were very positive concerning the interviews, however in some cases there were difficulties to find an appropriate time for the meeting. The meetings took place in the offices or at homes of the respondents and in the CAB office. Some of the conversations were recorded with respondents' permission.

In several cases, when it was not possible to arrange a physical meeting, the interviews were held via e-mail or via telephone conversation.

In order to achieve better flexibility of the discussions the semi-structured interview model was used. The interview had 5 to 6 main and rather broad topics which were specified with several more precise questions. During the interviews the main topics could be expanded, shortened or omitted depending on the conversation flow and on the competence of the respondent. For example a non-member of the water councils might know nothing about the cooperation between the water councils and the local authorities, so it seemed irrelevant to ask him or her about the results of this cooperation.

The questions could also be slightly modified depending on which group of stakeholders the respondent represented: for example the members of the water councils could elaborate on the further development of cooperation between water councils and local authorities (municipality and CAB), while CAB officials could give a broader perspective on the general water policy and cooperation between different organizations in the area.

The professional or amateur occupation of the respondents was also important, since they could provide some opinions concerning the direct or indirect impacts of the existing water management for example on the development of local industries or sport fishing clubs.

The main questions for the Gotland field study were following:

- Water councils' mission and activity.
- Cooperation with local population.
- Achieved results.
- Current water management.
- Cooperation between stakeholders (on Gotland and generally in Sweden).
- Further development.

The interviews lasted from 30 min up to 2 hours. Due to semi-structured design of the interviews the respondents had the opportunity to elaborate more on the problems and issues they were mostly concerned of. The goal was not to collect precise facts and figures about the measures and activities that were undertaken by the

water councils or the authorities in order to improve the water quality, but to understand the position and feelings of the respondents concerning the arrangement and opportunities for participation, collaboration and communication between the water councils, authorities and local population. Do people feel they can influence the situation? How do they perceive the process? Did the establishing of the water councils really bring some changes or not? Do they feel that they can participate? What about the roles of the actors? Are they satisfied with the collaboration between water councils and CAB and/or municipality? What do they think is important to ensure participation?

Besides the interviews and the conversations with the Water and Fish team at the CAB, some secondary data sources, such as newsletters, reports from the seminars, articles in the local newspaper and websites of the water councils were also studied. These sources of information contributed to a better understanding of the situation with public participation in the water management issues in general.

2.2 Kiladalen case

The study in Södermanland was concentrated to an area called Kiladalen in the municipality of Nyköping. The valley stretches from the Baltic Sea in the east and about 50 km west in to the country. The area is a part of a drainage area which has Kilaån as main stream leading to the Baltic Sea.

Interviews were conducted during in total four days over a three week period. The preparatory stage included three weeks studying theories, writing introduction and developing research questions. The preparatory stage also included to get hold of contact information, contacting respondents and booking meetings. Last minute bookings had to be made with two farmers since they were in the middle of spring farming operations.

Contacts with people living in Kiladalen were provided by one of the respondents working with nature conservation at the CAB in Nyköping. She is not directly working with the WFD but her work is relevant for the WFD in the sense that it also includes the improvement of the water quality. She had been in contact with many people in the valley while working to protect endangered species of mussels in the stream. She had made a promise not to hand out information without their permission and forwarded contact information of the people who agreed to be contacted. These included seven people living close to Kilaån. She also provided the name of another person at the CAB working directly with the WFD. This person in her turn provided contact information to Nyköpingsåarnas water

council and to the executive of the Environmental unit at the municipality. Unfortunately there was no response to the interview request from the municipality, thus no interview could be conducted. This is of course unfortunate since the perspectives from the municipality would also have been interesting to provide for a broader analysis of our research problem.

Additional information to these interviews that was also studied in this paper was a recording from a consultation meeting in Uppsala where the executive of North Baltic Sea water district is speaking (Sorby, 2009). This recording was provided by our supervisor.

To get further information about different groups and actors home pages of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening (Kiladalen local water management association), the CAB, the Water District Authorities, Nyköpingsåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund (Nyköpingsåarnas local water management association) and water council have been studied.

In total 10 respondents were interviewed, 5 women and 5 men (see Table 2).

Table 2: Overview of the number of respondents in Kiladalen, Södermanland.

	Female	Male
Authority boards		
CAB, nature conservation	1	
CAB, WFD	1	
Water councils		1
Local citizens		
Farmers		2
Members of local water management association	1	4
Representatives for local water regulation company	1	1
Other	1	

Note that respondents of local citizens can belong to several categories, thus the sum of people in each category under local people is higher than the total number of respondents (for details see Appendix 2).

All interviews were carried out face to face in a semi-structured manner with mostly open ended questions and follow up questions adapted to the information given by the respondent. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours and were recorded with an mp3 player in order to be able to listen engaged to the respondent without disturbing moments of having to take notes. Recording also provides for a more detailed documentation.

Respondents representing an authority or the water council were interviewed in their respective working place and local people were interviewed in their homes, except for one where the interview was carried out in a café in Nyköping.

The interview questions aimed at both getting facts about the situation in Kiladalen relating to water management, the work that has been and is currently going on relating to water management and participation as well as to understand the different views and perspectives of different actors on participation and participatory processes.

All interviews started by letting the respondent describe what has happened in Kiladalen related to the management of the water quality in Kilaån so far. Further questions included issues of:

- Cooperation between locals and authorities.
- Processes of participation and opportunities to have a dialogue with concerned people and authorities.
- Challenges relating to water management and participation.
- Conflicts.
- Views of different roles in the water management.
- Hopes and fears for the future.

2.3 Reflections about interviews

When carrying out the interviews some of them altered from strictly interviewing to conversations about other things not directly related to the study subject. This provided for a relaxed atmosphere for both interviewer and respondent, even though the interviewer had to be aware of when it was appropriate to influence the conversation and when it was not, concerning the need to be as objective as possible.

Many respondents were curious about our studies of Environmental Communication and wanted to know more, since they didn't know what this subject and study was about. We tried to be as open as possible when presenting the views of the education we had gone through without risking too much of the objectivity. We also felt obliged to share with them what the study was about if they asked, since we believe it is their right when participating in this kind of study. This is in line with what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) writes about the importance of setting a good interview stage: *“The interviewees will want to have a grasp of the interviewer before they allow themselves to talk freely and expose their experiences and feelings to a stranger”* (p.128). The aim is to get the perspective from the re-

spondent with as little influence from the interviewer as possible, but of course this is not always easy to balance. On the other hand you could end up with very little information if the respondent does not feel comfortable and safe when talking to you because of lack of information. What we tried to do was to give a more brief description before the interview and then continue to a deeper discussion about it after the questions had been asked, if the respondent wanted to know more, in order to minimize the influence this discussion may have on the answers of the respondent. This is also a suggested procedure mentioned by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009). Having these discussions often led to deeper discussions on environmental problems and our future life, exchanging views, feelings and knowledge.

Some respondents needed to know more than others in order to freely express themselves. In these situations it is important to show respect and understanding for their needs (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). To build trust in the relationship we had a deeper presentation of ourselves, our education and the aim of our study.

The tendency to talk also varied among the respondents. In some cases we had to ask the same questions in different ways to get a deeper understanding of the answer. In other cases we hardly had to ask any questions at all. Conversations also ended up off the subject sometimes and became quite long. At these occasions it was an advantage to have a good time planning, giving generously of time for interviews and thus being able to enjoy the conversations in between interview questions, while still being clear and focused of what we wanted to know. Most interviews were also very pleasant over a cup of coffee or tea, talking about all kinds of things after the interview had ended. This correspond to what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) writes:

“a common experience after research interviews is that the subjects have experienced the interview as genuinely enriching, have enjoyed talking freely with an attentive listener, and have sometimes obtained new insights into important themes of their life worlds” (p.129).

Two important observations were made during the conversations. The fact that the interviewer does not represent any organization or authority board allowed the respondents to feel more comfortable and easy when discussing their opinions and feelings about the water management, roles of the authorities, issues of their own concern etc. The fact that the interviewer in the Gotland case was a foreigner and not familiar with all features of the water management and water problems made respondents to be very clear and precise when explaining all the details. This con-

tributed to the better understanding of their points of view and situation in a whole.

Basing on Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009) theory of the qualitative interviewing one of the important experiences we had was "*an emphasis on the person of the researcher as the very research instrument*" (p.83). We experienced the importance of "*intonations of questions, the stretching of pauses, sensitive listening, and the establishing of good rapport*" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.89) which was especially important since respondents differed much from each other by age, social groups, way of living and professional occupations. Thus we needed to adapt both the interview structure and the way of asking questions, listening to the respondent, the tempo of speaking etc., depending on the person we were interviewing at the moment. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) point out that:

"a good contact is established by attentive listening, with the interviewer showing interest, understanding, and respect for what the subject says, and with an interviewer at ease and clear about what he or she wants to know" (p.128).

This was the mastery we tried to achieve.

Another bright experience and also a challenge that we had to deal with was the issue of "getting wiser" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009 p.112). Despite our pre-studying of the subject matter before the interviews, we were obviously constantly obtaining new information during the course of the interviews. We used this information and experience as assistance in the following interviews in order to express more clearly what we wanted to know and to understand better the position of the respondent. However we tried to avoid discussions and speculations about the information we received from the previous respondents.

One of the difficulties in the case of Gotland was to make questions "*brief and simple*" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.134). Due to the interviewers limited skill in Swedish the questions were sometimes too long and complicated and needed to be specified afterwards. Grammar and pronunciation mistakes were also an issue.

3 Theoretical framework

We started our research with an overview of the theoretical context in which the concepts of participation, democratic processes and deliberative decision-making exist. In our theoretical discussion we went from the broader concepts of modernity and ecological modernization, through institutionalization to focusing on participation theories. Figure 1 graphically describes our theoretical framework.

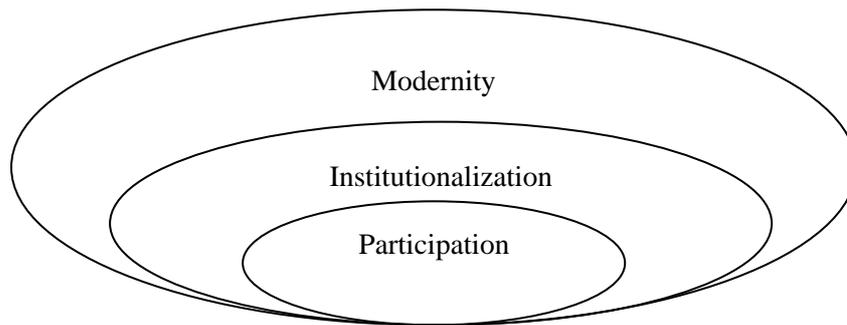


Figure 1. Theoretical framework

As it can be seen on the scheme, the institutionalization is considered as one of the characteristics of modernity, which has a certain history of development and operation in the past, but is also subjected to transformations and changes in present which will result in different patterns of our common future. Participation in its turn is considered as one of the features of the institutionalization, which can influence its form and development, and thus influence the formation of the future. In the WFD participation is incorporated in an institutionalized plan to manage waters within the European Union. Article 14 of the WFD (European Parliament, 2000) mentions three forms of public participation where consultation and access

to background information is to be ensured and where active involvement should be encouraged.

One of the challenges of modernity is to find the best ways to handle environmental problems where no joint defined “correct” solution exists or where this solution cannot be produced with the classical method of scientific results within an acceptable time frame. There are discussions arguing that it is better to achieve little improvements now, than best solution someday, especially in environmental issues. Data from our empirical studies indicate that problems with scientific results are a factor in the work with the WFD. The Environmental Code, also an example of the institutionalization of the environmental question, promotes the best available technique when it comes to the management of water. What happens if we don't know which technique that is the best?

3.1 Knowledge and values

The complexity of the issues in focus creates the necessity for collaboration between different fields of knowledge and science, since none of them can provide a good solution alone. Giddens (1994) argues that we are faced with the uncertainty of scientific results and competing truths about the causes of environmental impact, where science and technology itself is even producing risks and harmful effects to nature and humans and where science alone is not the only solution to the problem. Elling (2008) states that “*the expert knowledge distinguishes itself and separates from the rest of the mankind, thus rejecting the potentials of the modernity*” (p.47-48). Connecting this to the WFD, public participation could contribute to the expert knowledge in order to reach a better water quality. This is also recognized in a guidance document on public participation in relation to the WFD saying that “*Active involvement ... means that stakeholders actively participate in the planning process by discussing issues and contributing to their solution*” (Drafting Group, 2009, p.20).

Nature cannot be segregated into separate components in order to solve each separate task or problem. On the contrary, restoration and recovery of the nature, damaged by human actions, is impossible without the holistic and harmonized view on it (Giddens, 1994). But the solution to the problem does not lie in going back to old traditions or the perception of nature as a living organism, denying achievements of society, that is often claimed by radical ‘greens’; neither does it lie in our scientific predictions (Giddens, 1994). Nowadays the understanding of

nature as our common environment, our place of living of which we are an integral part, is extremely needed (Giddens, 1994).

Elling (2008) discusses the institutionalization of the environmental question from the perspective of an ecological master frame. Natural sciences aim at subordinating nature to the economical or social progress. Elling (2008) points out that “*the use of the environmental knowledge must be confronted with alternative expertise*” (p.23). But what is knowledge? How is it produced and whom it belongs to? Elling (2008) argues that “*knowledge is not something timeless and universal, the production of knowledge is decentralized*” (p.32). Knowledge and expertise can be perceived as a democratic value, common heritage and common resource, thus incorporating other rationalities than science.

The interpretation of reality from a scientific perspective can be insufficient since “*technical expertise alone cannot determine what should be done in democratic society*” (Elling, 2008, p.33). Knowledge arises from fair discussions, good dialog and “*unbiased communication*” (Elling, 2008). The guiding document of participation in relation to WFD (Drafting Group, 2002) acknowledge the importance of other than scientific knowledge saying that:

“It is important to realize that expert and non-expert knowledge can contribute to a better understanding of the root causes of the problem and lead to a more informed and relevant plan of action” (p.65)

and further suggesting that a

“competent authority should try to ensure that decisions are based on all the available evidence by accepting that non-scientific information can be a legitimate form of knowledge about the environment and can be used to compliment and inform expert opinion” (p.66).

It further states that experiences from water management has shown that in many cases conventional established solutions have been promoted that were not suitable for the local conditions, even unintentionally caused negative effects, and by incorporating local knowledge many of these mistakes might have been avoided (Drafting Group, 2002).

3.2 Power and participation

The question that arises is how to achieve fair discussions and unbiased communication in our existing administrative and economic system? There is a risk that “*if*

the administration always turns to be the winner of the struggle, techno-instrumental aspects will cause the stagnation of the process” (Elling, 2008, p. 4-5); it might become manipulative instead of being a democratic one. On the other hand, the opportunities for the citizens’ engagement in the dialog over common resources create more legitimacy to political decisions. However the main conditions for this are inclusiveness in both presence and voice and unconstrained dialog as opposed to the instrumental rationality (Smith, 2003).

Article 14 of the WFD only refers to written consultation as a minimum requirement, but considers oral consultation to be best practice (Drafting Group, 2002). The guiding document (Drafting Group, 2002) also states that consultation *“does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no formal obligation to take on board people’s views”* (p.19). However the document promotes higher levels of participation such as shared decision-making and self-determination as best practice. It also recommends consultation to be seen as a complement to active involvement rather than the main process of participation.

Arnstein (1969) talk about different levels of participation and her view is that they are strictly related to the degree of power. The highest level of power is when citizens are in full control of policy and management of their lives and livelihoods, and that consultation, if not combined with higher levels of participatory processes, is just a way for authorities to go through the required procedure of participation (Arnstein, 1969). Consultation is then used to legitimize their process of decision-making rather than redistributing power to citizens. On the other hand complete citizen control can also be seen as a sort of anarchy and would thus not be classified as a democratic process.

The question is how to assure the incorporation and interaction of different types of knowledge within the institutional framework. The WFD does not elaborate on the issue of empowerment and thus leaves this question open for interpretations of authorities responsible for the implementation.

3.3 The participatory process

Smith (2003) pays more attention not to the issue of power, but to the process of the dialog itself. The powers use to struggle for achieving the solution, consensus and “correct answer”, but in some complex political decisions (as well as in the decisions over the nature resource management) this “perfect solution” might be non achievable. This struggle for a perfect solution or consensus can be a barrier to the critical and constructive dialog (Smith, 2003). Mutual understanding and

respect to each other's values and needs is a major guideline in deliberative democracy. It allows appreciation and acknowledgment of opponents perspectives, thus giving more chances to reach a beneficial decision even if the perfect solution is unachievable or the parties cannot come to an agreement (Smith, 2003). Since in the modern reality we cannot overcome pluralism in values, needs and opinions, we need to find democratic ways to cope with them for the benefit of mankind.

It is not only power in itself that is important when discussing participation, but the fact that participatory processes stimulates and engages people into a "*reflection upon the ecological knowledge and values and bringing them into their practice*" (Smith, 2003, p.64). This goes in line with Giddens' (1994) position concerning the inseparability of the human being and the nature, which was discussed above. Thus, the deliberative participatory process aims first of all at interconnection and integration of human and societal values and needs, and those of nature. This does not mean that environmental values will be prioritized in the decision-making over the other ones, but ensures that they will be at least heard and acknowledged (Giddens, 1994).

Another question that arise here is the tension between mutual understanding and efficiency. Politicians still need decisions to be made. How should the efficient decision-making work within the framework of the deliberative democracy? Smith (2003) believes that the process of deliberative democracy will anyway land in the same institutional constructions of the representative democracy of the present.

Hajer (1995) argues that

"the challenge seems to be to think of an organization of ecological modernization as a process that allows for social change to take place democratically and in a way that stimulates the creation of an - at least partially - shared vision of the future" (p.280).

The challenge is to find a new institutional arrangement "*in which different discourses (and concerns) can be meaningfully and productively related to one another*" (Hajer, 1995, p.281) in order to achieve a balance between "*economization*", "*scientification*" and the development of the common values such as "*trust, acceptability and credibility*" (p. 281). Hajer (1995) also points out that "*the public understanding might well be much more mature than many politicians and experts would like us to believe*" (p.283).

The consultative approach, when the government suggests for the public consultation on a pre-determined problem should be modified (Hajer, 1995). There are

many examples when these pre-determined problems are not perceived by the people as problems or at least not as the crucial ones. Instead a social inquiry is suggested, where the reflection and discussion can take place parallel to the traditional sequence of decision-making (Hajer, 1995).

There is plenty of literature on how participatory processes should be achieved. Among them are the guiding document on public participation in relation to the WFD (Drafting Group, 2002), as well as another document funded by the EC in relation to water management; *“Learning together to manage together – Improving participation in water management”* (HarmoniCOP, 2005). These two documents recognize the importance of learning and mutual understanding in participatory processes. The guidance document thus make clear that there is no blue print on how this can be achieved and that the document is a range of recommendations that has to be considered along with other factors in a certain location (Drafting Group, 2002). It concludes by saying that

“each competent authority has to accept that a dynamic and learning process based on “trial and error” is the challenge to embark on. Experience show, however, that given sufficient time, it will pay off in the long run” (Drafting Group, 2002, p.66).

The outcomes of participatory processes depend on how participation is interpreted by the initiators. The integration of different types of knowledge and values is highly dependent on the design of the process. The inclusion of different rationalities can contribute to achieving a more efficient and legitimate solution.

The theoretical discussion above provides us with a framework for a deeper analysis of our research questions (see Figure 2).

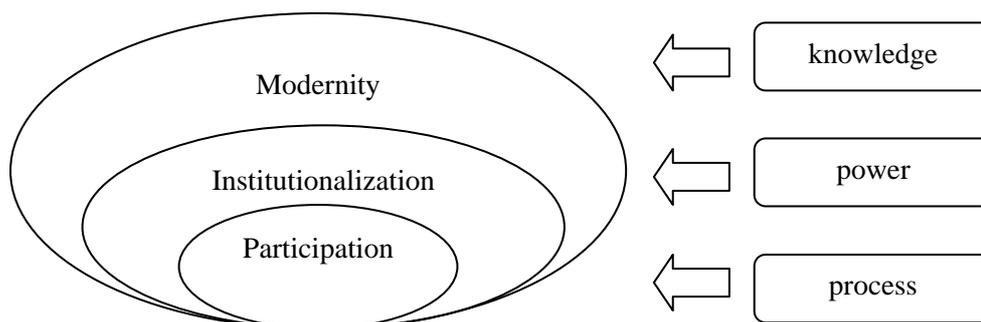


Figure 2. Analytical framework

So, one can see that nowadays not only critical works about the drawbacks of the old institutional system are available, but also the full scope of theoretical and practical studies, describing both the reasons for the modernization of the institutional framework and the ways to do it. But how are these theoretical discourses realized in practice?

The guiding document on participation in relation to the WFD (Drafting Group, 2002) as well as the home page of the Swedish Water Authorities (Vattenmyndigheterna, 2011a) states that public participation plays a key role within the WFD. Looking at the WFD the phrase “public participation” does not occur, but the WFD mention participatory processes such as consultation and active involvement of interested parties (European Parliament, 2000). As mentioned earlier the WFD has written consultation as a minimum requirement but promotes higher levels of participation in its guiding document on participation. The guidance document also states that

“the Directive only requires access to background information and no active dissemination of information. The latter is, however, essential to make the prescribed consultation and active involvement work” (Drafting Group, 2002, p.19).

The WFD is rather weak when it comes to public participation, having very few demands on this key issue. The more in depth details and recommendations are stated in a guiding document that is not legally binding. With this in mind we can suspect that the interpretations of how and to what extent public participation should be carried out is very much dependent on how the documents are interpreted. This is what we will further investigate in the analysis of our two case studies.

4 Empirical context

In Sweden five Water District Authorities were created in order to coordinate the implementation of the WFD in respective water districts as well as on the national level. The districts have been established with respect to the Swedish drainage areas of the Baltic Sea. The districts are:

- Gulf of Botnia Water District Authority
- Botnian Sea Water District Authority
- North Baltic Sea Water District Authority
- South Baltic Sea Water District Authority
- Western Sea Water District Authority

The responsibility for the implementation of the WFD is shared between CABs, municipalities, other institutions, organizations and private people. The Water District Authorities each have a delegation assigned by the government to decide over issues such as environmental quality norms, action plans and management plans. The CABs has the responsibility to monitor water quality and management on a regional level while municipalities manage water issues on a local level. The CAB is also responsible for ensuring dialogue with local people through e.g. water councils or local working groups. (Vattenmyndigheterna, 2011b)

4.1 Gotland

The drainage area of the County of Gotland belongs to the South Baltic Sea Water District with the Water District Authorities in Kalmar. The responsibilities for the water management on Gotland are shared between the CAB and the Region Gotland (municipality). The Region Gotland is in charge for the municipal drink water treatment, sewage treatment, sample-taking and analysis of the bath water etc.

(Region Gotland, 2010). The responsible unit in Region Gotland is Health and Environmental Protection Board (Miljö- och hälsoskyddnämnden).

The CAB Gotland is in charge for monitoring the water quality in general and for the implementation of the national action plan to achieve good water status in accordance with WFD. This includes such water activities as ditching, irrigation, monitoring groundwater, wetland creation etc. (Länsstyrelsen Gotland Län, 2011a). The CAB is also working with the implementation of the decisions of the Water District Authorities, i.e. carries out the communication between federal and local levels (see Figure 3).

Thus one of the important tasks of the CAB is to ensure the public participation and open dialog in the water management issues in order to achieve good water status (Länsstyrelsen Gotland Län, 2011b). For this purpose water councils were established on Gotland with the help of CAB and funding from South Baltic Water Authorities. This process started in 2008 and for now there are seven water councils working on the island.

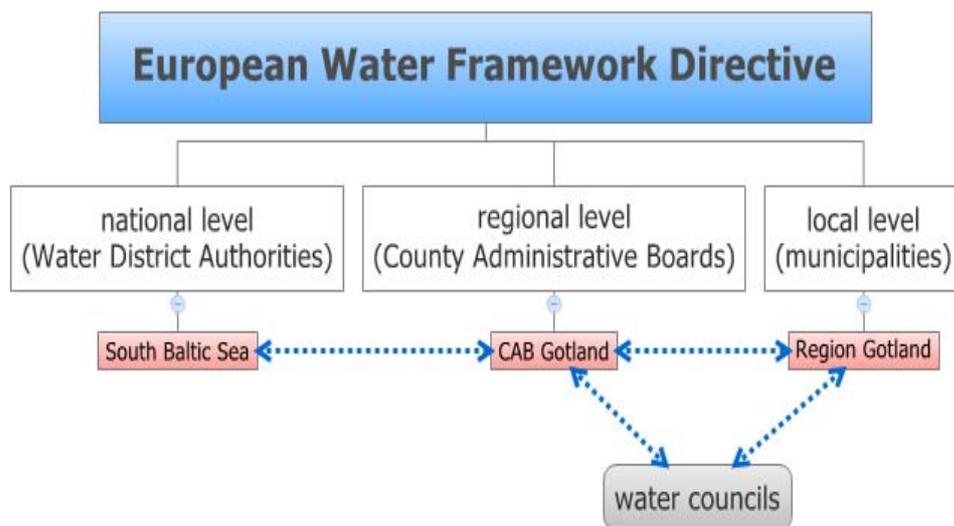


Figure 3. Organizational structure of the water management on Gotland in relation to the WFD

The water councils on Gotland differ from each other by size (from one to several river basins and/or coastal water), number of members (from 5 to 15 board members), activities and projects they are working with. The structure of the water councils also differs much. In some of them there are only board members involved actively in the water council's work. As was mentioned by one of the re-

spondents, *“I don’t understand what a water council actually is. Is it nothing else than the board?”*

Board members usually represent the following organizations and societies: the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) – the largest group; the chairmen of each Water Council; Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen); the lime industry (Swedish: kalkindustri) enterprises (Cementa AB etc.) and local history society (Swedish: hembyggsförening). In the most cases the members of the water councils live and/or carry out their professional occupation in the area of the respective water council and have a lot of local knowledge and competence considering the peculiarities of the water bodies in question.

The combination of different competences of the members gives to the water councils a very good potential to be a unique platform for dialog. Many respondents admit that meetings of the water councils created an opportunity to look on the water related issues from different perspectives and try to understand the opinions of the other *“for the people who never met and talked to each other before”*.

Water councils arrange annual public meetings and have several board meetings per year as well as meetings with other water councils on Gotland. Different activities such as guest lectures and river excursions are organized by the water councils and CAB for the general public. The water councils also work with practical issues, such as discussions and comments on the action plan (åtgärdsprogrammet); sample-taking; discussing the alternative solutions for reducing the nutrient leakage into the Baltic Sea, etc. Some of the water councils has applied for and were awarded with LOVA (*“Lokala Vattenvårdsprojekt”* – local water management projects) project financing.

But since our research is focusing on the participation and democracy issues, the emphasis during the interviews was made on the cooperation and collaboration between different actors in the water management – the water councils, CAB, Region Gotland, local people and representatives of different organizations and societies in the area.

The majority of the respondents in Gotland consider the cooperation and communication with the CAB to be on a very good level. They point out active involvement and assistance of the CAB concerning knowledge database, funding, arrangements of different activities, organizational help and so on. However some of the board members have some anxiety about to which extent the CAB should be involved to their work? Where is the edge between assistance and steering?

Another issue is sometimes vague and unclear tasks of the water councils. Or, to be more correct, the existence of different interpretations of the water councils’

role. Some respondents believe that the CAB, as the initiator of the establishment and operation of the water councils, should have concrete tasks and certain responsibilities to delegate to the water councils. On the contrary, the other part believes that water councils should be completely autonomous (or, as an option, subordinate to the Water District Authorities) and CAB should not decide about what they should work with. However, as many admit, the water council is quite new structure and its role and way of work is not absolutely clear both for its members and for the CAB. The water councils were established only a couple of years ago and, as many believe, the correct and most efficient way of their operation is going to be found out gradually.

The majority of the respondents believe that the participation of the Region Gotland in the water councils' work is insufficient at the moment and that they should be more involved in cooperation with water councils. They point out that representatives from Region Gotland sometimes participate in the meetings, but they are far from being a member. On the other hand, the Region Gotland argues that they deliberately decided not to participate: *"we are doing the same job and have the same goals – to achieve good water status, but we are working on different levels and thus have different roles"*.

In the same time, the water councils on Gotland have rather limited resources. This is a voluntary work; water councils are non-profitable organizations, and do not have any employees or any funding, except for LOVA grants (those can be received for the concrete projects only) and some starting grant from CAB and Water District Authorities. Neither do they operate as a usual society, which is established for its members' benefits and is funded by a membership fee. As many point out, *"we are sort of a society that was built from the top"* and *"we are not for the members' sake, but for water's sake"*.

The water councils have abundance of local knowledge, experience, initiative and aspiration to do much for the well-being of their water bodies. But on the other hand they admit that *"one should not put too many hard issues on the water councils. Otherwise folk just can't manage, they will just wilt"*.

Instead the water councils can contribute a lot with the identification of the problematic issues and putting priorities about what should be done first. But the measures should be taken by those who have the responsibility and resources for this – the CAB, the municipality or other organizations. As many point out, the water councils constitute a new form of contact and communication between people representing different spheres of expertise – authorities, farmers, industrial enterprises etc. This is a very good platform for joint planning and discussion.

But the next step after planning and discussing is taking the decision and implementation. And here the other issue of concern about the water councils arises. Since the water councils do not actually play any official role in the governance system of water management, how their opinion can influence the decision-making process? We will try to elaborate on this and other questions related to knowledge and power interrelations in the analysis chapter.

4.2 Kiladalen

Kiladalen is a valley stretching 50 km from Bergshammar in north east to Stavsjö in south west (Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening, 2011a). The area has about 5300 inhabitants and is located in the municipality of Nyköping in the county of Södermanland. The landscape is characterized by agricultural activities and Kilaån is the main water stream finding its way through the valley to the Baltic Sea in the east. The drainage area of Kilaån belong to the North Baltic Sea water district with the Authority located in Västerås. The Northern Baltic Sea water district is the most densely populated water district in Sweden with 2,9 million inhabitants affecting water environments through its activities (Vattenmyndigheterna, 2011c).

The CAB is responsible for assisting the Water District Authorities and to coordinate and carry out the water management. This work includes mapping and classifying waters as well as producing action plans. An important task is also to work collaboratively to engage citizens and organizations in water management issues. A part of this work is the formation of water councils. The CAB is responsible for coordinating information, opinions and decisions of water councils and local working groups in the region. (Länsstyrelsen Södermanland, 2011)

There is one water council in the area that includes three drainage areas in Nyköping; Nyköpingsån, Kilaån and Svärtaån. It is called Nyköpingåarnas water council and was founded in the spring of 2008. The water council is a separate part of Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund (Nyköpingåarnas local water association) having a separate chairman for meetings and the meetings are democratic and opened for everyone. Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund is a non-profit organization founded in 1959 and among the members are municipalities, county councils, the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) and different companies. Their task is to carry out coordinated water control, coordinated regulations, water council and work to establish activities to improve water quality. (Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund, 2011)

An important task of the water council is to work for the establishment of local working groups. These groups can be formed based on geographical parameters such as a drainage area, or themes such as Eutrophication (Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund, 2011). Working groups play an important role when it comes to communicating information and suggestions with the water council and the CAB (Länsstyrelsen Södermanland, 2011). According to the CAB (2011) an organized engagement increases the chance that your opinions will be considered. Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund has one person employed to work 60 % with this task in three drainage areas. Ten water council meetings have been held since spring 2008 at different locations. Meetings are open to the public with invitations being published in newspapers. So far twelve working groups have been created. The role of the person working with the water council is to coordinate meetings and excursions, help local groups with contacts, information and applications for funding projects, but it is the local groups who should find solutions and manage the work. The roles of the local groups are to find local solutions to improve the water quality in their area.

One of the working groups that have been formed is Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening (local water management association). It was founded in 2008 with the aim to watch over issues of water management in relation to the WFD (Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund, 2011b). Their main focus is helping people that have received an injunction from the municipality to improve their private waste water treatment. According to respondents living in the area the injunctions has caused a lot of worry, especially for elderly people, due to the high costs of changing means for private waste water treatment. There is also a perceived unfairness in how the municipality is practicing their work. Several respondents say they lack help from the municipality to find means and discuss solutions. Several respondents also complain that the communication with the municipality is mainly carried out in written form and thus not open for a dialogue. The perceived unfairness is also grounded in the way the municipality practice their own waste water management. According to 8 of the respondents the municipal waste water plants are not functioning as they should letting untreated water in to the stream. Asking of whether there has been a dialogue or an opportunity to lift opinions or have an influence none of them feel that this has been achieved.

Many of the respondents have participated in a study circle called Vattnets Väg (something like “The path of the water”), with study materials produced by Vuxenskolan (“school for adults”) and the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF), with

basic knowledge about water resources and management. This study circle is also promoted by the water council.

All respondents have heard about the WFD but not all have knowledge of what it means or what implications it may have. The CAB had consultation meetings in the area on the documents of management plans, action plans, environmental quality norms and environmental impact assessment. Both information from the CAB and local people indicate that people have questioned the grounds for judgment in the documents. Those who participated in these meeting also said that the CAB was the ones that spoke the most. One respondent said *“It was a big meeting so it was like it always is, that 99 % of the people are not saying anything”*. This correlates with information from the interview with a person of the CAB working with the WFD; *“I think we talk too much sometimes and that it gets a bit complicated. We try to improve and think about this. It would be good to have discussions in small groups and make it more in to a dialogue”*. She and some colleagues at the CAB have attended a course called *“Dialog för naturvård”* (Dialogue for nature conservation) where they learned about participatory processes. This course was perceived as very valuable but unfortunately this was in the end of the process with the consultation meetings and the respondent had the opinion that it would have been good to go through the course before. She further indicates that resources is an issue for participatory work saying: *“During the consultation period there was a lot of discussions concerning the forming of water councils and working groups, but we can feel now afterwards that we have not had an organization to deal with working groups, so we don't know how to do it”*.

The respondent from the CAB working with the WFD says that there are difficulties working with the WFD when it comes to deciding norms (what water status that should be reached) and the effects of these decisions. She also says that there still are no grounds for judgment for nitrogen levels. There are as well some methods for determining the water status that are perceived to not generate reliable results.

There is a project going on concerning the ecological status of Kilaån that has been initiated by the CAB. When the project started it was not directly connected to the WFD even though it has much the same aim; to improve the water quality. The unit of nature conservation within the CAB wanted to improve living conditions for a threatened species of mussel in the stream of Kilaån and decided to carry out a project in order to initiate actions to improve their living conditions. A part from strictly physical changes of the stream it also included decreasing the amount of nutrients going out in the stream. The respondent from the CAB work-

ing with nature conservation have colleagues who also have taken the course in participatory processes with relation to nature conservation called “Dialog för naturvård”. She herself have not been in this course but are familiar with similar work from earlier experiences and she has tried to incorporate participatory processes in the way of working with organizations, associations, regulation companies and local people living near Kilaån. All respondents living close to Kilaån has perceived this way of working in a very positive way emphasizing the possibility to have a dialogue. One local respondent said: *“She listens and takes in the holistic picture and if there are uncertainties she tries to find out and gets back to you. She has a will to do things and has a lot of contacts. She shares experiences with us and we share with her”*. Several actions to improve water quality and habitat for endangered species have been carried out in the stream. The respondent from the CAB working with nature conservation says that her executive have been of great importance for her possibilities to work with participation.

There is also a local water regulation company in Kiladalen called Kilaåns regleringsföretag. All people that own land in connection to Kilaån is and have to be a member of this company. It was founded in the 1920's and has a juridical decision on the rights and responsibility of clearing the stream. This juridical decision caused a project on restoring two big wetlands in Kiladalen to fail. In order to manipulate the stream to create these wetlands the juridical decision had to be taken away. Members of Kilaåns regleringsföretag and the CAB said that this was the main cause of the fail of the project, not that people were against the wetland restoration. People at one area have now initiated a new project to see if another method to restore one of the wet lands can be carried out that does not conflict with the juridical decision. The respondent from the CAB working with nature conservation said that this area was the one where some people may loose EU funding because of the alterations of their land.

In the Kiladalen case local people had very limited knowledge of the water council and its work. On the other hand most of them were well aware of the local working group Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening and the work they do with private waste water facilitations and also liming projects to decrease nutrients leakage from arable land. Representatives from Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening perceive that they have an increased possibility to be heard since the forming of this group. They have for example been able to arrange a meeting with authorities concerned with the waste water issues.

Collaboration among people involved in water issues within the CAB has now started where they discuss water issues. Also a project called “Samsynsprojektet”

(something like “consensus project”) has started where Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening, the CAB and the municipality try to get a common view of how to improve the water. A member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening says that as long as it keeps on this level in the municipality it is fine, but that it gets harder when you get higher up in the hierarchy.

5 Analysis

5.1 Knowledge and values

Basing on Giddens' (1994) and Elling's (2008) theories, expert knowledge should be complemented with local experience. By involving the local population local knowledge and values can be brought into discussion. The guidance document (Drafting Group, 2002) also emphasizes the active involvement of local people. The water councils in Gotland and Kiladalen constitute a new form of contact and communication between people representing different spheres of expertise – authorities, farmers, industrial enterprises etc. This is a good platform for joint planning and discussion. The water councils are established first of all as a consultative body for the action plan developed by the Water District Authorities, and thus have the opportunity to complement the science with local knowledge and expertise.

On the other hand, as many respondents point out in the Gotland case, the integration of the scientific knowledge into local practices through consultations and assistance from responsible authorities is also essential for the local population: *“I am a farmer; I do not know much about phosphorous and nitrogen and why should I? I don't have the necessary education for it”*. Thus the interaction between different sources and types of knowledge is valuable for all actors.

In Gotland respondents say that one of the main outcomes of the water councils' activity is that people became more aware of water issues, people began to think and care more about water. People are willing to use the opportunity both to contribute with their knowledge and to increase their own competence in the same time. As Hajer (1995) puts it *“the public understanding might well be much more mature than many politicians and experts would like us to believe”* (p.283).

In the Kiladalen case on the contrary, local people had very limited knowledge about the work of the water council, but on the other hand most of them were well

aware of the local working group; Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening (local water management association) and their projects concerning private waste water facilities and decrease of nutrient leakage from arable land. Representatives from Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening perceive that they have an increased possibility to be heard since the forming of their association. They have for example been able to arrange a meeting with authorities involved in waste water issues.

However, when it comes to taking actions the local perception of what is important and urgent and what is less relevant, sometimes differs from that of the authorities. The common examples on Gotland are the wetlands and the sewage system. Many point out that the creation of more wetlands instead of the arable land will not solve the problems with water shortage in summer. The water councils and local people come up with other solutions (claimed to be more efficient in cost-effects relation), which are not taken into account by the authorities. The same situation is with the sewage system. Some farmers wonder why they are blamed so much for the nutrients leakages from the land, when municipal sewage treatment system is not able to treat all the municipal wastewater due to its bad condition or insufficient capacity. The latter is also an issue in Kiladalen. Here the public discontentment also includes the municipal demands to improve private waste water treatment.

According to many respondents both on Gotland and in Kiladalen, the municipalities are not participating to the extent needed in a dialogue. This has implications on how knowledge is being shared and discussed. The lack of communication between local people and municipality hinders the efficient knowledge sharing. The latter has implications on how local knowledge is being incorporated in water management issues.

According to water councils and other organizations involved in water management, there are difficulties in getting local people involved. Many point out that the work of the water councils depends on the engagement of particular people willing to manage a project. The issues they deal with should be considered relevant and important from the local perspective, otherwise there will be no motivation for their work. Another important thing is the diversity of people engaged, representing different ages, gender and interests. In the Kiladalen case the respondent from the water council says that people participating in the working groups are mostly men over 65 years old; he thinks younger people have no time to engage, even if the meetings are held in the evening in order to include as many as possible. The similar situation takes place on Gotland and is also considered to be an issue of concern by many respondents.

Even if knowledge and opinions can be shared between actors involved in water management, there is no guarantee that they will be considered by authorities. There is no clear framework (organizational, financial and other) for the incorporation of local knowledge in water management in relation to the WFD. There is no other power or responsibility delegated to the water councils or water management associations by the CAB or municipality, except for the consultations over the action plan. The lack of an official role, clearly set aims and operational framework might reduce the motivation of people and their trust in participation.

5.2 Power and participation

Referring back to the WFD (European Parliament, 2000), article 14 says that *“Member States shall encourage the active involvement of all interested parties in the implementation of this Directive, in particular in the production, review and updating of the river basin management plans”* and the preamble 14 of the directive says *“The success of this Directive relies on close cooperation and coherent action at Community, Member State and local level as well as on information, consultation and involvement of the public”*. But the directive only requires consultation and access to information. It further encourages the active public involvement, but says nothing about how this active involvement should be interpreted.

In order to clarify the concept of active involvement several guiding documents have been issued. Water Note # 12 (European Commission, 2008) says that *“Public participation means giving the public and stakeholders the opportunity to influence the outcome of the plans and the working processes”* (p.2) and continues by saying that participation *“leads to shared decision-making, where they become jointly responsible for the outcome of a plan”* (p.2). The document *“Guidance on public participation in relation to the WFD”* (Drafting Group, 2002) also emphasizes that *“Essential to active involvement is the potential for participants to influence the process”* (p.17). However, it also states that when it comes to consultation within the WFD, *“the process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no formal obligation to take on board people's views”* (p.19). (Drafting group, 2002).

Active involvement does not have any legal binding framework and thus the concept of participation is very weak within the WFD. The legal framework in relation to participation is limited to consultation and access to information only, which does not ensure shared decision making and opportunities for public influ-

ence. This gives room for different interpretations of how and to what extent participation should be implemented within the WFD. Since empowerment of the public is not a requirement within the WFD, it relies on how active involvement is perceived and achieved by authorities responsible for the implementation.

One example of the bodies designed to provide public participation is the water councils. The initiative of the creation of the water councils in Sweden belongs to the Water District Authorities. In practice, the responsibility for the creation water councils was laid on the CAB.

On Gotland seven water councils have been established as a consultative body for the action plan and a platform for dialogue between local population and authorities. In Nyköping one water council has been established. Here the task of the water council is to work with the formation of local working groups around water issues. The working groups are important for the communication of information and suggestions to the water council and the CAB. The CAB also states that an organized engagement increases the chance that your opinions will be considered (Länsstyrelsen Södermanland, 2011).

By now one of the issues on Gotland is the CAB's role in the water councils operation. Some of the respondents emphasize that "*the water council should not be a tool for the CAB*". Some water councils want to be independent from the CAB or other authority. In this case, there is some risk that differences in interpretation of the aims of participation can cause conflicts. The perspective of the water councils can differ from that of the CAB; this goes in line with the purpose of their creation – allowing the local voices to be heard in order to complement and enrich the official water management policy conducted by the authorities with local competence. But there are no rules or guidelines on how to incorporate these voices on more or less equal level into the policy conducted by CAB or municipality. The power is still within the authorities and they also define to what extent they want to empower the people.

Arnstein (1969) argues that participation goes hand in hand with power, saying that the more power is delegated to the citizens, the higher is level of participation. If active involvement does not ensure empowerment it is not a higher level of participation.

In the Kiladalen case the ways to carry out participatory processes seem to differ within the CAB. Within the unit of nature conservation there seem to be a greater emphasis on participation than in the unit of water management. The unit of nature conservation has allowed for empowerment of local people in Kiladalen when making them responsible for decision making. When it comes to the unit of

water management, participation in direct relation to the WFD has mostly been carried out in the form of consultation meetings where people have been able to comment on already produced documents; a process criticized for achieving low levels of participation. The municipality have carried out their normal working procedures of water management, criticized for not allowing opportunities for dialogue or a chance to influence.

In the case of Kiladalen respondents working with water management in the CAB and water council all have positive views on participation but perceive different challenges when working with it. When asking a respondent within the unit of nature conservation to what extent her executive has been of importance she answers: *“I think it is of great importance because they have the right to decide ... if you don't receive this understanding of dialogue it is hard”*. Her executive has also taken the course “Dialog för Naturvård” and she perceives this to be a good help in her work. She has concerns of what will happen when her executive will soon retire saying that *“No one, well I don't know if someone maybe wants it, but I would think that most of us do not want to go back to the old way of working or the old way we had meetings”*. This indicates that people in power have direct influence on the conditions for carrying out participatory processes.

If this is the case it is possible that, for example, top persons within the Water District Authorities have an influence on how participation is implemented within the district. In the case of Northern Baltic Sea water district a recording (Sorby, 2009) of a consultation meeting in relation to the WFD documents indicates that the view on participation of the executive of the North Baltic Sea water district in these cases are mainly interpreted as classical consultation meetings. In the meeting the executive of the district tells participants what the WFD means, how it is implemented in Sweden and how the documents have been produced. When participants are able to ask questions he is confronted with a question concerning the consultation process itself. A man questions whether the process of gathering information at a consultation meeting and then six months later producing revised documents is really a good procedure. What happens in between? The executive answers that it is their task as a WDA to do this. There is no further reflection from him concerning other modes of working.

Resources for carrying out participatory processes have been perceived to be an issue in the unit of the CAB working with the WFD, and also to some extent in the water council in the Kiladalen case. The respondent from the CAB working with the WFD is saying that *“We think we should work more with information and collaboration and be in the field to promote actions to improve the water status. Now*

we are very few in the staff so we have not much time to do this". The lack of resources to provide satisfying levels of participation can depend on to what extent participation is perceived as important. This can also be related to people having power to decide over the distribution of resources within an authority or organization.

While Arnstein (1969) focus only on power in relation to participation, some argue that power is not enough to evaluate participation. Smith (2003) points out that the most important thing to be achieved in participatory processes is mutual understanding and respect for each other's needs and acknowledgement of the opponent's perspectives. This correlates with the positions of many our respondents.

5.3 The participatory process

In our two case studies we have seen how different processes of participation have rendered different results. Processes including opportunities for unconstrained dialogue have contributed to a better understanding of each other's perspectives and the creation of a shared vision on the issues of water quality.

There are different experiences of participation among the locals in Kiladalen and these are mainly related to different "projects" being carried out in the valley. One is related to the WFD including consultation meetings, injunctions from the municipality on waste water treatment and other environmental inspections. The other a project for nature conservation concerned with improving water quality in order to improve the livelihood for endangered species.

The first have included low levels of participation in relation to theories including learning and opportunities for dialogue. Local people do not feel that they have had a say in these issues even though they are concerned about many of them. The willingness to organize themselves to take actions has been a way of increasing their possibilities to influence. This indicates that the relation to responsible authorities is more based on a struggle over power.

The second have enabled for dialogue to happen and has been perceived as very positive by the participants with respondents stating that the willingness to help to improve water quality increased with such a process. The organizing of people in this project seem to be based on a willingness to improve water quality in Kilaån, perceived as a concern both for themselves living by the stream and for the biological life in the stream. This indicates a participatory process in line with what is advocated by Smith (2003), generating mutual understanding and respect of each other's needs.

The respondent from CAB working with nature conservation in Kiladalen perceives participation to be an increasingly important process for authorities concerned with nature and environment. She gives an example of what happens when participation is ignored saying that *“Natura 2000 is an example of what happens when you don't have participation. We still have big problems because people are still upset with how it was implemented. Some people do still not want to talk to us from our unit because of this”*. She believes she has gained trust from people by being earnest, open and respecting their views. She says: *“I think it is important with complete transparency and I have worked hard for this”*. In her unit people have attended the course “Dialog för naturvård”, a course in participatory processes focusing on inclusiveness, understanding and respect. They have not only adopted it in the way they carry out their work but also in their own meetings at the unit, which is perceived to increase the understanding of participatory processes.

Similar perceptions of the process and the results of collaboration between the authorities and local people can be found in Gotland case. Many point out that the engagement of the CAB representatives in the dialogue with the water councils, their interest and willingness to communicate has contributed a lot into the development of the water councils on Gotland. The obvious result of the CAB initiative – establishing of the seven water councils – is significant, but not the main one. Probably the most important thing is how the work of CAB is perceived and evaluated by the local population, saying *“The people in the CAB do a really good job. They are professionals and they are easy to communicate with. I can call them at anytime and ask for consultation or help. They do a lot and are really engaged”*.

However the interest and engagement of the local population is also very important. According to the guiding document for participation within the WFD the access to the information and the possibility for participation in the water management should be granted to all people living in the area and/or interested or involved in the water issues (Drafting group, 2002). But how shall it be achieved in practice? In Gotland case people not involved in the water management issues get to know about the water councils' activities only from rare radio news or newspaper articles. And, as one of the water council members noticed *“only when something bad happens”*. Certainly the situation differs much between the water councils. Some of them have a regularly updated webpage, regular meetings and activities for the common public. But the problem with involvement of the local people still exists.

The task to “go out and talk to people” is commonly understood as the water councils’ responsibility. However there are some differences in its interpreting between the water councils. In the Gotland case some of them believe that “*we are working not for the members’ sake, but for the water’ sake*” and thus do not consider it to be of main priority. Others just think that it is difficult to draw people’s attention and thus they need external help (for example from CAB). Third ones say that it depends much on the particular activity or on the topic of the particular meeting: “*If it is something that concerns many people, than they are coming and we have up to 50 participants*”. But not all of the issues are of everybody’s interest. Since there is the same problem of engaging the local population, and the dominance of elderly men attending the meetings as in the Kiladalen case, the possibility for the organization of working groups was also considered and articulated several times in Gotland case.

Also similar to the Kiladalen case, many point out that the work of the water councils much depend on the engagement of the particular people. The issues they deal with should be considered as relevant and important from the local perspective otherwise there will be no motivation for their work. Thus they should not only provide comments or work with the problems suggested by CAB, Region Gotland or Water District Authorities but also have the opportunity to bring up issues of their concern. Thus, the conditions for the inclusiveness and unconstrained dialogue between local population and authorities are necessary in relation to citizens’ engagement and legitimization of authority decisions (Smith, 2003).

However the communication and discussion alone is not enough for the achievement of a good water status. The legal ways to incorporate and to deal with the different and sometimes contradicting opinions should be established. As Smith (2003) argues, “*politics requires decisions*” (p.74), while there is no explicit decision-making principle in the deliberative democracy. This creates the tension between the deliberation of the participatory processes and the efficient management; it also makes deliberative democracy of today use the existing institutional framework of the representative democracy (Smith, 2003). The inclusion of different perspectives and rationalities with mutual respect together with interaction of scientific knowledge and local competence in a deliberative and unconstrained process can also be a way for creating a shared vision of the future and dealing with environmental issues in efficient way.

6 Conclusion

In the present paper we have analyzed the implementation of the WFD in Sweden, within the theoretical framework of public participation in natural resources management.

In order to obtain empirical data for our analysis two case studies were conducted in two different water districts with slightly different structure. One of the case studies focused on the work of water councils and their cooperation with CAB on Gotland. The other one studied the communication between local people, the water council and the CAB in Kiladalen, Södermanland. The discussion over the two cases gave us a broader understanding of the different participatory processes in the water management in Sweden. We have analyzed how the different conditions, different actors, their roles and their perspectives of the public participation influence the outcomes of participatory processes.

The empirical data from the case studies together with the theoretical framework allowed us to answer the following research questions:

1. How is participation being interpreted within the WFD?
2. How is participation understood and achieved by the institutions responsible for the implementation of the WFD in Sweden?
3. How is the actual participation perceived by the “participants”?

The essential role of the active involvement of the public is stressed in the WFD, however no clear definitions are given to it in the document. This implied that the WFD was followed by several guiding documents suggesting how active involvement can be achieved, however none of these guiding documents are legally binding. A minimum requirement of public involvement in the WFD is access to information and consultation.

This allows institutions responsible for the implementation of the WFD to interpret the participation in different ways. The authorities thus have full power to de-

fine to what extent the participation should influence decision making and how it should be achieved. Generally the participatory processes are considered to be beneficial, since they provide a space for dialog between people with different perspectives and spheres of competence. This contributes to the development of the common knowledge arising from complementing the scientific rationality with local expertise. This allows creation of the shared vision of the future and gives more legitimacy to the political decisions.

People that have been involved in participatory processes and had opportunities for dialogue with authorities, in some cases also been a part of decision making, have positive experiences of knowledge sharing, mutual respect and understanding. Their engagement in water management is based on a willingness to help improving the water quality. Experiences from participatory processes not allowing for such a dialogue has created frustration and engagement is based more on issues of power.

Our aim in this study was to analyze the practice of public participation in relation to the implementation of the WFD in Sweden, in order to identify possible constraints and/or opportunities for a deliberate democratic process.

The WFD states the importance of public participation. The constraint is that the legally binding requirements of participation in the WFD are very low. That makes opportunities for the deliberative process to depend on those having the power. Thus institutions that do not have any knowledge and/or interest in including the public in the decision making can choose not to use higher levels of participation than required. This creates barriers for deliberative democratic process to occur, constraining empowerment and knowledge sharing.

On the other hand the freedom to interpret active involvement of the people can be seen as an opportunity to create a deliberative democratic process by involving citizens in the very beginning of a process. This includes defining the problem and creating a common view of the future in order to deal with it.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Vattenråd på Gotland: lokala synpunkter och analysering av verksamheten under 2008 – 2011

I februari 2011 genomfördes en undersökning av lokal delaktighet i vattenförvaltningen på Gotland. Representanter från sex vattenråd på Gotland, myndigheter samt lokalbefolkningen intervjuades gällande deras synpunkter på vidareutveckling av vattenrådets verksamhet och samarbete inom vattenförvaltningen. Ett tjugotal respondenter (12 män och 8 kvinnor) från olika delar av Gotland intervjuades under treveckors period. De representerade följande grupper:

1. Vattenråd – 11 (Naturskyddsföreningen – 4, företag – 2, lantbrukare – 2)
2. Myndigheter – 6 (Länsstyrelsen – 4, kommunen/Regionen – 1, Vattenmyndigheten – 1)
3. Lokal befolkningen – 3

Intervjufrågorna omfattade följande ämnen:

1. Vattenrådets uppdrag och verksamhet
2. Samverkan med lokalbefolkningen
3. Resultat av vattenrådets arbete
4. Vattenförvaltning på Gotland i stort
5. Samarbete mellan olika aktörer på Gotland och i övriga Sverige
6. Vidareutveckling av vattenrådets arbete

De allmänna slutsatserna från alla intervjuerna är grupperade och presenterade nedan.

Lokala vattenråd på Gotland

Gotlands vattenrådsområden är ganska små i jämförelse med fastlandet. Dessutom finns det bara en kommun på Gotland. Detta kan begränsa möjligheter att involvera fler deltagare och fler olika synpunkter i vattenrådets verksamhet. De är mycket fokuserade på vissa behov inom sina områden, vilket är bra, men å andra sidan begränsas perspektiven inom vattenråden.

En annan sak som är speciell för Gotland är att den geologiska strukturen skiljer sig från fastlandets. Det finns en åsikt att vattenförvaltningen på Gotland inte skall vara lika som i hela Sverige, utan att den borde vara anpassad till Gotlands speciella förutsättningar.

Samarbete med lokala myndigheter

De flesta vattenrådsrepresentanter tycker att Länsstyrelsen är mycket engagerad i samarbetet med vattenråden och hjälper dem mycket. Det gäller både finansiellt stöd (t.ex. LOVA bidrag), olika aktiviteter som organiseras, rådgivning och hjälp med praktiska frågor, m.m. Däremot tycker man att Länsstyrelsen kanske kunde vara mer tydlig kring roller i vattenförvaltningen, vattenrådets mandat och uppdrag. Likaså vill man ha mer klarhet om uppdraget hos alla aktörer inom vattenförvaltningen, eftersom Länsstyrelsen har ett helhetsperspektiv på detta. Man tycker också att vattenråden i sin tur kan hjälpa Länsstyrelsen inte bara med åtgärdsprogram utan också med många andra saker.

Många diskussioner pågår angående Region Gotlands roll och deltagande. Många tycker att det är viktigt att Regionen är med i vattenråden för att de kan komplettera vattenrådets lokala kunskaper med sin professionella kompetens. Andra tycker däremot att det är bra som det är nu, att Regionen kan jobba för samma mål som vattenråd - att nå god vattenkvalitet, men på sitt sätt och utan att vara med i vattenråden.

Myndigheter och vattenråd jobbar också på olika nivåer och har olika roller i samhället. Men man borde förtydliga varandras uppgifter.

Man tycker att Länsstyrelse och Region Gotland beskriver vattenproblemen på lite annorlunda sätt än vattenråden. Därmed är lösningarna som föreslås också olika. Det är viktigt att alla har samma bild och att kommunikation och dialog mellan dessa aktörer fungerar på ett bra sätt. Man får till exempel inte peka på jordbrukare som om de gör fel och är problemet för naturen. Man skall inte anklaga eller avskräcka dem utan stimulera dem att samarbeta. Ett av vanliga exempel är samarbetet kring våtmarker. Länsstyrelsen har fått i uppdrag från regeringen att skapa ett antal våtmarker på Gotland, men många markägare stödjer inte detta initiativ

tiativ eftersom de förväntade effekterna inte är så stora. De tycker att det finns andra saker som bör göras och som kan ge bättre resultat. Vad skall man göra när statliga uppdrag (eller uppdrag från EU) inte stämmer med lokala behov?

Både myndigheter och lokal befolkningen har mycket kunskap och kompetens inom olika områden. Problemet är att de ibland inte kompletterar varandra utan går i var sitt spår istället för att lyssna på varandra. Man bör bygga upp förtroende och förståelse för att det finns olika intressen förutom sina egna och man bör ha respekt för att dessa intressen också är viktiga. Ofta går detta ganska bra i vattenråden.

Vattenrådets verksamhet

Vattenråden har ganska breda möjligheter att välja arbetssätt och mål, liksom vilka frågor de vill ta upp och hantera. Däremot saknas ibland gemensam koordination av samarbete mellan olika vattenråd, olika organisationer och myndigheter. Rollerna är också oklara. Men de flesta tycker att i nuläget är vattenråden bara i början och att det kommer att utkristalliseras så småningom vilken plats de skall ha i samhället. Det finns olika åsikter kring till vilken grad vattenråden skall guidas av någon myndighet. Många tycker att det är bra att de kan bestämma själva allt som gäller deras verksamhet.

Man tycker också att man inte kan vänta sig för mycket av ett vattenråd. Det är en ideell organisation som inte kan göra stora förändringar. Däremot kan de lyfta fram dem viktigaste frågorna i sina områden och stå för sin unika, lokala kunskap. Dock kan det också vara ett problem att identifiera ämnen, vad som är det viktigaste och vad man skall satsa på. Svårigheten är att få de andra aktörerna att göra praktiska saker, eftersom vattenråden inte själva har resurser för åtgärder. Ibland är det svårt att definiera vem som skall stå för åtgärdskostnader, till exempel när det gäller näringsläckage. Det är fel, tycker man, att enbart göra jordbrukare ansvariga för näringsutsläpp till vattendrag, eftersom hela befolkningen påverkar detta.

Vattenråden har skapat nya former för kontakt mellan människor som inte har pratat med varandra förut, vilket är ett mycket viktigt bidrag i vattenförvaltningen. Man tycker att vattenrådsarbetet skulle kunna resultera i någon typ av gemensam planering och utdelning av gemensamt ansvar.

Ekonomiska aspekter

En annan stor fråga som finns i vattenråden och vattenförvaltningen är ekonomin. Eftersom vattenråden jobbar ideellt är de ibland begränsade i sin verksamhet. Det gäller till exempel mätningar och provtagningar i åar. Man påpekar att det finns

många olika sätt att mäta till exempel årlig avrinning eller fosfor- och kvävenivåer i vattnet, och att mätningens resultat på det viset kan skilja sig mycket från varandra. Provtagningar och mätningar kräver dyr utrustning och laborietester som vattenråden inte kan stå för. Så frågan är vem som skall betala för provtagningar och vem som skall bestämma vilka provtagningar som behövs och hur de skall göras?

Eftersom man kan göra mätningar på olika sätt, hur skall de verifieras? Redan nu det finns olika data för en och samma å, hur och vem skall bestämma vilket som är sant?

Ekonomiska frågor är också viktiga för själva vattenrådets verksamhet. Flera tycker att man borde få betalning för sitt arbete om man vill nå något bra resultat och inte tappa intresset och engagemanget. Man tycker att vattenråden har bra kompetens och potential att göra mycket mer, men att de inte skall arbeta gratis. Men i så fall, vem skall betala dem? Det finns en åsikt att det kan vara någon av myndigheterna (Vattenmyndigheten, Länsstyrelsen eller Region Gotland) som skall tilldela pengar, kanske projektivt, som stöd för vattenrådets verksamhet. Men frågan är om det skulle betyda att vattenråden blir mer styrda av respektive myndighet?

Lokalt engagemang

Problemet med engagemang från lokalbefolkningen i vattenråden är förknippat med hela befolkningssituationen på Gotland, menar flera. Man säger att det är mycket svårt att få ungdomar engagerade, för att de flyttar från Gotland, och att det i sin tur beror på arbetssituationen i allmänhet. Ungdomar är ofta medvetna om vattenfrågor men ibland är det lite svårt för dem att våga gå in aktivt när det sitter så många medelålders personer i vattenråden.

Det finns också vissa problem med engagemang från kvinnor. Den genomsnittliga vattenrådsmedlemmen är en medelålders man och många är lantbrukare. Men det finns intresse att vara med i vattenråd bland kvinnor och detta bör stimuleras vidare. Man säger också att ett förhinder till detta kan vara att det mesta av vattenrådets arbete görs efter arbetstider, på kvällen och helger, och kvinnor kan inte delta på grund av många andra saker (hushåll jobb, barn osv.).

Man tycker också att det är vattenrådets uppdrag att nå ut till sina grannar, att de kan göra det på bättre sätt än om någon myndighet gjorde det. De vill ha fortsatt stöd av Länsstyrelsen när det gäller olika aktiviteter, seminarier, annonser i tidningar.

Men man måste ha ett klart motiv för att locka fler folk. Man bör vara klar över varför vattenråden skall ha fler medlemmar. Hur kan det hjälpa dem i deras arbete? Är det bara för statistikens skull?

Ett annat problem kan vara att lokalbefolkningen tycker att de saknar mandat för frågorna och att det inte är de som skall bestämma. Däremot tycker man i olika vattenråd att det är viktigt att folk känner att det finns ett forum och någon som man kan vända sig till om det händer någonting och som bevakar områdets intressen, ibland till och med emot myndigheters och politikere vilja.

Tanken var från början att man skulle höja intresset för miljö- och vattenfrågor bland folk med hjälp av vattenråd. Och nu kan man se att det har blivit spridning av engagemang och medvetande om vatten runt om Gotland omkring vattenråden. Men fortfarande är det en ganska liten del av befolkningen som är med i något vattenråd. Exempelvis är det upp till 30-50 personer i ett vattenråd av 2000-3000 boende i området.

Man känner ibland inte att det finns ett akut problem med vatten på Gotland. Det finns inga stora fabriker som släpper ut; vattnet luktar inte osv. Men när det är brist på vatten på somrarna, då märker de flesta att något är fel.

På det sättet man tycker att problemet först bör klargöras och sedan få man engagera folk och åtgärda problemet. Det kan vara också förknippat med hur vattenråden etablerades. Man påpekar att ideella organisationer brukar bildas på lokala initiativ med syftet att påverka myndigheter. Men i det här fallet har initiativet kommit uppifrån, från Vattenmyndigheten och Länsstyrelsen. Det är de (eller faktiskt EU) som bestämde att vattenråd borde finnas, men det är inte absolut klart för lokalbefolkningen vad syftet med vattenråd är. Deras uppdrag är inte så tydligt för folk i allmänhet.

Det är mycket viktigt att folk kan se på problem som sina egna. Att man inte vet utan känner att problemen verkligen är viktiga för dem, att det är ens eget vatten som gäller.

En variant kan vara att fokusera på dem som redan har ett visst intresse i vattenfrågor, att göra riktad informationen istället för att gå ut allmänt. Folk är övervämmade med olika typer av information idag, så det är verkligen svårt att fånga deras uppmärksamhet.

Det är också mycket viktigt att vattenråden jobbar på bra sätt med sina medlemmar. De bör informera medlemmar och andra intresserade regelbundet, bjuda dem till möten, osv. Och det bör göras från början. Detta behöver förstås mycket tid, vilket kan vara ett problem i en ideell förening. Ibland är det så att vattenråd

tenråd får information från Länsstyrelsen, de diskuterar det i styrelsen men sedan går det inte vidare ut till medlemmarna och allmänheten.

Vidareutveckling

De flesta tycker att vattenråden i nuläget bara är i början av sin existens och att de bör fortsätta sitt arbete för att så småningom hitta en lämplig form och sin roll. De behöver se vad som förväntas av dem och hur de skall arbeta på bästa sätt. Gotlands vattenråd bör dela erfarenheter med varandra, liksom med olika vattenråd på fastlandet för att få inspiration. Många problem och frågor är likadana i hela Sverige, men där erfarenhet och hanteringssätt kan vara olika.

Dessutom påpekar man också att vattenråden kanske skulle sikta mot mindre frågor till en början och lyckas med dem, för att få några konkreta (om än små) resultat. Då kunde man visa dessa positiva resultat för allmänheten och på så sätt ge goda exempel av det som man har gjort. Det är viktigt både för medlemmar - så att de inte tappar intresse; för myndigheterna - så att man ser den hjälp och nytta man har av vattenråden; och för alla som bor i områdena - så att de blir mer engagerade.

Några tycker att det kan vara en bra idé att jobba i arbetsgrupper som är intresserade av särskilda frågor. Sådana arbetsgrupper kan till och med innehålla medlemmar från flera vattenråd som har likadana problem. Det visar sig också att det är större engagemang på möten som handlar om konkreta frågor som berör folk, som är aktuella för folk.

Det finns en åsikt att Gotland är uppdelad i för små områden och att vattenråden är onödigt små. Det skulle kanske vara bättre om det vore färre vattenråd med fler medlemmar i varje vattenråd.

Man tycker också att det är viktigt att öka kunskapen hos politiker, så att de lyfter fram och arbetar mer med vattenfrågor.

Man anser också att vattenråden borde synas bättre, att de borde marknadsföra sig mer. De borde delta i olika mässor och andra stora evenemang. Media och webb är också mycket viktigt sätt att nå befolkningen. Alla vattenråd har sin egen webbsida, och det är viktigt att webbsidor är "levande", de bör uppdateras regelbundet och vara intressanta inte bara för medlemmar utan också för alla andra.

Några påpekar också att några vattenråd har ganska traditionellt sätt att hålla möten och arbeta med folk, att de ibland skrämmer folk från att delta i arbetet. Detta borde förändras och Länsstyrelsen eller Regionen kanske kunde hjälpa till med detta.

En bättre balans bör hittas i vattenråd när det gäller medlemmar (representanter av olika organisationer och föreningar) samt ordförande. Några påpekar att det är mycket som beror på ordföranden och att det är viktigt att den är en aktiv och kun-
nig person.

I allmänhet ser man mycket positivt på vattenråd. Svårigheten är att vattenråd är ett nytt sätt att samarbeta kring vattenförvaltningsfrågor, man är inte van vid detta ännu och de behöver sin tid att stabilisera sig och hitta sin plats.

Förändringar i miljöfrågor tar ofta lång tid. Man tycker att det ännu är för tidigt att prata om några stora förändringar.

Resultatet av denna undersökning kommer också att studeras vidare bla från teoretiskt perspektiv i ett examensarbete på avdelningen för Miljökommunikation vid Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. Det har visat sig finnas ett stort intresse för liknande analys av vattenrådsverksamhet också i andra delar av Sverige, med syftet att förbättra och effektivisera vattenrådsarbetet och dess bidrag i lokal vattenförvaltning.

Själv skulle jag varmt vilja tacka alla som deltog i denna undersökning, intervjuades och gjorde mina studier mycket spännande. Särskilt vill jag tacka Sofia Scholler för hennes tålamod, uppmärksamhet och mycket inspiration som jag fick från henne. Jag ville också tacka Peter Landergren och alla andra i Vatten- och Fisketeamet som möjliggjorde min praktik på Länsstyrelsen Gotland.

Appendix 2. Interviews in Kiladalen

1. Representative of the CAB working with nature conservation.

Interview in the office of the CAB, Nyköping, Södermanland.

April 20, 2011, 13:00.

Can you tell me about the project in Kiladalen?

The work started because of a mussel that is living in Kilaån. It is called “tjockskalig målarmussla”. I and my colleagues are working with action programs for endangered species. We realized that to help this species we had not only to provide for places that were beneficial for the fish that the mussels depend on but also to improve the water quality of the stream. So we started a project with these two aims. This also has connections to the WFR even if this project is a bit ahead, since Vattenförvaltningen (water management) at CAB are right now working with the action plan within the WFD. Vattenförvaltningen is now in the project as well and follow what actions that are taken. And the work is very much in line with the WFD since it has been pointed out to be one of the three areas that contribute with nutrients to the Baltic Sea. This project goes well with the tasks that the CAB has.

We knew that relations had not been good historically between the CAB and Kiladalen. I read everything that could be found about this and the main point in the conflict was the clearing that the CAB made of Kilaån in the 1980's for some reason/mistake caused a lot of slides. This caused a distrust of the authorities. But also more modern relations include this distrust.

We decided to go and see landowners along the river to present our idea, our aim and also suggestions for actions to be taken before we applied for funding of the project. To get in touch with people we started to contact associations in the area. These were the Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening (local water management association), a local part of the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) and the local Kilaåns regleringsföretag (local water regulation company). Six or seven representatives of these associations were present at a first meeting where we presented the idea to improve life for the mussels in the stream. At this meeting the participants were very upset because of an injunction from the municipality that had been sent to several persons in the area to force them to change their waste water purification systems, or they would have to pay a fine. This subject took most of the time

of the meeting and over shadowed the intended discussion we had about Kilaån. They wanted us to bring the municipality to the meeting as well, and even if this was not our aim of the meeting we decided to do it to eventually be able to discuss our project idea. So the next meeting included three representatives from the municipality as well and there was a long discussion about the waste water injunction. There was so much talk about this that even a farmer reacted and said that it would be good to also discuss what we (the CAB) had in mind as well.

We presented our ideas and asked if the representatives thought it was a good idea to bring it forward to their members. They said yes and the LRF took care of arranging a place to be and a combined invitation from both the CAB and the LRF to the meeting was sent out to members of the LRF. We see farmers as our target group when it comes to the actions that we wanted to take in the stream, since farmers and landowners are the ones that are affected. We are now thinking of inviting the members of KWMA as well, which include some people in the small communities along the stream. The invitation was also sent to Kilaåns regleringsföretag. The LRF said they wanted to discuss the wolf issue at the same meeting, because of a wolf that had been in the area. We discussed what to do since it was not in our interest to dedicate the meeting to the wolf issue. We were a bit worried and decided to take in professional help, a person who we had met during the course “Dialog för naturvård”, to deal with the meeting and it was agreed that the meeting would be divided in two parts with the first part concerning the Kilaå project and the second part the wolf issue with a break in between. You could attend both or only one part of the meeting. This opportunity was used by people.

How did the meeting go?

The meeting went well but we are happy that we had this person to help us. We probably had not made it that well. Quite many people were interested in the Kilaå project and I got in touch with a number of people that were interested mainly in wetlands and sedimentation dams. This led to a project concerning the restoration of two big wetlands. There were also people that did not say so much and went away without showing any interest. But in general it was good. This helped when I started the work with the restoration of wetlands. The people that had not showed an interest I had to look up myself and it helped that they had been to this meeting. Around one wetland there were five landowners and around the other there were three, and I think it was only one person living near one of the two wetlands that had not heard me speak. Because I also presented the idea at the yearly meeting of

Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening. I invited the people living there to the CAB to give them the same information. It helped me when I wanted to meet and talk to them all about the wetlands that they had heard me before and knew what my thoughts were. Concerning the sedimentation dams I did not have to search for people. They had all indicated their interest to participate. Our hope was to make some dams and then hope an interest for this to be spread, and now it has actually starting to do that. Unfortunately the CAB has no money to put on sedimentation dams. The persons have to apply for finance themselves. We have helped them with contacts to persons digging the dams and we are also happy to have gotten in touch with researchers from SLU that are doing measurements in the dams. The problem is that the money you can get does not cover the whole expense, which almost ruined this project. SLU has been able to pay for parts that are important for the research. So people that are interested now get to know that the financial support you can get is not enough and I can not use CAB money for it. But it still has created an interest. We have started a discussion with the Swedish Board of Agriculture about the support not covering the costs, so they might increase it but it will probably take years.

You said you are cooperating with Vattenförvaltningen. Can you tell me about this?

The cooperation with Vattenförvaltningen at the CAB started to be more organized quite recently, in the beginning of this year. Even though we belong to two different units there is a group within the CAB where everyone who works with water meets. At these meetings the Kilaå project is a topic for discussion in order to frequently share information. But at the start of this year the work has been more formalized with a project called “samsynsprojektet” (something like “consensus project”) where we, Vattenförvaltningen, Nyköping municipality and Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening is a part of. This project has mainly been driven by Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening and is a lot about including the municipality in the issues of water and waste water in the Kilaå project. We have now made a summary in form of a table including all the work that has been done by the CAB, the municipality and Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening respectively, and also what is being done and what is planned for the future. Vattenförvaltningen thought this was very good and wanted to put the information in their GIS and wanted to use it as a prototype of how to work in other places as well. There is another existing project similar to the Kilaå project, Svärtaån, where they also work with farmers.

That project is initiated by the Vattenmyndighet (Water District Authority) and has a bigger budget where farmers can apply for money to take actions to improve the water, while in Kilaån they can apply for something called LOVA-money. Municipalities and associations can apply for such funding but can only get 50% of the cost of the action. The Svärtaå project is also more focused on decreasing the amount of nutrients while we also focus on the biological life.

We haven't thought from the beginning about reaching the criteria for good water quality according to the WFD but when we have talked to Vattenförvaltningen we realized that what we do coincide with what they should reach as well.

We are very lucky because before we started our project the LRF had a study circle called "The water's way" (Vattnets väg) that I think many people participated in. I think many of the ones that showed an interest to participate in projects had been at this study circle. So there was an existing understanding of the problems among people. An example of this is when we were informing about the LOVA-money that you can apply for from the CAB and we were out to have four meetings about this. At one of these meetings we were at a branch of Kilaån higher up in the stream. This area belonged to another local LRF and the difference became apparent. For the first time I was faced with questions like: "Why are we supposed to do such things?" I had been working with Kilaån for a while and this was the first time I met such questions and I was not prepared. In Kiladalen I didn't have to tell them about the water cycle or something. I didn't have to explain the basics of that before talking about increased amounts of phosphorus for example. They had also heard Vattenförvaltningen talking about their plan for the area as well so they were quite aware. So this area was different and had probably not gone through this study circle. This was along a connecting stream to Kilaån that has a lot of arable land and we had noticed that the area contributed with a lot of nutrients to the stream. This meeting it didn't seem as that many people were interested. I know of only one person who was interested and who did something to decrease nutrient leakage from his land. We realized afterward that at that meeting we should have taken a few steps back and told them more about the very basics of the problem, which we were not prepared for since it has been so easy in Kiladalen, where they have a very good knowledge base themselves.

Another thing that I think is very interesting is when it comes to the two big wetlands. We paid for a laser scan of the whole valley, because it is so flat, and SMHI got the task to model thresholds. Their task was to see if we could restore these wetlands without raising water levels at times with high or even middle high amounts of water, but in the summer we want a water surface. This is also what

we explained to the land owners, that we don't want to increase the flooding that they have problems with during the spring. We put a lot of money in this investigation. The landowners had questions concerning a possible increase of grazing birds like geese which they perceive as a problem so we brought people from "Viltskadecenter" (Center for damages made by wild animals) to talk about that. We had a lot of meetings with landowners near each wetland area and also with them all together. We did economic calculations on the changes in EU support for different land types for all the landowners respectively. In one of the areas almost all would gain greater support with a restored wetland and in the other it was mainly one that would lose some support. This work carried on for one year. We had a meeting with all the members of Kilaåns regleringsföretag, thus all the people owning land by the stream, and presented our findings. I also presented the findings again on another meeting with the Kilaåns regleringsföretag because not all had attended the first meeting. They then talked without me and we then decided that they could give us questions before a certain date so we would have time to answer. They got the answers a week before the meeting where they would take a decision. There were many, about 15, that showed up at this meeting which is almost the same number as at their yearly meetings. We went through the questions together and finally got to the core question concerning that the juridical decision about the right and responsibility to clear the stream had to be reconsidered. They also wanted the CAB to be responsible in the case of miss happenings. I had checked that with our lawyers and this was not possible. But either way they did not want to reconsider their juridical decision so this was an end to the wetland project. There was one person feeling sorry for me for working so much with this and now having it to end in this way. Some of the landowners around the potential wetland areas that I have had many meeting with came to ask me if I was disappointed. But I was prepared for this and knew that this could happen and that it was a big chance it would end this way. Many of them actually wanted a water surface in these areas but they did not want to give up this juridical decision. There are now people in one of these areas, actually the area with people that would lose some support if the wetland was restored, that are looking at the option of digging as a way to restore. This is actually much more expensive and that is why we had chosen another method. We agreed to help them with some of the planning because it is positive that many want to have a water surface back. I do not perceive these events as critics but rather as a democratic decision. I will not hide that I put a lot of effort and energy in to this project and it is a pity that these wetlands

could not be restored because it would have had a positive effect on the biodiversity.

What is your view on participation in your projects?

It has become an increasingly important process for the authorities concerned with nature and environment. Here we always contact persons before we do an inventory, even if we have the right to just go out there and do one. The view on participation has changed from what it was before. Information and participation has largely become the main important thing. I do not work in protected areas but work with the protection of threatened species in unprotected areas, and I see no other possible way to work. We don't own the land and can not decide so we need permission from the landowners for everything we do. That's why we chose to get landowners involved early in the process and I do not regret this decision.

Are there any difficulties with participation?

I really don't see how you can do it in a different way. We can't decide over people. If we own the land that would be possible but if you don't then I can not understand how you can work differently. I can't see an alternative to participation. I think it is important with complete transparency and I have worked hard for this. I don't know if that can be confusing sometimes, but during this project I always sent out e-mails to update people of what was going on. It is important to be open. You can not have a hidden agenda. For example I need to be open with what task I gave SMHI to perform and show that so people know that there are no other intentions behind than the ones that have been discussed. I see no problems with participation, but I can say that it takes a lot of time. But I don't say that is a problem.

A member of the Kilaåns regleringsföretag told me that he had talked to people at the yearly meeting saying to them that there has to be both giving and taking. If the CAB can give up on things the farmers should also show a willingness to help with what they think is reasonable. Hearing this makes me see the development from people being very skeptic towards me in the beginning to having gained trust at least from people in Kilaåns regleringsföretag and Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening. This feels good, and I think it is because I am earnest, open and respect their views. Then off course it feels a bit problematic when logical explanations is not enough for some people but I guess there are people like that everywhere. This

does not mean that you should not have participation. That would probably make the situation even worse.

How do you think around different meetings?

I generally like small meetings better even though bigger meetings has to be done as well, especially when you want to inform about something. I have not taken the course “Dialog för naturvård” but I could see the work of the professional at the first big meeting. I have worked with these things before in other contexts. This person has also given me some tips over phone. The ways she uses, like sitting in a circle, documenting visible, stick to the time and especially ending in time is something we have used in our meetings. We have found it very important to have a finishing round where everyone can have a say. Another important think is a coffee break. We have always had that. I also think about that the ones, for example me, which are supposed to talk, is not the main thing of the meeting. There should be much time for discussions.

How do you perceive the view on participation to be in general at the CAB?

I would say that a change is coming. There are quite many young people here that have this way of thinking, but I would also say there are some older people that still have another view that shines through. Sometimes you notice that they tend to just want to decide themselves. But I would say we are now in a shift away from this. We also encourage people to take the course “Dialog för naturvård”. My executive has told her executive that it is a good course for the employees. I attended a meeting that the municipality had and it was quite ok but it reminded me of the old way to work and that we are not doing like that anymore. I think there are a lot more to learn about this within the CAB, we are not perfect, but I see a change going on. At our unit there are many that have taken the course and it has changed how we carry out our own meetings at the unit. I think this contributes to thinking about participation. Our executive has taken the course as well which also is good.

Natura 2000 is an example of what happens when you don't have participation. We still have big problems because people are still upset with how it was implemented. Some people do still not want to talk to us from our unit because of this. Here our executive has been a great help because he has knowledge about communication and dialogue and gives it time. He will soon retire.

Do you think the executive is of importance for your work with participation?

Yes. We are actually worried of what will happen when our executive will retire. No one, well I don't know if someone maybe wants it, but I would think that most of us do not want to go back to the old way of working or the old way we had meetings. I think it is of great importance because they have the right to decide. If you don't receive this understanding of dialogue it is hard. It is very important. And here the hierarchy really has a meaning because some people do not accept me as a representative for the CAB but want to talk to my executive. Then it is important that this person can do it in a good way. I would say much is thanks to these courses in "Dialog för naturvård".

How do you perceive the reactions from the participants in your projects?

I think it has been positive. I think they feel that it has been an increased focus on their opinions. I haven't heard any negative reactions.

2. Local citizen. Member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening.

Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.

April 27, 2011, 09:00.

Can you tell me about the work with Kilaån?

When the WFD came, the board of LRF started to look at the documents about Kilaån and found a lot of faults. The documents showed the wrong data about Kilaån. The document was supposed to be some kind of submission for comment so we wrote about 2 A4 pages and sent to the CAB. And then nothing more happened. After a year the finished document came out and it still contained the exact same errors. We talked to the CAB and got the answer that they do not have the time to read everything. That was the kind of communication we experienced. At the same time the municipality came with an injunction that demanded people to fix their waste water treatment, but they didn't tell how so people were very confused how to go about. So we decided to start Kilaåns Vattenvårdsförening that now has about 300 members. The first thing we did was to contact a person that knew about a way to compost waste in a big container and then use it as fertilizer on the fields. We also got to know about a vacuum toilet they used in Norrtälje that separated toilet waste from other water waste. We thought it sounded like a great idea. We had a seminar with people that had knowledge about toilet waste and had a discussion about waste water treatment and there we got in contact with a company that had a good solution based on these systems. We got to be their sales agency and to inform about their product. We applied for LOVA-money and EU-money to fund an information campaign to get people to realize that there are good solutions that do not have to be all that expensive. But then the municipality said that the waste water not coming from the toilet also had to be treated. That was troublesome because the gain of this solution got lost since you needed an additional solution for the rest of the water even if you separate 100% of both the nitrogen and the phosphorus in the new toilet waste treatment, with all other water going to the old treatment system. What is left in the other waste water is negligible, but the municipality does not accept that. The alternative is to install a mini waste water treatment plant that separates 50% of the nitrogen and 96% of the phosphorus, and that is seen as a better solution than ours. We have contacted the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) that has started an investigation that will be completed this year, and we have also attended a seminar in Uppsala about how dangerous waste water not coming from toilets is. Most facts indi-

cate that it is not dangerous at all. But then you have some authorities that stick so hard to the rules to avoid making errors. They don't give a damn about the errors in reality. And now it is very unfortunate because the division at SEPA that deals with private waste water treatment is moving to Göteborg. So the contacts that we had have now quit their jobs, so now we have to start all over. But we have “avloppsguiden” (waste water guide) and VRS from Uppsala with us. We have also written to the government, and “Avloppsguiden” will also write to them so we hope for a change. That is where we are right now.

We also have a project concerning “strukturkalkning” (structure liming). You can get 50% of the costs covered with LOVA-money if you do this. Last year we treated 700 ha and this year we are now at 600 ha here in Kiladalen. We take water samples, even if we might not see a change in that short amount of time. The CAB has helped us to do this. And we also have a sedimentation dam thanks to the CAB and SLU.

Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening is opened for everyone to join. We have been from 250-300 members last year and this year. We perceive that we have a better atmosphere out here now. Before it was more “we” and “they”, now it is more only “we who care for the water”. That the municipality causes problems is something you just have to take, but the further down in an organization the easier it is to get along with people. It is when you get to the top persons it gets hard, and also with politicians. But the executive for Water and Waste Unit of the municipality is no problem what so ever. We have now started a “samsynsprojekt” where we discuss the problems in Kilaån together with the CAB and the municipality. The municipality admits that they are letting untreated waste water out in the stream at their waste water treatment plants. This makes it hard to see that our contributions have an affect. They are now trying to solve these problems. They might build dams with lime filter that the water can pass through. This will be done outside of Jönåker. The treatment plants at Ålberga and Stavsjö are also to be rebuilt. Stavsjö was built in the 60's and is not working properly with the new pressure on the plant. Before it was said to be farmers and private waste water that was a problem for the stream, according to the municipality. Now it is “we” together, all actors, that work together to improve the water. As long as we keep it at this level in the municipality it works fine, but when you get higher up to the top persons they just read the rule book and it all goes bad.

Are they not listening?

They don't dare to listen. I perceive it as a sort of cowardice. An authority is supposed to give advice and guidance for example when it comes to private waste water treatment but here they have chosen not to do so. They say that they are not consultants and that they are not allowed to be. But it is written that they are supposed to give advice, and that demands some knowledge so you can give good advice that does not benefit one certain company. But here they have chosen the easy way to only say no to everything, and that is a pity because they have more knowledge than for example Mrs Andersson in a cottage somewhere.

Now the municipality is thinking about building a pipe line in the valley that is supposed to be connected to the municipal waste water treatment. We think that people along this potential pipe line should be able to wait for this decision to be taken before they rebuild their private wastewater treatment, but the municipality says no because it may take a long time to decide and build this pipe line. We think they have to give people possibilities, and also the more people that connect to such a line the better for the economy for the municipality. It costs to be connected. It is very expensive to build such a pipe line but when there are so many people the municipality has a responsibility to take care of it. Another alternative is a waste water plant that might be cheaper. The third solution is that all install vacuum toilets so only the non-toilet waste water goes out. But here it just stops.

Then I met two people from the CAB. They were working with the restoration of two wetlands. And suddenly there were two people who listened and discussed with us. People were amazed. This had never happened before. And they succeeded, at least in a project with "strukturkalkning". They got really good response. It worked so well! They both have this view of solving problems, not look for rules. That is a big difference. Among the younger generation there has started to emerge new thoughts but as soon as you get higher up in the hierarchy it just stops.

In the "samsynsprojekt" we discuss with the CAB and the municipality. We hope to be able to discuss with them about the pipe line to maybe be able to go around these top people in the hierarchy. The problem is that the authority is seen as a "plåtfasad" (metal facade) but it is not like that, it is actually one person putting sticks in the wheel. It is a pity because we could reach so much longer if we cooperated. It does not have to be "we" and "they"; it can actually be "all of us". And the problem with the top persons seems to be worse in Nyköping than in other municipalities. Flen and Katrineholm are not like that. They are more helpful. In Katrineholm they welcomed us with open arms to see their treatment plants and the same in Norrtälje. They even gave us coffee. And when you get to

Nyköping it is just “dunk” (like a falling and hit the ground sound). The theory is that Nyköping is a resident city and sees itself as a bit better and I know that the “näringslivsdirektör” (executive of business) is working in despair to change the mentality of these officials. An example is when you call them and you only get the answer that they are not in their office, and off course you know that because they are not answering, but what I want to know is when they come back. They have now started an education program to learn “the easy way”, or something like that. I don't remember. They are supposed to learn how to treat the municipality inhabitants as costumers. As a costumer you are supposed to have more rights than as a municipality inhabitant. The younger people get it but the older ones are so unjust. I always get surprised of how they can treat people badly. I mean we are the ones who pay their salaries.

What are you experiences of the WFD?

The first thing is that they have not listened to people, even though that was one of the conditions that it should be a common project. The second thing is that the books have been written in a language that no one understands. When we have sent comments to them they have not considered them. So we are not impressed by the WFD. But it has started a process here that can be good, since we founded Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening. Since a person on its own can not talk to the municipality without being run over we see it as our task to talk for them to get more equal. We have not taken any courses but with common sense you can get further than by just being unjust. The municipality had information meetings that ended up in chaos because people were angry when they did not get to know anything. Local: “What are we supposed to do with our waste water treatment?”, municipality: “We can't tell you. Make one and then we can control if it is good enough”. But it costs about 150 000 to do it. And there are companies that want to sell their products for waste water treatment that promise good things that they do not keep. A decision from the parliament also says that 60% of the waste should be put to fertilize arable land. If you send the waste in to town it will be contaminated with heavy metals and other things and then we don't want it on the fields. Then our solution is the better one. We has a suggestion that farmers could go around and collect the waste tanks and then put it on their fields, but the municipality wants it to produce biogas. The farmers are now looking at the possibility to build their own biogas plant and it is very smart because you can get energy from it but you keep the nitrogen and the phosphorus and can bring that back to the fields. The

municipality is now waiting to maybe send their waste to the farmer's biogas plant but the problem is that the municipality can not make a decision and farmers have trouble with all the transports it would include.

Do you know anything about what happens next with the WFD in Kiladalen?

There is a deadline for actions in 2015 and also 2020. The suggestion that is out now has become a fuzzy cloud instead of a strict rule book as I thought it would be. It is quite funny because the municipalities have now because of the WFD got an injunction because they let untreated waste water out in streams. This will cost them a lot. This has decreased their enthusiasm about the WFD. But the WFD has been good because it has brought the question about water on the agenda. EU has demanded that we can not leave water in a worse state than we have received for the next generation. I think this is a very important task. And methods are quite simple to clean the water and if you can get phosphorus back to the fields, why not try? Phosphorus is a finite resource as well and we are competing on the market with other countries. We may afford to buy it for a while but not developing countries. Food prices go up and people starve. It is a vicious circle that we have to get out of. The WFD is one pointing finger but there need to be more directives.

The SEPA has recommendations which the municipality changes so it suits their purposes, and then claim that it is the law. This is wrong because the municipality do not have the right to legislate. The SEPA has only given recommendations but with the system that we have now they are so easily misrepresented. We had a governor here that was told that "this is how it is" and he brought an expert in law with him who said that "no, it is not like that" so he burst that bubble. He can do that. We can't do that because we can't afford to hire such an expert. That is an example of the authorities' ambitions and the reality that is hard to come to terms with. But with an association like we have it is easier to burst bubbles than if you are on your own. When you represent 300 members you are taken more seriously. It's a pity that it is like that. But maybe that is the way it has to be if you are to change peoples behavior. Then you also have to give time to explain why people should change their behavior.

Nyköping is the municipality with the worst waste water treatment in the whole county. The CAB has the task to monitor the municipality but they have done nothing during these years to change this. We brought this up at a "samsyn" meeting when the executive of the environmental unit was attending and we asked why they are not doing this task. He just answered that he was not so informed about

how it looks in these plants. They are holding each others back. That I think is the biggest scandal, that they are not doing things correct. But you can't just tell the news paper that they are bad, you have to be smart to get them to do what you want but it takes time.

When it comes to adjustments to improve the waste water treatment the municipality can say that they don't have the finances to do it, but private persons can't do the same. An authority should take as much responsible as a private person. It would be very interesting to know how long it will take until a real common ground is found between authorities and private people, if it ever will. Maybe the younger generation can do this.

What are your hopes for the future when it comes to the work with the WFD?

I think it will be good. At least for Kilaån. We are really trying to find all the sources to pollution here.

Do you perceive there is a chance to participate?

Yes, if you start an association. It all depends on that. You have to be a number of people so you can provoke discussions and debates. With the WFD the CAB was informing about it and they talked about the local peoples rights to say what they wanted but during the whole meeting only they were talking and informing. We could ask questions but we could not raise opinions. We could not because we didn't know what they were talking about. I don't think they really respected people's opinions. Maybe they listened to the LRF since they are so big, but not to single persons.

How would you like authorities to work?

I would like them to take care of the local knowledge. That is something they don't care about now. There is so much expertise and knowledge among common people. Until now they have had the view that it is the authority who knows and have the knowledge and I hope that view will fade. But we are not there yet. Maybe when people in the CAB that listens and who we've met here in Kiladalen gets older, around 60, and get a deciding position it might be easier. But right now it is hard. I would say it's a matter of generations.

3. Representative of the CAB working with WFD.

Interview in the office of the CAB, Nyköping, Södermanland.

April 27, 2011, 12:30.

Can you tell me about your work with the WFD?

We are now producing “underlagsrapporter” (groundwork reports) where we are supposed to go more in to details in every drainage area to see what effects the area, what has been done and what is needed to be done to reach a good status. We hope that the municipalities can use this in their action plan. It will also be a foundation for the new action plan. Today’s action plan is very general and was decided upon in 2009. If we get a more detailed description the action plan can also become more detailed.

In 2009 the action plan, “förvaltningsplan” (management plan) and environmental quality norms were submitted for comments. All waters have gotten an environmental quality norm according to the status of the water and it should reach a good status at the latest in 2021. Before that we did a classification of the waters concerning both chemical and biological parameters. This was done in 2008. We have no strict rules of how to work but we rather try our way forward all the time. The five water authorities should agree but we have to take in to account that the conditions are different at different places, for example in the north and in the south. We have about 100 lakes but in the north they have thousand, so we can't work in the same way. When we made our action plan we had a sheet and filled in quite detailed information but the document that the water authority produced was more general and aimed at authorities. A good thing is that the five water authorities has agreed on what they want and then ordered this information from the different counties. So the template looks the same for all Sweden. It seems like they have decided to work more in this way now, that they make an order of what they want, so it's more clear.

When did you start to work with the WFD?

It was implemented I think 2000 but the concrete work started in 2007-2008. Then the status classification of the waters started, which is sort of the base for “Vattenförvaltningen”. This was the base for producing environmental quality norms for all the waters. We have done a lot if inventories and are now updating the status classifications so we have the newest picture of how it is. 2014 we will do a new

status classification again, because 2015 a new action plan will be produced. It will be interesting to see how the EU will react, because the waters are not allowed to get worse. In the beginning we took all the information we could find about the waters but new inventories have been made according to the methods that should be used for the classification. The tendency has been that more inventories contribute to the waters looking worse. So I think that some waters will have a worse status than now. And it has been realized now that for example samples of bottom fauna may not represent the status in the whole lake in a proper way. Plant plankton seems to be more representative so this is a parameter that we have used a lot. There are no grounds for judgment when it comes to nitrogen. Scientists do not agree on what is high or low amount of nitrogen and what is good and what is bad. Phosphorus is easier.

How do you know what is good?

The grounds for judgment are often based on calculations. We have consultants do this for us so we are not doing such calculations. But the grounds for judgment have been questioned. They were produced very quickly and base for producing these was not that big. There is a project going on called "Waters" that will go through the grounds for judgment again, the biological ones. But this will take about five years. The grounds for judgment are different in different areas of Europe because of the different conditions. They also differ in the north and the south of Sweden. They use different reference values for deciding what is good and what is bad.

How have you been working with participation within the WFD?

When we started to produce the status classifications in 2008 we had many information meetings. It was very intense and many meeting were in the evenings. We invited the public but also the LRF, SNCA (Swedish Nature Conservation Association) and the municipalities. We did the classification before we had these meetings and we had meetings to talk about it. It was a consultation meeting where the Water Authority received comments. We informed in different areas and focused on that area in our information. We showed what status classifications we had made. We also had meetings in connection to the action plan, "förvaltningsplan", environmental quality norms and Environmental Impact Assessment. It was big meetings were we do the talking.

Me and a colleague took a course named “Dialog för naturvård”, a fantastic course. But this was in the end of these meetings. We should have taken the course before. We have had some meetings using the method we learned when having more of a dialogue. It easily happens that you have those meetings were it's more like in a movie with one performer and not everybody feel comfortable asking questions, especially among the public. I would have tried to do it differently if I had been at this course before the meetings. I think we talk too much sometimes and that it gets a bit complicated. We try to improve and think about this. It would be good to have discussions in small groups and make it more in to a dialogue.

We that are working more administrative with the WFD are not in the field to take measures to improve the water. It would be nice and good to work with this as well when you have been working to produce these documents, but we encourage people to do things when we are out informing. We have no money to give for it but there are several sources to apply for funding. There are projects going on in Kilaån and Svärtaån where people are doing things on voluntary basis. All these actions are beneficial to “Vattenförvaltningen” even if there are other groups in the CAB who work with this, so it is hard to draw the line. It is all connected but we mainly work with the documents and with information.

Do you think there is a development when it comes to participation within the WFD?

I think that people are more aware now about water resources. The LRF and farmers have been quite upset too, off course, because they are being pointed out when you talk about nutrients leaking from arable land. I think the awareness has increased among farmers and the public, but also municipalities. They have to start working more with water now than they maybe have done before. The WFD is here and we have to follow it. The environmental quality norms are also hard to work with because when a business wants to expand it is hard to know the effects to these norms. It is so hard to know. Will the pollution affect the water so the norm can't be reached? There are so many things that have an effect on the water.

Are you discussing participation within the CAB?

In our group I think we do and we think it is important. During the submission for comments period there was a lot of discussions concerning the forming of water councils and working groups but we can feel now afterwards that we have not had

an organization to deal with working groups, so we don't know how to do it. But there are many enthusiastic people out there in the county so around certain lakes there is an engagement for improvement. We need to be willing to help if they want us to answer questions and talk to them. We talk about it here but the work with groups hasn't been as good as it could be. There is a water council, Nyköpingåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund, with one person hired to work with this. He is in contact with several working groups that take samples and engage in their lake. That is good. We have met these groups sometimes. We think we should work more with information and collaboration and be in the field to promote actions to improve the water status. Now we are very few in the staff so we have not much time to do this.

What is the view on participation in the WDA?

The executive in our WDA, I think he sees it as a task for the CAB's to collaborate with the public. But they think it is important. It is written in the documents. But the focus may not have been on this but it was more important in 2008-2009 when we were out a lot. Collaboration should occur between authorities and municipalities and also in local and regional supervision and trials. Information should be provided to landowners and other interested and affected people.

Do you see difficulties with participation?

We want to do much but it is up to the persons. We want them to do things to improve the water in their area but we can not provide funding. Collaboration is very important to get people to take action. We can not do it ourselves. If we could provide landowners with EU-funding maybe more things could be done. I understand that they want compensation. They have a business and need to earn money. But also the municipalities and the CAB can have more projects for improving the water, like in Kilaån and Svärtaån. I think we could apply for funding from many places to do things as well but here it doesn't seem to be prioritized. I think the CAB could do more, both measures to improve the water and better collaboration. I think that if we can show that we are doing what we can maybe we get more in return. Participation is good; it is just bad that we don't know how to take care of it.

What would you do if you had resources?

I would like a person here that is exclusively responsible for communication and collaboration. I would like to have a plan and an aim with collaboration. This part is not big enough. Especially when it comes to the municipalities. There we have a lot to do. But that is hard as well because they also have a lot to do.

What is the role of the Water council?

I see it as an engine to promote actions to improve the water quality through collaboration and working groups.

How has the situation been in Kiladalen?

Many have been upset and questioned the grounds for judgment. But then Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening was formed and now it is more a cooperation with the CAB through the unit working with nature conservation. Now it seems like they are thinking more in the same direction. That is positive. So it is ok that people are angry in the beginning. It's a process.

4. Local citizen.

Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.

April 27, 2011, 15:00.

Can you tell me about the work in Kilaån?

I help the CAB with water samplings in the stream.

Are you a member of the Kiladalen Vattenvårdsförening?

No. I got some information when they started. Something about waste water treatment.

Do you know about the WFD?

I've heard about it but I can't say I know what it means. I am not very familiar with it. I would like to have more information. I know my task with the water sampling but not so much around it. On the other side I haven't tried to find out more myself but I just recently have started to feel that I'd like to know more. That would be fun. I would like to know what my samples contribute to.

Have you participated in any meetings?

No. I have got some e-mails but I haven't been to any.

Have you been to meetings with the CAB?

Yes, concerning the restoration of wetlands. I was skeptic because it was such a big project and often big project end up being not so big. But it was ambitious and serious and the person working with it is very good and accurate and wants things to be done properly. So the information meeting was very good.

Do you feel you have been listened to?

Yes I think so. They have not been as strict as I think authorities can be. I am surprised that it has gone so well. Authorities are normally very strict. This has been more of a dialogue. Since the land is not owned by the state I think you have to

have a dialogue with the landowners and private people because they own the land. If you don't have a dialogue it won't be good. And you have to be able to raise your opinion or say no. With a dialogue you can engage more people and make something positive. If you engage people in their environment all can benefit from it. This is the best cooperation I've ever had with an authority.

Are you familiar with the Water council?

No.

Do you feel that you would be listened to if you had an opinion concerning water issues?

I'm not so sure. I think it is like that in many contexts when you are quite young. If you want to say something you have to know what you are talking about, since it is mostly old men and they might not listen to a younger girl. This is in general. You have to be well prepared. Now I am mostly listening but if I really would want to raise my opinion I would have to be well prepared. Off course you can ask "stupid" questions. And I have noticed that when you do there are often more people having the same question but they don't dare to ask.

5. Representative from Nyköpingåarnas water council.

May 4, 2011, 08:00.

Can you tell me about the Water council?

I was hired in the spring 2008 but the board (Nyköpingåarnas vattenvårdsförbund) had already decided to form a Water council in autumn 2007. "Förbundet" works with water sampling and regulation. The Water council is an own branch of the "förbund". It has the same board but have a separate chair man that attends the Water council meetings. The Water council is big and includes Kilaån, Svårtaån and Nyköpingsåns drainage area. The meetings are open for the public and we have invitations in the news papers. We've had about ten of these meetings so far, in different places in the area. The first meetings were much about the WFD and the action plans and we gathered opinions about it. The Water council is open and democratic and anyone can come. It is not as formalized with a board in that way. One is to enable for local groups to emerge that will work with water issues. There are meetings in the evenings when people are free from work. You want as many as possible to be able to join so you get people representing different interests, not only farmers or people interested in fishing for example.

What is the role of the Water council?

To coordinate the meetings and help local groups with contacts and information and to apply for funding, but the thought is that they will do the work. It would not work if we did that in all the places. You would also lose the engagement. We have helped with water sampling.

How many working groups are there?

Now there are about 12 more or less active. They were created after these Water council meetings. Interested people have reported their interest and we have met to talk about what one can do in their local area.

What is the purpose of the WFD?

It focuses on actions to improve the water quality.

What role do the local groups have?

To find local solutions. Many groups have gone through the study circle “Vattnets väg” created by “Vuxenskolan” and LRF. That is good and presents the background for the WFD. We have told them about this study circle and it is voluntary to participate. Anyone can participate in the study circle and in working groups.

We have a project in Kiladalen. Two years ago Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening was founded and they now have about 300 members. They got members very fast. When we had our first water council meeting where they attended they were already in this study circle. They had already started. I attended some meetings there and talked to them. In this area the municipality had come with an injunction for people to fix their waste water treatment. They started to look at different solutions. They wanted to find sustainable solutions that would work for a long time and where nutrients could be recycled back to the soils. I arranged for some study visits to look at different solutions. They liked the solution to have vacuum toilets where the toilet waste is accumulated in tanks. The problem is what to do with waste water from the rest of the household, from washing and showering etc. We don't believe in the small water treatment plants. It has shown not to work very well and they are not easy to handle. If you build a tank for toilet water it costs about 50 000 to 60 000 SKR, and if you also have to clean the other household waste water, that the municipality wants, it costs an additional 40 000 – 50 000 SKR. That is the same price as a mini waste water treatment plant. If you chose after price which many people do they chose the mini waste water treatment plant instead of the vacuum toilet that is much better. We are now having discussions with the CAB about the household waste water (not toilet) if it really needs that much treatment since 90-95 % of the nitrogen and phosphorus is in the toilet water. They talk about the risk with bacteria's but most of that is in toilet water. But today there are many waste water treatments that does not work and a lot of bacteria's is going out from those. Also waste water treatment plants owned by the municipality let out bacteria's, especially when they let out untreated water because of high water pressure e.g. when it is raining. We are taking samples now to see what the household waste water contains to continue the discussion with good arguments.

The groups that are successful are the ones with one or two people that are really engaging in the projects. These people are needed to get a group to get somewhere. Unfortunately there are mostly men in these groups, often 65+ years. It's a pity but I don't think people in working age have time.

I think it is important that people can see how it looks in their lake. I help them to take samples and often someone comes with me. Pedagogically this is good because it creates an understanding that something needs to be done. They might not understand what the numbers mean so I have to explain that. There are grounds for judgment so it is not that hard.

At some places we have not succeed in getting a group to form. I think it depends on the lack of these really engaged people that can take charge of taking actions. It is important to realize the problem. Not everyone understands that eutrophication is a problem. If you don't understand that it is hard to understand why to take any measures. But we don't give up in these places.

In the meetings I try to create a dialogue, but unfortunately often I am the one talking the most. The fewer people the more of a dialogue it is. I usually tell them about "Vattenvårdsförbundet" and the WFD to give a background. To have a coffee break is very good because then people talk a lot. You have taken courses now for one year, maybe you've got ideas? I have tried to work with dividing the people in small groups and that is good. I will work more with that. You get more out of that than when I am just talking. Last year I worked with a girl with this but unfortunately her job post was taken away. She had great visions. But in the same time she had ideas of what she wanted to be done and then it makes it more a perspective from above, not from below. I rather tell them about what others has done as good examples but they are free to decide what they want to do.

There are projects going on in several places. In one lake they are helping out to remove white fish that is too high in abundance. In another they want to build a small "Naturrum", create resting places for canoeists and there is also a suggestion to put more information about the nature on the nautical chart.

What reactions do you get when you present the WFD?

The biggest reaction we got is that the documents are very difficult to understand with very bureaucratic language. If they want people to comment they have to write in a way that they understand what they are to comment upon. That is the biggest critique. There was also critique against the classification of the water status. At many places they had very little background information but gave the water a status anyway. Now we are taking water samples, more than before, and the "Vattenvårdsförbund" is involved in that.

What is your opinion about participation?

It has to be that way. The WFD says that it should have a perspective from below. The people should be engaged and also be part of the management to improve the waters. It is very important.

But it takes an effort. You need people hired to do this. Or if municipalities realize it as well. They have difficulties with getting stuck in bureaucracy and not taking the advisory role. They would need inspectors that only have an advisory role trying to promote people to take actions on a voluntary basis. Municipalities don't work that way. They send out injunctions instead of gathering people to talk about it and explain the problems. I think you would reach 70-80 % if you work in this way instead and it would be faster. Injunctions take time and people can appeal. All communication is on paper.

The perspective from below, does it work?

Not everywhere, but where the local engagement and insights appear it works.

Hopefully we will try to get bigger and work more to help municipalities as well.

Some "förbund" has become water councils, but I think you'll lose a bit the perspective from below if you just transform a "förbund" to a Water council and keep the board. It will be the same people who work with the issue.

I think this is a work that takes time and has to be given time.

6. Local citizen. Member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening.
Interview in a café in Nyköping.
May 4, 2011, 12:30.

How did the work start with the WFD?

There is an interest association that has existed for ten years. We have been working with several local projects with EU support. About 3 or 4 years ago we heard about the WFD and some participated in a study circle about “vattnets väg”. Water and waste water issues also became a topic because the municipality started an inventory on private waste water treatment as a way to deal with the problems in Kilaån. They found many that were not working satisfactory so they sent out injunctions. Many people got worried, especially elderly people. They were worried if they could manage this or if they would have to sell their house. This issue was so different from our other projects that we decided to form a new organization; “Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening”. Anyone can become a member. We have about 300 members. That's about 50 % of all people that were affected by the injunctions, but also others. Since we started to deal with water issues and the water quality in Kilaån it was natural to make a connection to the WFD and the work that the Water District Authority had done with mapping the status of waters. Kilaån is one of the streams contributing the most to eutrophication in the Baltic Sea in the North Baltic Sea District.

We got funding from LOVA and LEADER to start the project of informing, help with authority contacts, help with financing, mapping needs and taking water samples. We have been in contact with the municipality discussing private waste water treatment. In stead of polluting the sludge when transporting it and mixing it with sludge from the city we think it is better to put it back on the fields or make biogas. We have also started a dialogue with Nyköping Vatten that is in charge of water and waste issues. We together with the CAB and Nyköping Vatten have started a “samsynsprojekt” to create a common picture of the situation. It all started with the WFD saying no water should get worse in quality but rather better. This can take time. Many say that it is good that you work with private waste water but what about the arable lands? They also contribute to eutrophication. So we carried out a “strukturkalkningsprojekt” that was successful.

During our project we have tried to be responsive to the WFD. We try to apply the things in the documents that have to do with our work. We are a bit critical towards how authorities are acting. Why isn't the CAB reconsidering the permis-

sions of the water treatment plants that do not fulfill the demands? But they say it's a matter of priorities. There are many other things to do. It is easy to demand private people to change their waste water treatment and not caring what it costs. But when you ask the municipality why they are not rebuilding a waste water plant that does not work properly they can say that they don't have the money and they do nothing. We think the Water District Authority should act against this.

How do you think they have worked with participation?

So and so. In the beginning they had some information meetings. There is a list of who should be doing what. What should the CAB do and what should the municipalities do and so on, but they do not communicate this and show that it works. There is a girl here at the CAB that has the responsibility to report to the Water District Authority in Västerås, but I have the feeling there is not much power behind that either. There is supposed to be a document about what has been done in each municipality that the CAB was to report the 28th February, but I haven't found it. Some municipalities have obviously not done it. I saw that on the web page of the Water District Authority that only 200 municipalities had done it. I suspect that Nyköpings municipality has not done it.

Why do you think they haven't?

Maybe because there are so many flaws.

Do the authorities listen to peoples opinions?

Now they are not doing much. They did have consultation meetings but after that nothing has happened. They could be more perceptive.

What is the role of the Water council?

Nyköpingsåarna is part of Nyköpingsåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund. That is a more or less voluntary commitment, but in the Vattenvårdsförbund the municipalities are members. The organization is so big and powerful that they can afford to have a hired coordinator. He has helped us when we needed. Kilaån has not been a member in the Vattenvårdsförbund but we have now applied to become one.

What do you know about the Water council?

I think you can form one if you would like, it is a voluntary commitment. I don't know if it is beside the Vattenvårdsförbund. I think land owners are a part of it as well. I don't know if it is only connected to Flen's municipality. But I have not been in contact with them. But maybe it will be more clear when we become members.

What are your hopes for the development of participation within the WFD?

I don't really know but I would like us to get a better structure of how things should be done. How do we improve the water status concretely so we can see a result? I have difficulties to see how it will happen. As I understand the Water District Authorities has decided about the status and the goals for improvement but it is the CAB and the municipalities that should contribute to this being reached. The Water District Authorities are not in the field meeting people as I understand. I don't know much about their work.

The CAB with has been involved in Kilaån and we got in contact with a person that has been very good to talk too. Many people in authorities in the CAB or municipality are not keen on listening to what people thinks but rather take the role of an authority and tell people what to do. But she is good to work with. There was also another man who was not damaged by the bureaucracy but could take things easily. There are so many that are bound to their system of rules so they can't answer any questions without checking what the rules say. She is different. She knows, listens and helps. This cooperation has been developed and this led to her being a project leader in Kilaån and she works as a coordinator between us, the municipality and the CAB. I think this can give results.

I would like to see this way of working within the WFD. Well, person working with the Water council is one of those people who work in a good way too, but I don't see him as connected to the Water District Authority in some way. It would be good if we could get some contact connected to the Water District Authority. Hopefully it comes. Otherwise we will take our own initiative.

We had a meeting with members in Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening where we invited a lawyer that could inform us about rights and responsibilities and 40 of the 300 members came. That is good.

It is a strength for us when we go to the authorities and have 300 members to speak for. It is also good that I have been working politically so I know were to go and who to ask. That has been important knowledge. If you have never been in the

city hall before the risk is that you'll end up in the reception and get no further because you don't even know who to talk to.

How does it work with the perspective from below?

That depends on what actions we take. If we do not engage like we have done we would not have known anything. It happens when people have time and energy to engage. But it doesn't feel like the Water District Authority is asking for this. They say how it should be and authorities should make sure it happens. Then they have not considered the below perspective.

Have there been conflicts in Kiladalen related to WFD?

No because the conflict issues has not been dealt with. The municipalities do not help in the work to improve the water quality, only local people do. Even workers say the waste water treatment plants do not work properly. It has great effects on the water, much more than the private waste water.

There is a tradition in Nyköping. That is that we have very strong "tjänstemän" (civil workers) that decide more than people think. It was in the newspaper that Nyköping municipality was ranked as nr 212 when it came to "tjänstemännens" attitudes toward business. We have experienced this, especially with the municipality. They decide and use the system of regulations to do it. It is not modern to communicate for them. With the CAB it is more an issue of being passive.

7. Local citizen. Farmer. Member of Kilaåns Regleringsföretag. Member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening.

Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.

May 4, 2011, 15:00.

Can you tell me about the work with Kilaån?

Kilaån became Natura 2000 to protect "tjockskalig målarmussla". The CAB contacted us to have a dialogue about measures to improve the environment for the mussels. We have decided to try to meet in this project. Maybe the CAB can not do all they want but we will help where we can. We have a juridical decision on our rights to manage the stream so this is sort of our weapon, but if we only say no they might just stop talking to us and take away the juridical decision, so we have tried to have a dialogue with the CAB. They have recommended which finance we can apply for so we have done some "strukturkalkningar" and "kalkfilterdiken" (lime filter ditches) funded by LOVA-money. It is just stupid if we do not use this opportunity to get money for doing these things and help to improve the environment. The cooperation has been good. We see no use in not helping where we can do things that do not affect us negatively, and off course it is also in our interest to have good water in the stream. And if we do not meet them in this work they might just decide not to consider our opinions at all in the future.

Do you know about the WFD?

Yes but I can't say that I know all about it. I know about the classifications. I think it is a bit strange that you can classify waters as bad just because one parameter is not good even if all the others are good. Why not tell also what is good? That would feel better for us living here. It would give a less dark picture of our area.

How have you been in contact with the WFD?

There was an expert out here from the CAB that had a study circle about the WFD, "Vattnets väg".

Have you participated in some other way?

I guess LOVA came because of the WFD. We used these to our projects. You have to be an association to be able to apply for this money so we started an association within the board of "Kilaåns Regleringsföretag". So we did not apply with Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund.

Have the CAB been listening to people?

Yes, and they really wanted us to apply for finance. There was one man and he also knew that it was good for our farming. Without them it would not have happened.

What do you think about the way the nature conservation unit within the CAB has been working here in Kiladalen?

It is good. They have a person that takes time to come and time to send e-mails to inform about things.

Is her way of working different?

Yes, she listens and does not decide. We can affect the situation and she told us that she would not take a way the juridical decision if we will not agree. She will not pursue such an action. In that case it would be someone above her. We have this cooperation with the CAB and they have planted trees at some places along the stream and also put "lekgrus" in the stream. We have been able to have a say in these activities. The landowner needs to agree but she also asked Kilaåns regleringsföretag. But there are always a few people that complain.

Do you know about the Water council?

I know they exist and LRF's municipal group has worked a bit with them. I don't know what they do.

Are you a member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening?

Yes. We discussed the bad waste water treatment that the municipality have while they are putting pressure on private people to fix their waste water treatment. The municipality let out untreated waste water in to the stream. They denied that fact at

first but now they have admitted that it happens. We think they have to do their part as well and not only pressure private people. This is upsetting. And the CAB seems to do nothing. Authorities are holding each others backs.

We had a meeting with the Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening where some politicians, someone from the CAB and also a juridical expert attended where we could pose a lot of questions. There were also companies that deal with private waste water treatment invited to inform about different techniques. It was a big meeting so it was like it always is that 99 % of the people are not saying anything.

I know that the board of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening has been in contact with the municipality.

Do you know the implications of the WFD?

That the water quality should be good. Right? But they have criteria for that and I don't feel that I could effect the classification. They probably take water samples.

Has there been anyone from the CAB talking about the WFD in the area?

Yes there was some kind of expert that was informing about the WFD. It was the study circle "Vattnets väg". It was good.

How would you like it to be, the work with the water quality in Kilaån?

I like how the person within the unit of nature conservation of the CAB works. And you have to understand that she has her job to do as well. But without her we would not have applied for founding to take measures to improve the water quality.

As a farmer we have had to do with the CAB earlier in relation to EU financing support. It feels like you know them because you have met them so many times, even if you don't. Anyway you can get a bit irritated when they do their controls. Animals for example need to have a tag in their ear and if they don't they shoot them. It happened at one place before where there was a man who didn't want to tag his animals. The police shot them. And then you look at Italy and Greece where animals run around without tags everywhere, even if it is an EU decision. In this country we are supposed to be so disciplined with everything all the time. It is a bit troublesome sometimes.

8. Local citizen. Farmer. Member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening.
Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.
May 4, 2011, 17:30.

Can you tell me about the work with Kilaån?

It started with a study circle "Vattnets väg" because of the WFD. We did it a few times. This evoked questions that made us form Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening. The big question was the pollution to Kilaån and also the unfair treatment from the authorities. The municipalities do not have to fix their waste water treatment plant while private people are forced to. It is unfair that the municipality can have the argument that they can not afford it but private people can't. We have about 300 members in the association. It is fascinating, but as usual there are not as many engaged in the board. It is good that some people are.

Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening got LOVA-money to inform about private waste water treatment and promote a solution with vacuum toilets and then bring the sludge back to the fields. But the municipality have monopoly to take care of the sludge, so they wanted it for their biogas production. We wanted to take care of it ourself to recycle nutrients in a good way. Today the sludge gets polluted when it is mixed with sludge from the city. Then you can't use it on the fields. They destroy the nice sludge product.

If we would act like the municipality and let that much untreated waste water in to the stream we would be sanctioned without a trial. They just withdraw money from the EU finance support. But the municipality can do it without any implications. When you ask the people doing inspections about this they just say it is not on their table.

In the beginning the municipality didn't even know how much untreated waste water they let out. The Water District Authority had made a compilation of how much untreated water is let out and where and for Nyköping the number was zero, just because they did not know, they had no control of it. Nyköping was the only one with the number zero. That makes the trustworthiness of the authorities zero as well. They are not obeying the same rules as the people. There has been much resistance from the CAB and the municipality to deal with this issue. The CAB just says that there is an environmental permission for the waste water treatment plants. It is not fair. Authorities should state a good example, but they haven't. The CAB can change this permission. At some small municipal waste water plants the municipality inspect them themselves. But now they have some kind of control of

how much untreated waste water they let out. At least that has happened but nothing else.

The municipality thinks the solution with small waste water plants are a good solution, but it demands a lot of work and if it is not handled correctly it doesn't work. They have now changed their mind a little about the vacuum toilet but they still think that waste water not coming from toilets are an issue. We think it can go through the old waste water treatment but they say another treatment is needed for that to, like sedimentation dams and lime filters or a mini waste water plant. They think there is a risk for diseases to spread. When we ask if it has been such cases reported they say no, but they still say it is important. But they let completely untreated waste water in to the streams. It comes from toilets and has a lot of bacteria's.

The environmental code says you should use the best technique available and it gives room for one authority person to interpret as he wishes. They can say that it is ok like they do in other municipalities, but here they don't. They have another view. And you can't discuss with them either. I don't know why it is like that. They probably think they are doing good things for the environment, the persons that are controlling private waste water treatment. But it is also about knowledge; they do not know how it is in nature for real. Each property looks different. They have such general rules.

There is another project as well with the mussels. They were looking at ways to restore wetlands but it is complicated. There is a juridical decision of the stream that put an end to that. Another project is with a sedimentation dam that SLU is doing research about. Otherwise there is a lot of opinions but no facts of the effects.

A person working in the nature conservation unit within the CAB has been on our side and tried as well as she could to help us. But I think she can have difficulties to get her ideas through to other units of the CAB. I like her. She tries to do things. It is a big difference from other units, the environmental monitoring section for example. You can talk to her. She is in the field looking and you can discuss with her. The others are too much of an authority who wants to tell you what to do. She has to fight with them. They don't know much at all and are never in the field to look at reality. If everyone would be like her it would be easier, when you can have a dialogue to find solutions. But it might be hard for those people to keep up the effort when others work in the old way.

The municipality gave me rules that I should follow but they didn't give me the right to comment, so the CAB said the municipality had done wrong and had to do it all over. Then another person did it and did the same fault. When I tried to comment on this I could not reach the person in charge. Not everyone has the energy to appeal. My trust in authorities is zero. If I would follow all their rules the negative environmental impact would be much higher than if I do it my way. It's a pity. They think that they know things but it end up being so wrong.

We have done some "strukturkalkning" and also gotten LOVA-money to do it again. That is good to keep phosphorus in the soil.

What are your experiences of the WFD?

Water councils are a part of the WFD. The Water District Authorities has done some mappings that we have commented upon. The CAB has done the work to gather facts but they haven't had enough resources to do it so they have just written something even though they have not enough knowledge of the local areas. For example they have put the wrong numbers of energy plants in the stream. That makes you wonder how many other things that are wrong that you have no knowledge about. How do they come up with all these numbers about phosphorus for example? They have made an assumption and classified our area as a 3 on phosphorus, but we do not recognise this. Then they use this number to count how much phosphorus that is leaking out to the stream and it will be wrong. To take measures to decrease this on the wrong basis gets very expensive, for the society and for persons. The WFD says that the polluter should pay but how do they decide about that? They have recalculated some things after comments, but not all. They didn't take our comments in to consideration in the end. The text the CAB sent to the Water District Authorities was the same. The documents are so big and they are really hard to understand completely for people. WFD also say that the CAB and the municipality are the ones that should take measures, not private persons. But what do the municipality do? They write rules and send injunctions. They do not take measures. Nothing concrete happens with the WFD. 2021 we should have a good water quality. But it is hard when you can not join from the beginning to discuss the classifications. Since the submission for comments not much have happened.

What do you know about the water council?

We are in Nyköpingsåarnas Vattenvårdsförbund that has now also become Nyköpingsåarnas water council. We thought of starting an own water council in Kilaån but the CAB said that it was not a good idea since there already was one. I think they would consider it to be a problem to handle a water council. In Nyköpingsåarnas water council we have open meetings for the public and the chairman of the board is independent. Every one can contribute with their opinions on these meetings and they should be compiled and sent to the Water District Authority. There will be more of these meetings, but it is hard to engage people to come. It is only when the authorities do something that people react upon. The engaged people are the ones living in the area, but not often the municipalities. They are not very engaged in the WFD. But some have their own water councils with their own board. It is not written what a water council should do, so if we create one, what can they do that the board of the Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening can not do today? So we like the way to work with Nyköpingsåarnas water council. We have one person hired to work trying to get local groups to form. That's when things happen, not when authorities come and say "do that and that". Then you don't want to do anything. They need to work more like the Cab person working with nature conservation and go out and talk to people, not only with injunctions and such. When local people get engaged, that's when things happen. We have done more than the municipality have done in 50 years. But now I think they have started to rebuild a water treatment plant, and we can maybe have a say when they apply for a new permission.

What are your experiences of participation within the WFD?

There has not been any more information or tasks from the Water District Authorities of what to do. The documents say that the CAB and the municipalities should make action plans. I'm not sure about what the water council can do or decide. It has no legal rights to decide, only to do things voluntarily.

Do the water council work with the CAB or municipalities?

They are represented in the water council so they can influence there. They have gotten finance to do things in Svärtaån and Kilaån, but water councils have nothing to say about that. They can not make rules or injunctions.

What is the role of water council?

It is not clear. I don't know what it can do apart from what a board can do. Our board in the water council works fine. That is how you should work, to try to engage local people to take action and find out what could be done. That's how you reach success.

But the documents are so heavy. The SEPA documents about how to create Water District Authorities was easier to understand. It is hard to comment on documents like these. It takes a lot of time. It is so much text and it repeats the same thing many times. But they got a lot of critique for it.

If you ask how they have come up with the numbers or results they say it is too hard to explain. When you ask them to try they can't. You can't work with improving the water if you don't know how you get the numbers. Who takes responsibility if things go wrong? And what happens if the methods for calculations change? So classifications turn out no good. 2015 we should have good status in Kilaån, but it changed to 2021. Will they count wrong the next time too?

We are supposed to be the best in Europe, but our reference point is some clear unaffected lake somewhere. That's wrong from the beginning. If we are to live here we affect the water in some way, also nature itself do this. We would have to quit our agriculture three times not to affect anything. Should we have food or not? Should we buy food from Brazil where they burn their rainforests? Intensive agriculture is good to avoid much leaking of nutrients from arable land. The soils are different as well so you have to think about how you use it. Our soils we have thanks to the ice age with sedimentations of phosphorus. At that time there were high amount of phosphorus in the water as well. Scientists do not agree about the nitrogen either. Some say we should add nitrogen to the Baltic Sea to get a good nitrogen phosphorus quote. What do we do when we don't know how it works in nature?

I am more afraid of medicine rests and chemicals in nature than nitrogen and phosphorus. There was a program on TV about this: "Underkastelsen". They are on to something. The chemical inspection test things so there are quite good tests about pesticides, but not medicines. The focus on this get lost when they are only focusing on nitrogen and phosphorus, and only some other chemicals, but not medicines.

9. Local citizen. Member of Kilaåns Regleringsföretag.
Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.
May 5, 2011, 10:00.

Can you tell me about the work here in Kilaån?

We have had discussions with the CAB about what can be done to make wetlands bigger with water mirrors. My land would be affected by this. We were not negative towards doing this action to create wetlands but there is a juridical decision that we have no interest in refinancing in the case it was taken away. In that case someone else would have to pay for it. In order to create this wet land this juridical decision would have to be taken away. To create a new juridical decision would cost and land owners are not interested in financing this, they would rather want to keep it. To have water that stand still would help to clean the stream from nutrients.

Another suggestion is to make dams in the side of the stream. This does not affect the stream but it would give a nicer landscape and also it would give a better cleaning of the stream. But we would have to apply for money as landowners and do this ourselves. But we can't finance this until the financial support is bigger. This is being discussed. We don't want to do it unless we get compensation because it takes away pasture land and the dams also need care, that costs.

How has the contact with the CAB been?

It has been great! The person working with this has been very smooth and engaged. I think it has been good. We have got good information and she has listened to our opinions.

Does she work differently than other authority persons?

It is a big difference. The CAB is in general better than the municipality. The municipality and especially the environmental civil servants are very rigid, troublesome, don't listen to arguments and you can only have contact with them by mail. They are not fun to have to deal with.

What are your experiences about the WFD?

I know to little about that. There has been discussions about the WFD in the meetings, the yearly meeting of the Regleringsföretag, but I am not informed enough to say anything about it.

How has the reactions been on the WFD?

Reactions do not come until you are affected yourself. That is when you start to think about what it will cost. One part of it is now that the municipality has head hunted people with unsatisfying waste water treatment. They have been very tough and not smooth at all.

Has it been hard to understand the WFD?

Honestly I haven't tried.

Do you know about the water council?

Yes but I don't know what they do.

Can you tell me about Regleringsföretaget?

It was founded 1920 to create more arable land. All that have land next to the stream are members. Our aim is to see to that the juridical decision is followed which means to be responsible for clearing the stream if needed.

Do you feel that you are being listened to?

Yes, we have had a very good dialogue about the dams. It's more the waste water treatment thing that is bothersome. I respect that we all should try to decrease the pollution that end up in the Baltic Sea but I don't think the way that the municipality is doing it is smooth. I would like them to help instead of just putting demands on people. You have to come up with a solution on your own without them being able to comment in advance, and afterwards they should approve of it, and it might not be approved. The municipality can't be precise when it comes to the amount of pollution you can let out but only say that you have to do some kind of action without saying which kind of action that will be approved. But overall I think that the environment people at the municipality have a very unpleasant tone, a bureau-

cratic tone, instead of discussing and helping out to find a good solution. I don't know if it depends on single persons or not but they are so inflexible.

The municipality are the ones responsible for waste water treatment, but they don't seem to care about their own waste water plants that are no good and let untreated water in to the stream. That is worse than single farms. That has created irritation. There is no dialogue. With other units of the municipality it is ok, with the waste water people. But not with the environmental people. Some of it is ignorance and lack of experience I think. They push from above. I think their task is to be supportive and not only pushing. That's how I have experienced it, very sad. They don't consider different conditions. They are not in the field and stick to their papers.

If the municipality acted like a support I think it would work better, if they sat down to discuss with people about solutions, but they don't have that competence. You often have to discuss via letters and sometimes you don't even get an answer. A better cooperation with the municipality would probably generate better solutions.

Kiladalen is a Natura 2000 area so that is why they focus much on this area.

What I would like to know is the results of all the things that have been done, from the municipality or the CAB. Measurements of how it was before and how it is now. Just to get some feedback and see that they really evaluate. They say there is always an effect of better waste water treatment, but how much? Is it worth the costs? It can cost 100 000 for a house hold. That is very much for a summer house for example. They could send a letter to us with this information and a thank you for helping. That would increase the willingness to do something, I think. In general you are more in contact with the municipality. With the CAB it is only in relation to certain projects.

10. Local citizen. Member of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförening.
Interview at the respondent's home in Kiladalen.
May 5, 2011, 12:00.

Can you tell me about the work with water quality in Kilaån?

I am not involved a lot but it started with injunctions coming from the municipality about waste water treatment. People didn't know what to do but the municipality could not help with discussing suggestions of solutions. They say they are not consultants. They can just approve or not approve when you have already changed your water treatment. I think it has become a bit better now. And I have heard that the municipality will take a communication course now to be better in communication and start seeing citizens as costumers. This is very good because it is not nice to have to deal with them now. It seems to be more of a cooperation now between the municipality and the CAB.

There are rules and bylaws to base decisions upon but we live in reality. To make it work there has to be supportive ways to work rather than injunctions. I think the solutions would be better. But off course the conditions for this are that the persons in authority have the knowledge and trust themselves to work this way. It also depends on what the person are passionate about. For example if you are very environmental friendly you might only think about medicine molecules ending up in the environment, but you do not get the whole picture, only this perspective. You can sort waste but you also have to consider time and costs for doing this.

There is a summer house here that got an injunction because of their waste water treatment. They have built this vacuum toilet, but the consequences are that the trucks that should get the waste can not get there without destroying the road. They are not there very often and there are a lot of trees that can take up nutrients and also arable land between the house and the stream. But they are not allowed to keep their waste water treatment, for example until they sell and conditions may change. That is silly. There the holistic picture is not taken in. And the municipality itself let out untreated water in the stream from their waste water plant, so it is not very fair.

Do you think you have the opportunity to discuss this holistic picture?

No. That's why they started the Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund. They have searched for solutions and found these vacuum toilets. The idea was that the waste water could be put back on the soils as fertilizer. The municipality was not that interested, but I think it is starting to change because of the Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund. Then there is the CAB that has become much better. They have a mussel project in the stream and the woman working with this is very good to discuss with. She listens and takes in the holistic picture and if there are uncertainties she tries to find out and gets back to you. She has a will to do things and has a lot of contacts. She shares experiences with us and we share with her. And she takes help from people that know how to do different things. She sees the possibilities and listens to people. That is so good. She thinks out loud and looks at the environment. She has a nature interest and has thoughts about this but at the same time she is fully aware of how things work in agriculture. She says what she thinks is good but she does not force anyone with injunctions. That makes you take it in much easier.

There have been much complaints of how the municipality interpret the rules. There are things that "should" be done and things that "must" be done, but often they interpret "should" as "must". They decide that at their unit. They have a mission but they make it more than it is. I think it depends on their insecurity. Many perceive them as just willing to put people in place but I think they probably have good intentions, but since they are so inflexible it doesn't show. Off course there are always idiots among people, doing stupid stuff, and they should be put in place.

We have an injunction and have to fix our waste water treatment but we don't know how yet. I want a sustainable and safe solution. For example the small waste water treatment plants are not always working so well and it can take about six months to notice that it has stopped working and then untreated water has been let out during all this time. I would wish I had more knowledge about different possible solutions. The municipality will maybe make a longer pipe line for waste water that would pass by our place and in that case we could connect to that one. Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund is trying to see if it is possible to postpone the injunction until this decision is made. It would be expensive for the municipality, but it is expensive for private people as well but they don't care about that.

Are you familiar with the WFD?

Not much, I have to read more about it. I know about the waste water treatment issues here and also that the stream is a Natura 2000 area.

Are you familiar with the water council?

Yes but I don't know what they do. I think Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund knows about this.

Do you perceive that there is a dialogue concerning water issues in the area?

It has become more opened now with the establishment of Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund. They can affect more. But I haven't noticed that single persons have a say in anything. There were an information meeting initiated by Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund but there was no possibility to influence. But the dialogue that has been is thanks to Kiladalens Vattenvårdsförbund. Now the municipality at least have some links on their homepage to different solutions. But single persons have to prove that the new water treatment fulfil their demands. The municipality just do inspections. I think most people have an interest in the environment but if you have no knowledge about rules and bylaws it is hard to understand the purpose. It only gets costly. Off course it is important to care for the environment but it gets really expensive for single persons.

How would you like it to work with water issues if you could decide?

I believe in having an open dialogue and being open minded to try to see a holistic picture of the situation and try to create a win win situation. Maybe you have to give in some situations and gain in others. I believe everyone wants to take responsibility and wants to participate but it has to be reasonable.

If it wasn't for the project going on now I would not know anything about the CAB either. It is important to be informed of what is going on. I don't think everybody knows that there is a Natura 2000 area here and what it means and how fantastic things we have here. You can't take responsibility if you don't know what to take responsibility of.