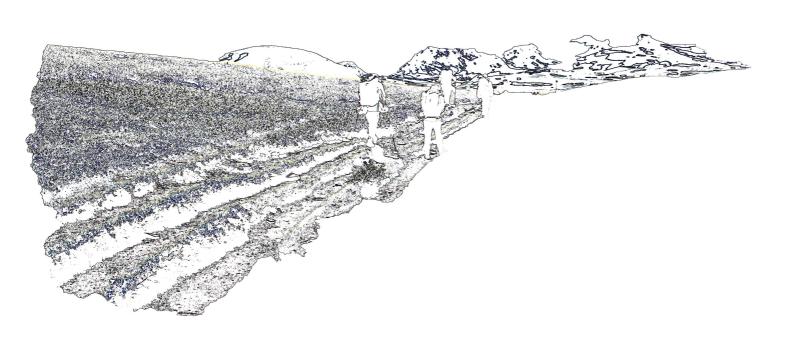


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Conceptions of the Swedish Landscape

How these have mediated values and thus influenced landscape protection through the 20^{th} and 21^{st} centuries

Hanna Seger



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Author: Hanna Seger

Supervisor: Anna Peterson, SLU, Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

Examiner: Mats Gyllin, SLU, Department of Work Science, Business Economics and Environmental

Psychology

Co-Examiner: Lisa Diedrich, SLU, Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

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Abstract

How landscapes are conceived affects the way they are treated. Today concepts as sustainable development steer the theoretical discussion towards a holistic approach towards planning and management. The fact that the Swedish parliament ratified European Landscape Convention in 2011 strengthens the necessity of such approach, which is a premise for a sustainable landscape to exist and for the possibility to implement the rules of the convention. However, conceptions from earlier history affect the current situation.

By reading yearbooks from three Swedish non-governmental organizations I have analysed different conceptions of landscapes during the 20th and 21st century, and how those have affected the protection of the Swedish landscapes. The result shows that there are still mediated landscape values from these organizations as well as the state, based on decisions and steered by different ideas. The three organizations have most often been new thinking and driving the discussion towards a more holistic approach, which also can be recognised in today's theoretical discussion with for example the European Landscape Convention.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This thesis is about conceptions of landscapes in Sweden during the 20th century until today. With *landscapes* within this study I aim primarily at those outside towns and cities, in object of protection and in attention to its values, namely every landscape that gets valued for being a landscape. *Conceptions* are subjective and personal and mean the process of forming an abstract idea. The word derives from the Latin verb *concipere* from *come*-'together' and *capere*-'take' (Oxford dictionary 2014). It has the same origin as *conceive* and *concept* and is close to *perceive* but differs from the latter as *perception* means the way we take in an impression or information and *conception* is how we interpret this and create the idea or picture in our head. The study is carried through with analysis of three non-governmental organizations' publications and their descriptions, depictions and focuses of landscapes and a theoretical study of literature concerning landscape conceptions and the development of landscape protection in Sweden.

It is 105 years ago since the first law of nature protection was formed in Sweden, actually a law of protection of already existing Natural Landmarks (Naturminnen) and the formation of our first National Parks, which especially was inspired from the USA. Already in 1880 A. E Nordenskiöld, a Swedish polar scientist, suggested the establishment of a national park such as in Yellowstone, in a chapter called "Proposal for establishment of national parks in the Nordic countries." of his book (SHF 1920 p. 45, authors' translation). The national parks were the first landscape areas that became protected by the state in Sweden. And they were protected from industrial and technical development, to be kept and saved as original pieces of nature, for coming generations to take part of (Mels 2002).

For certain, ideologies, ideas, art, culture and not at least the field of science and in particular the nature science, affected, opposed and promoted these initiatives hundred years ago. A "movement" of awareness of how human negatively affected her environment started with more of a feeling that things in landscapes were about to get lost (Sundin 2005), an awareness that is still a vital and natural part of politics and public movements which works for the sake of the environment and the landscapes' health today. The conceptions of landscapes affect the way they are treated and what is counted and mediated as a landscape value. This matters for the

landscape protection and development as well as the implementation of the ratified European Landscape Convention, ELC¹ by the Council of Europe.

1.2 Aim and Objective

I aim to analyze and discuss what conceptions of the Swedish landscape there is and have been regarding its values, and how these have affected the landscape protection and management. My research questions are:

How have conceptions of the Swedish landscape mediated values and thus influenced landscape protection through the 20th and 21st centuries? and

What conceptions have steered the direction of Landscape protection and management?

To be able to do this type of analyze a historical description is necessary, thus the approach is wide and striving to give a holistic view of how several events, occasions and ideas may have affected the landscape conceptions and thus the protection and management. This will then set a frame and form a base to a study of publications in searching for mediated values and conceptions of landscape, from three non-governmental organizations. These organizations are chosen due to their long activity and involvement in landscape issues and means to represent the interest of the public. The final objective is to discuss how the result affects today's situation of landscape protection, management and planning.

1.3 Methodology and Material

Through a study of publications from three non-governmental organizations, I have tried to analyze what landscape conceptions and values they have mediated through the 20st and 21st centuries, complemented by a review of the history and development of landscape protection and management during the same period. The discussion also lifted to a theoretical level connecting research and theories on nature, landscape and the development of landscape protection.

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¹ European Landscape Convention or Florence Convention, was ratified by Sweden in 2011 and is conducted by the Council of Europe in 2000(http://hub.coe.int/web/coe-portal/home). The council is an international organization formed after the Second World War to promote democracy and human rights within Europe, not to be confused with European Council that belongs to the European Union.

Based on their long history starting in the early 20th century, the non-governmental organizations chosen for the empirical conceptions-study are the Swedish Tourist Association STF (Svenska Turistföreningen), the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation **SNF** (Svenska and the Swedish Local Heritage Federation SHF Naturskyddsföreningen) (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund). These have distinguished from other similar organizations during the 20th and 21st centuries, with large member support and influence towards the government as referral organizations and are still active in this today. They have had a special role in influencing the development of outdoor activities and landscape and environmental protection and management in Sweden.

The studied material consists of the NGO²'s publications of yearbooks and magazines. STF and SNF have published yearbooks since the start, STF Turist (means Tourist) and SNF Sveriges Natur (means Sweden's Nature) and SHF publishes the magazine Bygd och Natur (means Settlement³ and Nature).

Both yearbooks and magazines are selected in a ten year interval from their starting years: STF: 1885, SNF: 1909, SHF: 1916 but started to publish the magazine in 1919. With selection of the ten year interval the expectation is that some of the publications will be concluding and summing up the organizations' work so far as they celebrate 10th, 20th etc. jubilee. I was not able to get hold of SNF's yearbook from 1929 instead I studied the yearbook of 1928. SNF's material relates most frequent to landscape among the three organizations, thus much information is gathered there, both to the study and for describing certain events for example concerning the government (state reports and investigation etc).

Most of the books I found on the University Library in Lund, which have national archives of all published materials in Sweden, but also on the Institution of Biology and Ecology in Lund and also on the University Library in Alnarp at SLU. Some of the oldest books (only SNF and STF), which are no longer under copyright, are accessible as electronic versions in a web archive, a site called Project Runeberg (http://runeberg.org/), however not all books have been scanned in.

The research question is of describing character, thus the discussion and conclusion are most important for answering the question. The presentation of the studied publications are fragments

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² Non Governmental Organization

³ Alludes on home district. The associations name "Hembygd" is a construction of "hem"/"home" and "bygd"/"settlement", thus hard to translate.

picked out to show clear conceptions, trends and/or events in the society important for landscape conceptions, e.g. environmental discoveries, disaster, important publications, ideas etc.

For the theoretical study searches in the Library catalogue LIBRIS, Primo and on Google Scholar with access from SLU library is done search words have been: nature protection; landscape protection development; conceptions of nature; ideas of nature; national identity; nature protection and aesthetical values. I have also used articles from the course Landscape Theory in Architectural and Plannign Practice. This includes mainly articles written by geographers and environmental scientists. And gives important aspects on what landscape, nature protection, nature and landscape changes actually means.

1.3.1 Limitations

I limit this study to focus on the rural landscapes and the period of 20th and 21st centuries. However, it would be interesting indeed to include both the urban landscapes as well as a longer period as depictions, writing and ideologies have reflected and mediated landscape values as well as other values over time. An indirect limitation of my choice of method to study the yearbooks is that I cannot know in which contexts these yearbooks have been published; it limits my ability of interpret and understand these in the most accurate way.

1.3.2 Language Choice and Translations

All citations from the NGOs' yearbooks are translated from Swedish to English; the scientific articles are not, if not mentioned on specific citations. Names and laws are also translated but some has an English name as well and however, the original Swedish names always follows within parentheses. When the organizations' or authorities' names will repeat the Swedish abbreviations are used the following times.

My decision to write in English is based on that Sweden is a part of the European Union and very much involved in the cooperation within EU. Since 2011 the European Landscape Convention, ELC, also called the Florence convention, (Council of Europe 2000) by the Council of Europe is ratified by Sweden, which strengthens the contacts and exchange of knowledge and experiences within the European countries concerning landscapes. Moreover, the UN are one of the most important regulating international organs for the work with landscapes in the world, works in UN has resulted in for example the Rio Janeiro convention for Biodiversity in 1992, and conducts leading researching of climate and landscape issues (UN 2014). Landscapes are something present and existing everywhere, in all parts of the world and my own experiences of cooperation and contacts with other students from other countries made me determined to write my thesis in English even though it might result in some definition problems and if compared to

be written in Swedish, unnecessary explanations. I believe this thesis could be of interest for other landscape planners /architects or similar in other countries and especially my student colleagues from my studies abroad. I also saw this thesis as a good opportunity to practice my technical language in English.

1.3.3 Disposition

This part includes a backround with why this topic is interseting and what is the aim and objective with the study. This is the theoretical backround including nature protections development and theories about landscape and sets the frame and lay as a base for the empirical study. Here is my own study of yearbooks presented, this is a sum up of the most important information picked out from the yearbooks. This is the discussion part, where I connect the result from the study to the theoretical litterature and my own thoughts and finally my conclusions. The references are seperated due to sort of media and theoretical background from the empirical study.

2 Theoretical and Historical Background

2.2 Development of Landscape Protection

2.2.1 Landscape Change and Nature Protection

Landscapes as well as the societies are continuously changing. Traces from previous times can be visible and visualized in landscapes. Marc Antrop (2005) divides the European landscapes into three main types seen to recent history; 1) pre- 18th century landscapes, 2) landscapes of expanding industrialization and cities from the 19th century to the second world war, 3) post-war landscapes characterized by increasing globalization and urbanization. The three main driving forces for these changes he suggests are accessibility, urbanization and globalization and he also add the unpredictable factor of calamities (Ibid). A palpable example of a landscape change is the enclosure movement⁴, comprising of several land reforms initiated to make the agriculture more efficient. It had co-effects such as an increased accessibility and new character in landscape when a net of roads were built to access the relocated farms, scattered upon the "new", large coherent fields.

Different forms of protection have often occurred among structural changes in landscape and society (Antrop 2005). However it takes until 1960's and according to Antrops' division during the post-war era, before the real reform period of nature management and protection started within Sweden. Earlier protection had national romantic objectives rather than environmental and both the investigations conducted by the state in the 1950's and the establishing of Environmental Protection Agency in 1967 emphasized different objectives than before.

However, the first start was in 1904 when a motion for landscape protection was brought up in the Swedish parliament by Karl Starbäck(motion 1904:194 2nd chamber) (Wramner & Nygård 2010). Five years later the first laws concerning protection of Natural Landmarks entered into force, and the first Swedish National Parks were formed (Sundin 2005). The early protection had its focus on objects and small areas like a mound, a stone or an old tree, and except from the parks, the protection of areas were rare (Ibid). The law of Natural Landmarks was promoted by the newly established SNF, and practically implemented with a lot of involvement from the association which received suggestions from members about possible objects to become

⁴ Enclosure movement in Sweden was carried through in most places all way into the first half of the 20th century. It meant that the plots were gathered to one and the house usually moved and placed within it (this was not possible everywhere). This had great impact in Skåne, where its initiator Rutger Macklean lived and carried it through on his estate Svaneholm. It was harder to implement in areas with mixed soil qualities (Germundsson 2008).

protected, which then SNF suggested to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, KVA (Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien), who where responsible for the allocation of those (Wramner & Nygård 2010). For many years SNF's yearbooks contained lists with newly protected features and suggestions for new ones. For example in SNF 1919 such a chapter is called "Announcement to readers of the yearbook. Who can provide information about Natural Landmarks?" (SNF 1919 p. 138).

After this not much developed and there became a growing frustration among the three studied NGOs and most within SNF (SNF 1919, 1928 Wramner & Nygård 2010). During the 1950's and -60's when environmental disasters started to appear one and another after each other and especially the effects of pesticides as DDT and heavy metals (ex Mercury) started to reveal (SNF 1969), the government carried through several investigations for new forms of landscape protection and management. Among those a leisure time investigation and a nature management investigation started in 1962 whereupon the latter resulted in the Law of Nature Management in 1964 (Naturvårdslagen 1964:822) (SNF 1969). This law introduced Nature Reserves as a new protection form complementing the National Park idea and the protection of Natural Landmarks. In 1998 the law from 1964 was replaced by the Environmental Code (Miljöbalken 1998:808), which is the law in force today and grasps a wider scope than the former. The Law of Cultural Memories (Kulturminneslagen 1988:950) regulates cultural heritage, and together with the Environmental Code these two are the most important landscape protection laws concerning landscape values.

Beyond the legislations there is the Right of Public Access (Allemansrätten), which is a custom and common knowledge working as a guideline, and EPA defines it as "Not disturb - not destroy" (Sandell & Svenning 2011, EPA 2014, authors' translation). The purpose is to simplify for a person to move freely in the landscape and also give possibility to provide one self with berries, mushrooms and nuts and other food and materials one can get from nature (hazelnuts have been excepted from this rule in most places) with exception from living plants material and crops. The Swedish name "Allemansrätt" literally means "Every man's right" and unlike the English term includes more than the meaning of free access to the landscape. The custom is however not that easy to separate as only a guideline because it is referred to within the Environmental Code: "Right of Public Access etc. 1 § Everyone that uses the right of public access or otherwise staying in nature shall show respect and caution in the company with it" (Miljöbalken 1998:808, 7th chapter, 1st paragraph, author's translation). That neither the custom nor the Code differentiates between private or commercial purposes causes problems and debates now and then. Especially in recent years a

debate has going on during berry picking season, when companies have attracted foreign workers on false hopes of contracts and salaries (Bersell 2012, Nandorf 2012).

2.2.3 Outdoor Life and Recreation

Many of the outdoor-, recreational- and environmental movements were formed in the aftermath of the industrial and agrarian revolution. The infrastructure developed and made the landscape more accessible and people had gained more economical resources and possibilities for leisure time. The national migration towards urban- and industry areas was accelerating and since the middle of 20th century the majority of the Swedes live in urban areas as opposed to the beginning of last century when the majority lived in the countryside (SCB 2014, Boman et. al. 2013). There were an expressed "longing back to nature" among members within STF and SHF.

Within Sweden outdoor life as hobby took its starting point in 1885 when STF established and there was a general trend in Europe and the United States, starting in the mid 19th century, to explore mountains and remote areas. The Alpine club was the first in Europe founded in 1858 with a dinner meeting in London, they made a network among burgess men who, practically, wanted to climb mountains and glaciers and get a chance to exchange information (STF 2005). Until this time, mountains were seen as dangerous, unpleasant and even ugly places (Wramner & Nygård 2010). The Alpine club inspired others and associations established in twenty more countries later that century (STF 2005). Among those, the Norwegian tourist association established early and also came to inspire the formation of the Swedish one (Ibid).

Outdoor life continued to be an activity mainly for men and the burgess until the first vacation law that entered into force in 1938, which also included the working class (Sommarnöjen 2013). This meant that everyone had right to get two weeks of paid vacation and were able to practice outdoor activities (Ibid). For the coming vacation legislation there was an exhibition in Ystad in 1936 to educate people on how to spend their leisure time, over 100 sports were presented and that was also the main message; the leisure time was meant to be used properly for healthy activities, doing "nothing" was seen as making one lazy (Ibid). STF arranged travels for school groups from the early century onwards, for students in all ages (STF 1915).

From the 1930's the concept "Nature Protection" started to be replaced by "Nature Management" and opened up for social aspects within the field of nature management (Fredman et.al 2013). A promoter of this was Sten Selander whom later became chairman of SNF where the discussion carried on quite for a while (Ibid). The Board of Nature Management (Naturvårdsnämnden, author's translation) was the precursor to EPA and established in 1963 and

was a merging of several different authorities; amongst others The Leisure time Board (Fritidsnämnden, author's translation) and the Board of Nature Management (Naturvårdsnämnden, author's translation) (Ibid). Thus the EPA became responsible for the development of the possibilities and promotion of outdoor life. And just recently, in 2013, they published a final research report of the Leisure Time Investigation (Fredman et.al 2013).

2.2.4 The Landscape Protection Forms

Here are the protection forms currently in use in Sweden listed and briefly explained.

National Parks

An areal protection form of nationally important areas; they shall be nationally representative and be of an original character (EPA National Parks 2014). The state is directly responsible for all land in National Parks, which is also owned by the state. There are currently 29 Parks and many of them constitute the largest protected coherent areas in Sweden (EPA National Parks 2014).

Nature Reserves

This is the most common protection form that dominates both in numbers and total areal and was established in same time as the EPA in 1967. The responsibility for decisions concerning new areas lies upon municipalities and sometimes the county councils, as opposite to National parks where responsibility and ownership is directly under the state (EPA 2010). Maintenance, accessibility and contact with landowners and stakeholders are common and important as the land usually stays under same owner and also can be combined with some sort of production forests and/or grazing land or similar. The objectives are biological and recreational and it is common also in more densely populated areas (EPA 2010).

Natura 2000

A EU directive for important habitats in a European perspective and includes the bird directive and the habitat directive (EPA Protected Nature 2014). It is important for all types of habitats, but is well exemplified by the situation of the migratory birds as they settle in different countries in different seasons. When an area becomes a Natura 2000 area, it is not automatically protected but gives notice to the importance as a habitat area, thus urging some type of protection or special consideration when dealing with it (Ibid).

Beach Protection

This form of protection has existed since the 1950's and aims to protect biological life close to water and the free access of water areas like the sea shoreline and lakes (EPA 2014). The beach protection means it is forbidden to exploit land within a hundred meters from the shoreline, in

some places it is expanded to three hundred meters, dispensation can be approved by (Miljöbalken 1998:808).

Cultural Reserves

The intention is to protect landscapes especially with cultural imprints and high biological values and it is a generous form of protection (RAÄ 2013-12-13). Culture reserve is included in the same chapter as Nature Reserve and Areal Protection in the Environmental code (1998:808) and it was legislated as a protection form in 1999.

Biotope Protection

There are seven constantly protected biotopes and additional 35 biotopes that the county administration boards, municipalities and Swedish Forest Agency (Skogsstyreslen) can promulgate protection for (EPA 2014).

Species Protection

Some species are protected from all type of destruction; most of them are supported by the Environmental code (1998:808), Artskyddsförordningen (2007:845) and Hunt Law (SFS 1987:259) among more.

Biospehere Areas & World Heritage Sites

UNESCO lists world heritage sites of special importance and values of nature and culture (UNESCO 2014). They also initiated the international World Network of Biosphere Reseves within the Man and Biosphere Programme MAB (UNESCO 2014). It means to highlight the integration between people and the environment in harmony, in areas where people live and have a close contact with nature to maintain a sustainable development (UNESCO 2014). It is also an arena for learning, educating and apply new knowledge in practice. However, the areas and the sites are not obliged to be protected in law, in Sweden there are five biosphere areas and 15 listed world heritage sites (UNESCO 2014)

2.1 Concepts of Nature, Landscape and Sustainability

2.1.1 Nature

Most of Sweden's protected landscapes as national parks and nature reserves are associated with the word and concept *nature*, common terms can also be *pure nature*, *wilderness*, *magic nature* and so on. *Nature*, *nat*ive and *nat*ional all begins with *nat*, which refers to the notion of birthing, and thus

strengthens the idea that natural landscapes can shape national identity (Olwig 2008). Since the beginning recreation and ideas of *pure* and *original nature* has been an important factor for landscape protection and especially the National Parks (Mels 2002, Sandell 2004). To choose "natural" landscapes for representing a nation's "true nature" (landscape) was crucial for the national parks in 1909. When the first parks were formed, the landscape should preferably be visually separated from society and was seen more as empty space than actually a landscape managed by humans for thousands of years (Mels 2002). In this way places and landscapes were made ahistorical and "natural", thus able to represent a national identity as they were seen as a rest of the origin namely the natural landscape. A "method" that still occurs in planning and landscape protection practice according to Tom Mels (2002)

"I argue that the production of parks as abstract space is enmeshed in a regime of highly specific conceptions of landscape, nature, home, and nation. These conceptions tend to distract the national parks from their multifarious cultural histories, and-invoking topographical immediacy-reinvent them to match a coherent cultural politics of nationhood and pure nature." (Mels 2002 p 136)

The development of the states' landscape protection and management has changed over these hundred years since the first National Parks were formed. However the results of the first laws in 1909, with rather different objectives than are emphasized today, are still evident through some of the largest protected landscapes in Sweden. These areas are also often spoken of as the most valuable nature that exist in Sweden and EPA states on their website that national parks are the *finest* a nature area can be (EPA 2014 National Park website). In addition EPA's criterions for national parks shows, that the "original nature" is still important as they, among other criterions, declare that a national park should: "To its core and main parts consist of nature in an original character" (EPA 2014 National Park criterions website).

Many of the large national parks in the mountains have been, during 20th century, spoken about as "untouched", "virgin land", "pure wilderness" and so on (Mels 2002). The dehumanization of landscape or "nature" has not only lead to mistakes such as overgrowth of protected and biologically valuable farmland such as Ängsö and Garphyttan (two of the first nine national parks) in the 1930's, although in such cases the human impact on the environment was recognized, but the knowledge of how and why was not existing (Sundin 2005, Wramner & Nygård 2010). But actually worse, it has lead to dehumanization, characterization and deletion of the samiis' history and culture as well as other dwellers in remote areas. A current example of this, where the Swedish government remains silent, was when the chairman of Beowulf mining did hold a lecture for stakeholders in conjunction with their prospecting for a future mine to

extract ore in Kallak. He explains the difference between population densities in UK and north of Sweden and expresses the latter, low density, with "what people?" (Youtube 2014-05-22) which upset locals and mining protest groups (What Local People? 2014-05-22). The story with Beowulf mining's' and other mining companies' absence of communication and respect to the locals with majority of samii, have not reached the end yet, however, media has highlighted it several times during the last year, as more international companies become aware of the profitable legislation for mining in Sweden (Priftis 2014-02-26, Niia 2013-12-11).

2.1.3 Presenting and Representing Landscapes

The artistic work and representations in art, theater, literature, music etc. plays and have played different roles in linking natural landscape with identity and a common or national identity, however, Olwig (2008) argues that national identities have been more or less constructed by the 'sleight of hand' imposed by some, not unlikely the governments (kings, emperors etc), to a nations inhabitants. He draws a metaphor to the Greek myth of Pygmalion, which tells about a sculptor (Pygmalion) that sculptures a woman whom he falls in love with and whom also becomes alive by help of the goddess Aphrodite.

"Thus, even an artwork may be constructed using highly conscious methods for creating shape, form and illusion. A successful artwork, however, ultimately comes alive, and takes on a life of its own that is not constructed but nourished by the experience of art." (Olwig 2008 p. 74).

A direct parallel can be drawn to the Swedish national parks, which first came to existence by patriotic and nationalistic thoughts with an aim to save the finest Swedish nature to future generations, the national parks created by then (and all national parks created after that), are still considered by EPA as the *finest nature* in Sweden (EPA 2014 National Park website).

The map and the pictorial representation of landscape as scenery developed as techniques and tools during the Renaissance and during the development of the modern state (Olwig 2008). These tools helped then the processes of creating national identity, and are still the dominating tools in how to learn to understand the country of Sweden (or other western countries).

Roland Gustavsson (2002) argues that the irrational, aesthetical and the emotional aspects of landscape have been more or less neglected due to and since the functionalistic era begun. Since landscape became a neutral arena of where we were supposed to take action; the identities and eternal variety of landscape and the capability to communicate and use these aspects were pretty much lost (Gustavsson 2002).

2.1.2 The European Landscape Convention

In 2011 Sweden ratified the European Landscape convention (Florence convention 2000), constituted by the Council of Europe. The convention is based on democratic and fundamental rights, which pervades the definition of "Landscape" in the convention, as it reads as follows ""Landscape" means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors". It is especially the phrase "as perceived by people" that makes clear the democratic aspect as it implies an inclusion of the non-experts' perception of landscape within the fields of protection, planning and management (Jones 2007).

It is based on a holistic landscape view and describes an approach to sustainable development that includes and identifies the landscapes' importance for human well-being and the public interest in the ecological, environmental, social, cultural and economical aspects (ELC 2000).

2.1.4 Landscape and Sustainability

The concept of sustainable development means: "improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (Nurse 2006 p. 34). It can also be defined: "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Nurse 2006 p. 34, quote from the Brundtland Report, WCED 1987)

The concept is easily confusing because of its complexity, thus, when dealing with it an important question to ask is *what to sustain* (Antrop 2006), which might vary in both scale and aspects. As the environment is the precondition for our existence (Nurse 2006), a rich biodiversity and vital ecosystem must be the first things to strive for in the landscape. However, there are four quite established theoretical elements, or pillars, of the concept of sustainability; *economic, social, cultural* and *ecological* aspects (Nurse 2006, Antrop 2006, ELC 2000). Most common is to use only the aspects of economy, ecology and social values. But there are strong arguments for culture and cultural vitality to be another element or actually a base that the other depends on (Nurse 2006, Hawkes 2001).

Economy is a key tool for a sustainable development to be possible, not only because of the market demands or the economic wealth bringing social comfort, but also that for example cultural heritage and environmental resources such as recreational landscapes, views, fresh air and water etc. (Bergman & Vredin-Johansson 2007) are valued by governments and by for example the European Union, thus to some extents preventing the "tragic of the commons" (Ostrom 1990). Many of the environmental resources cannot be owned by anyone, therefore they are

priceless, and politics has to regulate the use and management of such resources (Bergman & Vredin-Johansson 2007).

The role culture plays, as both Nurse (2006) and Hawkes (2001) explains is as a glue or a base on which the other rely on, for example this "glue" or "base" includes politics, opinions, societal trends, community coherence, intangible heritage, traditions etc. The difference between the cultural and the social aspect is that social aspects include reliable social systems, human rights, education and health care etc.

However, the pillars helps support to see landscape holistic, even though the issues occurring concerning the divisions between them, as also the state is dividing these aspects of landscape protection or development. Tim Ingold (2000) with a base in phenomenology for example argues for nature and culture (actually he uses the word *artificial* landscape) as problematic and relates landscape more to as a process of life. He redefines *landscape*, adds *taskscape* and argues focus should be on the latter and gives the metaphor that in the western socities

"...the actual work of painting is subordinated to the final product; the former is hidden from view so that the latter alone becomes an object of contemplation. In many non-Western societies, by contrast, the order of priority is reversed: what is essential is the act of painting itself..."

(Ingold 2000 p. 201)

The painting represents the landscape and the process the taskscape. His focus is on dwelling, taskscape and landscape where *dwelling* is close to *life* and *living*, however the same as the taskscape (all dwelling actions of everything in landscape) and landscape adding layers upon layers of evidences of events over time.

This is however hard to make implications of as it is very theoretical, but for sure, it is not far from the concepts of sustainable development and the objectives with the European landscape convention. Seen in this context it complicates for example that the nature reserves (representing biological landscape values) and cultural reserves (representing cultural landscape values) are administratively separated into two different authorities; EPA and the Swedish National Heritage Board, RAÄ. Lars Green (2010) even asserts that the establishment of the cultural reserves rather contributed to separate and reduce the interaction between the nature and culture sectors on the administrative level and instead there is a risk for opposite effects than was the intention.

3 Empirical Study –NGO's Yearbooks and History

This chapter will present the result from the study based on publications by the three non-governmental organizations Swedish Tourist Association STF, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation SNF and Swedish Local Heritage Federation SHF. It starts with an introduction of the three organizations and their work, aims and commitments today. The presented material then follows a chronological order divided into three main periods; The Arising and Awakening, From Nature Conservation to Nature Management with Social Aspects, and The Modern Times. Below there is a selection of the front covers of almost half of the yearbooks, to give a picture of what I have studied and the changes in layout which reflects the oranizations' focuses.



3.1 An Introduction of the Three Organizations Today

STF –**Est. 1885** is a tourist association focusing on the experiences of travelling within Sweden. It is a NGO with objective to promote tourism with main focus on nature and culture (STF 2014).

"The knowledge about Sweden and the burning dedication towards our unique environments belongs to our heritage to manage and to pass on. (...) STF was founded 1885 in Uppsala as a nonprofit association to promote tourism within Sweden. Since then, the association has grown until today to include 300 000 members. "Discover Sweden" is a throughout theme in the associations range of nature- and culture tourism..."

(STF, STF idag, 2014-01-12 author's translation)

STF's activities has since the start been very connected with the Swedish highlands fjällen, and runs several cottages and hostels there and in many other places. They manage in total almost 400 hostels, hotels and fjäll-stations and the organization includes about 84 local groups and 266 000 members (STF 2014). They are also working with opinion formation and as a referral organization to the government in questions concerning nature and culture tourism (STF 2014).

"STF's association ideology

STF is a membership association with the overall aim to promote Swedish tourism and share knowledge about our nature and culture.

STF shall be the best in nature- and culture experiences in Sweden. The activity shall be based on a long term and sustainable development."

(STF, STF idag, 2014-01-12 author's translation)

Six times a year they publish their magazine Turist, of which the last number each year has been in yearbooks' form, however they decided in 2012 that the 2013's yearbook volume is the last, due to decreasing number of members and new ways of communication (Ibid).

SNF –**Est. 1909** is Sweden's largest environmental organization with 27 regional associations and 270 local groups and around 190 000 members (SNF 2013). Their main focus lies within the fields of climate, sea, forest, agriculture and pollutions, and their strategies are *political impact*, nature feeling and consumer's power (SNF 2013). They publish reports and books and arrange conferences and debates, and they use public media to express their opinions and campaigns (SNF 2013). With grants from Sida-The Swedish International Development Agency, they

cooperate and support environmental organizations in other countries and work as a referral organization to the Swedish government (SNF 2013). They are also initiators and responsible for the eco-labelling Bra miljöval.

Sveriges Natur is their magazine published five times a year and in addition they publish a yearbook, nowadays with a theme, for example the 2013 theme is the forest and forest production in Sweden (SNF 2013).

SHF –Est. 1916 is a national federation, with the primal task to connect and give service and support to local and regional heritage associations (SHF 2014). They represent the associations' interests in contact and cooperation with authorities and other NGO's. And works with opinion formation and also functions as a referral organization to the government (SHF 2014). The national association consist of 26 regional associations, about 2000 local groups, and have got about 430 000 members. The four main focuses for their work are:

" -A living cultural life open for everyone's participation

-A strong and independent association climate

-An accessible cultural heritage that is kept, get used and develops

-A sustainable societal development, where local Heritage Associations' knowledge and dedication get used as a resource "

(SHF, Om SHF Opinion, 2014 author's translation)

And they also assert that:

"The associations possess a great treasure of local history that more people should take part of. We are also convinced that a deeper knowledge about the local heritage, the local place, plays a great deal for a sustainable development in society."

(SHF, Om SHF, 2014 author's translation)

Four times a year they publish their magazine Bygd och Natur (SHF 2014).

3.2 The Arising and Awakening 1885-1926

In STF's first yearbook of 1886, they declare the petition that was sent out as a suggestion for the establishment, and it starts with

'Through the building of the northern railways miles wide and of nature sceneries rich areas of our country, whom earlier only with great costs and time consumption could have been reached, have been made accessible for tourist from Sweden as well as from abroad."

(STF 1886 p. 3)

The northern railway was built in the 19th century and later connecting with the harbour in Narvik in Norway. In 1882 the railway from Stockholm/Uppsala through Jämtland to Storlien was completed (STF 1935) and thus some of the southernmost fjäll areas became accessible within a few days' travel from the capital Stockholm. The mountains fjällen have always had a special role to STF and their activities and already in the yearbook of 1895 they highlight the importance of mountains within a tourist association in general and the importance of the mountains in Jämtland in particular for instance with these words about the association's upcoming: "The Jämtland fjäll areas have been its cradle, Åreskutan and Syltopparna its godparents, and Tännforsen has been singing the lullabies." (STF 1895 p unknown)

Jämtland is still an important area for the Swedes recreation in the mountains, as it is relatively south and rather accessible thanks to the railway. There is a popular three days hiking track called the Jämtland Triangle where STF fjäll stations constitute the triangle's corners and STF declares on their website that this track has a special importance for the association: "Storulvån, Sylarna and Blåhammaren. There you got the absolute core in STF's fjäll-world." (STF 2014, author's translation).

The most common "tourist" or traveller in the early years was an academic person from the capital Stockholm or the university town of Uppsala. Since the beginning a general intention with the association has been educational, to increase the common knowledge and interest about the country, "Learn to know your country!" or "Know your country!" was and still is their slogan (STF 2014). A more specific intention was to tell and inform about practical matters as where to travel, how to do it and what to bring; equipment, food etc (STF 1886). This was particularly important in the first decades of fjäll tourism, as few people except from the samii people knew about how to travel in these areas. Their early publications are domination by fjäll stories, which shows the importance of these areas, as chapters about it are present in almost every yearbook.

A few decades later, in 1909, the same year as first National Parks and the law for Natural Landmarks were formed SNF established initiated by a few men and one of the founders, Louis Améen, became the first chairman, which he also became in STF a few years later. As well as STF the organization in the beginning gained higher status from influential persons, academics and high-income earners who became members. Two prominent examples are Selma Lagerlöf, a

famous author, and Anders Zorn a famous painter. As well as with STF, the initiatives for the organization started mainly among academic people within the field of nature science (Wramner & Nygård 2010). Knowledge and research about landscape features and nature science, for example especially quaternary geology and quaternary biology was popular fields of science (Sundin 2005). This combined with a long tradition of protecting special landscape features such as boulders; ancient stones and strange trees —so called Natural Landmarks, made the association's work very much focused on saving and protecting features and environments.

That there have been diverse ways of how to use the concept of culture is evident in this citation by Louis Améen in STF's yearbook 1915, thirty years after their start. Here "culture" gets to represent the bad development and the loss of the national identity and traditions. And he also suggests that the whole association is a product of the time, where the traditions and common spirit is disappearing.

"The association was born, when the northern railways in a blow made the northern Swedish mountains, forests and watercourses relatively accessible. This and much more makes eligible, that the association in far most is an indication of the modern culture- and urban human's longing back to nature, that its essential task has been to try to transform this longing into action. It goes in our days a strong national movement from the rural landscape towards the towns and industrial societies. Culture plays its rat catcher pipe. It attract like fire, but burns just as one. The to the cities moving national currents brings on the one hand fuel to the hearth, but are doomed to more or less slowly burn. Cultures' sacrifices, makes primarily, the peoples health suffer."

(STF 1915 p. X)

To fully understand the underlying sense of this critique of culture and the modern society is hard, but it seems like the opposite, and the good, is the "true" nature, towards which Améen means people (especially urban) feel a desire and longing back for. On the other hand both SNF and SHF did very early assert the complexity and impossibility of separating nature and culture (SHF 1920, SNF 1928).

3.2.1 Aesthetics and the Beauty of Landscape

The character of the descriptions and writings in the early century was dominated by many adjectives and descriptions of feelings to enhance the landscape experience in the text. Illustrations was more used than photos and it was very common that all travellers and researchers had some skills in drawing, because it was the easiest way to depict the landscape or a feature. An example of a, what we today would say quite poetical description is this one from

STF yearbook 1905, describing somewhere in the county of Blekinge: "Landscape is juicy, shifting and beautiful. White Sea gulls, children of the sea, harbinger soon, that we will approach the coast." (STF 1905 p.43)

In general aesthetics plays a great role in the early century books, something that looks good is positive. Not just landscapes were described in this way but also people, their characteristics (both mental and physical), appearance and habit. For example in the chapter called "Dalecarlican Eden" ("Dalarnas Lustgård") from the same book as the previous citation, the people of Dalecarlica in Floda village are described as slim, tall and beautiful with nicely formed lineament. They also point that most of the young women, working in the hayfields are beauties under their hats (STF 1905).

In 1919 a "Beauty council" for Stockholm was formed, to SNF's disappointment, it was not named "Stockholm Naturemanagament- and Art council", which would include aesthetics of landscape, that SNF clearly state, was largely ignored (SNF 1919). Two examples of the obvious value in aesthetics of landscape for SNF are these citations from the yearbook of 1919 mainly concerning the building of roads and the clear-cut of trees along those:

"What is necessary, what is not? That's the question. Or more clearly: What is done to lift this development from the most palpable indifference towards natural creation and beauty? It could be necessary to break the best and strongest in a piece of nature. But it is not necessary to pricetag whole country roads to sceneries, that with axe and iron bar, in good faith carry through such order to things, which don't know what natural architecture is worth and the meaning of it. The cultural landscape is once and for all doomed to subordinate to the human will." (SNF 1919 p. 78)

'In defence on a given application for these trees' preservation- they were seriously threatened by the free sight for drivers- the opinion from country councillor was that the law of nature protection was not applicable in such cases.

Is that perception prevalent, there is a need all around the country for a reminder of what nature protection, in its essence, is all about. Moreover, it is peculiarly that the sense of taste not is that much awoke, that it instinctively reacts against disposal of such decorative elements in the nakedness of the plains." (SNF 1919 p. 79)

What they explain here is that there is a natural beauty in landscape, shaped of culture and nature, however, when nature was setting the frame and culture was subordinated. And now they want protection for these environments that are threatened from a development only steered by short-

term gain, that drivers should have a free sight and wide view when driving the road. And aspects as that the road-trees have given shelter from the sun during long travels, were quickly forgotten when roads were remade for cars travel (SNF 1919).

The awareness of the decrease of beautiful and valuable environments kept raising and there was a growing dissatisfaction since the state made national parks but then nothing more⁵. Already in the 1920's SHF and SNF argued for a new form of nature protection and management, different from the national park, and this was not even the first time. They argued for the social aspect to be included in scope of nature- and culture management.

"Nature is the frame and ornament of the settlements, irreplaceable as a source of power to the modern man, a necessary irrational regulator to the more and more complete machinery of society. Nature can however never be isolated and separated from the culture. To keep an old farm, but rob its lush green, is to mutilate a relic. A cultural memory, that loose its frame, looses also the meaning and charm. The settlement has to be seen as one unit, a living organism. Not until that point, we could learn to understand it, cherish it and make innovations in the right spirit." (SHF 1920 p. 11)

However, the following citation from SNF in the same time suggests that the national parks were still seen as relics from the original nature, although Ängsö and Garphyttan probably started to reveal the mistakes of such ideas by this time. This shows that the organizations are not consisting of homogenous groups but have different opinions and ideas and this represents a view of conservation not compromising with the nature management including social aspects, as are stated in the citation above.

"In a national park the world of flora shall be left alone, without any interference from the practical forestry, to develop by its own. "(SNF 1919 p. 128)

In this first part of the 20th century the attitude towards development and exploitation of landscapes in general, with activities such as hydropower development, building of infrastructure and industries was very positive from all three organizations. STF did not lift the issue much more than as a precondition for travelling and "touristing", for example that they were dependent on the transport with trains to get to the mountains. SNF and SHF were concerned of how this development was done, but they were agreed on that it was necessary development. That the

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⁵ Swedish state also created a huge dissatisfaction among the involved groups due to hydropower exploitation by the state-owned Vattenfall in 1919, in the National park of Stora Sjöfallet, now belonging to Sarek. It meant a regulation of Sweden's widest waterfall ten years after its protection.

National Parks were located as they were, by then on economically more or less worthless land, to justify a ruff exploitation elsewhere, shows also the state's attitude as positive to industrial development (Wramner & Nygård 2010).

3.3 From Nature Conservation to Management with Social Aspects 1925-1967

The first national parks, and of what this concerns, particularly Abisko, was early criticized by SNF as not being scientifically unique landscape of national interest and that the areas were decided on weak bases (SNF 1928 p. 4). In the yearbook of 1928 Rutger Sernander explains how the borders of the park was decided by three experts, who did not have the resources to visit the area, but had to rely on private persons' inventories and observations of a valuable flora and fauna sent in to the Royal Swedish Academy of Science (SNF 1928 p. 4). SNF was until around this time generally more focused on the Natural Landmarks than on the National Parks, maybe because these were more alluding to national identity than to nature protection. Sernander also describes the identity crisis SNF went through and he urged that they had to reconsider their aim and objective to differentiate from SHF and STF. The difficult issue of enlightening and education of landscape values through recreation (aiming especially at STF's activities in sensitive areas) and wear and tear problem within protected landscapes was highlighted.

The holistic view of values of landscapes is reoccurring in SHF's yearbooks, and they write more than once about something synonymous to *identity, community coherence, feeling* and *irrationality*. John Nihlén writes in the yearbook of 1949 about this complex and undefined "thing" in an answer to a lecture from the planning architect Torvald Åkesson, who wanted to modernize the countryside. Nihlén gives him right in many things, as equality and standard needs to be raised also in countryside but remarks:

'However, it is something missing in his announcement and that is something, that is always hard to implicate in technical investigations and state-public reports. One could preferably call it romanticism. One could name it as comfort and well-being, and yet one still don't catch the right sense. But one is a step closer to the truth. It would become a quite desolate and senseless land, if one carried through regimentation in the shaping of the settlements and indoor furnishing. The individual variations would disappear, settlement- and landscape characters wiped out. Everything that gives the irrational human support and stimulation.

One can never get comfort in countryside trough moving the city out there. If one makes country to a machine, some of the greatest resources will disappear, namely its natural- and cultural values that one instead should take care of." (SHF 1949 p 117)

He acknowledges the irregularity and the diverse structure of a shifting landscape connected to small-scale agriculture and natural areas. Both SHF and SNF focused on the old forms of agricultural landscapes and enlightened its degradation in the yearbooks from end of 19th century until about 1940-50 as a negative development for aesthetical, well-being and recreational reasons. According to this there are many similarities between SNF and SHF, during the period of 1939 to 1942 they cooperated and published a common magazine. The social aspects of landscape and landscape management also gave impact on the state especially since the vacation legislation entered into force in 1938.

1948 the largest international environmental organization, IUCN (International Union for Nature Conservation), held its first conference in Fountainebleu in France. Nils Dahlbeck, who by then was the editor of Sveriges Natur with Kai-Curry Lindahl, and should come to have a long involvement in SNF, was the only delegate from Sweden (SNF 1949). This mirrors SNF's quite sole position as precursor in the development of the nature and environmental protection in Sweden. Among others SNF was important participants in the Swedish state's nature management investigations starting in the early 1950's continuing until the years of establishment of EPA (SNF 1969). The 1950's and 1960's became a reform period for the nature protection and management finally ending in the establishing of EPA in 1967 and new landscape protection forms, which is described thoroughly in the yearbook of 1969.

The urgent environmental problems that occurred in the middle of the century in forms of pollutions, littering, emissions and chemical leakage concerned SNF a lot, and they made for example campaigns besides participating in the governments investigations. One campaign called "Keep the nature clean" ("Håll naturen ren") has continued since, more or less intensive, to enlighten the public of the problem with littering and make a change of habits. The litter problem was deeply rooted in the society and there was even suggestions within the parliament to sink car wrecks in the Baltic Sea (SNF 1969), it was not carried through. However, it was custom to sink litter from boats and ferry routes into the sea or lakes and litter in general anywhere in landscape. The essays in this SNF book of 1969 are very formal and it is noticeable that there was much going on, as there were so many subjects that needed a review. SNF's yearbook of 1969 is dominated by the environmental problems caused by emissions both in air, water and in landscape and it contains headlines such as "Water management situation", "Biocide combating-in the

name of law", "Planning and nature management- the technical exploitation of the landscape" and "air management" (SNF 1969).

The tone in this book is not very different from the association's work today, and there are especially similarities to the yearbook of 2009, "A Hundred Years of Stubbornness" (Hundra år av envishet), which also highlights serious issues and suggestions for solutions, as well as things already succeed, and some that did not, however, it breathes decisiveness just as in 1969.

3.4 Modern Times 1967-2013

In 1970's all three organizations' yearbooks are thematically landscape dominated and highlights large landscape issues as the regrowth of old farmland (SHF 1979) and hydropower reservoir regulation in Akkajaure (STF 1975). SHF writes about the vanishing traditional agricultural landscapes in a context of a society that "...stands more and more as a stranger towards the old cultivated landscape and thus risks to loose an important part of the history." (SHF 1979 p 1). And points this happened the last twenty years and something needs to be done "...before it is too late" (SHF 1979 p 1). They all write nostalgic about previous existing landscapes and tells personal stories about the people bound or connected with it.

From 1970's SNF's focus shifts more towards poetical and existential writings about landscape, nature and environmental problems. Some problematic cases are described but mostly in quite small scale compared to the sum up in 1969, as for example promotion of protection of the Järva fields, a former military exercise area north of Stockholm. The theme in the yearbook of 1979 is about urban and recreational nature "Close Nature" (Närnatur) and "our need of everyday nature" as the sub heading on the front cover says.

Some urgent pollution in the marine environment and the sudden mass death of seals among other issues, made yearbook in 1989 to treat the sea and underwater creatures and problems. During the 1980's SNF also gained more public support and the numbers of members raised from about 65 000 in 1980 to the peak of 206 000 members in 1991, a number not reached again until 21st century (SNF 2014). The 1990's were a decennium with focus mainly on biodiversity and species inventories but also the looming problem of the global warming (Wramner & Nygård 2010). The 1999 yearbook keeps on with the same focus of the landscape as important for the human as in 1979. And it seems like there is another identity crisis coming where they search for a new direction. Which gets evident for example in an article written by the independent youth

organization The Field Biologists⁶, however connected with SNF, where they speculate of the 90 years to come, and let through a frustration of a mossy, slow and old-man ruled association (aims at SNF) (SNF 1999). In another chapter SNF discuss "what is nature?" and interviews Sverker Sörlin, professor in environmental history at Umeå University. Sörlin gives examples of how the conception of what is valuable nature has changed over time, the complexity of division of nature and culture and how it is actually rather chaos and disorder that rules nature, as opposed to the perfect harmony that earlier was associated with the concept of nature and especially original and pure nature (SNF 1999).

The ways of using the landscapes in general and the functions of recreation, changed a lot during the 1980's. Purposes of outdoor activities changed more towards sports and individual experiences and activities (STF 2005, Fredman et al 2013).

3.4.1 Consequences After the Establishment of the EPA

Since EPA established, the roles of the organizations changed a lot from being leading in issues of landscape protection and development, towards more oriented by their pure interests, which was especially significant for SNF. Some activities/ actions that started within the organizations were later handed over to the EPA, for example

- Of the trails and huts STF constructed on the mountaintops and in the valleys in fjällen, EPA got responsibility for the trails in 1977.
- SNF's campaign Keep Nature Clean ("Håll nature ren") became a foundation and is a central actor in the governments and other organisations work with littering (www.hsr.se 2014).

There is a noticeable change in SNF's and SHF's books after 1960-70's, but is not seen in STF's books. Probably due to EPA's establishment the organizations won a big step forward, but also lost an aim they had work for almost since their own start, especially for SNF. STF work seems to be least affected by the establishment of EPA.

3.4.2 The Rivers and the Hydropower

Ever since Vattenfall (the state owned energy company) started to develop hydropower in Sweden 1909, it has been under debate especially among SNF members and to some extents also within SHF and STF (for example STF 1975 p. 110-124), for example it is lifted in SNF yearbooks of 1969, 1999, 2009 and probably in more. 1919 Vattenfall started to build the Sourva-

⁶ Fältbiologerna (The Field Biologists) started in 1947 as an independent youth association of SNF.

reservoir⁷, which includes Stora Sjöfallet, the waterfall naming one of the national parks formed in 1909 and connecting further down to Lule Älv. This was the major start of the regulation of many of the Swedish largest rivers; the Sourva- reservoir has since been regulated four times, last one in the 1960's to -70's. STF writes in their article in 1975 about the case of Stora Sjöfallet as the most failed case of Nature Protection in the country:

'Persons in power within politics and authorities have through out shown to be totally indifferent towards what have been said or written about Stora Sjöfallet, as well as all other nature value objects that have become victims of a rough exploitation. There is no longer any space for conversation and honest negotiations. All that seems to be left are personal humiliations of such a bad manner that public prosecution could be raised. The only way to get a reaction from the house of power. Is the situation that bad? Yes, that is how bad it is. Stora Sjöfallet will stand as the greatest and most documented example of nature management's failure in our country." (STF 1975 p. 310)

Hydropower stations were already built in the rivers in the early 1900:s, but those were all much smaller and were not made with such large regulations of the natural watercourses. Due to the high exploitation rate of hydropower, mostly in the Swedish mountains, fjällen, there was a regulation for limitation of the expansion in 1961, the so-called "Peace in Sarek" (Sarekfreden or Freden i Sarek), it was an agreement between stakeholders (SNF, landowner, villagers, exploiters etc) of the hydro power exploitation, of which Vattenfall was one part and SNF was part of the opposition. The opposition to the hydropower drove the demand for an agreement and it became an important historical event, and somehow a turning point, although the outcome was more favorable for the hydropower than for the opposition. During the first half of the century the Swedish hydropower development was relatively uncontradicted (SNF 2009), however, today around 40 percent of Sweden's energy production comes from renewable hydropower (SCB 2013). Around this time however, the heavy hydropower development started to get a stronger opposition among the public, especially as nuclear power was something looming as a problem-solver for many, even for some within SNF, to save the last free, unexploited Swedish water

⁷ The *Sourva*-reservoir (consist of four dams) is to at its highest point over 60 meters above the original level, and with a fluctuation of 30 meters in height.

⁸ Sarek is one of the first National parks in Sweden (and Europe), nowadays included in the World Heritage Site *Laponia*, listed by the UN, which also includes Stora Sjöfallet, Muddus, Padjelanta and some large nature reserves. Laponia is a complex including several national parks and nature reserves with a total area of 9400 square kilometres. For more information visit www.laponia.nu [2014-01-14]

courses. And in 1993, after several attempts from Vattenfall and different politicians during the previous twenty years, the largest still unexploited rivers Vindelälven, Kalixälven, Piteälven and Torneälven were protected from such development (SNF 2009), they became National Rivers (Nationalälvar).

4 Conceptions of Landscape- Discussion and Conclusion

1.2 Aim and Objective

I aim to analyze and discuss what conceptions of the Swedish landscape there is and have been regarding its values, and how these have affected the landscape protection and management. My research questions are:

How have conceptions of the Swedish landscape mediated values and thus influenced landscape protection through the 20th and 21st centuries? and

What conceptions have steered the direction of Landscape protection and management?

To be able to do this type of analyze a historical description in necessary, thus the approach is wide and striving to give a holistic view of how several events, occasions and ideas may have affected the landscape conceptions and thus the protection and management. This will then set a frame and form a base to a study of publications in searching for mediated values and conceptions of landscape, from three non-governmental organizations. These organizations are chosen due to their long activity and involvement in landscape issues and means to represent the interest of the public. The final objective is to discuss how the result affects today's situation of landscape protection, management and planning.

4.1 Conceptions Inherited and the Changes of Time

In the early 20th century Swedish society was strongly influenced by the national romanticism, in a combination of large structural societal changes as the industrialization and urbanization, the search for an origin and national identity became strong. The industrialization and thus the exploitation of landscape increased constantly, thus leading to concerns that things would disappear that was of great value (Sundin 2005). The nature was seen as a relic from where culture derived, thus the origin needed to be saved, however, the critique of all new ways culture took was strong within the three organizations. As the industrialization, urbanization and infrastructure expansion was a new thing and the reason for the drastic landscape change, it was impossible to predict the effects. Which probably was one reason for the confusion concerning the effects of human activities in landscape. Because in contrast to the "new" industrialized landscapes, everything else seemed more or less natural and the man before industrial revolution was seen as living close to nature.

Another reason for the confusion is likely to be that the members and state's men in the early century belonged to upper class, and the people whom shaped the landscapes belonged to the lower and middle class which created a gap between the people who worked for landscapes' protection (which belonged to upper class) and the craftsmen and farmers who possessed the

knowledge of shaping and managing the landscape. Anyway, the lacks of knowledge lead to events countering the initial objectives, such as regrowth of meadows, like in Stora Ängsö National Park (Wramner & Nygård 2010). These motives and methods of this type of protection were also criticized not long after first Parks' establish (SNF 1919).

This lead to a stronger emphasize on the importance of thoroughly carried through investigations with higher requirements of scientific qualities that before. SNF members did many investigations in the behalf of the state (SNF 1928). Those mistakes thus seem to have strengthened a thirst for knowledge, and as the nature sciences made great progress in especially biology and quaternary geology thus the knowledge of how the landscape was created increased (Sundin 2005 Wramner & Nygård 2010). And as the knowledge increased, the more influence it got. Which also was a reason, among environmental problems, why the "romantic" aesthetic descriptions got less space within the yearbooks until environmental disasters and the nature management investigations started to take over.

However, aesthetical values, intangible values and heritage that are directly connected and dependent on landscapes, is something that the three organizations are conscious about throughout the whole century. The indefinable, the value of beauty, irregularity and a diverse landscape and the coherence and historical connection, which is visible in a landscape where the traces of "taskscape" and "dwelling" (Ingold 2000) are not wiped out by modernity, are lifted up more or less in every yearbook, mediated through articles, statements or illustrations and photos (SNF 1919, SHF 1920, SHF 1949, SNF 1979, STF 1979). This that also Gustavsson (2002) points have been more or less neglected since the functionalistic era, which strengthens the organizations thoughts in this issue.

The National Parks have a special position within the history of protection. Today they are seen as implementing Nature Protection, but in the beginning the aim was to save a piece of the most Swedish landscapes, however, on relatively weak bases compared to later National Parks and Nature Reserves. None the less they have gained a great importance. According to for example EPAs descriptions as the *finest* nature (EPA National Parks website 2014), which is a description of a subjective opinion or feeling no matter if the word alludes to visual or biological values. With these meanings they also to some extent set a frame of what is worthy of landscape protection.

The agricultural landscape has an important role during a predominantly part of the 20th century as it is often referred to within the yearbooks for example when STF travels in countryside among farms and small villages (STF 1905) or when SHF talks about the lush green surrounding

to the farm estates (SHF 1920). However it takes until about the 1930's to fully realize and accept the connection between culture and the landscape that is similar as today, as it before was seen like the landscape was something rather shaping human than the opposite (STF 1905, ELC 2000, EPA 2010). An example of this is included in many chapters of the yesrbooks; the descriptions of folk's characteristics from for example the county of Småland or a certain type of craftsmen dependent on a certain type of landscape (these "classifications" more or less disappeared after the Second World War, of understandable reasons) (Ibid).

However, to separate concept and features of culture and nature when dealing with landscape changes, protection and development helps the understanding and analyzing of a landscape. But it is also a way to make things too simple because in most cases they are indistinguishable, from the smallest to the largest scale, and it continues to get more complex as the population grows and the time of which human has dominated the earth continues. To reach a sustainable development we must acknowledge culture as the base that the other depends on and that ecology determines our existence. It can seem like a contradiction but to use a metaphor; nature is the stage and culture is the play, and how the story goes depends on both. The exception is that human did not build the stage in the real world, however we continuously reshape it, whether it is done through food and material production, water supply, urban and rural planning or the global warming. And it is this process of reshaping where we need to see holistic just as both the European Landscape Convention (European Council 2000) and UNESCO's work with the Biosphere areas attempts to.

Out of the yearbooks I have studied and the theoretical study I have identified three periods and can also identify three ways of conceiving the landscape that has dominated the landscape protection and the descriptions of landscape. These are the national romantics, positivistic nature science and a holistic landscape views, all three still "in use" and have been present more or less during the 20th and 21st centuries.

The yearbooks and the organizations today

The direct use or connection of and to landscape differs between the three organizations as well as over time. In general for all three of them is that the earlier of the century, a more direct contact with visiting landscapes for pleasure and education is described, either about landscape itself or about actions and events connected to or dependent on landscape. It could be activities such as how to tent (STF), go skiing (STF), search for plants (SNF), look at traces of landscape history (SNF/SHF) or watch birds (SNF). SNF and SHF have in common that their interest of using landscape is just because of the landscape, it is their common interest to protect it from

negative impact and transformations that would make landscape less valuable from biological and cultural perspectives. STF are dependent on such landscapes and express their appreciation of those, but their interest is in the *experiences* of visiting landscapes or places.

In the early century there where still many environments, those that today usually would make a reserve or a national park for its special values, which could be experienced directly with not too much of an effort. Except from some references that were made to for example promoters of the national parks and nature protection as A.G. Nordenskiöld, H. Conwentz and A. Hazelius the early yearbooks mostly tells, by the authors, self perceived stories about people, landscapes, events and places. As landscape changes, the way of experiencing it does as well, in the middle of the century many stories are told out of that these special environments have decreased and are vanishing. Simultaneously as another great deal is taken up by politics and way of regulating the drastic changes that follows industrialization and disconnects Swedes with the countryside and "nature".

SNF and SHF have had very much in common especially in their early years, practically until the environmental problems such as emissions and pollutions started to turn up in larger scale and SNF came to focus mostly on those, in a way more urgent issues (quite short after their cooperation years in the end of the 30's). For SHF as well as SNF the cultural landscape and connection with the Swedish nature was especially important, for identity and in general to the joy of life and thus the base of the welfare in society (SNF 1920, SHF 1949, SNF 1919, SNF 2009). In the yearbook of 1939 (a common edition) they pinpoint three important factors for this; the nature itself, the settlements and the traditions. SHF have continuously been working with these issues also until today, however, the focal point is the cultural heritage, identity and tradition, thus including nature (landscape) but more as of a secondary significance compared to SNF.

During the 1990's the enlightenment about the green house gas emission started, today it is this, a sustainable development in general and food and wood production supply that are the main focuses and concerns for SNF (SNF 2009). They emphasize the importance of ecological production and point out that the lifestyle in Sweden affects lives in other parts of the world, as the world gets more and more globalized this also gets more and more evident. A bit shadowed from the more urgent issues, however always present, is the drastic changes of landscapes Sweden has gone through during the 20th century (an example is an article with interviews with locals around Akkajaure, a part of the Sourva-reservoir, in the yearbook of 2009). The regrowth of farmland is comprehensive and an intensified wood and crop production replace former low

intensive production as meadows, pastures, wooded pastures and wooded meadows and new focus of SNF's yearbook is the Swedish forest and forest production, which they have criticized in reports for not taking care of biological and recreational aspects.

STF, SNF and SHF are all three active organizations, still making their ambitions real. Their websites are very informative, and a lot of information for this study is gathered there. All three also have their own sites in social media where they update regularly with for example events and campaigns.

4.2 Conclusion

I have identified the three main periods; Arising and Awakening, From Nature Conservation to Management with Social Aspects and the Modern Times, which are general divisions in time that in reality don't have exact borders. However they are based on the difference in how the three organizations Swedish Society for Nature Conservation SNF, Swedish Tourist Association STF and Swedish Local Heritage Federation SHF relates to landscape, conceptually and physically and of how the landscapes' protection development have changed objectives and methods.

During the first period landscape was mainly representing nature as an opposite term to culture. Culture was seen as emerged from nature, thus nature formed man, the Swede. And this is, among others, one reason why we today have National Parks. The national parks, also the ones founded early with the objective to represent the "true Swedish nature", are still accepted as most valuable Swedish landscapes today by for example EPA, SNF and STF. In the early 20th century nature sciences developed and for example quaternary geology and biology was popular as fields of research, and it became much easier to measure values based on special features that now had started to be mapped. When the organizations gained more knowledge there was a critique of the former conserved areas, the National Parks. Because it had been shown that for example Stora Ängsö had to be maintained to retain its rich diversity as a meadow land and was not a self sustaining systems in original state. And the large fjäll areas as Stora Sjöfallet and Sarek, were criticized, as there were not as many rare and unique species that first was thought. I see this as two reasons why positivistic nature sciences have become so important when a landscape's values are decided. These two ways of conceiving and value landscapes as important have also strengthened the need for dividing the concepts of nature and culture within landscape, probably because it is perspectives that can be rather visible and measurable.

However, the three organizations continuously highlight values of more or less indefinable and immeasurable values. Irregularity, beauty, historical connection, social coherence, identity and diversion in landscape are such values. What some of these means is different for each and one of us, but that also makes it even more important to consider in a planning position, not only because we are obliged to follow the European Landscape Convention, but for the health of the future landscapes, including people, nature and a sustainable development.

The methods as well as the aim and purpose for landscape protection and management, have changed during the century until today and will probably continue that way. The three organizations have in common that they have made these aims and purposes changed during this time. With this in mind, namely a history of active discussion and influence for a hundred years, makes it relevant to think that the work of these organizations are worth listening at, if they keep on going in same mood. And not least also states the importance of considering the landscape "as perceived by people" (ELC 2000).

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Images List

All fotos are taken by the author as faksimil

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Image 2: SHF 1949 Foto of frontpage of SHF. Ed. Nihlén, John. (1949). *Bygd och Natur Årsbok* 1949. Samfundet för Hembygdsvård

Image 3: SHF 1999 Foto of frontpage of SHF. Ed. Lindberg, Gunilla. (1999). *Bygd och Natur*. Sveriges Hembygdsförbund

Image 4: SHF 2009 Foto of frontpage of SHF. Ed. Johansson, Peter. (2009). *Bygd och Natur*. Sveriges Hembygdsförbund

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Image 6: STF 1925 Foto of frontpage from STF, Ed. Boheman, Ezaline. (1925). *Svenska Turistföreningens Årsskrift 1925*, Whalström & Widstrand: Stockholm

Image 7: STF 1975 Foto of frontpage from STF. (1975). Turistföreningens Årsskrift 1975 Närke, Svenska Turistföreningens Förlag: Nacka

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Image 9: SNF 1919 Foto of frontpage from SNF, Ed. Högdahl, Thor. (1919). Sveriges Natur, Svenska Naturskyddsföreningens Årsskrift 1919. Wahlström & Widstrand: Stockholm

Image 10: SNF 1959 Foto of frontpage from SNF, Ed. Gustavsson, Bengt. (1959). Sveriges Natur, Svenska Naturskyddsföreningens Årsbok 1959, Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen: Stockholm

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Appendix 1

Lantmäteriet, Map, Available: http://kso2.lantmateriet.se/# [2014-07-25]

