

Cultural heritage management and local development in a South Sámi and Norse mountainous borderland

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses how municipal planning and management can enable South Sámi and Norse cultural history to contribute to local development in two sparsely populated mountain municipalities in south-east Norway. The methods are document studies of relevant planning documents and treatment of single cases and interviews of actors at different levels responsible for cultural heritage, land use planning, industrial development and reindeer husbandry. We find that the organization of cultural heritage management is extremely fragmented in terms of responsibilities, activities and localization. Responsibility for managing Norse and Sámi cultural heritage is divided between the County and the Sámi Parliament, and the municipalities have no legally responsibilities. This fragmentation contributes to the neglect and marginalization of cultural heritage management in general, and especially the management of Sámi cultural heritage. The discourse of attractiveness based on competing for in-migration from other municipalities holds a hegemonic position in both municipal master planning and regional planning. We argue that a different approach based on local community development, the residential place, should be prioritized whereby cultural heritage is used to strengthen the inhabitants' knowledge, identity and "sense of place".

Keywords: cultural heritage, municipal planning, local development, discourse, regime
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Introduction

The municipalities of Rendalen and Engerdal in Hedmark County constitute a large and very sparsely populated inland area of South-Eastern Norway, along the border with Sweden (Figure 1). The total land area of these municipalities is 5377 square kilometers, and the population density is only 0.6 inhabitants per square kilometer (Table 1). The area represents the southern part of the South Sámi district in Mid Scandinavia.

The cultural history of the Sámi and Norse peoples and the interactions between these ethnic groups are long and diverse, in the South Sámi district as elsewhere.. The existing knowledge of the long term social and culture processes that have contributed to the construction of Rendalen and Engerdal as a Sámi and Norse borderland is rather fragmented and has not been extensively interpreted or analyzed (Fjellheim 1999; 2012; Bergstøl 2008; Amundsen 2011, in review). However, this cultural landscape constitute unique resources with possible potential in local development. Crucial to local development in remote rural areas are the planning and management activities performed by the municipal authorities (Bærenholdt & Haldrup 2003). These activities take place within a complex network of management regimes that also involve regional and national authorities. In southern Sámi areas, Sámi reindeer husbandry and agriculture/forestry have interacted more closely, and the pressures and land use conflicts have been more severe, than in the core Sámi areas in northern Scandinavia (Riseth 2005). Recent attempts to promote nature-based tourism and provide recreational activities for residents of urban areas may intensify this competition over land use.

By ratifying the ILO Convention 169 (1989) concerning indigenous and tribal people in 1990, Norway recognized the Sámi as indigenous people. This recognition necessitates acknowledgement of the indigenous peoples' rights to the land areas that they originally occupied, among other things. The principles from the ILO Convention are reinforced by the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet 2014).

The purpose of this article is to discuss how South Sámi and Norse cultural heritage can contribute to local development in sparsely populated mountain municipalities. Then, it is not cultural heritage management in general we are discussing, but management of cultural heritage in this type of mountain areas. The basis is archeological and legally protected cultural heritage, which comprises only a small part of the total cultural heritage management. More specifically, we seek to address the following research questions:

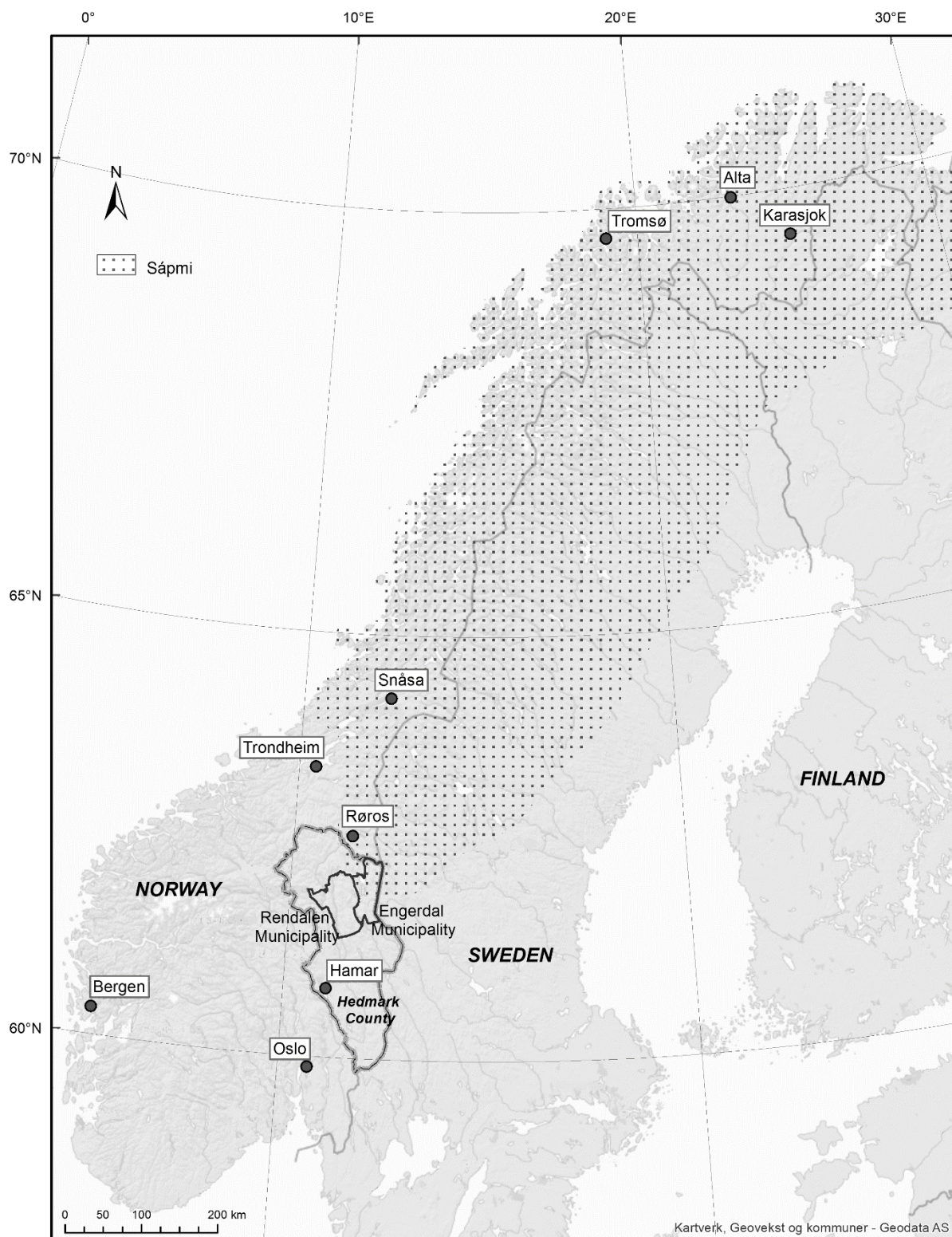


Figure 1. The studied area (Source for Sápmi area: Sámi Instituhtta (Slaastad 2016))

- How is the cultural heritage management in this area organized and what are its competencies and capacities?
- Where and in what manner do we see cultural heritage and cultural landscapes being incorporated into municipal and county planning and management?
- How can municipal planning and management enable cultural heritage contribute to local development?

Table 1. Data relating the studied municipalities, Hedmark County, and Norway as a whole (Source: Arnesen et al. 2010; Miljødirektoratet n.d. Statistisk Sentralbyrå n.d.)

	Rendalen Municipality	Engerdal municipality	Hedmark County	Norway
Population (2015)	1885	1359	195 153	5 165 802
Change in population 1995-2015 (percent)	-22	-20	5	19
Share of population > 67 years (2015 – percent)	13	13	10	8
Total area (km ²)	3180	2197	27 398	323 771
Mountain areas (percent of total area)	67	70	44	37
Protected areas (km ²) and percent of total area	642 20	601 27	3518 13	54 556 17
Employment in agriculture 2014 (percent)	8	8	4	2
Change employment in agriculture 1994-2014 (percent)	-48	-65	-31	-43
Employment in tourism 2014 (percent)	4	7	3	7
Second homes (2015)	2563	1497	34 415	419 449
Change in second homes 1998-2015 (percent)	20	35	22	24
Second homes per 100 homes (2014)	197	176	34	28

Rendalen and Engerdal municipalities

The two studied municipalities are typical of Norwegian mountain municipalities (c.f. Skjeggedal, Overvåg & Riseth 2015). They have low populations and population densities, and have seen their populations fall sharply over the last 20 years. Their populations have a high proportion of older people and of people employed in agriculture, although in both municipalities the proportion of agricultural workers has fallen more rapidly than the averages for both Hedmark County and Norway as a whole. Both municipalities have nearly 200 second homes per 100 homes and have recently seen considerable increases in second home numbers. (Table 1).

Large parts of the municipalities are excellent grazing areas for different stocks of reindeer. The north-eastern part of Engerdal Municipality is inside the Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District. It is used by 6 Sámi family groups and is home to about 3000 domesticated reindeer (Reinbase.no n.d.). The borders of the reindeer husbandry districts in Norway were given legal force by a Royal Decree as far back as in 1894. Sámi husbandry areas had previously extended beyond these borders (NOU 2007:14, 66), as demonstrated by the distribution of findings of historical Sámi artefacts shown in Figure 2. Figure 3 and 4 show examples of registered cultural heritage in the mountain areas of Engerdal. The eastern and northern parts of the municipalities are included in the “National Wild Reindeer District”, which during planning processes the last years is protected through seven regional plans initiated by the Ministry of Environment and approved by the counties according to the Planning and Building Act (Miljøverndepartementet 2007, Villrein.no n.d.).

The Rendalen Reindeer Company is a unique organization in the context of Norwegian reindeer management. After the area’s original wild reindeer stock went extinct in around 1920, a stock of domesticated reindeer was imported and the landowners in eastern Rendalen were given permission, through Rendalen Reindeer Company, to manage the hunting of this new stock. The company consists of nearly 300 land owners. This reindeer stock and its annual hunting under license, is regarded as an important bearer of tradition in Rendalen (Paus 2001).

Three large areas are protected according to the Nature Diversity Act - the Sølén Protected Landscape in Rendalen and the Femundsmarka and Gutulia National Parks in Engerdal collectively cover 1077 square kilometers, about one fifth of the two municipalities’ total land area (Miljødirektoratet n.d.).

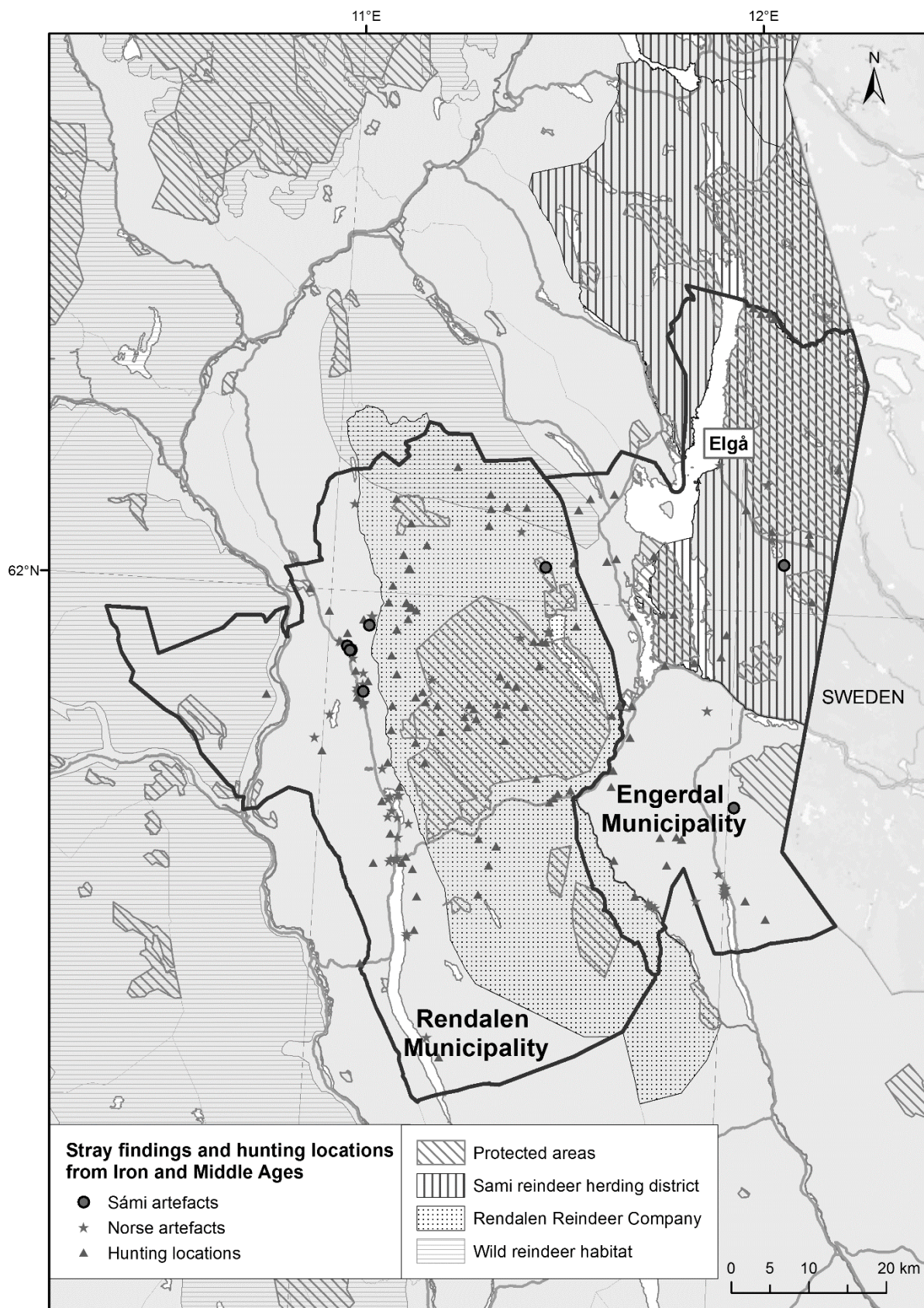


Figure 2. Land use in the studied municipalities (Sources: NIKU, Miljødirektoratet, NIBIO)



Figure 3. A large funnel-shaped reindeer trapping system in Engerdal Municipality, probably dating from the Iron Age and the Middle Ages (500 BC – 1500 AD); the reindeer would have been led along the upright stones, towards an enclosed area, from which it would have been difficult to escape from (Photo: NIKU 2013)



Figure 4. An abandoned Sámi settlement in Gutulia, Engerdal Municipality, with the remains of a turf hut (*gåetie*) in the foreground (interior width c.4 m) (Photo: NIKU 2012)

Theoretical perspectives

Approach

Knowledge of several different fields is needed to answer our research questions, including cultural heritage, municipal planning and management and local development. All of these fields are united by the fact that they are at least partially socially constructed. None of them has a common and unambiguous description, and both their descriptions and management activities are associated with an influenced by individuals' values, opinions, and power relations. Different actors will continuously struggle for discursive hegemony and try to secure support for their definition of reality (Hajer 1995, 59). We therefore adopt a discourse analytical approach to obtain an appropriate common theoretical framework for our discussions (Skjeggedal 2005; Smith 2006 & Lysgård & Cruickshank 2013. Hajer (1995, 44) defines discourse "as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular sets of practices and thorough which meaning is given to physical and social realities". Discourse does not only reflect social meanings and relations; it also constitutes and governs them (Smith 2006, 14).

The scope for action relating to cultural heritage and landscapes is partly determined by formal laws. However, informal and customary laws, cultural norms, and standards of behavior are also important elements of the institutional framework that defines 'the rules of the game'. Organizations and individuals (i.e. actors) seeking to implement change or protect specific interests relating to cultural heritage work within this framework and seek to modify it to suit their objectives. We use the term *regime* to describe a stable coalition or group of actors who hold formal or informal positions through which they seek to influence policy using the resources to which they have access (Stone 1989; Sevatdal 1999; Skjeggedal et al. 2004).

Cultural heritage

One useful analytic approaches to cultural heritage is based on Smith's (2006) concept of "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD). According to Smith, AHD is the dominant Western discourse of heritage. While the precise nature of the discourse varies from case to case, it has an embedded range of assumptions about the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage that are linked to and defined by the concepts of monumentality and aesthetics, which privilege expert values and knowledge. In contrast, Smith considers heritage not so much a "thing" as a cultural process. She uses the idea of heritage to construct, reconstruct and negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in the present

(Smith 2006, 2-4). “Heritage is about a sense of place” (Smith 2006, 49). Cultural heritage can thus unite people and serve as a meeting place, promoting cooperation between experts and citizens (Svensson 2015).

Smith (2006 11-12) also claims that AHD is a self-referential discourse that identifies specific people who have the ability or authority to “speak” about or “for” heritage, and others who do not. This can be linked to Cresswell’s concepts of “in place” or “out of place”, which relates to the constitution of particular places as normative spaces to which someone or something can be considered to belong or not (Berg & Dale 2004, Cresswell 2013). What is defined and identified as culture and cultural heritage is also connected to political and perhaps contested processes where some aspects are privileged and others excluded (Førde 2014, Smith 2006).

Municipal planning and management

Municipal planning is traditionally ends-means orientated, and adheres to a kind of instrumental rationality (Banfield 1959). Hardly anyone would disagree that this model is an unattainable ideal. Praxis is more significant, according to Lindblom’s (1959), “The Science of Muddling Through”. In recent decades, the theoretical debate on planning has led to the ramification of “the communicative turn”, communicative rationality and variations of communicative planning (Fisher & Forester 1993; Sager 1994; Healy 1997; Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Skjeggedal 2005; Innes & Booher 2010; Sager 2013).

Neither rationalistic nor communicative rationality are especially aware of power relations. The implicit position is seemingly that power should be eliminated and consensus should be achieved through the planning process. Mouffe (1999) criticizes the Habermasian-inspired version of the liberal, deliberative democratic model based on consensus and formulates an alternative model that she calls “agonistic pluralism”. The main question within this model is not how to eliminate power, but how to constitute forms of power that are compatible with democratic values. This perspective does not eliminate antagonistic conflicts, but according to Mouffe (1999, 755) “the aim of democratic politics is to transform ‘antagonism’ into ‘agonism’”. Conflicts must be considered legitimate, and attempts to eliminate them through authoritarian consensus are to be rejected. Thus, “while knowing that there is no rational solutions of their conflict, adversaries nevertheless accept a set of rules according to which their conflicts is going to be regulated” (Mouffe 2013, 138). Agonistic planning is an emerging supplement to established planning theories, especially in situations involving inherent conflicts that are often overlooked (Hillier 2003; Bäcklund & Mäntysala

2010 & Lysgård & Cruickshank 2013). Ideally, one would not seek to reject instrumental planning and knowledge, or communicative planning and participation; rather, the objective should be to integrate all three approaches and thereby elucidate power and conflicts in planning processes (Saporito 2016).

Local development

Cultural heritage is one component of the physical resources and features of a place, together with natural, societal and other cultural resources. Cultural heritage in the form of cultural relics and the development of knowledge and tales that can be communicated and marketed could influence the construction of people's "sense of place", the way in which people subjectively experience, relate to, and become attached to the place in question (Agnew 1987, Berg & Dale 2004, Smith 2006). In this way, cultural heritage can also influence people's identity, because identity can be understood as something that is developed in relation to other people and one's surroundings (Berg & Dale 2004). How these links between identity and heritage is developed and maintained, however, has not had much scrutiny in the heritage literature (Smith 2006, 48).

Regarding local development within the framework of municipal planning, it is necessary to combine people's "sense of place" with two other understandings of the concept of place (Agnew 1987). The first is place as 'location', a physical framework for social and economic life based on descriptions of natural and social conditions. The second is place as 'locale', i.e. meeting points where people's activities intersect in time and space. A place is the context for shaping and maintaining social relations, characterized both by *openness*, where the social relationships of people coming to the locations exceed those of the 'locals', and *dynamics*, the constant change due to new relations and patterns of interaction. A place is a network based meeting point in relation to other places (Massey 2005). Therefore, sense of place is not only connected to a defined core area or to permanent inhabitants. It may also refer to perceptions without distinct boundaries and include temporary inhabitants like second home owners (Skjeggedal & Overvåg 2011).

Bærenholdt and Haldrup (2003) discuss how culture is becoming an important factor in explaining the "capabilities" of an area due to regional development and innovation. In the context of local tourism development, cultural heritage is seen as a resource that defines the unique aspects of a place and can serve as a tourist attraction. "Hence, culture is used to highlight and utilize the local for presenting a distinct image in a global market place", as Hall, Müller and Saarinen (2009, 198) put it. In some areas, the Sámi population and their

culture have been held up as a major asset with the potential relevance to the tourism industry (Hall, Müller and Saarinen 2009). Although contested, tourism development is seen as a potential source of new income and employment in times when traditional reindeer husbandry is facing challenges. However, the high expectations of such development have not been fulfilled, and problems relating to commodification and representations of the Sami have occurred (Hall, Müller & Saarinen 2009).

Lysgård & Cruickshank (2013) describe two main discourses of place attractiveness. The first focuses on place as an arena for living, the residential place. In planning practice, we see this discourse in the ambitions of local community planning which concentrate on the local community, or the place, as a planning unit, and emphasize local participation, intersectoral cooperation (Skjeggedal 1988; St.meld. nr. 29 (1992-93)) and place development (Healy 2010). The second discourse focuses on place as a self-governed geographical construct, the autonomous place, whereby the place is seen as a productive force in competition with other places. This competitive approach to attractiveness has become the dominant discourse in municipal planning in both urban and fast-growing districts, and in rural and declining districts (e.g. Miljøverndepartementet 2001). In recent years, Telemarkforskning has developed a theoretical framework for understanding attractiveness, which they connect directly to migration and place characteristics that create higher in-migration or lower out-migration, based on competition mainly between municipalities in Norway (Vareide, Kobro & Storm 2013, 7).

Methods

Our data derive from a case analysis of two municipalities, the results of which will not necessarily be valid for other municipalities. However, the case municipalities have many similarities with other mountain municipalities in Norway (Skjeggedal, Overvåg & Riseth 2015), and the results may at least be analytically relevant to other mountain municipalities.

At the beginning of the project, in April 2012, we held mutual information meetings with individuals responsible for land use planning in the two municipalities. The purpose was to get information about the current situation and activities in land use planning and relations to culture heritage management and local development, and to give information about our research project. This was followed by two group interviews in both municipalities with individuals having administrative responsibility for cultural heritage, land use planning, and industrial development. These group interviews were arranged in November 2014 and December 2015. The purpose of the first group interviews was to get more in depth

descriptions and interpretations of the factual situation concerning the project issues. The second group interviews were more directly oriented against our three research questions. Each of the group interviews lasted about two hours and had more the character of discussions and dialog than specified interviews, though following a semi-structured guide. In addition, we conducted one-on-one interviews with one archaeologist and one planner in Hedmark County, one archaeologist in the Sámi Parliament in Snåsa, the director and the research leader at Saemien Sijte (South-Sámi museum and culture center) in Snåsa, and the Reindeer Husbandry Director at the Hedmark County Governor's office in Røros. These interviews were conducted between December 2015 and February 2016. All the interviews took place at the interviewee's office, except one done by telephone, and they lasted about one hour each. Finally, in May 2016, we interviewed the Board of Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District in connection to a board meeting in Elgå.

In addition to the interviews, we studied relevant planning documents from the municipalities and Hedmark County, the relevant nationally approved protected area plans, and the treatment of relevant single cases according to the Cultural Heritage Act (CHA).

Results and discussion

Organization of cultural heritage management

It is not possible to discuss cultural heritage management in these mountain areas without also considering other management regimes whose responsibilities extend into the same areas and are somewhat related to the same activities. We connect the regimes to their main legal basis which are The Cultural Heritage Act (Kulturminneloven), The Planning and Building Act (Plan- og bygningsloven, The Nature Diversity Act (Naturmangfoldloven) and the Reindeer Husbandry Act (Reindriftsloven) (see Table 2).

The Cultural Heritage Act regime

The municipalities have no legal authority under the Culture Heritage Act. Nevertheless, the municipalities have the main responsibility to identify, value assess and manage protected cultural heritage (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet 2015, 14). The Directorate for Cultural Heritage has a special project to strengthen the municipal competence in cultural heritage management, especially by supporting preparation of municipal culture heritage plans (Riksantikvaren n.d.). Lack of competence and capacity of the municipal administration for this tasks is a major challenge, especially in sparsely populated areas such as Engerdal and Rendalen. In both municipalities, a lone individual is responsible for cultural heritage

Table 2. Public actors operating in cultural heritage and related fields, the legal basis for their authority, and their responsibilities (dark grey shading indicates major responsibility, light grey shading indicates some lesser degree of responsibility).

	The Cultural Heritage Act	The Planning and Building Act	The Nature Diversity Act	The Reindeer Husbandry Act
Municipal				
County				
County Governor				
Directorate for Cultural Heritage				
Norwegian Environment Agency				
Norwegian Agriculture Agency				
Sami Parliament				
Ministry of Climate and Environment				
Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation				
Ministry of Agriculture and Food				

management and this person also has several other responsibilities that all relate in some way to the broad concept of culture. On average, cultural heritage management accounts for only around one fifth of their responsibilities. These individuals both have well-founded and broad general knowledge of cultural issues as well as real competence in a specific related field – forestry in one case, and history in the other. Legally, authority relating to cultural heritage management is exercised by the County officials at Hamar or, where matters of Sámi cultural heritage management are concerned, the Sámi Parliament at Snåsa. Both of these organizations have relevant archeological competence according to the tradition in management of protected cultural heritage in mountain areas.

In 1978, Sámi cultural heritage older than 100 years was granted automatic protected status, while the overall limit for automatic protection is cultural heritage older than 1537. This represented a recognition of Sámi cultural heritage and the right of the Sámi to manage their own cultural heritage, and also constitutes an example of cultural heritage management based on the “authorized heritage discourse” and protection. This approach to protection can be inconsistent with that specified by the ILO Convention and indigenous peoples’ rights to influence their own cultural heritage because the influence they would wish to exercise will not necessarily be aligned with traditional protection principles (Holm-Olsen, Myrvoll & Myrvoll 2012). Many objects and sites granted automatic protection under this law are considerable younger than others, and are located in areas that are still used in a similar way as when the object or site was established or created. This necessitates a more dynamic management approach than traditional protection.

Cultural heritage in Norway is registered in a national database at the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. Individuals responsible for cultural heritage management at any level may access the register and add registrations themselves. Unfortunately, many registrations, including a comprehensive registration of South-Sámi cultural heritage implemented by Saemien Sijte in the 1980s, are not included. These registrations were largely based on interviews given under the condition that they should not be published. This condition was originally imposed because of a fear that the rights of the South-Sámi people to their cultural heritage might be lost to people outside that culture. While this fear is no longer so prevalent, the registrations remain restricted and continue to be excluded from national database (Fossum & Norberg 2012). However, the board of Svahken Sijte reindeer husbandry district has now adopted a more open approach and underlined the importance of documenting Sámi cultural heritage to promote the interests of the Sámi people (interview, 7 May 2016).

The Planning and Building Act regime

When municipal authorities wish to prioritize cultural heritage, they must use the Planning and Building Act and define zones requiring special consideration relating to cultural heritage in the land use part of the municipal masterplan. Alternatively, they can specify regulations relating to cultural heritage in a zoning plan. Municipal plans for cultural heritage are usually prepared as sub-plans within the municipal masterplan as specified by the Planning and Building Act. These plans are important to integrate the protected cultural heritage both with cultural heritage in general and with the municipal masterplan. The Sámi Parliament (2009) has prepared their own planning guidelines based on the Planning and Building Act and a dynamic interpretation of culture that encompasses ongoing activities (p. 7). Both of the studied municipalities aim to establish comprehensive surveys in connection with the ongoing preparation of cultural heritage plans. These activities are being undertaken in cooperation with local historical societies, museums, and cultural heritage enthusiasts.

The Nature Diversity Act regime

Protected areas defined under the Nature Diversity Act are managed by the County Governors. A new model for the management of larger protected areas, like National Parks and Protected Landscapes, introduced in 2009 decentralized responsibility for the management of these areas to inter-municipal boards of politicians from the relevant municipalities, county councils, and (where applicable) the Sámi Parliament. The protected area managers are still employed by the County Governors but are now affiliated with one of the affected municipalities. The protected area board for Sjølen Protected Landscapes includes two representatives from Rendalen Municipality and one from Hedmark County. Femundsmarka and Gutulia and National Parks have a common protected area board including one representative from each of Røros and Engerdal municipalities, one from each of Sør-Trøndelag and Hedmark counties, and two from the Sámi Parliament.

The Reindeer Husbandry Act regime

Reindeer husbandry is managed under the terms of the Reindeer Husbandry Act by the County Governor. Its management was restructured in 2014 and is currently implemented by the staff of the former Reindeer management office, which is located at Røros in Sør-Trøndelag. These officials are also responsible for managing reindeer husbandry in Hedmark County. They are not directly involved in cultural heritage work even though the basic argument for reindeer husbandry is to maintain Sámi culture and society. As members of the

County Governor's staff, they have the authority to make objections to municipal plans on the basis of reindeer husbandry interests. This is very important for the protection of reindeer husbandry areas, especially against scattered second home building (interview Reindeer Husbandry Director, 18 February 2016).

The cooperation between the Reindeer husbandry district and the municipalities has improved considerably the last decades. The dialogue is good, and the challenge is more practical, for instance to find time and opportunity for collaboration (Interview, Board of Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District, 7 May 2016).

How does it work? Organization of cultural heritage management

Table 2 shows a very fragmented organization, not just in terms of actors with responsibility for cultural heritage, but also in terms of all the other related management regimes that are (or should be) involved in cultural heritage work in some way. Given the small size of municipal administrations, responsibility for cultural heritage rests with a single person who has several other, competing responsibilities. The archaeological competence required for cultural heritage management clearly exists at the county level, although the capacity for taking on such work may be questionable. Cultural heritage at this level is primarily defined in terms of conservation and is separated from local development and planning management.

Responsibility for managing Norse and Sámi cultural heritage is divided between the County and the Sámi Parliament, giving rise to issues of double management since both authorities usually are involved in most of the cases. To some extent, there is a lack of management of Sámi cultural heritage in Southern Norway at the local level, partly because of a lack of capacity, the Sámi Parliament at Snåsa that is responsible for the whole South-Sámi district employs three archeologists, and partly because of the very long distance between the office at Snåsa and the localities of Engerdal and Rendalen. Nature protection, which is often relevant to cultural protection, is organized separately in both political and administrative terms.

This fragmentation contributes to crumble cultural heritage management in general and Sámi cultural heritage management in particular. Only the Planning and Building Act regime acts primarily at the local level, and even within this regime, central government ministries have "the last word" (Bugge 2011, 181). The Planning and Building Act regime is also the only regime whose purpose is intersectoral. However, although one of its goals is to cooperate with other regimes, it is not sector-neutral; its origins are in physical development.

The four considered regimes generally cooperate quite well with each other, but are widely separated, and there is no formal arena developing common policies on the municipal level.

Cultural heritage in planning documents, projects and single cases

In this section, we examine examples of cultural heritage management in single cases managed under the Cultural Heritage Act and in recent relevant planning documents and projects in the two municipalities and Hedmark County, using responses from the interviews as sources of supplemental insight.

Single cases

The management of single cases in the municipalities is mainly performed under the terms of the Cultural Heritage Act. In mountain areas they typically relates to automatically protected monuments and sites. Most of the monuments and sites in question were established before 1537, but the regulations apply to all Sámi monuments and sites that are over 100 years old. The municipalities usually forward cases to both the County and the Sámi Parliament. The County then determines whether an inspection is needed and tries to visit the sites. The Sámi Parliament rarely finds inspection to be necessary, particularly given the substantial distance between their office at Snåsa in Nord-Trøndelag and the studied municipalities; its typical response is that there are no known automatically protected Sámi monuments in the area. Our results indicate that there are few major conflicts between the municipalities and the cultural heritage authorities or between the counties and the Sámi Parliament.

The interviews show that the municipalities screen the cases that they send to the Sámi Parliament to some extent. Individuals from the parliament also mentioned this practice, which they consider inappropriate because the municipalities do not have the necessary competence to perform such screening. On the other hand, if every case were submitted to the parliament, its capacity for evaluation would quickly be overwhelmed (interview Sámi Parliament, 11 February 2016).

Municipal planning documents

The PBA requires all municipalities to approve a Municipal Planning Strategy every fourth year. Rendalen's strategy document for 2013 discusses future challenges and defines planning needs. A revised land use section of the Municipal Master Plan was approved by the Municipal Council in June 2014 and a revised social section in September 2015. The planning documents consider cultural heritage on an overall level. The land use section has a general

provision about cultural heritage and cultural environment and delineates a zone requiring special considerations relating to the national wild reindeer areas and the area managed by Rendalen Reindeer Company. The vision underpinning the social section is “With roots in the past and enthusiasm for future growth”. The whole document is based on Telemarksforskning’s competitive attractiveness model and a goal of increasing in-migration from other municipalities.

Engerdal Municipality has not yet approved its Municipal Planning Strategy. A preliminary discussion held by the Municipal council in September 2015 (case 15/62) referred to other municipalities and the use of the mentioned attractiveness model. The current social element of the Municipal Master Plan was approved in 2001, but the land use section was recently revised and was approved in April 2014. Both of the plans consider cultural heritage on an overall level. The social section’s vision is: “With nature in the center, a future is built, employment is created, and well-being is secured” (p. 13-14). The document highlights the great value of cultural heritage, especially buildings in the outlying fields, and the cultural landscape. Additionally, the strong relationship between Sámi culture and industrial development is pointed out. The Land Use section has a general provision about cultural heritage and cultural environment that requires a specific consideration of cultural heritage values when evaluating buildings and plans. A zone requiring special consideration for reindeer husbandry is specified; its borders are largely congruent with those of the Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District.

Both Rendalen and Engerdal Municipality have for years had completion of a new cultural heritage plan on the agenda, but they have yet to be completed, despite financial support from both the Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Hedmark County.

Regional plans

Hedmark County has an approved Regional planning strategy from 2012 which defines prioritized activities for the coming four years. One of its four themes is attractiveness, defined as the capability to attract and keep inhabitants, clearly inspired by the previously discussed competitive attractiveness model. A county sub-plan for “Cultural heritage for the future of Hedmark” was approved by the County Council in 2005. Its vision is “to make Hedmark’s past into a living and meaningful part of the future” (p. 10), and its aims include securing the diversity and distinctiveness of Hedmark’s cultural heritage as a part of a comprehensive environmental- and land-use management plan, and strengthening social and cultural affiliation and local development (p. 18). Hedmark County has a cooperative

agreement with the Sámi Parliament that was signed in 2005. The action part of this agreement emphasizes supporting small scale enterprise and cultural-based industries to secure the special culture of South-Sámi reindeer husbandry and Sámi culture in tourism. The interviews show that this agreement is not well known and seldom used by officials of either the county or the Sámi Parliament.

Protected area plans

The three larger protected areas according to the Nature Diversity Act in the two municipalities have also cultural heritage as a part of the protection purpose. The Sølén Protected Landscape in Rendalen extends over 457 square kilometers and was established in 2011. Its purpose is to safeguard a nature- and cultural landscape that has ecological, cultural and experience value and which contributes to the creation of identity. Femundsmarka National Park, 597 square kilometers, was approved in 2003 as an extension of the previous national park established in 1971. The national park covers the north-eastern part of Engerdal. Its purpose is to protect a large, connected and mainly untouched area of forests and mountains with distinctive landscapes, and the area's biological diversity. Additionally, it is intended to provide simple open-air recreation, protect cultural heritage, and safeguard the needs of reindeer husbandry. Gutulia national park is a smaller park that extends over 23 square kilometers and is located south of Femundsmarka. It was approved in 2004 as an expansion of a park established in 1968 and with protection purposes quite similar to that of Femundsmarka (Miljødirektoratet n.d.).

Projects

Changes and priorities in national policy are typically implemented through short-term programs and projects rather than changes in ordinary policy (Overvåg, Skjeggedal & Sandström 2015). Especially in peripheral municipalities struggling with a weak public economy, such projects offer opportunities to establish new activities. However, in such cases, the conditions associated with the funding will influence and direct the content of the activities. The increasing focus on cultural heritage in Rendalen has partly been driven by the "Huntsman project" which started as a pre-project in 2008 and was continued in 2010-2013 with support from Hedmark County and the Ministry of Local Governance and Modernization. Its main objective was to increase knowledge and added value by means of joint efforts relating to identity, culture history and the natural environment. Important activities have included the introduction of guided walks to neighboring cultural heritage sites

in the various local communities of Rendalen, developing a plan for a common profile for signage and marking, and processes for designing and establishing information boards in nine local communities. The project has helped to increase awareness of cultural heritage in the municipality (group interview Rendalen Municipality, 16 December 2015). The Engerdal Centre project is a comprehensive plan for the development of the municipal center as “Simply a better place to be”, and is also supported by the County and the Ministry.

How does it work? Cultural heritage in planning and management

Because culture heritage management activities are primarily focused on individual cases, there is little scope for viewing the cases as processes and connecting them to cultural heritage development. In addition, the protection and management of South-Sámi cultural heritage in the studied area is marginalized because of its low staff allocation and its great physical distance from the core Sámi areas (interview Sámi Parliament, 11 February 2016). Therefore, the traditional and authorized discourse of cultural heritage focused on objects and static conservation based on archeological competence continues to dominate. Ambitions relating to mediation, cultural identity and development are less prioritized, although still visible to some extent. The goal of integrating added value into ordinary cultural heritage management is nearly impossible to achieve under such conditions.

The planning documents show that both municipalities have formulated visions pertaining to nature and cultural values. They are well aware of their obligations and the potential of cultural heritage, and this awareness is confirmed by the interviews. The challenge is thus to convert this general interest, ambition, and recognition of cultural heritage as a prioritized issue into appropriate action. We recognize that the discourse of attractiveness and the competition for in-migration have achieved a hegemonic position. The competitive attractiveness model is adapted by both the municipalities and the County as a structuring scheme in their planning documents. Consequently, the overall ambitions of prioritizing natural and cultural values, and the place as residential arena and the possibilities for using cultural heritage to strengthen the sense of place, almost disappear underneath factors more directly relevant to the competitive attractiveness for new inhabitants and new industry. Though less apparent, we find the discourse of the place as an arena for living, the residential place, in both the local community approach in the “Huntsman project” in Rendalen and in the Engerdal Centre project.

The documents lack any presentation or discussion of conflicts. The potential conflict between open-air recreation and reindeer husbandry in protected areas is not discussed.

Neither the conflicts connected to the borders of the reindeer husbandry district, both concerning the possibilities to respect the borders and the need for revision of the old borders established in 1894 (interview, Board of Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District, 7 May 2016). The ethnic dimension is mentioned by the County, but not in the municipal planning documents. We find no references to the ILO Convention 169 or the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous people. It is never mentioned that the reindeer owners often experience meetings with public administrators as meetings between ‘two worlds’ because of the different languages and concepts used by the two parties, and because of the differences in their positions (Benjaminsen et al. 2015, 21-22).

Planning is based on instrumental rationality and knowledge combined with communicative rationality and participation. The assumption is that this approach will create consensus. In practice we know there are conflicts, even if the dominant situation is agreement. However, issues relating to cultural heritage (and Sámi cultural heritage in particular) are frequently subject to conflicting interests to at least some extent. This discourse of consensus tends to neutralize such conflicts and make them invisible. We find the same tendency in the way the museums mediate the multiple and complex past of the South Sámi region (Swensen in review). When such conflicts are not discussed, the underlying arguments are often not seen as legitimate and are neither ignored nor considered conspicuous. The conflicts thus remain as antagonisms and there is no way to transform them into agonisms as might happen under a more conflict-open process according to Mouffe (1999, 2013).

Cultural heritage and its contribution to local development

Cultural heritage is seen as an important resource for local development in both municipalities. The potential for the development of tourism on the basis of these resources is particularly emphasized. The municipalities consider the new cultural heritage plans to represent a good opportunity for new surveys to achieve a better overview of their cultural heritage. Previously, the dominant local opinion was that cultural relics were mainly hindrances to new land uses and development initiatives because they could delay the initiatives’ implementation, force their modification, increase their costs, or even bring them to a halt.

Tourism

Sámi and Norse cultural heritage is mainly seen as “one” cultural heritage and is not given any special treatment in the context of local development. Most cultural relics connected to

the Sámi are found in the outlying fields/mountains, and it is considered challenging to find good ways to use them in local development. However, interviewees from Engerdal mentioned that visitors and other people are particularly interested in the Sámi way of living as well as their traditions and culture. Blokkodden Villmarkmuseum, a local outdoor museum, presents both Sámi and Norse use of the outlying fields in Engerdal (Swensen in review). Nevertheless, it is obvious that new tourism activities in reindeer husbandry areas can create new stresses (Riseth 2015). It is thus challenging to determine which parts of history should be mediated. The difficult historical episodes in the past must not be hidden, and the potential for “cultural prostitution” must be avoided (interview, Reindeer Husbandry Director, 18 February 2016). The Reindeer Husbandry Act regime exhibits a superior discourse in which the reindeer husbandry area is treated as a resource for reindeer husbandry and thus for local development.

The Sámi in Elgå are well aware of “the bunch of archeologists doing their surveys”; their views are mainly informed by media but also by participation in projects. They generally consider the registrations to be very important and useful. The challenge is to decide how the found cultural heritage objects should be used in local development and by whom? These are sensitive questions because it is embedded in the culture that these objects should not be marketed (interview, Board of Svahken Sijte Reindeer Husbandry District, 7 May 2016).

Attractiveness

Planning documents and projects reveal both the two main attractiveness discourses in local development: local community development for the inhabitants and competition for in-migration. In Engerdal, the competition discourse are dominant in the interviews, as exemplified by the following remarks from a group interview in Engerdal Municipality, on 16 December 2015:

How can we find what is [to] our advantage, unique for us?

We must use it to strengthen our attractiveness. Culture, it must be developed into a product we can sell.

The municipalities’ plans for cultural heritage tend to include strategies on its use in local development and making the area more attractive to in-migration. In Rendalen, both discourses were present in the group interview held on 16 December 2015:

The large-scale structures do not support development in Rendalen. But statistics show that we have performed better than expected ... [working with the attractiveness model] helps us to prioritize municipal budgets towards what makes us attractive and special ()).

Simultaneously, some interviewees in Rendalen emphasized, with reference to the “Huntsman project”, that:

This work is most important for people’s pride and consciousness of the place’s history. This is the way in which it is most commonly discussed. Not development and economy.

The most valuable thing is to give people the feeling that this is the best place in the world to live; tourism cannot save Rendalen.

How does it work? Cultural heritage’s contribution to local development

Several of the participants in the group interview in Engerdal Municipality on 10 November 2014 expressed doubts about the “real” potential of tourism.

We must take advantage of our natural environment and culture, and what is special here. But this is very difficult. How do we develop this into an industry and jobs?

I have worked in tourism and could live off it for two months in the summer. How could I make a living out of this? Is there really that much potential?

Currently, the numbers of tourists visiting the two municipalities are relatively. The municipalities’ locations suggest that it will be difficult for tourism to generate substantial amounts of new employment, just as in most other mountain municipalities in Norway (Overvåg & Ericsson 2015). On the one hand, the interviewees state that their unique culture and natural resources are their “only” asset for development; on the other hand, they find it very difficult to develop jobs and incomes directly using these resources. An alternative could be to recognize that local economic development based on cultural heritage should primarily be seen as a supplement to other basic industries (Overvåg & Ericsson 2015). This would imply more emphasis on keeping and developing basic industries, and treating tourism as an

(important) supplement to help locals sustain an acceptable yearly income. Under such an approach, planning and management could shift from being based on the competitive attractiveness approach (which is unsuitable because the area has limited competitive potential) to being based on strengthening the local inhabitants' knowledge, identity and "sense of place".

The "Huntsman project" has been a success, first of all because it has strengthened people's "sense of place" by increasing knowledge, pride and the sense of identity relating to Rendalen. It is difficult to develop more direct and new economic activities on the basis of this project. However, several existing tourism enterprises and farms that use tourism as one source of income among many have developed and improved their products using the knowledge and infrastructure developed in this project.

Many of our interviewees reported that the establishment of such knowledge and identity has been one of the most valuable effects of their work on cultural heritage to date (Heldt Cassel 2007). This would be a more positive approach, emphasizing to make life better for the inhabitants, rather than competing with other places and being subject to a high risk of "losing". It also has a potential to strengthen the second home owner's identification with the local community and their motivation to contribute to local development.

One factor that is almost completely absent in the approach to local development is the issue of the South-Sámi settlement and the reindeer husbandry area (for example, the borders of the Reindeer husbandry district, which were specified over 100 years ago), and its influence or potential in future developments.

6. Conclusions

Cultural heritage contributions to local development in mountainous, sparsely populated municipalities is demanding and clearly connected also to improvements in organizing and approach and planning and management processes. Then, the management of cultural heritage and landscapes at the local level under the Cultural Heritage Act must be considered in connection with the other responsibilities of the relevant authorities and their legal basis in other Acts such as the Planning and Building Act, Nature Diversity Act and Reindeer Husbandry Act. In addition, we must be aware that our basis, though a broader perspective, is archeological and legally protected cultural heritage, which comprises only a small part of the total cultural heritage management.

Fragmented and marginalized organizing

The organizing of cultural heritage is extremely fragmented in terms of responsibilities, activities and localization. This fragmentation crumbles and marginalizes cultural heritage management in general, Sámi cultural heritage management in particular, and South-Sámi cultural heritage management to an even greater degree.

While archeology is fundamental to cultural heritage management in our case areas, archeological skills are not necessarily directly relevant to local development. Because of this fragmentation and archeological emphasis, the authorized discourse of cultural heritage that focuses on objects and preservation will probably persist. There appears to be considerable untapped potential that could be exploited by establishing tighter cooperation within and between the different management regimes and by completing the national cultural heritage database.

The very fragmented organization could probably be improved by decentralizing and concentrating more authority at the local level, which also could strengthen the cooperation and coordination of cultural heritage to other activities. Then, a multi-level governance approach is necessary to secure that regional and national cultural heritage interests will be ensured.

Disappearing and neutralized in planning and management

The municipal master plans have overall visions concerning nature and cultural values. The municipalities are well aware of their obligations relating to cultural heritage management and its potential. The challenge is to specify these ambitions and the recognition of cultural heritage as a prioritized issue in actions without allowing it to disappear.

The discourse of attractiveness, based on winning the competition for in-migration from other municipalities, has achieved a hegemonic position in both the municipalities and at the county level. This emphasis on factors relevant to the competition with other municipalities contributes to submerge and make invisible the ambitions to prioritize natural and cultural values. None of the plans present or discuss more fundamental conflicts; the discourse of consensus dominates. This contributes to the neutralization of conflicts, making them invisible and illegitimate. Consequently, they persist as unresolved antagonisms and cannot be transformed into agonisms and regulated, as might happen under a more conflict-open process.

The municipalities lack the capacity to fulfil the goals specified in the planning documents required by the PBA or to address other essential planning issues. Moreover,

resource-demanding sector plans, like culture heritage plans, are started up, often initiated and supported by regional and national authorities. The Municipal Master Plan could be simplified to an overall framework for existing and future plans and projects. Such a document, drawn up via a common participation process, could simplify the establishment of broad participation processes for other plans and projects, like the cultural heritage plans, which then would be coordinated under the terms of the Municipal Master Plan.

A contribution to local community development

The Sámi and Norse cultural heritage in Rendalen and Engerdal represents a vital and locally unique resources that could be exploited with a place-specific development policy, though their localization mainly in long distance from residential areas are challenging. They have to be considered in a broader cultural heritage perspective. Local economic development based on cultural heritage should primarily be seen as a supplement to other basic industries. The focus in planning and management should shift from the competitive attractiveness approach towards using cultural heritage to strengthen the inhabitants' knowledge, identity and "sense of place" as part of a local community development approach. Second home owners, which is a considerable group in these municipalities, may be included in such an approach. With respect to the South-Sámi in Elgå, a rather different strategy for local community development is needed; its primary aim should be to secure the area and a resource base for reindeer husbandry.

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