



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

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National Parks policy and planning:

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

Abstract

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

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

1.0 Introduction

In recent years the Norwegian government has committed to economic succession, driven primarily by historical dependence on the oil industry (since 1970) and recent volatility of oil prices (Holter, 2015; *The Guardian*, 2015). The changing economic policy setting in Norway is also influenced by the commitment of the Norwegian government to achieve carbon neutrality in all sectors of its economy by the target year of 2030 (Gössling, 2009). The response has been to actively encourage alternative industries (e.g., renewable marine energy production, aquaculture) and regional economic diversification to address the decline of rural economies (Vik et al., 2010). Norway is renowned for areas of outstanding natural beauty with an extensive system of protected natural areas (PNAs) that could be capitalised upon to

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3 stimulate growth in tourism (Stensland et al., 2014) through branding, marketing and visitor
4 management strategies (Regjeringen.no, 2015). These national and regional economic
5 development strategies signal a political will to move towards a more diversified post-oil
6 economy. Within this context our paper focuses on the strategic priority given to the
7 development of tourism in association with Norway's national parks and other protected
8 natural areas.
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20 Efforts to develop Norway's national parks in the interests of tourism is inevitably set within
21 the historical context of conservation management policy and practice in Norway.
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24 Conservation management in Norway is embedded in a longstanding tradition of simple
25 outdoor recreation among its citizens (Government of Norway, 2012). Known as *friluftsliv*
26 (outdoor living), this tradition is one of unrestricted access to engage in simple and self-
27 organised outdoor recreation activities in nature. *Friluftsliv* is a uniquely Scandinavian term
28 that expresses a way of engaging with nature (Faarlund et al., 2007). It is understood in various
29 ways by Norwegians but is generally taken to denote experiences of nature that are relatively
30 independent and self-reliant. The tradition of *friluftsliv* is evident in the philosophy of deep
31 ecology (Næss, 1989), which highlights the intrinsic value of nature, which should be
32 respected and protected. *Friluftsliv* is embedded in Norwegian national identity and is clearly
33 outlined in Norway's *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957), as is the individual public access right
34 (*allemannsrett*), allowing anyone to access (by foot, ski etc) uncultivated land independent of
35 land ownership. Little or no conservation management priority has historically been given to
36 visitor services, facility development or tourism marketing in association with National Parks¹,
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57 ¹ It is important to note that the Norwegian Trekking Association (Den Norske Turistforening - DNT) has
58 played an important role as facilitator since DNT was established in 1868, well before Norwegian national
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3 all of which fall outside the provisions of the *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957). The philosophy
4 of *friluftsliv* stands in obvious contrast to the commodification of nature experiences (Reis,
5
6 2012) through tourism development.
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12 Informed by political ecology and environmental philosophy, this paper presents an
13 international comparative analysis of the Norwegian and New Zealand conservation
14 management policy settings as they relate to tourism. New Zealand serves as the comparative
15 case because of its long tradition of nature conservation and economic development through
16 recreation and tourism management in national parks (Hall & Higham, 2000). New Zealand's
17 approach to conservation and tourism is referred to as the *dual mandate*, which alludes to the
18 twin planning priorities of nature conservation and visitor management. New Zealand's dual
19 mandate stands in contrast to the Norwegian tradition of *friluftsliv*, but is consistent with
20 Norway's new policy initiatives that recognise the tourism potential of Norway's national
21 parks. In performing this analysis we set out to understand and explain the extent to which
22 contrasting PNA policy models are compatible with tourism development. In doing so, we
23 sought to critically explore the extent to which Norway's conservation policy setting is
24 compatible with the drive to develop nature-based tourism in protected natural areas.
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46 **2.0 Political ecology and environmental philosophy**

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51 This paper draws upon the conceptual framework of political ecology (Douglas, 2014). The
52 term political ecology is attributed to Wolf (1972) who argues the need to "understand how
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57 parks were created (see <http://english.turistforeningen.no/>). DNT, with 250 000 members, has been loyal to the
58 principles of outdoor recreation, and offer various visitor services within the national parks.
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3 environmental and political forces interact to affect social and environmental changes through
4 the actions of various social actors at different scales” (Stonich, 1998: 28). Political ecology
5 calls for an integrated approach to understanding human-nature relations through the actions of
6 socio-political actors that play out along a range of analysis scales (from the global to the
7 local). As Stonich (1998: 29) points out, political ecology addresses the “ideologies that direct
8 resource use (and)... the role of the state in determining and implementing policies (that) effect
9 resource use”. It addresses the social relations of actors (or stakeholders), and the power
10 structures that mediate the relationship between society and nature (Escobar, 1996). Such
11 processes control the extent to which people have access to nature, and the ways in which
12 people are able (or not able) to interact with nature (Quiroga, 2009).
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29 Douglas (2014) applies political ecology to the study of tourism to acknowledge the
30 importance of political, economic, social and ecological contexts, highlighting two theoretical
31 lenses; the social construction of nature and the production (and consumption) of nature.
32 Within political ecology, the social construction of nature arises from poststructuralism,
33 recognizing that “...representations of reality are inextricably linked to the physical world”
34 (Douglas, 2014: 9). According to this theoretical lens the politics of economic development in
35 Norway (and elsewhere) is shaped by power structures that construct nature in accordance with
36 development principles that are economic and ecological. The production of nature (Smith,
37 1984) examines the (historical) relationship between society and nature in terms of the
38 processes of production. The production of nature thesis seeks to understand material nature in
39 relation to conceptual understandings of the natural world (Douglas, 2014).
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Political ecology dovetails with the well-established notion that nature is socially constructed,

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3 and that nature conservation is a profoundly political process (Henning, 1987; Cronon, 1995).
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5 This approach draws attention to the culture of nature, arguing that nature is produced (i.e., via
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7 acts of legislation and policy statements) and consumed (i.e., via outdoor recreation and
8
9 nature-based tourism) in accordance with environmental philosophies that are politically
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11 (re)defined based on values that differ between societies and cultures and change over time
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13 (Glacken, 1967). Acts of environmental legislation are manifestations of the cultures of nature
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15 (Evernden, 1992; Cronon 1995), which are anchored in environmental philosophy (Brennan &
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17 Lo, 2010).
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24 In environmental philosophy intense debate surrounds the values that are attached to nature
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26 (Sarkar, 2012). According to Sarkar (2012: 29), the pursuit of wild nature can be
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28 “...interpreted in two strikingly different ways”. First, environmental philosophy refers to
29
30 wildness in terms of the non-human environment, which is powerful and unpredictable. It is
31
32 this wildness (absence of human control) that defines wild nature which, if compromised,
33
34 denotes the end of nature (McKibben, 1989). The search for relatively untouched wild nature
35
36 underpins the Norwegian tradition of *friluftsliv* (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968).
37
38 Secondly, nature can be understood as wilderness; a cultural concept (Evernden, 1992) that is
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40 politically defined in accordance with the principle of minimal human influence. This principle
41
42 may be interpreted in political, economic and ecological terms (Sarkar, 2012), which afford
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44 degrees of wilderness that may vary from wild lands, national parks, and marine protected
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46 areas (MPAs), to urban parks, eco-sanctuaries, zoos and aquaria.
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3 The values that societies attached to nature may be understood by way of the diffuse
4 terminology of anthropocentrism, biocentrism and ecocentrism (Brennan & Yo, 2010).
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6 Anthropocentrism ascribes human values to wild nature in a way that embraces utility and
7
8 accommodates demand value. Anthropocentrism presumes that wild nature may be protected
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10 to provide ecosystem services such as fresh water, hydro-electric power generation, and
11
12 opportunities for recreation and tourism (Hall, 1995). Biocentrism attributes intrinsic value to
13
14 all living entities (human and non-human animals). Ecocentrism moves beyond biocentrism to
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16 accommodate collectives (species) and non-biological nature (geological features, wild rivers)
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18 in ethical and moral deliberations (Sarkar, 2012). Norwegian environmental philosophy has,
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20 since the 1960s, been influenced by the ideology of 'deep ecology', which moves beyond
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22 ecocentrism further still, to accommodate inter-generational equity and justice in respect to the
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24 long-term future of the environment (Næss, 1989). These philosophies can be considered to
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26 exist at points along a continuum rather than as fundamentally distinct categories.
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36 **3.0 The production and consumption of nature**

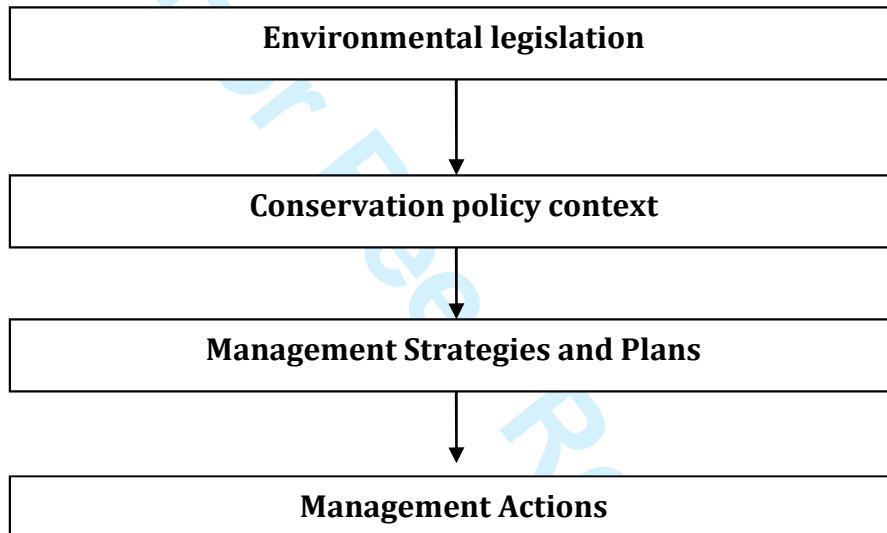
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41 In the early 1980s Dubos (1980: 14) reflected that "we have reached a paradoxical situation,
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43 that we can save (nature) only by introducing into wild areas the ordering and discipline that is
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45 becoming increasingly objectionable in civilised life". Addressing such a reality requires that
46
47 the values associated with nature are discussed and debated. At the same time, policy and
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49 planning frameworks were being developed in the North America to inform the management
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51 of recreation and tourism (Dearden & Rollins, 1993; Higham & Maher, 2006). The
52
53 development of management frameworks such as the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS)
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3 and Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) in North America from the late 1970s (Dearden &
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5 Rollins, 1993) highlights the fact that the designation of protected natural areas (PNAs), as
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7 well as the design and implementation of conservation management practices are socio-
8
9 culturally, historically and politically situated (Dearden & Rollins, 1993). Indeed Mose (2007)
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11 reminds us that conservation management can be performed in accordance with ‘traditional’ or
12
13 ‘dynamic innovation’ management paradigms. The former addresses the protection of
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15 ecosystems in a ‘static’ approach to nature preservation whereas the latter, addresses the
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17 conservation of nature in a way that accommodates social-ecological perspectives relating to
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19 recreation, tourism, local business interests and traditional land use.
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27 Eagles, McCool & Haynes (2002) articulate three critical aspects of conservation management
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29 for recreation and tourism in PNAs. They argue that the development of nature-based tourism
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31 in association with conservation management fundamentally requires a sound legislative
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33 framework, effective planning systems, and the use of a range of management tools to achieve
34
35 desired outcomes. Building upon Eagles, McCool & Haynes (2002), here we argue that
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37 tourism and conservation management systems in PNAs are comprised of four hierarchical
38
39 elements (Figure 1). First and foremost, conservation management systems are built upon (1)
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41 *environmental legislation* that arises from political systems, as determined by the
42
43 environmental philosophies that prevail at particular periods of time (Hall, 1992). Robust
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45 environmental legislation determines key policy directions, and the availability of resources for
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47 implementing key tourism and conservation management objectives (e.g., biodiversity
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49 conservation, nature protection, recreation and tourism, environmental education and
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51 conservation advocacy) (Pedersen, 2002). All aspects of conservation management in PNAs,
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including recreation and tourism management, have their basis in the jurisdictional legal framework (Higham & Maher, 2006).

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



In Norway the Nature Protection Act (*Lov om naturvern*) from 1954 establishes the basic principles for nature conservation policies, especially the governmental justification and permission to establish larger protected *areas*, and – usually – without compromising the right to public access and traditional *friluftsliv* (*allemannsrett*) within their boundaries. These principles are upheld in more recent legislation. Norway had until 2015 lacked a visitor management strategy for national parks. However, traditional *friluftsliv*, public access rules and codes of conduct (to behave with consideration and due care, personal responsibility not to disrupt nature, respect landowners' and other visitors' interests) that are stated in the *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957) apply to national parks. The key acts of environmental legislation

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3 relating to recreation and tourism in Norway today include Norway's *Nature Conservation*
4 *Act* (1970) [replaced by the *Nature Diversity Act* (2009)]², and New Zealand's *National Parks*
5 *Act* (1952) [replaced by the *National Parks Act* (1980)] and the *Conservation Act* (1987),
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7
8 respectively. From these pieces of legislation arise (2) *conservation management policies*.
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10 These are formal policies that are developed to interpret the relevant legislation and inform
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12 conservation management decisions and actions (Pedersen, 2002). New Zealand's key policy
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14 documents include the General Policy for National Parks (2005), the Conservation General
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16 Policy (2005), and the Visitor Strategy (1996).
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24 These policies inform (3) *management strategy and plans* which arise from "the process of
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26 setting goals and then developing the actions needed to achieve them" (Newsome et al., 2002:
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28 147). The development and implementation of visitor management systems has occurred in the
29
30 North American protected area context since the 1970s (Eagles & McCool, 2002). Various
31
32 frameworks have been developed to provide protected area managers with planning tools that
33
34 enable management plans to be developed. Various different management planning
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36 frameworks now exist (Eagles & McCool, 2002; Newsome et. al., 2002), with the more widely
37
38 adopted frameworks including the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC), Visitor Impact
39
40 Management (VIM), Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) and Visitor Experience and
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42 Resource Protection (VERP) frameworks (Stankey, Cole, Lucas, Petersen and Frissell, 1985;
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44 Dearden & Rollings, 1993). These frameworks outline differing approaches to the management
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46 of visitor experiences and impacts (Boyd & Butler, 1996; Newsome et al 2002).
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58 ² For PNAs a statutory administrative regulation (*verneforskrift*) is put in place in each territory.
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3 Finally (4) *management actions* are required to deliver upon the goals and objectives of the
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Finally (4) *management actions* are required to deliver upon the goals and objectives of the planning system (IUCN, 1991; Newsome et al., 2002; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Higham & Maher, 2006). Management actions link planning objectives to the achievement of planning outcomes through a regulatory regime (Maher, 2004; Hammitt, Cole & Monz, 2015). They may include site (e.g., site hardening) or visitor management. Visitor management includes direct (e.g. regulation of access) or indirect (e.g., influencing users through the provision of visitor information) management of visitors (Newsome et al., 2002). Management actions, therefore, occur along a continuum, from soft/indirect interventions (e.g., information and advocacy), to hard/direct actions (e.g., hardening of the physical environment and restrictions on site access or use). Managers may deploy various management actions in order to achieve certain outcomes in accordance with planning frameworks (Newsome et al, 2002).

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

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3 analysis of the New Zealand's long (and contrasting) history of utilitarian conservation (Shultis,
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5 1991; Hall & Higham, 2000), as expressed in the dual mandate.
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11 12 13 **4.0 Methods** 14 15 16

17 Recent changes in Norwegian economic policy relating to nature-based tourism and national
18 parks reflect an approach to conservation management (and recreation/tourism) that has long
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20 existed in other parts of the world, highlighting the potential value of comparative policy
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22 analysis (Baum, 1999). Historically, comparative studies have been employed less in the
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24 tourism context than in other research traditions (Nicholson & Pearce 2001; Baum 1999).
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26 Comparison is a process through which similarities and differences between two (or more)
27
28 phenomena are explored and analysed (Warwick & Osherson, 1973). Baum (1999) explains
29
30 that comparative research in tourism may be used to gauge performance on a longitudinal basis,
31
32 assess relative performance against a similar or competing destination or attraction, identify
33
34 alternative strategies, benchmark against competitors, learn from the experiences of others, and
35
36 interpret current events or trends in terms of future events. The purpose of the comparative
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38 analysis reported here is to draw insights into new or alternative conservation management
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40 strategies as informed by contrasting national policy contexts, and as influenced by historical
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42 national nature conservation practices. We also set out to shed light on lessons that can be
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44 learned from the experiences of others (Baum, 1999).
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3 Comparative research involves specific consideration of research design and purpose
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5 (Nicholson & Pearce 2001) including factors such as the choice of case studies, factors to be
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7 examined and conceptual and measurement equivalence (Pearce, 1993; Nicholson & Pearce
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9 2001. Comparative analyses that cross national or cultural boundaries, as in the current case,
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11 require that consideration is given to similarities and differences in the values, ideas, attitudes
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13 and symbols of participant groups (Kozac 2001). For our research purposes, a ‘lesson drawing’
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15 approach (Rose 1991) was adopted. Lesson drawing questions the circumstances under which
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17 an effective programme in one geographical context can be transferred and applied to another
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19 context. This is a popular approach for policy-informing research (Baum, 1999, Stone, 1999).
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21 Rose (1991: 4) proposes that this approach “raises the possibility that policymakers can draw
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23 lessons that will help them deal better with their own problems”. The comparative lesson
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25 drawing approach unfolds in four steps.
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34 The first step, according to Rose (1991), is to assess potential comparative programmes with
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36 inspirational responses to the question at hand. In Step 1, New Zealand was identified as the
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38 basis for comparative lesson drawing. This step involved a preliminary analysis of the
39
40 respective geographical and political contexts in Norway and New Zealand. This analysis
41
42 established that Norway and New Zealand are similar in physical geography and domestic
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44 population/urbanisation with considerable north-south latitudinal variation (and seasonality
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46 that increases with latitude), diverse flora and fauna and both coastal (e.g., island and fiord)
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48 and landlocked (e.g., alpine; mountainous) PNAs. Both Norway and New Zealand have
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50 continued to expand their respective national park systems in recent years. However, most
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52 critically, conservation management in New Zealand is based on a legislated dual mandate that
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54 offers informative contrasts with Norway’s tradition of *friluftsliv*. The dual mandate, which is
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3 legislated in New Zealand's *Conservation Act (1987)*, describes the kindred goals of nature
4 conservation in perpetuity, and fostering public engagement in conservation, including the
5 sustainable management of recreation and tourism (Higham & Maher, 2006). New Zealand
6 was selected as the comparative case for our analysis in order to draw insights from the
7 contrasting approach of Norway's *friluftsliv* tradition and the longstanding and dynamic
8 protection and use *dual mandate* that exists in New Zealand.
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20 Step 2 involved the conceptualisation of the issue(s) that exists. Informed by the literature
21 addressing the consumption and production of nature, our research was framed by the fourfold
22 hierarchical conceptualisation of conservation management outlined and reviewed above (see
23 Figure 1) (Dearden & Rollins, 1993; Stankey et al., 1985; Eagles & McCool, 2002; Newsome
24 et. al., 2002). In step 3 comparative analysis was performed to identify and interpret elements
25 of policy convergence/divergence. Our comparative analysis was performed by way of a
26 content analysis of key environmental legislation, conservation policy and visitor management
27 strategy and planning documents (Table 1). Content analysis affords the freedom to perform
28 interpretations of text to uncover the meaning of documented policy and planning statements
29 (Jennings, 2001). While this can be performed without the structure of *a priori* knowledge or
30 guiding concepts, the researcher is "responsible for analyzing the contents of the
31 communication texts and explaining their meanings based on the social setting of the context
32 from which they are drawn" (Jennings, 2001: 202).
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53 Insert Table 1: Key acts of environmental legislation and conservation management policies:
54 Norway and New Zealand.
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3 To ensure that data interpretations reflected real world situations, our research team comprised
4 of six scholars, both Norwegian and New Zealand nationals, who were familiar with the
5 Norwegian and/or New Zealand conservation policy contexts (Sarkar, 2012). This ensured that
6 the meaning of texts could be explained and contrasted within context (Jennings, 2001).
7
8 Analytical units were defined as key acts of legislation, policies, and planning and
9 management statements, and organized by classification type. Manual content analysis was
10 performed by linking parts of the text to the overall intent of the documents under analysis.
11
12 Structuration took place whereby data were ordered according to the predetermined set of
13 categories (see Figure 1). We also drew upon relevant published sources to inform and explain
14 our interpretations. This comparative content analysis then informed a qualitative empirical
15 lesson drawing analysis, which allowed insights to be drawn and recommendations to be
16 considered (Step 4).
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34 **5.0 Results**

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38 Norway and New Zealand have numerous national parks, which collectively form the
39 centrepiece of extensive national systems of PNAs (Table 2 [A]; [B]). The historical
40 development of the respective systems offers immediate contrasts (Table 2 [C]). National parks
41 in Norway have a relatively short history. The first park (*Rondane National Park*) was
42 designated in 1962. At this time a developing ecological ethic prevailed in many western
43 societies, none more so than Norway (Næss, 1989). Guided by the values of nature
44 conservation, the protection of ecosystems was considered to be the principal objective of
45 national parks (Eagles & McCool, 2002; Mose, 2007). New Zealand's first national park,
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3 Tongariro National Park, was established in 1887 (the fourth in the world), as a gift to the
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5 Crown (government) from the Māori Ngati Tuwharetoa *iwi* (tribe). This ‘gift to the nation’ was
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7 inspired by the *cultural* values associated with protecting the volcanic peaks of Tongariro that
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9 are *tapu* (sacred) to the Ngati Tuwharetoa people. Tongariro is now recognised by UNESCO as
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11 one of twenty-eight mixed cultural and natural World Heritage sites. The Scenic Preservation
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13 Commission (New Zealand) was established in 1903. The commission received multiple
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15 recommendations from the general public between 1903 and 1906, and this resulted in the
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17 designation of Fiordland National Park (now *Te Wahipounamu* World Heritage Area) in 1905,
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19 and others at regular intervals in the decades that followed.
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27 Insert Table 2: Comparison of the Norwegian and New Zealand conservation management
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29 context.
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35 It is evident that the historical rationale that underpins these systems also offers immediate
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37 contrasts (Table 2 [C]). In the Norwegian context, the importance of wild nature and nature
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39 conservation has been the paramount concern that has guided national parks policy. High
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41 degrees of naturalness and the general absence of artefactualism (human facilities) have been
42
43 guiding principles. Some of the first park proposals were therefore quite small areas, in order
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45 to meet these criteria, e.g. *Femundsmarka* National Park (Kirke- og
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47 undervisningsdepartementet, 1964). Since *Rondane* (c.1962) a further 36 national parks have
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49 been gazetted on the Norwegian mainland, and protected areas (of which national parks make
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51 up the biggest share) comprise 17 per cent of the total land area (Miljøstatus Norge, 2014).
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56 Norway has thus experienced a relatively rapid development in its national park system in the
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3 half century from 1962. Most of Norway's national parks (and all the early ones) are located in
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5 relatively remote, mountainous natural areas.
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10 By contrast, the history of New Zealand's protected area system is steeped in a utilitarian
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12 conservation ethic (Hall & Higham, 2000). Recognising the rise of European Romanticism
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14 (Hall, 1992), the New Zealand government in 1901 created the Department of Tourism and
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16 Publicity (now Tourism New Zealand [TNZ]), the first national destination marketing
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18 organization (DMO) in the world, to promote New Zealand's natural (and cultural)
19
20 environment and to foster international inbound tourism (Hall & Higham, 2000). Indeed many
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22 of New Zealand's more recent national parks (e.g., Kahurangi National Park 1996; Rakiura
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24 National Park 2002) have been consciously designated to encourage spatially dispersed
25
26 patterns of tourism and foster regional economic development. New Zealand's PNA system
27
28 has been continuously developed since 1887 in accordance with a dual mandate of protection
29
30 of nature in perpetuity, and use for recreation and tourism (New Zealand *Conservation Act*,
31
32 1987). Indeed the dual mandate has developed to now extend to inter-agency partnerships
33
34 between the Department of Conservation and local government, commercial tour operators,
35
36 marketing agencies (including TNZ), local/regional conservation groups and community trusts
37
38 (non-profit organization) (Table 2 [C, D]). The utility of PNAs in both Norway and New
39
40 Zealand has included grazing and hunting (among other things) but New Zealand's utilitarian
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42 conservation has clearly extended to the systematic development of recreation and tourism in
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44 association with national parks.
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52 53 54 55 *5.1. Legislation/Regulation* 56 57 58 59 60

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6 The first element of the conceptual model (Figure 1) recognizes that conservation management
7
8 is grounded in a sound legislative framework (Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002). The
9
10 legislative framework for Norway's national parks is centred on biocentric values that give
11
12 priority to the protection of wild nature (Holt Jensen, 1978; Government of Norway, 2012).
13
14 The founding principle of conservation management in Norway is described as classical nature
15
16 protection in the *Nature Diversity Act* (2009) (Government of Norway, 2012). Secondary to
17
18 the overriding objective to preserve Norway's wild nature is the prescriptive right and principle
19
20 of common access (*allemannsretten*), which is stated in Norway's *Outdoor Recreation Act*
21
22 (1957). These acts of Norwegian law provide for several rights, of which unrestricted foot
23
24 access is the most extensive (Hammitt et al, 1992). The *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957)
25
26 supports self-organised, simple outdoor recreation activities, which is reflective of Norway's
27
28 *friluftsliv* tradition. Little or no reference is made to visitor services, facility development
29
30 (except paths) or tourism marketing, which fall outside the provisions of the *Outdoor*
31
32 *Recreation Act* (1957).
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41 The main goals for national parks are embedded in the Nature Conservation Act (1970)
42
43 (Government of Norway, 2007) in which the founding principle of national parks is stated in
44
45 the act's section 3:
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50 "In order to preserve large areas of natural habitat that are undisturbed or largely
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52 undisturbed, distinctive or beautiful, areas of land owned by the state may be designated
53
54 as national parks... The landscape and the flora, fauna, natural features and
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3 archaeological and architectural monuments and sites shall be protected against
4
5 development, construction and other disturbance.”
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10 The strong emphasis on nature protection is evident in this text. No explicit reference is made
11
12 to human user interests (apart from the general values that the national parks are supposed to
13
14 protect, and the term ‘beautiful’). The principle of common access (*allemannsretten*) is central
15
16 to the Norwegian legislation (Table 1). As in New Zealand, there are no entry fees or
17
18 restrictions for visitors to Norway’s national parks, but unlike New Zealand no concessionary
19
20 provisions exist for tourism businesses to operate within the national parks. The Norwegian
21
22 Trekking Association (DNT) has a number of staffed or unstaffed visitor cabins and maintains
23
24 a network of signposted hiking and cross-country skiing routes both inside (in agreement with
25
26 national park authorities) and outside park borders (DNT, 2012). Because Norway’s national
27
28 parks are established mainly on Crown (public) land with a long subsistence farming tradition
29
30 (e.g., fishing, hunting, grazing), small and primitive cabins do exist for safety and shelter
31
32 reasons and use of these cabins is considered to belong to the *friluftsliv* tradition. The legal
33
34 mandate for the management of national parks make little or no provision for managing visitor
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36 experiences where the focus of park managers falls largely upon nature conservation
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38 (Hoffmann & Jatko, 2000).
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48 The historical context in New Zealand stands in contrast. The philosophy that prevails in New
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50 Zealand - that wilderness should be treated in awe - dates to European Romanticism (Shultis,
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52 1991; Oelschlaeger, 1991), which influenced European colonization of New Zealand in the
53
54 nineteenth century. While lowland areas were systematically cleared for agricultural
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3 production (Hall & Higham, 2000), early Europeans marvelled at the sublime nature of the
4 Southern Alps. In 1886 while exploring the Southern Alps (South Island, New Zealand), James
5 McKerrow declared that; "Manapouri, with its wooded islets and peninsulas and fantastic bays
6 and coves, and its girdle of high mountains and waterfalls is... an inspiration... to every
7 beholder" (Easdale 1988). New Zealand's PNA system has been developed over the course of
8 the last century in accordance with a dual mandate of protection of nature in perpetuity, and
9 use for recreation and tourism (as long as it is consistent with protection in perpetuity) (New
10 Zealand *Conservation Act*, 1987).
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24 An anthropocentric philosophy, which underpins the (largely) unrestricted enjoyment of New
25 Zealand's protected lands by New Zealanders and international tourists, is a cornerstone of the
26 New Zealand's environmental legislation (Department of Conservation 2005). This is clearly
27 evident in the National Parks Act (1952) which states that the purpose of National Parks is to
28 "preserve in perpetuity ...for the enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain
29 scenery of such distinctive qualities or natural features so beautiful or unique that their
30 preservation is in the national interest". New Zealand's National Parks Act (1952) allows for
31 public rights of access so that visitors may "receive, in full measure, the inspiration, enjoyment,
32 recreation and other benefits that may be derived from mountains, lakes and rivers". Section 4
33 (2), (a)-(e) of the (revised) National Parks Act (1980) outlines that while national parks are to
34 be maintained in their natural state, freedom of access to national parks is assured, conditional
35 only on management actions that may be considered necessary to safeguard the distinctive
36 qualities of national parks. Thus, the National Parks Act (1980) requires a balancing of the
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3 need to protect the distinctive character of conservation lands with “public access and
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5 enjoyment”.
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10 The historical legislative context in both Norway and New Zealand has evolved quite rapidly
11
12 in recent years. In Norway the nature protection legislation has been replaced by the *Nature*
13
14 *Diversity Act* 2009 (Government of Norway, 2012). In a presentation of the new law, former
15
16 Vice-Minister Heidi Sørensen of the Norwegian Ministry of the Environment said that
17
18 sustainable use and conservation for the first time is seen ‘in context’ (Norwegian Ministry of
19
20 the Environment, 2010). This also applies to the wider territory, i.e. the adjacent land outside
21
22 the protected areas, where human use should not be detrimental to essential natural values. The
23
24 broader scope is formulated in the first section of the Nature Diversity Act:
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32 “The purpose of this Act is to protect biological, geological and landscape diversity and
33
34 ecological processes through conservation and sustainable use, and in such a way that the
35
36 environment provides a basis for human activity, culture, health and well-being, now and
37
38 in the future, including a basis for Sami culture.” (Section 1 - purpose of the Act).
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43 Evidently human activity and user interests are now integrated into the very purpose of the act.
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45 Nevertheless, in listing the specific objectives relating to protected areas, only nature
46
47 conservation goals are stated (Section 33) and no user interests are mentioned. By contrast,
48
49 among the various nature preservation goals “natural environments that reflect human use
50
51 through the ages (cultural landscapes) or that are also of historical value” (Nature Diversity
52
53 Act 2009) are specifically addressed. Section 34 of the Nature Diversity Act (2009) states that
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3 an individual protected area shall be established by the King in Council through a regulation
4 that defines the purpose of protecting a given area and its limits, and that “importance shall be
5 attached to safeguarding ecological functions of significance for achieving the purpose of
6 protection and the resilience of the ecosystem to external pressures”. It is also said that “the
7 continuation of sustainable use” that reinforces the purpose of protection shall not be precluded
8 by this regulation. The act does not mention anything in particular about changing forms of
9 sustainable use or the introduction of new forms of nature-based tourism activities.
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22 In New Zealand the last two decades has witnessed the rapid further expansion of PNAs. Since
23 1998 extensive areas of New Zealand’s high country (typically alpine tussock grasslands that
24 have historically been heavily grazed under a crown lease system) have been subject to tenure
25 review³. The Department of Conservation has participated in the review of crown pastoral
26 leases under the Land Act 1949 and the Crown Pastoral Lands Act 1998 (Department of
27 Conservation 2000/2001). Under tenure review many former high country sheep stations,
28 predominantly in the central South Island, have been incorporated into the conservation estate
29 and designated as forest parks or conservation areas (under Section 25 of the Conservation Act
30 1987). These areas have been designated to protect their natural and historic resources and to
31 provide a "... less restricted range of recreational activities than national parks... including
32 tramping, camping, fishing, and shooting for a variety of game" (Statistics New Zealand 1995).
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48 Thus, New Zealand’s conservation estate consists of an expanding series of PNAs, some of
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55 ³ Many high country sheep stations were established in New Zealand in the 1890s under 100 year
56 crown leases. These leases began to expire in the late 1990s and the New Zealand government
57 engaged in re-negotiation of Crown leases to bring productive land into freehold (private ownership)
58 and high country areas into the conservation estate (PNA system).
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3 which are located close to population centres, each with varied but, nonetheless, clearly stated
4 recreation and tourism values.
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10 While the Norwegian legislative context is clearly evolving, it continues to stand in contrast to
11 New Zealand PNA legislation. Norway has maintained a tradition of limited facility
12 development and commercial activities in the national parks (Haukeland & Lindberg, 2001).
13 Consequently public resources allocated to national park management has been far below that
14 of other developed countries – both in terms of financial means and numbers of staff (Lindberg,
15 2001). The societal background for this lack of legislative support is linked to the strong
16 tradition for simple outdoor recreation activities (*friluftsliv*) among its citizens. The legislative
17 context for national parks is based upon strict conservation rules and limited active
18 management.
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34 5.2. Conservation management policy setting

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38 The first principal Norwegian act on nature protection came into effect in 1954 (*Lov om*
39 *naturvern*) (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968). However, conservation management
40 policy in Norway is most directly shaped by the Nature Council (1964). Upon the
41 recommendation of the Nature Council (1964) a differentiation in Norway was made between
42 the ‘nature park’ and ‘national park’ (*naturpark* vs. *nasjonalpark*) concepts (Kirke- og
43 undervisningsdepartementet, 1964). The former was intended to represent the strongest form of
44 nature protection (‘untouched nature’), while the latter was intended to also serve outdoor
45 recreational interests. While the Nature Council (1964) took no account of nature-based
46 tourism, this passage does serve as a reminder that this is not a straightforward ‘single mandate’
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3 (Norway)/‘dual mandate’ (New Zealand) comparison, insofar as national parks in Norway
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5 were intended to also serve recreation interests. However, following this precedent, tourism
6
7 development interests have received very modest consideration in later national park policy
8
9 and planning documents through to the new millennium. The concept of ‘nature park’ was not
10
11 applied any further in Norwegian protection policies. The two categories (nature park and
12
13 national park) were merged into the single category of *National Park*.
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20 This perhaps explains why Norway’s national parks policies have been developed in
21
22 accordance with a dominant biocentric environmental philosophy. Provision for outdoor
23
24 recreation in Norway’s national parks has largely remained a user concern in line with the Act
25
26 on Outdoor Recreation of 1957 (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1969). Outdoor
27
28 recreation takes place in practically untouched nature (*‘friluftsliv og rekreasjon i mest mulig*
29
30 *urørt natur*’) (Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, 1968). However, traditional uses in the
31
32 form of summer grazing, fishing and hunting are also allowed within the parks’ borders in
33
34 most cases.
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41 The New Zealand policy context stands in clear contrast. Below the level of legislation, the
42
43 planning and management requirements of New Zealand’s Department of Conservation are
44
45 guided and informed by a series of policies and strategies that have been developed, with
46
47 consultation, in accordance with the Conservation Act (1987). New Zealand’s General Policy
48
49 for National Parks (NZCA, 2005) and Conservation General Policy (DOC, 2005) provide
50
51 guidance for managers, industry and members of the public regarding such things as the
52
53 provision of recreational opportunities. These policies inform management strategies and plans,
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3 and guide management actions. They articulate the Department's conservation management
4 strategies and plans, which stand in obvious contrast to the Norwegian context. Three key
5 policy documents include the General Policy for National Parks (2005), the Conservation
6 General Policy (2005), and the Visitor Strategy (1996).
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15 The management of the conservation estate in relation to recreation and tourism is
16 fundamentally addressed in the Visitor Strategy (1996) policy statement, which provides
17 guidance for the Department's provision of visitor services. The Visitor Strategy (1996) was
18 developed in inter-agency consultation with conservation and tourism stakeholders such as the
19 New Zealand Conservation Authority, Federated Mountain Clubs, New Zealand Tourism
20 Board, the Ministry of Commerce Tourism Policy Group, New Zealand Tourism Industry
21 Association and members of the public. The Visitor Strategy (1996) addresses five key
22 management goals (Table 3), which demonstrate a commitment to a holistic approach to visitor
23 planning. It articulates a commitment to such things as the protection of natural and historic
24 values, collaboration with indigenous Māori, the delivery of a wide range of recreational
25 opportunities, appropriate and safe visitors facilities and services and development and
26 maintenance of relationships with communities, recreation clubs and conservation groups
27 (Department of Conservation 2005). The provision of visitor services is addressed in the
28 regional conservation management strategies (CMS) and management plans for national parks,
29 which are periodically reviewed in a process that involves public consultation. These plans do
30 vary but must be consistent with the Conservation General Policy 2005 and Visitor Strategy
31 1996.
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Table 3. Department of Conservation visitor strategy: Issues and goals.

Source: Department of Conservation Visitor Strategy (1996).

The Norwegian national policy context is dynamic (Stensland et al., 2014), and various national policy documents from the last decade have signalled an emerging importance being ascribed to tourism developments associated with national parks. The ‘Mountain Text’ (*Fjellteksten*) (2003) (Finansdepartementet, 2003; Miljøverndepartementet, 2005), for example, signals a clear desire to increase sustainable economic development in mountain areas, including the national parks, as far as national park regulations allow. The ban on commercial activities in Norway’s national parks was lifted in 2003. In a signal of a growing policy change the Ministry of Trade and Industry has in the last decade made various pointed statements. In the “Action plan for tourism industries” (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2005), national parks are mentioned as a specific component of the new national branding strategy for tourism in Norway. The government’s tourism strategy (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2007) emphasizes the importance of sustainable tourism development in protected areas, and highlights the importance of improved accessibility, more hiking tracks, enhanced parking facilities and information provision to enhance awareness of, and increase visitation to, the national parks. Norway’s tourism strategy (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2012) highlights the value of national parks in terms of tourism branding, which is linked to local economic value creation.

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3 In Norway, the changing policy context has further evolved in recent years. The Norwegian
4
5 Directorate for Nature Management (the directorate changed its name to the Norwegian
6
7 Environment Agency (*Miljødirektoratet*) in 2013) launched a pilot project where appointed
8
9 localities adjacent to national parks which meet certain criteria were given status as ‘national
10
11 park municipalities’ and ‘national park villages’ (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2012). In
12
13 2008, 23 ‘national park communes’ and 5 ‘national park villages’ were assigned a protected
14
15 trademark logo that may be used in the marketing of their areas; the number has increased to
16
17 33 ‘national park communes’ in 2014 (Miljødirektoratet, 2014a). The intention here was to
18
19 increase visitor interests in the communities in question and the adjacent national parks, and to
20
21 demonstrate that national parks may be considered an asset for the local communities. A policy
22
23 reform was put in place in the wake of the implementation of the Nature Diversity Act (2009).
24
25 The Norwegian Ministry of the Environment invited affected municipalities to inaugurate local
26
27 national park boards comprising political representatives of involved municipalities, county
28
29 authorities and possible Sami interests (the Sami Parliament) (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning,
30
31 2010). No specific national park user interests are represented on the national park boards, but
32
33 advisory committees may be established to support the boards. National park managers are
34
35 now encouraged to form management ‘nodes’ (*forvaltningsknutepunkt*) comprising of
36
37 members from the Norwegian Nature Inspectorate (*Statens naturoppsyn* - SNO), local
38
39 mountain boards, national park staff, etc.

40
41 The New Zealand policy context has also evolved over the last decade. Department of
42
43 Conservation policy documents are periodically updated in the form of published ‘Statements
44
45 of Intent’ (SOI). The SOI for the period 2005 – 2008 outlined important refinements to the
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47 Visitor Strategy (1996). It notes that “New Zealand’s heritage needs to be preserved and
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3 protected so people can enjoy and benefit from it, while people's support for conservation is
4
5 linked to their appreciation and valuing of our heritage" (SOI, 2005, p. 13). The SOI (2005-
6
7 2008) also outlined an initiative to work more closely with the tourism industry and private
8
9 enterprises while ensuring that conservation values are not compromised, through the
10
11 application of the concessions management system. The importance of recreation, tourism and
12
13 public-private partnerships is also evident in the most recently published SOI (2013). Five
14
15 strategic drivers for the period 2013-2017 are identified in that document (DOC Statement of
16
17 Intent, May 2013: p. 12), including economic growth through supporting business and
18
19 innovation. This strategic driver seeks to increase business opportunities on public
20
21 conservation land, and revenue generation opportunities that are consistent with conservation
22
23 values, through the establishment of more public-private business-conservation partnerships.
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25 This signals new directions in utilitarian/economic conservation management in New Zealand.
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34 *5.3. Management Strategies and Plans*

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39 Management policies and plans are embedded in the *friluftsliv* tradition, at the heart of which
40
41 lies a commitment to outdoor recreation that is simple, self-organised and independent
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43 (Government of Norway, 2012). As a direct consequence, Norway's national parks have been
44
45 designated with little or no specific attention to visitor management planning. In some cases
46
47 management plans have been put in place several years after the designation of individual
48
49 parks. Others still do not have an approved management plan, although management planning
50
51 is now required for all national parks in accordance with the Nature Diversity Act (2009),
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53 which states that:
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6 “A draft strategic management plan shall be presented when a decision is made to protect
7
8 an area. When an operational management plan is also relevant, it shall be part of the
9
10 strategic management plan” (Section 35 (national parks)).
11

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13
14 Management plans for national parks are intended to contribute to “an active and predictable”
15
16 management of a protected area (Directorate for Nature Management, 2010a, p. 7). These are
17
18 required to articulate the purpose and goals of conservation efforts in a given national park.
19
20 Co-operation with affected local interests is required in the management planning process and
21
22 the principle of transparency in management is seen as necessary and important to create trust
23
24 and to avoid or manage conflicts. It is a requirement that park plans are submitted to the
25
26 Directorate for Nature Management (now the Norwegian Environment Agency) for approval.
27
28 The Nature Diversity Act also describes the administrative method for protection processes
29
30 and notifies that such procedures shall be “... carried out in the closest possible cooperation
31
32 with landowners, right holders, interested commercial parties and representatives of the local
33
34 community...” (Section 41). The proposals for the protection of an area shall be announced to
35
36 the public (Section 42) and a consultation process regarding proposal for protection regulations
37
38 shall be put in place in accordance with the Public Administration Act (Section 43).
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48 The Nature Diversity Act offers little guidance on if or how local industries such as nature-
49
50 based tourism businesses should be accommodated. The Act does make reference to user
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52 permits where it is stated that “any person shall act with care” (Section 6) and in the same
53
54 section that “the duty of care” is considered to be fulfilled if the conditions for the permit are
55
56 met. Management decisions shall as far as possible be based on scientific knowledge and in
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3 addition, importance is given to "...knowledge that is based on many generations of
4
5 experience through the use and interaction with the natural environment, ... and that can
6
7 promote conservation and sustainable use..." (Section 8). This is also underlined in the
8
9 Management Handbook (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2010a, p. 5). Here emphasis is
10
11 given to the "precautionary principle", although it is stated that "lack of knowledge shall not be
12
13 used as a reason for postponing or not introducing management measures". Moreover: "Any
14
15 pressure on an ecosystem shall be assessed on the basis of the cumulative environmental
16
17 effects on the ecosystem now or in the future" (Section 10). A practical consequence is that
18
19 user interests are ignored because knowledge of the ecological impacts from human activity is
20
21 lacking and there is little resourcing of the study of potentially negative impacts. Therefore the
22
23 'precautionary principle' (Fennell & Ebert, 2004) is often the chosen base for management
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25 decisions.
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34 However, in line with the increasing recognition that the national parks may serve as crucial
35
36 tourism attractions and not least so for international visitors, the Norwegian Environment
37
38 Agency has recently launched two projects that are now in progress related to a) developing a
39
40 template for visitor strategies and b) launching a national park branding strategy for Norway
41
42 (Miljødirektoratet, 2014c). These projects are also a management response to the expected
43
44 increase in national parks visitation. A visitor strategy for one park with high visitor numbers,
45
46 Jotunheimen National Park, has so far been elaborated (Fylkesmannen i Oppland, 2012). Four
47
48 pilot projects including Jotunheimen National Park were initiated in 2014, in order to develop
49
50 visitor strategies in national parks. This signals a belated move towards national park planning
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52 that extends to visitor management. A design development project was conducted in 2014, and
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3 a new branding and visitor strategy was launched by the Norwegian Environment Agency in
4
5 2015 (Miljødirektoratet, 2015a). The catchphrase is now “Velkommen inn” (“Welcome
6
7 inside”), and a new management handbook to implement the new strategies has been published
8
9 very recently (Miljødirektoratet, 2015b). The management resources allocated to these recent
10
11 initiatives is not clarified; however, the budget for national park management in 2015 was at
12
13 the same level as the year before, and the recent proposal for 2016 shows a small budget
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15 increase in addition to greater attention on visitor strategies.
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22 Such efforts directed towards visitor management are much more longstanding and rigorously
23
24 developed in New Zealand. In sharp contrast to the prevailing situation in Norway, the
25
26 anthropocentric environmental philosophy is clearly apparent in the strategic management and
27
28 planning regime that exists in New Zealand. The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS)
29
30 management framework was adopted by New Zealand’s Department of Conservation in 1993
31
32 (Department of Conservation 2005). The ROS framework was adapted in consultation with
33
34 key recreation groups, and has been applied to enable land managers to inventory, plan for, and
35
36 protect opportunities for recreation (Higham & Maher, 2006). In adapting the ROS planning
37
38 framework to New Zealand a seven-fold classification of national park user groups (and
39
40 visitors to other PNAs) was developed. This system classifies visitors according to their
41
42 facility and service needs; their setting, activity and experience preferences; and the degree of
43
44 risk accepted in their activity (Table 4) (Department of Conservation 1996). Defining these
45
46 discrete and dynamic user groups serves as a first step towards planning for a spectrum of
47
48 recreational opportunities, each with unique facility and service requirements. The ROS
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50 management and planning framework was adopted nationally and has subsequently been
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3 applied regionally to all PNA designations in New Zealand. This provides a national visitor
4 management planning framework.
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10 Table 4. Visitor groups to conservation lands in New Zealand. Source: Department of
11 Conservation (1996) and Cessford (2001).
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20 5.4. Management Actions 21 22 23

24 The previous absence of a national visitor management framework of PNAs in Norway is
25 noteworthy, as it is reflected in the general lack of systematic management action in many of
26 Norway's national parks. The Management Handbook (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning,
27 2010a) simply underlines 'the nature experience value' (*naturens opplevelsesverdi*) of
28 protected areas based on simple outdoor recreation (*enkelt friluftsliv*), especially in those parks
29 where such *friluftsliv* is part of the protection mandate. No reference is made to nature-based
30 tourism activities as regards to the goal of area protection, but with reference to a whitepaper
31 about outdoor recreation (Miljøverndepartementet, 2001), the Management Handbook asserts
32 the importance of the public's understanding of nature as a way to gain public support for
33 nature protection. This is the equivalent of public engagement and conservation advocacy as
34 outlined in New Zealand's Visitor Strategy (1996).
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52 The Management Handbook (2010) offers few clear guidelines for management of national
53 parks. It notes that precisely formulated 'protection goals' (*bevaringsmål*) should be defined
54 and serve as a planning instrument to protect nature qualities with adequate management
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3 measures. Attempts have been made to address societal objectives (e.g., nature-based
4 recreation and tourism). Those efforts have tended to be unsuccessful due, in all probability, to
5 Norway's biocentric policy context. Increased user pressure from new forms of outdoor
6 recreation is commonly viewed as one of a series of challenges for conservation management.
7
8 "Differentiated management" for various zones (*delområder*), and the use of maps as planning
9 tools, are recommended (Management Handbook, 2010; Chapter 5.2), with management for
10 differing user types and volumes. However, planning specifications are poorly formulated and
11 not well linked to protection goals and concrete guidelines.
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24 According to the Management Handbook (2010), the management plan process should identify
25 protection and user interests. Simple and nature-friendly outdoor recreation (*enkelt friluftsliv*)
26 with scant use of technical equipment is mentioned in a template for the regulation
27 (*verneforskriften*) of national parks (Management Handbook, 2010). Chapter 5 of the
28 Management Handbook (2010) refers to regulating visitation in fragile environments,
29 providing information at unsafe sites (to prevent accidents), reducing conflicts between various
30 users, disseminating knowledge about nature, history and cultural heritage (e.g., tracks with
31 information signs), and improving accessibility at entry points (parking areas), especially in
32 association with larger and more user intensive parks. National park centres are intended to
33 inform visitors about nature protection, inspire nature-friendly outdoor recreation, and
34 disseminate information about park management. The potential roles of the tourism interests
35 are limited to the distribution of brochures, as potential actors in developing tracks and
36 signposts (as DNT does in association with managers) and nature guiding.
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3 The new guidelines for visitor management in the wake of the branding strategy for Norwegian
4 PNAs (Miljødirektoratet 2015b) aim to strike the balance between high-quality visitor
5 experiences, economic benefits for local communities and safeguarding protected natural
6 values. This instruction manual seeks to provide managers with instruments to build a
7 knowledge platform as regards susceptible natural resources, visitor/ user interests and tourism
8 industry provisions. Guidelines are also available concerning the shaping of gateway areas,
9 trailheads and viewpoints (recognisable physical design profile, information facets, etc.)
10 (Miljødirektoratet, 2015c).
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24 The longstanding anthropocentric philosophy underpinning environmental legislation and
25 conservation management in New Zealand has allowed for a long-term commitment to the
26 development and refinement of visitor management actions in the New Zealand context. In this
27 context reference is made to visitor sites and assets which are defined as “spatially defined
28 places managed to provide visitor services for priority visitor groups...” (Cessford &
29 Thompson, 2002). The Department of Conservation manages recreational facilities (including
30 huts, tracks, boardwalks and bridges, among many others), each of which is referred to as a
31 visitor asset, through the Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP). The VAMP
32 framework, developed by Parks Canada (Dearden & Rollins, 1993) to complement and
33 incorporate the principles of ROS, includes the definition of the visitor sites at which the assets
34 are located, the accurate inventory of all visitor assets, development of legal and service
35 standards for asset groups (e.g. tracks and huts), inspection programmes for all assets against
36 the specified standards, the application of life-cycle modelling for each asset (i.e., to predict
37 maintenance and replacement costs, and specify work schedules), and specification of other
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3 key management information relating to each site (e.g. key natural and cultural values, impact
4 issues, priority visitor groups, management plan specifications, publication resources)
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8 (Cessford and Thompson, 2002).
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12 All site and asset data are incorporated into a centrally managed Visitor Asset Management
13 System (VAMS) database accessible to DOC managers (central) and rangers (field-based). The
14 Department of Conservation's extensive VAMP system constituted, as at June 2005, of 3700
15 visitor sites and over 35000 visitor assets including approximately 992 huts; 148 campsites;
16 12,800km of tracks; 2200km of roads; 550 car parks; 1500 signs; 1,680 toilets; 13,464
17 structures (e.g. bridges, boardwalks, jetties, boat-ramps); 400 amenity areas (e.g. car parks,
18 picnic areas, viewpoints) and 1100 other buildings (e.g. shelters, shower blocks) (DOC, 2005;
19 Higham & Maher, 2006). This overview of visitor assets managed by the Department of
20 Conservation confirms the importance of the role of this government department as an agency
21 of recreation and tourism management in New Zealand.
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39 The management actions of the Department of Conservation extend to visitor information. The
40 DOC 2004/2005 Annual Report (DOC, 2005: 73) notes that visitor information is critical to
41 enable people to enjoy New Zealand's national parks. The Department of Conservation
42 manages thirteen visitor centres and seven regional visitor centres (DOC, 2005). It also
43 provides interpretation services through such actions as guided talks, audio-visual displays,
44 interpretive signs, maps, publications and comprehensive online material and booking systems
45 (see <http://www.doc.govt.nz>). In some New Zealand cities DOC information centres now exist
46 under the same roof as existing regional tourist information centres.
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6 Conservation information and advocacy is also served through the DOC system of commercial
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8 concessions. A concession is an authorisation to conduct a commercial activity within an area
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10 of public conservation land. In 2006 there are approximately 1600 tourism concessions
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12 (tourism businesses) operating in New Zealand's PNAs. DOC regional concession managers
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14 oversee an integrated system of planning (considering concession applications in accordance
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16 with Conservation Management Plans), allocating concessions to successful applicants, and
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18 monitoring concessionaire activities. By way of the concessions system tourism operators are
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20 able to provide visitors products and services in protected areas, which include many of New
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22 Zealand's most iconic tourism activities. A review of the concession system conducted in 2004
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24 (DOC, 2004) highlighted the further potential for commercial tourism operators to contribute
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26 to the management of protected areas, provide world-class visitor experiences and further
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28 engage public conservation advocacy. These management actions, developed systematically
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30 over many decades, highlight lessons that could be adapted and applied to serve the
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32 conservation and regional economic development aspirations that have been articulated by the
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34 Norwegian government in recent years.
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44 **6.0 Discussion and conclusions**

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48 Political ecology provides a contextual lens for analyzing the problems and potentials of
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50 sustainable tourism in the context of people, nature, and power (Douglas, 2014). Informed by
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52 political ecology, this paper highlights the fact that sharp contrasts in environmental legislation,
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54 which are informed by the long-standing biocentric and anthropocentric environmental
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56 philosophies, underpin quite distinct nature protection and conservation practices in Norway
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3 and New Zealand. This point underlines the importance of the *friluftsliv* tradition in Norwegian
4 society. Norwegian conservation management context builds upon the principles of *friluftsliv*.
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8 However those principles may be understood, they are manifest in unrestricted foot access to
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10 engage in simple independent outdoor recreation activities in nature. *Friluftsliv* clearly
11 represents an important element of Norwegian tradition and is enshrined in legislation in
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13 Norway's *Outdoor Recreation Act* (1957). This tradition is a cornerstone of Norway's
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15 legislative framework for PNAs, which is anchored in a 'traditional' conservation management
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17 paradigm that centres on the protection of intact ecosystems in a 'static' approach to
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19 preservation (Mose, 2007).
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27 This approach, typical of the period when the development of Norway's national park system
28 began in the 1960s, has been replaced in many parts of the world by a new 'dynamic
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30 innovation' paradigm, which is founded on an integrated approach to conservation
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32 management (Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002). While centred fundamentally on the
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34 conservation of nature, the dynamic innovation paradigm accommodates social dimensions of
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36 conservation management in the form of recreation and tourism engagements as well as local
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38 interests in that may include tourism businesses and traditional land use interests (Mose, 2007).
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43 The integrated approach has a long-standing place in New Zealand's history of conservation
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45 management. Recent policy statements in Norway signal a move towards integrated
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47 management of Norway's national parks (Finansdepartementet, 2003; Miljøverndepartementet,
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49 2005; Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2005; 2007; 2012) but these policies are in the very
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51 initial phase of being implemented in national park management strategies, planning and
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53 actions. Norway's historical context of environmental legislation is deeply entrenched and has
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3 had long-standing implications for conservation management. One implication has been a lack
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5 of financial and human resource commitment to national park planning, a situation that is not
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7 unique to Norway given the general lack of social science expertise that prevails in national
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9 park management in many parts of the world (Higham & Vistad, 2011; Stenseke & Hansen,
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11 2014).
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17 This paper highlights some of the challenges inherent in the paradigmatic shift from a
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19 traditional (static) to an integrated (dynamic) conservation management regime. In spite of
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21 recent national policy statements that signal a growing political interest in integrated
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23 conservation management, Norway's national parks are narrowly defined in terms of
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25 recreation and not well developed for nature-based tourism. While the legislative contexts in
26
27 Norway and New Zealand are unlikely to converge, lessons can be learned and applied, while
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29 respecting the *friluftsliv* tradition, at other levels of our fourfold conceptual framework (Figure
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31 1). A national management framework is required to oversee the evolution toward integrated
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33 management practices, and applied in a way that reflects the nature preservation values that are
34
35 historically important in Norwegian society. This is perhaps particularly urgent in the case of
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37 national parks that are now receiving increasing recreation and tourism use. The launching of
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39 the new branding and visitor strategies for the national parks can be seen as a response to this
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41 need.
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51 Currently nature-based tourism is not well expressed in the visions and goals for national park
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53 management in Norway. Consequently new forms of outdoor recreation and distinct visitor
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55 markets are not clearly understood or accommodated by PNA managers. This highlights the
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3 current lack of comprehensive strategic visitor management planning. A more inclusive and
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5 integrated strategy might reflect the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum model adopted by New
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7 Zealand's Department of Conservation in 1996, which allows for the differentiation of discrete
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9 national park user groups, which in turn informs zoning and visitor management practices.
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11 However, given the Norwegian policy context, it seems unlikely that Norway's national parks
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13 will be zoned in accordance with the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum as has occurred in New
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15 Zealand over the last two decades. It is more likely that national parks themselves will
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17 continue to represent the 'primitive/undeveloped' equivalent of New Zealand's back country,
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19 while areas outside the park boundaries (including entry points, villages and settlements) are
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21 managed as buffer zones to provide the equivalent of New Zealand's front country
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23 designations (see Table 4).
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32 Based on a comparative lesson learning approach, we highlight informative lessons but also
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34 caution against adopting conservation management models from elsewhere without careful
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36 consideration of aspects of unique national context. This paper offer insights in conservation
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38 management practices that reflect fundamentally different philosophical positions. It also
39
40 reminds us that differences between Norway and New Zealand may lie as much along a
41
42 traditional-modern use axis as along an anthropocentric-biocentric environmental philosophy
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44 axis. The extent to which the economic development potential of nature-based tourism
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46 associated with Norway's national parks can be achieved with respect to the tradition of
47
48 *friluftsliv* is an open question, although it should be noted that Sweden and Finland have
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50 similar traditions and have developed comprehensive visitor management strategies. This point
51
52 may motivate us to review how the *friluftsliv* tradition is now understood, and how
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54 reformulation or refinement of the *friluftsliv* tradition is currently taking place. Comparison
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3 with other Scandinavian contexts (e.g., Sweden and Finland), where visitor management
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5 approaches have been effectively developed, may prove to be very informative in this respect.
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10 Bell, Tyrväinen, Sievänen et al. (2007) discuss changes and the increased importance of
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12 outdoor recreation and nature tourism in Europe, and the influences from societal development
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14 (e.g. urbanisation, demographic changes). Odden (2008) documents both changes and stability
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16 of the *friluftsliv* practice. A review of several visitor studies in different Norwegian national
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18 parks (Vistad & Vorkinn, 2012) indicated that the majority of Norwegian visitors typically
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20 appreciate recreational infrastructure, while international visitors tend to prefer the low level of
21
22 facilitation for nature tourism in Norwegian PNAs. This finding challenges some images of the
23
24 position of traditional *friluftsliv* among Norwegians. Perhaps there also are lessons that New
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26 Zealand can learn from Norway. The traditional use principles that are well established in
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28 Norway may be informative to New Zealand where traditional Māori land uses have been
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30 poorly acknowledged and accommodated in conservation management practices.
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39 As we write this paper, a National Park branding and visitor strategy is being embarked upon
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41 in Norway (based on four pilot visitor strategies in association with specific national parks, i.e.
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43 *Jotunheimen*, *Rondane*, *Hallingskarvet* and *Varangerhalvøya* national parks). These efforts are
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45 being engaged despite inertia in addressing the manner in which national parks are defined in
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47 the Norwegian policy context, or consequential changes in national park planning and
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49 management regulations. Due to the work on pilot visitor strategies, new visitor studies were
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51 implemented in 2014 in *Hallingskarvet* and in *Varangerhalvøya* (Vistad, Gundersen & Wold,
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53 2014). They both confirm the diversity in the visiting population, and that the two national
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55 parks attract quite different segments; again, foreigners are less supportive of tourism
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3 infrastructure compared to Norwegians. Here, experiences from New Zealand that identify a
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5 spectrum of visitor segments might be a relevant input. This policy status quo signals the need
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7 for an empirical study to engage policy-makers and conservation managers in an investigation
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9 into the possibilities and pitfalls inherent in the transition from a traditional to an integrated
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11 paradigm for national parks management. This represents the next step in our comparative
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13 lesson-drawing analysis.
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For Peer Review Only

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

	Norway	New Zealand
Environmental legislation	<p><i>Outdoor Recreation Act</i> (1957)</p> <p><i>Nature Conservation Act</i> (1970) [recently replaced by the <i>Nature Diversity Act</i> (2009)]</p>	<p><i>National Parks Act</i> (1952) [replaced by the <i>National Parks Act</i> (1980)]</p> <p><i>Conservation Act</i> (1987)</p>
Conservation management policies	<p>Nature Protection policy (<i>Lov om naturvern</i>) (1954).</p> <p>Mountain Text' (<i>Fjellteksten</i>) (2003)</p> <p>Action plan for tourism industries (2005)</p> <p>Norway tourism strategy (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet, 2007).</p> <p>Norwegian Environment Agency (<i>Miljødirektoratet</i>) (2013)</p>	<p>Visitor Strategy (1996)</p> <p>General Policy for National Parks (2005)</p> <p>Conservation General Policy (2005)</p>
Visitor Management Strategies and Plans	<p><i>Outdoor Recreation Act</i> (1957)</p> <p>Management Handbook (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning, 2010)</p> <p>Management plans for National Parks (Directorate for Nature Management; now the Norwegian Environment Agency).</p> <p>The launching of the Norwegian Environment Agency's branding and visitor management strategy for national parks (2015)</p>	<p>Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS)</p> <p>Visitor Activity Management Process (VAMP).</p> <p>Visitor Asset Management System (VAMS)</p>

Table 2: Tabulated comparative analysis of the Norwegian and New Zealand legislative/regulatory, policy and management contexts.

Norway	New Zealand
A] Legislation/Regulations	
Biocentric philosophy underpins the legislative context for Norway's National Parks.	Anthropocentric philosophy underpins the legislative context for New Zealand National Parks.
Narrow range of PNA designations	Wide and expanding range of PNA designations; each with distinct policies on public engagement, advocacy, education, recreation and tourism.
Principle of common access (<i>allemannsretten</i>)	Free access to all PNAs; user pays philosophy
Legislation drawn from a tradition of simple outdoor recreation activities (<i>friluftsliv</i>) among Norwegian citizens.	The purpose of National Parks is to " <i>preserve in perpetuity ...for the enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive qualities or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest</i> " (National Parks Act 1952).
National Park authorities principal focus is the protection of wild nature. Organised tourism of a modest scale possible under agreement between National Park authorities and the Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT)	Balancing of the need to protect the distinctive character of conservation lands with " <i>public access and enjoyment</i> " (National Parks Act 1980). Department of Conservation required under legislation to implement a ' <i>dual mandate</i> '; protecting nature in perpetuity, and fostering recreation and tourism as long as it is consistent with protection in perpetuity (Conservation Act 1987).
Minimal facility development for recreation and tourism across all PNAs	Varying levels of facility development for recreation and tourism across a range of PNA designations
Adaptive management (<i>målstyrt forvaltning</i>) is seen as a promising instrument to develop outdoor recreation (<i>friluftsliv</i>) and the local tourism industry without compromising natural values.	Forest Parks are designated primarily to protect forested mountain catchments but also provide a " <i>... less restricted range of recreational activities than national parks... including tramping, camping, fishing, and shooting for a variety of game</i> " (Statistics New Zealand 1995).
Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Environment are supporting adaptive management (<i>målstyrt forvaltning</i>) projects in order to develop a ' <i>dynamic and knowledge based management</i> '.	

Legislative context for tourism in PNAs unclear

Legislative context for tourism in PNAs explicit

[B] Policies

Biocentric philosophy

Anthropocentric philosophy centred on nature conservation and use.

Evolving policy context (since 2009) – *Nature Diversity Act (2009)*.

Continuously evolving policy context.

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

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

Commitment to new and emerging recreational activities and tourism operations.

Inter-agency collaborations (conservation and tourism).

Commitment to develop public-private partnerships for conservation (*Department of Conservation Statement of Intent 2013-2017*).

[C] Management Strategies and Plans

Dominant biocentric philosophy

Blended biocentric and anthropocentric ‘*dual mandate*’ philosophy.

No systematic management planning for recreation and tourism in PNAs.

Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) planning management framework adapted and adopted in 1993.

Management planning now required under the Nature Diversity Act (2009).

Different approaches exist at the regional level.

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

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

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

Seven-fold user classification of discrete visitor groups developed to classify visitors according to their facility and service needs; their setting, activity and experience preferences; and the degree of risk accepted in their activity

Office of the Auditor General, Norway (2005-2006), made an assessment of the authorities’ efforts to survey and monitor biological diversity and to manage protected areas.

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5 Limited human and financial resources for management planning in PNAs.
6 Particularlry acute given rapid development of Norway's National Park system
7 since 1996.
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10 **[D] Management Actions**

11 Absence of a systematic regime for management actions in National Parks.

Recreation and tourism management fundamental to the *dual mandate* of conservation management.

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13 Management Handbook (2010) developed to provide generic recommendations.

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

14
15 Pressures of recreation described as one of a number of challenges.

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

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17 Soft management actions, through the provision of information, seen as
18 critical to recreation and tourism management in PNAs.
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20 Department of Conservation concession system allows authorisation to
21 conduct commercial activity within PNAs in accordance with clearly
22 defined permit conditions.
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Table 3. Department of Conservation visitor strategy: Issues and goals.

Source: Department of Conservation Visitor Strategy (1996).

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

Table 4. Recreation Features of Visitor Groups to Conservation Lands in New Zealand
 Source: Cessford (2001), developed from Department of Conservation Visitor Strategy (1996).

Recreation Features	Visitor Groups to Conservation Lands						
	Short Stop Visitors	Day Visitors	Thrill Seekers	Overnighters	Backcountry Comfort Seekers	Backcountry Adventurers	Remoteness Seekers
Settings and Accessibility	Roadside travel breaks or attraction visits for up to 1 hour.	Across most of ROS, often coastal/lake/river sites. Road access, often long travel times.	Natural/spectacular sites across ROS. Access by vehicles (land/sea/air), or short well-built tracks.	Rural/Backcountry drive-in and boat-in to camps or other overnight facilities.	Backcountry walk-in, good transport links to high-use walking tracks, some boat/air options.	Back-country walk-in and Remote. Variety of less developed tracks, boat/air options uncommon.	Remote/Wilderness. Basic track access to edges, no tracks, facilities, signs or boat/air options within.
Nature of visit and activities	Passive viewing and short easy walks in casual sightseeing recreation.	Day at a site/day doing a specific activity. Facilities allow casual visitors.	Exciting/extreme activity. If more than 1 day, then Backcountry Adventurers.	Camping main use, base for variety day activities. 1 night to 1+ weeks. Often regular holiday spot.	Mostly tramping well developed tracks (Great Walks). 2-5 days, with 1 night at each hut/camp.	Tramping/backcountry activity, high self-reliance. 2-7 days or longer. Some specialised day visits.	Tramping/backcountry activity, total self-reliance. 3-7 days or longer.
Experience sought	Convenience or easy visit to attractions, scenic or of historical, cultural, natural significance.	Social group visit or specific activity in outdoor natural setting. Sense of space and freedom.	Managed risk in exciting outdoors. Attractive and natural setting desirable.	Traditional NZ family summer holiday. Mainly overnight stays, associated outdoor activities.	Backcountry walking in managed safe conditions. Often first introduction to NZ backcountry settings.	Traditional NZ experience in backcountry, challenge, sense of freedom, accept some risk/difficulty.	Activities with purist wilderness experiences, challenge, freedom, accept much risk/difficulty.
Facilities sought	Quality carparks, toilets, interpretation and information facilities and short tracks catering for most abilities and	Quality road access, toilets, carparks, picnic sites, good access to tracks and waterways important.	Specialised facilities (e.g skifields, bungee ramps) or key natural features (e.g cliffs, rapids, caves). Often	Basic camp facilities (toilets, water), and high activity facility standards. Some seek developed sites. Activity information	Quality tracks, bridges, huts, camps, signs. Often hut wardens. All-weather access. Some commercial provision	Basic facilities, varying standards of huts, tracks, route-marking, limited signs and key bridges. Access often subject	No facilities once in remote/wilderness areas. Access totally subject to weather/environment.

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	ages.		commercial agents.	important.	of opportunities.	to weather/environment.	
Visitor types and numbers	NZ and overseas visitors. High numbers if sites at scheduled stops or key attractions.	NZ and overseas, med-high numbers. Sites for local repeat users or non-local one-off visits.	Young and affluent. Low numbers if independent activity, high numbers if commercial operation.	NZ family groups stay longer, independent overseas mostly 1 night while touring country. High peak summer use.	Often mostly overseas aged 20-40. NZ ages wider. Inexperienced relative to other NZ backcountry visitors.	Experienced, fit, young, male, NZ in low numbers. Fewer overseas, lack required knowledge, experience, opportunity.	Experienced, fit, young, male, NZ in very low numbers. Overseas rare, lack required knowledge, experience, opportunity.
Projected use	Rapid overseas visitor growth, pressure around main tourism highways and attractions.	Growth rapid for overseas visitors and slow for NZ. Pressure on sites used mainly by non-locals.	Demand in activities popular with overseas visitors. Supply pressures may intrude on other sites.	Slow increase, where most visitors NZ, pressure at key sites 'discovered' by overseas visitors.	Rapid increase in overseas numbers. NZ numbers static, or even declining (crowding displacement).	Slow increase as most from NZ. Displacement from busy tracks may lead to growth in some areas.	Slow increase as most from NZ. Overseas visitor growth limited by current management conditions.
	FRONTCOUNTRY FOCUS				BACKCOUNTRY FOCUS		