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## District plans in Reindeer Husbandry in Northern Norway

### — *Roles and Challenges*

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Norway:  
Roles and Challenges

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## Abstract

This thesis deals with the reindeer husbandry's district plans, and are industry's own official document. They provide information about the reindeer husbandry practiced in the reindeer grazing district. The plans should provide information necessary for the public planning and should function as a tool to reduce conflicts and enhance cooperation among reindeer herders and other users. I have examined the reasons why the district plans have not functioned as intended by looking at the experiences and expectations with the plans. Methods used are depth-interviews, document analysis and participating in meetings. The plans have not so far prevented conflicts, nor enhanced the cooperation and communication between the reindeer herders and the municipalities because of the lack of awareness of the plans. In addition to unawareness about the plans, I argue that the challenges related to the plans can be explained by insufficient knowledge about reindeer husbandry and different "glances" on the tension between flexibility and rigidity. In particular, the issue of classification of land illustrate this tension.



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# Chapter 1: The district plans and the background of my thesis

## Introduction

My Master's thesis is connected to a pilot project at the County Governor of Troms, which is a collaboration between three municipalities, three reindeer grazing districts, and the County Governor. In a meeting on 12.02.16,<sup>1</sup> the leader of the project of the County Governor, informed that district plans are underused in both municipal planning and by reindeer husbandry itself. District plans are important tools because they are the reindeer husbandry's own prepared official document, which contain information necessary for public planning. The aim of the district plan is to secure reindeer husbandry interests, including grazing land. In this project, I aim to investigate the district plans for reindeer husbandry, how these plans function, and why the plans seem to be used only to a minor extent.

The County Governor's project is called "Kommuneprosjektet- Lokal forvaltning av reindriften i kommunene i Troms. Samspill og samhandling mellom kommuner i Troms, Fylkesmannen i Troms, distrikter/siidaer og Troms Reindriftssamers fylkeslag (TRF)" (Troms County Governor 2015a). The County Governor commissioned the Centre for Sámi Studies (SESAM) to find a suitable master student to write about district plans, and given my background as a reindeer herding Sámi, SESAM asked me to take this topic for my thesis. The reindeer grazing districts to be investigated were previously agreed upon; Mauken, Hjerttind and Gielas.

## 1.2 District plans

The revision of the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1996 introduced the district plans in reindeer husbandry (cf. §8a. Ot.prp. no 25 (2006-2007)). District plans are the reindeer husbandry's own official document<sup>2</sup>, and the aim is to secure reindeer husbandry and its interests (County Governor of Troms 2015(b)). The roles and purpose of the plans are twofold. First they shall give an overview of the land use in a particular reindeer grazing district (County Governor of

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<sup>1</sup> Meeting at the Centre for Sámi Studies with Matti Eira

<sup>2</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 24

Troms 2015(a), Landbruksdepartementet 2000)<sup>3</sup>, and provide details about what is necessary for public planning, including: moving patterns, information about the different pastures (eg. calving areas), an overview of the transportation and vehicles used in the district, and an overview of fences and other permanent constructions etc. (Reindrifstloven (reinl.) 2007, §62). Secondly, this document is regarded as a significant tool for good interaction between reindeer husbandry and the official management (County Governor of Troms 2015 (a):2). In addition, given the intention of the plans to secure grazing land of the reindeer husbandry, they should prevent conflicts by giving information, necessary for municipalities, county authorities and county governors to secure the interests of reindeer husbandry in official planning in the best way possible. The plans should as well increase the cooperation in relation to other users (County Governor of Troms 2015 (b)). Therefore, subject matters and communication are core roles of the district plans. The district plan is binding on reindeer herders, but is not legally binding in relation to other land use (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2000).

### 1.3 Research questions

The point of departure of the County Governor is that district plans and the husbandry hardly use the district plans, a question which will be briefly assessed. My main question will be:

- If district plans do not function as expected, what are the reasons and what are the expectations for the use of the district plans of the municipalities and the reindeer husbandry?

The questions above direct us towards a focus on the reindeer husbandry's knowledge about official land area planning processes and the municipalities' knowledge about reindeer husbandry. This discussion will contribute to identifying improvements in the use of these plans.

An additional question raised in response is:

- How can the district plans be an adequate tool for the communication between

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<sup>3</sup> Landbruks- og matdepartementet om arealbruk og byggetiltak i reinbeiteområdet, URL: <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/m-122000---om-arealbruk-og-byggetiltak-i/id108664/>

reindeer husbandry and municipalities?

In answering, I will be able to point out types of challenges the reindeer husbandry and the municipalities face concerning the use of the district plans. Given the role of the County Governor's responsibility for the management of reindeer husbandry, I will also touch upon the role of the County Governor in relation to the work and use of district plans.

#### 1.4 Changes in the pilot project

The pilot project has changed during my time as a Master student. For instance, Nord-Senja resigned from the project, and Gielas was included into the project. However, Gielas withdrew later on. Currently, Hjerttind and Mauken are part of the project. In addition, the project tasks were transferred from the County Governor to Troms Reindriftssamers Fylkeslag (TRF), implying that TRF now plays a bigger role in the project.<sup>4</sup> From the beginning of the pilot project, the aim of County Governor of Troms was to connect the project closer to TRF. The reason for connecting to TRF was because the County Governor wanted to build an platform/secretariat for the districts as a respond to the lack of resources/competence in the districts.<sup>5</sup>

TRF is the Troms local branch of NBR's (Norgga boazosápmelaccaid riikasearvi or Norske Reindriftssamers landsforbund). The purpose of NBR and its local union is to promote the Sámi reindeer herder's interests, economically, professionally, socially and culturally. Further, NBR works for unity among reindeer herders and for safeguarding herders' rights as reindeer herder. The local unions that are part of NBR should together cover the Sámi reindeer herding areas in Norway. Primarily, the local unions take care of the interest reindeer herders have in the area concerned.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Meeting with County Governor of Troms, 21.11.16

<sup>5</sup> E-mail from County Governor of Troms, 08.05.17

<sup>6</sup> Vedtekter for norske reindriftssamers landsforbund, URL: <http://www.reindriftsame.no/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Vedtekter.pdf>

The pilot project has had three project leaders so far, all of them are Sámi. A new template for the district plans was prepared before TRF's involvement in the project. Despite TRF's involvement, the County Governor is still responsible for the project (see footnote 4). In connection with the pilot project, TRF has prepared new district plans for Hjertind and Mauken reindeer grazing district. Despite Gielas not being part of the project, a new district plan has been prepared for them as well.<sup>7</sup> Figure 1 below shows the distribution of reindeer grazing districts in Troms County.

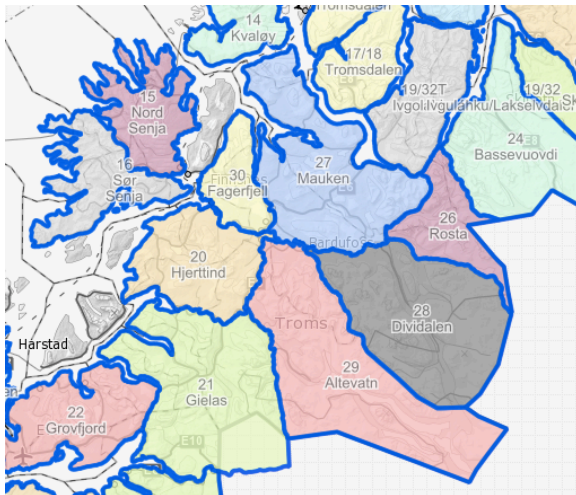


Fig. 1. Map of reindeer grazing districts in Troms (Map from kilden.nibio.no)

I am aware that some of the areas utilized by some of the districts stretch beyond the boundaries shown in this map. This also applies in the other maps used in this thesis.

### 1.5 Ethical and practical challenges

I faced some practical and ethical challenges both before and during my fieldwork. First, during summer when I contacted the reindeer grazing districts, I found out that Nord-Senja reindeer grazing district had resigned from the project. Instead, the Gielas reindeer grazing district had been included into the project. Going from having relatives in two of the reindeer grazing district, I now had relatives in all of the three reindeer grazing districts. I will address the ethical challenges in the methodology chapter.

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<sup>7</sup> Notes from the startup meeting on updating the district plans, 01.12.16

Another practical challenge appeared during the planning process. I found it a bit difficult to plan interview times with people in the reindeer husbandry trade. Many of them were busy with repairing fences and marking the calves, and had little time to meet me. It also seemed a bit difficult for them to plan weeks ahead. Therefore, when we agreed to meet, I often had to call few days before to double check if the deal was on. Sometimes we had to reschedule. I also experienced that the informants from the reindeer husbandry did not care that much to see the questions in advance; however, I gave them the opportunity to look through the questionnaire before the interview. Nor did they prefer to review the interviews after they were transcribed, instead relying on me to write the interviews correctly. In addition, during the interviews I felt that the people from the reindeer husbandry were open in their conversations with me. This may be due to our previously established relationships and/or because I myself am a reindeer herding Sámi.

## 1.6 Previous research

Regarding instructions by the management of how to develop a district plan, three templates exist. One is prepared in 1999 by the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Administration (Statens reindriftsforvaltning) (Reindriftsforvaltningen 1999). The other template was prepared by the the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Administration in Nordland (Reindriftsforvaltningen 2012). Recently, the County Governor of Troms has prepared a new template. As far as I know, there is no research or review done specifically on the district plans.

Much research has been done on co-management and reindeer husbandry. Jan Åge Riseth (2003) looks for instance at co-management in reindeer husbandry and how challenges related to modernization have impacted the co-management system of Sámi reindeer husbandry in Norway (Riseth 2003). Birgitte Ulvevadet (2008) also looks at co-management in reindeer husbandry in Norway. She gives an overview of the different roles of the actors in co-management, which will be useful for my thesis work. In Norway there are several co-management boards in the management of reindeer husbandry. There has been some dissatisfaction among reindeer owners regarding the co-management system in Norway despite high degree of participatory democracy (Ulvevadet 2008:61, 56). Is this an insight applying to the district plans as well? One of my aims is to find whether district plans work beneficially for both reindeer husbandry and the municipalities.

## 1.7 Insider/outsider position

According to Torjer Olsen (2015:11-12) the two concepts, *emic* and *etic*, represent an insider and an outsider position. Emic is studying behavior from within a given cultural system and etic is studying behavior from the outside of a cultural system. Similarly, Linda Tuhwai Smith distinguishes between insider and outsider positions in research. Insider researcher means the researcher belongs to the same group or community they are doing research with (Smith 2012: 138-139). Insider and outsider position are often related to indigenous and non-indigenous contexts (Olsen 2015:13).

I have interviewed both reindeer herders and people working in the municipalities and the County Governor of Troms. During my fieldwork I moved between both an insider and an outsider positions. On the one hand, I am situated in an insider position because of my background as a reindeer herding Sámi. I also speak the North Sámi language, as do many of the participants, which I believe is as an important part of the insider position. In addition, I am related to the majority of the participants, which will clearly puts me in an insider position. On the other hand, I am also an outsider because the reindeer grazing districts I have worked with during my thesis work are in Troms County, and I am from Finnmark, where the situation for reindeer husbandry may be a bit different from Troms. In addition, even if I am related to many of the informants, I am not part of, or have a belonging to the particular reindeer grazing districts I am going to interview within. I will return to the discussion of my role as a researcher and insider research in the methodology chapter.

## 1.8 Relevance of my study

I was asked to carry out this work because there is a need to assess the district plans, indicating that this is a topic where research is missing. As far as I know, there has not been any research done on district plans before. Several studies have been done on the management of reindeer husbandry, but none of them have particularly focused on the goals and use of the district plans. Reindeer husbandry is a primary industry, which is highly dependent upon land areas (County Governor of Troms 2015a: 2). The reindeer herds often follow an annual cycle where they move between winter, spring, summer and fall pastures. The distances between the grazing areas can be quite long. Encroachment on reindeer grazing land is today one of the large threats to reindeer husbandry (Nellemann 2016:84). My thesis is therefore relevant in a broader context, since the land used by reindeer husbandry is highly under pressure and

because the district plan should serve as a tool to secure grazing land, not only in Troms County, but also in every reindeer grazing district in Norway. The district plans are important, as they are official tools prepared by the reindeer husbandry itself in order to influence land area planning. Even though I will be looking at district plans in Troms County, I hope my thesis will contribute to a larger discussion on how to improve and strengthen the voice of reindeer herders in the management of land.

### 1.9 Guide through the thesis

In the first chapter, I present the topic – the district plans, as well as the research questions and changes in the pilot project, the relevance of my study and my position in this research.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of selected aspects of the historical background and aspects of the legal framework in reindeer husbandry.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical tools used – the ‘glancing’ perspectives, which allowed me analyze flexibility and knowledge basis of the district plans. Also, I present core aspects of co-management as a tool to discuss the district plans in a co-management framework.

Chapter 4 focuses on indigenous methodology and methods used to answer my research questions. Here I deal with ethical consequences of being an insider and doing commissioned research.

Chapter 5 examines the contemporary situation in reindeer husbandry today. Besides looking at current situation in reindeer husbandry in general, I touch upon at the governance of the co-management in reindeer husbandry in Norway, as well as the municipal planning processes.

Chapter 6 discusses the knowledge base of the municipal staff and the employees at the County Governor, using the “glances” as tools. I argue that there is a lack of awareness regarding the district plans.

Chapter 7 gives an insight to the expectations related to the district plans. The challenges with the plans relate to flexibility, particularly the issue of classification of land. Being aware of the flexibility challenges, depends on which “glance” you possess.

Chapter 8 focuses on the experiences with the district plans and the overall communication between reindeer herders and the municipalities. Chapter 9 summarizes the findings.

## Chapter 2: Core concepts and legal frameworks

### 2.1 Pastoralism

The earliest form of reindeer husbandry is characterized as a form of pastoralism (Hansen & Olsen 2004:203). Before pastoralism, the Sámi's relied on hunting, trapping and fishing. Even as far back as 890, Ottar – a Norse chief mentioned that reindeer was an important resource for the Sámi (Hansen & Olsen 2004). There are many theories as to when and why pastoralism emerged, but this is not the topic of this work.

Pastoralism is defined as when reindeer goes from being common property to being privately owned (Bjørklund 2013:175). Moving from hunting reindeer to utilizing reindeer as grazing animals can also be understood as a process of domestication (Andersen 2008:115). The key characteristic of pastoralism is that people could now control the reproduction of the herd. In addition, because the herd grew larger and larger, pastoralism developed into reindeer herding being extensive, rather than intensive. Intensive herding means that people have close control over the individual animals, while extensive herding means less control over the animal, focusing more on meat production (Bjørklund 2013:175).

### 2.2 The siida

Reindeer husbandry has from ancient times been driven by siidaer. The old siida-system worked as a center of administration, a management unit and a form of internal administration of justice. The first time siida is mentioned in Norwegian legislation is in “Lov om de forskjellige Forhold vedkommende Fjeldfinnerne I Finnmarkens Amt of July 23, 1888 § 2”. The provision used the term “byer” (villages), which is a Norwegian term for siida. From then on, the notion of siida was not present in the Norwegian legislation until the amendment of the Reindeer Husbandry Act in 1996 (Skogvang 2002:161-162). Afterwards, the term was included in several provisions in the Reindeer Husbandry Act of June 15, 2007 (Holand 2003:27, reinl. §51). The Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007 (reinl. § 51) defines siida as “a group of reindeer herders who practice reindeer husbandry in specific areas”.

Within the siidas, there were, and still are, close kinship ties (Holand 2003:27). Bjørklund (1990) describes siida as a group of reindeer owners who live and migrate together, and the herd of reindeer are owned and herded by them. Since the herd changes size throughout the year according to available pastures, so does the demand for herding tasks and labor.



Therefore, the siida regulates both the size of the herd and the composition of the siida throughout the year, and the siida will at certain times divide and regroup their herds. It is therefore not a static unit (Bjørklund 1990: 80-81, Holand 2003:27). “The strategy of the pastoralists is never to be in a position where the size and composition of the herd is not in proportion to the available labor and pasture” (Bjørklund 2003:126). Today, reindeer herders are thought to make up 10% of the Sámi population in Norway (Nordisk samekonvensjon 2005:126).<sup>8</sup>

### 2.3 Aspects of legal history of reindeer husbandry

In this section, I will briefly touch upon aspects of legal history of reindeer husbandry. I can not write about the management of reindeer husbandry without including the legal framework, because reindeer husbandry is an indigenous economic activity which is in a constant minority, and it is dependent on a legal framework that works as a defence against majority interests.

The earliest legislation of reindeer husbandry is Lapp Codicil from 1751. The Codicil was a part of the boundary treaty between Denmark/Norway and Sweden and its aim was to secure reindeer herders’ right to continue to move between these two countries after the border was settled. By law of June 2 , 1883 “angaaende Lapperne I de forenede Kongeriger Norge og Sverige”, also called “felleslappeloven”<sup>9</sup> or “the joint Sámi Act,” rules were given to the reindeer husbandry in Troms and the southern counties. This law mostly regulated the relationship between reindeer herding Sámis and farming interests (Bull 1997:17), because especially in Troms, conflicts had arisen between these two industries. The law introduced common responsibility for grazing damage. The law regulated the division of districts, migration routes and compensation for damage caused of and by reindeers. § 9 of the law stated that reindeer herders had an imposed guard-duty (vokteplikt) and damage liability. The

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<sup>8</sup> Ethnicity has not been criteria in population censuses, thus it is difficult to estimate how many Sámi’s there are. (Statistisk sentralbyrå, URL: <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/samisk/hvert-2-aar/2014-02-06> ). However, an estimation is 80 000 – 100 000 Sámi’s in total. The majority (approx. 50-65 000) of Sámi’s live in Norway (Nordisk samekonvensjon 2005:120).

<sup>9</sup> Through this Act it was granted a legal basis for the creation of reindeer grazing districts. The Act did not apply for Finnmark (Bull 1997:17).

paragraph also introduced common responsibility, which meant that all reindeer owners within the district were held responsible for any damage occurring from the reindeer grazing (Ravna 2007). It is clear that this law was beneficial for farmers because it satisfied their demands for compensation for reindeer damage (Berg 1998:166). The principle of solidarity responsibility when reindeers harm for instance, farmers land still prevails (NOU 2007:394-395). Sámis' right to move with the herd over the borders between Norway and Sweden was regulated by Convention of February 5, 1919. This convention was replaced by reindeer grazing convention of February 9, 1972 (Bull 1997:17). This convention was applicable until 2002, but was extended by five years in anticipation for a new convention. In 2009, a new reindeer grazing convention was negotiated and signed by Norway and Sweden. However, it has not yet been ratified yet (Riseth 2013:91). However, the Lapp Codicil never ceased to exist. Due to the lack of new convention, Sweden has chosen to follow the Lapp Codicil, while Norway has chosen to extend the Convention of 1972 (Riseth 2014:91). "Thus, ever since the border was drawn in 1751, there have been international legal obligations between the two states, which ensure the rights of Saami from Sweden on Norwegian territory and vice versa" (Broderstad 2013:158). While I am aware of the transboundary reindeer husbandry use of the reindeer grazing areas in Troms, I will not look into this part of the reindeer husbandry, which is a complex legal and political field in itself. Instead, I limit my focus to the "Norwegian" reindeer husbandry's in Troms. However, because of the central role of Swedish reindeer husbandry in Troms, I will touch upon it a couple of places in my thesis.

## 2.4 Domestic legislation and international law

The purpose of the current Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007 is to secure and facilitate ecologic, economic and culturally sustainable reindeer husbandry (reinl. §1). Moving routes are protected through this Act (reinl. §22). The Act was prepared by the Reindeer Husbandry Legislative Committee (Reindrifstlovutvalget). In this committee, the reindeer herders made up the majority.<sup>10</sup> Article 108 in the Constitution of Norway states that, "It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to

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<sup>10</sup> Orientering om reindrifstloven, 2007. URL:

[https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjyrer\\_veiledere\\_rapporter/reindrifstloven\\_norsk.pdf](https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjyrer_veiledere_rapporter/reindrifstloven_norsk.pdf)

preserve and develop their language, culture and way of life” (Bankes 2004:106, (Grunnloven- Grl. §108)<sup>11</sup>.

Another legislation of particular importance for reindeer husbandry in Norway is the Planning and Building Act of 2009. The Planning and Building Act contains laws and regulations about use of land and resources in Norway. The aim of the Act is to promote sustainable development for the benefit of the individual, the society and future generations (pbl. §1-1). Municipalities are obliged to involve reindeer husbandry cf. pbl. §5-1.<sup>12</sup> I will talk more about this and governance in the following chapters.

Reindeer husbandry has gained protection through a series of conventions and legal provisions. Through ILO Convention 169, concerning the rights of Indigenous and Tribal people,<sup>13</sup> the Sámi people have gained greater recognition of their rights. Norway ratified ILO 169 in 1990, being the first country to do this.<sup>14</sup> The provisions of ILO 169 protect the culture and land rights of indigenous people. Article 14(1) states, “The rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognized” (Anaya 2009:140). Article 14(1) also declares “Measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the peoples concerned to use lands not exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities. Particular attention shall be paid to the situation of nomadic peoples and shifting cultivators in this respect,” (See footnote 13). This provision is particularly relevant for reindeer husbandry since different grazing lands are used at different times of year.

There are also a number of provisions dealing with consultation with indigenous peoples, and their rights to take part in decision-making processes affecting them. (Anaya 2009:138). Article 6(1)a states “Governments shall consult the peoples concerned, through appropriate

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<sup>11</sup> Kongeriket Norges Grunnlov, URL: <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1814-05-17-nn>

<sup>12</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 9

<sup>13</sup> ILO 169, URL: [http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100\\_INSTRUMENT\\_ID:312314](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314)

<sup>14</sup> ILO 169, URL: [http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11200:0::NO:11200:P11200\\_COUNTRY\\_ID:102785](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11200:0::NO:11200:P11200_COUNTRY_ID:102785)

procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, whenever consideration is being given to legislative or administrative measures which may affect them directly” (See footnote 13). Article 15 not only includes consultation but also management of natural resources: “The rights of the peoples concerned to the natural resources pertaining to their lands shall be specially safeguarded. These rights include the right of these peoples to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources” (Article 15(1)). Furthermore, Article 15(2) expresses that in those cases where the State has ownership to mineral or sub-surface resources, the governments should consult these peoples before undertaking or permitting any programs for the exploration or exploitation (ibid). Also through UN’s International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article. 27, Norway committed to secure Sámi culture, language and religion.<sup>15</sup> This convention came into force in 1976 and was ratified by Norway in 1972.<sup>16</sup> UN’s International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, with a number of other conventions are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, they are incorporated into the Norwegian law by the Act of May 21, 1999 no. 30 on strengthening human rights in the Norwegian Law (Skogvang 2002:36).

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<sup>15</sup>United Nations Humans Right, URL:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

<sup>16</sup>FNs konvensjon om sivile og politiske rettigheter, URL: [http://www.fn.no/FN-](http://www.fn.no/FN-informasjon/Avtaler/Menneskerettigheter/FNs-konvensjon-om-sivile-og-politiske-rettigheter)

[informasjon/Avtaler/Menneskerettigheter/FNs-konvensjon-om-sivile-og-politiske-rettigheter](http://www.fn.no/FN-informasjon/Avtaler/Menneskerettigheter/FNs-konvensjon-om-sivile-og-politiske-rettigheter)

## Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

District plans are seen as important tools for land area planning as they convey information about the reindeer husbandry practiced in a particular area. These plans are documents containing knowledge about the industry. Furthermore, they play a role in communication and should serve as a tools for good interaction between the management and the reindeer husbandry. In this chapter, I will introduce a theoretical framework used to analyze data. I will start by looking at different positions from which to observe. By applying Jacob Meløe's concepts: the expert glance, the inexpert glance and the dead glance, (1985), I discuss how knowledge about substance and communications are handled dependent on which "glance" used. I will also apply the "glances" to look into the concept of flexibility. Since the reindeer husbandry is dependent on more or less flexible approaches related to pastures, I ask whether the district plans allows for such flexibility. Furthermore, I use aspects of co-management and sketch out a framework allowing me to discuss the roles and challenges of the district plans in relation to core components of co-management.

### 3.1 The three "glances"

Jacob Meløe (1985) presents three glancing perspectives, as different ways of observing. He focuses on how to see and how to *understand* what we see, and distinguishes between three concepts: "the expert glance" (det kyndige blikk), "the inexpert glance" (det ukyndige blikk), and "the dead glance" (det døde blikk). I use these concepts to analyze the knowledge level of administrative staff in the municipalities, and managers in County Governor of Troms, in relation to district plans in reindeer husbandry. Do they have an "expert", "inexpert" or "dead" glance? The "glances" work as tools to understand the involved actors. I also use these concepts to analyze reindeer husbandry and their relation to the district plans.

One with an "expert glance", is someone who truly understands what is to seen. You have an "expert glance" of an activity, when you know the activity well, and when you can perform the activity yourself, (Meløe 1985:23-25). The "expert glance" can be seen as the "glance" of an insider position. A reindeer herder can have an "expert glance" on reindeer husbandry, because he or she knows the herd's behavior and the landscape. Someone outside the industry might have a different look, and not recognize the composition of the herd or the function of the landscape the same way as the reindeer herder, (Saus 2006:6-7). The second concept is the

“inexpert glance”. The “inexpert glance” is of someone who does not see everything which is to see, and is aware of that (Meløe 1985:25.26). According to Saus (2006:8), the “inexpert glance” can be an outside position. For instance, when looking at a car mechanic: You understand only a very small part of what he/she does. You see that he/she is working on the car engine, but you have no idea what is really going on, (Meløe 1985:26). However, a person can also improve their insight and gain better understanding, by learning an activity and/or asking informed questions, (Meløe 1985:16, 43, 48, 52). The third concept is the “dead glance”. This person does not see what there is to be seen, nor is he/she aware that there is something to be seen, (Meløe 1985:27). This is also an outsider position, (Saus 2006:9). The third “glance” will not further be applied in my thesis, because nobody can “escape” questions related to reindeer herding management, due to legislation and policies. Even if one possesses an “expert glance”, it is not possible for neither the municipal staff, the employees at the County Governor, nor the reindeer herders, to have full overview and information, due to complex conditions.

### 3.1.1 Flexibility

As the district plans contain detailed information about how the reindeer husbandry is practiced, and at the same time should demand flexibility given the special nature of reindeer husbandry, I investigate whether the district are able to safeguard flexible concerns. Therefore, I use flexibility as a part of my theoretical framework. The term flexibility is a broad concept, and the meaning varies from which discipline and context one applies (Sawhney 2006). Flexibility in everyday life, is often described as the ability to do something else than originally intended, (Evans 1991:73). Flexibility is the capacity to adapt, (Golden & Powell 2000). Flexibility also means the ability to respond to unforeseen changes (Evans 1991:73). “Central to the notion is the capability to generate variety so that options are available to do things differently or do something else if the need arises,” (Evans 1991:74). In the analysis section I look whether the district plans address the challenges of flexibility. For instance, having an “expert glance” allows one to see these challenges accurately, while having an “inexpert” or “dead glance” limits one’s ability to see challenges related to flexibility. To understand flexibility in reindeer husbandry, one must also have some insight into local conditions in reindeer husbandry. Attaining an understanding of flexibility and

knowledge of the resource users, depends on which “glances” used by the managers and the management system.

### 3.1.2 Knowledge perspectives

Given the importance of local conditions in reindeer husbandry and the fact that reindeer husbandry is clearly positioned as an indigenous livelihood, I apply indigenous knowledge in my theory. “Indigenous knowledge can be defined as local knowledge held by indigenous people, or local knowledge unique to a given culture or society” (Berkes 2012:9). Because indigenous knowledge is closely tied in context of livelihoods of people, it also changes as the community changes (Agrawal 1995:418, 429). There are several concepts for this kind of knowledge, such as local knowledge and *traditional ecological knowledge* (TEK). These concepts have many similarities, but also differences, and they have been much debated. For instance, Neis and Felt (2000:13) distinguishes between *local ecological knowledge* and TEK. Indigenous knowledge and TEK have also often been used interchangeably (Berkes 2012:9). However, I will not discuss the various terms and the differences between them, I will mainly focus on indigenous knowledge in this project, and refer to traditional ecological knowledge as indigenous knowledge.

Although TEK has no conclusive definition, Fikret Berkes (2012) defines TEK as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with another and with their environment” (Berkes 2012:7). Many indigenous people are holders of TEK, but this is not always the case (Berkes 2012:7). Indigenous knowledge contains elements of cosmologies, spirituality, relationships with the natural environment and the use of natural resources of people. This knowledge is also connected to empirism or experiences (Koukkanen 2000:418, Turi & Eira 2016:99).

Reindeer herding knowledge as Sámi and indigenous knowledge is reflected in language, and passed on through storytelling and ongoing dialogue. It is passed down from one generation to another (Kuokkanen 2000:419, Turi & Eira 2016). Indigenous knowledge or observation is also characterized as holistic, meaning that human beings can see themselves as part of

nature, together with spirits, animals, plants and stones (Kuokkanen 2000:416, 417, Kalland 2003:167, 162-163). Holistic views are reflected in the Sámi landscape. For example, the Sámi landscape is inhabited not only by people and animals but also spirits. In addition, Sámi place names can also be holistic, describing wildlife, plant species, sacred places and also useful places for the reindeer herd or the siida (Ween 2005:17). For instance, to be able to see relation between the herd, weather and nature is an important feature in reindeer husbandry. Whether you are capable of doing this, is dependent on which “glance” you have.

Gaining such knowledge is done through an informal socialization process; it depends on growing up in families and in places where resource makes the economic basis. Characteristic of fisheries and reindeer husbandry, this knowledge occurred in the primary and secondary groups, through participation in practice work (praksisarbeid). “The traditional method of acquiring Sámi reindeer herding knowledge is analogous to learning to read and understand the landscape” (Sara 2011:140). For instance, the student is told by an elder in the community about the features and designations in the landscape. The student receives no other information, but is left alone to examine the landscape. Doing this repeatedly, followed with a discussion, provides the basis to distinguish between categories of terrain and so forth. Learning about the herd behavior and other aspects of siida management is acquired in a similar manner (Sara 2011:140). Traditional knowledge can also mean certain ways of talking about the reindeer. For instance, in the Sámi language, there are different terms for reindeer. These terms classify reindeer according to gender, age, color, shape, horns, behavior etc., (Bjørklund 2003). This knowledge acquisition is dependent on a particular cultural context (Jentoft 1998:177).

Furthermore, reindeer husbandry also has to be familiar with the management knowledge, or the so-called “western knowledge”. If they are to protect reindeer husbandry they must have knowledge about the legislation, the management systems and the political systems. Reindeer herders have are actors in many things; they attend meetings, they deal with deadlines and paperwork and so forth. The reindeer grazing districts are different and while some can be very resourceful in terms of personnel, other districts might lack people to deal with all these things. Given my emphasis on indigenous knowledge, also this concept is also discussed in



relation to the district plans. Having an “expert glance” on reindeer husbandry one needs to have some knowledge of local conditions, and therefore a certain amount of indigenous knowledge. Local knowledge of the users might affect the decisions made in a co-management system. Thus, in the next section I deal with several of core aspects of co-management as they relate to flexibility and knowledge. Including the users own personal experience and knowledge into co-management provides conditions for more legitimate regulations. Legitimacy is in addition, also closely related to user participation (Jentoft 1998:80).

### 3.2 Comprehending co-management

Since the question of the knowledge base is a core aspect of co-management, and given the central role of state agencies in the governing and managing of reindeer husbandry, I find it reasonable to address several core features of co-management. However, I am not going to present the comprehensive framework of co-management, instead touching upon aspects of relevance in assessing the role and function of the district plans. Reindeer husbandry is an area where there is a need for collaborative institutions, due to the diverse right-holders and stakeholders. Many interests are related to outlying field and resources using the same land as the reindeer husbandry is dependent on. The land used by reindeer husbandry is under pressure and is being reduced for many different reasons. Carlsson & Berkes (2005:71) notes that local users can hardly manage most natural resources in the world on their own, moreover, centralized management of natural resources can also be problematic. In many cases co-management involves state agencies (Castro & Nielsen 2001:231), like in the case of reindeer husbandry in Norway.

An exact definition of co-management can be difficult, because the term refers to various levels of integration of local and state management systems. For instance, the definition by user groups and the way they are represented may vary (Berkes, et.al., 1991:6, Jentoft 1998:164-165). Jentoft (1998:179) defines co-management as a “formally organized management system based on participation and collaboration between resource users, government agencies and research institutions.” Co-management often involves decentralization. However, the degrees of autonomy, delegation and decentralization may vary (Jentoft 1998:165, Jentoft 2003:4). Co-management should aim for problem-solving and conflict reduction (Carlsson & Berkes 2005). Moreover, rich and varied communication among the participants is essential (Jentoft 2003:5-6).

Furthermore, what is central is to strengthen the legitimacy of process in resource management (Ulvevadet 2008:57, Jentoft 1998:80). Hence, how much resource users can participate may vary (Jentoft et.al., 2003:286, Jentoft 1998:165). Participation includes i.e. involvement in planning processes and varied communication. Thus, what is the role of the district plans in participation?

### **3.2.1 Challenges of co-management and power-sharing**

Co-management can thus be problematic. As in all management systems, co-management can produce winners and losers (Jentoft 2003:5). It is possible that strong user-groups dominate the management process and make decisions according to their own interests (Jentoft 1998:73). In Sweden, this is exemplified with the reindeer herders having less impact on the outcomes than the forestry sector, despite 20 years of consultations (Sandström & Widmark 2005). Paul Nadasdy (2005) also discusses the weaknesses in co-management systems. He illustrates how co-management projects actually can extend state power and is in fact bureaucratizing rather than empowering local people (Nadasdy 2005:224).

Even if resource managements most often are regulated and managed by the government, an essential part of co-management is power-sharing. (Berkes 2007:22, 24), which can lead to the empowerment of communities who are part of a co-management agreement (Castro & Nielsen 2001:230). This is, however, not always the case (Berkes 2007:22-24). State agencies control over the co-management or influence on decision making concerning the resources might hide state domination (Carlsson & Berkes 2005:71). Whether the district plan itself has the power to influence on the outcomes regarding land area planning, is of interest. Co-management is often created because of conflict and as a solution to this conflict, co-management agreement between officials and other resource users are formed (Castro & Nielsen 2001:232). The district plans aim to prevent conflicts (County Governor of Troms 2015 (b) n.d). If you have a district plan that provides necessary information, and in this way involve the reindeer herders prior to conflicts, these could be avoided by meeting and discussing the challenges before a possible conflict and in this way.

### **3.2.2 Co-management as trust**

Another important aspect of co-management is building trust, a crucial factor for co-management to succeed (Singleton 2000:9). Related to trust building is learning to respect

differences in worldviews. Trust building might be particularly important when co-managers have different epistemological backgrounds, or have different cosmologies and worldviews. Different worldviews might make good collaborative work difficult. For example, if there is a group of wildlife biologists believing caribou can be managed, and aboriginal hunters are of the opposite opinion, trust building can be difficult. Finding some sort of common ground and common visions for the future is important (Berkes 2007:26). Groups of co-management agreements might also have had history with conflicts prior to the co-management agreements. Many indigenous people have been colonized and experienced oppression by the state, so resistant behavior may have been established long before the co-management agreement (Singleton 2000:8-9). Are these relevant concerns in the work of the district plans, given the importance of trust building for a viable co-management regime and the legacy of resistance among indigenous peoples?

Building trust is also about communities having sufficient information available allowing effective management regulations (Singleton 2000:4). If state managers fail to provide information to the local managers or misrepresent the information, or if local managers hold back information which crucially affects the harvest opportunities (Singleton 2000:7), mistrust is more likely to occur. Building trust means that all parties complete the tasks they are set up to do. In co-management regimes, you might have strong user groups dominating the decision-making processes, making decisions according to their own interests (Jentoft 1998:73). Sometimes indigenous peoples and other stakeholders are not granted the opportunity to negotiate. State agencies might simply present the established plan and only give the stakeholders the option to accept or reject (Castro & Nielsen 2001:234). This can weaken the trust building process in a co-management regime. Thus, the implication of information is important in trust building. What is the knowledge platform of the involved actors in dealing with the district plans? Do the district plans influence land area planning and are they functioning as tools for improving co-management, e.g are the reindeer herders involved prior to conflict, and is trust established between the reindeer herders and municipalities' in the work of district plans?

## Chapter 4: Indigenous methodology and methods

### 4.1 The role of indigenous methodology

Colonialism and imperialism have exploited and dispossessed indigenous peoples all over the globe for hundreds of years (Kuokkanen 2000:412). Research is one way in which the underlying codes of imperialism and colonialism are regulated and realized (Smith 2012:8). Bagele Chilisa (2012) states that Euro-Western norms are dominant throughout all the stages in the research process. Furthermore, she states that researcher has the power to label, name, condemn, describe, or prescribe solutions to challenges in former colonized, indigenous peoples and historically oppressed groups (Chilisa 2012: 7-8).

After the 1960s and 1970, a change happened in the scholarly world. Indigenous people and communities were dissatisfied with being unable to represent themselves. This dissatisfaction resulted in the development of indigenous methodology and worked as a counterpart for previous colonial research attitudes (Gaski 2013:115, 118, Beck & Evjen 2015:17-18). Indigenous people around the world, including the Sámi, demanded to initiate their own research based on their own premises. An essential part of indigenous research has been the right to represent oneself (Gaski 2013:115-116, 118). It is important to remember that while this change happened in academia, there was an ongoing worldwide social movement among indigenous people protesting for land rights, language, cultural rights, human rights and civil rights (Smith 2012:114, Gaski 2013:115).

I will follow an indigenous approach in my thesis. I use both indigenous methodology, as well as I am drawing on social science approaches in general, including co-management perspectives. The main idea behind indigenous methodology is to criticize the dominant Western research methodologies. It includes moving away from the notion that Western knowledge is the only knowledge, and emphasizing that knowledge production includes multiple knowledge systems. Making space for the worldviews of the colonized other so they can understand themselves through their own perspectives is a part of a decolonizing methodology (Chilisa 2012:12-13, 39). “Indigenous knowledge plays an important role in the articulation of indigenous research methodologies” (Chilisa 2012:99), because it can among other things, unveil knowledge that has previously been ignored (Chilisa 2012:100). Indigenous knowledge is included in this thesis, both in the theoretical chapter and discussed

in the analysis as well. Kuokkanen (2000) discusses “indigenous paradigm” and states that an indigenous paradigm can contribute to new set of tools for analyzing non-Western cultures, emphasizing that such paradigm is needed and connected to the deconstruction of the consequences of colonialism. Through such paradigms, we may avoid misrepresentation of our cultural expressions (Kuokkanen 2000:412, 414). Thus, she is saying there is more than one way of doing Sámi research. For those doing research, we have to be willing to use the information which is beneficial for our society (Kuokkanen 2000:413, 420). I hope the information gathered in my research can be beneficial for both the reindeer husbandry and the management of reindeer husbandry.

#### 4.2 Field of study

I have interviewed people working in Tromsø, Målselv, Salangen and Nordreisa municipality. I have also interviewed people in the County Governor in Troms. The reindeer grazing districts to include in this study were predetermined: Mauken, Hjerttind and Gielas. However, in a meeting with the County Governor in Troms, I was informed that Gielas reindeer grazing district was no longer part of the project.<sup>17</sup> Although Gielas reindeer grazing district was withdrawn from the pilot project, it still is a part of my thesis, contributing with valuable information.

In the same meeting with County Governor of Troms, I was told that Nordreisa municipality in Troms, and Cohkolat reindeer grazing district are regarded as best practice examples of the use of district plans (see footnote 17). Therefore, in addition to the above mentioned municipalities and district, I decided to include Nordreisa municipality and Cohkolat reindeer grazing district. The district plans of this particular reindeer grazing district are regarded as very good by the County Governor in Troms. Cohkolat reindeer grazing district is located in Nordreisa and Kåfjord municipality in Troms County (Cohkolat district plan 2015).

All together I conducted fourteen interviews, also participated in meetings as a part of my fieldwork. The County Governor of Troms invited me and informed me about meetings

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<sup>17</sup> Meeting with County Governor of Troms 09.09.16

relevant to my thesis. I have participated in three meetings where I heard about the experiences the reindeer herders and the municipalities had with the district plans, land use planning and the management of reindeer husbandry in general, and took notes during the meetings.

### 4.3 Methods

Methods, as noted in Chilisa (2012:162) are tools used to gather data and are an essential part of the methodology. When conducting my research, I used qualitative methods. Whereas *quantitative* methodology focus on using numbers to test hypotheses, such as surveys etc., qualitative research uses first hand familiarity with different settings to induce hypothesis and aims to gather a more detailed information. Examples of qualitative methods are observation, interviews, and focus groups (Silverman 2012:37, Johannesen et.al., 2010:31-33). Methods used in my research include interviews, document analysis and participation in meetings. Before starting my research, I notified Personvernombudet (NSD), and received their approval.<sup>18</sup>

### 4.4 Interviews

The interviews were mostly semi-structured interviews. I had an interview guide for all of my interviews. The reason I have chosen this method is because it assures me that important issues are being covered. The starting point of all of my interviews were similar, allowing me to collect similar data from everyone. However, in a semi-structured interview a similar sequence of the questions is not required (Chilisa 2012:205), allowing me to be more flexible during my interviews. I gave an informational paper to my informants before conducting the interviews, informing about my research and describing how I was going to conduct the interviews. The interviews were not strict, and informants could give their comments and concerns in addition to the questions I asked. This is in line with indigenous methodology.

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<sup>18</sup> NSD is the Data Protecion Official for Research for all the Norwegian universities, university colleges and several hospitals and research institutes. More information on their webpage:

<http://www.nsd.uib.no/nsd/english/pvo.html>

I used my phone as a digital recorder during the interviews, after receiving permission from my informants. The reason I chose to record the interviews was so that I could ensure that I gained as correct information as possible. I asked each participant where they preferred to meet. All of the participants from the reindeer husbandry invited me to their home to do the interviews. I met the participants from the municipalities and the County Governor in their work offices. The interviews were conducted in both Sámi and Norwegian. I have translated all the quotes used in this thesis to English and placed the original quotes in footnotes. I interviewed each participant separately, except in one interview. I interviewed two people from Mauken reindeer grazing districts, three from Hjerttind, and one from Gielas. These interviews were all conducted in Sámi. Regarding the municipalities, I interviewed one from Tromsø municipality, one from Salangen, and two people from Målselv municipality. All of these interviews were conducted in Norwegian. Additionally, I interviewed two people from the County Governor in Troms. I also conducted a few interviews via phone because I could not meet them in person. I also called up some of the participants if there was something I had forgotten to ask or if I needed additional information. These interviews were not recorded, but written down during the phone call. The disadvantage with phone interviews is that non-verbal cues and body language is absent (Phellas et.al., 2012:184). Additionally, not having a device to record the conversations creates the risk of losing some of the information along the way. Nonetheless, I followed the same procedures in the written interviews as in the other interviews. I had separate interview guides for the municipalities, reindeer grazing districts and the County Governor. All of the interview guides slightly changed throughout the process. This is because some of questions overlapped, but also because I added questions relevant to my thesis.

#### **4.5 Documentary sources**

As a part of my data, I have also used documents, such as the district plan, hearing letters, and notes from meetings; all primary sources. Document sources are defined as written sources produced at the time the event happened or some time later (Gidley 2012:265). Documents can add another dimension to the existing data and give a deeper understanding of the data (Gidley 2012:268). I have received documents from both reindeer grazing districts, municipalities, and the County Governor of Troms and Nordland. The district plans from these three districts are quite old (from 1999), but the districts have confirmed that they still

apply today. <sup>19</sup> I gained access to these documents by the informants. For instance the County Governor sent me the district plans of the three districts included in this thesis.

#### 4.6 List of participants and meetings

As previously noted I interviewed fourteen people. I leave out of the names of the municipalities and the districts of the reindeer herders due to concerns of anonymity, therefore I refer to the participants by their profession. However, I realize it is possible to identify the reindeer herders, municipal staff and county governor employees both by place names and occupation.

I have also numbered the participants in order to distinguish them. For the employees in the County Governor, I have used the professional titles.

<b>Administrative staff of municipalities</b>	<b>Reindeer herders</b>	<b>Employees in the Troms County Governor</b>
Municipal employee 1	Reindeer herder 1	Senior adviser
Municipal employee 2	Reindeer herder 2	Adviser
Municipal employee 3	Reindeer herder 3	
Municipal employee 4	Reindeer herder 4	
Municipal employee 5	Reindeer herder 5	
	Reindeer herder 6	
	Reindeer herder 7	

Meetings I have participated in:

- Troms County Authority. Startup meeting for regional plan for reindeer husbandry. Tromsø, 03.02.2016
- Eira, Matti. The pilot project of district plans. County Governor. Tromsø, 12.02.16.
- Troms County Governor. Information about the municipal pilot project. Tromsø, 09.09.16
- County Governor of Troms. Dialogue conference between municipalities and

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<sup>19</sup> E-mail from County Governor of Troms, 30.09.16



reindeer grazing districts in Troms. Tromsø, 15.11.16

- County Governor of Troms. Information about the municipal pilot project. Tromsø, 21.11.16
- Troms reindriftssamers fylkeslag (TRF). Startup meeting on updating the district plans, in the project "Lokal forankring av reindrifta i kommunene i Troms". Målselv, 01.12.16.

#### 4.7 Transcribing and translating

My thesis is written in English, but I conducted my interviews both Norwegian and Sámi, and had to translate my interviews to English. Language plays an important role in research. Dominant or national languages often also dictate in research, institutions, and public discourses. The languages used in research but not necessarily used in the writing process, can pose threats to the linguistic rights of formerly colonized and indigenous peoples. Indigenous methodology encourages that research should be multilingual and multivocal (Chilisa 2012:154). Aroztegui Massera points out the challenges of translating, and notes that translating often leads to the loss of information. Further, Massera explains that words obtain their meaning through a particular context (Massera, cited in Chilisa, 2012:154-155). For instance, "Uruguayan female former political prisoners". Such words, although they might have a Standard English translation, would lose an important part of their meaning because these meanings are created by the context within which they are used" (Massera, cited in Chilisa, 2012:155). This is also the case for in Sámi language. For instance, the Sámi word *bagadallat* has a Norwegian translation, which is *veiledning*, or *guidance* in English, but can mean different things in the Sámi language. *Bagadallat* can mean explaining the weather or describing how a reindeer looks. It can also mean giving advice. The word is dependent on the context in which it is used.

I have transcribed the interviews in both Sámi and Norwegian, but the quotes in this text are translated into English. I have placed the original text in the footnotes. My aim has been to keep the meaning of the paragraph as correct as possible. However, there may be grammar errors and mistakes in the translation, for which I alone am responsible.

#### 4.8 Anonymity and confidentiality

In order to keep the information received by the participants confidential, names of the participants are often anonymized. I have chosen to make the informants anonymous. Before starting with the interviews I assured my interviewees that they will be anonymous and their names will not appear in my project (Ali & Kelly 2012:65). However, it might be a challenge in my research to avoid my participants identification. Suki Ali & Moira Kelly (2012:65) note that maintaining confidentiality might be difficult when studying topics where the populations are small or easily distinguishable. This is the case in my research as the reindeer husbandry community is quite small. It is clearly stated which reindeer grazing districts are involved, this is a public project established by the County Governor of Troms, and the names of the reindeer grazing districts are well known. The informants in the reindeer husbandry can therefore be identified by the name of the reindeer grazing district.

Anita Maurstad (2002:165) raises important issues in her article about fisher-knowledge, and states that it is the researchers task to know what information is sensitive, and to know what should be revealed and what should not. I have written earlier that the informants from the reindeer husbandry seemed to trust me more and talked more openly to me, perhaps given my background in the reindeer husbandry and my status as a Sámi. This is something I have been aware of since the start and I have consciously tried to sort out information which could harm my informants. My goal has been to ensure the confidentiality of my informants as best I could. Maurstad (2002:164-165) also raises concerns about who is the property holder of the knowledge shared by the informants. Researchers must know what knowledge and information to reveal and what to protect. In this case, I might have an advantage since I am a reindeer herding Sámi myself, and I might have a sense of what information might be sensitive.

#### 4.9 Interviewing relatives

Because of all of the reindeer herders I have been interviewing are relatives, I wish to address the challenges of interviewing friends and family members. First, I provide an introductory comment on the Sámi kinship system and how it differs from the Norwegian or European kinship system, as the Sámi culture perceives “close relative” differently than the Norwegian culture. One distinguishing feature of Sámi kinship from Norwegian kinship is that Sámi

kinship has no limitation in size and goes further back than the Norwegian kinship system. Cousins and aunts are regarded as close relatives in the Sámi kinship system. Non-biological kinship relations are regarded as close, such as godparents or “gáibmi” which means name brother or sister (having similar name(s)). In a European, urban and western cultures, mother, father, siblings, grandparents, aunt and uncle constitutes the nuclear family. The other relatives are called kin or relatives (Labahå 2004).

I have interviewed both uncles and cousins, which I consider very close family. One of the challenges interviewing family and/or friends is that they can respond less fully to your research questions because they assume you already know what they mean. As a researcher you might also give them greater flexibility in terms of research questions than you would otherwise have done (Bhatt 2012:167). Vigdis Stordahl (1996) has researched her own community and home place, Karasjok. She talks about the dangers of doing insider research and that there is a risk of *cultural blindness*, making one unable to see your role as a researcher and your viewpoint as a researcher clearly enough. However, she claims that being an insider does not need to be negative, and on the contrary, might sharpen one’s awareness and create reflection on the role as researcher. It may also be an advantage to be a member of a culture being researched, because you innately possess cultural understanding (Stordahl 1996).

Smith also discusses critical aspects of insider research, where she states that it is a constant need for reflexivity (Smith 2013:138). “As an insider you have to be able of thinking critically about your process, your relationships and the quality and richness of your data and analysis” (Smith 2012:138). Outsider researchers need this reflexivity too, but distinguishing insider research from outsider research is that an insider researcher has to live with the consequences of their process on a day-to-day basis, and so do their families and communities (Smith 2012:138). I agree with Smith, because after the project I still have a relationship with my relatives. The situation might be different if the participants were not my relatives, but whether the participants are relatives or not, I have to be careful and aware of the potential consequences in my project. Being a member of a community, one has different sets of roles and relationships, status and positions, therefore as a researcher one must to be humble. Smith (2012) notes that as an insider-researcher, you risk testing your own taken-for-granted views about their community. It is a risk because it can disrupt the beliefs, values, relationships and the knowledge of different histories (Smith 2012:140). I, however, do not see this risk,

because I believe it can be a positive thing to question the things you take for granted. As long as one is aware that things may not always be what you thought it would be, I do not believe it should be a risk. Also, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, I felt that the people in the reindeer husbandry were open in their conversations with me. In this situation, I felt the participants talked to me more like a relative rather than a researcher. What sometimes separated me from the insider position the moments when the interviews felt more formal. This was most apparent when I started to record and in the situations where I took notes during the interviews.

#### 4.10 Doing commissioned research

The fact that my project was commissioned by the County Governor of Troms, potential challenges must be discussed. Commissioned research can be defined when an external assigner request another to do research in a particular area. Commissioned research has been criticized for being unreliable. A potential ethical challenge is that researchers might produce results desired by the assigner. Doing research where the topic is specified is not in itself ethically problematic, but the the assigner's interests shall not affect the results of the research (Jacobsen 2005:52). Uneven power positions might be more apparent in a commissioned research, but it is the researcher's obligation to report the truth no matter what (Ham 1999:278).

In my research project, the County Governor has contributed with the topic. The formation of my thesis was up to me, meaning that both theory and methods were chosen by me. It is also important to underline that being commissioned by the County Governor does not imply enforced perspectives or demands on solutions regarding my thesis work. My thesis is part of a cooperative project meaning that the parties involved have common interests of strengthening the district plans and the management of reindeer husbandry. I also told all of my informants that my thesis was commissioned by the County Governor, this was also included in the informational sheet given to my participants. None of my participants commented on this fact.

## Chapter 5: The governance of reindeer husbandry and municipal planning processes

### 5.1 State regulations and modernization

In 1980s, the state authorities gradually began to integrate Sámi resources into the Norwegian state. Due to fears of overgrazing and an “ecological catastrophe”, the Norwegian state authorities introduced a number of laws and regulations to prevent this. These regulations focused on reducing the number of animals and number of pastoralists in order to make herding more “profitable” (Bjørklund 1990:78, Bjørklund 2003:126). To follow these regulations, each reindeer herder must slaughter and sell a certain percentage of his or her herd. Official permits (driftsenhet) were introduced by the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1978. After the 1980s no more permits were given out. According to Bjørklund, the main idea behind this was to reduce the recruitment of people (Bjørklund 2003:128, 132-133). In the new Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007 (§11), the term “driftsenhet” is considered as “siidaandel” – siida-share, defined as a family group or an individual which is a part of a siida (§10). The leader of the siida-share decides who can own reindeer within the siida-share (§10). This means that several people can work under one siida-share. According to the Reindeer Husbandry Act, only people who have the right to earmark have the right to own reindeers in the Sámi reindeer grazing area. A requirement for owning reindeer is that the reindeer have to be part of a siida-share (siidaandel) or juxtaposed recruitment proportion being run by an accountable leader (reinl. §9).

During the 1970s and 1980s, new technology made new herding techniques possible. Snowmobiles, and later on, motorbikes, and four-wheel-drive vehicles were adopted by the pastoralists. Altogether, this made reindeer husbandry and herding easier, but it also generated a growing need for money (Bjørklund 2003:127).

### 5.2 Reindeer husbandry today and the question of flexibility

The Sámi reindeer grazing area extends from Finnmark in the north to Hedmark in the south. Reindeer husbandry covers 40% of the land area in Norway.<sup>20</sup> The Sámi reindeer husbandry

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<sup>20</sup> Fylkesmannen i Troms, URL: <https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Troms/Landbruk-og-mat/Reindrif/>

area is divided into six reindeer grazing areas: East-Finnmark, West-Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Nord-Trøndelag and Sør-Trøndelag/Hedmark (Bull 1997:20). A district should encompass all pastures used during the year by the reindeer herders in that particular district. The different seasonal pastures can be spread over several districts if appropriate (reinl. §42). There are 79 districts in total (Bull 1997:21).

Reindeer husbandry follows an annual cycle as the herds moves between winter, spring, summer and fall pastures. The moving distances in Norway can vary, but the longest moving distance in Norway is around 100-150 km. The moving distances in Troms are often short and happen within the district.<sup>21</sup> Often the marking of the calves happens in summer, but some herders do it in the fall. Slaughtering the reindeers always happens in the fall (Nellemann 2016:84). In a Sámi pastoral society every reindeer is owned individually. The earmarks on the animal which tells who the owner is (Bjørklund 2003:125). It is also worth mentioning that reindeer husbandry today is based on customary law and immemorial usage, independent of legislation (Bull 1997:62).

Reindeer husbandry is considered as a highly adaptable industry. According to Bjørklund, however, over time, reindeer husbandry and the siida-institution have lost great deal of its flexibility due to state regulations (Bjørklund 2003:131, 133). In 1980, a number of regulations and laws were created to avoid overgrazing, as stated earlier. Bjørklund (2003:132-133) illustrates how regulations of permits and reduction of animals have had an impact on the flexibility of the siida. Before the establishment of the state's modern management of reindeer husbandry, the Sámi reindeer herders had their own way of recruiting people to the reindeer husbandry. Whether a person was capable of being a reindeer herder or not, was about a person's talent and skills. Kinship relations were also a determining factor. Often when children were baptized or confirmed, they received an earmark, which makes one into a reindeer owner.

Now, only a limited number of permits are given and the recruitment to reindeer husbandry is left in the hands of the government. With today's management system, knowledge and skills

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<sup>21</sup> Rapport fra arbeidsgruppe opprettet av Landbruks- og matdepartementet, URL: [https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/LMD/Vedlegg/Brosjyrer\\_veiledere\\_rapporter/Rapport\\_okologisk\\_reintall\\_skrakterier.pdf](https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/LMD/Vedlegg/Brosjyrer_veiledere_rapporter/Rapport_okologisk_reintall_skrakterier.pdf)

are not determining factors anymore, this is today dependent on political decisions and rules of inheritance, according to Bjørklund (2003:133). However, in the current Reindeer Husbandry Act (§15), experience and knowledge about reindeer husbandry is in fact a determining factor when a siida-share is to be transferred to another person: “The new leader of the Siida share must be legitimate and must have participated in all aspects of the work in reindeer husbandry together with the leader for at least three years”. You can own reindeer under someone else’s permit, but you will not receive annual check from the government (subsidies). This creates conflicts, because those without permit do more or less the same work as a herder. Without having a permit, you are quite dependent on someone who has a permit in the siida. If you are working under another person’s permit, in legal terms, you are also the caretaker of the permit-owners animals. This makes it difficult to leave the siida and one is basically stuck with the permit-holder (Bjørklund 2003:133-134).

Furthermore, the regulations on permits were also arbitrary and gender specific to a certain extent. This resulted in many female reindeer owners being left out (Bjørklund 2003:132). Regarding the regulations of the number of animals, a herd today consists of almost no calves and very few bulls. Current herds make flexible herding strategies difficult both in regard to herding and to husbandry. For example, winter grazing is less efficient due to the lack of bulls penetrating frozen snow and thus giving grazing access to weaker animals. There are also fewer options when it comes to slaughter and selling of animals (Bjørklund 2003:129-130). In addition, the flexibility in reindeer husbandry was limited by the closure of national borders, and the use of grazing land had to be adapted.

As the resource base is affected by natural fluctuations, such as weather, it is also important that the resource management is flexible. In reindeer husbandry, the snow depth in one year can make it difficult for the reindeer to obtain food. Another year, the spring migration might be complicated if the snow and ice melts late. Resource users need to have other options and alternatives to fall back on, if certain things don’t work as expected or if conditions worsen (Jentoft 1998:92). The situation today is completely different than in the past. It is not only the state regulations that have had impact on the flexibility of reindeer husbandry. The most important is the overall societal development which came before the state regulations and which is increasing encroachment on pasture lands. There are restrictions on all fields, and there are permanent obstacles in the way, such as construction of houses and cottages, road construction, and so forth. It is a complex system to handle and it also affects how flexible the reindeer industry can be.

### 5.3 Governance and management of reindeer husbandry

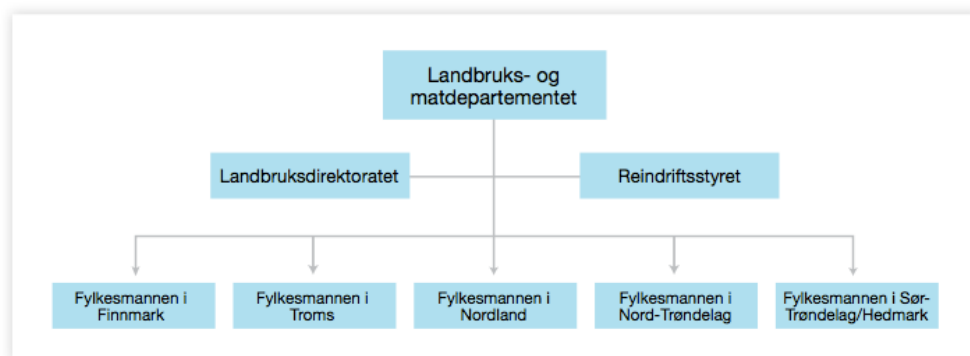


Fig. 2, Management of reindeer husbandry in Norway (Sametingsmelding 2016)<sup>22</sup>.

The management of reindeer husbandry in Norway is built up in an institutional manner of a co-management regime, encompassing a broad spectrum of policies and institutional arrangements for participation, partnerships, and power sharing (cf. Castro & Nielsen 2001:235). As the figure points out, the Department of Agriculture is the parent body within the reindeer management and acts as an appeal body for decisions made by the board of reindeer husbandry (Skogvang 2002:159). The Reindeer Husbandry Board is the central management of reindeer husbandry and it is an administrative agency and an advisory body. There are seven members of the board, four of whom are appointed by the Government and three are appointed by the Sámi Parliament. There should be active reindeer herders among the members (Bull 1997:19-20). The Reindeer Husbandry Board has the authority to divide reindeer grazing areas in a reindeer grazing district, determine the number of reindeers in a district, determine time for grazing and grazing zones, as well as other tasks. In 2015, the central management of reindeer husbandry was subjected to the Agriculture Directorate.<sup>23</sup> There are 79 districts with elected district boards. The district boards represent the districts' interests and shall ensure that reindeer herding in the district is in accordance with applicable laws and rules. In each district, a district leader is appointed and should assist the administration of reindeer husbandry, provide information for the public, and so on (Bull

<sup>22</sup> Sametinget. Sametingsmelding om reindrift, 2016, p. 9

<sup>23</sup> Sametinget. Sametingsmelding om reindrift, 2016, p. 10



1997:21-22). This is the overall organizational structure of the state administration of reindeer husbandry. In the revision of the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007, the industry obtained a larger degree of self-rule. In 2013, the National Reindeer Husbandry Administration was closed down and the functions were subjected to the Directorate of Agriculture.<sup>24</sup>

Until 2014 each reindeer grazing areas had an area board. In 2014, these were closed down. The area boards established through the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1978 (Broderstad et.al., 2015:15, Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8) had many tasks and the authority to regulate the number of permits and the number of reindeer pr. permits and to determine an application of permits. Area boards also had the authority to raise objections according to the Planning and Building Act (Broderstad et.al., 2015:15). After terminating the area boards, the County Governors in each county took over their tasks (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8). The County Governor shall ensure that the reindeer husbandry's involvement in planning processes is adequately safeguarded, and has the authority to object according to Planning and Building Act.<sup>25</sup> The responsibility and willingness of County Governor of Troms to act according to district plans can be explained by the fact that the County Governors has been given more responsibility than ever before.

#### 5.4 Planning processes in municipalities

I will also look at the role of the municipalities in relation to reindeer husbandry. Land use in Norway is today regulated by the Planning and Building Act of 2008 (Turi & Eira 2016: 97), and the municipalities have a responsibility to organize for reindeer husbandry. However, no municipality in Troms have prepared their own reindeer husbandry plans.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 20

<sup>25</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 21

<sup>26</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 12

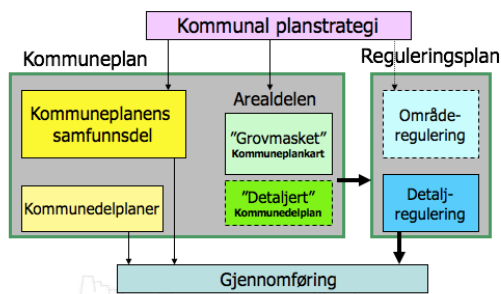


Fig. 3, The municipal planning system<sup>27</sup>

The municipal council shall prepare a municipal planning strategy at least once in each electoral term. The planning strategy should include, a discussion of the municipal strategic choices related to community development, including long-term land use, environmental challenges, sector activities and an assessment of the municipality’s planning needs. Already in this phase there should be opportunities for broad participation (pbl. §10-1). The next step is to prepare a municipal master plan, and all municipalities are required to prepare such plans (Vistnes et.al., 2004:35). The municipal master plan contains the social element and a land-use part (pbl. §11-1), and shall safeguard municipal, regional and national objectives, interests and duties, and as well as include all important goals and tasks of the municipality (ibid). “The social element of the municipal master plan address long-term challenges, goals and strategies for the municipal community as a whole and the municipality as an organization” (pbl. § 11-2). If there are one or more reindeer grazing districts within a municipality, the municipality must treat reindeer husbandry in the social element of the municipal master plan. This means the municipality shall make priorities and put strategies necessary to secure, develop and strengthen the reindeer industry.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Figure provided by County Governor of Troms, e-mail 09.05.17

<sup>28</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 12

In the land-use part (arealdelen) of the municipal master plan, zones requiring special consideration (hensynssoner) and land-use objectives (arealformål) must be specified.<sup>29</sup> The land-use part divides the municipalities into different land-use objectives. For instance, the land-use plan tells which areas are allocated to agriculture, nature, open-air recreation and reindeer husbandry (also called LNFR areas in Norwegian). Building projects in LNFR areas are allowed only if they are within the purpose of agriculture, nature, and open-air recreation and reindeer husbandry, meaning that only building projects that are regarded necessary in traditional agriculture or reindeer husbandry, are allowed (Vistnes et.al., 2004:35-36, pbl. §11-7) Reindeer husbandry can also be regarded as a zone requiring special considerations (hensynssone) (pbl. §11-8). If the municipal master plan has significant effects on the environment and society, it should be given an environmental impact assessment; which is an evaluation and description of the municipal plans effect on the environment and society (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8).

The third step is to prepare a zoning plan, which is a more detailed plan of the municipal master plan. If there are areas which are allocated to LNFR in the municipal master plan, the zoning plan further differentiates between open-air areas, agricultural areas or reindeer husbandry areas. If an area is put a side for reindeer husbandry in the zoning plan, the agriculture or the farmers cannot build or cultivate because it can have a negative impact on reindeer husbandry (Vistnes et.al., 2004:45). During preparations of plans, early contact and good cooperation from the municipality with both private local interests, state agencies and County Authorities is required in order to achieve efficient planning. Municipalities confirm the plans if they have not received any objections from state authorities, the county authorities or neighboring municipalities.<sup>30</sup> In a land planning context reindeer husbandry is in a unique position due to the industries extensive use of land and the rights gained through centuries of use. This is where the district plan asserts itself; it is a tool for municipalities to improve

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<sup>29</sup> Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, hensynssoner, URL: [https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokument/dep/kmd/veiledninger\\_brosjyrer/2009/lovkommentar-til-plandelen-i/kapittel-11-kommuneplan/-11-8-hensynssoner/id556790/](https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokument/dep/kmd/veiledninger_brosjyrer/2009/lovkommentar-til-plandelen-i/kapittel-11-kommuneplan/-11-8-hensynssoner/id556790/)

<sup>30</sup> Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, kommunal planlegging, URL: <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/plan-bygg-og-eiendom/plan--og-bygningsloven/plan/kommunal-planlegging/kommuneplanlegging/id418034/>

planning processes. The municipal land planning is dependent on having (at least some) knowledge of indigenous matters in their management in order to include local Sámi considerations (hensyn) in planning processes (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8-9). In 2008, new provisions were included into the Planning and Building Act about Sámi matters, stating that the Act has the aim of protecting the natural resource base for Sámi culture, economic activity (næringsutøvelse) and social life (pbl. §3-1). Before the Planning and Building Act of 2008, Sámi matters were not addressed explicitly in the work of area planning. In addition, the Sámi Parliament also gained the right to raise objection against plans, which can affect Sámi culture or livelihoods (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8-9).

Emphasizing the planning processes is important because the district plans can have a great impact on the planning processes if utilized appropriately. The municipality, County Authority and the County Governor should be informed about the preparation of the district plans and should be familiar with the main content of the plan before it is adopted. The district plans should also be sent to municipalities, the County Authority, the County Governor as well as affected neighboring reindeer grazing districts.<sup>31</sup> Using district plans can strengthen the municipal planning processes and facilitate participation of reindeer herders in the planning processes. Such developments contribute to improved knowledge of the land-use of the district. In addition to interests and needs connected to the land-use, it is also important other relevant information, such as the contact person in the district, and information on the situation with predators and so on. This provides a more comprehensive picture of the industry, and the area management takes into account long-term and short-term interests of the reindeer husbandry. “A comprehensive municipal mapping of “Sámi culture” will constitute an important communication document for other interests, thus contributing to predictability in planning (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:16). It is important to note that the Troms reindeer grazing area follows other borders than the Troms County.<sup>32</sup> The reindeer grazing districts do not follow municipal borders and may cover several municipalities. A comprehensive planning for reindeer husbandry can therefore be challenging, because they often have to relate to planning processes in several municipalities (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:16).

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<sup>31</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 25

<sup>32</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 26

District plans includes information stated above, and therefore planning becomes more efficient, and it may clear up ambiguities and possible conflicts. With less information, it can be difficult for area planners to develop plans for land use and a municipal plan that are in line with reindeer husbandry's interests. Simultaneously, the industry faces a bit-by-bit problem, which means the unifying effects of many encroachments (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:16). The consequences of this bit-by-bit problem/policy might be that a single encroachment does not seem to affect reindeer husbandry so much. A comprehensive picture of the reindeer husbandry situation might reveal far-reaching damages caused by developments. With district plans contributing to municipal planning processes, the opportunity of avoiding a bit-by-bit encroachment situation is obtainable.

### 5.5 The role of the Sámi Parliament

After the new Planning and Building Act of 2008 the Sámi Parliament has the right to raise objections on Sámi matters. The Sámi Parliament are obliged to provide input in the planning process as early as possible, in order to keep the right to raise objections (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:8) (pbl. 5-5§).

A preliminary overview of objections prepared by the Sámi Parliament shows that the Sámi Parliament have in the period 2010-2015 presented 30 objections to municipality, zoning – and coastal zone plans. The overview also shows that most of the objections in the municipalities concerns cultural heritage and reindeer husbandry. In total, 19 objections have been raised in matters regarding reindeer husbandry. In Tromsø, four objections are taken into account, one objection is withdrawn, one is approved by the department, one dispensation application is under treatment and three plans are still not decided upon. (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:14) These numbers are just preliminary and may include possible deficiencies (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:14), but they illustrate the Sámi Parliament's active participation and influence in planning matters. The reindeer husbandry is central aspect in the Sámi Parliaments policy. For instance, Sámi Parliament's plenary deals with the Sámi Parliaments input to the Reindeer Husbandry Agreement. October 2016 the Sámi Parliament treated a report (sametingsmelding) about reindeer husbandry, stating that "it could contribute to systematize and prioritize efforts so that the Sámi Parliament, together with the industry, works for the same goals. The aim of the report is to clarify Sámi Parliaments policy on reindeer husbandry, as well as strengthen the Sámi Parliament as a key political actor and a

key developer.”<sup>33</sup> The Sámi Parliament has also prepared a planning guide providing as a tool to secure the natural resource base for Sámi culture, economic activity/livelihood and social life (See footnote 33, Sametinget 2012). The consultation agreement is a core framework and contact mechanism also applying to reindeer husbandry.

## 5.6 Hjerttind/Stállonjårga reindeer grazing district



Fig. 4. Map of Hjerttind reindeer grazing district. (nibio.kilden.no)

Hjerttind reindeer grazing district is located within Bardu, Salangen, Dyrøy, Sørreisa, Målselv and Lenvik municipalities. Hjerttind reindeer grazing district has a gross area of 1004 km<sup>2</sup>. In addition, Altevattn reindeer grazing district is used for winter grazing, with a gross area of 2206 km<sup>2</sup>. Andsfjellet-Fagerfjellet with an area of 457 km<sup>2</sup> are also used for winter grazing (Hjerttind district plan 1999). There are nine siida-shares (siida-andeler) in the district and 36 people within these siida-shares. They have one wintersiida and one summersiida. The total number of reindeer in the district pr. 31/03/16 is registered to be at 1929 animals.<sup>34</sup> The district plan from Hjerttind is from 1999.<sup>35</sup> Summer pastures are located mainly in Hjerttind-Sniptind and in Rabbårdsdalen-Gumpen areas which are located between Steinvatn, Skøvatn and Børringen. In early fall, Mølnervatnan, Gaizzavarri, Geargebatjavri, and Steinvatn areas, Grønnlifjellet, Skoelvdalen, Vakkerlødfjellet and Hjerttindskaret areas are used. Later in the

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<sup>33</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 16

<sup>34</sup> Ressursregnskapet for reindriftsnæringen 2015/2016, URL:  
<https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Images/Bilder%20FMNT/Reindrift/Ressursregnskapet%20-%202015-16.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> E-mail from County Governor of Troms, 30.09.16



1,595 animals.<sup>36</sup> According to Gielas district plan, which is from 1999, the district utilizes high mountain areas on Gratangen peninsula, Snørken area, Gielasnjarga (Lifjell area) and Livetskaret during pre-summer. During late summer, the herd is gradually moved towards to the Swedish border. Because of the limitations on winter pastures, the district has been allocated winter pastures in Njuorajavri- and Patsajaekel area in Kiruna municipality (Gielas district plan 1999).

There are different encroachments and other disturbances affecting the Gielas reindeer grazing district. Among those are Sætermoen firing range, road developments such as the development of E6 Bjørnefjell, development of cabins, Polar Zoo (the zoo has repeatedly lost predators out of the paddocks), grouse hunting/straydogs, motorized traffic and military activity (Gielas district plan 1999).

## 5.8 Tromsdalen/Mauken reindeer grazing district

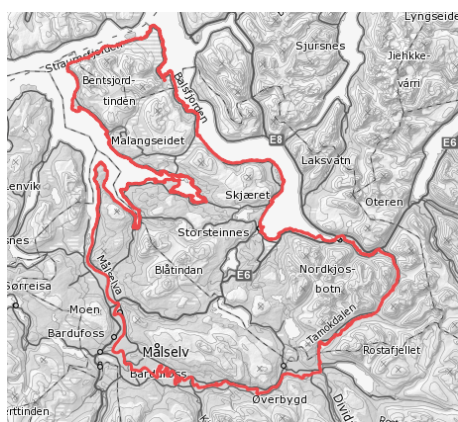


Fig.6. Map of Mauken reindeer grazing district (nibio.kilden.no)

The Mauken reindeer grazing district is located within Tromsø, Balsfjord and Målselv municipality, and have a winter grazing gross area of 1699 km<sup>2</sup>. During summer, the district

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<sup>36</sup> Ressursregnskapet for reindriftsnæringen 2015/2016, URL:

<https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Images/Bilder%20FMNT/Reindrift/Ressursregnskapet%20-%202015-16.pdf>



utilizes Tromsdalen area which has an area on 505km<sup>2</sup> and Andersdal/Storheimen area which has an area of 590 km<sup>2</sup> (Mauken districtplan 1999). There are 8 siida-shares in Mauken reindeer grazing district and 28 people within each siida-share. Total number of reindeer in the district pr. 31/03/16 is registered to be 1998 animals.<sup>37</sup> In late fall and early winter Malangshalvøya is a central grazing land. The core winter pastures are in South of Malangshalvøya. During spring and calving time, both sides of Brevikeidet are used. Stuoranjarga area is used for summer and fall.<sup>38</sup>

According to Mauken's district plan, their's is probably one of the areas are most affected by encroachment. The largest encroachment made on the district is the Mauken-Blåtind shooting and training range, taking up an area of 200km<sup>2</sup>. According to the plan, the district has lost approximately 30% of their main winter grazing land to this shooting/training range. Other things restricting grazing land of consequences in the district include the developments of roads and cabins, agriculture, plantations (plantefelt), municipal and state's need for land, motorized traffic, general traffic in pastures and predators (Mauken district plan 1999).

## 5.9 The situation in Troms and the complexity of threats

In Troms County there are altogether 14 reindeer grazing districts. At the end of year 2014/15, it was reported that the total number of reindeers was on 11,923 animals.<sup>39</sup> Finnmark has the biggest challenge in Norway when it comes to adapting the number of reindeer to disposable areas. In Troms, the challenges of adapting the number of reindeer is not as big as it is in Finnmark. One reason for this is at that there is a higher number of reindeer husbandry families in Finnmark than in Troms. Most of the island-districts in Troms are year-round grazing, where the herds move shorter distances within the district during the year. The mainland districts move towards Sweden during winter. Swedish reindeer graze on the

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<sup>37</sup> Ressursregnskapet for reindriftsnæringen 2015/2016, URL:  
<https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Images/Bilder%20FMNT/Reindrift/Ressursregnskapet%20-%202015-16.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> E-mail from County Governor of Troms: Extract from usage-rules of the Mauken district, 11.10.16

<sup>39</sup> Ressursregnskapet for reindriftsnæringen 2015/2016, URL:  
<https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Images/Bilder%20FMNT/Reindrift/Ressursregnskapet%20-%202015-16.pdf>

Norwegian side during summer (Vistnes et.al., 2004:5). There are four Swedish Sámi villages (samebyer) that have most of their summer pastures in inner Troms (Riseth 2016:10). The work process with Norwegian-Swedish reindeer grazing convention illustrates that Troms is the largest convention area in Norway. Reindeer husbandry is practice all most all over Troms County.<sup>40</sup> A common challenge for reindeer husbandry in Norway is land reduction due to agricultural settlements, rail-ways, roads, mines, hydro-electrical power regulation, modern forestry and, modern tourism development (Riseth 2003:234). The district plans of Mauken, Hjerttind and Gielas reveal these challenges mentioned above. The affect of these activities is marginalization of nature-based, including indigenous, livelihoods (Riseth 2003:234).

Reduction of the herd is another challenge faced by the reindeer husbandry in Norway. According to the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007 (reinl. §57), usage-rules (bruksregler) for the management and use of district resources are set for each district. Usage-rules contains rules on grazing and number of reindeers, among other things. The number of reindeers must be in compliance with the districts grazing area. If the number of reindeers exceeds the upper limit, the siida must prepare a reduction plan. If the siida is unable to do this, each siida-share has to reduce their herd proportionally. The consequences might be that either many herders will leave the industry or that no one leaves the industry but the industry's profitability will be significantly lower.<sup>41</sup> The County Governor conducts the counting of reindeers. Counting of reindeers is part of resource management, and a control that the number of reindeer do not exceed the number set up for each district.<sup>42</sup> As far as I know, reduction plans and the practice of counting reindeers have not been prominent in Troms. This is, however, a well-known issue in Finnmark, since there are far more reindeer there in relation to available grazing areas than in Tromsø. The number of reindeer are connected to the size of grazing area. Reindeer

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<sup>40</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 25

<sup>41</sup> Rapport fra arbeidsgruppe opprettet i h.t. Reindriftsavtalen for 2012 – 2013, URL: [https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjyrer\\_veiledere\\_rapporter/rapport\\_arbeidsgruppe\\_rein\\_tallstilpasning\\_161112.pdf](https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjyrer_veiledere_rapporter/rapport_arbeidsgruppe_rein_tallstilpasning_161112.pdf)

<sup>42</sup> Fylkesmannen i Finnmark, URL: <https://www.fylkesmannen.no/Finnmark/Landbruk-og-mat/Reindrift/Reintellinger-20162017/>

herders will never be *à jour* with the number of reindeers when the grazing areas are constantly shrinking because of societies' need for land.

Compared to Finnmark, the efforts of improving the reindeer husbandry situation in Troms seems to be more progressive, illustrated by the project I am part of. In addition, the County Authority of Troms has now prepared a draft for regional plan for reindeer husbandry, which currently is in a public hearing process.<sup>43</sup> Because reindeer husbandry crosses municipal borders, there is a need for inter-municipal, interregional and international cooperation. The goal of this plan is to obtain increased predictability for the management and reindeer husbandry itself. The aim is also to increase knowledge about reindeer husbandry and make it visible. The plan will provide an opportunity to adapt the industry into regional circumstances in the management.<sup>44</sup> The Troms County Authority decided the startup of the project 18.11.2014.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Troms fylkeskommune, URL: <http://www.tromsfylke.no/#/innhold/nyheter/si-din-mening-om-regional-plan-for-reindrif/>

<sup>44</sup> Notes from the startup meeting for regional plan for reindeer husbandry, 03.02.16

<sup>45</sup> Troms fylkeskommune, URL: <http://www.tromsfylke.no/#/innhold/tjenester/planlegging/planer-og-strategier/regional-plan-for-reindrif/>

## Chapter 6: Being aware and knowledgeable

By applying the “glances” or perspectives presented in the theoretical framework, I will discuss the knowledge base of some of the municipal staff, the managers in County Governor of Troms, and reindeer herders in their dealing with the district plans. The knowledge held and the experiences gained influence the understanding of the challenges of flexibility related to the district plans. I start by looking at the knowledge base of the municipal actors and the County Governor in relation to the district plans. In the next part I discuss the application of the “glances” of municipal actors and the reindeer herders in relation to district plans and the concepts of flexibility.

### 6.1 The district plans: the lack of awareness and insight

The provisions requiring the reindeer grazing districts to make district plans came with the revision of Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1996. The purpose of this provision was craft a tool to benefit the resource management of the reindeer husbandry (Ot.prp. nr. 25 (2006-2007)). The district plans from Mauken, Hjertind and Gielas are all from 1999. Despite the fact that the plans are almost 18 years old, the majority of the municipal staff answered that they did not know about the plans, when asked about their use and experiences with the plans. Only one barely knew about the district plans, but had never seen the district plans of the districts that affected the municipality he worked in. I expected that the municipalities had at least some knowledge of the plans, so the answers came as a surprise. The following statement from one municipal employee, illustrates the lack of awareness:

*”We know that reindeer grazing district spans over several municipalities. We’ve been searching for a regional plan. It has taken a very long time, and there has been very little concrete happening. We have no district plans we follow. We go on reindriftno and look at the map they have, with pull leads (trekkleder) and pastures. I have asked colleagues in this house about this, no, we are not familiar with the district plan. We were expecting that there would be a regional plan for reindeer herding interests created, which the Troms County Authority is in charge of. Mauken covering the municipalities of Balsfjord, Målselv and*

*Storfjord and Tromsø. None of reindeer grazing districts have given us district plans.*<sup>46</sup>  
(Municipal employee 1).

Another municipal employee told that “...*It’s difficult when this has not been known to us; we simply did not know about the district plans. This assumes of course that we have sent matters over to the districts that the answers they have given, is anchored in the plans within the different districts*”<sup>47</sup> (Municipal employee 2).

These statements illustrate the lack of experience with the district plans and knowledge about the plans. The fact that the plans are invisible for the municipalities is clearly one of the challenges facing the district plans today. Another challenge is the lack of knowledge about reindeer husbandry among the municipal employees. Most of the employees in the municipalities told me that they did not possess sufficient information about reindeer husbandry. As one employee said “...*I do not have much knowledge about reindeer husbandry, if you ask me. I can not say we have much knowledge of it.*”<sup>48</sup> (Municipal employee 1). Another municipal employee expressed that

*“We might certainly need more. We have had a little... But we have had more contact, at least I have, with Swedish reindeer herders. But we are always in need of more information. The municipality is now participating in climate mapping, the project run by the County Governor. Tromsø is focusing more on reindeer husbandry. This could improve our knowledge base. It will be exciting*”<sup>49</sup> (Municipal employee 3).

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<sup>46</sup> Original quote: “Vi vet jo at reinbeitedistriktet går over flere kommuner. Vi har jo etterlyst fra kommunens side en regional plan. Det har tatt veldig lang tid, og det har skjedd veldig lite konkret. Vi har ingen distriktsplaner vi følger. Vi går på reindriftno og ser på kartverket som de har, med trekkleder og beiteområdene. Jeg har spurt kolleger her i huset om dette, nei. Vi har ikke noe kjennskap til distriktsplan. Vi har ventet på at det skulle lages et regional plan for reindriftsinteressene, det skulle Troms fylkeskommune gjøre. Mauken involverer Balsfjord, Målselv og Storfjord og Tromsø kommune. Ingen av reinbeitedistriktene har gitt oss sånn distriktsplan.”

<sup>47</sup> Original quote: “Det er jo vanskelig når det der ikke har blitt kjent for oss, vi visste rett og slett ikke om det (distriktsplaner). Det forutsetter jo at vi har sendt saker over til distriktene at svaret demmes som dem har gitt, er forankra i planene med/i de ulike distriktene.”

<sup>48</sup> Original quote: “Hvis du spør meg så har jeg ikke mye kjennskap til reindrift. Jeg kan ikke si vi har stor kjennskap til det.”

<sup>49</sup> Original quote: “Det trengs helt sikkert mer, vi har jo hatt litt.. Men vi har nok hatt mer kontakt, i hvert fall jeg, med svenske reindriftsutøvere. Men, vi har alltid mer behov. Nå er jo kommunen også med i den her klimakartlegginga, det her

Only one of the municipal employee interviewed had a different approach, because she knew many people working in the reindeer husbandry and therefore had some knowledge about the field. The lack of knowledge is also emphasized by the reindeer herders I have interviewed. Their impression is that the administrative employee's in municipalities do not have sufficient information and knowledge about the reindeer husbandry (Reindeer herder 1, reindeer herder 2).

While the administrative municipal staff are unaware of the district plans, neither for the reindeer herders the plans work perfectly, illustrated by one of the reindeer herders who expressed that the district plan should be more pedagogical. When I asked why, he answered: *"...It should be pedagogical because it will make the management easier, and make the work for reindeer herders easier. We always have to answer the same questions. The district plan would to a greater extent describe the practice we have in our district"*<sup>50</sup> (Reindeer herder 4).

There are also some indications that reindeer herders themselves do not use the plans. For example, when I asked what might be the reasons the plans have not worked, one replied: *"...I think it's because of both reindeer herders and municipalities. I do not think the districts see the benefits of the plans and know what district plans can be used for. The municipalities may not have known about the plans either. It seems that there is a two-way communication failure"*<sup>51</sup> (Reindeer herder 3). Another reindeer herder said that the districts should create a presentation about the plans and start using it to educate municipalities (Reindeer herder 1).

Based on the statements above, I argue that the municipal staff have an "inexpert glance" towards the district plans and the reindeer husbandry. First of all, they are positioned outside the reindeer husbandry, with minor knowledge about the district plans and reindeer husbandry

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prosjektet som fylkesmannen kjører, da skal jo Tromsø ha fokus på reindrift, og det tenker jeg at det er med å øke kunnskapsgrunnlaget vårt. Det blir jo spennende."

<sup>50</sup> Original quote: "Galgá pedagogisk danne, geahpidan dihte, dego hálddašeami. Muhto maiddái orohat olbmuid unnit bargu. Mii šaddat álo vástidit daid seamma gažaldagaid. Nu ahte distriktsplána livčče buorre muddui muitalit makkár boazodrifta mis lea min orohagas."

<sup>51</sup> Original quote: "Jáhkan lea goappášagaid dihte. In jáhke orohagat dihtet masa galget plánaid geavahit. Eai soaitte oaidnán ávkki das. Gielddat eai soaitte vaikko diehtán dan birra. Orro toveis kommunikasjonssvikt'a."

in general. However, the municipal employees are aware of this, and some of them also acknowledge the need for additional information and knowledge. For example, one employee expressed: *“...I use maps from the internet. It is difficult to get a hold of the district plans. I see that the district plans are required... It is a bigger demand and need for the text part.”*<sup>52</sup> (Municipal employee 5). This statement indicates a willingness to learn more, an impression also confirmed by one of the reindeer herders. He said that the administrative staff often asks the same questions, indicating that they want to learn. The “inexpert glance” of the municipal staff reveals a lack of knowledge, while at the same time the “glance” opens up for a possible change of gaining knowledge. Many of the municipal employees miss having more information about reindeer husbandry, they are aware that they do not know or see everything which is to see, a position contrary to a “dead glance”.

However, I do not imply that everyone working in the municipal administration has an “inexpert glance”. There may be people with an “expert” or a “dead” glance as well. I have only applied the “glances” in relation to the informants I have interviewed. According to Meløe (1985:26), the “expert” and “inexpert” glances are held at many levels. Next, I will analyze the perspectives of the County Governor in Troms, and examine which “glance” they have on the district plans. The district can be regarded as part of co-management, because the plan should be a tool where information is shared. So far, the district plans have not functioned as a knowledge platform and as a way of informing. Given the lack of awareness, the district plans so far have been unable to affect the land area planning processes and the outcomes of such processes.

## 6.2 The district plans and the County Governor’s role

The County Governor is a core unit in the system of reindeer husbandry management, and shall act as a professional advisor and premise provider for the public management. For the time being, they have given priority to work with the district plans.<sup>53</sup> As earlier mentioned, the County Governor has stated that the district plans are underused both in municipal

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<sup>52</sup> Original quote: “Jeg bruker kart fra nett. Vanskelig å få tak i distriktsplanene. Savner litt å ha den.. Det er større krav og mer behov for tekstbiten.”

<sup>53</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 21

planning and by reindeer husbandry itself.<sup>54</sup> I have interviewed two people working in the Department of Planning, Reindeer Husbandry and Civil Protection of the County Governor of Troms. One of the employees here is a senior adviser and the other works as an advisor. The senior adviser said he does not believe municipalities use the district plans. Neither are the plans used by the County Governor because they are so old. Furthermore, he said that the local authorities do not require these plans. He continued: “...*The district plans have apparently not functioned as intended. First, there has been too little focus. The municipalities have not really known about the plan*”<sup>55</sup> However, the advisor said that they tend to send the district plans to those who do impact assessments (konsekvensutredninger) (Adviser). This was also confirmed by the senior adviser.

The senior adviser further explained:

*“A district is supposed to do many of the same considerations as we do. It can be a challenge, in this case, and a district plan could reduce much of the work. There could be an attitude that we should not say too much, otherwise it can quickly switch back to us. It is not so much knowledge out in the municipalities today. There is also a turnover in the municipalities in which the administrative staff changes. So you have to constantly... If you have a document, a new employee must be able to get familiar with it”*<sup>56</sup>  
(Senior adviser).

Moreover, a plan should unload the burden of work for them (County Governor), a good plan will lead to less questions from both the municipalities and the districts (Senior adviser).

The advisor explained that the terms used in the district plan can be a challenge. She explains: “...*It may be difficult for municipalities to understand what's written in the plan, because there is the term such as "ventilation" area (luftingsområde). What does that mean? If they do*

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<sup>54</sup> Meeting at the Centre for Sámi Studies with Matti Eira

<sup>55</sup> Original quote: “Distriktsplanene har vel ikke fungert etter intensjonen. For det første har det vært lite fokus på det. Kommunene har egentlig ikke visst at det finnes distriktsplaner”

<sup>56</sup> Original quote: “Et distrikt skal jo sitte å gjøre mange av de samme vurderinger som vi gjør. Det kan være utfordring, der kunne en distriktsplan avbøte mye av den jobben. Kan være en holdning at vi ikke skal si så mye, ellers så kan det fort slå tilbake til oss. Det er ikke så mye kunnskap som er ute i kommunene per idag. Der er det også en turnover, det skiftes mye folk i kommunene. Så du må liksom hele tiden.. hvis du har ett dokument som blir noe som nye folk får og sette seg inn i.”



*not know what that means, they may not care so much*<sup>57</sup> (Adviser). Both of the employees of the County Governor says that it is important to make the plans visible and update them. One of them stated that there is no coherence between the district plans and the new online reindeer husbandry maps<sup>58</sup> (Adviser). The other told that it is equally important to get the districts to understand the importance of the plans (Senior adviser).

The employees working in the department of reindeer husbandry are familiar with the district plans and the situation regarding the district plans. Therefore, they possess more of an inside position regarding the plans, and have an “expert glance” on the district plans, because they know the situation of the reindeer husbandry very well. They are also aware that district plans are underused, and think that the plans should be more visible. They are familiar with the needs of the reindeer grazing districts, for instance, that preparing a good plan might reduce the job for the reindeer herders. Furthermore, they are aware of difficult terms in the district plan, and the need to improve the understanding of the content.

Given the replacement of municipal administrative staff from time to time, it is important to have a document that new employees can become familiar with. The County Governor’s responsibility towards both the reindeer husbandry and the municipalities requires a better understanding of the situation and challenges that municipalities might have. The County Governor is part of the institutional co-management system in husbandry in Norway, serving as a link between reindeer herding and the state authorities. The County Governor as an overarching body and coordinator for the districts also has the responsibility to facilitate the best possible conditions for the reindeer herders and the district. In addition, the County Governor has the power to influence municipal planning, as an objection authority. However, the reindeer herders have to take a part of the responsibility of the invisible district plans. If some districts possess less resources, in terms of personnel, for instance, to deal with paperwork and to prepare a district plan, something should be done to support these districts.

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<sup>57</sup> Original quote: “Soaitá gielddaiguin váttis áddet mii cuožžu plánas go doppe leat begrepat nu go luftingsområde (bálggosbáiki). Mii bat dat lea, jus eai leat defineren daid begrepaid. Siida maid ovda mearkka dihte... Jus dan eai dieđe, de eai soitte nu beroštit jus eai dieđe mii dat lea oba ge.”

<sup>58</sup> In 2016, the reindeer herders have been participating in the making new electronical maps, which is found on [kilden.nibio.no](http://kilden.nibio.no) (meeting 09.09.16).

The pilot project is an example of how the County Governor wants to improve the use of district plans.

## Chapter 7: Expectations regarding the district plans

This section presents the perspectives of the municipalities and the reindeer herders regarding the expectations towards the district plans. By looking at what expectation municipalities have towards the district plans, one can say something about the challenge of flexibility. The “glances” concept will also be applied to reindeer herders. In co-management regimes, communities might be expected to carry out day-to-day monitoring of the resources and give the state on-the-ground information. State agencies, on the other hand, might be expected to gather information about the status of resources systems, since they often have access to larger-scale ecological information which is not available for local community (Singleton 2000:5,7). For instance, municipalities might expect reindeer herders to update the district plans and the reindeer herders might expect municipalities to use and look at the plans in area planning processes. For the plans to work effectively, both sides must contribute.

### 7.1 District plans as information tools

The expectations of the reindeer herders for the use of district plans differs significantly from the expectations of the municipal staff. There seems to be a broad agreement among the reindeer herders about the plans’ role as informational tools. Several reindeer herders saw the need for a district plan to be written in such way that people outside reindeer husbandry could understand. As one reindeer herder explains:

*“To explain our practice on the paper, it wasn’t easy. I got help from the district, I think we were many people. Write the plans in such way that people outside understand. How to set dates? Difficult... It depends on the weather. Autumn can last until September or Christmas”<sup>59</sup>*  
(Reindeer herder 6).

The template from 1999 on how to write a district plan, says it is important to include periods when different areas are used.<sup>60</sup> This is problematic by the reindeer herders in terms of

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<sup>59</sup> Original quote: “Distriktsplána čilget báhpára ala, ii leat nu álki. Ožžon veahki orohagas, leimmet várra mánggas. Olggobeal’ olbmot galget áddet, čállit dien láhkai. Mo sáhtat dáhtoniid bidjat? Váttis. Dálkki duohken eambbo. Čakča sáhtta gitta september, juovllaid rádjái.”

<sup>60</sup> Reindriftsforvlingten, 1999, template, p. 6

weather. That the plans should be understandable to other people outside the industry is also confirmed by another reindeer herder, saying:

*“The expectations are of course... that we are able to give a picture of our land-use and work to outsiders. And information to the municipalities in general, because they are the ones who manage the land. The expectations are that the plans work as factsheets for the municipalities”<sup>61</sup> (Reindeer herder 1).*

As noted earlier, flexibility also means the ability to respond to unforeseen changes (Evans 1991:73), and since the reindeer herders are dependent on the weather, it might be difficult to give concrete information about all aspects of the practice in the district. Therefore, it is important that the resource management is also flexible (Jentoft 1998:92).

The municipal planning might want to follow something that is predictable, but this could lock the practice of reindeer husbandry. How to solve this tension, may be difficult, but at least one has to be aware of the challenges of flexibility is a first step towards improving the plans.

## 7.2 The wish to classify land

All the informants from the municipalities wanted the districts to classify grazing lands. When asked what information about reindeer husbandry in area planning is needed, and what expectations they had for a district plan (content, layout etc.) some municipal employees gave somewhat similar answers to both questions. For instance, when I asked an employee in a municipality about what information is needed, he answered:

*“We want to clarify... what is important, what is less important, as compared to pastures and whatever, pulling-routes (trekkleder), how are the animal numbers, how high is the density, how big is the activity, ancient historical things.. Is it necessary to stick to them, what can we put on ice. For many years there has been a discussion inside Ramfjord. Here it has been a very large discussion about the construction of a road; whether the road should be on this or*

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<sup>61</sup> Original quote: “Vuordámušat gal leat dieđusge dan ahte.. Ovtta ládje diekkar govva olggos guvlui, govve min eanangeavaheami ja barggu. Informašuvdna suohkaniide erenomážit, danne go leat suohkanat mat hálddašit eatnamiid. Vuordámušat ahte dat ovttaládje lea dego faktadiehtu suokaniidde.”

*that side of the fjord. At the same time, there is much settlement by the road, the current E8. At the same time, there is also a pulling-route (trekklede) along the fjord. But is it used? Compared to other pulling-routes? It would have been helpful to be updated. We want the information to be systematic. It should not be random. It's not so easy to understand for those who do not have the background. They also need to understand our background, there is a mutual communication, which of course, can be difficult. One is not able to clarify things. Whose interests are we talking about, if/when we do not agree?"<sup>62</sup> (Municipal staff 1).*

About expectations to the district plan (content, layout etc.), he said:

*"It's supposed to tell something about the land-use, how often and what areas are in use, as mapped out like here (shows a map). These are important areas, less important areas or very important areas. And also with a description. We have changed the areas much, especially when getting closer to the city area. The road construction here, going over Breivikeidet, there has been several landslides here. Here, a new road is planned. Road Administration (veivesen) has contact with the district. But are all equally important, and how much they are used?"<sup>63</sup> (Municipal staff 1).*

Commenting on information in area planning, another employee told:

*"We need to know as much as possible about the grazing pattern. We should first of all know what are the most important areas. Hjertind is on the north-side and Gielas on the south-side,*

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<sup>62</sup> Original quote: "Vi ønsker å få klarlagt om alt som, hva er viktig, hva er mindre viktig, i forhold til beiteområder og hva som helst, trekkleder, hvordan er dyretallet, hvor stor tetthet er det, hvor stor er aktiviteten, gamle historiske ting, er det aktuelt å holde fast ved de, hva kan vi legge på is. I mange år har det vært en diskusjon, her inn i Ramfjorden. Her har det vært veldig mye diskusjon om bygging av en vei, om den skulle på den ene eller andre siden av fjorden. Samtidig er det mye bebyggelse ved den veien, dagens E8. Samtidig er det også en trekkvei langs fjorden. Men blir den, er den i bruk på en måte? Sammenlignet med andre trekkleder. Det ville vært nyttig å bli ájour for. Vi ønsker jo informasjon som skal være systematisk. Ikke skal den være tilfeldig. Det er jo ikke alt som er like greit å forstå for ei som ikke har den bakgrunn. De må også forstå vår bakgrunn, det er en gjensidig kommunikasjon, som selvfølgelig kan være vanskelig. Man får jo ikke til å avklare ting. Hvems interesser er det vi snakker om, når vi ikke blir enig?"

<sup>63</sup> Original quote: "Det skal vel fortelle noe om bruken av arealer, hvor ofte og hvilke areal er i bruk, gjerne kartlegges som her. Dette er et viktig forhold, mindre viktig forhold, svært viktig forhold. Og gjerne en beskrivelse av det. Vi forandre jo arealene ganske mye, i hvert fall når vi nærmer oss byområdet. Det gjør vi jo. Det er jo klart, selve veibygging den her veien over Breivikeidet, der har det jo vært ras flere ganger. Her planlegger man jo ny vei. Veivesenet har jo kontakt med distriktet, men er alle like viktig, og hvor mye er de i bruk?"

*according to the maps. In such image, it is important to know where the strongest restrictions are*<sup>64</sup> (Municipal staff 4).

A similar answer was given, when I asked what the expectations of district plans are: “...*What is written in the template and guidance sheet, defines areas which are important, or less important*”<sup>65</sup> (Municipal employee 4). The two other municipal employees agreed on these views about classification of land, a theme clearly of high importance for the municipal staff. Interestingly, one of the municipal employees explained to me that they as municipal staff, are expected to grade areas/land. As stated by the municipality employee “...*Gradation is imposed very much. We must classify that the area is A, very important, or B, not so important. It is expected that this is continued out in reindeer husbandry, that one should almost give quality of the main areas.*”<sup>66</sup> (Municipal staff 2).

As to the question of why the municipalities wanted the reindeer herders to classify land, one municipal employee explained that there are many interest to take care of and consider, and it will be easier to assess if they classify.<sup>67</sup> However, as illuminated by a reindeer herder’s point of view, classification is far from an easy solution.

### 7.3 The challenges of classifying pasturelands

The majority of the reindeer herders also express their concern related to the classification of land, as one reindeer herder stated:

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<sup>64</sup> Original quote: “Vi trenger å vite mest mulig om beitemønster, først og fremst bør vi vite hva som er de viktigste områdene. Etter kartet ligger Hjertind på nordsiden og Gielas på sørsiden. I et sånt bilde, er det viktig å få vite hvor ligger de sterkeste begrensingene.”

<sup>65</sup> Original quote: “Det som står i mal og veiledningen, definere områder som viktig, mindre viktig.”

<sup>66</sup> Original quote: “Vi blir pålagt veldig mye sånn gradering. Vi skal si at det området er A, veldig viktig, eller B, ikke så viktig. Det forventes at det her skal videreføres også ut i reindrifta, du skal nesten gi sånn kvalitet på de viktigste områdene. For det må jo vi gjøre.”

<sup>67</sup> Notes from the startup meeting on updating the district plans, 01.12.16

*“It is, of course, when you prioritize calving areas and other important areas. This is the second part of the plan and the maps. You have prioritized areas such as rutting areas, calving area, moving routes. Then municipalities can perceive that some places are “cheaper” areas.. Here they can build. However, all areas are valuable in the reindeer husbandry. It is difficult to classify and say that some places are more valuable than others, because it constantly changes”<sup>68</sup> (Reindeer herder 1).*

Here is another example why it is problematic for herders to grade pastureland:

*“The County Authority, they have the regional plan. For them it has been very important to classify reindeer grazing areas. The representatives from the reindeer husbandry have been against it. It is difficult to classify, there may be areas you do not use very often or each year, but in those years when we are required to use those areas, then they are very valuable. For example, here, where there are many old forests where the grazing conditions are bad in the spring-winter often (vårvinter). These areas become very important, because the reindeers are not able to get down to the food (through the ice), but then they can eat the lichen in the trees. And giving such understanding to... It may take several years that we do not use these areas. There might also be fear that the lands be taken away from us, if we classify”<sup>69</sup> (Reindeer herder 2).*

Sámi indigenous knowledge is about knowing the behavior of the herd (Sara 2011:140), where it moves during bad weather and bad grazing conditions, and what it eats at different times of the year. Some reindeer herders question if it is possible at all to grade land (Reindeer herder 2 and 4). One also expressed resistance, saying that he remembered talking

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<sup>68</sup> Original quote: “Dat lea dieđus go don prioriteret guotteteatnamiid ja diekkár dehálaš guovlluid. Diet lea maid nubbe oassi dan pláanas ja kárttas. Don leat prioriteren daid guovlluid, die lea rágát guovlu, guottetbáiki, johttingeaidnu. De ovttá ládje áddejit dat giełddat ahte do, go sii leat nie tevdnen, de lea dego hálbbit guovlu. Diehko sii sáhtet hukset. Vaikko orohagas de leat buot guovllut hui divras. Dat lea hui váttis klassifiseret ahte okta guovlu lea divrasat go nubbi. Dan dihte go dat rievda nu.”

<sup>69</sup> Original quote: “Fylkeskommune, sis lea dál dat regionalplána. Sidjiide lea hui dehálaš klassifiseret guovlluid. Boazodoalo áirasat leat leamaš vuostá dasa. Lea hui váttis klassifiseret, dat soitet eatnamat don it geavat nu dávjá, ja soaitá.. Na sáhttet dakkár eatnamat maid it geavat juohke jagi, muhto daid jagiid go dus lea dárbu daidde, de leat dat hui dehálažža. Omd. dego dáppe gos leat dakkar boares vuovddit gos šaddá hui heittot ealáhat, dego giđđa-dálvve dávjá. De leat hui dehálažža dat, go bohccot eai beasa botnái, dat besset muoraid mielde vázzit ja guohtut daid jeahkáliid mat leat muorain. Ja dien ipmárdusa oažžut. Daid hávii dus lea dárbu, de dat leat hui mávssolačča. Sáhtet mannat mángga jagi ahte it geavat daid. Soaitá maid ballu ahte dat váldjuvvojit eret jus klassifisere.”

to the reindeer husbandry office about grading of land and how they (the reindeer herders) were partly against it<sup>70</sup> (Reindeer herder 6). One reindeer herder expressed concerns about how grading can weaken their rights to land: “...*If you write that you do not use the land that often, they might take it away from us. It weakens our rights to the area. It should be possible to change the practices in the district, and still have strong/solid rights*”<sup>71</sup> (Reindeer herder 4).

The examples above illustrate risks of grading, but the lack of grading can also pose risks to the reindeer herders. An example was when the reindeer herders did not write about land they were using in the district plan:

*“I have an example where the plans were an obstacle for us. We were divided in two, and moved to each our place (with the herd) and we also got a new calving area. Troms Kraft have planned to make a dam in this area. This is near Sjursnes, towards Ullvsfjord. And of course, in the district plan it was not written that we have adopted a new calving area. But I and \*\*\*\*\* went on consultation with OD (The Oil and Energy Department) and tried to explain that there have been changes, we have a new calving area. But since it was not written in the plans, it was not taken into consideration. Today, they can dam the area”*<sup>72</sup> (Reindeer herder 4).

The Sámi people and the reindeer herders do not have a habit do write every thing they do on paper. Indigenous knowledge is characterized as oral, meaning that the knowledge is passed

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<sup>70</sup> Original quote: “Orun muitimen ahte humaimet boazodoalo kántuvrain, graderet eatnamiid.. Lei hui váttis. Sáhtalii go nu dahkat? Mii leimmet veahá vuostá.”

<sup>71</sup> Original quote: “Du riekti dan ovttá guovllus lea baserta man olu don anát dan guovllu. Jus čálát ahte it ane nu olu, de soitet váldit eret mis dan. Geanehuhtta iežat rievtti dan guovllus. Galggašii gal vejolaš rievdat driftsforma ja goikke livččejit rievttit galgat leat seamma nannos.”

<sup>72</sup> Original quote: “Mus lea ovdamearka go gárttai hehttehussan midjiide dat plána. Dál mii leat geasehan guovttasadjái, mii leat johtán ođđa báikái, ja dalle lea maid ođđa guottetbáiki mis. Ja dan guottetbáikái lea Tromskraft dál plánen, áigot dulvvidit. Dat lea doppe Sjursness’a guovllus, Ullvsfjord bealde.. Jađe, dieđusge orohatplánas ii cužžon ahte lea ođđa guottetbaiki. Muhto moai \*\*\* manaima konsultašuvdnii OD’ain (Olje og Energi Departamentain), ja vikkaime doppe čilget ahte dál lea veahá rievdan, doppe lea mis dál guottetbáiki. Muhto go ii cužžon plánas, dat eai váldán vuhtii. Odne lea nu ahte doppe besset dál dulvvidit.”



down through dialogue (Kuokkenen 2000:419, Turi & Eira 2016:99). Since documenting everything is not usual in a Sámi culture, nor has it been necessary, it might be difficult for the reindeer herders to remember to document each time there is a change in the district. The reindeer herders feel that classification of land is a risk, because they might possibly lose the land by grading it. If grazing lands are graded as less important, it may be easier for the municipalities to use the land to different purposes.

#### 7.4 The challenge of flexibility

According to Jentoft (1998:67), institutionalization leads to order, stability and predictability in the interaction, but it does not mean that equality and justice are guaranteed. This leads me to the question of how does district plans work in terms of stability and predictability and does the district planning facilitate social interaction.

##### 7.4.1 Adjust to flexibility

Accordingly, some of the herders are aware that municipalities want the reindeer herders to classify the lands. However, reindeer herders might not be able to put a value on pastures, due to fear of possibly losing the land if doing so. In addition, such classification might be impossible because the use of land in the district may change. Thus, weather, natural conditions, and grazing conditions are concerns closely linked to the ability of being flexible. As Jentoft (1998:92) notes, it is important that the resource management is flexible because natural resources are affected by weather and natural conditions. They need to have something to fall back on, if something changes. (Jentoft 1998:92) Adding to this is the increase of predators in a particular area, and encroachments that might disrupt the grazing conditions. In order to cope with these challenges, the reindeer herders have to i.a take into account unpredictable weather so secure grazing conditions for the herd. This can be regarded as features of indigenous knowledge and a more holistic view (Kuokkanen 2000:416-417, Kalland 2003:167). The reindeers and the reindeer herders are dependent on the weather and the grazing condition all the time. It becomes difficult to talk about reindeer husbandry without linking it to the natural surroundings.

One question in mind is whether plans, such as district plans, can be flexible. The management has to handle the tension between predictability and flexibility. Too much of an emphasis on one aspect will likely cause problems for the other. A manager demand for

predictability, can be experienced as too rigid for the reindeer herders, while the reindeer herders demand for flexibility, might be seen as unstable and random for the managers.

An understanding of the complexity may be lacking, and the difficulties of claiming definitive patterns through grading of lands, can be difficult to understand. The municipalities desire for classification of land might be seen as a requirement, but it can also be understood as a lack of understanding the flexibility of reindeer husbandry. In this case, the municipal staff seem to have an “inexpert glance” because they do not seem to realize the flexibility challenges connected to the grading of land. However, as stated earlier, they are willing to learn more about reindeer husbandry. With an “inexpert glance” invites to knowledge building because those holding an “inexpert glance” are aware of and realize their own shortcomings.

#### 7.4.2. Issues with the maps

The challenge of flexibility can be specified by the use of maps. Subsequent challenges are presented are connected to the issue of flexibility. For instance, one reindeer herder expressed the issue with maps, which is also included in the district plans made by the reindeer grazing districts.<sup>73</sup> He explained the situation like this:

*“The municipalities we are positioned in do not have much knowledge about reindeer husbandry. That is, of course a challenge when making district plans and the maps, the migration routes... The municipalities might perceive that, how it is written and drawn in the plans is exactly how it is. If you move to a different pasture, then they (municipalities) might ask why we are using this area, as according to the district plan you should not be using this area. If the practice changes through time, and you have not mapped the migration routes to the plan, it becomes difficult. The municipalities might avoid building on migration routes if its mapped out, but if you have not mapped out... They expect us to follow the plans very accurately. Very often, if a building application comes near a migration route, then they can say we have migration routes elsewhere, not here. Municipalities are not very flexible”<sup>74</sup>*  
*(Reindeer herder 1).*

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<sup>73</sup> According to the template made by Reindriftsforvaltningen in 1999, p. 3, maps are an important part of the district plans.

<sup>74</sup> Original quote: ”Min suohkaniid ektui de lea hui unnán diehtu boazodoalo birra. Dat lea dieđus okta hástalus distriktsplánas go kárttaid ráhkada, johttingeainnuid, dat lea dan ahte suohkanat várra áddejit ahte nie dat lea mo cuožžu plánaiguin. Jus jođat eara sajis, de jerret manne don dieppe jođát, distriktsplána mielde han cuožžu ahte don jođát doppe. Jus ággi mielde rievdá dat drifta ja don it leat tevdnen johttingeainnu plánii, de lea váttis. Oainnat suohkan, go dat geahčča plánaid, soaitá garvit daid johttingeainnuid go huksejit, ja jus don it leat tevdnen dan plánii. Juo, dat vurdet ahte dii

Several reindeer herders expressed the same concern regarding maps. Here is another example told by another reindeer herder:

*"I remember when we made the maps, we draw all of the fences, where we migrate, where the pulling leads are, where we have planned new fences, where we were planning to build cabins. They should look at the plans and take them into account. I do not believe they understand the maps. I especially remember when we drew the maps, and we drew the migration route. We drew the migration route in a valley (vággi). The problem was that when they saw the maps and where we had drawn the migration route, they only looked at the line we had drawn. When we drew the line, we meant the whole valley is used as a migration route, but they only looked at the line and the migration route was only where the line was drawn. Then they could build cabins right beside the line. They did not understand that we meant the whole valley, and not only where the line was drawn. This is a very common problem"<sup>75</sup> (Reindeer herder 5).*

The senior adviser at the County Governor of Troms' office stated in a meeting that the districts draw the migration routes differently in the maps, saying that some draw lines and some draw the migration routes as a bottleneck (flaskehals). In difficult areas, some migration routes ends suddenly, but the herd still has to cross over and continue. The municipalities then can interpret this as the route stopping suddenly.<sup>76</sup>

While there are some challenges connected to the maps, a couple of reindeer herders also said municipalities often have been referring to maps. According to one reindeer herder, the

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čuovvubehtet hui dárkilit dan plána. Hui dávjá jus boahdá huksen-ohcamus lahka johttingeainnuid, de lea nu ahte sii lohket ahte don han galggat diekko johtit, dus ii leat johttingeaidnu dáikko. Dat eai leat nu fleksibel gielddat."

<sup>75</sup> Original quote: "Muittán go mii ráhkadeimmet daid kártaid de mii tevdniimet visot gárddiid, gokko mii johttit, gokko bohccot trekkejit (trekkvei), ja gokko mii leat plánen ođđa gárddi, gokko mii jurddašit hyttáid hukset. Galggašii oaidnit daid min plánaid ja váldet vuhtii daid. In jáhke gal sii áddejit daid kártaid. Muittan erenomážit, mii tevdniimet daid kártaid, ja galggaimet tevdnet ahte dáikko lea johttingeaidnu ja dán vákkis lea maid johttingeaidnu. Váttisvuhta šattai go oidnet min kárta ja gokko mii leat tevdnen dan johttingeainnu, gehččet justa dan sárgái. Go mii sárgguimet dán vákki, de mii meiniimet ahte olles dát vággi lea johttingeaidnu, muhto sii gehččet juste dan sárgái, dat johttingeaidnu lea juste gokko dat sárgá lea. Dalle mii sáhttit dáikko rahkadit hyttefelta juste báldii. Eai sii ádde ahte mii meinet olles dan vákki, ii ge juste dokko gos lea dat sárggis. Diet lei hui davjá dat váttisvuhta."

<sup>76</sup> Notes from the startup meeting on updating the district plans, 01.12.16

municipalities have used reindeer husbandry maps diligently. He also told that municipalities sometimes misuse the maps, arguing that there is no moving route there (Reindeer herder 2). Another had experienced the reindeer husbandry maps as being useful, for instance, when building cabins on pasture was avoided because of the maps (Reindeer herder 4).

The maps might be perceived as absolute, therefore, the district plans and the maps should be less absolute and more flexible.

There is a need among reindeer herders to prepare a plan which is open to change. Several reindeer herders say that the practice in their districts have changed since the plans were prepared in 1999. A suggestion has been that the reindeer herders define and describe the drawings in the maps and in their plans. If they have drawn a moving route as a line, so to avoid misunderstanding they can describe with text how wide and long the route is.

As of today, the district plans I have seen do not seem to be adjustable to be flexible. A routine should be incorporated that will safeguard of the flexibility aspect, for instance, holding regular meetings.

#### **7.4.3 Mitigating flexibility and rigidity**

But despite an awareness of flexibility challenges an individual level, the management system requires actions that might work in opposition to flexibility concerns. As one municipal employee stated, they are required by the system to grade land, and even if they know about the challenges, they might still have to do that. If this is the case, the management system might not be adapted to the needs of reindeer husbandry. The co-management system has to address the skepticism to grading among reindeer herders. Grading might be appropriate and advantageous from the perspective of a planner and the state, but the question is whether it is appropriate as from the reindeer herder's standpoint. The municipalities must be aware of the problems connected to grading. As stated earlier, in co-management, the state can hold enormous power and influence the decision-making processes (Carlsson & Berkes 2005:71), thus the challenges related to grading should be addressed at the different levels of planning processes, including the processes of the district plans.

Reindeer herders are aware of the challenges with flexibility and the challenges reindeer husbandry is facing regarding district plans. With their “expert glance” on the district plans and the reindeer husbandry industry, they are positioned inside the industry, making it easier to understand the challenges of flexibility. The insight into the flexibility challenge can be understood as holding indigenous or local knowledge. However, can this insight be shared with the other stakeholders of the management system? Do the district plans have the potential of being a tool of implementing the flexibility concerns? If the district plans do not deal with these challenges, local or indigenous knowledge does not seem to be included in the district plans. The reindeer herders have, and are experiencing that the weather and climate changes, and therefore also the grazing needs. However, it does not seem that this is problematized in the district plans.

The district plans are the reindeer husbandry’s own tool, made to protect the interests of the industry. The challenges are however to make the plans flexible. District plans are tools that should affect the co-management system as a whole. The plans can contribute as tools to early solutions in planning and area matters.<sup>77</sup> The needs of the reindeer herders should clearly be stated in the plans, and the different needs of the various pastures must be clearly concretized. This might be better for reindeer herders than classifying the pastures. The grazing areas, which have not been used annually, may be of crucial importance in the periods when pastures may become unavailable due to climate changes, for instance, or if the predator population increases over a period, or if encroachment occurs, either in a building phase or other stages.

## 7.5 Expectations of trust

Co-management regimes are built up with a broad spectrum of policies and institutional arrangements (Castro & Nielsen 2001:235). In co-management, participants might often have different expectations for each other (Singleton 2000:10, 5, 7). Having expectations to each other might ensure that everyone do their tasks. The same applies to district plans, where reindeer herders have certain expectations to the municipalities and the municipalities have certain expectations to the reindeer herders in terms of the plans. First of all, it might be

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<sup>77</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 22

difficult to force a collaborative work if the involved actors do not share similar worldviews (Berkes 2007:26, 27), or perspectives.

This may be the case of the reindeer herders and the municipal staff I have interviewed. As the classification illustrates, the reindeer herders' expectations for the district plan differ from the municipal staff's expectation, which can make it difficult to collaborate and trust each other. On one hand, the reindeer herders do not want to classify the pastures and expect the municipalities to understand their point of view. The municipalities, on the other hand, expect the reindeer herders to classify pastures. As a result, if the parts fail to meet each others expectations, it may likely that trust is weakened between them, as illuminated in the previous part. There is a need for both the reindeer herders and the municipal staff to find some sort of common ground, which might enhance communication and create a better understanding of the challenges and expectations they have for each other.

## Chapter 8: Experiences with and communication on the district plans

In this section I discuss the reindeer herders experiences with the district plans and the overall communication between the reindeer herders and the municipalities. So far, we have seen that the municipal staff possess little or no experience with the plans. I choose to look first at the process of developing the district plan, then, I consider the general communication between the reindeer husbandry and the municipalities.

### 8.1 Preparing the district plans

Some of the reindeer herders had been participants in creating the district plans in 1999. Several said they did not have much knowledge about the planning processes in the municipalities, illustrated by the following statement:

*"I cannot say we have much competence in area planning processes. We have never been taught about that. It is of course something you learn after a while. The districts should learn more about that and be familiar with the system. It would have been great to learn that from the start and have that knowledge"*<sup>78</sup> (Reindeer herder 2).

The reindeer herders who have been participating in the production of the plan said that it was initially difficult to write such a plan. One of them was in charge of the making of the district plan in 1999. He said that he did not receive much help from people outside the reindeer husbandry, and explained he got a template from the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Administration (NRHA), explaining how the district plan should be designed. He believed he got this template in a board meeting with the reindeer husbandry administration, and at this meeting it was explained how to prepare such plan. He also admitted that it was difficult to write a district plan, because he has no education or much school experience. In addition, writing the plan was a long process, and took a lot of time (Reindeer herder 5). Another reindeer herder belonging to the same district also participating in the preparation of the district plan, agreed that it was difficult to write such plan, saying:

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<sup>78</sup> Original quote: "In mun dan gal sáhte lohkat. Mii eat leat gal maidige oahppan. Dieđusge diekkár maid šaddá oahppat dađi mielde, mii eat gal leat ožžon makkárga oahpu dan birra. Livčče galgat makkár nu oahpu orohagain. Dat gal livčče hui buorre oahppan dan birra, oahppat dan systema ja nu ain viidásit. Dađi mielde oahppá gal dan, muhto livčče álgu rájes buorre jus livčče dat kompetanse."

*” It was difficult because we did not know the content. We feared... We Sámi’s think that if you give a finger, they will take the whole hand. We tried to write very generally, so they cannot arrest you. We had a template, but at that time.. We got help from the reindeer husbandry office (reindriftskontoret)”*<sup>79</sup> (Reindeer herder 4).

The reindeer herders have, as stated earlier, not a tradition to document their knowledge, or to leave marks of places they have used. On the contrary, one should not leave garbage behind, but leave the place in the same condition as when one arrived.

When asking about what help was offered to them in connection to the district plans, he remembered attending a course at the Agricultural School in Ås before preparing the plans (Reindeer herder 4). Referring to the point about trust-building in co-management systems, the statement above clearly indicates that the reindeer herders did not have much trust in local authorities. Low trust can also be due to history, and skepticism towards the authorities might have been established long before a co-management agreement (Singleton 2000:8).

Resistance and low trust among reindeer herders towards state and local agencies might have been there before the district plans. The herder’s fear of revealing too much information, might be grounded in earlier experiences prior to the district plans. This assumption is supported by the noticeable fact that plans are very general and lack details.

Another reindeer herder in a different reindeer grazing district, who also was in charge of preparing a district plan in 1999, explained that he did not receive much help from the outside. He, like the other, received a template, which described what should be included in the plan. Hence, he got help from the other reindeer herders in the district (Reindeer herder 6).

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<sup>79</sup> Original quote: ”Váttis go eat diehtán dan sisdoalu. Ballu lei oainnat ahte.. sápmelaš jurddaša ahte jus attát ovttá suorpma de borret olles gieđa. Nu ahte ahte eat čále menddo olu. Lei ”tveegget”, geahččalit čállit hui generealla, vai du eai sáhte dakko lohkkadit. Mála mis gal lei, muhto dien áigge ii lean nu.. Veahki oaččuimet reindriftskántuvrras.”



## 8.2 Municipality – reindeer husbandry contacts

### 8.2.1 Communication between the municipalities and the reindeer husbandry

The three reindeer grazing districts in my thesis, span over more than one municipality, they vary in size and how many municipalities they are affecting. In total the reindeer husbandry in Troms covers 26 municipalities in two different County's and countries.<sup>80</sup> How is the overall communication between the reindeer herders and the municipalities? Many of the reindeer herders say that the contact with the municipalities differs in their district. For example, one herder told, when asking about the relationship and contact with the municipalities, that the collaboration with the municipalities differs and collaboration with the local authorities seem to be based on the quality of contact one has with them (Reindeer herder 1).

Another reindeer herder agreed that the collaboration with the municipalities varies:

*“Some municipalities we have more problems with than others. I do not know why, it might be the attitude people have towards Sámi, and this attitude appears in the municipality administration too. They only see reindeer husbandry as a hindrance. They do not see the potential reindeer husbandry have, and what good it can bring to the society. They seem to be very ”bahá” (not liking) towards Sámi people. One could not maybe argue that way, but that is the way it is”<sup>81</sup> (Reindeer herder 4).*

One of the reindeer herders said that if a municipality wants to expand and develop, it is okay for them as long as it does not harm the reindeer husbandry. According to him, municipalities need to develop too (Reindeer herder 7). He also underlined that the contact with local authorities is dependent on who is working in the municipal administration:

*”It changes a little, it depends who is working in the administration and who the mayor is. We have especially good contact with one of the municipalities. There are many Sea Sámi's*

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<sup>80</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 26

<sup>81</sup> Original quote: ”(Namma gielddas) lea čađabut áiggiid leamaš váttisvuodat. In dieđe manne, dat lea juoga várra olbmuid áššeguottuin (holdningain). Dološ áigásaš ”holdningat” sápmelaččaide. Ja diet holdninga boahtá ovdán suohkan administrašuvnnas maid. Dat vuhtto danne go eai ane boazodoalu eambo hehttehusan. Eai oainne potentiála boazodoalus, ja ahte dat sáhtá buktit buori servvodahkii. Orrojit hui bahá sápmelaččaide.. li sáhte gal nie ákkastallat várra, muhto nu dat anjke lea.”

*working there. In another municipality, there are many Kvens working. They have Sámi blood, and therefore we might have better dialogue with them*<sup>82</sup> (Reindeer herder 7).

One reindeer herder expressed that there is a common perception that reindeer herders are always opposed to physical developments, and that the reindeer husbandry is like the “big, ugly wolf” who never approves any developments (Reindeer herder 5). This statement is confirmed by another reindeer herder. He added that they come late into the planning processes and are the last to be consulted. When the reindeer herders finally are consulted, and they are against it, they become the guilty ones trying to prevent the whole thing (Reindeer herder 4).

Reindeer herders often get a “stamp” as those always making objections. However, according to the Planning and Building Act, this is a right hold by the the reindeer husbandry in the same way as other significant industries, like farming. The right to object is part of the ordinary planning processes, which in some cases may imply conflicts. The point here that this is not an ordinary situation, it is a part of ordinary joint participation.

These statements tell that the reindeer herders feel that the collaboration and contact with the municipalities are dependent on the single individuals working in the municipal administration. This experience might indicate that communication and collaboration with reindeer husbandry is poorly integrated and institutionalized within the municipal systems. Communication should not be dependent on single individuals working in the municipal administration, it should rather be firmly anchored in the municipal administration.

Several of the reindeer herders also feel that the municipalities do not have respect or consider reindeer husbandry interests. Some feel they become involved too late into the area processes. Others again say that developments have taken place without the herders being notified or consulted. According to one of the herders, the municipalities sometimes consult them, other times, they are not informed and unaware of what municipalities are doing; like building

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<sup>82</sup> Original quote: “Rievddada veahá geat gielddas barget, gii lea sátnajođiheadji. Seamma lea nuppiin gielddain, masa mii guoskat. Vel buoret go eará gielddain, soaitá ahte doppe leat ollu mearrasápmelažžat. Kvenat ges nuppi gielddas. Dain han lea sámi varra, ja dainna lágiin sáhtit gulahallat buoret.”

something without consultation. For example, twice they found new cottages built in the calving area. According to the herder, they had not been informed, therefore they opposed the buildings. The County Governor objected the buildings, and the municipality got demolition orders (rivingspåbud) (Reindeer herder 3). A reindeer herder also expressed in the dialogue conference that they often have a feeling of not being heard. She added that they receive hearing-letters, at least on the largest cases.<sup>83</sup> The example above illustrates how important and how forceful the objection role of the County Governor is. The County Governor's and the Sámi Parliament's authority to make objections, plays an important role to reindeer husbandry because it protects the land used by reindeer husbandry. In these processes the County Governor and the Sámi Parliament possess an "expert glance" both in terms of reindeer husbandry and the district plans.

Moreover, a reindeer herder expressed that:

*"It is completely wrong when a municipality first makes a plan for land use (arealplan) which you get consulted with, and they also have set an area which are to be used for building cabins. You also maybe agree to this, because you see that it's just going to be there and in no other places. And then you see after one, two years that there is another area which is going to be used to build cabins, then the municipality has exempted (dispensert). Then they have somehow fooled the reindeer grazing district"*<sup>84</sup> (Reindeer herder 1).

Furthermore, he said that it seems too easy for municipalities to achieve dispensation from NLFRR use and something should be done with regard to that (Reindeer herder 1). According to another herder, it would be convenient if the municipalities involved them already when they are working with the blueprints. He also felt that they are not being consulted (Reindeer herder 5). However, the municipal staff of the three municipalities I have interviewed, said that they follow the regulations from the Planning and Building Act, stating that the reindeer herders and the County Governor are notified in the start-up process. One municipal

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<sup>83</sup> Notes from the dialogue conference between the municipalities and reindeer grazing districts in Troms, 15. 11.16

<sup>84</sup> Original quote: "Dat šaddá oainnat áibbas boastut go suohkan álggos ráhkada plána maid don oaččot hõringii, jađe leat bidjan muhtun guovlluid gos galget hyttefeltat šaddat, ja de don soaittat miehtat. Don oainnat ahte dat lea dušše dieppe, ii leat eara sajis, dat lea dušše diekko. Jađe manná jahkki, guokte jagi, de boahta doppe eara sajis ges, de lea suohkan dispenseran dan plánas. Dat leat ovttá ládje dájuhan dan orohaga."

employee stated when encroachments are assessed both the reindeer husbandry and the County Governor are consultative bodies. When I asked if there were times that that the reindeer husbandry had not been notified, she answered that she believed that mistakes have happened before. I also asked if the municipality engage in reindeer husbandry in general, or only in a case to case basis:

*“Yes, I have to do it in the cases I have. Due to the entire municipality is a reindeer grazing district, regardless of which district, it is a reindeer grazing district. They will be heard in all the cases I am working on. It is a routine that it is sent to the district in which the measure is located. But I do not believe it is a practice in this municipality. I do not think it is a practice that everything and every case is heard in other municipalities either. Now I am not talking about the large cases, reindeer husbandry is of course included in the larger zoning plans, but I do not think they are included/heard in every small cases around”<sup>85</sup> (Municipal staff 2).*

Another municipal employee stated: *“I am not familiar with the reindeer herders being notified late, but it might have happened. If you have not received an answer to the first inquiry, then you assume that is fine. Such things might make you feel that you do not get notified and this may cause uncertainty”<sup>86</sup> (Municipal employee 1).* Some of the hearing-letters that one of the reindeer grazing districts had received from the municipalities said if no statement was given the municipalities assumed that there are no comments on the case.<sup>87</sup> A municipal employee in the dialogue conference arranged by the County Governor of Troms, told that they do not receive a good response on hearings from the reindeer husbandry. The same municipal employee asked whether the districts have the capacity to assess matters sent

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<sup>85</sup> Original quote: “Jo, jeg må gjøre det i de sakene jeg har. På grunn av hele kommunen fra fjord til fjell er reinbeitedistrikt, uavhengig av hvilken distrikt, så er det et reinbeitedistrikt. Dem skal høres i alle saker jeg jobber med. Det er bare sånn innarbeidet rutine at det sendes til det distriktet det tiltaket ligger i. Men jeg tror ikke det er praksis i kommunen. Tror ikke det er praksis over hele linjen at alt blir hørt, i også små saker. Da tenker jeg ikke på store saker, større reguleringsplaner blir selvfølgelig reindriften tatt med, men tror ikke dem blir tatt med på alt av småsaker rundt omkring.”

<sup>86</sup> Original quote: “Det kjenner jeg ikke til at dem har blitt for sent varslet, men det kan hende at har skjedd. Hvis man ikke har fått svar på den første henvendelsen, da antar man at det er greit. Det kan jo være sånne ting og, som kan gjøre at man oppfatte at man ikke blir varslet. Det kan jo skape usikkerhet.”

<sup>87</sup> Hearing statement - Application for construction of agricultural road, 27.08.2010

Hearing statement - Application for construction of the Rotvoll-road, 27.08.2010

on hearing.<sup>88</sup> In addition, a municipal staff also told me that they most often meet the reindeer husbandry in matters affecting them, and most often in conflict context (Municipal employee 4). When asking a municipal staff for examples of dialogue between the municipality and reindeer husbandry, he answered that he did not have examples because he had not received any answers from the reindeer husbandry for the last ten years or so.<sup>89</sup>

Collaboration and good processes will reduce the use of objections. An objection is actualized when dialogue has not worked.<sup>90</sup> In other words, one should try find a solution before an objection occurs. The access to promoting objections includes only important conflict matters as part of the planning process after regular participation (medvirkning) has been completed.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, if an objection occurs, it has gone so far that it has become a conflict. District plans could be used in an early stage of a planning process as a tool that seeks to avoid conflicts and objections.

### 8.2.2 The inclusion of Sámi interests in the planning documents

Broderstad & Josefsen (2016) note that Tromsø municipality made a work agreement with the Sámi Parliament in 2013, which stated that Tromsø municipality should reflect Sámi interests in their plans. In 2014, the Sámi Parliament commented on the planning program of the municipality, arguing that the program did not reflect the intentions of the agreement. When Tromsø municipality in 2015, approved the land-use part of the municipal master plan, Sámi considerations and Sámi cultural heritage protection were not mentioned, while reindeer husbandry was referred to sporadically. It is not possible to document whether the points of the Sámi Parliament are followed up by the municipality or not (Broderstad & Josefsen 2016:12-13).

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<sup>88</sup> Notes from the dialogue conference between the municipalities and reindeer grazing districts in Troms, 15. 11.16

<sup>89</sup> E-mail from a municipal employee, 16.03.17

<sup>90</sup> Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. Nasjonale forventninger til regional og kommunal planlegging, URL: [https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/2f826bdf1ef342d5a917699e8432ca11/nasjonale\\_forventninger\\_bm\\_ny.pdf](https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/2f826bdf1ef342d5a917699e8432ca11/nasjonale_forventninger_bm_ny.pdf)

<sup>91</sup> Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet. Retningslinjer for innsigelse i plansaker etter plan- og bygningsloven, URL: <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/retningslinjer-for-innsigelse-i-plansaker-etter-plan-og-bygningsloven/id751295/#1>

A municipal employee in another municipality told that current plan of land use, which is from 1994, says very little about reindeer husbandry. He further adds that:

*“But in the planning program which is now under final treatment, we have reinvested in elements that will be included in the further processing. Under the social plan, we have a chapter in which we say that we have two reindeer districts that affect the municipality but which are not located in the municipality.”<sup>92</sup> (Municipal employee 4)*

Another municipality has decided, according to the new plan of land use, that they will not allocate land to cabin constructions in LNRF areas. This decision came into force 01.01.2013, and according to the municipal employee, the municipality has not distributed building plots to cabins in LNRF areas since (Municipal employee 2).

Yet another municipal employee said:

*”I think, in relation to this municipality. One thing is reindeer husbandry, but if you read the plan guide that the Sámi Parliament has given out about Sámi culture and economic activity.. I think that here we may have even less knowledge. What we know about the Sámi culture, is mostly about reindeer husbandry, but it is so much more. It is not so visible in the local community”<sup>93</sup> (Municipal employee 3)*

One reason that there is little information about reindeer husbandry in one of the municipalities plan for land use (from 1994), could be that less attention than today was paid to the reindeer husbandry than is today. With a new legislation in 2007, the consultation agreement of 2005 between the Sámi Parliament and the Government (Broderstad et.al., 2015) and the revision of the Planning and Building Act 2008 with subsequent regulations and guidelines, put in place a framework for the inclusion of reindeer husbandry interests in municipal planning. The authority of the Sámi Parliament to raise objection is part of this

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<sup>92</sup> Original quote: ”Arealplanen per i dag, er fra 1994, sier veldig lite om reindrift. Men i det planprogrammet som nå er under sluttbehandling så har vi reindriften inne der, elementer som skal inn i den videre behandling. Under samfunnsplanen har vi ett kapittel hvor vi sier at vi har to reinbeitedistrikter som berører kommunen, men som ikke holder til i kommunen.”

<sup>93</sup> Original quote: ” Jeg tenker jo i forhold til (navn på kommune), en ting er jo reindriften, men hvis du leser en planveiledning som Sametinget har gitt ut om samisk kultur og næringsutøvelse.. Jeg tenker at der har vi kanskje enda mindre kunnskap. Altså det vi kan om det samiske, blir nok kanskje reindriftsutøvelse sitt, men det er så mye mer. Det er ikke så synlig i lokalsamfunnet.”

picture. Given the Sámi Parliament's role and experiences in plan matters and the authority to make objections, it is reasonable to emphasize the role of the Sámi Parliament in planning processes. If Sámi matters and reindeer husbandry are only mentioned sporadically, municipalities are not meeting the requirements put forward by the Planning and Building Act. In this respect, the Sámi Parliament is a "watch dog" due its role towards planning authorities and its right to object.

### 8.3 The duty to consult

According to the Planning and Building Act, planning authorities should inform the public at an early stage in the planning work. Affected individuals and groups should be given the opportunity to actively participate in the planning process (pbl. §5-1). The Articles of ILO 169, dealing with consultation is of particular relevance.<sup>94</sup> When the municipal planners recognize that reindeer husbandry is a consultative part in an early stage in matters that might affect them, documents prepared by the municipalities should account for this. The Norwegian state and area planning is also obliged to comply with these provisions regarding participation and consultation, as accounted for in part 2.4. Despite ILO 169 provisions dealing with consultations and the consultation agreement between the Sámi Parliament and the Government, decisions made in consultations are not always in accordance with the Sámi Parliament's view (See for instance Broderstad et.al., 2015 about consultations).<sup>95</sup> It is also important to note that the co-management of reindeer husbandry in Norway is organized in such a way that it should be easy to consult the reindeer husbandry and the reindeer herders. As already accounted for, the management and governance of reindeer husbandry is a complex system, partly with self-rule. Ensuring consultations should thus be handled within this framework, with consultations on many levels.

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<sup>94</sup> ILO 167, URL:

[http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100\\_INSTRUMENT\\_ID:312314#A6](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314#A6)

<sup>95</sup> I will not deal with the consultation agreement in this thesis.

## 8.4 Accounting for local conditions

### 8.4.1 Facilitating participation and the role of the district plans

In this respect, district plans can provide assistance to reindeer herders, and act as reindeer husbandry's own representation in situations when they cannot meet up themselves. As noted earlier, it might be difficult for reindeer herders to attend to meetings at different times, and they might not always have the opportunity to respond to all mails, letters and questions, even if this is desired. Here, the district plan could contribute with information that might be of valuable importance in the area planning and in other issues which are connected to reindeer husbandry.

“Approximately 90 % of the reindeer population and the majority of the reindeer herders in Troms County have winter-residence elsewhere, partly in neighboring counties and partly in neighboring countries” (Riseth 2016, cited in County Authority of Troms, draft of regional plan, 2017:26). To a certain extent this can, affect the reindeer herder’s opportunity to attend in meetings. Due to varying distances, this can also affect the dialogue the reindeer herders have with the municipalities and the reindeer herder’s ability to participate in decision making processes.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter and illustrated by my own experiences (cf. 1.5). This shows that the reindeer herders do not always have the time to meet, and this can have an impact on the necessary participation, interaction, and dialogue with the municipalities. Such conditions should be facilitated for reindeer husbandry so that they have an opportunity to participate in planning processes and at the same time still do their job in reindeer husbandry. Such conditions could be accounted for in a district plan. It is important that co-management systems and its provisions and rules are adapted to local conditions (Ostrom 1990).

“Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology, and/or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labor, materials, and/or money” (Ostrom 1990:92). Similarly, Jentoft (2003:3) underlines that the context in which co-management operates, stating this must be taken into account. The senior adviser in the County Governor stated that the reindeer grazing districts are very different and the challenges are always resources in the district. Furthermore, he told that some districts from the beginning lack personnel and knowledge to prepare such plans. He also told that:



*“..Some have also said that they have language problems, they are afraid that they do not get the nuances and that they will be misunderstood”<sup>96</sup> (Senior adviser).*

Meetings are often central in co-management arrangements. However, the Sámi people often use other forms of communication. In Sámi culture it is not common to tell everything to strangers. The indigenous knowledge, for instance reindeer herding knowledge, is not taught through participation in meetings, it is an oral knowledge, which is often learned through practice work. This is often transferred to another person in situations when it is necessary and relevant to teach about it.

Furthermore, reindeer herders may be in working periods where they do not have the time to give comments and consultation statements. Some reindeer herders may have to choose what matters to prioritize because there are not enough people in the district to deal with these things. These situations are connected to local conditions, which should be accounted for in the district plan. Unlike reindeer herders, farmers can find assistants to take care of their work if they go on vacation. Such an arrangement does not exist in reindeer husbandry. It takes long time to acquire the knowledge necessary to step in for reindeer herders. One must know the nature, be well known in the area, be familiar and, distinguish between the ear-marks in the siida and the neighboring siida's, among other things.

To a certain degree, hearing deadlines should account for peaks in the working load. A suggestion for the district plans might be that the reindeer herders state they are unable to give statements to hearings, for instance, when they are slaughtering or marking the calves. However, on the other hand, it is reindeer herders responsibility to be aware of the hearing-letters, in order to avoid a situation where the lack of hearing response is interpreted as if no problems exist. The reindeer herders have to respond and they have a responsibility to report back if hearing deadlines and other issues of communication does not work for them.

How the working capacity of the reindeer districts is, is a concern of local conditions. Some districts lack personnel, which should be explained in the district plans. Regarding of the working capacity in the districts, one municipal employee questioned if the districts have the

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<sup>96</sup> Original quote: "Enkelte har også sagt at de har sprogproblemer, de er redd for at det de skriver.. at de ikke får frem nyansene og at dem misforståes"

capacity to assess matters sent on hearing.<sup>97</sup> In other districts on the other hand, more people may be involved, which also could also be stated in the district plan. However, the capacity regarding labor supply in the districts may change both in short- and long term perspective, and has to be taken into account in the planning processes. There are also generational changes (generasjonsskifte) in the districts. This means that the district can change from lacking personnel to being resourceful in terms of personnel. It is therefore not only in the municipalities where the municipal staff changes, but also in the districts. Reindeer husbandry must therefore be familiar of the needs of the municipalities, and vice versa. Also the districts may be short of the needed competence as well. For instance, good skills with PC, or writing skills may be lacking. This must be taken into account, and possibly stated in the plans. As pointed out by Jentoft et.al., (2003:286), resource users might have other things to do than attend in co-management meetings and discuss co-management. Co-management in reindeer husbandry needs to take into account the cycle of the year in reindeer husbandry. In the fall there is slaughtering and maybe also marking of the calves, therefore, co-management and other meetings at certain times of year might be difficult. In addition, the language being the carried out in the meetings also have to be taken into account. For instance, the language being used in a meeting might not be the local users' mother tongue and this might influence how successful a co-management system can be and affect the outcome of the meeting.

### 8.5 The district plans as a tool for communication

The district plans have rarely been used. When asked about how to make plans work many of the municipal employees said, that first and foremost, it is important to make the plans visible. One of the municipal employees said that plans should be easily accessible online and preferably all in one place (municipal employee 2). Another municipal employee said that it is also important that the plan be updated regularly so it is reliable. She further adds:

*"If you are coming with a plan from 1999, it is 17 years old, what has happened? Major developments... How relevant is it, what has happened to legislation and national guidelines? If they first have a plan, they must update them (the plans), and if they do not have to change*

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<sup>97</sup> Notes from the dialogue conference between the municipalities and reindeer grazing districts in Troms, 15. 11.16

*it, they must at least say they have considered it (the plan). That still applies or something like that”<sup>98</sup> (Municipal employee 3).*

She said that the consultants in municipalities are often changed, so that the plans could be taken up in planning and building conferences and other meetings. In these meetings, the herders could tell about the plans and that they are, for instance, updated in every four years or every other year (Municipal employee 3). It is difficult to maintain continuity because consultants are often changed in the municipalities. This is a challenge that both reindeer herders and municipalities need to take into account, even if there is a replacement in the municipalities, they should be familiar with the district plan. The senior adviser in the County Governor states:

*“You have agriculture in the municipalities that have their own employees who are responsible and take care of matters in agriculture. This level is missing in the reindeer husbandry. In reindeer husbandry you have the actual industry and the County Governor is the next level, you lack the medium-level at the municipal level”<sup>99</sup> (Senior adviser).*

One herder stated he wished that the reindeer husbandry had a system similar to agriculture.<sup>100</sup> Another herder also suggested that there should be one employee in the municipalities who understands reindeer husbandry. He also thought that the reindeer husbandry has a responsibility to make the plans work and if the plans are changed, they (reindeer herders) should tell about it to for instance, the municipalities and remind them about the plan (Reindeer herder 5). A municipal employee stated that the problem might be that the plans do not have the status anticipated according to the Planning and Building Act. He further stated that the plan could perhaps be formally binding, and in this way formal hearings could be obtained (Municipal employee 4). Most of the reindeer herders agree that they should explain to the municipalities about the plans. Despite many challenges related to

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<sup>98</sup> Original quote: “Kommer du med en plan fra 1999. Den er 17 år, hva har skjedd? Store utbygginger. Hvor relevant er den, hva har skjedd på lovverket og nasjonale føringer. Skal de først ha en plan, så må de rullere han, og hvis de ikke trenger å endre den så må de i hvert fall si at de har vurdert den (planen). At de har videreført den eller noe sånt.”

<sup>99</sup> Original quote: “ Du har landbruk i kommunene som har egne ansatte som ivaretar landbruket. Du har ingen som ivaretar reindrifta, det leddet mangle jo. Neste har du sjølve næringa (reindrifta) også har du jo fylkesmannen som e i neste nivå, du mangle det mellom sjiktet på det kommunale nivået”

<sup>100</sup> Notes from the startup meeting on updating the district plans, 01.12.16.

the district plan, just about everyone I have interviewed- the reindeer herders, municipal employees, and the employees in County Governor of Troms, agreed that district plans have potential.

As mentioned earlier, district plans can be a useful tool for reindeer husbandry's interaction and dialogue with the municipalities.<sup>101</sup> The fact that the municipal staff lack knowledge about reindeer husbandry and the reindeer herders lack knowledge about area planning processes, indicates challenges of communication. As a core condition of communication, mutual exchange of information is required. District plans do not strengthen communication when the municipalities are unfamiliar with them. One of the municipal employees stated that they only meet the reindeer husbandry in conflict context, indicating that the district plans have not prevented conflicts, as the plan intended to do. Because the plans have not been used in the reindeer husbandry either, it can be maintained that the reindeer herders also have not seen the value of district plans or regarded them as particularly useful. They have not been aware of what assistance and help such a plan could provide. Nevertheless, using district plans should be applied to the practice of municipalities.

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<sup>101</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 22

## Chapter 9: Concluding remarks

I have explored the situation of district plans and why they have not functioned as intended. I have been focusing on the challenges of the district plans and how to make them an adequate tool for the communication between reindeer husbandry and municipalities. By applying the “glances” and the concept of flexibility, I have identified main challenges related to the use of district plans. I have further drawn on core concepts of co-management.

My findings show that one of the most obvious challenges are the *lack of awareness of the district plans*. A main aim of the district plans is to secure grazing land. Thus, they should influence planning processes. Several municipal employees did not know the plans existed. Instead, the municipal employees in their planning work have used reindeer husbandry maps found online, which most likely do not enhance communication and unable to prevent conflicts. The clear lack of awareness regarding the district plans, demands efforts carried out in order to make the municipalities and others attentive to the plans.

The study also shows that municipal employees *lack knowledge about reindeer husbandry*. They have an “inexpert glance” of the district plans and the reindeer husbandry; however, they are willing to learn about these issues. The employees in County Governor of Troms, on the other hand, possess an “expert glance” in relation to the plans, because they are familiar with the situation of the district plans today and the fact that the plans are underused. The County Governor plays a significant role in reindeer husbandry with their authority to make objection and as a superior body responsible for regional reindeer husbandry management, as well as the local management responsibility. There exists no local management of reindeer husbandry today. <sup>102</sup>

In addition to unawareness of the district plans, *the issues of classification of land* causes problems. This is a debate related to the concept of flexibility. The interviewed municipal employees wanted the reindeer herders to classify grazing land. Reindeer herders on the other hand, stated that they are not able to classify pastures because the reindeer husbandry is constantly changing, as does the grazing conditions. If the industry is flexible, then the plans must also be. As the reindeer herders possess an “expert glance”, they are aware the

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<sup>102</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 20

challenges of flexibility. On the other hand, the municipal staff do not seem to be aware of the challenges of flexibility. According to the herders, the maps are too rigid. Weather is an important aspect in reindeer husbandry and challenges related to climate change are not addressed in the plans. As weather concerns constitute a challenge as do the classification of land. For the reindeer herders it is difficult to classify land because they see the herd in relation to natural surroundings, especially the weather which impact the grazing conditions.

Therefore, there is a tension in planning processes, including with the work of the district plans. It is a tension between the concerns of flexibility and the concerns of predictability. On the one hand, the municipal employees are in need of systematic information. On the other hand, local conditions in a changing world are the reality for the reindeer herders. The role of indigenous knowledge in relation to the plans is about reindeer herders telling about their practice in the district. They have been reluctant to talk openly about things to stranger. However, the district plans require information about the practice in the district, which might be difficult for the reindeer herders to comply with.

Regarding the contact between the reindeer herders and the municipal staff, the herders expressed that *collaboration and communication* varies from one municipality to the other. Thus, the herders felt that the municipalities do not pay enough attention; additionally, they told that they are not always consulted in matters affecting them. This may weaken the trust between the reindeer herders and the municipalities. According to the reindeer herders, the municipalities have an insufficient level of knowledge about reindeer husbandry, which can result in less trust towards the municipalities.

One of the reindeer herders mentioned that the municipalities sometimes misuse the reindeer husbandry maps, which indicates problems of trust towards the municipalities. I argue that there is a need for trust building between the reindeer herders and the municipalities, as an important aspect in co-management. Co-management also requires communication in order to make a good collaborative work, and the plans have not worked as tools for communication. There is a need for both the reindeer herders and the municipal staff to find some sort of common ground, which might enhance the communication and give a better understanding of the challenges of the expectations they have for each other, as well as prevent conflicts by involving reindeer herders prior to conflicts. This is about participation which is a core aspect

of co-management (Jentoft 1998). As one municipal employee stated, they often meet the reindeer husbandry in conflict context.

Finally, I would propose the following points as an attempt to identify improvements in the use of the district plans.

- The reindeer herders can in the district plans present different scenarios. For example, they can specify alternative areas to be used if the grazing conditions are bad.
- Regular and institutionalized meetings between the reindeer herders and the municipalities
- A municipality employee with a special responsibility for reindeer husbandry
- An information campaign directed towards the municipalities by the reindeer husbandry
- A similar campaign on planning processes for the reindeer husbandry
- The role of the County Governor together with the role of the Sámi Parliament ensures a continuous attention and responsibility regarding planning processes. These tasks of coordination are crucial as a part of empowering the industry itself. Simultaneously, sufficient resources have to be provided to the districts, in order to secure capacity and competence in planning, hearing and consultative processes.

An interesting issue, which I have not dealt with, is whether the closure of the area boards has had any impact on the co-management system of reindeer husbandry in Norway. In addition, the Swedish reindeer husbandry when they are in Norway, do not have such documents as the district plans, nor are the Swedish reindeer herders obliged to make such plans. The four Swedish Sámi villages (samebyer) have right to grazing land on the Norwegian side during summer.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, a potential topic of research could be the Swedish reindeer husbandry's lack of district plans and the impacts of not having such plans.

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<sup>103</sup> County Authority of Troms: Draft of regional plan for the reindeer husbandry in Troms (2017), p. 25

## Appendix

### 1. Interview guide for the reindeer herders

1. Hvilken rolle/posisjon har du i arbeidet med distriktsplaner?
2. Hvor lang erfaring har du med arbeidet i distriktssammenheng, herunder arbeid med distriktsplanene?
3. Hvem har skrevet distriktsplanen?
4. Hvilken forventninger har du/dere til distriktsplanen (innhold, utforming, o.l)?
5. Hvilken samlet kompetanse har distriktene både i distriktsplaner og i arealplanlegging generelt, og hvordan bygde dere opp denne kompetansen?
6. Hvilken prosess har det vært før utarbeidelsen av distriktsplanen? (Har dere fått hjelp fra eksterne aktører til å skrive planene? Har det vært vanskelig å skrive planene?)
7. Hvilken kilder har dere brukt når dere skrev distriktsplanen?
8. Er det noen utfordringer knyttet til distriktsplanene – hvis ja, hvilke? Og hvordan kan man få disse til å fungere etter intensjonen?
9. Hvilken erfaring har dere med å samarbeide med kommunene og andre aktuelle aktører, f.eks offentlige og private sektor som ønsker å gjøre inngrep på distriktets arealer om distriktsplanene? Henviser de til distriktsplanene?
10. Føler du at det er nødvendig med distriktsplaner?
11. Er distriktsplanen endret/ oppdatert siden den ble skrevet?
12. Har distriktets bruk av f.eks beiteområdene endret seg siden distriktsplanene ble skrevet?
13. Har du erfaringer med at distriktsplanen har vært nyttige/nyttige for dere eller for eksterne aktører?
14. *Ifølge reindriftsloven skal distriktsstyret skal utarbeide en distriktsplan for distriktet som skal inneholde de opplysninger om virksomheten i distriktet som er nødvendige for den offentlige planlegging. Distriktsplanen skal gi reindrifta et arealvern samt virke konfliktforebyggende ved at kommuner, fylkeskommuner og fylkesmenn får et best mulig informasjonsgrunnlag for å ivareta reindriftens interesser i arealplanarbeidet. Distriktsplanene skal føre til økt samarbeid i forhold til andre brukere.*



Mener du/dere at distriktsplanen har fungert etter intensjonen? Når har den fungert, når har den ikke fungert?

15. Distriktsplaner skal verne reindrifts arealer, har dere opplevd at den har gjort det?
16. Er distriktsplan konfliktforebyggende?
17. Hva mener du er årsaken til at den ikke har fungert? F.eks kan distriktsplanen være vanskelig å forstå, eller andre ting?
18. Har du jobbet med reindrift hele livet? Har du tatt utdanning etter videregående skole?

## 2. Interview guide for the municipal staff

1. Hvilken utdanning har du? (faglig bakgrunn)
2. Har du/dere kjennskap til distriktsplaner?
3. Hvilken rolle/posisjon har du i arbeidet med distriktsplaner?
4. Hva slags informasjonsbehov har kommuner/fylkesmannsembetet til reindrifta i forbindelse med planlegging?
5. Bruker kommunene distriktsplaner aktivt i sin planlegging? Og i hvilken grad brukes distriktsplanene i arbeidet med kommunale arealplaner?
6. Hva er kommunenes forventinger til en distriktsplan (innhold, utforming, o.l)?
7. Hvordan er eller hvordan oppleves samarbeidet mellom kommunene og reindriften?
8. *Ifølge reindriftsloven skal distriktsstyret skal utarbeide en distriktsplan for distriktet som skal inneholde de opplysninger om virksomheten i distriktet som er nødvendige for den offentlige planlegging. Distriktsplanen skal gi reindrifta et arealvern samt virke konfliktforebyggende ved at kommuner, fylkeskommuner og fylkesmenn får et best mulig informasjonsgrunnlag for å ivareta reindriften sine interesser i arealplanarbeidet. Distriktsplanene skal føre til økt samarbeid i forhold til andre brukere.*

Mener du/dere at distriktsplanen har fungert etter intensjonen? Når har den fungert, når har den ikke fungert?

9. Er det noen utfordringer knyttet til distriktsplanene – hvis ja, hvilke? Og hvordan kan man få disse til å fungere etter intensjonen?
10. Føler dere at dere har et ansvar for reindrifta generelt, eller er det kun i de sakene der det er åpenbart at reindrifta har interesse i saken?
11. Har distriktsplaner potensiale?
12. I hvilken fase kommer reindrifta inn når det kommer saker som gjelder dem?

### 3. Interview guide for the employees at the County Governor of Troms

1. Hvilken utdanning har du? (faglig bakgrunn)
2. Brukes planene av dere?
3. Hvilken bistand gir reindriftsforvaltningen til reindriften i utarbeidelsen av distriktsplan?
4. Hva slags erfaring har dere med distriktsplanene?
5. Hva er deres forventinger til distriktsplaner (innhold, utforming o.l.)?
6. Finnes det distriktsplaner som kan defineres som ”best practices”?
7. Er det noen utfordringer knyttet til distriktsplanene – hvis ja, hvilke? Og hvordan kan man få disse til å fungere etter intensjonen?
8. *Ifølge reindriftsloven skal distriktsstyret skal utarbeide en distriktsplan for distriktet som skal inneholde de opplysninger om virksomheten i distriktet som er nødvendige for den offentlige planlegging. Distriktsplanen skal gi reindriften et arealvern samt virke konfliktforebyggende ved at kommuner, fylkeskommuner og fylkesmenn får et best mulig informasjonsgrunnlag for å ivareta reindriftens interesser i arealplanarbeidet. Distriktsplanene skal føre til økt samarbeid i forhold til andre brukere.*

Mener du/dere at distriktsplanen har fungert etter intensjonen? Når har den fungert, når har den ikke fungert?

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