

# *The oil game*

*The struggle between stakeholders in the case of oil and gas development  
on the Norwegian continental shelf outside Lofoten and Vesterålen*

by

**Kristine Vollnes Johansen**



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**Department of Social and Marketing Studies  
Norwegian College of Fishery Science  
University of Tromsø  
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## **SUMMARY**

Lofoten and Vesterålen is an important fisheries area with traditions for this dating back hundreds of years. At the same time, it has been pointed out as a prospective oil and gas area. The oil industry is currently extending its activities and moving northwards from the North Sea into the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea. This has made the seas off Lofoten and Vesterålen a conflict zone. The integrated management plan put a temporary lid on petroleum activity in Nordland VI, Nordland VII, and Troms II until 2010 when the management plan will be up for revision.

The topic of this thesis is the conflicts which are now evolving in the region over future developments. The thesis tries to identify the main stakeholders, their arguments and positions, and the strategies they employ to gain support for their views and interests.

The game that is played over oil in Lofoten and Vesterålen is analysed in terms of power and conflict. The role of the mass media is also taken into account. The study is based on both primary and secondary data sources. Interviews have been conducted and newspaper editorials, articles, and previous research have been investigated.

The thesis shows that there are many stakeholders involved – the oil industry; the fishing industry; the tourism industry; local, regional and national politicians; environmentalist organisations; the media, etc. There is a conflict between different resource-based industries as well as other groups and interests that have a stake in the future development of the region.

The discourse is about economic development, new jobs opportunities, public revenues, environmental risks and uncertainties, and the whole image of the region. The current conflict over seismic activity has had a mobilising effect and forged new alliances. Although the final decisions will be taken at a national level, Lofoten and Vesterålen has become a polarised region. Currently no compromises are in sight, but for different industries to co-exist in the same area compromises needs to be done.

Key words: Oil and gas development, Lofoten and Vesterålen, Stakeholders, Power, Conflict, Environmental challenges



## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background**

The search for oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf started in 1966. The first oil field discovery worth running was the Ekofisk field in the North Sea in 1969. The production from this field started in 1971 and is still running. In the mid 1970s Norway became a net exporter of oil. Since then the oil sector has become a key factor in the Norwegian economy. In 2006 this sector accounted for 25% of gross domestic product, 51% of total exports and 36% of government revenue (Lund, 2007). Norwegian petroleum production is taking place offshore. After having started in the North Sea, the activities have gradually been extended northwards into the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea.

The first permits to start searching for oil and gas north of the 62° latitude were granted in 1980 and in 1990 parts of the Barents Sea were officially opened for oil and gas development (Sandersen et al., 2002). Currently, petroleum production is taking place outside Helgeland in the county of Nordland, the Barents Sea south is open for all-year petroleum activity, and the liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant on Melkøya in Finnmark started production in 2007. This means that there is production of oil and gas both south and north of Lofoten and Vesterålen. The oil industry considers the sea areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen as highly prospective areas for oil and gas development.

The same areas are the major spawning areas for the Norwegian-Arcto cod – the biggest cod stock in the world. For centuries the fishing industry has been the basis of existence for many people in the Lofoten and Vesterålen area. The key factor for this industry in Lofoten and Vesterålen is the yearly cod fishery (Skrei-fisheries). Cod traditionally come into Vestfjorden to spawn (the fjord between Lofoten and Vesterålen and the mainland of Norway) and Vestfjorden was and still is an important fishing ground. The cod is an important export product and the event of the Skrei fishery has become a tourist attraction in recent years.

At the end of the 1980s the cod fisheries failed and the fisheries was closed due to over fishing for a period of time. In the 1990s individual vessel quotas were introduced and fishing for cod in these areas was restricted. The cods' journey from the Barents Sea into the areas

around Lofoten and Vesterålen to spawn has changed in recent years, from spawning inside Vestfjorden and north in Vesterålen, to outside Senja in the county of Troms (Stub, 2007).

## **1.2 Controversial decisions**

The issue of oil and gas development in the northern areas has been discussed for many years. Initially, the Norwegian government was reluctant to open the areas north of the 62° latitude for oil exploration. The main reason that these areas were not included in developments was in consideration for the fishing industry and the local communities dependent on fisheries. The vulnerability of the areas and environmental concerns were also soon brought into the picture. However, in 1979 the Norwegian parliament lifted the restrictions by a majority decision. In the following years several oil and gas discoveries were made but there was no production until 1993 when the field “Draugen” was opened in the Norwegian Sea (Sandersen et al., 2002).

Operations outside Lofoten and Vesterålen and in the Barents Sea have met with great resistance. Just before the elections in Norway in 2001 the planned trial drill by the Norwegian oil company Hydro was stopped by the Norwegian Labour Party which was in government at that time. The reason for this was mainly pressure from environmentalist organisations like Bellona, Nature and Youth, Green warriors of Norway and partly the fisheries organisations (Sandersen et al., 2002). Their main argument was based on recent research which showed that alcyphenolic (produced water that follows in oil and gas extraction) could affect the cod and its spawning, even in very low concentrations. At the same time as the Norwegian Labour Party stopped the trial drill, the Norwegian ministry of oil and energy outlined possibilities for nominating and applying for licences in the much disputed areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen (Sandersen et al., 2002).

In October 2001 the oil companies Statoil and Shell asked the government not to give out any new licences in the areas outside Lofoten. The environmentalist issues were strong and their argument was that the conflicts between the oil and the fisheries industries should be resolved before proceeding with any more trial drillings. After the two stops of trial drills in 2001 which caused the oil companies a lot of extra expenses, the industry demanded a more predictable framework. They requested that the government provide clearer guidelines on where and how a trial drill could be carried out (Sandersen et al., 2002).

In the Sem declaration issued by the new Bondevik government in 2001 it was stated that before any further exploration a study should be carried out on the possible consequences of oil and gas development in the Lofoten - Barents Sea area (OED, 2008). The outcome was that the government approved the Snøhvit project outside Hammerfest and accepted all-year test drilling in southern parts of the Barents Sea, but at the same time it was announced that an integrated management plan should be worked out for the areas Lofoten – Barents Sea. This plan was presented the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2006 (regjeringen.no, 2006).

### 1.3 The compromise

Report nr. 8 to the Storting (2005 – 2006): “The integrated Management of the Marine Environment of the Barents Sea and the Sea Areas off the Lofoten Islands” was made to map the areas Lofoten – Barents Sea and describe how to use them in a sustainable way. The plan provides a framework for sustainable use of the natural resources in the Barents Sea – Lofoten area in order to maintain the structure, function and productivity of the ecosystem. It should be used as a tool to facilitate value creation and to maintain high the environmental value of the area. The plan intended to be an instrument to ensure that business interests, local, regional and central authorities, environmentalist organisations and other interest groups all have a common understanding of the goal for the management of these areas (NME, 2005/2006:15).

The plan had a special focus on the vulnerable areas. It put a lid on possible oil and gas development in the Lofoten and Vesterålen areas until the management plan will be revised in 2010. Hence it was a temporary compromise.

*“Nordland VII and Troms II petroleum provinces: No petroleum activities will be initiated in Nordland VII and Troms II during the current parliamentary period. The question of petroleum activities in these areas will be considered when the management plan is revised in 2010. “*

*“Nordland VI petroleum province: No petroleum activities will be initiated in Nordland VI during the current parliamentary period. “*

**Figure 1: “The integrated Management of the Marine Environment of the Barents Sea and the Sea Areas off the Lofoten Islands” (NME, 2005/2006)**

The introduction of this plan and the stopping of any further exploration for oil and gas in these areas have made the stakeholders start planning their approach towards 2010. The future development has become a hot topic. Many stakeholders have interests in these areas, and the game played by the stakeholders is currently an interesting case to follow. The media is an important arena for these stakeholders to state their opinions, and the media also communicate information to the general public.

#### **1.4 Topic and problem definition**

The oil industry is fighting to remove the protection of the areas around Lofoten and Vesterålen in the run up to the general election in fall 2009. The industry is eager to see the areas opened for full search and production when the revised management plan will be ready in 2010 (Lofotposten.no, 2008b). The fishing industry is trying to protect the resources that these areas contain. Lofoten and Vesterålen is thus a source for potential conflicts and disputes amongst stakeholders. The question of co-existence is put to trial.

The point of departure in this thesis will be that the Lofoten and Vesterålen is an important fisheries area with traditions for this dating back hundreds of years. At the same time, it has been pointed out as a possible important gas and oil area. There are many stakeholders involved in the topical decision making; oil industry, fisheries, tourism, local, regional and central politicians, environmentalist organisation and the role that media play in such a conflict. In other words, there is a conflict between the different resource-based industries and other interests on the future development of the region. This thesis will focus on how these conflicts are perceived, articulated, negotiated and possibly solved.

The possible oil and gas development raises a lot of interesting questions. The topic also receives great attention in the media today. The problem is that the issue seems to be very complex. What I want to highlight by writing this thesis is:

**Who are the most important stakeholders?**

**Which arguments do they use and which roles do they play?**



## **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

In chapter two I will present the analytical tools to use in the discussion. To be able to visualise the ongoing conflict some theory has to be in place. It includes both power and conflict theory, and also theory about the role of the mass media.

Chapter three is the method chapter. Here I will present how my qualitative research process has been, and why I made the choices I did on the way. The method is the basis of my project and is the basis for discussing the results from my interviews.

Chapter four contains information about the region and its resources. This was important so as I could get to know the phenomenon and region better where the possible oil and gas development could happen.

In chapter five I will present former research done in the same area, and also present my own interview results. Chapter five will mainly concentrate on the stakeholders that have interests in the case, both what I found out myself and what former research has found on the case.

In chapter six I will wind up, discuss my findings and draw the main conclusions. I will apply my analytical tools and definitions to the main findings of the previous chapter.

In chapter seven I will conclude, sum up the thesis, and also provide some suggestions to further studies.

## **1.6 Limitations**

The discussion about possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen has many aspects. My thesis will have some limitations in this context. My goal is not to evaluate if a possible oil and gas development is to happen or not or whether it will be to the benefit of the region or not. I will look at the conflicts involved. Many areas like economic aspects and the risk of large accidents or oil spills will only briefly be touched upon. This is due to the complexity of the field and also due to time constraints.



## **2. 0 THEORIES OF POWER AND CONFLICT**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Heated debates are taking place in Lofoten and Vesterålen. The core issue is whether or not there should be any future oil and gas development in the area. Exploration activity is already being increased and by 2010 the management plan will be ready for revision. Hence different groups are voicing their opinions and mobilizing support in order to influence the political decision making processes. According to the contending parties, fundamental interests and values are at stake. While some see comprehensive oil and gas development as the salvation of the region, others regard it as a potential catastrophe.

In order to analyze the ongoing conflicts, we need some analytical tools to identify the concepts and models that are relevant for studying and understanding the disputes and struggles that are taking place. The social sciences provide different basic approaches to social life (Wallace and Wolf, 2006). One main approach portrays society as a big organism, where the individual parts perform different functions supplementing each other. Another envisions society as a marketplace, where there are exchanges between actors that make rational choices and seek to maximize their own interests. A third approach is one of power and conflict where society is perceived as a battleground for class disputes, opposing interests and a struggle for scarce resources. A fourth approach emphasizes the symbolic character of society and is preoccupied with the social construction of reality and how definitions, interpretations and rules are produced through the processes of social interaction.

In this chapter I will concentrate on the conflict approach, but also take symbolic aspects into account. This chapter will clarify concepts such as power, conflict and conflict resolution. In addition, it will cast light on the formation of social movements and the role of the mass media. The main purpose will be to provide a framework for analyzing the struggles related to oil and gas development in the Lofoten/Vesterålen area.

## 2.2 Power

There is a long tradition in social theory focusing on power and conflict and associated social inequalities. Key authors are Karl Marx, Max Weber, C. Wright Mills, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault (Wallace and Wolfe, 2006). They all saw power and domination as basic features of social relationships. Power manifests itself in subordination and super ordination – in the ability of some persons or groups to control and influence the behaviour and thinking of others.

In the Marxist tradition power is an effect of social structure. Marx emphasized the antagonisms between social classes grounded in the mode and conditions of economic production. Under capitalism, the ruling class owns the means of production and exploits the working-class, who must sell their working power for a price beneath the value they are creating (Wallace and Wolf, 2006).

Weber held a contrasting view. He pointed out that power has many sources, not only economic. His general definition was as follows:

“Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests” (Weber, 1964:152)

Weber noted that power can involve coercion and threats of force, but normally it rests on some kind of legitimate authority which gives certain people the right to be obeyed. He distinguished between charismatic authority, traditional authority and rational-legal authority (Wallace and Wolf, 2006).

Elite theorists like C. Wright Mills argued that small minorities have the most power regardless of official elections and through key economic, political and military positions they influence decisions. This takes place in hidden and informal ways outside the boundaries of elected representatives.

In the pluralist version power is not concentrated into the hands of one limited group. All power is contested. However, there is a balance of power because different elites are competing and having to work both in contention and in compromise with one another. This is the view for instance of Robert A. Dahl.

Bourdieu's work focused on the mechanisms of reproduction of social hierarchies. For him, society was made up of various social fields in which social actors are struggling to acquire specific types of capital and to obtain dominant positions. He stressed the importance of what he called symbolic capital and symbolic violence, i.e. the capacity to define meaning, construct norms, and render the existing social order a natural and given thing.

According to Foucault, power is not something which is possessed or exercised by social actors, but deeply structural and part of all social relationships. Domination is everywhere in society. Power is constituted through discourse and translated into social identities, relationships and systems of knowledge and ideas. Power is thus both constraining and enabling action.

### **2.3 Three dimensions of power**

Steven Lukes, in a seminal book, outlined three dimensions of power (Lukes, 1974). In the one-dimensional view, power is conceived of as intentional and active. The focus is on decision-making behaviour on issues where there is an observable, overt conflict. The policy preferences of the actors are assumed to reveal their (subjective) interests and power is measured by the outcome of the conflict, i.e. who the winners are, and who the losers are.

The two-dimensional view extends the model by taking not only decision-making but also agenda setting into account. Power also involves the capacity to control the political agenda and to exclude or prevent demands and grievances from gaining access to the relevant decision-making arena which means that potentially controversial issues are not becoming actual issues and conflicts are suppressed (Lukes, 1974).

While the two-dimensional view is still limited to concrete decisions and observable conflicts between organized interests, the three-dimensional view goes one step further by including the power to prevent the formation of grievances. Lukes claims that power also has to do with the shaping of perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way as to ensure the acceptance of the existing order of things. This third dimension of power is ideological in nature. It is not obviously measurable, but must be inferred from language and actions (Lukes, 1974).

## **2.4 Bases of power**

Power presupposes alternatives. It is exercised within social relationships which hold the possibility to act differently. Only then can power make a difference. So what are the bases or resources that power holders can rely upon? French and Raven (1959) developed five categories of power referred to in Wikipedia.org (2008f).

**Legitimate power:** Legitimate power is formal authority entrusted to the holders of certain positions. Other people are controlled or influenced because they accept the right of their superiors to do this as part of their delegated duties.

**Reward power:** Reward power depends upon the ability of power wielders to reward others. This can be in the form of material or financial benefits as well as attention and praise.

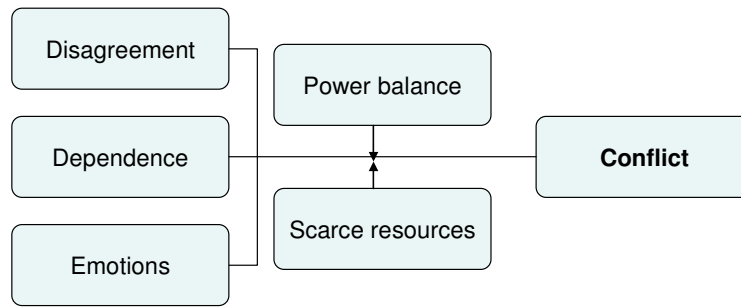
**Coercive power:** Coercive power means the application of negative influences. It might refer to the ability to degrade or fire other persons or to withhold rewards.

**Referent power:** Referent power rests on the ability of individuals to attract others and build loyalty. People identify themselves with the personal qualities of the power holder and are happy to be accepted as followers.

**Expert power:** Expert power is derived from valuable knowledge and skills. It differs from the other bases of power by being highly specific and limited to certain domains (Wikipedia.org, 2008f).

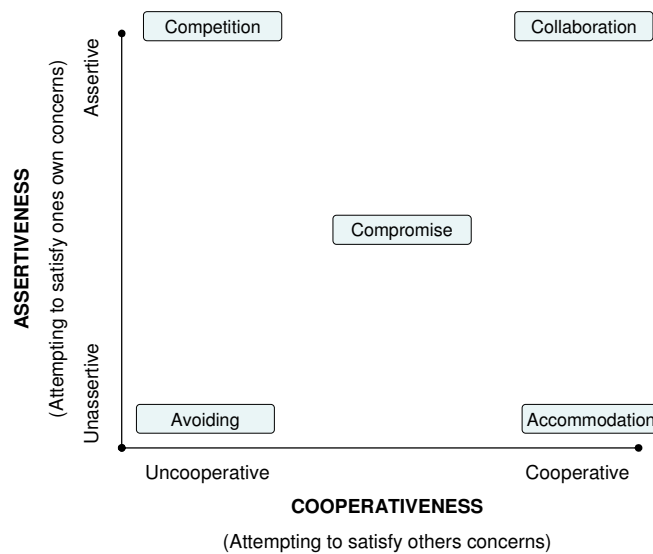
## **2.5 Conflict and dispute resolution**

According to Jacobsen and Thorsvik (2002) it is important to distinguish between conflict and disagreement. A disagreement between two parties does not necessarily lead to conflict. In addition, there has to be a link that connects them and creates some kind of dependent relationship. This means that the actions of one party are likely to affect the expectations and preferences of the other. When this is associated with emotional reactions, there is a foundation for conflict. The process will be shaped by the parties' access to scarce resources and their balance of power. Jacobsen and Thorsvik illustrate this in the following way:



**Figure 2: Components of a conflict (Jacobsen and Thorsvik, 2002:161)**

Berg (2003) discusses how conflicts can be resolved. Based on Thomas (1992) he outlines a model with five different strategies: competition, collaboration, compromise, avoiding and accommodation.



**Figure 3 : Modes of conflict handling (Thomas, 1992)**

**Avoiding:** This implies that one or both parties retreat from the conflict. In this way the conflict gets “resolved”. This solution is typical when the issues at stake are deemed too unimportant or the potential losses by a confrontation are greater than the gains. Hence, at least one of the parties is reluctant to express its opinions to the other. It might seem too easy to “resolve” a conflict by avoiding it, but when the outcome of the conflict is of no great self-interest to either of the parties, this might be the best solution.

**Accommodation:** Accommodation refers to situations where one of the parties is willing to meet the opponent's wishes at the expense of their own interests. Accommodation often takes place in wage negotiations, where one side gives in and accepts. If this was regarded as a defeat the strategy might lead to further conflicts.

**Competition:** Competition means that both parties act in an assertive and non co-operative way. They stick to their own interests regardless of what the opponents might think. If the balance of power is clearly asymmetric, one party is likely to outstrip the other. Otherwise the strategy might be destructive for both parties. It might be a challenge to justify a non co-operative strategy.

**Collaboration:** Collaboration is based on a willingness to satisfy the wants of the other while ensuring one's own interests. In this process the parties will normally try to map out what they agree and disagree on, and after this a number of concepts or suggestions will be introduced. To be able to use this strategy it is important to focus on sincerity, confidence and assurance. The strategy is supposed to create a win-win situation and ideally both parties should achieve what they want.

**Compromise:** "A compromise is the art of dividing a cake in such a way that everyone believes that he has got the biggest piece" (Erhard, 2008). If both parties realize they have to give up something to achieve something else they will attain a compromise. There will be no typical "winner" as both parties have to sacrifice something. In situations like this there often has to be a third impartial mediator, who can give advice or serve as a broker.

## **2.6 Social movements**

A social movement is a group or collection of actors who try to accelerate, impede or redirect processes of social change. Social movements vary in terms of organisation, size, focal issues and strategies. Historical examples are the anti-slavery movement, the labour movement, the fascist movement, and the women's right movement (Wikipedia.org, 2008g)

Social movements typically develop through a number of stages. The first stage involves coming to terms with a specific situation or problem. This means agenda-setting and framing. The birth of a social movement is often linked to a concrete initiating event, and the issue which is raised tends to imply a rejection of new proposals or existing conditions. Around the



issues there is a formation of initiatives, groups and associations, which generate patterns of co-operation, alliances and opponents. Mobilization takes place through demonstrative acts, often symbolic and by use of concrete protest action. For a new movement to grow and achieve success, charismatic leaders might be vital. The movement and its leaders develop alternatives to the existing state of things. At this stage there is a struggle between the movement and established rulers over hearts (sympathy), heads (public opinion) and active support from the majority of the population. Finally the movement experiences a gradual dissolution, either because the problem has been resolved or generally accepted as a problem, or because other issues and problems have become dominant (Wikipedia.org, 2008g).

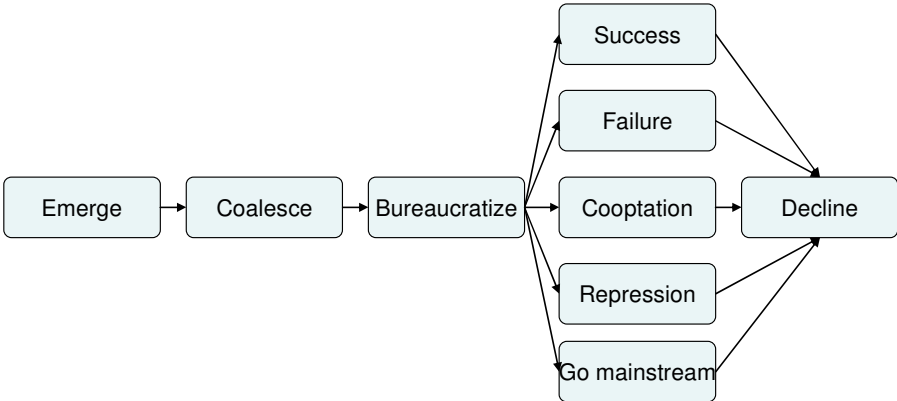


Figure 4: Stages of social movements (Wikipedia.org, 2008c)

While old social movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century largely revolved around issues of poverty and wealth, new social movements since the 1970s have concentrated on customs, ethics and values. The latter are typically more single issue movements operating in close symbiosis with the mass media such as the peace movement, the feminist movement, the anti-nuclear movement and the environmental movement (Wikipedia.org, 2008e).

**2.7 The mass media**

“Mass media is any medium used to transmit mass communication. Until recently mass media was clearly defined and was comprised of the eight mass media industries; Books, Newspapers, Magazines, and Recordings, Radio, Movies, Television and The Internet.” (Lane, 2007)

The mass media play an important role in politics as an arena for conflicts and power struggles, where both power holders and their critics try to bring about their messages and

gain support. Many stakeholders are concerned about legitimising their views and the mass media can be an important channel for this. It is important not to forget that the media is also an independent actor and not only a channel of distribution. The media will angle and form its own views in different cases. “The power of the news media to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence.”(McCombs, 2008:1).

According to Hernes (1980) the mass media has its own logic which is geared to capture public attention:

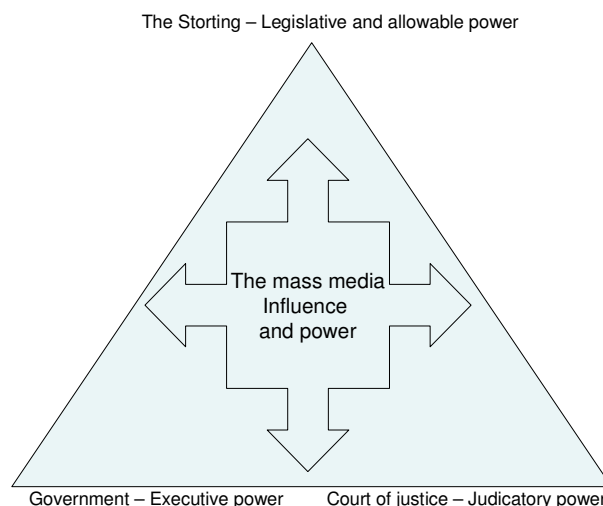
**Taper:** Air time is limited and the news has to be short, and bigger issues have to be reduced and only given in headlines. Details will often be replaced by snapshot formulations.

**Short-cut:** The complexity of the messages must be reduced, the variety limited, and the nuances restricted in order to bring them home.

**Polarization:** If the media wants to maintain public interest they have to offer contrast by representing both sides of a story. Drama often captures attention and offering contrast by representing both opposing views will increase the viewers of a TV show, for example.

**Intensification:** A big outburst attracts more attention than a calm article. Strikes, accidents, actions and occupations are interesting news because they provide intensity.

**Concretize:** A demonstration can be portrayed, but not daily routines in the offices of the ministries. The clue here is to personify the story and give it a human face.



**Figure 5: Mass media – the fourth power of the state (kunnskapssentret.com, 2008b)**

Even though the mass media do not have any statutory power, they are called “the fourth estate”. This is due to the view that the media sets the agenda, decides the position and is an important influencing power. ‘Setting the agenda’ means that the audience often gets its information through the media who work as a “gatekeeper” and a filter of data between the producer and the audience. When the media ‘decides the position’, they control how the information is going to be presented. (kunnskapssentret.com, 2008b). The mass media as a fourth estate is today starting to be a worn out phrase. The notion of the four estates includes the legislative, executive and judicial powers as well as the media, but not social movements and other kinds of non parliamentary influence.

## **2.8 Oil and gas development as a power struggle**

In Lofoten and Vesterålen there is an ongoing struggle over the possible oil and gas development. The struggle has many aspects ranging from general environmental risk to the present seismic activity which has created conflict between fishers, environmentalists and the directorate of oil which performs the seismic activities.

The decision whether Lofoten and Vesterålen should be opened for petroleum activities will be taken by the central government, but attitudes and opinions from the region and other important stakeholders will have an influence on the decisions, and may affect the outcome.

This thesis will analyse those who are engaged in the case, how the conflicts are perceived and which arguments and tools are being used by the stakeholders.



### 3.0 METHOD

#### 3.1 Introduction

A research project always starts with a rough problem in the shape of a subject or an idea. The first phase in a project is to transform this idea into a professional and interesting research questions. Existing research and theory is the most important aid to help establishing research questions. Recent research can also provide ideas about which design and techniques could be used for data collection and analysis. The use of interesting and original scientific questions and the choice of an original method and theory can help to make a project successful. However, a master thesis is mostly dependent on previous research with new theories and methods seldom being used (Ringdal, 2001).

To make a general research question more precise requires reading and identifying secondary data. In this phase it is important to locate the most relevant research that has been previously carried out in this field. The research question can be formulated both as a question or as a hypothesis. In this thesis I am working with questions which are more open, while hypotheses are statements concerning reality (Ringdal, 2001).

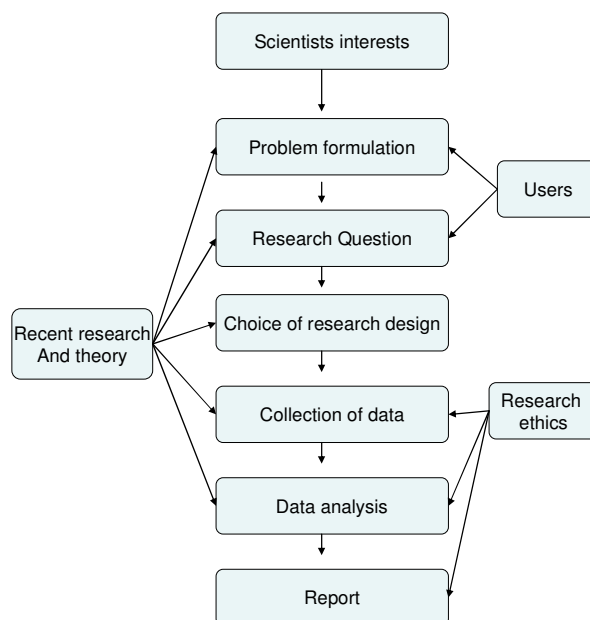


Figure 6: The research process (Ringdal, 2001)

After the research question is specified the choice of research design and method has to be addressed. A concrete design involves many decisions, like choosing between qualitative and quantitative research, methods and how to collect data. Collection of data can be done in

various ways such as through telephone or visitor interviews. After the data has been collected it needs to be analyzed. Data analysis in qualitative research is often performed through recorded interviews. The whole research process is then finalized as a report (Ringdal, 2001). During this method chapter I will discuss the different steps more closely and explain how to create a master thesis and how I have proceeded.

### **3.2 Research design**

When undertaking a research project, like a master thesis, it is normal to choose a research design for the project. A design is often defined as a researcher's plan or sketch for a particular study (Ringdal, 2001). Having choosing a design for the project you then select a special way of processing collected data and a way of working with it.

“Research design provides the glue that holds the research project together. A design is used to structure the research, to show how all of the major parts of the research project -- the samples or groups, measures, treatments or programs, and methods of assignment -- work together to try to address the central research questions.”(Trochim, 2006)

According to Ringdal (2001) it is normal to distinguish between three types of objectives in a project; explore, describe or explain. This thesis is based on an explorative design. To explore is to discover, and research that is based on exploration has often not been analyzed in depth. An explorative project should be flexible and open to new things. Due to its openness an explorative design is often used in qualitative research methods like interviewing.

### **3.3 Research method**

We often distinguish between qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research question to be answered points to a certain research method or technique for collecting the data (Ringdal, 2001). In bigger research projects a use of both methods is normal and they can in many cases supplement each other.

In quantitative research the researcher starts with defining variables and categories. The variables and categories are then put together into a hypothesis and tested against data. Quantitative research is considered explanatory, and is less flexible than qualitative research (Ringdal, 2001). The analyses are often counting and statistical estimations. The goal is to

achieve statistically generalized knowledge. To interpret the results is also an important part of quantitative research (Johannessen and Tufte, 2002).

Qualitative research normally starts with general concepts which takes form and become more defined during the research process. Qualitative research is considered explorative (Ringdal, 2001). The analyses of qualitative data are done by classifying and attaching meaning to the data. The goal in qualitative research is to have transferability in order to allow the research to be used in related areas (Johannessen and Tufte, 2002).

**Table 1: Quantitative and qualitative research methods (Ringdal, 2001:108)**

<b>Quantitative design</b>	<b>Qualitative design</b>
An objective social world	A social constructed world
Social phenomena are relatively stable in time and space	Social phenomena are constructed in local situations
Large representative samples	Small samples of cases
Distance to what is going to be studied	Nearness to what is going to be studied
Explanation of causes	Rationale explanations
Theory based, defined concepts	Explorative, discovery concepts
Data in form of numbers of variables	Text data
Statistical analysis tools	Informal techniques for analysis

Based on the description above I have chosen a qualitative research method for my project. The reason for this is that I have a small sample of interviews; I want to explore and discover concepts, and I will use informal techniques for analysing the data I have collected.

**3.4 Qualitative research**

Qualitative research methods are often based on an interpretative perspective where the collection methods are flexible and sensitive to the social context. The analyses and explanations have an understanding of complexity, details and a context where a general impression is important (Ringdal, 2001). An important objective in qualitative studies is to achieve an understanding of social phenomenon. This understanding comes from a reliable set of data, e.g in-depth interviews. A good conversation can be a basis for qualitative research and provide knowledge about how individuals perceive situations (Ringdal, 2001).

According to Hoepfl (1997) there are several things to consider when deciding to adopt a qualitative research method. Qualitative methods are used to better understand a phenomenon

which is undiscovered. In my case, the “phenomenon” is widely known but what I am trying to do is to get a new perspective on it (Hoepfl, 1997).

### 3.4.1 Advantages and disadvantages with a qualitative research method

In this section I will sum up the essence of a qualitative research method.

#### Advantages

Qualitative research has many advantages as a method. It emphasizes details, nuances, the uniqueness in every respondent and the openness in interviews. The interviewer has rarely decided in advance what he or she is looking for. The researcher does not force upon the respondents “locked” questions with determined answers which is why we can say that qualitative methods have a high degree of internal validity. This brings the real understanding of a phenomenon or a situation into the research (Jacobsen, 2000). In an interview situation the respondent gives his or her interpretation of the questions, and this provides uniqueness. The data output will be very well qualified to bring out the specific and the unique. In qualitative research there is a high degree of nearness to the object being studied and the goal of qualitative research is often to have long conversations and study a phenomenon over time.

Qualitative research can also be seen as very flexible. A qualitative research project often starts with a defined problem, but this problem often changes over time, and adapts as the research develops. This means that the process is interactive. We can go back and forth with both the definition of the problem and the research method as the research develops. This is described in a simple figure by Jacobsen (2000:116).

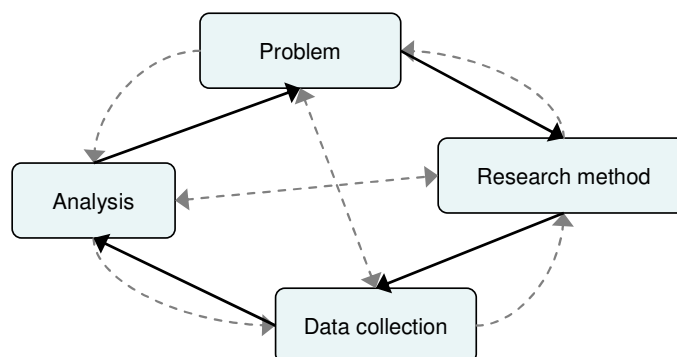


Figure 7: The qualitative research process as an interactive process (Jacobsen, 2000:116).



The figure above describes the interactive process which shows how advantageous qualitative research can be. As the research is evolving the researcher has the opportunity to change problems, research method, data collection method and the analyses. The different phases in the process overlap with each other. As described in the introduction, the research process often goes from problem via design to data collection and analysis as shown by the darker arrows. The key point is that qualitative research is an open process with possibilities of trial and error (Jacobsen, 2000).

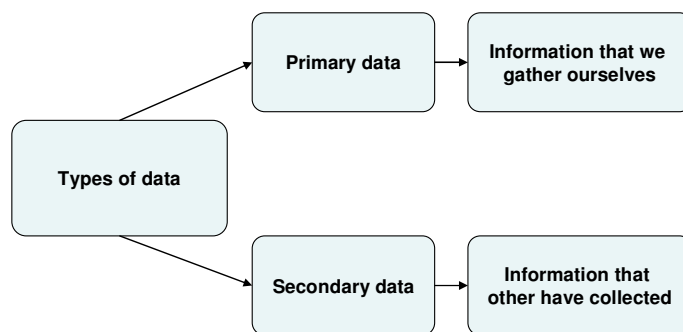
### **Disadvantages**

Qualitative research has some disadvantages as well as advantages. The first and most obvious one is that it is very resource-demanding. In-depth interviews can take a lot of time and if the project has a short time frame there will only be time for a minimum number of interviews. The smaller the sample the greater the challenge of external validity (Jacobsen, 2000). I will come back to the concept of validity later in this chapter. Another problem that you can run into using qualitative research is the wide range of information obtained from interviews. An interview that lasts for an hour or more will take many pages to write and the output will often be unstructured and complex. The researcher will have a hard job dealing with all the information and the complexity, and unconsciously some information will be neglected (Jacobsen, 2000).

In qualitative research there is also a problem related to the ideal of nearness. In some cases the researcher gets too close to the informant and this can result in a loss of the ability for critical reflection. Qualitative data collection can also be problematic in relation to the questions that the respondents have to answer. The questions might be of a type that the respondents do not want to answer. Qualitative research can also appear too flexible. Many qualitative researchers feel that new information appears all the time and the definition of the problem might change many times so it can often be hard to finish their research (Jacobsen, 2000).

### **3.5 Data**

In my thesis I have focused on the use of both primary data and secondary data. The combination of the two methods has given me more variety and flexibility which are characteristics of qualitative research.



**Figure 8: Types of data (kunnskapssentret.com, 2008a)**

### **3.5.1 Primary data**

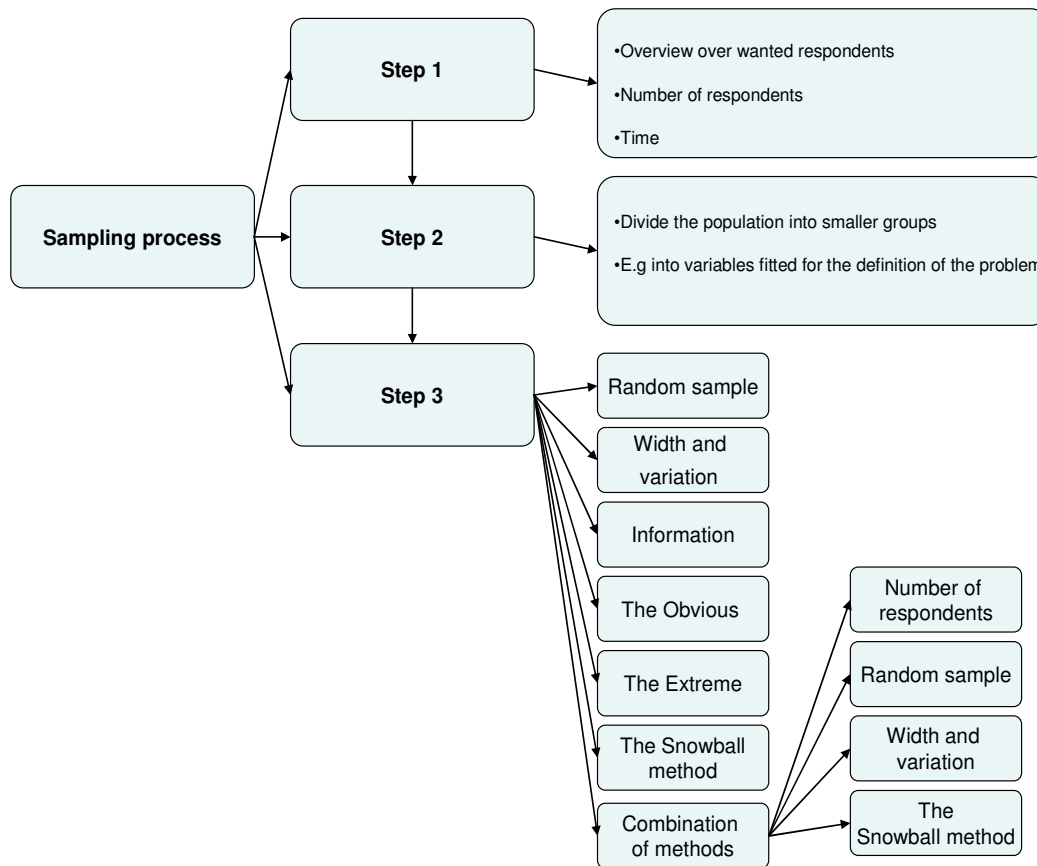
According to Jacobsen (2000) primary data consist of information gathered directly from individuals or a group of people. In other words, the researcher uses the information for the first time and goes directly to the source. The data collected is fitted to a formulated problem definition. To be able to gather primary data, methods like interview, observation and questionnaires are often used. The data considered as my primary data are the interviews that I have carried out. These interviews combined with the secondary data will be the basis of the discussion.

### **3.5.2 Secondary data**

Secondary data is where the researcher does not gather the information directly from the source. The researcher bases the research on data collected by others. Secondary data collection methods are often used in qualitative research, combined with primary data (Jacobsen, 2000). My secondary data is former research, media, Internet etc. It varies from reports to bigger research projects and documents made by governmental institutions, research institutions and private organisations.

### **3.6 Sampling**

When doing a research project one always has to make a sample of units from a greater population of units. The way of doing the sampling varies with the type of design chosen for the project. In qualitative research methods theoretical sampling is often used (Ringdal, 2001). “The issue of sampling emerges at different points in the research process. In an interview study, it is connected to the decision about which persons to interview (case sampling) and from which groups these should come.” (Flick, 2006:61)



**Figure 9: Sampling (Jacobsen, 2000:158-163)**

Sampling strategies can be very complicated if you are using a quantitative research method. When using a qualitative method the sampling can be more random and flexible. The figure above shows many different ways of sampling. Step one and two are the same for both qualitative and quantitative methods. When I wanted to find out who I was going to interview I had to find organisations that covered the different interests in the case. For this I used “the obvious” in step three. In my project it was obvious who I was going to interview; environmentalists, local politicians, fishermen’s associations etc. After identifying all the different stakeholders I had to find out whom in the organisation to select. I just sent a mail to the organisation and they gave me one contact to interview. This method of approaching provided a random sample.

The good thing about qualitative research is that if necessary I could have changed my sampling method in order to contact one person in particular that I wanted to interview. The problem about choosing one person in particular is that people in higher positions were often very hard to get hold of and often the easiest thing was to let the organisations choose the person who they thought could speak about a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen.

### **3.7 Interviews**

Choosing a qualitative design also means that the interview will take a different form from the ones in a quantitative design. The interviews in qualitative research are often much less structured than the ones in quantitative research (Bryman, 2004). In this thesis, my main idea was to use telephone interviews only, but as the time was short and respondents had little time, I had to make one interview by e-mail, and an additional mail to one person which was smaller and did to contain the interview guide.

#### **3.7.1 Semi structured interview**

In a semi structured interview the researcher often prepares an interview guide. The guide is not a definite list of how the interviews are going to be carried out but a guideline of questions for the person being interviewed. The interview process is flexible (Bryman, 2004). In a semi structured interview the questions are often specified but the interviewer is more free to ask additional questions (May, 1997).

#### **3.7.2 Telephone interview**

A telephone interview or a conversation interview can be seen both as an independent design or a way of collecting data. In my case, it was to collect the primary data. The researcher themselves can choose how many interviews he or she wants to undertake. These kinds of interviews are very common in social science. The advantage of this type of research design is that it is cost effective and covers only a small sample of respondents with whom the researcher can conduct the interviews. To use a telephone interview was a good choice for my thesis as my time frame was restricted and it meant that I did not have to relocate geographically.

#### **3.7.3 Preparing the interview and the interview guide**

It takes some preparation in advance to do in-depth interviews. For me as the interviewer it was very important to be familiar with the topic before starting the conversations with the interviewees. The interviews have to be structured in respect of the questions and also clear so

they are not misunderstood. It is also important to steer the interviewee, so he or she will not digress from the topic.

The idea of an interview guide is to ensure I gather the relevant information to answer the question “what do I need to know in order to answer each of the research questions I am interested in?” (Bryman, 2004). An interview guide therefore is a list of questions that the interviewer wants to get an answer to during an interview. The interview guide can be prepared to get the same information from each person but there are no predetermined responses. The semi-structured interviews are favourable in this way, since the interviewer is free to explore within the frame of the interview guide (Hoepfl, 1997).

### ***Interview guide***

- 1) What do you consider are the advantages of a potential oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen?*
- 2) What do you consider are the disadvantages or risk aspects of a potential oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen?*
- 3) What does it take to make the advantages as big as possible and the disadvantages as small as possible?*
- 4) How do you consider the conflicts in this matter? Who is for, and who is against, and on which basis?*
- 5) What do the different stakeholders do to promote their opinions?*
- 6) How have you engaged yourself in this case?*
- 7) What role do you think the media has in this case?*
- 8) In your opinion, are there any important interests or considerations that have not been highlighted?*
- 9) What do you think will happen when the management plan is being revised: will the areas be opened for a possible oil and gas development?*
- 10) What will be the important factor when the case of possible oil and gas development will be treated in the Norwegian parliament?*

**Figure 10: Interview guide**

### **3.7.4 Doing the interviews**

According to Hoepfl (1997) a basic decision when going into the interview process is how to record the data. I chose to use a tape recorder to document the interviews. Recording makes it easier to capture the data and the interviewer does not have to take notes whilst interviewing (Hoepfl, 1997). I planned four interviews with the interviewees I had selected in advance. Two days before the interview I sent the interview guide to them, so they would have time to

prepare. The interview guide as mentioned was not a very structured or definite document. I started the interviews by explaining about my project and pointing out that if there were any questions that they felt were too sensitive to answer, they could just leave those out. I also emphasized that they would have to try to stick to the questions as much as possible, so that the transcribing process would be easier for me and I would also be able to analyze the outcome from the interviews.

### 3.8 Validity and reliability in qualitative research

The literature discuss whether these concepts have any relevance for qualitative research. Some have suggested that qualitative studies should be judged differently from quantitative data. According to Bryman and Bell (2007) it is important to have other concepts as an alternative to reliability and validity. The reason for that is because these concepts are related to quantitative measurements (Ringdal, 2001). The concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability are more useful in qualitative research (Trochim, 2008).

**Table 2: Reliability and validity in qualitative research (Trochim, 2008)**

<b>Traditional criteria for judging quantitative research</b>	<b>Alternative criteria for judging qualitative research</b>
Internal validity	Credibility
External validity	Transferability
Reliability	Dependability
Objectivity	Confirmability

#### 3.8.1 Credibility

Credibility asks the question "was the study done in such a way that the participants' data was accurately identified or described?" Credibility is really about determining the validity of a study which is done by tracing the results of the study back to the participants (NAU, 2008). Credibility is also called internal validity and is concerned with whether the results are perceived as right (Jacobsen, 2000). Credibility is supposed to ensure that the research findings are analyzed using best practice and can be confirmed by the respondents. A normal way to validate the findings in a project is to confront the interviewees with the results (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Another way of validating in terms of credibility is to have more

than one person from the organisation giving an opinion on the case. This was difficult for me due to time limits and the fact that the organisations were very busy. However, two of my informants looked through the summaries of the interviews, proposed changes and approved them. The other respondents I did not reach. This might decrease the credibility of my findings.

The respondents to this thesis are all members of organisations which are central in the conflict of a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The request for interviews was sent, as previously mentioned, to the organisation in general and they found the person that they thought had the most knowledge about this case. Some of the people I talked to had worked for many years exclusively on this case which should increase the credibility of the source information.

### **3.8.2 Transferability**

Transferability is the same concept as generalization in quantitative research. You are asking, "Can the findings be applied to another setting or grouping of people experiencing the same phenomenon?" (NAU, 2008). Transferability is related to the external validity which represents to which degree the research can be generalized (Jacobsen, 2000). It is also related to which degree the research can be transferred to other contexts or settings. The biggest problem with qualitative research is that it is often a demanding research method with long interviews. This thesis has few respondents; too few to say that it can be transferable. Still the results from the interviews can be seen as a resource for others doing the same type of research and the approach itself can be transferable.

### **3.8.3 Dependability**

Dependability is about whether the research is done in a confidence-inspiring way (Ringdal, 2001). To find out if the research has dependability one might ask if the collected data is trustworthy (Jacobsen, 2000). "Essentially it is concerned with whether we would obtain the same results if we could observe the same thing twice." (Trochim, 2008). One way of testing the dependability would be to do the interviews more than once. The idea of dependability is that the researcher has to be aware of changes that might occur and how these changes might affect the study (Trochim, 2008).

The case of dependability can be related to my role as an interviewer. If the respondents do not understand the question or there is any kind of misunderstandings this can create untrustworthy answers. The questions in my interview guide were only supposed to be a guideline for the respondents to answer and there were times when other questions came up. The respondent was free to elaborate outside these questions, and this might be a factor that decreases the dependability in this thesis.

#### **3.8.4 Confirmability**

“Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others” (Trochim, 2008:2). Confirmability is recognizing that complete objectivity is impossible (Bryman and Bell, 2007). It can be difficult to achieve confirmability when writing the first bigger research project. My views on this case can be influenced when interviewing several different stakeholders who all have different views and can all seem convincing. This could be a factor that may reduce the confirmability of this thesis.

#### **3.9 Consequences of choice of method**

Choosing the qualitative method has given me more flexibility during my project. The freedom to be able to change my problems and define them while working has made the process easier. The way I collected my data was also flexible and the interviews did not have a locked frame. However, I did run into some trouble during this project. My method of collecting primary data was to use telephone interviews. I used a recorder and a cell phone which resulted in some disturbance from the cell phone making some of the recordings hard to work with. This led to some extra work deciphering the conversations. If I were to do this again I would spend more time doing face to face interviews even though it is more time consuming or I would plan the process more in advance. As mentioned, one of the interviews was done by e-mail correspondence; this was due to little time from both my side and the respondent's side. However, the topic I have chosen is a very dynamic one. The method I have chose fits this very well. Every day, media is presenting new information, and every day I have had to update the mapping of stakeholders, etc. A part of the research process was to check the media daily to get an update in what happens in the case, which at the beginning not was my intention. But to keep updated has been essential in this thesis.



## 4.0 THE REGION AND ITS RESOURCES

### 4.1 Introduction

The Lofoten and Vesterålen region is more than just a valuable area for oil and gas development. In this chapter I want to present the region and its resources. The reason why this region is so debated is that it has valuable resources such as fish, oil and gas. The management plan emphasises the variety of natural resources, the animal life and the importance of this to the people living there.

### 4.2 Lofoten and Vesterålen

Lofoten and Vesterålen have around 55 000 inhabitants centralised around the biggest communities in the municipalities (Lind et al., 2003). The economy in Lofoten and Vesterålen has been marked by a gradual change from traditional industries like fisheries to more service related industries.

Lofoten is a group of islands located in the county of Nordland, the third northernmost county in Norway. The islands are located west in the ocean, north of the Arctic Circle. The total area of the island group is 1227 km<sup>2</sup>. Lofoten consists of seven islands, from the east: Austvågøy, Gimsøy, Vestvågøy, Flakstadøy, Moskenesøy, Verøy and Røst (Wikipedia.org, 2008d). The population in Lofoten has decreased during the last 20 years. Fishing and agriculture are still the most important sectors, but are supplemented by service and trade (Destination Lofoten AS, 2008b).

**Table 3: Number of people employed in the fisheries in Lofoten in 2006 (SSB, 2008)**

Røst	64
Verøy	88
Flakstad	179
Vestvågøy	414
Vågan	307
Moskenes	150
<b>Total for Lofoten</b>	<b>1202</b>

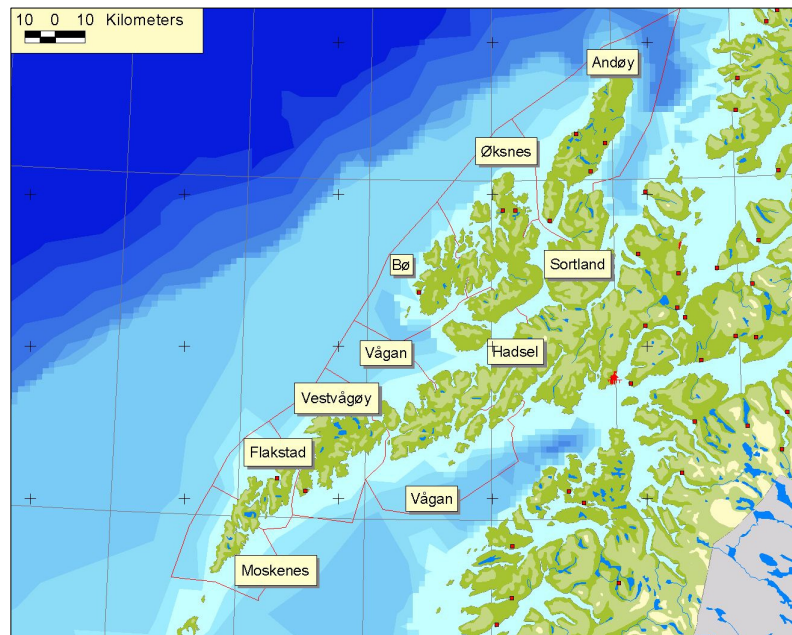
Vesterålen is a group of islands north of Lofoten. Vesterålen has many smaller and bigger islands, the main ones are; Andøya, Langøya, Hadseløya and the western part of Norway's

biggest island; Hinnøya. It consists of five municipalities; Andøy, Bø, Hadsel, Sortland and Øksnes. In 2007 there were 29 968 inhabitants in Vesterålen. The total area of Vesterålen is 2 510 km<sup>2</sup> (Wikipedia.org, 2008h).

**Table 4: Number of people employed in the fisheries in Vesterålen in 2006 (SSB, 2008)**

Hadsel	115
Bø	136
Øksnes	346
Sortland	115
Andøy	164
<b>Total for Vesterålen</b>	<b>876</b>

With a total number of 2078, we can say that about 3,8 % of the population in Lofoten and Vesterålen are employed by the fishing industry.



**Figure 11: Lofoten and Vesterålen (Beredskapssentralen, 2008)**

### 4.3 Resources

The management plan describes the areas around Lofoten as particularly vulnerable and unexplored. Lofoten is described as a place where nutrient rich Atlantic water flows into the area along the edge of the geological continental shelf producing a high level of phytoplankton (NME, 2005/2006). The continental shelf is narrow from Lofoten to the southern edge of Tromsøflaket. This implies that organisms at all levels of the marine food chains are more concentrated in these areas. According to the management plan the

vulnerability of those organisms is a measure of how likely it is that a species or habitat will be negatively affected by external and often anthropogenic<sup>1</sup> pressures. Vulnerability can be measured at many levels but for management purposes the impacts at population, community and ecosystem level are the most important. There are many criteria which make an area vulnerable including a high level of biological production, a concentration of species, a large proportion of endangered or vulnerable species and key areas for species which Norway has a special responsibility for (NME, 2005/2006).

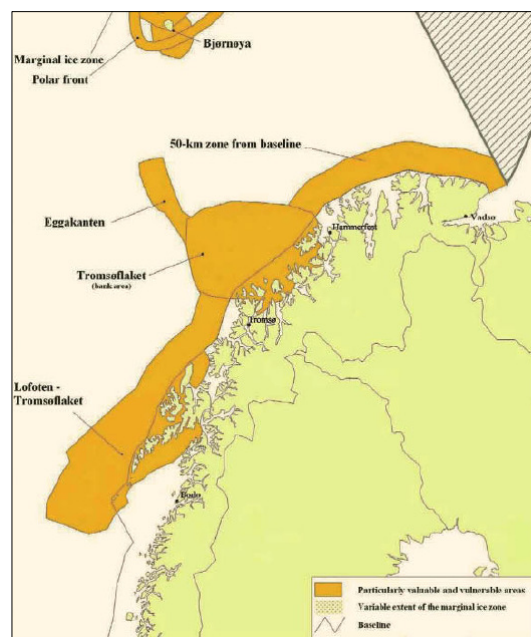


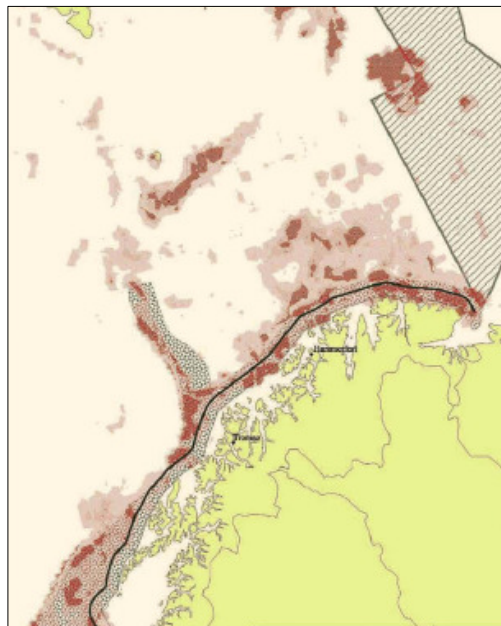
Figure 12: Particular vulnerable areas (NME, 2005/2006:28)

The picture above shows the particularly vulnerable areas outside the coast of North Norway. The areas of Lofoten and Vesterålen are not only considered vulnerable but the outer part of Lofoten is also due to be considered for the UNESCO world heritage list in 2010. The five municipalities of Røst, Verøy, Flakstad, Vestvågøy and Vågan are working on the application to UNESCO regarding acceptance onto the world heritage list (Olsen, 2008). This shows how the areas here are considered to be unique and the species, resources and traditions may be challenged if new and big industries establish oil and gas production in the same areas.

#### 4.3.1 Fisheries resources

<sup>1</sup> **Anthropogenic** effects, processes, objects, or materials are those that are derived from human activities, as opposed to those occurring in natural environments without human influences WIKIPEDIA.ORG (2008a) Anthropogenic, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthropogenic>, 23.05.2008.

The fisheries have been important for the settlement along the coast of Norway for many hundreds of years. The fisheries today are much more efficient than only a few decades ago due to technological change and development. The management today is regulated by strict quota and control systems which are necessary to maintain sustainability so that future generations will be able to harvest from these resources (MFCA, 2007). According to the integrated management plan, the long term value of the fish stocks is very high (NME, 2005/2006). The fisheries' contribution to the gross domestic product is 0,7% and that includes both marine fisheries and aquaculture (SSB, 2006).



**Figure 13: The most important fishing grounds in the area outside Lofoten and Vesterålen (NME, 2005/2006:36)**

The areas around Lofoten and Vesterålen have both important fish species and important fisheries. Many different reports describe the ocean areas of Lofoten-Barentshavet as highly productive with great and important fish stocks. The most important stocks ecologically and economically are cod ( Arcto Norwegian Cod), herring (Norwegian spring-spawning herring), and capelin (OED, 2003). These are key species in the ecosystem and the fishing of these species are of regional, national and international importance. For the sea areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen the Arcto Norwegian cod is the most economically and social important species. The Arcto Norwegian cod matures in November/December, and starts its journey from the Barents Sea towards Lofoten to spawn.

In the last ten years one third of the cod have spawned inside Lofoten, the rest have spawned on Røstbanken – Moskenesgrunnen (OED, 2003). The trend today is that spawning occurs

more and more northwards. The rest of the Skrei which do not spawn inside Vestfjorden, spawns outside Røst, Vesterålen and the island of Senja (Stub, 2007). There are several reasons for this – lack of food, changing water temperatures, etc.

The main Skrei fisheries (Lofotfisket) takes place from January until April in Lofoten. The spawning cod (Skrei) traditionally come into Vestfjorden and for centuries this has been an important event. Nowadays it has become a tourist attraction as foreigners come and follow the boats as they go out fishing. This is a commercial event and is called the championship in cod fishing. Many of these things are important traditions for the people in Lofoten and Vesterålen. It has been a part of the identity of the people living in these areas. Such events are important both for the fishing industry in general and also for the reputation of Lofoten as a tourist attraction.

The commercial species in these areas besides cod are; pollock, herring, haddock, capelin and Greenland halibut (Kolle et al., 2002). These fisheries are varied in both location and seasons. The fishing of these species has commercial value for the counties of Finnmark and Troms as well as Lofoten and Vesterålen and it is divided between coast fisheries and deep sea fishing.

The coastal fishery for cod are as mentioned the Skrei fisheries. Deep sea fishing for cod is an all year around activity. The coastal pollock fishery takes place along the whole coast from Lofoten to the Barents Sea, mostly from April to October. The deep sea fishing for pollock is mostly by trawl net and is often in coastal areas all year around. The herring (Norwegian spring spawning herring) fishery also has strong traditions. The fishing of this species is in the Norwegian Sea in June until August when the herring starts its journey towards Troms and Nordland. It arrives in Vestfjorden in the fall and stays there until January when it starts its spawning journey (Kolle et al., 2002). The Greenland halibut is also an important fish and has particularly suffered due to the seismic activities in this area (Haraldsen, 2008).

It can be seen therefore that fishing of different species is occurring all year round in the areas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen so it is inevitable that problems will arise when oil activities come into the same areas disrupting the fish and the fishermen.

“Ever since oil and gas activities started on the Norwegian shelf about 40 years ago, the authorities have emphasised the importance of co-existence with other industries, and with the fishing industry in particular.” (NME, 2005/2006:88).

*Key facts about the fishing industry:*

- *11 000 full time fishers*
- *7300 vessels*
- *A turnover of 12 billion NOK*
- *Fish and seafood is the third largest export item making up 5,3% of total export*

**Figure 14: Key facts about the fishing industry (Lund, 2007)**

### **4.3.2 Petroleum resources**

The petroleum resources on the continental shelf outside Lofoten and Vesterålen are yet to be discovered. Exploration drilling was undertaken in 1999 but was stopped until last summer. The seismic data for the area varies widely – good in eastern parts and low in north-western parts of Nordland VI. However, according to the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate, “At least 35% of the total undiscovered resources on the Norwegian continental shelf are expected to lie in the waters off Lofoten and in the Barents Sea”(NME, 2005/2006).

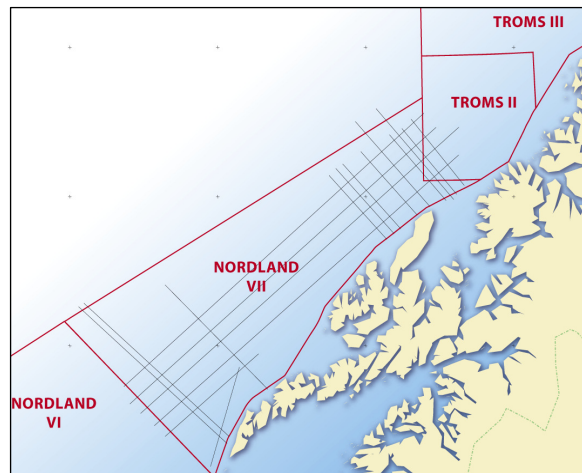
The international consulting firm Econ Pöyry has estimated that the recoverable oil and gas reserves off the coast of Lofoten and Vesterålen are about two billion barrels oil equivalents, of which two thirds might be oil and one third gas. The costs of exploration and development are assessed to be approximately 200 billion NOK. Based on an oil price of 80 dollar per barrel, this should yield a net cash flow of 500 billion NOK from 2025 till 2065, or a present value of 100 billion NOK (Endresen and Løvås, 2008).

Although the actual resources and their real value are still unknown, this clearly indicates the great expectations attached to oil and gas development in this area. And as stated in the integrated management plan,

“Petroleum activities are important both for economics growth and as means of financing the Norwegian welfare society”(NME, 2005/2006).

In the Lofoten/Vesterålen region the petroleum activities are getting closer to land and affecting more vulnerable areas when it comes to environment and politics. During the last year focus has been on the seismic activities in the area and the conflict between the oil

industry and other stakeholders like fisheries and tourism (whale watching etc.) have become more visible.



**Figure 15: Areas (possible oil fields) of interest outside Lofoten and Vesterålen (NPD, 2007)**

*Key facts about the oil and gas industry*

- 51% of total Norwegian export
- 36% of government revenue was from oil and gas production in 2006
- Since the early 1970s, net cash flow from the oil and gas industry makes up 4500 billion NOK
- 30 000 people are employed in the oil and gas industry
- The oil and gas industry represents 27% of total Norwegian CO<sub>2</sub> emissions

**Figure 16: Key facts about oil and gas (Lund, 2007)**

#### **4.4 Tourism and public sector**

Tourism has become more and more important in the region in recent years. Lofoten has also been referred to in Time magazine and other prestigious publications as one of the most beautiful places to visit. There is an image of these areas as being “untouched” and free from human intrusion. A possible oil and gas development may change this. There are many major attractions for tourists who come to these areas including anything from bird watching, plant life, bedrock, landscape, fishing and the climate (Haugberg et al., 2002).

The economic perspective of the tourism industry includes many types of businesses. Haugberg et al. (2002) give a list of some of the different businesses dependent on the tourism industry; accommodations, services, transportation, travel agencies and adventure organisers.

The total number of employed in the tourism industry in Nordland county is 7 439 (SSB, 2007a). The total value of tourism industries in Nordland is 2 251 mill NOK (SSB, 2007b).

#### **4.5 Other resources**

Besides fish and petroleum resources, Lofoten and Vesterålen have many important species of birds, whales, corals etc. These species are also a reason why the possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen is such a hot topic.

As previously mentioned the water flow is very nutrient rich and provides food for grazing species and for predators higher in the food chain, including zooplankton, fish, seabirds and marine mammals. The rich supply of easily available food makes this area an important breeding, moulting and wintering area for seabirds. Along the coastline there are many species of seabirds: Atlantic puffin, razorbill, common guillemot, black legged kittiwake and European shag. On the island of Røst there is a large colony of puffins. There are also many species of marine mammals such as the grey seal, common seal, common porpoise and killer whale. The strong currents in these areas and along the continental shelf make it a very suitable habitat for sponges and large coral reefs. The most famous stony cold water coral is the *Lophelia pertusa* on Røstrevet (NME, 2005/2006).

“This area is highly valuable throughout the year for different species. Any negative environmental pressures in the area, at any time of year, are liable to have major impacts that may last for several years. This is considered to be one of the most important areas along the Norwegian coast in terms of environment and natural resources. It is a particularly valuable and vulnerable area, and houses a number of species that are vulnerable at different times of year.” (NME, 2005/2006:30)



## **5.0 STAKEHOLDERS AND INTERESTS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

So far in this thesis I have presented analytical tools and theory, the region, and only mentioned briefly some of the stakeholders. The stakeholders play a key role in the struggle for oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. They all argue in different ways, have different opinions, and see the conflict and the future of the areas with different eyes. In this chapter I will map the stakeholders and also present former research and the results from my interviews.

### **5.2 Former research**

As mentioned in chapter 3, I have both focused on former research (secondary data) and made my own interviews in order to map out the conflicts in the respected areas. Many studies have been carried out regarding the possible development of oil and gas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. I have chosen to delve further into a recent report on the stakeholders and a project which look at peoples' attitudes to the potential development.

### **5.3 Study of attitudes towards oil and gas development**

A major study of attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten has been carried out by Brastad et al. (2004). In the preface of the project report they emphasise that in connection with an extended petroleum activity in the northern areas potential conflicts have arisen particularly between the oil and gas industry on the one side and fisheries, aquaculture, environmentalist stakeholders and the tourism industry on the other side. The possibilities for petroleum activities outside Lofoten generate both positive and negative expectations at a local community level. The expectations include everything from the hope of positive economic benefits to the fear for negative consequences for the existing industries in the area and environmental hazard.

The aim of the Brastad et al. (2004) project was to conduct a survey of the different attitudes towards a possible oil and gas production in the coastal areas off Lofoten in Northern Norway a region of high importance to the Norwegian fishing industry due to biological conditions

and historical traditions. The project by Brastad et.al., (2004) was undertaken on the basis that the oil sector, the decision-makers and the political authorities on a national, regional and local level, needs to be aware of the attitudes, knowledge, values and interests of the local population. The research project was commissioned and funded by the Norwegian Oil Industry Association.

### **5.3.1 The qualitative study**

The project consists of both quantitative and qualitative research. The qualitative study was carried out in the spring of 2002. At that point the question about oil and gas development was not yet a hot issue for the local community. The study can also be seen as a discourse analysis based on interviews with 35 participants. The interviews were conducted on the basis that the participants were either directly or indirectly affected by the possible oil and gas development. The participants were mayors or other politicians, trade managers, representatives from fisher's organisations, fish farmers, the tourism industry and others that had an interest in the oil activity questions. The qualitative section of the study concentrated on beliefs and thoughts about oil and the environment, employment, trade interests, future oil activity, culture, politics etc. (Brastad et al., 2004).

The first chapter focused on the involvement and expectations which the respondents had to the oil and gas development. The question they asked was: "To which degree can it be said that oil and gas development is a hot topic in Lofoten?" The impression they got to this was that the degree of engagement among the people in Lofoten was low. The ones that were engaged were the opponents to the development. It seemed to be easier to find the opponents than the ones who were positive about future oil and gas development. They also pointed out that the interests of the fishing industry held a much stronger position than the oil and gas interests and this was also the picture from the media which did not have much publicity concerning oil and gas development. Many of the participants felt that the oil and gas development was so far into the future that they did not take it into present consideration. Many of the participants were also of the opinion that to start such development it had to be 100% secure and risk free and many emphasised the insecurity and risks that the oil and gas development entailed (Brastad et al., 2004).

### 5.3.2 The quantitative study

In Brastad et al. (2004) the quantitative part of the research was carried out to supplement the qualitative research. This is a method often used in projects. A control group was also used in Sandessjøen to compare with the research undertaken in Lofoten. Here I will only comment on the results from the respondents in Lofoten. The population selected in the project was inhabitants in Lofoten over 16 years old. The method used was telephone interviews and the respondents were identified through the telephone catalogue. The aim was to interview 400 people in Lofoten. The survey contained four parts: attitudes, knowledge, interest and values, and background information about the respondent.

One of the main problems connected to the project was the attitudes among the local population towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The questions asked were about oil and gas development in general and also to covered local oil and gas development. The general attitude towards oil and gas development in coastal areas was 44% positive, 26% negative and 30% neutral. However, the question concerning attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten showed that 55% opposed the idea, while 20% were positive with an additional 20% was expressing a positive attitude as long as the conditions (stated there would be no negative effects for the fisheries or tourism industry) were fulfilled.

Brastad et al. (2004) wanted to figure out whether the attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten were based on scientific knowledge, education, experiences or information from others such as the media. The result from the surveys showed that 35% of the respondents had basic knowledge about the case, 20% of the respondents had been searching for information, and 80% had not.

**Table 5: Sources of information (Brastad et al., 2004:98)**

Sources of information	%
Media	99
Persons in the fishing industry	63
Friends and family	49
Environmentalist organisations	49
Public authority	42
Scientific reports	42
Oil and gas industry	35
Own professional experience and or education	33
Internet	30
Persons in the tourism industry	27
Others	5

The table above shows that the media play an important role in providing information to the general public about this case. People from the fishing industry also represent a vital source of information. According to Brastad et al. (2004) the results from this survey provide a variety of sources of information, showing that the oil and gas industry itself was also important.

To summarise the project Brastad et. al. (2004) devised seven ideal types to characterise the respondents to the project and the general attitude towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten. These ideal types are shown in the diagram below.

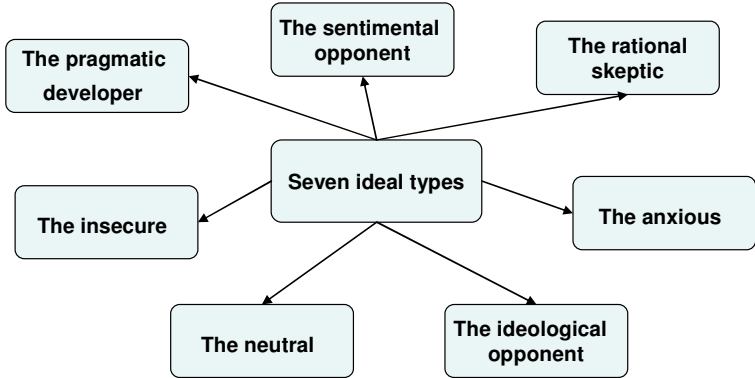


Figure 17: Seven ideal types (Brastad et al., 2004:62-70)

**The sentimental opponent** has a strong relationship to Lofoten especially in tradition and culture. This ideal type wants to maintain the traditional Lofoten. **The rational sceptic** tends to prioritise the risks over the benefits. The rational sceptic believes that the possible oil and gas development is unlikely to provide any advantages either in employment or economic benefits and furthermore feels that the risk of accidents and spills will always be present. At the same time this ideal type has a confidence in technology and science and believes that it can solve the risks in today’s society. **The anxious** type has a lot of anxiety and fear for the fisheries and believes that life in the ocean will be damaged by the oil and gas development. This type feels that the government cannot be trusted in this case. **The ideological opponent** is against the oil and gas development due to environmental causes and the fact that oil and gas development is not related to renewable energy. The fear of the danger to ocean life is the underlying reason for their negative attitude towards the oil and gas development. This ideal type is sceptical about the oil companies’ motives and their responsibility for the environment and local society. The ideological opponent will not change his or her mind on the basis on scientific advice. **The neutral type** is a typical politician or bureaucrat. This type does not want to take a clear standpoint in the oil and gas question. **The insecure type** is found

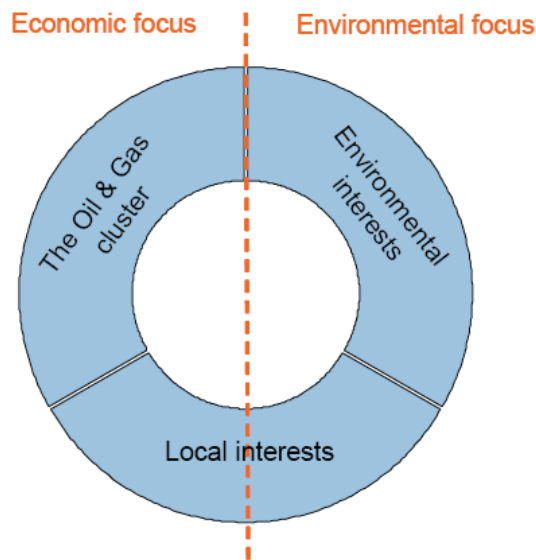
amongst members of the fishing industry. This ideal type believes that everyone has equal rights in the same ocean areas and these rights should be honoured as long as they do not disturb others businesses. **The pragmatic developer** is preoccupied with considering costs and benefits. For this ideal the importance lies with economic growth and progress in the local community. He or she is a technological optimist to whom and the environmental questions are not that important (Brastad et al., 2004).

The report by Brastad et al. (2004) concludes that the attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten are in general sceptical. There is not much knowledge about what is going to happen and the possible development is still very hypothetical. There are low expectations about the effect of positive economic growth on the region. However, the trade and tourism industry does have some expectation of an upturn in their sector due to the oil and gas development. When it comes to the fishing industry there is a general concern that this industry will be the injured party, both physically in terms of pollution from the daily operations and also in regard to a potentially negative impression of any fish that comes from the same areas where oil and gas are extracted. The general opinion is that there are possibilities for a more positive view on an oil and gas development outside Lofoten if guaranties are given regarding safety and the environment as well as local employment (Brastad et al., 2004).

#### **5.4 Poles Apart**

The Norwegian Continental Shelf Quarterly (2008) recently published an article that focused on the actors, the stakeholders and the ineffective communications between them. Their article is similar to my thesis in that it is based on interviews with organisations as well as drawing on available statements and publications from the internet.

The article starts by identifying two main categories for the stakeholders; economic focus and environmental focus. This is related to the risk perspective. The downside of the environmental focus is the risk of opening the areas to oil and gas development which concentrates on environmental issues whereas the economic downside of the economic focus is the risk of not opening the areas. Three stakeholder groups are then identified: the oil and gas cluster, the environmental interest group and the local interest group.



**Figure 18: The stakeholders (NCSQ, 2008:21)**

#### **5.4.1 The oil and gas cluster**

This group of stakeholders is widely defined but in general this is a group that has traditionally focused on of the economic benefits and looked at the environmental issue as a burden. This is still partly true today. The oil industry is now using the environmental issues as a reason for legitimising their activities in these areas. There is no doubt that this cluster is highly positive to the opening of the fields outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. They perceive the benefits for these areas in the same way as they view oil and gas activities in Norway; cash flow to government bodies, local and regional development, and an increase in employment (NCSQ, 2008).

The industry stakeholders are concerned about avoiding a decline in oil and gas activities on the Norwegian continental shelf. They view the possible opening of the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen as a continuation of current production and closing these areas is seen as damaging to the industry. The oil industry is aware of the possible conflicts with local interests and stakeholders and especially with the fishing industry. The oil industry has suggested building and working on the relationship with the local stakeholders. They emphasise that it is important to work on the relationships in order to build trust and acceptance from the local stakeholders as those relationships are vital to the development of the region (NCSQ, 2008).

When it comes to the local environmental impacts of a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen the oil industry is aware of the challenges but argues with that industry chemical and petroleum emissions have decreased over the past two decades.

#### **5.4.2 The environmental interests**

In the group of environmental stakeholders there are different environmentalist organisations such as Bellona, Friends of the earth, Nature and Youth and WWF. In this group opposing political parties such as the Liberal Party of Norway and the Socialist Left Party of Norway are also included.

The environmentalist groups are all opponents to the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen and support a permanent closing of these areas. The environmentalist groups use exclusively environmental arguments to support their opposition against the possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The “Poles Apart” article also mentions the common platform made by some environmentalist organisations and social movements. The social movement organisation Lofotaksjonen claims that the fishing industry may have better growth potential than the oil and gas industry in the high north and they argue that there may be greater development potential without oil and gas extraction in these areas (NCSQ, 2008).

The environmentalist stakeholders do not focus at all on the possible positive effects of oil and gas development. According to NCSQ (2008) the environmentalist interests cannot see that an opening of the areas will have any positive outcomes for the local communities or for the Norwegian petroleum industry.

The environmentalist organisations place a lot of focus on the climate change issue and claim that the carbon emissions when opening the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen would be clearly negative. The arguments are partly based on the idea that Norway should take part in reducing emissions and that the world at large has to change its dependence on fossil fuels. The environmental stakeholders do not think that the revenues from oil and gas that benefit the state budget justify the opening and development of the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen.

### 5.4.3 The local interests

The local population in North Norway is very much divided in the view of a possible oil and gas development. Opinions split between those who fear that oil and gas will threaten the traditional industries and those who think that oil and gas development will bring value into the region (NCSQ, 2008).

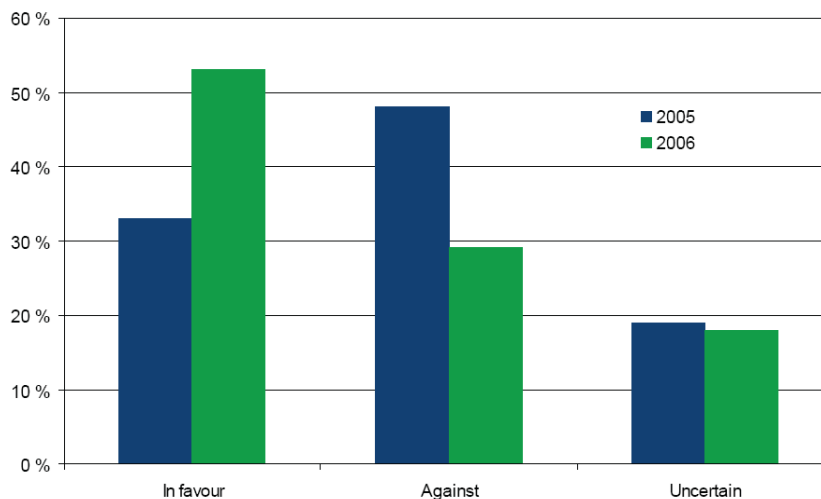


Figure 19: Survey responses (NCSQ, 2008)

The figure above shows the change in opinions in local attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. In 2005 there was a local majority of 48% against the development and the numbers changed quite rapidly in 2006 with 29% against opening the areas. The same trend can be seen on the positive side with 33% in 2005 who were in favour and 53% in 2006. The large increase in positive attitude can be explained by the increase in attention to the topic. Another reason for the change towards a more positive attitude from the public might also be the local elections last fall. Commentator Hans Henrik Ramm noted that the supporters for local parties which were positive about an oil and gas development went up by 8,6% whereas those that were negative went down by 10,8%.

Support amongst the local stakeholders is mostly based on the potential positive effects from the oil and gas industry. Some of the local politicians who have a positive attitude towards the oil and gas development also believe that there will be solutions for the oil and gas industry and the fishing industry to co-exist. NCSQ (2008) interviews have shown that local politicians believe that it is important to have this development in order to revitalise the region. Unless there are concrete plans for industrial development the positive attitudes may change and the fishery and tourism industries may have a lot to lose.



#### 5.4.4 The fishing industry stakeholders

This group of stakeholders has traditionally been opposed to the possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen due to the potential conflicts and problems with co-existence. On the other hand the fisheries organisations do not seem to be unanimous in this case. The two major fishing organisations seem to have different views on the case. Norges Kystfiskarlag which represents the smaller vessels and coastal fishing is strongly opposed to both the oil and gas development and the ongoing seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Norges Fiskarlag (The Norwegian Fishermen's Association) which organises the bigger vessels has a more positive attitude towards the development. The leader of the organisation has stated that if there are technological solutions for the oil industry and the fishing industry to co-exist they will be positive to the development. This does not mean that they are supporters of the oil and gas development. The Norwegian Fishermen's Association tends to have a better relationship with the oil and gas industry than Norges Kystfiskarlag. The Norwegian oil industry organisations have said that the dialogue between them and the fishermen's association is good because part of the association is positive about the oil and gas development. Even though there are tendencies to show a positive attitude, the most important issue for these organisations is the possible effects on fish (NCSQ, 2008).

#### 5.4.5 Conclusion

The NCSQ (2008) emphasises how the different perspectives of stakeholders demonstrate a considerable disagreement on important issues and that they reflect legitimate normative differences. The article emphasises that the case of possible oil and gas development is becoming a highly polarised issue. What happens when an issue becomes polarised is that each category of stakeholders try to reduce the cognitive dissonance<sup>2</sup> within their own group by supporting the same conclusions. In other words the debate on this issue needs to realise and accept the differences and uncertainties in the case of petroleum development in these areas.

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<sup>2</sup> **Cognitive dissonance** is a psychological state that describes the uncomfortable feeling when a person begins to understand that something the person believes to be true is, in fact, not true WIKIPEDIA.ORG (2008b)  
Cognitive dissonance, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cognitive\\_dissonance](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cognitive_dissonance), 03.06.2008.

## **5.5 Current conflicts**

Within the management plan all oil and gas activity has been prohibited in the Lofoten and Vesterålen area until the revision of the plan in 2010. These areas are subject to many conflicts. The environmental organisations are the most visible in this conflict in relation to the environmental issues. The most controversial issue at the moment is the seismic activity. The seismic plan for 2008 has just been approved and the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate is ready for another season of seismic surveys. The previous seismic surveys have created quite a debate between different stakeholders and the media has played an important role as a channel for distributing the different opinions.

### **5.5.1 What are seismic surveys?**

The intention of seismic surveys is to find oil and gas and to map the geological conditions under the sea floor. This is why the seismic activity is so important and is also considered to be a part of oil activity according to The Petroleum Act (NU, 2008a). The seismic surveys that are carried out today are done by large specially constructed ships that tow air guns and cables with receivers. The air guns fire strong and compressed air-based sound pulses at regular intervals e.g. every 25 meters as the ship moves. The sound wave is then reflected back and the signals are recorded (DNV, 2007). The seismic surveys are crucial in identifying possible areas for development of oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf. The Ministry of Fisheries and Coastal Affairs have promoted the importance of seismic surveys claiming a need for this information in order to strengthen the basis of decision-making before the management plan is revised in 2010. The project MAREANO has begun a thorough mapping of the sea floor and also some geological mapping, including seismic surveys under the direction of the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate (Pedersen, 2007).

### **5.5.2 The seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen**

When the Norwegian parliament discussed the management plan in 2006 there was also approval for seismic activity to map the ocean areas. The Norwegian Petroleum Directorate (NPD) was given the responsibility for mapping Nordland VI and Troms II. Recently the NPD published a report about their seismic activity for 2008 and they claimed that there was a desire both from the fishermen and the government to increase their knowledge about effects

of fish from seismic surveys (NPD, 2008). In a report in 2008 the Institute of Marine Research (IMR) claimed that in areas where there was seismic activity catches of fish have gone down by 50-70% and the decrease included areas as far as 33 km from the seismic sites (NU, 2008a). This is what the integrated management plan says about seismic activity:

*Seismic activities in areas of importance for the fisheries are currently regulated to take into account both fish resources (spawning etc.) and the fisheries. The most important policy instruments to which the Government will continue to give priority are:*

- temporal and spatial restrictions for seismic data acquisition*
- restrictions on the scope of such activity*
- requirement for seismic survey vessels to carry fisheries experts on board.*

**Figure 20: Seismic activity (NME, 2005/2006:89)**

In 2007 the NPD carried out seismic surveys for three weeks. This summer the seismic activity will be more extensive and NPD also plan to do seismic surveys in 2009 if the Storting allocate funding for it. In 2007 the seismic activity was funded with 70 million NOK and in 2008 140 million NOK is allocated to the project (NPD, 2008).

The 2007 season of seismic surveys created a lot of conflicts with the fishermen in the area (including fishing organisations) and the NPD. An example of this was when the plans for the seismic activity were released in February 2007 and the fishermen outside Andenes protested. They emphasised that important fisheries took place in the same area as the seismic activity (Ivetorp, 2007). Others also reacted to the timing of the seismic surveys. A representative to the Storting from Øksnes, Tord Lien, who had full knowledge of the activities in the ocean areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen felt that it would be hard to find a good timing in which no one would be adversely affected. He also emphasised how the seismic surveys created unnecessary conflict between stakeholders (Jenssen, 2007).

The 2008 season of seismic surveys was approved on the 23rd of May 2008 after some delay with the process. The start-up of the seismic surveys was postponed on the 21st of May 2008 because the government was waiting for evaluation from the Institute of Marine Research (IMR) and The Norwegian Pollution Control Authority (SFT). IMR confirmed that the fish in these areas had finished spawning and that the seismic surveys could go ahead as planned. SFT acknowledged that all the approvals given for seismic activity were legal. The Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Åslaug Haga, claims that the government protects both the fishing

and the marine environment. She also mentions that there has been a thorough preparation of the case and that there has been a dialogue with all relevant stakeholders over a long period of time (Lofotposten.no, 2008a).

There have been many reactions to the start-up of seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen in 2008. The leader of the environmental organisation Bellonas, Frederic Hauge, and Norges Kystfiskarlag want to take the case to court. Frederic Hauge disagrees with SFT and their interpretation of the legal framework and also the conclusions from IMR. He also claims that he has recently been talking to fishermen who have been catching spawning cod in these areas. This is a sign that the spawning is not over and that the scientists should submit to local knowledge. Frederic Hauge hopes that the case will be treated soon and that the seismic surveys will be stopped. Åslaug Haga emphasises the need for more knowledge about the effect of seismic surveys on the fish and Frederic Hauge fears that millions of fish and fries will be killed by the seismic activity (vg.no, 2008).

The Norwegian Fishermen’s Association, too, wants to bring the seismic case to court in order to prevent that the seismic surveys in 2008 take place during the Greenland Halibut fishery. Professor in administrative law at the University of Bergen, Jan Fridthjof Bernt, thinks that the state will win in this case. He says that they have authorisation to stop the fishery though the legal framework (Lindbæk and Jensen, 2008).

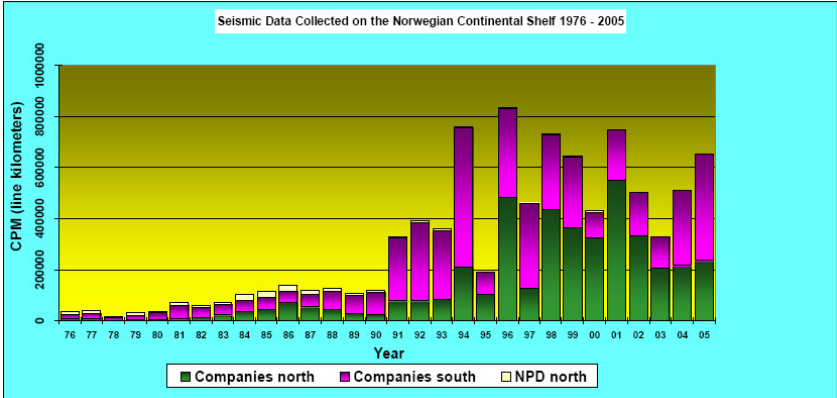


Figure 21: Seismic surveys from 1976 to 2005 (DNV, 2007)

## **5.6 Stakeholders**

Similarly to the research on attitudes towards oil and gas development outside Lofoten I have carried out some interviews with different stakeholders in order to map the conflict. The interviews were undertaken to supplement the secondary data resources I have used in this thesis. The concerns and conflicts have varied from the risk of spillages to the seismology conflict occurring outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The level of knowledge is an important factor. Here I will present the results from my interviews supplemented by other sources such as the media.

### **5.6.1 Social movements in Lofoten and Vesterålen**

In the case of possible oil and gas development there has emerged several social movements covering both opponents and supporters. The social movements address both political and environmental interests.

On the positive side a social movement called Lofoten and Vesterålen Petro (LO-VE Petro) has been developed. LO-VE Petro is an interest group for industry and commerce in Lofoten and Vesterålen. In 2006 the organisation had 176 companies as members. LO-VE Petro wants to give the population, trade and commerce and public sector activities information about the petroleum industry. LO-VE Petro also wants to put the focus on the optimal social profit from the petroleum activities in the region (LOVE Petro, 2008a).

Amongst those who are negative about the development there are two organisations that have been visible in the struggle for oil and gas development off Lofoten and Vesterålen. The first one is an organisation called Petroleum Free Area in Lofoten and Vesterålen (Petroleumsfritt område utenfor Lofoten og Vesterålen; PFLV).

The second organisation is Lofotaksjonen which wants a petroleum free area outside Lofoten and Vesterålen and is mobilising for preserving Nordland VI and VII. The goal of this social movement is not only a petroleum free area but also an end to all searches for oil and gas (Lofotaksjonen.no, 2008).

In September 2007 the two local organisations together with national environmentalist organisations created a common platform to fight for petroleum free areas outside Lofoten

and Vesterålen. The platform consists of PFLV, Lofotaksjonen, Nature and Youth, Bellona, Friends of the Earth (FoEN) and WWF (bellona.no, 2007).

### 5.6.2 Environmentalist stakeholders

Environmentalist organisations represent the contra side of the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Their statements have been very visible compared to other stakeholders such as the tourism industry. The environmentalist organisations have many people who have been working directly on this case for many years. Today there are many organisations which have engaged themselves in this conflict including Nature and Youth, Bellona, The green warriors of Norway, Friends of the Earth Norway/Norwegian Society for the Conservation of the Nature, Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).



Figure 22: "No oil in the north" Silent 1<sup>st</sup> of May demonstration in Lofoten (Lofotposten.no, 2008c)

### World Wildlife Fund (WWF)

WWF in Norway was founded in 1970. Today WWF has over 7000 members and an annual turnover of 40 million NOK. WWF has one of the biggest environments for preservation of natural resources amongst volunteer organisations. The work of WWF is to protect and preserve the natural value and the biodiversity at sea, at the coast, at land and in freshwater. WWF work to improve the environmental politics in Norway (wwf.no, 2008).

Maren Estmark is the leader of the nature conservation department and my respondent representing the environmentalists. Estmark (2008) describes the advantages of a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen as non-existent. She explains that many people think that there will be an advantage through an increase in local job opportunities, but

that is not the case. The only advantage she can see is that it will bring money into the public purse.

Estmark prefers to divide the disadvantages into three. The first is related to the oil production and the high risk of spillage accidents, spillage from daily running and also the case of produced water. Lofoten and Vesterålen have an extremely high value of natural resources and the risk is too great to establish such production in this area. The second disadvantage is the conflict of seismic activity. The areas should be preserved for such surveys. The third is the potential of increased traffic of oil tankers in the area.

Estmark points out that in order to increase the advantages as much as possible there has to be a huge development in the area to offset the financial input. To make the disadvantages as small as possible a solution could be to divide the field into smaller sections e.g parts of Troms II could be opened for trial drill in the areas where the risk is lower.

The oil companies put pressure on the environmentalist organisation and regional and local politicians. The WWF has allies in this case but the pressure from the oil companies makes it difficult to keep the allies. Estmark points out that the tourism industry locally has been very clear about their scepticism against oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The tourism organisations nationally have shown their scepticism but have no official statements. Estmark also points out that the Norwegian Seafood Federation has been a good partner in the fight for not opening the fields Nordland VI, Nordland VII and Troms II.

Estmark also provides her view on how the different stakeholders try to win opinion. The oil industry uses the economic possibilities to promote the idea of how much the region will develop by opening these areas. They lobby local politicians and campaign aggressively through the media. The Norwegian Fishermen's Association does not show its' opinions as strongly as the Norwegian Seafood Federation. They take their decisions in annual meetings and do not go public like the Norwegian Seafood Federation which has smaller and larger campaigns to promote their views. The environmentalist organisations have, over a longer period of time, also had smaller and larger campaigns informing people about the negative sides of a possible oil and gas development. Estmark herself has exclusively worked on this case for five years.

Estmark points out that nature preservation and conservation have not been given enough attention in the media. The general public does not know how important and unique the resources outside Lofoten and Vesterålen are, and even though the risk of a spill is very small the odds are still too big to take the risk. The area has the world's biggest stock of cod and herring, birds in the island of Røst, haddock on Tromsøflaket and large stocks of whale and coldwater corals. This has been given far too little attention and consideration according to Estmark. This is the main reason why Estmark is so strongly against an opening of these areas for oil and gas development.

The crucial decision will be taken in central government and the general election in 2009 will have a great influence on the case. The advantage is that The Norwegian Christian Democratic Party, the Liberal Party of Norway, and the Conservative Party of Norway did not open the areas when they had the opportunity and today's joint government, comprising The Norwegian Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party of Norway, and the Centre Party, have not opened these areas. Estmark also indicates that the party's annual meetings next spring will determine who will bring what into the possible new government 2009.

## **Bellona**

Bellona was established in 1986 and is an independent ideal institution that works for increase ecological understanding and preservation of nature, environment and health (bellona.no, 2006). Bellona has been a strong opponent from the beginning when it was first mentioned that the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen were attractive for oil and gas development. They emphasise the unique areas with important fish stock, colonies of seabirds and coral reefs. They believe that the consequence report published in 2003 still has some defects concerning the richness of these areas. Bellona is of the opinion that if these areas are opened for oil and gas extraction the ecosystems will be exposed to oil spill and other means of pollution. This can generate dramatic effects on the nearby environment, its fisheries and national and local industries. Bellona is aware of the small chances of an oil spill but they emphasise that production of oil will always come with some risk of pollution from daily production. Oil production in this context is an important issue and in an Arctic region will always represent greater challenges due to the dark seasons, cold, ice and less infrastructure (bellona.no, 2003).



## **Nature and Youth**

Nature and Youth is the only environmental organisation for youth in Norway. They have local departments all over Norway which work on the environmental challenges in these areas. The most important issues are the human created climate changes and preservation of biodiversity (NU, 2008c).

Nature and Youth like all the other environmental organisations are against the possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. At the present time they are working to ensure that Lofoten and Vesterålen will continue to be closed after 2010 when the management plan is revised. They believe that the future of Lofoten and Vesterålen is in the preservation and development of the renewable industries and not the production of climate pollution in vulnerable areas (NU, 2008b).

## **Cooperation between the environmentalist organisations**

In a letter to the Norwegian Labour Party, the Centre Party and the Socialist Left Party of Norway, the environmentalist organisations Nature and Youth, The Green Warriors of Norway, Bellona, Greenpeace and Zero stated that they are strong opponents to the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The reason for this letter was that the environmentalist organisations were accused of allowing the oil and gas development in these areas, and the letter was a protestation against this (bellona.no, 2005).

### **5.6.3 Fisheries stakeholders**

The fishing industry has objected on more than one issue in the conflict of possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Their major concern is not the risk of pollution and oil spill but the ongoing seismology conflict.

## **The Norwegian Fishermen's Association**

The Norwegian Fishermen's Association was founded in 1926 to protect the fishermen's interests. It is a politically independent national organisation. Membership is voluntary and the organisation is built on county fishermen's associations and group organisations. The Norwegian Fishermen's Association works actively to protect and improve the professional,

economic, social and cultural interest of its members. It has a close relationship with central and local government. Due to the importance of the fishing industry in the coastal areas of Norway, the Norwegian Fishermen's Association has a central position with responsibility for activities and settlement along the coastal districts (Norges Fiskarlag, 2008).

In Folkebladet on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 2008 the general secretary of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association wrote an article about the associations' views on possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. It demanded zero spills at sea and that the petroleum activities should not be an obstacle for the fishing industry and it also specified no petroleum activity in Nordland VI and VII and Troms II and Møreblokkene. Furthermore it emphasised that it would suggest protection for any other areas of particular vulnerability where oil and gas developments were proposed. The article concluded by stating that the Norwegian Fishermen's Association will actively work for a good oil emergency system to combat oil pollution (Skjervø, 2008).

Elling Lorentsen (2008) is a consultant in the Norwegian Fishermen's Association and he considers the greatest advantage is that there will be an increase in job opportunities whilst the greatest disadvantage will be an increase in the level of cost. This has been the result in other places where oil and gas developments have been initiated. He also points out that the biggest risk is that we get so preoccupied with the oil and gas development that the fishing industry will be forgotten.

Lorentsen has been participating on behalf of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association in the work that forms the basis of the evaluations that have been carried out in regard to the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen. To be able to reduce the conflicts between the stakeholders, Lorentsen wants to assess the experiences of others in relation to production of oil and gas in the North Sea. It is important to look at what has been done there, to learn from that experience and to apply it to the north. A lot of things have improved such as better communication with the fishermen and also the possibilities of a pipeline system instead of oil rigs. These are all things that can help minimise conflict and generate easier co-existence.

The biggest basis for conflict at the moment is the ongoing seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. It is important to find a schedule that will not disturb the fisheries activities but that has not proved easy. The seismic activity today is run by the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate. In 2007 they planned the operations well, they had continuous contact with the

fishermen in the area and they tried to plan the seismic research in a period of time which did not disturb the fishermen. In contrast, the 2008 surveys have not received any positive feedback with respect to the NPD planning. It is a legal rule that there must be a fisheries expert on board the seismic vessel when the operations are carried out. Although NPD has this expert on board the Norwegian Fishermen's Association's feel that the expert should be a part of the whole process. A good fisheries expert will have specific knowledge about which fleets are operating in a certain area at a certain time. It is proved that the seismic activity do have an effect on the behaviour of the fish.

Lorentsen emphasises that oil, gas and fisheries have the same degree of power to influence but it is the money that decides. Lorentsen points out that the view of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association is that oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen is not impossible but there has to be better alternatives for oil and fisheries to co-exist.

### **Norges Kystfiskarlag**

Norges Kystfiskarlag is a democratically and politically independent organisation of Norwegian coastal fishers. The organisation offers membership to both crew and vessel owners of the coastal fleet. Today Norges Kystfiskarlag has about 1200 members across the whole country and over 800 vessels connected to the organisation and it is still growing. Norges Kystfiskarlag work to ensure the professional, social, economical and cultural rights of the coastal fishermen (NKF, 2008a).

Norges Fiskarlag is adamant that a possible oil and gas development must not happen at the expense of the fishing industry and the future development of fish stocks. They do not want any seismic activity in areas and periods of time whilst there are also fishing activities. They are also sceptical of the proposal that the oil industry or the state "buys out" the fishermen for loss of income in periods with seismic activities and they demand a complete halt to the plans for seismic surveys in summer 2008 (NKF, 2008b).

Norges Fiskarlag is against any wildcat drilling, development and production of oil and gas on Nordland VI, VII, and Troms II. This is due to the high fishing activity in the same area and consideration to fish stocks (NKF, 2008b).

## **Norwegian Seafood Federation (FHL)**

The Norwegian Seafood Federation (Fiskeri- og Havbruksnæringens Landsforening) represents the largest export industry after oil and gas. FHL represents the major companies in the fisheries sector and is associated with the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry, which is the main organisation for Norwegian employers in manufacturing industries, services and crafts. FHL represents about 500 member companies with 8.000 employees. FHL covers the entire value chain from the ocean to the dinner table in both fisheries and aquaculture industry in Norway (FHL, 2008a).

FHL stated already in 2003 that they were very concerned about the consequences of petroleum activity in the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen. On the other hand they also claimed that the oil and gas industry and the fishing industry have many things in common and a petroleum development could strengthen and positively contribute to secure the settlement along the coast. According to FHL the most important thing is that the petroleum industry is operated in such a way that the fisheries and aquaculture industry can continue its development (FHL, 2003).

In the seismic conflict FHL states that the government prioritises the oil industry before the fishing industry. They emphasise that the environmental and fisheries concerns need to have more attention from the government's side. FHL dismiss the claim that the seismic activity will ensure both the fisheries and the environment as stated in the press release of the seismic season 2008 from the Ministry of Oil and Energy and the Ministry of Fisheries and Coastal Affairs. FHL points out that Norway is one of the leading fisheries nations and daily 27 billion meals of fish is exported and in a year 125 billion people can eat Norwegian seafood (FHL, 2008b).

The FHL leader, Ole Erik Lerøy, urges the government and the rest of the oil industry to follow the recommendations of keeping the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen closed for oil and gas development (Grytås, 2008).

#### **5.6.4 Local governments and local organisations**

The local governments are considered to be important players in the game for and against a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. They are representing the region and the national government will probably attach importance to their opinions.

##### **Local Government**

Jonny Finstad is the mayor of the Vestvågøy municipality in the period from 2007 to 2011 (Vestvågøy kommune, 2008). The Vestvågøy municipality has about 10.700 inhabitants. Leknes, the municipality centre, is the commercial center for Lofoten. The Vestvågøy municipality is supplemented by services, trade, fishing and agriculture which are its main sources of income. The municipality has a large number of people employed by the fishing fleet (Destination Lofoten AS, 2008b).

Jonny Finstad (2008) opens with the importance of growth in the regions and sees this as a great advantage in the case of possible oil and gas development in Lofoten and Vesterålen. He also points out the importance of industries such as fishing, tourism and agriculture. His concern is that the number of inhabitants is decreasing and a possible oil and gas development could bring growth into the region. He also points out that the development of oil and gas will be advantageous if there are possibilities to drill from land and this will decrease the risks for the areas.

Finstad divides the disadvantages into two main categories: the risk of oil spill and the seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. He also points out the daily risk that already exists with the oil tankers passing along the coast. His concerns are shared with those interested in a career in the fishing industry or agriculture. He points out that the entry ticket is way too high for young entrepreneurs and an easier career might be in oil and gas. Again, this leads to a problem for the region. The region does not offer that much higher education and young people go away to study so knowledge does not stay in the region and as a result the required work force has to be called in from southern parts of the country. There are no local job opportunities in his opinion.

To be able to make the advantages as big as possible and the disadvantages as small as possible Finstad proposes that all stakeholders have to be better in communicating in order to have a good dialogue.

The conflict according to Finstad is between fisheries, tourism, environmentalists, culture and the oil industry. There is a fear that the possible oil and gas development will disturb the environmental balance by introducing heavy industry in the region. This is a basis for conflict. He is also concerned about what the oil and gas industry might do to the tourism industry. Lofoten as a brand name might be harder to sell.

Finstad's biggest fear is that all the development will happen south of Lofoten and Vesterålen. The oil or gas will be extracted from the region and all industrial locations will be further south due to the vulnerable areas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen.

When it comes to the question of how the different stakeholders are promoting their opinion Finstad feels that everything is on hold at the moment and that the stakeholders are waiting for the revision of the management plan in 2010. He also mentions that the oil industry and companies don't come out enough to the local communities. He describes his own engagement in the case as moderate. Before he became a mayor he wrote articles and contributed to the debate in the local newspapers.

His closing comment on the case is that he thinks that there will be an opening of these areas and that the election in 2009 will be crucial. It all depends on which parties form the new government.

### **PFLV (Petroleumsfritt Lofoten og Vesterålen)**

As already mentioned, PFLV is a locally based organisation that fights for petroleum free Lofoten and Vesterålen. The leader of the organisation Christoffer Ellingsen (2008) was a respondent to this thesis and he could not suggest any positive effects of the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen but he is aware that if there is any activity in the area it will lead to a certain increase in employment and industry development.

The greatest disadvantages are related to fisheries, aquaculture and tourism. Ellingsen has no belief in a co-existence between the fishing industry and the oil industry in these areas. So far in the struggle everything indicates that the oil industry has settled in the area helped by

central and county authorities. Another disadvantage is the fear that the oil industry will reign supreme in the area. The risk and fear of pollution and spill is always there. To be able to decrease the disadvantages it would be desirable to have drilling from land. That would be the least harmful and potential oil and gas would be sent by pipelines in the safest possible way.

The conflicts in this case are mostly about the capitalistic economic need for the cheapest source of energy, the biggest oil companies and the Norwegian state profits and earnings. The conflict is also about who directly will be affected by such development in terms of profession and income for livelihood. The local population will also be indirectly affected.

Ellingsen points out that the oil industry has emphasised two areas in their campaigns. They have lobbied the decisions makers and tried to lure the local population with an increase in employment. The oil industry has succeeded to some extent but the last argument has become less important.

Ellingsen describes his own engagement as the initiator of the people's movement in Vesterålen in 2006, and he is still the leader of this work. He is also responsible for the development and cooperation between the people's movement in Vesterålen and Lofoten and the fishing industry.

### **5.6.5 Tourism stakeholders**

For the tourism industry the great and untouched nature is in the center. The tourism in the area Lofoten and Vesterålen is, according to Sandersen (2002), described as marine tourism. Marine tourism in Lofoten and Vesterålen are activities such as offshore-rafting, bird watching, fishing tourism, diving and many more.

The travel industry in Lofoten and Vesterålen is sold as a form of "eco-tourism" and many in the business are of the opinion that if there is a gas and oil development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen the eco label might disappear. The biggest fear for the tourism industry is the reputation and image of small local communities where people live in harmony with nature and where the resources that nature gives is the basis of existence for the inhabitants. When tourists come to Lofoten and Vesterålen they do so to escape from industry, technology, stress, noise and urban life (Sandersen et al., 2002).

## **Destination Lofoten AS**

Destination Lofoten AS is a joint promotional body for the entire region. Destination Lofoten is responsible for:

- International and national marketing
- Promotion and sales
- Co-ordinating existing travel trade products in the area, and product development
- Co-operation with international tour operators
- The production of promotional material
- Representing Lofoten at trade fairs and shows
- Developing a joint profile and Lofoten as a destination
- Co-ordinated product information
- Official tourist information and taking care of the hospitality- and information duties on behalf of the municipalities of the Lofoten islands (Destination Lofoten AS, 2008a).

The tourism stakeholders are in this thesis represented by the manager of Destination Lofoten, Trygve Steen (2008b). He describes the overall advantages in the region as small and the scepticism towards the promises of employment opportunities. As he sees it the advantage for the tourism industry is that there will be more courses and conferences in the region and this will be positive for the tourism industry in the initialisation period, even though examples from Finnmark and Hammerfest show the total nights in hotels have gone down.

The biggest disadvantages according to Steen are the great uncertainties concerning the oil emissions that can happen both as an accident and as a part of the production. There is no guaranty for a zero-spill policy. There is also a need to question the long term effects of such spills and especially the effects on fries in the area. The research carried out on produced water has occurred over a short period of time and there is no concrete data to relate to. Steen also expressed his concerns about the prohibition to speak freely that different research institutions have. The Norwegian Pollution Control Authority could not speak freely about this case and the recommendations from the Institute of Marine Research were not taken into consideration. People in general hesitate to express their opinions on this case due to lack of knowledge. To decrease the disadvantages Steen suggests that the way Lofoten is promoted to the world today must not come into conflict with the new industry. To get the most out of an



oil and gas development there has to be a value added locally and an ability to get more variety of job opportunities. There is a great degree of uncertainty and risk.

The tourism industry is, according to Steen, concerned with the gap between how they want to promote Lofoten and Vesterålen and the perception of Lofoten as an industry area. The tourism industry might have a problem with credibility. The tourism industry tries to sell Lofoten and Vesterålen as an area which is untouched with a clean ocean and authentic fishing villages, and the possible oil and gas development might come into conflict with that. He also emphasises the reputation for the aquaculture industry which might be in trouble if the consumers react negatively to aquaculture fish in these waters. Steen also mentions the seismic activity as a part of the ongoing conflict outside Lofoten and Vesterålen, especially the introduction of the plans for the seismic activities in 2008 which has created a lot of resistance from the fishermen.

Steen describes the opponents as the environmentalist organisations and local groups. The members of the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprises are the ones that are positive but their affiliate organisation, the Norwegian Hospitality Association (NHO Reiseliv), is very sceptical to Nordland VI and VII. Steen emphasises that the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprises is divided in this case. Another positive stakeholder is Norway's largest and most influential workers' organisation – LO.

Steen is critical of the methods some of the stakeholders use to promote their view, like the oil companies which have the economic ability to run big campaigns through the media. He is concerned about that and wonders if they are allowed to run political commercials in Norway. He is satisfied with the research institutions which have played an important role in mapping the consequences of a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. He thinks that the researchers do not get influenced by others and publish the real results. However, one research project that he is not satisfied with is the report on the consequences of an all-year petroleum activity in the area Lofoten – Barents Sea (OED, 2003).

Steen thinks his own engagement is moderate. He emphasises that it is a problem to get the tourism industry to agree on one common opinion and as mentioned the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise and the Norwegian Hospitality Association have different views on the case. The tourism industry does not attend the discussion as much as they should. This is due to the lack of competence in the industry on the subject.

The final decision about whether there will be any oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen is not up to the local interests to decide but to influence. It all depends on the general election in 2009 and also how the media gives this case attention. If the election campaign proves to be a fight for opening these areas and the politicians get the industries on their side whilst they also have the oil industry on their side, it will be hard for local politicians to resist. Steen emphasises that he does not believe that this case will have any winner or losers and that it is all about finding a way to co-exist.

### **5.6.6 The oil industry and stakeholders which are for oil and gas development**

The ones that are positive to the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen are not as visible as the opponents. The most important stakeholders which are positive to the oil and gas development are the oil industry. The oil industry can be everything from oil companies, suppliers, interest organisations, etc. Most of the stakeholders in this group have the same opinion that the areas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen are great potential areas for oil and gas development and they all believe that the technology will support an environmentally sound and sustainable development in these areas.

#### **StatoilHydro**

StatoilHydro has on their web page published their thoughts on oil and gas activities in the northern areas. They say that the available resources are getting smaller and smaller and that their industry has started looking north in the hunt for the future oil and gas resources. They emphasise the possibilities but at the same time have strict demands about sustainable solutions (statoilhydro.com, 2007).

StatoilHydro is today one of the companies that have the permission to explore the areas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen, but before the general election in 2001 they had to break off the wildcat drilling due to environmental causes and since then the areas have been closed. In an interview in Teknisk Ukeblad on 14th of March 2008 the CEO of StatoilHydro, Helge Lund, says that he believes that the company will be able to explore the areas in an environmentally friendly way. He further mentions that he feels that the people in these areas in general are positive to the development of oil and gas because they have seen what Snøhvit

has done for Hammerfest and Finnmark and that the majority in Lofoten and Vesterålen want the same for their region. He emphasises that he respects the decision taken by the government to temporarily close the areas but he hopes that the opinions of the company will still be heard. He believes that it is important for the development of the Norwegian continental shelf for there to be interesting and potential areas available for exploration of oil and gas (Stensen, 2008).

One of the main demands from local politicians in the case of oil and gas development is that the landing of oil and gas has to be in Lofoten and Vesterålen. Without this many of the positive effects might disappear. In Lofotposten on 4<sup>th</sup> of September 2007, Helge Lund says that he cannot make any promises about landing in Lofoten and Vesterålen (Johnsen, 2007). Tore Torvund is the group managing director in StatoilHydro and responsible for all activity that StatoilHydro has on the Norwegian continental shelf. He believes that the areas will be opened and assumes that it will be a success (Rosenberg, 2008).

### **Det Norske Oljeselskap ASA**

This independent oil company has a view on the possible oil and gas development which is different to many other oil companies. This company is an exception to the rule departing from the oil and gas cluster and stating that they do not believe in opening and developing the areas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Det Norske Oljeselskap would rather have an extended opening of the Barents Sea than the controversial areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen. The company would rather choose other areas to operate in the coastal areas of Norway (Godø, 2008). According to Erik Haugane, the managing director of Det Norske Oljeselskap AS, Lofoten and Vesterålen is not only a controversial area but also an area with great symbolic value and in his opinion it would take only a small and insignificant oil spill to ruin the image of the whole oil and gas industry (Strande, 2008).

### **LO-VE Petro**

In 2005 LO-VE Petro was founded as the project: “Lofoten/Vesterålen Petro” and was RDA<sup>3</sup> funded by 500 000 NOK. The organisation speaks for Lofoten and Vesterålen in the case of

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<sup>3</sup> RDA funding is funding that should be used for industrial purposes; infrastructure, development of expertise and industry development in general HNF.NO (2008) Hva er RDA-midler, <http://www.hnf.no/rda/>, 12.05.2008.

oil and gas development in the north. Former mayor of Hadsel, Ørjan Robertsen, leads the organisation (Jenssen, 2005).

LO-VE Petro believes that with an active oil and gas industry in the Lofoten and Vesterålen area there will be greater possibilities for increased employment, increased public income and increased profitability for many of the companies that either are placed in the region or about to start a business there. LO-VE Petro believes that with 40 years of oil and gas industry in this country it is possible to co-exist with the fishing industry. With the great focus on the northern areas and the strategy for the High North to be funded by the government there are expectations for oil and gas exploration that can be developed. LO-VE Petro feels that even though there has been an increase in the fishing and tourism industries, Lofoten and Vesterålen have had a decrease in the population. Lofoten and Vesterålen needs new growth and petroleum activity might be the answer to that (LoVePetro, 2008b).

#### **OLF- The Norwegian Oil Industry Association**

OLF, The Norwegian Oil Industry Association is a professional body and employer's association. The members of OLF are engaged in the field of exploration and production of oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf (OLF, 2008).

Managing director of OLF, Per Terje Vold, emphasises the importance of the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen. He says that the oil industry needs new areas to explore and develop and expects the government to open these areas after 2010 (Moxness, 2007). Vold thinks that Nordland VI is the most interesting area, but he also hopes for an opening of Nordland VII outside Vesterålen and Troms II south of Tromsøflaket (klimafokus.no, 2008).

In the seismic conflict OLF states that the seismic surveys are important. Sigbjørn Ansnes emphasises that it should not come as a surprise that there are seismic activities since the integrated management plan decided that there would be seismic surveys in these areas until 2010 (Jenssen, 2008b).

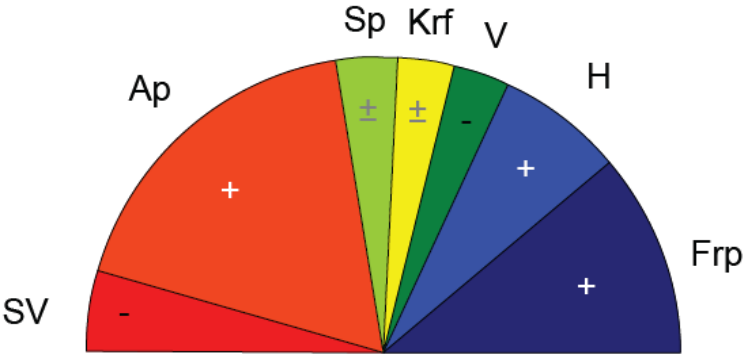
**Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)**

LO is one of Norway’s biggest and most influential labour unions. LO has close to 850 000 members through different unions connected to LO and has both members in private and public sectors and from all industries and professions (LO, 2006).

LO is concerned about a development that gives the region and its youth a future in the oil and gas industry. The history in oil and gas has shown that is it possible for the fishing industry and the oil and gas industry to co-exist (Lund, 2007). LO-Leader, Roar Flåthen, is positive about the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen and he thinks that if the consequence reports gives the answers he expects that the areas should be opened for production. He emphasises that the fishing and spawning area have to be taken into consideration, including the environmental challenges. He thinks that after 2010 there will be wildcat drilling in these areas. The LO leader is a technology-optimist and believes that it is possible to start such an industry and also preserve nature and other industry interests (Werner, 2007).

**5.6.7 Central government**

The figure below maps out the opinions of the political parties which are represented in the Norwegian parliament. The biggest parties are the AP (The Norwegian Labour Party) and the FRP (The Progress Party) and they are positive (shown by +) towards the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. SV (The Socialist Left Party) and V (The Liberal Party) are opponents (shown by -). The parties marked by ± are ambivalent towards the development of these areas (NCSQ, 2008).



**Figure 23: Political Party perspective on the opening of the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen (NCSQ, 2008:22).**

### **5.6.8 The mass media**

There is no doubt that the possible oil and gas development has had a lot of attention in the media. The role of the media can be perceived differently depending on who you speak to. Different people can have different understandings on how the media acts in this case. In my interviews I tried to map what the respondents thought about the media. I also tried to investigate this by searching in different newspapers which had used editorial space to comment on the case.

The respondent Maren Estmark in WWF sees the role of the mass media as important but not crucial. She mentions that there is extensive lobbying from the oil industry via the media, and that is a dangerous game. She thinks that it is not a good idea for the oil companies to go through the media and they should go through politicians instead which could help them win opinion locally. She points out the importance of the regional newspapers, which in the case of oil and gas development has disappointed Estmark. They have the possibility to inform the general public but they are subtle and support the oil industry despite recommendations from researchers.

The respondent from the Norwegian Fishermen's Association, Erling Lorentsen, is critical to the role of the mass media. He explains how they let themselves be used in many contexts, they do not look into the material, they do not show real facts and they do not hire anyone to do valid analysis of advantages and disadvantages but simply follow in the steps of the oil companies. Lorentsen does not think the media is doing a good job in informing the general public. Media is not supposed to have any opinions but to reflect the general popularity. He points out that the media often reflect the negative in a case since that often sells better.

Local politicians and local newspapers often are closely related. The respondent in this group was mayor Jonny Finstad. The role of the mass media is important to some extent according to Finstad. In Lofoten there is only one newspaper that contributes to the debate and he points out that in the editorial columns they show what they mean. The bigger national newspaper also contributes to the debate but misses the actors from Lofoten and Vesterålen that respond to these articles.

Another local interest, the leader of the organisation PFLV, Christoffer Ellingsen, thinks the struggle in the media is very important. As an opponent he emphasises that the national media do not see the seriousness of this case. The national media is more concerned about running

debate shows concentrating on marginal questions and they do not see the importance of the challenges in the areas. The oil industry has control over the national media but the local newspaper “Bladet Vesterålen” is on the local side and that is very important for the struggle and mobilisation.

The tourism stakeholders also have an opinion about the role that the mass media plays. Trygve Steen thinks that the media acts quite neutral in this case - neither positive nor negative towards the oil and gas development. The local newspapers can ask critical questions both ways. He thinks that the case should have been covered better by the media but he is aware of the fact that it demands knowledge from the journalists to cover such cases. He doubts that the media make the problems more understandable for the general public; this would create larger engagement from the local population in Lofoten and Vesterålen.

The editor, Willy Vestå, of the local newspaper for Vesterålen - Bladet Vesterålen - comments on the role of the media. He emphasises that it is important as an editor in a local paper to use editorial space to comment on vital local cases such as the oil and gas development. He also thinks that the media should have an opinion in cases like this, if not it would not be worth printing a local newspaper. He sees the media in general as obedient servants for the oil industry and the government (Vestå, 2008).

## **5.7 The oil game**

The possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen has been considered as a game in which the aim is to win the fight over these areas. There is also heavy lobbying from the oil industry’s side. Over many years this game has been played with the actors being visible. The current minister of oil and energy in Norway raised this with the intention of winding up the cluster created by the oil and gas industry.

In a documentary shown at the Norwegian TV channel NRK on 22 April 2008 (nrk.no, 2008a) this issue was brought into the light. This TV documentary gave the debate new and interesting information about the lobbying which has been going on.

This TV documentary revealed for the first time how the work on oil development in the north has been progressing. The documentary showed, amongst other things, that the Ministry

of Oil and Energy has been assisting the OLF in lobbying for oil development in the north (Steen, 2008a).

The top bureaucrats gave the oil industry advice on whom to lobby and which messages to use to be able to promote the oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Through the lobby organisation Kon Kraft, the Ministry of Oil and Energy participated in working out how to improve the reputation for the Norwegian oil industry and how to get hold of the new fields for oil and gas development. All the meetings in Kon Kraft were private and did not allow any media presence until the fall of 2004. This executive forum was closed in December 2007. At this point the new minister of oil and energy, Åslaug Haga, ended the close relationship between the Ministry of Oil and Energy and Kon Kraft.

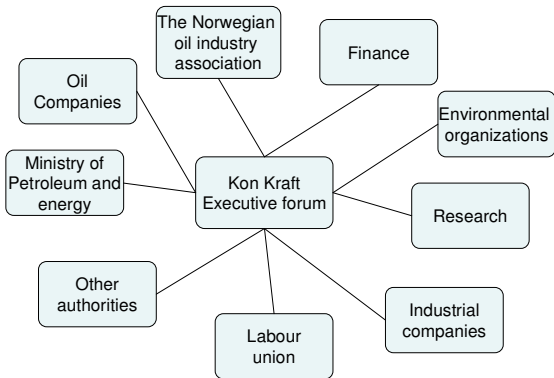


Figure 24: Stakeholders in the oil game (nrk.no, 2008a)

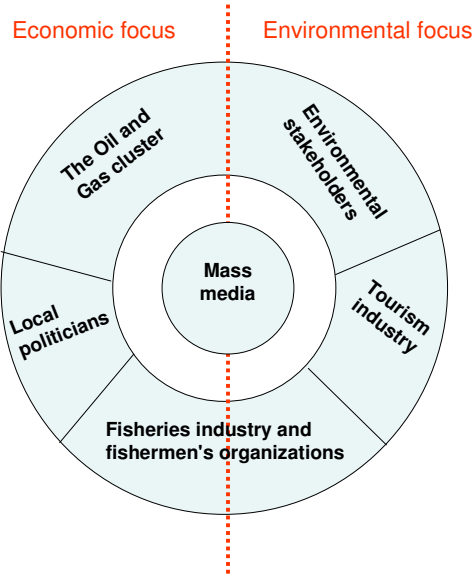
**5.8 Redefining “Poles Apart”**

The article “Poles Apart” in NCSQ (2008) is an informative and good article. However, the classification of stakeholders is somehow too narrow to fit my thesis, and therefore I see a reason to reconsider the classification of the stakeholders in the article. The stakeholders from the fishing industry are included under the category of local stakeholders but they are not individually taken into consideration in the figures neither is tourism and the mass media. The latter two are also very important stakeholders in the case of possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen.

I have divided local interests into local politicians, the fishing industry and fishermen’s organisations and the tourism industry. The fishing and tourism industry are present both at local, regional and national level. The mass media I have decided to place in the middle of



this stakeholder circle. All information to the public goes through the mass media and they are considered a very important stakeholder.



**Figure 25: Stakeholders (redefined)**

The figure above represents the stakeholders that I have concentrated on in general. The reason why I have placed the mass media in the middle is due to the fact that they are supposed to be a meeting place or a mediator between all the different stakeholders. The oil and gas cluster, the local politicians and the fishing industry all have something in common. They have achieved a good dialogue to a certain degree and they are not “poles apart”.

The economic perspective is an important factor in the conflict and a possible oil and gas development may cause economic loss for fishermen. The local politicians are concerned about development of the region without much environmental focus. On the other side I have placed the tourism industry as a new. They have an economic perspective as well but this industry is trying to promote these areas as authentic and clean, and that relates to the environmental views. The fishing industry and fishermen’s association are also placed on the environmental side. This is due to the fact that these stakeholder groups not only focus on the economic perspective but also on the possible loss and damage to fish stocks and the ecosystem. The fishing industry is hard to place since possible oil and gas development may also lead to economic losses. This is the case now when the seismic activities may ruin the Greenland halibut fishery.



## **6.0 DISCUSSION**

### **6.1 Introduction**

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis it took many years from the time petroleum production started in the south until it moved further north. This was not only due to the fact that the North Sea was prioritised, but also because oil and gas development in the northern parts of Norway was a controversial topic, especially due to the fisheries and the coastal societies dependent on them.

After the oil production had started in the northern parts of Norway the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen were preserved. All petroleum activity in Nordland VI was stopped and with the management plan the fields Nordland VI and VII and Troms II were excluded from all exploration (except seismic surveys) until 2010 as a compromise between the political parties in government at that time.

### **6.2 Mobilisation**

As the revision of the integrated management plan is getting closer, we can see that the different stakeholders are mobilising in the struggle over a possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. Norwegian oil production has been decreasing since year 2000 and Norway seems to be changing from an oil nation to a gas nation (nrk.no, 2008b). This is one of the reasons why oil companies have shown such interest in the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen as possible production areas for oil and gas. The continental shelf outside these areas is considered to be promising areas for new petroleum activity.

The Norwegian state also considers it important to keep up the high level of oil and gas production. The government wants to maintain and see the further development of the Norwegian petro-industrial complex. In addition the income from this industry is of vital importance. Less oil production can mean great losses for the Norwegian state which gets more than one third of its income from the oil and gas industry (nrk.no, 2008b).

On the other hand the environmental and climate arguments have increasing weight with the report from the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the last years Nobel

Prize award and the continual announcements about global warming and melting ice in the Arctic.

In Lofoten and Vesterålen there are divided opinions as to what should happen concerning oil and gas development. Many of the municipalities are experiencing population decline as the people are moving out of the region into more populated areas. The economy in the municipalities is under pressure and there is a need and a wish for new growth stimuli in the region to increase its attractiveness and to give it greater taxation revenue. Many are hoping that the oil and gas development will give new growth opportunities. At the same time the municipalities are dependent on the fishing activities in the area and a significant amount of the working population are employed in the fishing industry either directly or indirectly. This creates a fear for how oil and gas extraction will influence the fishing industry, the tourism industry and the whole image of the region.

### **6.3 Social movements**

New organisations have emerged in the region over the last few years. I have described these organisations in chapter 5 as social movements, which are working to influence the decisions which the central government will take as to whether or not to open the areas for oil and gas production. As mentioned on the pro side there is the organisation LO-VE Petro, and on the contra side the organisations PFLV and Lofotaksjonen. These regional organisations are associated with and backed by national organisations working on the same issue. On the one side there is the oil industry, NPD and the Ministry of Oil and Energy. On the other side we find the environmentalist organisations and parts of the public environmental agencies such as the Ministry of the Environment, the Norwegian Pollution Control Authority (SFT) and the Norwegian Polar Institute. None of these organisations take a neutral stance in this struggle for opening these areas or not.

The fishing industry shows negative attitudes towards a possible development, but does not exclude it either. My impression is that among the fisheries stakeholders there are many who consider it possible to have a co-existence between the two industries, like in the North Sea. They have realised the need for a new industry in the area. Some of the fisheries organisations have had different views on the issue. The Norwegian Fisherman's Association has been positive to some extent while Norges Kystfiskarlag is against the development.

All the stakeholders interact in some way. They are all dependent on each other and take part in a dynamic conflict. Statements change as new information arises. This makes the conflict difficult to analyse. What we can observe, however, is the formation of actors and the mobilisation which takes place through the processes. The social movements are made up of many organisations and networks which seem to coalesce during the conflict and produce the main front lines. New organisations are also established. This means that the stakeholders are not clearly defined at the outset of such a conflict but partly emerge through the conflict. And as they are activated they contribute to and put their own imprint on the dynamics of the conflict. The fact that the integrated management plan will be revised at a certain point of time seems to be important in this context. It creates a crossroad and a fixed point for the actions of all those preoccupied with the future development of the region.

#### **6.4 The conflict of seismic surveys**

The main conflict I have concentrated on is the ongoing seismic conflict. The plans for 2008 have created new attitudes towards seismic surveys from many stakeholders. The fishing industry unanimously opposed the plans for seismic surveys in the 2008 season made by the NPD. Last years seismic activity did not lead to a large amount of conflicts, but this year plans has created massive protests against the seismic activity and the plan to start in May 2008. It is not only the fisheries organisations which have engaged themselves in this dispute, but also a series of political parties have claimed that they are against the seismic surveys and the plans for the surveys in 2008 (BladetVesterålen, 2008).

The seismic conflict is about to change from a certain acceptance in 2007 to full opposition 2008. Harald Ryggvik, who is an oil researcher and a scientist at the University of Oslo, has claimed that the hundred of millions NOK the oil industry have spent to improve their reputation that the oil companies takes the environment seriously in the northern areas, is now ruined due to the seismic conflict for the 2008 season. Another reason for the decrease in the good reputation is the recent accident on the platform Stadtfjord A (nrk.no, 2008c). On the other hand Ingebrigt Steen Jensen states that the seismic conflict in Lofoten and Vesterålen is small in a national context, and that is not possible for the oil industry to lose its good reputation due to this case. He guesses that if he asked 100 persons on the street in Oslo about the seismic conflict, 95% would never have heard about it (Jenssen, 2008a).

Nevertheless, the issue of seismic activity outside Lofoten and Vesterålen has brought a new dimension into the conflict. Previously the fishing industry and the fishermen's organisations were not in clear opposition to future oil and gas development in the region, but now they seem to become much more critical. The seismic survey programme has had an igniting effect. The fisheries and the environmental organisations have become closer allied and together they are more influential and powerful (Aftenbladet, 2008).

## **6.5 Power**

In the struggle over a possible future development of oil and gas outside Lofoten and Vesterålen no decisions have yet been made and will not be so until the management plan is revised in 2010. In this context it is not possible to study power with an entry point in a decision. Nor is it possible to identify non decisions. The current power struggle is mainly about the definition of reality and how the future is to be perceived. The big question is if the oil and gas development will be an advantage or a disadvantage for the region, the local communities, and the stakeholders involved. Throughout chapter 5 I have tried to map the different stakeholders and their opinions. The chapter outlined how they see the issue and how they try to influence opinion.

In this game the oil industry and their allies obviously have the greatest economic resources. They actively lobby central government. KonKraft (The co-operation of OLF, the Federation of Norwegian Industries, the Norwegian Shipowners' Association (NSA) and LO) recently published a report which underlines that the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen needs to be opened (offshore.no, 2008b).

If I relate the power theory to the stakeholders I would say that the Storting has the legitimate power, as they are supposed to make the final and decisive decision. On the other side the oil companies have a possibility to use reward power. Reward power can, as mentioned in chapter 2, be material or financial benefits or attention. Interestingly the oil companies have not used this type of power in the case of Lofoten and Vesterålen. They have been very vague about promising the local community increased employment or landing sites in Lofoten or Vesterålen. This is surprising since they are in the position to do such things to win the public opinion. It might be that they want to appear as careful actors in this region and in this way

get the local communities on their side, but it is hard to boost expectations if you have nothing to offer.

The interviews indicated that the oil and gas industry could be more visible in the area to people in general. In January 2008 StatoilHydro signed an agreement with the regional authorities in Murmansk Oblast about co-operation in the region and the efforts the parties would undertake to develop the region (offshore.no, 2008a). No such agreement has been proposed or initiated in the case of Lofoten and Vesterålen. This could have made the oil industry more visible in an area where they want to gain a central role in the future.

People in the region daily encounter environmentalists who, either in the media or locally, represent themselves and their views. This gives them referent power. Others can identify with them and they can build loyalty. My respondents noted that they never heard anything from the oil and gas industry. They found it strange that this giant industry was not fighting more out in the open and addressing the region. Johan Petter Barlindhaug recently said at a conference in Svolvær, Lofoten, that now is the time for North Norway to use the power it has. He emphasised that the region cannot decide to open the areas, but it does have the power to stop it (Michalsen, 2008).

With the insecurity about what is going to happen in these areas and the likely effects of an oil and gas development, experts attain an important role. Both sides rely on experts to bolster their own arguments. In the current conflict over seismic surveys with also see that experts have a kind of gatekeeper function. The Institute of Marine Research must approve that the activities can take place without damaging the fish. This gives them a lot of responsibility. The interviews show that many stakeholders put their trust in research institutions and their reports about the effects on the environment, fisheries etc. At the same time the legitimacy of the research institutions is at risk. The line of demarcation between science and politics easily becomes blurred.

The environmentalist organisations also have a certain degree of expert power. Many of the people working on this case have been doing this exclusively for years and have developed profound knowledge about the area and its resources. The fisheries organisations, through the fishermen and their local knowledge, have a kind of expert power, too. The fisheries organisations are in good contact with the fishermen and the government has been criticised for not listening more to the fishermen operating in these areas.

## **6.6 The mass media**

The mass media is an arena where the struggles in Lofoten and Vesterålen are visible. The different stakeholders use the media deliberately to promote their own opinions and interests. The environmentalist organisations seem to be the most active. They are sending letters to the editors, organising meetings, and initiating suspicious actions of protest. They try to present the oil and gas industry as the main problem in this conflict and claim that the industry is not taking the environment into consideration.

The oil and gas industry also uses the media, but they do it in more subtle ways. The industry is economically strong and tries to set the agenda at the national level. At the local level organisations like LO-VE Petro are more visible. They organise seminars and furnish the local newspapers with information they find appropriate. Some of the stakeholders in the interviews claimed that the oil and gas industry pays the media to approach the issues to their advantage.

The fishing industry in general is also covered by the media. They play in the same group as the environmentalist organisations. The fisheries related news is often presented with angry fishermen getting less catches and protesting against the seismic surveys which ruin their seasonal fishing. The fisheries organisations appear as the losers and the injured party and can in this way use the media to gain support.

However, the mass media is not only broadcasting the views of others. The different media have their own biased opinions as exemplified by the TV documentary “The Oil Game”. They have strategies for how they want to present their topics. In this context they use all the strategies mentioned in chapter 2 – striking headlines, simple messages, visualisation, polarisation, personification, etc. The local newspapers play an important role in the conflict as they provide the daily information to the local people. They want their products to be understandable and interesting. In the case of oil and gas the newspapers tend to highlight conflicts and to stage a big drama. The articles often have two or three contradicting views in order both to convey more information about the opinions of different stakeholders and to make the case more exciting.



## 6.7 Possible outcomes

A well known saying emphasises that conflicts are there to be solved. In chapter 2 I outlined various strategies for solving conflicts or finding compromises. In the case of oil and gas development in Lofoten and Vesterålen it is hard to envisage a solution that all contending parties would be happy with. The opposite poles in this case are the environmentalists and the oil industry, with the fishing industry, the tourism industry, and local politicians somewhere in the middle. It is quite unlikely that the oil and gas industry and the environmentalist organisations will reach a compromise. By now it is a competition which ultimately will be ended by the decisions of the Storting. If these decisions are not respected, the state can use its coercive power.

However, my interviews show that there is some willingness to give and take on all sides of this conflict. Maren Estmark from WWF emphasised that the most vulnerable areas should remain closed, but maybe parts of Troms II could be opened for drilling and extraction. Elling Lorentsen from the Norwegian Fishermen's Association mentions several things that they suggest to make for a compromise. He underscores that an emergency rescue plan needs to be in place. He also mentions that it will be easier to co-exist with the oil and gas industry if pipelines are used instead of rigs. This would decrease the disputes over a limited space. Likewise, in the present conflict over seismic surveys we see some elements of collaboration between the fishing industry and the NPD. The Norwegian Fishermen's Association initially accepted the seismic surveys but turned against the programme when it was expanded and should start already in May. In this case both sides are listening to the marine scientists and economic losses for the fishermen can potentially be compensated for.

When heated debates are arising, several people tend to choose a strategy of avoiding. They do not want to engage and remain indifferent. Some of the local politicians seem to belong to this group. Many people also claim that there is a lack of information and knowledge. Trygve Steen, who represents the tourism industry, was concerned about the lack of knowledge in the tourism industry about the possible consequences of oil and gas development. Until now, the tourism industry has not been very visible and profiled in this case. My impression is that they might be willing to meet the opponent's wishes and choose a strategy of accommodation.

As I have mentioned, the Norwegian oil company Det Norske has argued that there should be no opening in Lofoten and Vesterålen. In exchange they want better access for oil companies

in the Barents Sea. This shows that even in the oil industry there are different opinions as to what should happen in this region. The oil industry is not having one single strategy.

For a compromise to be reached, it seems that the oil industry must be willing to guarantee the region something in return for exploiting the resources of the area. The emergency systems must be substantially improved. In addition, both the environmentalist organisations and the fishing industry must accept a more case by case approach where vulnerability and risk are assessed more specifically for each development project.

## 7.0 CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have illustrated the case of possible oil and gas development and its aspects. The questions I asked myself in the beginning were:

**Who are the most important stakeholders?**

**Which arguments do they use and which roles do they play?**

Answering these two questions, demands a lot of research on areas than just the stakeholders themselves. The questions have made me look closer into areas which seemed unnecessary to highlight, but necessary to find the answer to my questions.

Oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen will not be determined until 2010 when the management plan will be revised. Up until then the stakeholders will continue fighting for what they believe in, with both legitimate and non-legitimate methods. Stakeholders have been accused of using heavy lobbying within the Ministry of Oil and Energy and they have succeeded to a certain degree. Networking is an important key word, and other stakeholders might have to learn from them to be able to win over opinion in this case.

The fight for these areas is not only a conflict on the environmental level; it is a conflict for space. Many actors want to be at the same place at the same time. The important stakeholders are considered to be the environmentalists, the oil and gas industry, the fisheries, and the governmental institutions. The research institutions, the OLF and LO are powerful organisations, but they are not as visible as the others in this game. However, as the conflict evolves these organisations will play an more important role since many of these organisations hold expert power, and also will have lot of legitimacy in this case.

The roles and arguments of the stakeholders are not visible to everyone. One might think that the governmental institutions which have the legitimate power are the ones with the most legitimate answers to the problems. But the fishermen in the area, operating many days a year in these fields hold a special kind of knowledge and power, and should have more influence than they have today. The stakeholders all argue in a way to make themselves appear as the one with the answer and the most legitimacy to be in the area. The area should be a place where more than one stakeholder could operate at the time, the question is if it is too early to start extracting from the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen since the topic at present time is so

inflamed and as some stakeholders suggested compromises as an oil and gas extraction from certain parts of Troms II could be seen as a solution, and make the parts some closer to an agreement.

The case of possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen is a controversial topic, and is important for the people living there. A complete agreement is not in sight, and a compromise has to be negotiated in order to open these areas. The government will make the final judgement and for the government to make the decision to open Nordland VI, VII and Troms II the local community needs to be on their side

### **7.1 Implications and suggestions to further studies**

This study will be useful for other master students trying to identify and map stakeholders in any types of conflict. My approach has been a flexible and work in progress method, and can easily be applied to other fields with the same types of questions. This thesis will also be useful for people who want to know more about the conflict and the areas off Lofoten and Vesterålen. The case of possible oil and gas development is a highly complex conflict, and this thesis can be an introduction for those who want to study the conflict further.

This study is a qualitative study concerning the stakeholders in the case of possible oil and gas development outside Lofoten and Vesterålen. The study is based on both primary and secondary data. To improve the study, more people should have been interviewed to be able to cover broader aspects of the case, such as a representative from the central government. The central governmental authorities have been difficult to get in contact with, and even though statements from the government are available through the media, I could have improved the dependability to the study by having talked to a representative working on the decision making process.

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## **APPENDIX I**

Jonny Finstad, Vestvågøy Kommune

[Jonny.Finstad@vestvagoy.kommune.no](mailto:Jonny.Finstad@vestvagoy.kommune.no)

Maren Estmark, WWF

[mesmark@wwf.no](mailto:mesmark@wwf.no)

Trygve Steen, Destination Lofoten

[trygve@lofoten-tourist.no](mailto:trygve@lofoten-tourist.no)

Elling Lorentsen, Norges Fiskarlag

[elling.lorentsen@fiskarlaget.no](mailto:elling.lorentsen@fiskarlaget.no)

Christoffer Ellingsen, PFLV

[celli@tnett.no](mailto:celli@tnett.no)

Willy Vestå, Bladet Vesterålen

[red@blv.no](mailto:red@blv.no)

## APPENDIX II

### Arbeidstittel:

*Potential user conflicts – Power struggle and stakeholder behavior in the case of oil and gas development in the Lofoten and Vesterålen area.*

Norsk: Potensielle interessekonflikter, maktkamp og atferd hos interessenter ved en potensiell olje og gass utvinning. Case: Lofoten og Vesterålen området

**Bakgrunn:** Petroleumsvirksomheten nå ser ut til å forskyves nordover. Ett av de store stridsspørsmålene framover blir hva som skal skje utenfor Lofoten/Vesterålen. Området er gjennom forvaltningsplanen blitt båndlagt fram til 2010, men ifølge oljeindustrien er dette et av de mest lovende områdene. Du ønsker derfor å rette søkelyset mot den dragkampen som nå foregår. Stikkord er: interessekamp, mobilisering, framtidsbilder og alternativer.

### Spørsmål:

- 1) Hva oppfatter du som de største fordelene en eventuell framtidig petroleumsvirksomhet utenfor Lofoten/Vesterålen vil kunne gi?
- 2) Hva oppfatter du som de største ulempene eller risikoaspektene ved en eventuell framtidig petroleumsvirksomhet utenfor Lofoten/Vesterålen?
- 3) Hva må til for at fordelene skal kunne bli så store som mulig og ulempene så små som mulig?
- 4) Hvordan oppfatter du at konfliktlinjene går i denne saken? Hvem er for og hvem er mot, og på hvilket grunnlag? (husk å få med både i regionen og utenfor)
- 5) Hva gjør de ulike partene for å vinne oppslutning om sitt syn?
- 6) Hvordan har du selv engasjert deg?
- 7) Hvilken rolle mener du at media spiller i denne saken?
- 8) Er det viktige interesser eller hensyn som etter din mening ikke er kommet tilstrekkelig fram til nå?
- 9) Hva tror du vil skje når forvaltningsplanen skal revideres: vil området bli åpnet for en mulig petroleumsutbygging?
- 10) Hva vil bli utslagsgivende for om det i stortingsbehandlingen blir et ja eller nei til petroleumsutbygging i Lofoten/Vesterålen?

