

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

School of Global Studies



UNIVERSITY OF
GOTHENBURG

Using Conservation Conflict Transformation as a Framework to
Address Social Conflict Over Wildlife in a Swedish County

Master Thesis in Global Studies, 30 hec

Fall 2019

Author: Juliana Theresa Bennett

Supervisor: Annelie Sjölander-Lindqvist

Word Count: 19,870

Abstract

In Europe, and throughout the world, the return and preservation of large carnivores is escalating tensions between stakeholder groups, as well as between local actors and authorities. While wolf conservation efforts have generally been accepted across Swedish authorities, nature organizations, and the public, there are others who argue that the preservation of wolves is threatening local values and traditions. Despite policies aimed to reduce conflict surrounding wildlife management in Sweden, tensions seem to have intensified.

This research aims to investigate conflict regarding wildlife management in Sweden with a focus on the county of Västra Götaland, done through interviews with different levels of wildlife management. This research asks *what an analysis of wildlife management says about whether the current collaborative governance model favors conflict resolution or not?* Additionally, the research asks *how an analysis of the conflict using the Conservation Conflict Transformation (CCT) framework can contribute to transforming the conflict?* An abductive approach using the CCT framework and Human Needs Theory was used to assess the human dimensions that could be driving conflict, and to provide a framework for practical next steps.

Guided by a theoretical framework that focuses on addressing human needs to resolve deep-rooted conflicts, the results revealed that missing factors such as *influence, trust, reasoned debate, and legitimacy* are influencing the controversy surrounding wildlife management. A process that addresses the underlying drivers of conflict - amongst authorities and a wider range of affected stakeholders - is necessary to reconcile differences and establish a more sustainable, effective wildlife management structure.

Keywords: Sweden, Västra Götalands län, Large Carnivore Management, Human-Wildlife Conflicts, Conservation Conflict Transformation

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all those who contributed in some way to the completion of this thesis. As it can be difficult to rank appreciation, I will simply list those who helped in the way of providing advice, support, and guidance along the way.

Thank you to those who were willing to be interviewed for this thesis, and for taking the time out of busy schedules to do so.

Thank you to my supervisor Annelie, whose expertise in this subject, as well as her kind guidance gave me the motivation and support to write a thesis I was proud of handing in. Her effort to find opportunities for me outside of this thesis has also sparked my interest in and knowledge of the subject – providing depth for the writing and inspiration for future work in this area.

Thank you to my family and friends for their interest in and support for the work that went into writing this thesis to complete my degree. Special thanks to Mario for his loving support and final edits.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CAB	County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen)
CCT	Conservation Conflict Transformation
CPeace	Center for Conservation Peace-Building
SEPA	Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
HNT	Human Needs Theory
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflicts
LCM	Large Carnivore Management
RLCC	Regional Large Carnivore Committees (Regionala rovdjursgrupper)
TOV	Trinity of Voice
WMD	Wildlife Management Delegation (Viltförvaltningsdelegationen)

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	iii
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Aim & Research Question	3
1.2 Limitations/Delimitations	4
1.3 Relevance to Global Studies	5
2. Background & Previous Research	7
2.1 Policy development of large carnivore management in Sweden	7
2.2 The wolf controversy	11
2.3 Deliberative governance as the way forward?	13
2.4 Swedish Wildlife Management Delegations today	14
2.5 Proposals for improvement of wildlife management.....	16
3. Theoretical & Analytical Frameworks.....	18
3.1 Human Needs Theory	18
3.2 Conservation Conflict Transformation (CCT).....	20
4. Methods.....	23
4.1 Interviewees	25
4.2 Ethical considerations	26
5. Results.....	27
5.1 State versus the people: Influence.....	27
5.2 Lack of trust, lack of acceptance.....	31
5.3 Discussion climate: Little room for debate.....	35
5.4 Legitimacy of wildlife management	37
5.5 Conflict level.....	39
6. Analysis/Discussion	41
6.1 CCT Framework - Levels of Conflict.....	45
6.2 CCT Framework: The Conflict Intervention Triangle.....	49
7. Conclusion and Future Research	55
References.....	58
Annexes.....	67
Annex 1: Interview Guide for WMD members	67
Annex 2: Interview Guide for CAB officer	68
Annex 3: Interview Guide for SEPA employee.....	70

List of Figures

Figure 1: Levels of conflict model.....	22
Figure 2: Conflict intervention triangle model	22

1. Introduction

Throughout the world, “human-wildlife conflicts” (HWC) create difficulties within wildlife management (Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2018; Madden, 2008). These conflicts can occur between humans about wildlife, for example when it is presumed that wildlife conservation efforts are prioritized over human needs, or local people are not given the power to address the conflict (Madden, 2004, p. 248). This can lead to the illegal hunting of wildlife, eroded trust for decision-makers, and starker divides between different stakeholder groups (Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2008, p. 89). According to Madden and McQuinn (2014), conservation conflicts are often deep-rooted due to previous history between stakeholders, and as such are not as straightforward as they may appear to be at the dispute level (p. 98).

While wolf conservation efforts have generally been accepted across Swedish authorities, nature organizations, and the public, there are others who argue that the preservation of wolves is threatening local values and traditions. For example, people experienced that their ability to practice agriculture, hunt, or engage in other recreational activities such as berry or mushroom picking is hindered by the presence of wolves (Sjölander-Lindqvist, 2006, p. 6), with similar effects seen in Norway (Skogen & Haaland, 2001; Skogen, 2015). Within Scandinavia, the return and recovery of large carnivores has led to escalating social and political mistrust and conflicting norms and values, as well as knowledges (Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2015; Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2018, p. 19). Thus, previous tensions between different groups can escalate with the presence of large carnivores, where they come to stand as a concrete manifestation of a deeper-rooted conflict.

The management of large carnivores in Finland, Norway, and Sweden remains a challenge despite efforts to decentralize governance through more collaborative modes (Sandström et al., 2018; Hansson-Forman et al., 2018). Collaborative governance measures have been initiated in Sweden as a means of resolving conflicts. In passing down a degree of power to the local levels through decentralizing wildlife management,

the hope was to create a more inclusive and transparent process to quell increasing tensions surrounding large carnivore presence in Sweden (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191).

Due to tensions surrounding large carnivore management (LCM), it becomes a politicized arena, charged with “emotive human responses” (Clark et al., 2014). Going beyond the traditionally scientific management of large carnivores to combine with approaches from the social sciences, will contribute to better understanding the complex problems surrounding human-wildlife coexistence (Sandström et al., 2015, p. 120). Unpacking the complexity of social clashes within wildlife management can have important implications for other parts of society. As argued by Madden (2015), the social conflicts present within wolf recovery can have consequences for both the ecosystem in terms of hindered conservation efforts, as well as negative societal effects. Conflict mitigation strategies are currently employed in the US in regards to wolf recovery efforts by the Center for Conservation Peacebuilding (CPeace). These interventions are based on a concept developed by CPeace, namely Conservation Conflict Transformation (CCT), which is adopted from conflict transformation (CT) within peace studies. This model is used to mitigate conservation debates through a reimagining of how conservationists conceive and approach conflict.

Of central concern to this research is wildlife governance in Sweden. Given the governmental policies surrounding wildlife management that enforce deliberative governance¹ as the way to mitigate conflict, Sweden has been chosen as an interesting case to theoretically apply the CCT model. The flexibility of the model is suitable to more creatively search for alternative approaches to conflict resolution within LCM. Given that Sweden's policies reflect an approach that both attempts to increase the conservation of large carnivores, and seeks to address stakeholder conflict, a theoretical analysis using the CCT model may lead to implementation in practice. While a plethora of studies exists within social sciences regarding human emotions, perceptions, and

¹Deliberative governance defined here as: ability to “increase policy legitimacy or foster understanding and learning across stakeholder interests” (Lundmark & Matti, 2015, p. 149).

values towards wildlife, there is a subsequent lack of solutions being sought out and implemented to reduce human-wildlife conflicts around the world.

Wildlife governance versus wildlife management: Definitions

Here the difference between the term *wildlife governance* and *wildlife management* will be defined to provide clarity for the rest of the thesis. *Governance* refers to the “instruments and mechanisms available to collectively steer an organization or society” (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 25), i.e. the laws, policies, regulations, and processes collectively put into action by governments (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 15). *Wildlife management* is essentially the “making and implementing of decisions” and is reflected in the type of governance structure a state takes. More recently, states have been adopting *collaborative governance* structures, whereby non-state actors are involved in governance processes in order to gain greater public support for conservation efforts (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 22). This is exemplified through the Swedish state’s initiatives to include local actors in the governance of wildlife through decentralizing wildlife management to regional delegations. Both LCM and the governance of large carnivores will be referred to throughout this thesis, yet cannot be used interchangeably.

1.1 Aim & Research Question

The continued prevalence of HWC in countries around the world prompts the need for up-to-date research into mitigating factors. Constructive conservation processes cannot be achieved by simply addressing the material concerns at the surficial level of a conflict, but rather require assessing the more underlying values, concerns, and needs of stakeholders (Sjölander-Lindqvist, 2008; Madden & McQuinn, 2014).

This research will seek to analyze the controversy regarding wildlife management in Sweden through qualitative interviews with a focus on the county of Västra Götaland. This thesis focuses on a theoretical testing of the CCT model to assess the feasibility of future steps that are based on addressing the underlying human needs behind conservation conflicts. Although national strategies based on collaborative governance have been implemented in Sweden (Swedish Government Bill 2008/09:210; Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191), conflict continues to permeate wildlife management.

Analyzing the management side of the conflict could shed light on the effectiveness of the current governance model to sustainably manage wildlife. Effective participation and collaboration of the stakeholders involved in conflict is essential to ameliorating tensions (Senecah, 2004). Therefore, assessing the relationships and process components as called for in the CCT model, could lead to a future governance model where the capacity of stakeholders to mitigate the tensions themselves may increase and lead to more sustainable wildlife conservation efforts regionally, and perhaps nationally in Sweden.

Thus this research asks the following questions:

What does an analysis of wildlife management say about whether the current collaborative governance model favors conflict resolution or not?

The following subsidiary question to the above main research question is:

What can an analysis of conflict about wildlife management in a Swedish county through a CCT framework contribute to transforming the conflict?

1.2 Limitations/Delimitations

In order to address the first research question, this thesis is delimited to an analysis of the management side rather than focusing on local perspectives. However, it can be argued that local perspectives are included, since representatives within the Wildlife Management Delegation (WMD) are meant to be inclusive of all stakeholder interests and concerns, and must live in the area they represent. Additionally, it is listed within the results section whether a respondent is from the County Administrative Board (CAB) or WMD, but it is not specified which interest group they represent. This delimitation was made for reasons of anonymity and because this thesis focuses on perspectives within different management positions, and not on an individual's represented interest.

While the second research question asks what an analysis of conflict about wildlife management through a CCT framework can contribute to *transforming* conflict within the county of Västra Götaland, this research will not be implementing a practical component, such as an intervention. This is to help limit the scope of the research, so as to not run the risk of attempting to include too much. A practical component would

require time for relationship building, and ultimately trust and willingness from stakeholder groups to participate in any intervention, which cannot be guaranteed from the beginning of the research process. This puts the researcher and stakeholders in a vulnerable position if expectations are not met, and thus cannot be included in the scope of the research at this time. Rather the focus is on analyzing factors that are potentially driving the controversy, and that could be at the heart of any future practical intervention to transform conflict. Thus the research offers a theoretical contribution to the possibility of conflict transformation within Swedish wildlife management. Recommendations for future research and other actions are based on the researchers' interpretation and analysis of the data.

The county of Västra Götaland is included in the central wildlife management section (*Mellersta förvaltningsområdet/MFO*). This management zone has the highest levels of the five large carnivore species (Svensson et al., 2019). Västra Götaland's county was selected based on the availability of interview data, and on geographical proximity. Although each county would most likely yield different results in terms of level and type of conflict, relationships between stakeholder groups locally and at the management level in other WMDs, the theoretical contribution based on an analysis using the CCT framework is relevant to other counties across Sweden, and could be replicable in future studies.

Finally, since the majority of interviews used in this research were completed in previous years, the researcher may face limitations in being able to fully interpret the setting and context, not having personally conducted all the interviews. The purpose of conducting follow-up interviews is also to gain a greater understanding of the context and to be able to ask more questions pertaining to the research questions in this thesis.

1.3 Relevance to Global Studies

In a world in which humans' exchange of ideas and their mobility are becoming increasingly faster and more frequent, public expectations for governance institutions are also changing (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 23). Rudolph et al. (2012) argue that collaborative governance is being pursued by many countries throughout the world as a way to "pool

resources and expertise” in order to strengthen conservation efforts (p. 22). The authors contend that the global governance debate goes against the traditional argument for state sovereignty, where dissemination of power to different actors is said to threaten the influence of the state (p. 22). This idea is becoming increasingly viewed as irrelevant - seeing as ecosystems, and thus conservation issues are spanned worldwide - making coordinated state and regional efforts through the form of international treaties and agreements more often the preferred direction (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 22). However, a contentious part of decentralizing wildlife management is how to include different knowledge systems, which can lead to the marginalization of certain groups rather than inclusion (Sjölander-Lindqvist et al., 2019). Central to this thesis is analyzing the wildlife governance structure in Sweden, which can contribute to the global discussion about the emphasis on collaborative governance in an increasingly complex and interconnected world.

Furthermore, a theoretical platform for this thesis is the Human Needs Theory (HNT), which is based in conflict resolution. This theory takes a more holistic look at what is driving conflict in relationships at all levels of society (i.e. from family units to governments). The analytical framework (the CCT model) used in this thesis builds off of the HNT both to assess the level of conflict, and to help surface solutions to conservation conflicts. The topic of conflict resolution is a core component of the Global Studies discipline as it relates to peace-building as well as sustainable development. The CCT model will be critically assessed in this research for its suitability in the conflict regarding wildlife management in a Swedish county. While each case of HWC is unique to the particular social, political, geographic, economic (etc.) factors of the country/region, research suggests that these conflicts share similarities in the challenges, causes, and effects, thus providing the argument for global collaboration and consultation (Madden, 2004, p. 249). The relevance of this research to Global Studies is a theoretical analysis of the controversy in Västra Götaland that could have practical implications for future work in this case, as well as for cases of HWC outside of the Swedish context.

2. Background & Previous Research

During the 1800s, hunting wolves was a popular activity in certain world regions, with no limits to the number of wolves one could shoot. The US and Sweden were among the top countries in reducing the species count. Between 1830 and 1840, a total of 6,700 wolves were killed in Sweden, over 700 per year (Berge, 2018, p. 78) The extinction of the wolf across much of Europe meant that for several generations, people living close to nature were relatively free from the concern of encountering wolves. Currently, over 300 regulations and directives related directly and/or indirectly to wildlife management have been implemented across the EU (Rudolph et al., 2012, p. 17). Consequentially, large carnivores - and most controversially wolves - are spreading out again. The question still remains unsettled amongst societies across Europe and other parts of the world, whether the numbers of large carnivores should be increasing. More specifically regarding the wolf, and whether it even has the right to exist or not (Sjölander-Lindqvist, 2006, p. 8).

2.1 Policy development of large carnivore management in Sweden

Several key policy initiatives on the international and EU level have shaped Swedish policies pertaining to LCM. On an international level, the passing of the Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats (Bern Convention)² in 1982, which was incorporated into Swedish law in 1986, lists the wolf as a protected species, and prohibits the keeping and/or killing of wolves, as well as the damaging of breeding/resting sites. Exceptions exist under certain circumstances to prevent “serious damage to crops, livestock, forests, and other forms of property” (SÖ 1983:30). The Convention on Biological Diversity implemented in 1993, is a legally binding international treaty with the main objectives of “conservation of biodiversity, sustainable use of biodiversity” and sharing equitably the benefits arising from genetic resources (Convention on Biological Diversity, 1993). The convention emphasizes collaborative governance in wildlife management generally. Through this treaty, Sweden became introduced to ideas of “social sustainability, participation, and decentralized management” in wildlife management (Eriksson, 2016, p. 13).

² The Bern Convention is an international treaty dedicated to nature conservation that protects species and habitats in Europe and some parts of Africa.

Additionally, Sweden became bound to the EU Habitats Directive (European Commission, 1992) once it joined the European Union in 1995. Under the EU Habitats Directive, the conservation of certain threatened plant and animal species is ensured to sustain biodiversity. The Directive does not set a number on the population levels for each country, but rather requires that the population remains 'viable' in order to reach the required "favorable conservation status". This is based on a certain species' demographic and genetic viability - i.e. the chances of a population becoming extinct within a certain number of years, and the availability of variation to avoid inbreeding, among other factors (Beissinger & McCullough, 2002). Additionally, since the conservation of a species cannot be based solely on each country's individual species count, but rather needs to be considered in its biological entirety, wildlife preservation and management efforts must be coordinated across all European countries and consistently reevaluated (Linnell et al., 2008, p. 15). In Sweden, the Directive is implemented through national hunting laws, and through regulations in the Swedish Environmental Code (*miljöbalken*) (Naturvårdsverket, 2016).

Nationally, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA/ *Naturvårdsverket*) is responsible for achieving the country's goals based on the EU Habitats Directive (Hansson-Forman et al. 2018, p. 843). In May 2019, the SEPA set the national minimum level of wolves at 300 (Naturvårdsverket, 2019). The SEPA estimates around 380 individual wolves in Scandinavia (i.e. between Norway and Sweden) during the 2018/2019 tracking season, with a margin of uncertainty between 300-494 wolves. In Sweden, considering the margin of uncertainty, it is estimated that there are between 237 and 390 wolves, which includes both those found dead and alive. In the 2018/2019 tracking season, lynx in Sweden were recorded to be well above the viable population level, whereas wolverines were recorded to be below this level. Bears are reported to be at a stable level in Sweden (Naturvårdsverket, 2019).

Sweden has a long history of committees that have served as consultants for policies on LCM at the national and regional levels, and "for building understanding across interests and opinions" (Sjölander-Lindqvist, 2008; Sandström et al., 2009). Prior to creating the

WMDs in 2010, the CABs had loosely formed Regional Large Carnivore Committees (RLCCs), which were mainly tasked with supporting the collaborative work done between the CABs and interest organizations by spreading information regarding the numbers of large carnivores returning to each county (Cinque, 2008, p. 163). In 2001, prompted by increasing large carnivore populations seen throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Swedish parliament created “A coherent large carnivore policy” (Swedish Government Bill 2000/01:57). Five large carnivore species (bear, wolf, lynx, golden eagle, and wolverine) were assigned minimum population targets to ensure their conservation status (Swedish Government Official Reports³ 1999:146). This proposal also formalized the mandates of the RLCCs (Cinque, 2008). These committees were made up of various stakeholders, and were present in each county that had a stable wolf population (Cinque, 2008).

The state was hoping that by involving the actors affected by the expanding large carnivore populations, they could minimize the conflict that was dramatically escalating around these animals in the 1990s (Cinque, 2003). These groups could participate in meetings and give suggestions to the administration. It was assumed that collaboration between the administrative authorities and those affected would increase the acceptance for large carnivore policies (Cinque, 2008, p. 165). According to a report by a governmental investigation committee (*Statens Offentliga Utredning*), the committee determined that there was a potential risk that interest organizations lose trust in officials through the CABs' consultation with these groups, and as such should be devoid of decision-making power (Swedish Government Official Reports 1999:146). Rather, the group was proposed to function more as “an arena for discussion” and a unit to instigate dialogue between the different groups (Cinque, 2008, p. 166).

Due to increasing population levels of large carnivores, and criticism of the “top-down” nature of 2001 large carnivore policy (Eriksson, 2016, p. 12), Swedish Parliament passed “A new large carnivore management” policy in 2009 (Swedish Government Bill

³ SOU: *Statens offentliga utredningar* (Official reports of the Swedish government): Public reports often published before the government makes a bill, whereby a selected person or committee has the mandate to investigate a certain issue.

2008/09:210). This policy was based on a collaborative governance approach that awarded more influence to regional and local levels by handing over management decisions to the CABs and the WMDs at the county level (Eriksson, 2016). The aim of this policy change was to increase acceptance and legitimacy at the local level (Swedish Government Official Reports 2012:22). The RLCCs were replaced by the WMDs and are comprised accordingly: Chairing each delegation is the county governor (*landshövding*), included in the delegation are five politicians (to represent the general public), one illegal hunting expert recommended by the police authority, and representatives from each of the following interest organizations: “agriculture, forestry, nature conservation, hunting/game management, outdoor life and local trade/tourism”. Most recently in 2018, after an evaluation of the WMDs was completed, it was determined that certain interest groups were underrepresented - specifically conservation and local tourism, and accordingly should have increased representation (Swedish Government’s Environmental Department (*Miljödepartamentet*), 2017). Thus, an additional representative was added to the conservation interest, and to the local tourism industry for a total of two each (Swedish Code of Statutes⁴ 2018:1049). In addition, representatives from “commercial fishery, seasonal foraging, reindeer herding and the Sámi parliament” are occasionally included when relevant (Swedish Government Bill 2008/09:210).

The most current arrangement consists of regional WMDs, which are incorporated by 20 of the 21 CABs into their governance structure across all of Sweden (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191). Since LCM is regionalized in this regard, yet must adhere to national goals set by the SEPA, communication, and congruency about population levels across the country is needed. Thus CABs are clustered into three management zones (South, Middle, and North). The Council of Collaboration (*Samverkansrådet*) consists of the governor of each county included in the three geographical zones in Sweden, plus an advisor from the Sámi Parliament (*Sametinget*) for the Middle and North zones. These Councils do not have any decision-making power, but rather are meant to provide a platform for discussion about LCM across the different zones in Sweden. The

⁴ Swedish Code of Statutes: *Svensk författningssamling* (SFS): All altered or new laws are publicized in the SFS website.

CABs are responsible for setting agenda points regarding wildlife management to be deliberated upon within their respective WMD, recommending population levels to the Council of Collaboration, and other duties pertaining to carrying out wildlife policies. The CAB ultimately delivers its recommendations to the SEPA that makes the final decision (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191; Swedish Government Official Reports 2009:1474).

The 2012 report based on a governmental investigation into the issue of LCM emphasized the importance of increasing acceptance for large carnivores through information spreading and dialogue with the local population (Swedish Government Official Reports 2012:22). The produced “sustainable large carnivore management” policy (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191) emphasized “social acceptability, legitimacy, and sustainability” in relation to LCM in the country (p. 13). More care was to be given to the socio-economic impacts that large predators have on communities, with the hope of increasing acceptance to reduce illegal hunting of the 5 large carnivore species (Swedish Government Official Reports 2012:22).

2.2 The wolf controversy

Since the implementation of the Swedish wolf policy over 50 years ago, which listed the wolf as a protected species in 1966, the country has witnessed the formation of a stable and growing wolf population (Swedish Government Official Reports 1999:146). Wolf management policy changes likely enlivened lasting debates between different societal groups, with some having the older “anthropocentric” values versus those who adopted the more conservationist, “ecocentric” values (Eriksson 2016, p. 1). This essentially can turn into an argument over the two extremes of whether the wolf belongs naturally to the environment or not, with the latter being from an anthropocentric viewpoint (Sjölander-Lindqvist, 2006, p. 6).

An additional point of contention central to the wolf debate globally is the socio-economic factor of rural-urban divide. A study in Norway revealed that rural communities were particularly distressed by wildlife-imposed damages, as they perceive that this wildlife is being protected by the “urban elites” (Skogen et al., 2008, p. 106).

According to Ericsson and Heberlein (2003) “wolves can be seen as a symbol of urban dominance over the less populated countryside...” (p. 150). In a Swedish study by Eriksson (2017), the effects of ‘political alienation’, which was expressed more distinctly among residents of rural areas, factored into participants being less likely to accept the current wolf policy (p. 1380). As wolves more often inhabit rural areas, people living in rural areas will by default be more affected by the increasing numbers. Both ‘proximity’ to and ‘direct experience’ with wolves have been discovered to lead to overall decreased acceptance of the species, and as such will likely increase the often-opposing opinions between urban and rural residents over time (Eriksson, 2016, p. 1). Eriksson’s 2017 study highlights the need to include an assessment of the social context in policies pertaining to natural resource management, since addressing the power imbalances felt between rural and urban can lead to increased “policy legitimacy and management efficiency” (p. 1374).

In a study by Ericsson and Heberlein (2003), they discovered that the public attitude towards wolves in Sweden is relatively neutral, as so much of the general public has not had any encounters with wolves. However, if wolves become more of a media focus, this could lead to rapid attitude changes towards wolves in either a positive or negative direction, though researchers believe it is more likely to be a negative shift (p. 157). In looking at attitude changes over time, Ericsson and Heberlein found that in the last 25 years up to 2003, the general public in Sweden had become more positive towards wolves, whereas hunters had become more negative. To better highlight this shift, in 1976, 70% of hunters agreed that the wolf population should increase, compared to only 40% reporting this opinion in 2003 (Ericsson & Heberlein, 2003, p. 156). Additionally, the authors found that 70% of hunters at the time of the study supported the wolves’ right to exist, while 90% of the non-hunting public had this opinion. A more recent study shows that amongst the general public, the wolf approval rate was 74% in 2004, with a decrease to 71% in 2009, and 66% in 2014 (Ericsson et al. 2018, p. 200).

In 2016, the SEPA proposed a re-distribution of the wolf population across the country to sustain a viable population level, while also reducing conflicts between humans and

wolves (Naturvårdsverket, 2016). The SEPA will write a new proposal for wolf population levels in 2019 to be implemented in 2020. This is driven by the goal of the SEPA to spread out the concentration of wolves to both the northern and southern zones so as to maintain a viable population nationally while reducing the concentration in the middle management zone. Through this proposal, collaboration and cooperation are required across Sweden to effectively manage large carnivore populations – which further contributes to the question's complexity.

Most recently, in a debate article published in the Swedish Hunters' Association magazine (*Svenska Jägareförbundets tidskrift*) in October 2019, the president of the Swedish Hunters' Association, Torbjörn Larsson, discussed the topic of illegal hunting (Larsson, 2019). He related that in order to decrease illegal hunting, which Larsson contends the Hunters' Association is firmly in support of reducing, there needs to be a) punishment for those who commit the crime of illegal hunting, and more importantly b) an attempt on the authorities side and amongst the public to understand the problem of *why* people are turning to illegal hunting. Larsson argued that the reason is “deeply human”, and is based on the way people react when they feel “left out, repeatedly disappointed, powerless, and without possibilities to influence their immediate environment”. He challenged authorities to create a wolf management policy with a better understanding for those who must live in proximity to the wolves, saying that non-action by politicians would result in the wolf “eventually only [being] managed illegally” (Larsson, 2019). Thus there is a continuously heated debate surrounding the presence of wolves and the current large carnivore policy.

2.3 Deliberative governance as the way forward?

The changing role of the state in the last few decades has ushered in a wave of experimentation with different ways to involve the public in decision-making (Sjölander-Lindqvist & Cinque, 2014, p. 361). It is thought that by mobilizing a wider selection of state and non-state actors in the creation of new policies, that it provides more space for effective social decisions (Barber, 1984; Fisher, 2000; Meyers and Vorsanger, 2007; Pateman, 1970 in Sjölander-Lindqvist & Cinque, 2014, p. 361) Thus, many countries

have adopted more participatory, collaborative means of large carnivore governance (Hansson-Forman et al., 2018, p. 837).

In a 2018 study by Hansson-Forman et al., the authors compared the governance of large carnivores in Finland, Sweden, and Norway and found that both Sweden and Norway have more decentralized modes of governance, in comparison to the more top-down approach in Finland. Finland has centralized power at the governmental level, with stakeholder groups at the regional levels having little more than an advisory role. Hansson-Forman et al. (2018) contend that as a consequence, Finland's LCM may never be deemed as legitimate unless actors are awarded more decision-making power locally (p. 845). Whereas Norway falls short of involving key actors at regional and local levels, Sweden suffers from a lack of "power-sharing and communication within the collaborative unit" (Hansson-Forman et al., 2018, p. 847). Sweden has come furthest in Scandinavia in terms of designing their governance of natural resources based on decentralization and deliberation. Despite this, there is yet to be a success story within any of the Scandinavian countries that have adopted this design. Rather, conflict seems to intensify (Duit and Löf, 2015; Hallgren and Westberg, 2015; Skogen, 2015, Eriksson, 2016).

The continued conflict over governance of large carnivores despite the presumed ideal deliberative governance design thus begs the question- *what part of the process is failing?* Is deliberative governance the way forward for LCM, or, as Hansson-Forman et al. (2018) suggest, are the international policies that are calling for increased deliberation and decentralization actually constricting the individual country's ability to adopt a model that fits best for them?

2.4 Swedish Wildlife Management Delegations today

Lundmark and Matti (2015) analyzed the shift to WMDs that took place in Sweden in 2010, which reorganized carnivore management. The government's intent to "increase legitimacy and reduce conflicts surrounding large carnivore management" (p. 148) has not been actualized, according to the results of this study. A study conducted between 2007-2011 revealed that one year after the implementation of the new management

system, the overall legitimacy of the management had dropped, and continues to drop (Duit & Löf, 2015). Previous research suggests that in order for deliberative governance to succeed, certain criteria need to be met, namely 'influence', 'transparency', and 'equality'. A fourth factor the study deemed as necessary, yet found to be distinctly missing from the WMDs, was "'reasoned debate'; i.e. a respectful and mutual exchange of experiences and arguments" (Lundmark & Matti, 2015, p. 155). Many participants were trying to 'win' the debate, thus hampering the core of deliberative theory, which revolves around openness to others' beliefs (p. 155). Lundmark and Matti (2015) argue that WMD representatives "need to experience a deeper understanding of opposing views", and that the system needs to be better designed to handle these differing beliefs (p. 155). In order to increase legitimacy, the study calls for a deliberative design that "promotes understanding and learning among participating stakeholders (p. 156).

Duit and Löf (2015) provide a bleak picture of the effects that the decentralization of power through the creation of the WMDs has had on LCM in Sweden. They contend that overall, policy legitimacy, input legitimacy⁵, and output legitimacy have all decreased with the transition to the WMDs. Participants in the study (then RLCC representatives and later WMD representatives) reported that representation within the WMDs had become more heavily focused on hunting interests, representatives were less knowledgeable than those previously and that the quality of "representative arrangement" had decreased (p. 1085).

A dominating trend among several studies is the influence that the rural/urban divide has on carnivore management. Eriksson et al. (2016) studied the Swedish public's opinion on what actors should be included in the WMDs. They found that individuals living in rural areas preferred to have actors with a more utilitarian focus, whereas people in urban spaces preferred representatives who had a more conservationist perspective (p.11). This could explain attitudinal divisions within the WMDs since representatives have strong ties to their interest groups (Eriksson et al., 2016). Eriksson et al. (2016) contend that

⁵ Input legitimacy defined here as: "participation, representation, and knowledge/competence". Output: "policy impact or problem-solving capacity" (Scharpf 2009 in Duit & Löf, 2015, p. 1082).

rather than a problem of legitimacy within the WMDs as Lundmark and Matti (2015) observe, it could instead be due to this stark value divide within the WMDs which is preventing a deliberative, inclusive process (Eriksson et al., 2016). A history of divide among stakeholders, who have different interpretations of what “human and natural worlds constitute” based on diverse experiences and understandings, further hinders the deliberation process (Shore et al. 2011; Walker et al., 2006 in Sjölander-Lindqvist & Cinque, 2014, p. 376).

In terms of representation within the WMDs, there appears to be confusion as to what role a delegate is meant to have, and gaps between expectations of being a delegate and what actually gets carried out within the WMDs (Duit & Löf, 2015; Lundmark & Matti, 2015). According to the aforementioned study by Lundmark and Matti (2015), the majority of interviewed WMD participants reported feeling that they were unsure of their mandates regarding decision-making and internal procedures. There was also “unclear discretion vis-à-vis the SEPA and CABs” (p. 154). Respondents in this study related that they felt influence was unequal within the WMD, as some delegates had a longer experience with wildlife management, or were more committed to the debate (p. 154).

2.5 Proposals for improvement of wildlife management

Several studies have been conducted that include recommendations for improving the deliberative process around LCM in Sweden. One proposed way forward is through “sociological legitimacy”, where stakeholders set the terms for collaboration, i.e. trust-building and communication procedures, instead of it being based on what the state mandates (Borgström, 2012; von Essen, 2012; Hallgren & Westberg, 2015; Lundmark & Matti, 2015). This argument relates to an article on HWC where law and policy are regarded as both factors that could either exacerbate conflict or help to reduce it (Madden, 2008).

Another proposal comes from an article that created an overarching approach to LCM in Sweden out of combing through a multitude of social science theories and perspectives on this topic and identifying those that are reoccurring. The authors delimit five concepts that are core to LCM: Namely, trust between stakeholder groups, “fair representation” of

actors' interests, recognition of a multitude of knowledges, "communication, based on dialogue about pluralistic perspectives, to collectively formulate and agree on set goals", and leadership highlighting "empowerment" (Sandström et al., 2015, p. 121). While taken from different methodological perspectives and forms of social sciences, the authors emphasize that focusing on the human elements, such as people's emotions and perspectives towards large carnivores is vital to understanding the complexity of LCM. An assessment of the social factors underlying human-wildlife conflicts is essential to resolving conflict (Dickman, 2010; Madden & McQuinn, 2014).

Finally, a practical theory called the Trinity of Voice (TOV) by Senecah (2004) identifies elements of effective participation for processes in wildlife management. Namely, "access, standing, and influence" are highlighted as preconditions for effective stakeholder participation in environmental management. *Access* here is defined as the ability for a person to access information and education to the extent that he/she feels they can contribute to a process in an active rather than merely "reactionary" way (Senecah, 2004, p. 23). Simply by providing a public forum for people to openly discuss, does not mean that they have adequate access to participate effectively (p. 27). *Standing* is described generally as the "respect, the esteem, and the consideration that all stakeholders' perspectives should be given". Within environmental management, this translates to, among other avenues, "dialogue and deliberation", and "genuine empathy" for the concerns raised by others (p. 24). Lastly, *influence* is explained as a culmination of both the access and standing which has allowed for a person's ideas to be thoughtfully and respectfully considered, and transparently debated before reaching a final decision (p. 25).

Senecah (2004) argues that trust is the most important overarching factor for creating an effective process (p. 21). The TOV can be linked to CCT in that it provides a practical theory for how human needs can look in practice within environmental management. While the structure for deliberative governance can exist, the relationships between stakeholders within this structure can impact its effectiveness (Lundmark & Matti, 2015). Therefore, examining the relationships and the human components within a given

governance structure is vital to understanding the process. Madden (2004) similarly argues that a good process gives attention to dialogue and relationship building.

3. Theoretical & Analytical Frameworks

What the previous research demonstrates, is that conflict around wildlife management still exists across Scandinavia. In Sweden, the dominant perspective remains that deliberative governance is the way forward, though the process is wrought with flaws that are hindering the sustainable management of large carnivores. Essentially, studying *human needs*, which are discussed similarly in the literature- for example, the need for dignity, respect, influence, etc. is critical to creating not only a functional delegation but to producing an effective and sustainable wildlife management process. It is therefore important to search for innovative methods by which these needs can be concretely incorporated into the governance structure and management process.

3.1 Human Needs Theory

The following theory by Burton (1990) has been chosen for this research due to its basis in conflict resolution. The approach seeks to determine the underlying factors contributing to altercations in all relationships within society (i.e. family, industry, commercial, international), rather than the more traditional approach of explaining different forms of conflict at different levels of society (p. 263). Burton argues that people act out in disturbing and harmful ways to society due to frustration stemming from unmet needs. A political system that prioritizes the fulfillment of certain basic human needs, that both recognizes and attempts to fulfill these needs, can use this as a “factual, objective, and rational” basis for evaluating social situations wrought with potential conflict (p. 127). As stated by Roy (1990), conflict may not be eliminated, but rather fitting solutions that take into account these shared human needs can be found more easily. In doing so, Roy states that “differences of principle can be reduced to the technical question of facts” (p. 127).

Burton's HNT (1990) includes human needs that go beyond Maslow's (1954) famous hierarchy of needs. Burton and other contributing authors extend the list to include non-

material needs in addition to the physical factors necessary for survival (i.e. food, water, shelter, etc.). The theory claims that after these needs are satisfied, there are factors such as

“...Status and recognition, dignity and respect, empowerment, freedom, voice and control, meaning and personal fulfillment, identity (one's sense of self in relation to the outside world), belonging and connectedness, social, emotional, cultural, and spiritual security” (Burton, 1990; Marker, 2003; Satterfield, 2002 in Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 98).

These will be fought for relentlessly until they are met, thus leading people to act outside of the “legal norms of the society” (Burton, 1990, p. 37).

According to Burton (1990), there is a significant distinction between values, interests, and needs. Yet these are often interchanged on the decision-making level, and misuse or misunderstanding of the terms can lead to policy disputes (p. 39). He argues that values are cultural (and acquired) and that interests are “transitory”, while needs are universal to humans and necessary for their continued development. Both values and needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded or negotiated (Burton, 1990). Burton contends that decision-makers often employ strategies that address satisfying the short-term interests in society to secure their political position. Thus, longer-term interests are frequently overlooked in governance (p. 166). According to Sites (1990), needs satisfaction depends on control over one's environment. If a person is to find meaning in one's life, he/she has to have a degree of control over the shaping of the “social reality” (p. 25). Since politics and every form of organization in society are value-based, trying to deny “the politics of need” is a form of politics in itself (i.e. that of suppression) (Soper, 1981). Burton (1990) argues that the structural sources of conflict have to be addressed in order to resolve, rather than simply manage the conflict (p. 55), especially when they are deep-rooted (p. 1). Lacking an understanding of the problem, there cannot be an agreed-upon policy, and even the “treatment of symptoms” (i.e. making policies that address the dispute/material level of conflict) becomes a debate (p. 111).

The interview data used in this research derived from questions pertaining to the legitimacy of the WMDs. Burton (1990) draws a link between conflict, conflict resolution, and legitimization of authority. He argues that while authority can be recognized legally, and thus having power in this sense, the stability of the relationship between authorities and those under authority is dependent on “experienced reciprocity” (p. 126). Thus, if there is no expressed value in having a mutual relationship, authority will slowly be broken down, likely leading to “resistance and instability in the relationship” (Burton, 1990, p. 126). Legitimacy can only be gained, and not forced. This can be achieved through authorities’ continuous adaptation to meet changes in society, as well as striving for a reciprocal relationship where citizens feel they are gaining from maintaining the relationship (Burton, 1990, p. 127).

The bulk of the analysis for this thesis is finding areas of contention within wildlife management in the Swedish county of Västra Götaland. At the core of this analysis is deriving unmet needs from stakeholders that could be driving the conflict. Approaching conflict resolution based on human needs can produce ‘win-win’ scenarios, where all involved can gain in some way (Marker, 2003). While the human needs approach allows for more “collaborative and multifaceted problem-solving models” among other techniques, it is not a tool in itself for conflict resolution (Gillwald, 1990, p. 123). Thus, the use of the CCT model is used in this thesis as the tool for determining pathways forward for wildlife management in Sweden.

3.2 Conservation Conflict Transformation (CCT)

The CCT model by Madden & McQuinn (2014) has at its core Burton’s HNT (1990). The CCT model has been selected for this research as it encourages elements such as those implemented in policy initiatives pertaining to the wildlife governance in Sweden. Swedish directives recommend a deliberative governance model as a way to involve all affected stakeholders, and thus as a way to reduce conflict. The rather limited success of these initiatives makes the theoretical application of this framework both relevant and appealing in its application to the controversy in Sweden. The use of the CCT framework provides a more rigorous and comprehensive method for narrowing down avenues for a sustainable solution by working towards *reconciliation* beyond resolution. This

framework will be applied in the analysis section in order to understand how the data according to the HNT can be used for a discussion around potential pathways forward for wildlife management in Sweden.

According to Madden and McQuinn (2014), conservation conflicts are often deep-rooted. These conflicts are driven by non-negotiable needs (Burton, 1990), which will produce negative outcomes if threatened, especially if they are identity-based (Lederach, 1997; Rothman, 1997). The CCT theory approaches conflict remediation through focusing on “social, psychological, and systemic root causes of conflict”, and moving beyond the more obvious dispute level (Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 100).

The three Levels of Conflict displayed in **Figure 1** have the *dispute* context at the top. This is explained as the surficial component of a conflict, which is typically more material-based. Madden and McQuinn (2014) illustrate this model through an analogy of a minor car accident. For example, at the first level i.e. dispute, two strangers get into a minor car accident and consequently discuss how to settle the incident through deciding who will pay. The second layer is *underlying conflict*, which is characterized by having a “history of unresolved disputes” that further aggravate the current situation. To follow the car accident analogy, at this level, the car accident was instead between a recently divorced couple. The conflict, therefore, has a greater chance of escalating due to possible unresolved tensions between the divorced couple and thus becomes more than a mere fender bender, but rather an opportunity to “right past injustices” (p. 101). At the third level, i.e. *identity-based conflict*, the car analogy then becomes based on an accident between, for example, two people from countries who recently were at war with each other. The two may be strangers but become aware of the other’s ‘identity’ after stepping out of their vehicles and seeing each other’s license plate displaying county of residence. Suddenly, the accident is wrought with “prejudicial assumptions and judgments” that may place blame by association to that person for the ‘group’ that they belong to. This last example is likely to be more intense and complex than the previous two (p. 101).

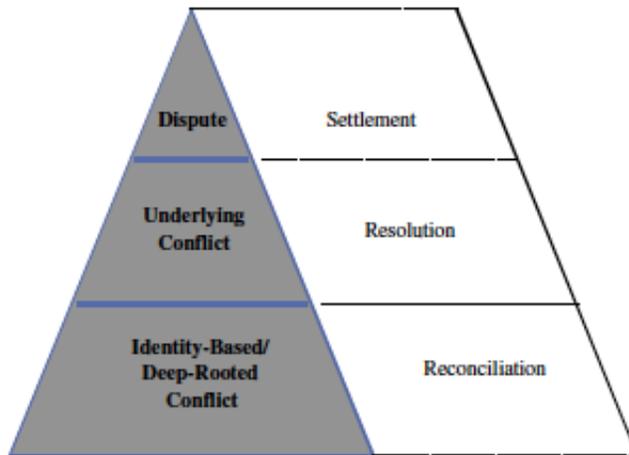


Figure 1: Levels of Conflict model

(Source: Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 100 - an adaptation from the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution, 2000, p. 73).

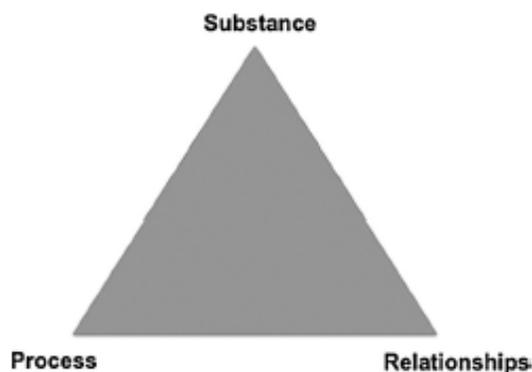


Figure 2: Conflict Intervention Triangle model

(Source: Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 102 - an adaptation from Moore, 1986 and Walker & Daniels, 1997, p. 22).

The Conflict Intervention Triangle in **Figure 2** represents possible sources of conflict, as well as the areas that need to be addressed, each one important in finding a solution to the conflict at hand. The *substance* aspect corresponds to the dispute level of conflict and refers most often to the material aspects in a conflict. The *process* element relates to the overall design of decision-making, “equity, and authority, and how (and by whom) these are exercised” (Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 102). A person or group can reject a decision if they feel they were left out of the process, even if the core of the proposal addresses their practical needs. Lack of trust can come from both stakeholders as well as decision-makers. For example, there is often resistance in handing over decision-making

power to stakeholders, as it could lead to loss of control or insupportable compromises (Leong et al., 2009; Rudolph et al., 2012). The *relationships* component mostly involves personal conflicts between people or groups whose relationship to one another lacks a certain level of trust or respect, and as such becomes a point of contention (Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 102). A well-designed intervention provides the “space and opportunity for a reconciliation of deep-rooted social conflicts...” by being as attentive to the process and relationships components as to the substance element (Hicks, 2001; Lederach et al., 2007; Lederach, 2005; Walker and Daniels, 1997 in Madden & McQuinn, 2014, p. 103).

4. Methods

The data for this research is comprised of interviews previously conducted in the Swedish county of Västra Götaland between 2015 and 2016 by the project lead, Annelie Sjölander-Lindqvist⁶, with four additional interviews completed by the author of this thesis. These in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with CAB officers, and managers and members in the WMD regarding challenges and incentives for collaborative governance and legitimacy. The fourth interview was conducted with an employee at the SEPA.

This research is *abductive* (Danermark et al., 2002), as the CCT framework and HNT will be the main form of departure for the analysis. The authors define the abductive approach as a creative and innovative method within social sciences to “interpret and recontextualize individual phenomena within a conceptual framework or a set of ideas” (p. 80). Abduction essentially is inserting the original ideas about a selected phenomenon into a different framework (p. 80). In doing so, the researcher can attribute “new meaning to already known phenomena” (p. 91). In this thesis, the CCT framework and HNT are the basis for interpreting and analyzing the results. These theories have not yet been applied to research regarding wildlife management in any Scandinavian country. The

⁶ Project title: *Environmental Collaborative Governance in Large Carnivore Management: Policy and Institutional Design, Administrative Leadership and Stakeholders*. Funded by the Swedish Research Council (2015-2018).

strength in using the abductive approach is that it allows the researcher to “discern relationships and connections not evident or obvious”, which is not possible through inductive or deductive approaches (p. 93). Recontextualizing the previous research done on wildlife management in Sweden could “gradually test, modify, and ground theories about general contexts and structures” (p. 94). By analyzing the interviews following the analytical framework of CCT by Madden and McQuinn (2014) and incorporating arguments from the HNT, potential solutions for reducing the ongoing conflict regarding LCM in Västra Götaland are examined within the larger Swedish context.

The main analytical method used for this research is a thematic analysis of the interview data. This method follows a 6-phase guide to thematic analysis produced by Braun and Clarke (2006). They argue that thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 6). The guide by Braun and Clarke (2006) was selected for this research, as it most clearly outlines the steps for undertaking a thematic analysis of qualitative data sets. A thematic analysis was identified as the most comprehensive method to produce a clearer story about the current status of wildlife management in Sweden.

Understanding the background of wildlife management policies and their organizational structure is key to contextualizing the debates surrounding wildlife management in Sweden. As Madden (2004) contends, mitigation strategies for conservation conflicts *can* be standardized to fit diverse conflict situations, but that they must be understood within the unique “social, cultural, economic, political, historical, biological, and geographic complexities” from which they arise (p. 251). Combining this analysis of in-depth interviews with a more extensive background literature review of developments in the Swedish context up until the present, allowed for a deeper understanding of connections between themes in the data.

Following the 6-phase guide for thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006), the researcher began by 1) *getting familiar with the data* by transcribing the verbal data of the four additional interviews that were conducted, and searching for “patterns of

meaning and issues of potential interest” within the entire data set (i.e. across all the interviews) (p. 15). According to Braun and Clarke, this involves constantly moving back and forth between the data set and noted observations and emerging themes and is a process that continues from the beginning to the end of the analysis (p. 15). Phase 2 involved *generating initial codes* out of the general observations and patterns that arose from a first read through the data. Subsequent phases involved *sorting codes into themes*, *reviewing the themes*, *defining themes*, and lastly *reporting the themes* in the final analysis. NVivo was identified as the most suitable software program to allow a more rigorous and organized engagement with the data.

4.1 Interviewees

A total of 21 interviews were conducted with managers and delegates within the WMDs, officers within the CAB in the county of Västra Götaland, and an employee at the SEPA, making a comprehensive investigation of wildlife management in the county of Västra Götaland. 17 of these interviews were conducted previously. According to Swedish regulation, members of the WMDs should be chosen with careful consideration given to reaching a gender balance (Swedish Code of Statutes 2009:1474). At the time the interviews were conducted, a total of 7 out of 17 members were women. One delegate from each of the following interest groups and political parties were interviewed: Left party, Social Democrats, Green party, Liberals, police, hunting, local tourism, landowners, conservation, recreation, and forest management. Additionally, all four county administrative officials, each with different responsibilities (tasks include wildlife tracking, population inventory, large carnivore management, etc.), and the county governor were interviewed.

The four additional interviews were conducted with two delegates from the WMD, one CAB officer, and one employee at the SEPA. Interviewees were chosen for a follow-up interview based on their representation within the delegation. One represented the conservation interest, and the other represented the forestry interest. These are two of the more central interests in the wildlife debate and can have goals and philosophies that are contradictory to one another. One officer from the CAB was also re-interviewed. For the one respondent who was interviewed previously, the purpose of the follow-up interview

was to give the interviewee space to either reconfirm or change their expressed answers to selected questions relevant to the topic of this thesis. The remaining three follow-up interviews included more questions focused on addressing the research questions of this thesis, as well as to see if the current WMD members had similar opinions to those interviewed previously. All interviews were done over the phone and lasted approximately one hour.

Data triangulation was employed in this research to critically examine if there is a reasonable correlation between what interviewees report. If a respondent shared a personal story or opinion, it was not triangulated with other respondents as if corroborating a fact, but rather was interpreted and analyzed as 'their truth'. The majority of the questions asked by the interviewer in the collected interview data set are relevant to the respondents' personal background of experience (e.g. formal education, working experience, experience due to personal interest in a given sector), and thus respondents are considered here to have given their expert opinion.

4.2 Ethical considerations

The data in this research was mainly based on previously conducted in-depth interviews with stakeholders in the county of Västra Götaland. Also acting as supervisor for this thesis, the project lead has given consent to access and use her data for the purpose of this research. The interview data was collected according to the Swedish Research Council's (*Vetenskapsrådet*) code of conduct for research, meaning interviewees consented to participate in the research after they were informed of the study, remained anonymous and their information stayed confidential (*Vetenskapsrådet*, 2017). Respondent anonymity was given special attention to since the thesis deals with sensitive questions affecting the daily lives of wildlife managers and affected stakeholders. Some interviewees expressed during interviews their concern for remaining anonymous due to potential conflict that could arise. Therefore names, gender, and interest group associated with participants are not stated in this thesis. All interview data was raw and had not yet been analyzed for any other purpose prior to its use in this thesis. Interviews were transcribed word-for-word by a third person (i.e. not the project lead). Interview data files were passed electronically between the head researcher and her team members, as well as

to the author of this thesis. The initial email contact to all additional interviewees outlined a short description of the thesis, how long the interview would last, the reason for their selection, and request for their participation given the option to deny participation.

5. Results

Each section thematizes respondents' statements and opinions regarding the set-up (governance) and process (management) based on their experiences as an employee of the SEPA, or a member, manager, or officer within wildlife governance in Västra Götaland. Some themes were made according to repeated viewpoints related to the research question, while others were determined not due to their frequency, but because they captured important components within the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pg. 10). Overall, the presiding themes throughout interviews in order by section include: *influence, trust, lack of debate, and legitimacy*. The last section (5.6), describes the conflict level in regards to wildlife management reported in interviews. All themes presented here will be explored and analyzed in the Analysis section through the HNT and CCT framework in order to answer the research questions.

5.1 State versus the people: Influence

While many respondents feel generally positive towards the set-up within the WMD, it was expressed that moreover there are problems in the relationship between the WMD and the SEPA, as well as between the CAB and the SEPA. In the current policy framework, the SEPA is responsible for setting the population levels for all five large carnivore species in Sweden but can delegate this responsibility to or revoke it from the CABs when deemed appropriate or necessary (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191; Swedish Code of Statutes 2009:1474). Many delegates feel that they are lacking decision-making power despite efforts to decentralize this, and are constricted by the legal framework of the SEPA and EU. One member said:

It [WMD] is steered from above: the SEPA and the EU. In this case, it is a masquerade. It is the clearest example where one doesn't, in reality, have any space for action. We are allowed to give our opinion, but it is not certain that it will be so.

Another member related the delegation to a type of “*chimera*”⁷, especially when it comes to the wolf question.

Within the WMD, many expressed frustration over their lack of influence as a delegate. Several expressed that they are essentially an advisory group with no decision making power, and are being steered from above. When asked about the set-up of the WMD and their relation to the Council of Collaboration, one interviewee expressed frustration over their tendency to override decisions taken within the WMDs. When asked why they feel that this council has been created in the first place, they said they asked this same question was asked to the CAB leadership and got the answer that it is needed because the delegation cannot see the entirety of decisions and thus need the council to align the thinking with the goals and decisions of the SEPA.

Respondents were asked in their interviews whether they felt that the government policy (Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191) was reasonable in their opinion. This policy calls to work towards a protection status of large carnivores, with a decrease in the number of damages to livestock and pets, and an increase in trust for the administration. In response, many feel that there are incongruences between what the policies say on paper, and what can and is being done in practice. One member responded:

Rationally no contradictions, but practically it arises because wolves and lynx are always going to eat moose and calves. Too many moose are grazing the forest – economic losses and then the traffic accidents increase because you have too much wildlife. It is difficult practically speaking to solve this. As a result, there are big practical problems, no concrete goals – of course the level of trust decreases for this.

⁷ “A thing which is hoped for but is illusory or impossible to achieve” (Dictionary.com)

In terms of reaching and maintaining favorable conservation of large carnivores, one respondent expressed the effects of constantly turning to the numbers when discussing questions pertaining to large carnivores. They said:

The figures for a favorable conservation status have been presented in many different numbers – many have gotten tired of number exercises. I experience that the bouncing back and forth with numbers has sabotaged the question.

One respondent related that all the delegates may be sitting there for different reasons, as well as have different understandings of what their representation means. They expressed that some are there for their profession, some for a special interest, and some out of economic interests. They went on to say:

Different bases simply. Different pictures of what their assignments include. Different experiences how one conducts a session, how one makes decisions, which mandates do we have to make a decision – it is very curtailed, some frustrated that they can't do what they want within the regulatory framework.

In an interview with an employee from the SEPA, they related that anchoring questions within the CAB has its advantages but that a side effect of forming the WMDs is that it created false expectations that people would subsequently have much more influence than previously. This, they argue, has led to heightened disappointment for when people do not see results they had been expecting to see. They related that a large part of their work involves collaboration and dialogue with stakeholders, which is done through various methods. For example, suggestions for changes to wildlife regulations are sent out to other authorities and interest organizations, which can then send in their opinions regarding this, should they have any. The respondent said that this is not a form of delegation, rather an authorities' responsibility to hear from stakeholders. These comments are then discussed and weighed within the SEPA, but they are ultimately decided upon according to Parliament and the government's regulatory framework, they related.

Within the CAB management interviews, there was special attention given to assessing where people's frustration and lack of trust with authorities is stemming from. As one CAB officer explained:

[...] We at the authorities cannot shake ourselves free from that we have not been interested enough in what people on the countryside think about the large carnivore occurrence, and that has led to frustration...There is nothing as ineffective as trying to silence a person, to say that that person is wrong because then you are going to still have this need to say [...]

They continued by saying that, as a consequence, these extreme groups have stopped talking, but “have not stopped acting in other ways”.

Amongst CAB administrators, some respondents expressed frustration over the current wildlife policy structure and the limitations they face in their job to be able to investigate the causes of death and/or unreported disappearances of wolves. They expressed that without being able to look deeper into the causes of these deaths and disappearances, it becomes difficult to maintain a viable wolf population, as well as follow the current large carnivore policy. More than that, it can lead to a feeling of frustration that those who take species inventory are constrained to simply reporting numbers, and not in being able to speak for what these numbers might mean and the reasons behind them. They said:

We aren't given the possibility to look in-depth at what we can do, what we can take for action to see if this reduction doesn't....if we succeed with preventing these reductions, except we just sit and count without some form of reflection, and that money is doubtful, I think, if we don't care about where these animals are disappearing to.

In a follow-up interview with this same respondent, they were careful to not criticize the WMD and felt positive towards their dealing with wildlife management questions. However, in terms of the intended goal that the WMD should be representative of society

and include the perspectives of affected stakeholders (as according to Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191) they were critical towards how this looks in practice. They said:

I think that one sees in the document that it is about clearly communicating what our goals are to this countryside population that lives close to these animals, or? But nowhere does it say that one intends to consider their views, and it leads to no discussion, and there isn't an interest in knowing either...

And further went on to say that:

So there is nothing wrong with the WMD, but it is not enough to say that one has from the authority side, taken in viewpoints from those who are affected by the large carnivore question.

Whether the mandate is unclear or not does not alter the effects that this uncertainty and confusion can have on the administration as a whole. Many delegates expressed either an uncertainty around what their role within the WMD is or frustration and disillusionment with the administration for not meeting their expectations.

5.2 Lack of trust, lack of acceptance

Across the interviews, there is an expressed lack of trust between authorities and the public and vice versa. Some report that the public has essentially stopped communicating with authorities due to a lack of trust. This is seen in unreported wolf disappearances or killings, where the public does not get in touch with the authorities at CAB as they should according to the current legal framework, but rather remains silent on the matter. The danger in this, as one respondent from the CAB related, is that this is a crime that a large majority of the public is turning a blind eye to and not reporting. They related that even if they may feel it is morally wrong to kill a wolf that they can still understand why that person did so. Many respondents within the WMD and CAB were critical towards the work of the SEPA. They related that as it is currently arranged, is not equipped to deal

with the controversy surrounding large carnivores. In relation to a question about people's relationship to the SEPA, one CAB officer reported:

I never meet someone who has a positive view of the SEPA. And it doesn't matter what they have for an opinion about large carnivores, actually, at all, rather those who think that we have too many large carnivores, they are skeptical of the SEPA's competency, and those who think that there are too few large carnivores, are skeptical towards the SEPA's competency.

In speaking about the method for tracking wolves, one CAB officer expressed that there is mistrust at all stages of the process between locals and authorities and vice versa. This makes, for example, information sharing between the trackers - who are living locally - and the reporters (such as herself), meaningless. Tracking done by hunters is one of the main methods used by the CAB for recording large carnivore quotas (Svensson et al., 2019) and is, therefore, an important part of the LCM process. The CAB officers themselves expressed having little confidence in the SEPA, saying that:

I have no trust for them [SEPA] because they don't have any bearing on reality. It doesn't matter that they have moved to Östersund. They don't become more involved because of that. They are the same people. They don't meet the farmers at my kitchen table. This is hard. It is about so much more than our nature.

The same respondent continues on the topic of trust by explaining that they understand there are limitations to how far the authorities can go in building up trust with the local population. However, at the very least, there has to be the will from the authority's side to try to understand the circumstances of people who are living in close proximity to large carnivores. They said:

It is this one has to understand- that one doesn't get that trust, one doesn't get that contact with people if one doesn't show that one understands their situation. And the SEPA cannot be in their everyday life like that, so it becomes an unfair

comparison, but one has to be more interested in what people think before one makes certain decisions.

Amongst the CAB management, some reported that better communication with the public from the authority side is needed to increase acceptance. In a previous interview from 2015/2016, the CAB officer had reported that they believe the frustration people are feeling with the presence of large carnivores is about something other than the animals themselves. This was revised in a follow-up interview. They expressed that they do not believe this to be true anymore, and instead said the following:

I believe that they are simply skeptical of large carnivores and that we have not explained to them in which way we have thought to help them if and when they get into trouble due to a large carnivore in their vicinity.

They continued to explain that as a consequence of this, people do not have any more contact at all, and that, “this is when one should become really afraid”.

Similar to some sentiments within the CAB interviews, WMD members related that beyond a mutual mistrust between public and authorities, there is also a lack of acceptance amongst the public regarding the large carnivore question in general. In connection to the types of questions that come up in dialogue with local actors, one member said that:

It is whether wolves should exist or that they shouldn't, or they don't have an opinion and they don't ask - the number is not important. People are upset that they [wolves] should exist at all.

Several delegates responded that they feel keeping licensed hunting and culling (for some it was enough to just have culling in place) are useful measures to increase local acceptance of large carnivore presence. When asked what these measures could be useful for, many feel that it is a way to let the local population take matters into their own hands and to feel they have some control over their own situation. One respondent said:

It gives the local society, breeders, livestock farmers a possibility to handle a problem legally - the alternative is that one illegally handles the same problem.

For some, increasing acceptance amongst the local population means addressing their situation in a more concrete, visible way.

Acceptance isn't something that we build up in one day, or a week or so. Rather first those who are affected have to see a change in their own situation and only then can the trust start to increase again.

It was also suggested by some interviewees, that increasing the amount that one is reimbursed for livestock damages could help with carrying out large carnivore policies in Sweden. Additionally, some respondents reported that if one wants to increase acceptance across the public for large carnivore presence that it is important that the cost of having these animals around does not fall solely on the individual, but is shared by the state. However, one respondent was careful to say that economic compensation alone would solve the issue. In relation to receiving compensation for economic losses, they said:

Then it is easier to carry out a policy and get an understanding of it. There are so many other entry points in this with large carnivores. People are afraid also - one cannot help that with money.

Overall, there are differences in opinion within wildlife management in Västra Götaland when it comes to a solution to increase public acceptance, and building up trust between stakeholders and authorities (and also between authorities i.e. SEPA and CAB and WMD). Some respondents are of the opinion that there is just a general lack of acceptance regarding large carnivore presence, regardless of compensation for economic losses. Others believe that increased compensation and licensed hunting and culling are measures that can help increase public acceptance. An officer on the CAB argues that acceptance and trust will increase if communication from the authorities side is done in

the “right way”. In this regard, the right way was determined as authorities having the interest to try to understand the situation of local people who are living close to large carnivores – which involves going out to meet local people in their environment. Additionally, this respondent argues that it is necessary to try to involve people who are not normally in contact with the authorities and vice versa by both listening to them, and communicating with them before a decision is made that will affect them. They were skeptical towards seeing how this could be done in practice - arguing that it is not due to a lack of motivation for change, but rather due to limited resources.

5.3 Discussion climate: Little room for debate

Despite most respondents feeling that the climate for discussion within the WMD is open and that people are provided the space to say what they wish, many respondents feel there is too little time to debate questions that are in need of unpacking. Many respondents related that select delegates could sometimes dominate the discussion in sessions. This was speculated to be dependent on the person’s level of interest or investment in certain questions. Knowledge was also determined as an important factor for the amount of influence a delegate could have on certain agenda points within the sessions. Interviewees related that those who were well read-up on the issues could take up space in sessions. For many delegates, they feel unable to be read-up enough due to time constraints within their other jobs, and the high volume of documents sent around to read. Many expressed that the time shortage led to some problems going unaddressed. When asked whether one needs more time to ventilate the problems, one member replied:

Yes and to get the chance to ask questions, that others should get the chance to ask questions, that’s why maybe one chooses to not say something because there is a time shortage. That I think one experiences in many places in politics when it comes to discussions, one should only make decisions that are prepared, pang pang.

They went on to say:

We don't have time for longer discussions either. I think that the time pressure is a serious problem for the democratic process. These are questions that one would need to discuss a little more.

In regards to the tendency for certain voices and interests to be more dominant, one member said:

Hunters have two representatives also – the politically elected members are essentially always hunters...so the political parties say ok whom should we put in the WMD? Ah it's the one who knows hunting questions, one who is part of the hunters association, etc. So the hunting interest becomes very dominant in the WMD.

Others reported the view that representatives in the WMD are lacking the knowledge to make decisions, or don't have enough time to invest in learning about what they are voting on. Thus, as one member reports, it can happen that decisions are made out of personal interest of the delegate, and not out of a wider perspective on the questions being addressed in sessions. They said:

If they are not read-up then they make decisions with the heart. It can be hunting questions – can become a bit sensitive. It often happens with the heart and feelings and I think that is not good. It is better to vote on the basis of facts.

Another member responded that, since their recent joining of the delegation, their impression from the first meeting is that the discussion points were already laid out, and essentially decided upon for them. They said:

[...] It didn't appear to be something we should discuss and decide on there, rather it was those points that were there and we should just say yes to them, actually.

The respondent expressed the hope that their first impression would be incorrect, and that they would actually have some room to discuss and make decisions within the WMD.

5.4 Legitimacy of wildlife management

In all the interviews conducted, participants were asked whether they feel that the WMD is considered to be legitimate or not. In this case, legitimacy is examined according to the definition by Burton (1990) used earlier in this thesis. Burton contends that legitimacy is present when there is experienced mutual reciprocity in the relationship between stakeholders and authorities (p. 126). Additionally, citizens should feel they are gaining something from maintaining the relationship (p. 127). Participants were not provided this definition in interviews but rather were free to reflect on how they perceive the legitimacy of the WMD. To this effect, participants expressed in general, that in their experience, public awareness of the WMD is very low. It was related that most people (even the neighbors of some delegates, or representatives within a delegates' own political party) are likely unaware of a) the existence of WMD b) who is sitting there, and c) what role the WMD has in questions pertaining to wildlife management. This lack of awareness can be affecting the legitimacy of the WMD. Without awareness there can be no relationship between the wider public and authorities in this case. Many respondents feel this lack of public knowledge about the WMD has consequences for society in general, in that it starts to slip away from being a democratic process when people are uninformed about decisions affecting them. One member related:

People don't know that the delegation exists- where one lands in the decision-making chain. I didn't know either before. I think that is a big shortage in democracy - that one changes things and doesn't inform the public about it.

When asked about whether the delegation needs to be more anchored in local conditions, the respondent said:

Yes, it has to be. The decisions that are made are in line with it [local conditions] – exactly that which the decisions say, but nothing happens. The whole administration has become a laughing stock. It is joked about and people are

shaking their heads. It has resulted in no trust whatsoever for what politicians decide and say in these questions – it is dangerous – it can contaminate other questions.

Another factor that respondents determined was affecting the legitimacy of the delegation was confusion and frustration over the mandate for delegates and the WMD as a whole - that it should in some way be clarified for delegates and communicated out to the public more. Many associated having an unclear mandate with a lack of legitimacy. Not having a clear mandate led to some feeling a sense of resignation for the whole process. When asked what they think could/should be changed to make the process better within WMD, one respondent said:

I don't think changes need to be made. Rather clarify the directive – clarify what assignments the WMD actually has. Today we are thinking about if this is something that is worth putting time into. It doesn't feel good when we end up in this situation.

Some respondents related the need to have more people sitting with the SEPA and CAB who are social experts, as it is currently made up of natural scientists. This was suggested as a way to better understand and communicate to the public the socio-economic consequences of decisions.

What is absolutely the most important to come further – it is necessary to have a socio-economic investigation to come further//The socio-economic lies also as a basis for management plans. We cannot disregard that people are a part of nature and have to be able to exist.

Some members within the WMD, as well as within CAB management related that besides this lack of awareness of how wildlife management is dealt with administratively, that this in combination with differences in competencies amongst delegates, compromises the legitimacy of the WMD. One CAB officer related:

I remember that one had a lot of respect for the WMD when they were created - one thought that it was intelligent people. But then one understood that there are pretty big differences in competency between people...

According to an employee at the SEPA, they are of the understanding that confusion over the WMD mandate may have been higher when they were first formed back in 2010, but that now people know that “this is the mandate one has”. They went on to say that, should there be a problem with the mandate’s formulation, that this should be taken up between the CAB and the WMD unless it gets so bad that the CAB should have to come to the SEPA and ask for help.

5.5 Conflict level

For many respondents, the level of conflict has not reduced through state efforts to decentralize, and some believe that the divisions have even increased with the creation of the WMDs. One member said:

It depends on why one has created it [the WMD]. The idea, in this case, is for political reasons. If it is to increase acceptance- then one has failed- the antagonisms have increased.

As many respondents pointed towards, the hype around wolves has grown over the years. One member related that even in places where the number of wolves is actually low or close to zero, people can still be upset and afraid of encountering a wolf. Some may even report seeing a wolf when it was actually a dog. They said:

Sjuhärad has close to no wolves, but we have a tremendous resistance here. Have to reduce the hysteria around wolves. How things are exaggerated- for example, there were wolves, but it was a dog. Should I let my child go outside, but what, there isn't anything here. Horrifying is what many want to turn it into.

Some respondents were of the opinion that the wolf controversy has grown disproportionate to the actual numbers and level of damage created by wolves in Sweden

when in reality, it is actually other species who are causing more harm (e.g. bears and lynx). They said:

It feels so weird- there is really strong hate towards large carnivores- it is so strong that it doesn't work to discuss the questions- I am used to sitting down and discussing sensitive questions, but it doesn't work- too infected.

One member felt that any decisions made within Parliament are too far from those living on the countryside. Especially when it comes to questions where they are the ones most socioeconomically affected by these decisions. They said:

[...] Deep-rooted amongst us who live on the countryside, my farm - no matter which decision that is taken in the Parliament- it is way too far between them and us.

Another member discussed the ongoing problem with illegal hunting and said:

There is still a scary amount of illegal hunting, especially of wolves, even lynx. That people accept this...there is no hunter who reports a hunting friend that he has hunted illegally. This, of course, is a huge problem.

As related by the CAB leadership, they believe questions pertaining to hunting or people's use of land are controversial because of the close connection those in Sweden have had historically to their land and to the right to hunt. According to their argument, this relation has not diminished over time. They said:

Hunting in Sweden lies, I shouldn't say what is more important, Luther or hunting, but they lie close to each other in the public mind, or more as a national mind, a right- because the one who owns land or the right to hunt is so deeply anchored in the people's soul [...].

One CAB officer shared that they believe this fascination with wolves has led to people become involved in the wolf question – both researchers and decision-makers, which has in some ways led to the question getting more complicated. According to one CAB officer, they said they are surprised that illegal hunting is still not uncommon in today's society. They said that they assumed it was more a generational phenomenon that would have died out by now, and that the younger generation would treat the wild differently today than the previous generations. Instead, this mentality appears to still be strong today and has not simply disappeared over the years.

[...] But I don't believe this anymore. Rather it is more something one takes over from earlier generations if one can be very young today and still be inclined to commit a crime when it comes to large carnivores.

Thus the issue around illegal hunting has not diminished over time or with the creation of the WMDs. As some members and officers mentioned in interviews, illegal hunting has turned into a crime that goes unreported in society due to stigmatization and sometimes even the fear of receiving personal threats from within their own community.

6. Analysis/Discussion

This section begins by analyzing the connection between the theoretical framework (HNT) and the data results and compares arguments in the background literature to the results. Thereafter, two models within the CCT framework (i.e. the Levels of Conflict and Conflict Intervention Triangle - **Figure 1 & Figure 2**) will guide an analysis of this connection in order to answer the research questions central to this thesis.

According to the HNT, needs will be fought for relentlessly until they are met. A policy that does not effectively address these needs cannot be sustainable. As the results show, there are certain factors lacking within the current governance model that are hindering effective wildlife management. Understanding the problem, and addressing structural issues within management, as argued by Burton (1990), is key to designing policies acceptable across actors. Thus, this section analyzes the unmet human needs derived from

interviews within management, as well as factors within the governance structure itself that may be inflating controversies surrounding wildlife management in Sweden.

Influence

This factor was reported as a problem by a majority of the members. Many related that they feel the WMD does not have enough decision-making power, especially in regards to questions surrounding large carnivores. Some interviewees reported that essentially the WMD has become a weightless representation of government efforts to decentralize wildlife management. This is leading to many feeling frustrated in their role within the WMD. The consequence of what the data results reveal here regarding influence is similar to the aforementioned TOV by Senecah (2004). She argues that if people feel they are lacking *influence* – namely that their ideas are not thoughtfully and respectfully considered, and transparently debated before a final decision is made – that this can impact the efficacy of environmental management.

Within interviews, many respondents reported incongruences between what is written in wildlife management policy, and what can and is being done in practice. This gap is leading to frustration for some within the WMD in Västra Götaland – both in terms of people having different understandings and interpretations of their role and mandate, as well as people feeling their hands are tied in terms of what they can actually do in practice. As argued by Sites, P. in Burton (1990), in order to fulfill the human need for *meaning*, a person has to at least feel they have the control to “shape their social reality” (p. 25). If people do not feel they are meaningfully participating, it could compromise other parts of the governance structure. For example, future WMD member recruitment, retainment of current members, and the quality of the work environment could all be affected. Some respondents related the stress that they themselves or others they know within the WMD or CAB have experienced within their job and that this had led to some leaving their position or taking a leave of absence.

Interviewees also discussed how they feel influence is lacking especially amongst those in the public who are living close to large carnivores. As one CAB officer related, as a

consequence of the authorities' side not effectively addressing people's questions and concerns regarding the presence of large carnivores, people are taking matters into their own hands and foregoing any contact with authorities. On the management side, there is an overall sentiment that one does not have as much influence as one would need in order to feel they are meaningfully participating in the decision-making process. Amongst the public, interviewees related that they believe people do not feel they have enough control over their environment. In both cases, the consequence is a sense of disillusionment and distrust for large carnivore policies, which could potentially affect other policies in the future.

Trust

Nearly all interviewees expressed that a lack of trust between authorities and affected stakeholders, as well as between the SEPA and the WMD in Västra Götaland as one of the biggest issues within wildlife management. A lack of trust can consequentially lead to people "taking matters into their own hands", or through people not getting in touch with them as they should when there is an incident with a large carnivore in the vicinity. As one CAB interviewee related, it is not clear "whether affected stakeholders have ever had trust for the state, but it is still important to listen when they say they do not have this trust". In the aforementioned study by Sandström et al. (2015) on important factors to large carnivore governance and management, trust is considered an essential component (p. 121). Additionally, Senecah (2004) argues that across the literature, seemingly all effective processes rely on building and maintaining trust (p. 21). A lack of trust can be detrimental to a relationship, it is therefore important to focus on within conflict transformation. Without a straightforward way to measure a lack of trust, or to build trust between stakeholder groups, having a structure that allows for stakeholders to creatively explore ways to mend a relationship can create a more meaningful public participation process.

Lack of debate

Some members within the WMD expressed concern over the dominance that certain interests and/or individuals have over agenda points. Respondents related this to the level

of knowledge and/or personal interest that a member may have for specific topics. There was reported frustration over the quietness and passiveness of some members and/or interest groups. The results show a similar pattern of lacking “reasoned debate” within the WMDs, as determined in the aforementioned study by Lundmark and Matti (2015). The lack of time for meetings was also reported as an issue in that members feel there is not enough time given to airing out certain ongoing issues or debates. Taken together, the lack of interest/knowledge in and time for various discussion topics within wildlife management is presumably hindering the deliberative governance process by affording certain members more voice and control while diminishing that space for others. As stated by Lundmark and Matti (2015), there needs to be a system that can better accommodate opposing viewpoints in order to increase legitimacy through a deliberative governance model. Thus, feelings amongst respondents that there should be more time for airing of differences may reflect a governance model that is not yet set up to allow stakeholders the space to navigate the divisions between interest groups. Additionally, according to Senecah (2004), a key component to effective environmental management is *standing* – or “dialogue and deliberation”, and “genuine empathy” for the voiced concerns of others (p. 24). This feeling amongst interview respondents that certain interests could dominate over others’ points to a governance model is more deliberative in theory, and not in practice.

Legitimacy

As contended by Burton (1990), conflict and conflict resolution are both connected to the legitimacy of authority. If there is a lack of legitimacy, the relationship can breakdown as the value of the relationship is not based on “mutual reciprocity”. This breakdown in relationships to authority was acknowledged by many respondents, yet was attributed to various factors in interviews. A number of interviewees expressed that the relationship between authorities and local stakeholders has become almost nonexistent. WMD members and CAB officers related interactions they had with stakeholders who feel they are not being listened to, as the state is making decisions far away from those who are most affected, and not providing enough compensation for economic loss, or clarification

of how they came to a decision or policy. Thus, from the stakeholders' side, there was no foreseeable gain in maintaining a relationship with the state.

Some members felt that differences in competency within the WMD are affecting the legitimacy of the delegation in terms of its reputation as a managing institution. Others contended that having low public awareness of what the WMD does and who is sitting there affects the legitimacy of the delegation. Some reported that this was leading to people getting their information from other sources, or relying on getting information from within their own social circles. Additionally, some respondents feel that it is not anchored enough in local conditions as it is supposed to be and that there is an absolute need for an investigation into the socio-economic factors that impact people living in areas with large carnivores – seeing as how people cannot be separated from the wildlife management process. Thus, a lack of inclusivity for those most affected by large carnivore questions was determined to reduce the legitimacy of wildlife governance. This lack of legitimacy was reportedly less of a problem internally as many feel that the discussion climate is quite good within the WMD itself. Rather, respect and legitimacy for authority are missing more in regards to the SEPA. Nearly all respondents within the WMD and CAB have a negative opinion of the SEPA and the relationship to them as an institution. Many, though not all respondents, feel that the SEPA is not equipped to deal with social conflict over large carnivores. There was an expressed sentiment across many interviews that decisions made by the SEPA are out of touch with reality and go “over the heads” of the WMD. However, a few respondents – namely those with a nature and/or conservation interest – were less critical to the work of the SEPA and feel the institution has the right competency to make decisions based on what is best for the environment.

6.1 CCT Framework - Levels of Conflict

The last theme, *level of conflict*, will be analyzed within the Levels of Conflict model within Madden and McQuinn's (2014) CCT framework. In order to begin the analysis of wildlife management in Västra Götaland according to the CCT framework, identifying the type of conflict and certain elements within the nature of the conflict is important before beginning an analysis using the Conflict Intervention Triangle by Madden and McQuinn (2014). Members and officers expressed different experiences and

interpretations of conflict surrounding large carnivores. These views and experiences are analyzed here through a “conflict transformation” lens (Madden, 2015), and thus are looked at within the wider context to see what may be contributing to the conflict at the *dispute, underlying, and identity-based* levels.

Interview data shows elements of all levels of conflict present in the controversy surrounding wildlife management in Västra Götaland. The viewpoints expressed within the SEPA, by WMD members, the county governor, and CAB officers is not a complete snapshot of the conflict within Västra Götaland since the views of the public are not included in this thesis. However, a large part of the basis for being selected to sit on the WMD is members' experience with the interest group they represent. As such, each member should have a solid understanding of the standpoints and concerns of the interest group they are selected for and must live in the area they represent. The viewpoints expressed by respondents regarding conflict level have both to do with controversies within wildlife management processes from their position in the WMD/CAB, as well as reasons they believe the general public experiences conflict.

At the *dispute* level, some WMD members believe that increasing compensation for economic loss due to attacks by large carnivores on livestock and/or pets would help to build trust and acceptance for policies. Additionally, measures such as legal culling and hunting licenses for large carnivores are seen as tools for increasing acceptance amongst people living in close proximity to large carnivores. Some believe that people will not build up trust for authorities or acceptance for large carnivore policies until those who are affected by large carnivore presence see a notable difference in the way their lives are being impacted. Within the WMD, several respondents feel that establishing a clearer mandate for their role would reduce conflict, as people would then be going in with more congruent expectations of what they can have influence over, and how. Addressing all three levels of conflict is important. It is also important to address the “current, tangible issues being contested” (Madden, 2015, p. 5) at the dispute level to demonstrate that concrete problems brought up by stakeholders are reflected in policies. In other words that affected stakeholders are being listened to, and their concerns are being addressed.

As actors can experience and interpret drivers of a conflict, as well as its intensity, differently, there is a need to also look beyond the dispute level of any conflict in order to get to components of the conflict that are being perpetuated by underlying needs and concerns, and which cannot be addressed through looking at the substance of the issue alone.

At the *underlying* level, there was an expressed frustration with the SEPA and the set-up of the WMD. Within the WMD, the level of frustration has much more to do with the relationship to other actors within the governance structure, than with the internal process. For example, decisions regarding representation within the WMDs are made by the SEPA. Many respondents related that they feel the representation within the WMD could be better balanced if their own group had more representation, or that other groups had less representation. Few respondents, aside from the politically elected members themselves, understood the reasoning behind the decision to include politicians in the delegation. Many related that there ought to be more people representing interest groups, rather than politicians - especially since (as expressed by other members, yet also confirmed by several politicians in interviews) many also have a hunting background and interest. Many were skeptical of the decisions taken by the SEPA, determining them incapable of addressing the social conflict within Sweden with the way it is currently structured. Others believe that the conflict is deep-rooted, and that, as one respondent said, "Playing with the numbers is sabotaging the question". Especially from the CAB side, there is the sentiment that there has to be a better form of communication between authorities and affected stakeholders.

Within the interviews, respondents reported a feeling that tensions surrounding large carnivores have increased since the creation of the WMDs. Some interviewees voiced the concern that illegal hunting is an ongoing phenomenon that has not died out with the new generations but has rather become a way for those affected to take matters into their own hands. There were accounts that illegal hunting was a sign of the mistrust and disillusion that those affected by large carnivores have towards the state. There was an expressed sentiment amongst some within the WMD and CAB that this would not improve until

there is an effort on the authorities' side to listen, explain, and further accommodate those who are impacted by the presence of large carnivores. By *explaining*, interviewees elucidated that there is a need to clarify for those who are living close to large carnivores, how they have come to certain decisions and policies – and to do this before the policies are made. In other words, to better include the affected groups in the decision-making process.

Many reported that when it comes to large carnivores, it is such a hot topic that it is almost not even discussable anymore. If large carnivores are discussed in WMD meetings, it often takes up the majority of the agenda and leaves little room for other talking points. Some believe that the controversy surrounding large carnivores has reached a disproportionately high level compared to the actual numbers. With an objectively low number of wolves tracked in the 2018/19 season (a total of two were reported), there is reason to investigate why the debate surrounding large carnivores, and specifically wolves, is so heated. Some reported that they believe frustration over everything else comes out over the question of wolves.

At the *identity-based level*, several respondents related a perceived threat to their values from other interest groups in the WMD. Some interviewees related they feel they have the responsibility to defend the conservation interest against the “strong” hunting interest within the WMD, so as to uphold the “public interest”⁸. All members representing an interest group expressed having an identity connected to that specific interest. For example, respondents related their lifelong passion mainly within areas of conservation and nature, hunting, or farming. In the interview with the CAB leadership, he related that hunting lies at the hearts of many in Sweden. Additionally, representatives from the hunting interest, as well as several other respondents from other interest groups and/or politicians, shared that they receive a sense of support from being a part of the Hunters’ Association, as well as from others who share a hunting interest within the WMD. Many WMD members seem to gain a sense of personal as well as group identity from their participation in and/or representation of a particular interest group.

⁸ Quotations are used here to denote that the word choice comes from interviewees, not the author.

A few respondents feel that nothing will rid people of their skepticism to large carnivores. There is a level of acknowledgment in this argument that there will always be some who are against the presence of large carnivores, and that, as some respondents reported, good policies can only ease the burden people may feel due to this, but cannot necessarily lead to acceptance. This resistance to policies can be related to Eriksson's (2017) study which determined that "political alienation", which was often reported by those living in more rural areas, factored into people being less likely to accept the current wolf policy (p. 1380). The author contends that both "proximity" and "direct experience" with wolves leads to an overall diminished acceptance for the species (p. 1374). If the majority of people living close to large carnivores are in the less populated rural areas, then the argument of rural-urban divide can be a factor that is perpetuating conflict. It is assessed to be at the *identity-level* here, as it may be a form of conflict that stems from a "perceived threat to one's way of life, significant values, and sense of self" (Madden, 2015, p. 5). As one respondent contended, it doesn't matter what decision the Parliament makes – my farm is still too far away.

6.2 CCT Framework: The Conflict Intervention Triangle

The Conflict Intervention Triangle (**Figure 2**) will be used as a framework to guide possible ways forward in the controversy surrounding wildlife management in Västra Götaland. According to Madden and McQuinn (2014), addressing the *substance*, *process*, and *relationships* of a conservation conflict is crucial in determining the contributing factors, and to figure out what can be part of the solution.

Substance

Looking at the immediate issue is one part of the Conflict Intervention Triangle that should be examined to find problems and possible solutions. Most respondents acknowledged that those who are most affected by the presence of large carnivores need to be compensated, and should not be "paying for the large carnivore policy" themselves, as one respondent noted. Some members related that an unclear mandate is affecting the efficiency and legitimacy of the WMD. They argued that by clarifying the mandate for WMD, members and the public would have a clearer understanding of why they are there and what influence they can have. This may help in reducing frustrations from people

feeling disappointed in their role. Additionally, some reported feeling that a clearer mandate could also lead to an elevated discussion climate within the WMD. A few interviewees felt that this unawareness by the public on decisions and procedures within wildlife management that are impacting them is affecting the democratic process in Sweden. Overall, while there are problems presented at the dispute level of the conflict, there is still doubt amongst a number of other respondents that addressing these problems will provide long-term solutions to conflict. Thus, paying attention to both the process and relationships involved in wildlife management is necessary for exploring pathways towards conflict transformation.

Process

According to Madden and McQuinn (2014), *process* is related to the decision-making design (p. 102). There is a point of contention in the way that decisions are made and by whom within wildlife management in Västra Götaland. Many (though not all) amongst the WMD members and CAB officers related, for one reason or another, the feeling that wildlife management is not working in Västra Götaland. Overall, this was related to experiencing a lack of influence and control, reasoned debate within the WMD, and trust. For all respondents who felt they were missing any of the above elements, there was an expressed skepticism to the effectiveness of the overall process. This skepticism was articulated in different ways – for example through a reportedly low level of legitimacy for the WMD, skepticism about how they are able to represent their interest group now and in the future within the WMD, or members' influence within the WMD over wildlife decisions given the current the governance model. Many respondents related that a lack of influence and trust was impacting the relationship especially between affected stakeholders and authorities, and leading people to react in counterproductive ways to society and the environment. Some respondents related that the current WMD set-up is more representative of efforts to decentralize wildlife management than it is effective. These emotions can lead to miscommunication and disappointment, as well as a weakened process altogether if left unaddressed.

Most respondents within the WMD and CAB feel that the SEPA is not capable of improving the social conflict, based on its current set-up. Evidently, a lack of trust between authorities and the public and vice versa is contributing to a breakdown in communication and interaction between the two. One CAB officer suggested in an interview that the authorities side needs to at least show that they care about the concerns of affected stakeholders by taking the time to listen. In general, there is an apparent need to change the way that information is communicated out to the public regarding wildlife management, and particularly regarding large carnivore policies, as well as a change in the way that decisions are handled. This does not mean that the structure of the people making the decisions should be altered, rather to what extent stakeholders, especially those traditionally left out of the decision-making process, are included. Most likely there will need to be an increased level of power-sharing within management in order to include a wider range of affected stakeholders. This would require more resources from the SEPA that is dedicated to investigating and addressing the complexity of the social conflict over wildlife in Sweden. While it can be acknowledged that this, on some level is already being done and should not be disregarded, there is the need to go beyond the dispute and resolution level, by putting resources towards creating space for relationship-building between authorities and affected stakeholders. This could include, for example, additional hearings within different regions where opinions are shared face-to-face, rather than through communicating via formal documents.

Beyond an investigation of the socio-economic impacts of affected stakeholders, there needs to be a process for reconciling differences. This motivation was hinted at by interviewees expressing the need to have more time (or more meetings) for discussions within the WMD to air out differences. Providing space for longer discussions where members can discuss their points of view and values rather than addressing practical agenda points, can be a step towards addressing the deeper-rooted issues present in wildlife management. This could be done through initiatives from the CAB and governor, who determine the frequency and content of meetings, should this be communicated by WMD members. The next section, which discusses the *relationships* component,

uncovers certain factors that seem to be driving conflict, as well as gives suggestions for creating a more effective management process, based upon concerns raised in interviews.

Relationships

The *relationships* element in the Conflict Intervention Triangle looks at what the level of trust and respect is between stakeholder groups and/or individuals. Within wildlife management in Västra Götaland, there is a lack of trust at all levels – though expressed in differing magnitudes among respondents. Low levels of trust are affecting the relationships between authorities and stakeholders, as well as between WMD, CAB, and SEPA. If there is a rural-urban division represented within the WMD, such a historical divide is not easily or quickly overcome, and may even always be a point of contention. The question becomes, rather, how could the discourse surrounding different interest groups change, so that groups can get a better understanding of each other's values, in order to create a more effective and sustainable management system? While the division may be everlasting in terms of having limited *agreement* with each other, it is more important to attempt to understand the other side and the person/people behind the represented interest. According to Burton (1990), interests are different from needs, and as such should be regarded separately. Acknowledging that everyone else also has needs to protect – through expressed through different interests, could build the basis for mutual understanding. As argued by Roy (1990), a solution that encompasses shared human needs can mean that “differences in principle can be reduced to the technical question of facts” (p. 127).

As mentioned in the above *process* section, creating a management structure that addresses the lack of influence, meaningful participation, voice and control, and/or trust reportedly felt amongst authorities and affected stakeholders is expected to increase the legitimacy of governance in Sweden. Once these components are addressed within the management structure, the capacity to build trust with a wider range of affected stakeholders should increase. In other words, once a process is established that recognizes the importance of incorporating these human needs, there is potential to strengthen and build relationships that are based on mutual trust, respect, and understanding. Within

deep-rooted conflicts where there is a history of divide between stakeholders and authorities as seen in the Swedish case, policy acceptance cannot be built up until there is legitimation of authorities. And legitimacy can only be gained through a feeling of reciprocity, where both sides feel they are gaining from the relationship. Thus, finding factors within the relationship between authorities and affected stakeholders that is driving conflict, is essential in determining ways to build legitimacy to create a more effective wildlife management system. Recognizing the importance of these human needs in relationships within management is also necessary for creating an effective management structure. Having human needs at the center could increase legitimacy and trust within delegation itself, and lead to a feeling of greater influence, transparency, equality, and reasoned debate, which Lundmark and Matti (2015) contend are at the core of successful deliberative governance.

The first research question asked: *What does an analysis of wildlife management say about whether the current collaborative governance model favors conflict resolution or not?* In other words, do affected stakeholders currently have the space to explore creative and sustainable solutions if and/or when conflict arises? Many mentioned that there is a good discussion climate within the WMD, but that for some, a low level of trust, legitimacy, and decision-making power is hindering the delegation from being able to effectively address social conflicts surrounding large carnivore presence. Several respondents expressed a low level of hope for seeing a reduction in illegal hunting in the near future, as well as for establishing effective wildlife management processes in Sweden given the current governance model. While some respondents within the WMD and CAB expressed the will for reducing controversy surrounding wildlife management (especially regarding large carnivores), they felt both time and resources for this are lacking. According to a SEPA employee, should members have problems with the current arrangement of the WMDs (which they are not aware of as being the case) - that the CAB would best be able to address this. If necessary, the CAB could come to the SEPA and express their concerns that the structure is not working. Based on this arrangement, it appears that concerns and frustrations from the more local levels do not reach the SEPA through any straightforward arrangement. While the SEPA can receive and discuss

comments on details within a suggested regulation change, as well as through occasional hearings, there appears to be the need for developing a platform through which a wider range of affected stakeholders can be listened to from decision-makers at the top.

As contended by Eriksson (2017), in order to improve legitimacy and efficiency in wildlife management, addressing the rural-urban divide is crucial. Studying the social context to create policies within natural resource management involves unpacking human emotions, concerns, and needs. In the case of rural-urban divide is the need to feel recognized, as well as empowered. The management process may become more legitimate and efficient through a policy that more strongly recognizes, and addresses the circumstances of people living close to large carnivores. The danger with letting any of these human needs go unaddressed, or in not building up trust or legitimacy, is that it can lead to a sense of resignation for policies and authorities in general. In the aforementioned debate article published in the Swedish Hunters' Association magazine from October 2019, the conditions that the president of the Association mentioned, strengthen the argument for why special attention to the process and relationships component is vital to reducing conflict. Looking at the human factors that are driving the conflict (lack of influence, respect, and recognition) raises the likelihood of creating a sustainable large carnivore policy in practice. A more effective management process can increase acceptance and legitimacy amongst the public, which is important if the number of large carnivores in Sweden is going to a) increase and b) spread out to other regions in the country.

The second research question asked: *What can an analysis of conflict about wildlife management in a Swedish county through a CCT framework contribute to transforming the conflict?* Based on an analysis of the controversy surrounding wildlife management in Västra Götaland, the current governance model in Sweden is not yet arranged for conflict resolution but has a strong potential for progress if certain elements within the governance structure are more geared towards allowing stakeholders to address the deeper-rooted parts of the conflict. In other words, providing space and resources to work towards *reconciliation*. It cannot be determined beforehand whether reconciliation is

possible or not between stakeholder groups, but designing a governance structure that gives stakeholders the capacity to set parameters for a more effective process, may help in building trust for authorities, establishing legitimacy and possibly acceptance for large carnivore policies. The process is set up to be deliberative but is not happening in practice. Instead, as according Lundmark and Matti (2015), there needs to be a design that increases “learning and understanding” across stakeholder groups through “respectful and mutual exchange of experiences and arguments”.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to outline practical solutions for creating a more effective wildlife management process. However, an analysis based on the CCT and HNT could contribute to determining a more creative and flexible process that allows stakeholders and wildlife authorities to address the deep-rooted controversy surrounding large carnivore management. A process of reconciliation has the potential to create understanding across different stakeholder groups that everyone has the same human needs to be respected. According to the aforementioned argument by Sites (1990), since people are driven by emotions tied to protecting their individual or group needs, discussions that appeal solely to reason are likely to be ineffective (p. 27). Creating a wildlife governance structure based on appealing to human needs rather than interests may reduce controversies surrounding policies.

7. Conclusion and Future Research

In looking at the case of Västra Götaland through the lens of conflict transformation, this nuanced analysis of the conflict reveals the importance of approaching the controversy from a human needs perspective and taking into greater account how relationships and the management process surrounding LCM can deepen divides if not properly addressed. In the case analyzed in this thesis, missing factors such as *influence*, *trust*, *reasoned debate* and *legitimacy* amongst management and other affected stakeholders are strengthening levels of frustration and disillusionment with authorities and politics. What remains unclear is if there is a ‘one-size-fits-all’ mode and structure of governance that can be applied to all of Scandinavia, and potentially even more widely to the entire EU that can reduce the ongoing human-wildlife, and human-human conflicts. Researchers

seem at odds with each other about whether this type of governance can exist practically, and some argue that deliberative governance theory needs to be further tested in practice to narrow down the elements that affect conflict levels (Hansson-Forman et al., 2018, p. 848). Similar assessments that examine the wildlife governance structures in other countries could be useful to assess whether countries should, in fact, design their own governance models to effectively and sustainably address conservation conflicts.

The current structure of governance along with the international treaties signed by Sweden emphasizing decentralization and deliberative governance, as well as the reactivity of Swedish parliament to local demands through its updating of several large carnivore policies are encouraging signs that the country acknowledges the conflict and is attempting to provide solutions. Since government policies are created from social constructs based on the fulfillment of human needs – there can be severe consequences for society as a whole if people feel they are left out or ignored in policies that are affecting them. As Madden and McQuinn (2014) argue, this sense of exclusion can lead people to act out in harmful ways. Thus, addressing human needs within divisions that have been enlivened by the return and conservation of large carnivores in Sweden could better ensure feelings of social, emotional, and cultural security. A process that builds upon human needs as its focal point so people feel they have some form of control over their own environment, and that they can meaningfully participate in the decision-making process, are part of what is needed to reduce controversy surrounding LCM.

Another next step that is crucial to further assessing the conflict, and for finding ideas for future conflict transformation in Sweden, is including more viewpoints from the stakeholders living in close proximity to large carnivores. If the current large carnivore policy, which calls for the inclusion of affected stakeholders is reportedly failing according to many WMD members and CAB officers, how willing is the government together with the SEPA to reflect on the process of reconciling differences between stakeholder groups, and how willing are they to invest in it? Currently, a study is underway for the period 2019-2021, financed by the SEPA, the Swedish Hunters' Association, and the Swedish Farmers' Association, to investigate the socio-economic

consequences for hunters and farmers who are living in areas with higher concentrations of large carnivores in Sweden. This study that includes in-depth interviews with affected stakeholders could supplement this thesis by including perspectives from the wider public, in addition to the management side assessed here. Analyzing the entirety of the conflict in Sweden, from both the management side and the local vantage point(s), could further pave the way for discussions around a conflict transformation process in practice. Thus the analysis of the conflict around wildlife management is the start of a much longer process in progressing towards conflict transformation on the ground. A next step after this could be determining if there is interest and desire expressed by all sides in the conflict (i.e. WMD members, staff at SEPA, and CAB officers, and representatives from the Hunters' and Farmers' Associations), to have a Third Party Neutral enter the debate to facilitate a process for addressing the deep-rooted factors driving conflict between and/or within stakeholder groups. An understanding and treatment of the conflict through the CCT model could validate the deeper roots of conflict over wildlife, and thus build receptivity for collaborative efforts amongst stakeholders.

References

- Beissinger, S. R., & McCullough, D. R. (2002). *Population viability analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Berge, L. (2018). *Vargattacken*. Albert Bonniers Förlag (in Swedish).
- Borgström, S. (2012). Legitimacy issues in finnish wolf conservation. *Journal of Environmental Law* 24 (3):451–76. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jel/eqs015>.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.
- Burton, J. W. (1990). *Conflict: Human needs theory. The Conflict series: Vol. 2*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Cinque, S. (2003). *Vargens utbredning och lokalisering: en orientering* (CEFOS Arbetsrapport No. 30). Retrieved from Centrum för forskning om offentlig sektor (CEFOS) website: <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/25794> (in Swedish).
- Cinque, S. (2008). *I vargens spår: Myndigheters handlingsutrymme i förvaltningen av varg*. Göteborg: CEFOS och Förvaltningshögskolan Göteborgs universitet (in Swedish).
- Cinque, S. (2015). Collaborative management in wolf licensed hunting: the dilemmas of public managers in moving collaboration forward. *Wildlife Biology*, 21(3), 157–164. <https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00098>.
- Clark, S. G., Rutherford, M. B. & D.J. Mattson. (2014). Large Carnivores, People, and Governance. In (Eds.) S.G. Clark & M.B. Rutherford, *Large carnivore conservation. Integrating science and policy in the North American West* (pp. 1-28). Univ. of Chicago Press.

Convention on Biological Diversity. (1993). 1760 UNTS 79. Retrieved from:
<https://www.cbd.int/>.

Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats. (June 1, 1983). ETS
No.104. Retrieved from: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/bern-convention/>.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., & Karlsson, J. C. (2002). *Explaining society: Critical realism in the social sciences. Critical realism--interventions*. London, New York: Routledge.

Dickman, A.J. (2010). Complexities of conflict: the importance of considering social factors for effectively resolving human–wildlife conflict. *Animal Conservation*, 13(1), 458-466.
<https://doi/10.1111/j.1469-1795.2010.00368.x>.

Duit, A., & Löf, A. (2015). Dealing With a Wicked Problem? A Dark Tale of Carnivore Management in Sweden 2007-2011. *Administration and Society*, 50(8), 1072–1096.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399715595668>.

Ericsson, G., & Heberlein, T.A. (2003). Attitudes of hunters, locals, and the general public in Sweden now that the wolves are back. *Biological Conservation*, 111(2), 149-159.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0006-3207\(02\)00258-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0006-3207(02)00258-6).

Ericsson, G., Sandström, C., & Riley, S. J. (2018). Rural-urban heterogeneity in attitudes towards large carnivores in Sweden, 1974-2014. In T. Hovardas (Ed.), *Large Carnivore Conservation and Management: Human Dimensions* (pp. 190-205). New York, NY: Routledge.

Eriksson, M. (2016). *Changing attitudes to swedish wolf policy: Wolf return, rural areas, and political alienation. Statsvetenskapliga institutionens skriftserie: Vol. 2016, 4*. Umeå: Umeå universitet (Doctoral Thesis).

- Eriksson, M. (2017). Political Alienation, Rurality and the Symbolic Role of Swedish Wolf Policy. *Society and Natural Resources*, 30(11), 1374–1388. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2017.1347970>.
- Eriksson, M., Sandström, C., & Ericsson, G. (2015). Direct experience and attitude change towards bears and wolves. *Wildlife Biology*, 21(3), 131–137. <https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00062>.
- Eriksson, M., Sandström, C., Roos, K., & Ericsson, G. (2016). Value patterns and input legitimacy, in Swedish wolf governance. In M. Eriksson (Ed.), *Statsvetenskapliga institutionens skriftserie: Vol. 2016,4. Changing attitudes to swedish wolf policy: Wolf return, rural areas, and political alienation. Doctoral Thesis*. Umeå: Umeå universitet.
- Eriksson, T. & Dalerum, F. (2018). Identifying potential areas for an expanding wolf population in Sweden. *Biological Conservation*, 220, 170–181. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2018.02.019>.
- European Commission. (1992). Council Directive 92/43/EEC of 21 May 1992 on the conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora.
- Gillwald, K. (1990). Conflict and Needs Research. In J. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (pp. 115–124). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc.
- Hallgren, L., & Westberg, L. (2015). Adaptive management? Observations of knowledge coordination in the communication practice of Swedish game management. *Wildlife Biology*, 21(3), 165–174. <https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00005>.
- Hansson-Forman, K., Reimerson, E., Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., & Sandström, C. (2018). Governing Large Carnivores: Comparative Insights from Three Different Countries. *Society & Natural Resources*, 31(7), 837–852. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2018.1447179>.

- Larsson, T. (2019, October 7). Debatt: "Kränkande och kontraproduktiv svartmålning". Retrieved from: https://svenskjakt.se/opinion/debatt/krankande-och-kontraproduktiv-svartmalning/?fbclid=IwAR2EEL1m1id710BxfG6BpaYdLAyFOb_a_IbKXuSJrU4TVR_AWg-SeGmQFxi (in Swedish).
- Lederach, J.P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Leong, K., Forester, J., & Decker, D. (2009). Moving Public Participation beyond Compliance: Uncommon Approaches to Finding Common Ground. *The George Wright Forum*, 26(3), 23-39. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43598116>.
- Linnel, J., Salvatori, V., & Boitani, L. (2008). Guidelines for population level management plans for large carnivores in Europe. A Large Carnivore Initiative for Europe report prepared for the European Commission. *Contract 070501/2005/424162/MAR/B2*, (070501), 85.
- Lundmark, C., & Matti, S. (2015). Exploring the prospects for deliberative practices as a conflict-reducing and legitimacy-enhancing tool: the case of Swedish carnivore management. *Wildlife Biology*, 21(3), 147–156. <https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00009>.
- Madden, F. (2004). Creating coexistence between humans and wildlife: Global perspectives on local efforts to address Human–Wildlife conflict. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 9(4), 247–257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10871200490505675>.
- Madden, F. (2015). People and Wolves in Washington: Stakeholder Conflict Assessment and Recommendations for Conflict Transformation. *Human-Wildlife Conflict Collaboration (HWCC)*. <https://wdfw.wa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/01719/wdfw01719.pdf>.
- Madden, F. M. (2008). The growing conflict between humans and wildlife: Law and policy as contributing and mitigating factors. *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy*, 11(2-3), 189–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13880290802470281>.

- Madden, F., & McQuinn, B. (2014). Conservation's blind spot: The case for conflict transformation in wildlife conservation. *Biological Conservation*, 178, 97–106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2014.07.015>.
- Marker, S. (2003). "Unmet Human Needs." *Beyond Intractability*. In G. Burgess and H. Burgess. (Eds.) *Conflict Information Consortium*. University of Colorado, Boulder. Retrieved from: <https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/human-needs>.
- Maslow, A. (1954). *Motivation and Personality*. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading.
- Naturvårdsverket. (2016). Nationell förvaltningsplan för varg. Förvaltningsperioden 2014–2019. *Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, Stockholm* (in Swedish).
- Naturvårdsverket. (2019). Beslut: Fastställande av miniminivåer för varg gällande rovdjursförvaltningsområden och län. *Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, Stockholm* (in Swedish).
- Rothman, J. (1997). *Resolving identity-based conflict in nations, organizations, and communities* (1st ed.). *The Jossey-Bass conflict resolution series*. San Francisco, CA.: Jossey-Bass.
- Roy, R. (1990). Social Conflicts and Needs Theories. In J. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (pp. 125-148). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc.
- Rudolph, B. A., Schechter, M. G., & Shawn R. J. (2012). Governance of Wildlife Resources. In D. J. Decker & S.J. Riley & W. F. Siemer (Eds.), *Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management (2nd ed)*. (pp. 15-25). Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

- Sandström, C., Johansson, M., & Sjölander-Lindqvist, A. (2015). The management of large carnivores in Sweden — challenges and opportunities. *Wildlife Biology*, 21(3), 120–121. <https://doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00143>.
- Sandström, C., Pellikka, J., Ratamäki, O. & Sande, A. (2009). Management of Large Carnivores in Fennoscandia: New Patterns of Regional Participation. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 14(1), 37-50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10871200802304726>.
- Sandström, C., Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Pellikka, J., Hiedanpää, J., Kränge, O., & Skogen, K. (2018). Between politics and management: Governing large carnivores in Fennoscandia. In T. Hovardas (Ed.), *Large Carnivore Conservation and Management: Human Dimensions*. (pp. 19-36). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Senecah, S. L. (2004). The trinity of voice: The role of practical theory in planning and evaluating the effectiveness of environmental participatory processes. In S.P. Depoe & J.W. Delicath & M-F.A. Elsenbeer (Eds.), *Communication and Public Participation in Environmental Decision Making* (pp. 13-33). Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285362631>.
- Sites, P. (1990). Needs as Analogues of Emotions. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *The Conflict series: Vol. 2. Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 7–33). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A. (2006). Den är ju inte i fårhagen på studiebesök: Om lokala perspektiv och uppfattningar om varg och svensk rovdjurspolitik. Retrieved from: <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/26171> (in Swedish).
- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A. (2008). Local Identity, Science and Politics Indivisible: The Swedish Wolf Controversy Deconstructed. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 10(1), 71 – 94. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15239080701652672>.

- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., & Cinque, S. (2014). Dynamics of Participation: Access, standing and influence in contested natural resource management. *The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies*, 6609(7), 360–383. <https://doi.org/10.1285/i20356609v7i2p360>.
- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Bendz, A., Cinque, S., Sandström, C. (2018). Research amidst the contentious issue of wolf presence: Exploration of reference frames and social, cultural, and political dimensions. In T. Hovardas (Ed.), *Large Carnivore Conservation and Management: Human Dimensions*. (pp. 19-36). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Johansson, M. & Sandström, C. (2015). Individual and collective responses to large carnivore management: The roles of trust, representation, knowledge spheres, communication and leadership. *Wildlife Biology*. 21(3), 175 - 185. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2981/wlb.00065>.
- Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Risvoll, C., Kaarhus, R., Lundberg, A. K., & Sandström, C. (2019). *Knowledge claims and struggles in decentralized large carnivore governance: insights from Norway and Sweden*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Skogen, K. (2015). The Persistence of an Economic Paradigm: Unintended Consequences in Norwegian Wolf Management. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 20(4), 317-322. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10871209.2015.1006796>.
- Skogen, K. & Haaland, K. (2001). En ulvehistorie fra Østfold: samarbeid og konflikter mellom forvaltning, forskning og lokalbefolkning. [Collaborative efforts in wolf management in Østfold, Norway.] NINA Fagrapport 52: 1–51 (in Norwegian with English abstract).
- Skogen, K., Mauz, I., & Krange, O. (2008). Cry wolf!: Narratives of wolf recovery in france and norway*. *Rural Sociology*, 73(1),105-133. <https://doi.org/10.1526/003601108783575916>.
- Svensson, L. Wabakken, P., Maartmann, E., Åkesson, M., Flagstad, Ø. & Hedmark, E. (2019). Inventering av varg vintern 2018-2019 - Beståndsstatus för stora rovdjur i Skandinavien

1-2019. Retrieved from: <http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2599641> (in Swedish and Norwegian).

Swedish Code of Statutes (2018). Förordning (2018:1049) om ändring i förordningen (2009:1474) om viltförvaltningsdelegationer [Ordinance on change in the Wildlife Management Delegation Ordinance] (in Swedish).

Swedish Code of Statutes. (2009). Förordning (2009:1474) om viltförvaltningsdelegationer [Wildlife Management Delegation Ordinance] (in Swedish).

Swedish Government Bill 2000/01:57. *Sammanhållen rovdjurspolitik* [A Coordinated Predator Policy]. Retrieved from: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/sammanhallen-rovdjurspolitik-prop-20000157_GO0357 (in Swedish).

Swedish Government Bill 2008/09:210. *En ny rovdjursförvaltning* [A new predator management policy]. Retrieved from: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/en-ny-rovdjursforvaltning_GW03210 (in Swedish).

Swedish Government Bill 2012/13:191. *En hållbar rovdjurspolitik* [A Sustainable Predator Policy]. Retrieved from: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/en-hallbar-rovdjurspolitik_H003191 (in Swedish).

Swedish Government Official Reports 1999:146. Till statsrådet och chefen för Miljödepartementet. SOU-series. Retrieved from: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/sou-1999-146-d1_GNB3146d1 (in Swedish).

Swedish Government Official Reports 2012:22. Mål för rovdjuren. SOU-series. Retrieved from: <https://www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/2012/04/sou-201222> (in Swedish).

Swedish Government's Environmental Department (*Miljödepartamentet*), (2017, February 23).

Utvärdering av viltförvaltningsdelegationerna klar [Press release]. Retrieved from:
<https://www.regeringen.se/pressmeddelanden/2017/02/utvardering-av-viltforvaltningsdelegationerna-klar/> (in Swedish).

SÖ 1983: 30. (1983). Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats. *Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*.

Vetenskapsrådet (Swedish Research Council). (2017). Good research practice. In *Manual for Research Ethics Committees*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511550089.034>.

von Essen, E. (2012). *Democracy and Sustainable Development in wildlife management: from 'stakeholders' to 'citizens' in the Swedish wolf restoration process*. Uppsala University, Uppsala. (Master Thesis in Sustainable Development). Retrieved from <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:529315/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

Annexes

Annex 1: Interview Guide for WMD members

Intro:

Master student inom globala studier i Göteborg – har hjälpt Annelie Sjölander-Lindkvist (en forskare vid GRI i Göteborg) tidigare (under våren/sommaren) med att analysera några fler intervjuer i samband med projektet Environmental Collaborative Governance, där de undersöker viltförvaltningsdelegationerna kopplat till rovdjursförvaltning 2015-2016. Jag tycker att det är intressant att kunna prata med dig som är ny rekryterad – då kanske fokusera mer på dina förväntningar när du sitter i VFD, och hur det kom att du sitter där osv. Om jag använder en/några citat från intervjun idag, så ska du vara anonym. Intervjun ska spelas in, eftersom jag ska transkribera den sen. Bara jag ska få lysna på den, men det är bara att säkerställa att jag hinna få alla information. När som helst under intervjun, om du vill att jag inte ska använda ett citat från dig, så säg till bara och jag ska inte använda det. Låter det här ok för dig? Lite bakgrund till uppsatsen då: Jag använder en teori till uppsatsen som heter Conservation Conflict Transformation. Teorin menar att ofta är konflikter kring naturresursförvaltning djupgående och att man behöver fokusera på sociala, psykologiska och systemiska orsaker till konflikten för att de ska kunna lösas”.

Har du några frågor om teorin eller uppsatsen hittills?

- 1) *Berätta lite om dig själv - Vad har du för bakgrund? Vad du gör nuförtiden?*
- 2) *Vad har du för utbildningsbakgrund?*
- 3) *Hur länge har du suttit nu i VFD?*
De har nyligen lagt en till naturårds ledemot eller?
- 4) *Har du varit engagerad i rovdjursfrågan sedan tidigare, eller viltförvaltning på något sätt?*
- 5) *Kontakt med andra inom VFD?*
- 7) *Dina förväntningar? Förhoppningar?*
- 6) *Diskussionsklimatet? Högt i tak? Har du upplevt några allianser mellan ledemöter osv? Konflikter eller kontroverser som har uppstött?*
- 8) *Hur ofta ska ni ha möte? Tillräckligt mycket tid?*
- 9) *Hur ser du på debatten kring rovdjursfrågan?*
- 10) *Hur ser du på VFD's roll i relation till NV och LST? Bodde ha mer eller mindre inflytande i beslutsprocessen, eller räker det med vad ni kan göra nu?*
- 11) *Regeringen har implementerat en policy sedan 2013 (prop. 2012/2013) som uppmantrar VFD att vara inkluderande, att alla berörda intressen ska vara delaktiga. Hur tänker du kring detta?*
- 12) *Någonting annat du vill lägga till intervjun just nu?*

Annex 2: Interview Guide for CAB officer

Intro:

Master student inom globala studier i Göteborg – har hjälpt Annelie tidigare (under våren/sommaren) med att analysera några fler intervjuer i samband med projektet Environmental Collaborative Governance, där de undersöker viltförvaltningsdelegationerna kopplat till rovdjursförvaltning 2015-2016. Annelie och Serena intervjuade dig på Länsstyrelsen.

När vi pratade vid tänkte jag att vi bland annat ska diskutera en konfliktteori som kallas för Conservation Conflict Transformation eller CCT teori, som jag använder för uppsatsen. Enligt teorin så kan konflikten vara antingen en ”tvist” (t ex vid en bilolycka kommer man överens om vem som ska stå för skadorna) eller så är konflikten djupgående, i.e att det finns underliggande orsaker eller behov som gör att konflikterna blir svåra att lösa. Teorin menar att ofta är konflikter kring naturresursförvaltning djupgående och att man behöver fokusera på sociala, psykologiska och systemiska orsaker till konflikten för att de ska kunna lösas.

Har du några frågor om teorin?

Eftersom du har en lång erfarenhet från rovdjursförvaltning, som jag har förstått från din intervju med Annelie 2015, så tyckte jag och Annelie att du var en viktig person att prata med om det här temat.

Tanken bakom min uppsats nu är ju då att analysera intervjuerna som gjordes av Annelie och Serena 2015/2016. Jag ska använda CCT teorin som en guide när jag läser intervjuerna för att kunna få en förståelse för kontrovers inom viltförvaltning i Sverige, med en fokus på VG, och för att se om det finns vissa faktorer som drivs den...

Den här teorin att det är nödvändigt att fokusera på relationerna, processen, **och** sakinnehållet vid den här typen av kontroverser. Då tänkte jag att vi kunde prata om de här komponenterna, och hur du upplever/har upplevt det.

Vill du börja med att berätta lite om vad du gör nuförtiden? Vilka är dina arbetsuppgifter? Hur länge har du arbetat med de här frågorna? Vad är din utbildningsbakgrund?

Praktiska frågor: Hur många varg finns det i VG? Fortsätta det att öka överhuvudtaget? Känns att informationen om detta kanske bara komma ut officiellt från NV (men finns det förtroendet där, så att folk tror på de officiella siffrorna? Eller tror du att NV har det rätta siffrorna egentligen?) (430 NV 2015)

Konflikt:

Du sa i din intervju med Annelie att: “De här grupperna som är extrema har slutat att prata. Men de har inte slutat att agera på andra sätt.” Är det så också idag? Varför har de

slutat prata? Kunde du prata lite mer om de grupperna som har blivit tysta, och konsekvenserna som du upplever kring detta idag?

Relationships:

1) Hur ser förtroendet mellan boende/invånare och NV/myndigheterna ut idag i VG? Har någonting i kommunikationen mellan lokalsamhället och myndigheterna ändrats de senaste tre åren som du märker? Sämre/bättre/detsamma?

2) Du sa i din intervju med Annelie, att det är viktigt att tänka på helhetens och att man också borde försöka se på frågan utifrån varje individs situation. Kan du berätta lite hur du tänkte (då) och tänker idag? [Försök att inte leda henne för mycket, var så öppen som möjligt, och tänk på när du ställer dina frågor att hon kanske inte kommer ihåg vad hon sa OCH att hon kanske har en annan uppfattning idag] Uppfattar jag dig rätt om det handlar om att vi alla har våra olika värderingar, unika bakgrunder och erfarenheter?

A) Tror du att det finns ett sätt att kunna formalisera det här sättet att tänka (i.e. att försöka verkligen förstå en annans situation och även kanske kunna öka empati hos de som sitter i VFD och NV?)

Process: (deliberative? – how could it be better?)

1) Regeringen har implementerat en policy sedan 2013 (prop. 2012/2013) som uppmuntrar VFD att vara *inkluderande*, att alla berörda intressen ska vara *delaktiga*. Hur tänker du kring detta? Har det fungerat? Vad är det som gör att det inte fungerar?

A) Finns det någonting specifikt som du själv tycker behöver ändras eller förbättras med hur det är organiserat bland VFDs för att kunna minimera kontroverser och konflikter inom viltförvaltningen?

Beslutsprocessen ska byggas på XXX istället, eller att det bodde finnas flera/mindre representanter från x-gruppen eller y-gruppen osv.?

2) Hur upplever du kommunikationen mellan er som sitter på Ist och NV idag?

Substance:

1) I din intervju med Annelie pratade du om konflikten som att, ”det handlar inte om rovdjuren, utan någonting annat”. Tänker du så idag också? Kan du berätta lite mera?

A) Utifrån din långa erfarenhet av viltförvaltning, vad skulle du säga att man reagerar mest på, eller bli mest störd av när det gäller frågor som har med rovdjurens förvaltning att göra? Tror du att VG avviker på ngt sätt från andra län?

2) Hur ser du på LST:s benägenhet till förändring? [Försök kanske börja först med LST som institution och sedan leder du in på de som jobbar på LST] **Finns det utrymme för er i ert arbete att fokusera på lösningar?** [att de har kanske så mkt arbetsuppgifter att de inte hinner] **Skulle du säga att ni är öppna för att hitta lösningar? Vad skulle behövas för att skapa lösningsorienterade processer?**

A) Tror du att folk på lst VG är öppet till att hitta en lösning, eller att ändra någonting i processen/relationen till andra på lst eller till NV/lokalbefolkning?

Annex 3: Interview Guide for SEPA employee

Intro:

Master student inom globala studier i Göteborg – har hjälpt Annelie Sjölander-Lindqvist tidigare (under våren/sommaren) med att analysera några fler intervjuer i samband med projektet Environmental Collaborative Governance, där de undersökte viltförvaltningsdelegationerna kopplat till rovdjursförvaltning 2015-2016. Jag analyserar de intervjuerna och sen har gjort två till intervjuar med ledamöter i VG, en från LST, och sen dig.

Lite bakgrund till uppsatsen då: Jag använder en teori till uppsatsen som heter Conservation Conflict Transformation. Teorin menar att ofta är konflikter kring naturresursförvaltning djupgående och att man behöver fokusera på sociala, psykologiska och systemiska orsaker till konflikten för att de ska kunna lösas”

Intervjun ska spelas in, eftersom jag ska transkribera den sen. Bara jag ska få lyssna på den, men det är bara att säkerställa att jag hinna få alla information. Om jag använder en/några citat från intervjun idag, så ska du vara anonym. Om du vill att jag inte ska använda ett citat från dig, så säg till bara och jag ska inte använda det alls. Jag vill kolla med dig först – vill du att jag nämna bara att jag har intervjuat en från NV, eller skulle det vara ok för dig om jag skriver vilken enhet du jobbar på också?

1) Kan du börja med att berätta vad du har för uppgifter där på NV/ vad du är ansvarig för i din position? Din utbildningsbakgrund? Hur jobbar ni inom viltförvaltningsenheten (i.e. hur det är strukturerad osv.)

2) Vad handlar föreskriftsprojektet om? Hur kom det till att ni har ett sådant projekt (i.e. behov, diskussioner kring detta).

3) Eras relation till VFDs och Länsstyrelserna/CABs, och till Samverkansrådet? Bra kommunikation mellan de olika aktörerna? Någonting som kan förbättras?

4) Hur ser ni inom viltförvaltningsenheten på viltförvaltningdelegationerna's roll inom viltförvaltning?

5) Tror du att dem berörda intressena är delaktiga enligt regeringens policy sedan 2013 (prop. 2012/2013)?

6) HAR NI DISKUTERAT MANDATETS FORMULERING FÖR VFD? TÄNKER PÅ ATT DET FÖREKOMMIT DISKUSSIONER KRING ATT DET KANSKE ÄR FÖR OTYDLIGT FORMULERAT?

5) Har ni inom din enhet, eller generellt inom NV diskussioner kring konflikt och konflikthantering? Kan du berätta lite om hur de diskussionerna ser ut/ processen kring detta?

6) Problem med illegal jakt? Åtgärder för att kunna minska illegal jakt i landet?

7) Hur ser planerna för framtiden inom viltförvaltning ut på din enhet/ inom NV?

8) Ligger det någonting specifikt på bordet nu som tar mycket tid uppmärksamhet av din enhet?