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EERIKA ALBRECHT

PEATLAND POLITICS IN FINLAND

Local movements, deliberative environmental governance and arguments

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ABSTRACT

Peatlands cover one-third of Finnish land area. When the industrial use of peat as a domestic heating fuel evolved over the course of Finland's modernisation in the 1960s and 1970s, reducing the environmental impacts of peat extraction and peatland conservation became pressing issues. This dissertation studies peatland politics in Finland and focuses on local peatland conflicts and deliberative environmental governance. Additionally, it connects the study of interactions between a broad range of actors to the study of language and argumentation. In doing so, it focuses on the arguments presented for and against peatland conservation.

This dissertation presents three case studies: two case studies of peatland conflicts and local environmental movements, namely the case of Julkuneva mire, located in Veteli, Central-Ostrobothnia and the case of Viurusuo mire located in Outokumpu, North Karelia. It also presents a case study on the deliberative policy process of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme in Finland. The mire conservation programme from 1979 was amended in a process, which consisted of selecting areas for mire conservation and deliberation over the suitable policy means for conservation in an expert forum as well as broader communication with the public. All three case studies combine different data sources, which consist of interviews, newspaper articles and legal documents.

The first two cases provide evidence that peatland conflicts have emerged in different parts of Finland as local residents and other local and regional actor groups have made appeals to the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court since 2000, when the Environmental Protection Act was established. This shows that environmental movements have adopted appeals on environmental permits as one of their tools to resist environmentally harmful projects. This also provides evidence regarding the motives for taking part in the action, which include place based attachments and the cultural values attached to mires. This study examines the arguments which persisted in local interactions and those that influenced legal decisions. This emphasises the importance of understanding the context and the audience. The last case study shows that the drafting process of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme included some elements of experimental culture, although towards the end of the process the amount of participants involved in the deliberation was narrowed down. In the context of Finnish peatland policy, voluntary policy solutions are

gaining ground. Additionally, broader dialogue between all actors taking part in the planning and management of peatland use, restoration and conservation is needed.

Keywords: *Peatland politics, peatland conflict, environmental movements, deliberative environmental governance, arguments*

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Soiden käytön ja suojelun yhteensovittaminen on ympäristöpoliittisesti kiinnostava kysymys. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelen tapaustutkimuksen keinoin suomalaista suopolitiikkaa suuntaamalla huomion politiikkaprosesseihin, paikallisiin konflikteihin ja osallistavaan hallintaan. Samalla erittelen suopolitiikan vuorovaikutuksen kenttää kiinnittämällä huomiota kielelliseen vuorovaikutukseen ja argumentaatioon vaikuttamisen välineenä. Tällöin kiinnostuksen kohteena ovat perustelut, joilla soidensuojelun eri politiikkakeinoja ja paikallista toteutusta tuetaan tai vastustetaan.

Tapaustutkimuksen keinoin nostan tarkastelun kohteeksi Julkunevan turvekonfliktin Vetelissä, Keski-Pohjanmaalla, sekä Viurusuon turvekonfliktin Outokummussa Pohjois-Karjalassa. Konfliktit ovat luonteeltaan hyvin samankaltaisia, mutta nostavat tapaustutkimuksina esille 2000-luvun ympäristökonfliktien ominaispiirteitä, joista tieteellisen tiedon käyttö ja perustelujen muotoilu eri yleisöille ja vaikuttaminen politiikan eri areenoilla ovat keskeisimpiä. Kummassakin tapauksessa on käyty kiistaa turpeennoston ympäristöluvista oikeusteitse. Lisäksi tarkastelen soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmavalmistelua osallistavan hallinnan ja toimijuuden näkökulmista. Täydennysohjelmaprosessin tarkastelu valottaa mitä luonnonvarahallinnan toimijoita ja diskursseja valmisteluun on osallistunut ja kuinka osallistavuus on toteutettu.

Tämä tutkimus tuo esille, että turpeennoston herättämä laaja vastustus on etenkin 2000-luvun ilmiö. Turvekiistat ovat tiiviisti kytköksissä maaseudun muutokseen, sillä maalla asujat haluavat elää lähellä luontoa ja virkistäytyä. Julkunevan ja Viurusuon luonnonsuojelutoiminta rinnastuu oman elintilan puolustamiseen ja kyläyhteisön hyvinvoinnin turvaamiseen. Lisäksi nämä suokiistat käytiin oikeusistuimissa ja tiedotusvälineissä. Ympäristölupajärjestelmä on mahdollistanut kiistojen käymisen oikeusteitse ja suora toiminta on harvinaista 2000-luvun ympäristökonflikteissa. Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmaa valmisteltiin hyvässä hengessä, mutta osallistavan prosessin ja työryhmätyöskentelyn tulokset sivuutettiin osittain toimintapolitiikan valmistelussa. Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman politiikkaprosessissa tehokkain argumentointitapa oli konsensushakuinen, kestävyyden sosiaalisiin ja taloudellisiin ulottuvuuksiin nojaava. Tämä kertoo suomalaisen yhteiskunnan konsensusorientoituneisuudesta. Lisäksi soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman toteutuksessa on havaittavissa joitakin kokeilukulttuurin piirteitä. Suojeluohjelmaehdotus vahvistaa vapaaehtoisen luonnonsuojelun asemaa suomalaisessa suojelukeskustelussa. Osallistavan hallinnan näkökulmasta soiden suojelu on mutkikasta, sillä tavoitteista ja keinoista neuvoteltaessa osapuolten on huomioitava useita, osin toisensa poissulke-

via intressejä uhanalaisten luontotyyppien ja lajien suojelusta metsätalouden ja turvetuotannon tulevaisuudennäkymiin sekä virkistysarvoihin. Virkistyskäyttöarvot ja suojeluarvot ovat saaneet lisää painoarvoa ja luonnonvarojen hallinta on jakautunut yhä laajemmalle toimijajoukolle. Tämän vuoksi tarvitaan yhä kokonaisvaltaisempia lähestymistapoja vastaamaan ympäristöhallinnan haasteisiin ja avaamaan dialogia eri toimijajoukkojen välille. Samalla on varmistettava, että suojelutavoitteet toteutuvat ja resurssit ovat riittäviä soiden ennallistamiseen.

Avainsanat: *Suopolitiikka, turvekonfliktit, paikallinen liikehdintä, deliberatiivinen hallinta, argumentit*

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Joensuu 11 July 2018
Eerika Albrecht

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 WHY PEATLAND POLITICS?

In this study *peatland politics* is connected to agency in discursive struggles over the use and conservation of peatlands in natural resources governance. The actors involved aim to change the direction of policy processes with rhetorics and argumentation that reflect their interests and values. These actors simultaneously take part in the redefinition of the content for the sustainable use and conservation of peatlands in Finland. I use the concept of peatland politics to highlight the competing definitions over the use and conservation of peatlands in society. These struggles are connected to the symbolic meaning of mires and peatlands by various conceptions and practices that organise the relationship between humans and habitats, which are culturally referred to as mires, bogs, fens, swamps, wetlands or peatlands (in Finnish *suo*). The term peatland policy in this study refers to the guidance and policy instruments employed in the use and conservation of peatlands.

Drawing on the conceptual difference between politics and policy is necessary as the Finnish word *politiikka* consists of different terms, such as politics, policy and polity (Palonen 2003; Ratamäki 2009, 15; Sairinen 2009, 137). Politics is about the discursive or argumentative struggles over the definition of a policy's content. In this way politics is about contestation, which lasts throughout a discursive opening and moves towards consensus when epistemic closure is reached. Politics is also about agency – the stakeholders, actors or agents who take part in discursive or argumentative struggles with the goal of influencing a policy's content. Discursive struggles and agency are constitutive of politics (see e.g. Laine & Jokinen 2001; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003). Policy refers to the devices that guide the actions of stakeholders and institutions (Laine & Jokinen 2001, 47; Ratamäki 2009, 15). Policies are formulated in a process of democratic interaction. They can be binding or non-binding (law, soft-law) and the efficiency of their implementation varies. Polity refers to the places of interaction where policy making takes place (Sairinen 2009, 137). The term refers to the multiplicity of interactions within governance networks. Polity is thus not only parliament but also extends to various stakeholders who take part in the processes of a governance network.

Finnish peatland politics is influenced by international climate and biodiversity targets. Peat has been defined as a slowly renewable biomass source of energy in Finland, contrary to IPCC targets (Leinonen 2010, 3). The IPCC defines peat as a fossil fuel in the same category as coal (IPCC 2007). Finnish attempts to define peat as a slowly renewable energy source were still visible in its 2008 national long-term climate targets whereas in 2013 the national climate strategy recognised the need to slowly discontinue the use of peat (Kansallinen… 2013, 30). Additionally, according to the national energy and climate roadmap, *"the use of peat should be discontinued in the production of electricity and district heating unless the commercialization of CCS enables their use"* (Parliamentary Committee on Energy and Climate Issues 2014, 10). Finnish energy and climate policy until 2030 outlines that the use of peat should not be more profitable than renewables, but taxation should ensure that it is more profitable than the use of coal and other fossil fuels (Valtioneuvoston… 2016). The climate impacts of peat extraction and burning in co-generated heat and energy power plants are signifi-

cant and comparable to brown coal, though peat is slightly worse. On the other hand, when peatlands are drained the natural production of methane (CH4) is reduced. Climate change, as the most significant environmental challenge of the 21st century, has changed the framing of Finnish energy policy, although energy self-sufficiency and security of supply remain persistent elements (Kivimaa & Mickwitz 2011). Even though most actors agree that peat is not a renewable source of energy, some actors in the Finnish policy debate persistently reframe it as a slowly renewable biomass energy source. The positioning of peat in national energy policy in relation to international climate targets is ongoing.

This study connects the politicisation of peat as an energy resource to the debate on the impacts of peat extraction on water that have caused local environmental conflicts (Mustonen 2014). As the empirical case studies reveal (see Chapter 4), the climate change frame was not present in the local environmental movements nor the government intervention for peatland conservation.

The arrival of the ecosystem services approach in Finnish peatland politics is evident. According to the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, MA (2005), ecosystem services are the benefits that human beings obtain from nature. This concept has been developed to consolidate the needs, wants and interests of actors taking part in natural resource governance. The Proposal for the National Strategy for Sustainable and Responsible Use and Conservation of Peatlands (Ehdotus… 2011) was the first national strategy paper in Finland to apply the ecosystem services approach. The report applied five categories of ecosystem services to mires and peatlands: provisioning services, regulating services, maintenance services, cultural services and supporting services. For example Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) only mentions four categories. The report builds on the promise of ecosystem services as a method of consolidating the different needs, wants and uses of mires and peatlands.

The peatland strategy describes the existing uses of peatlands, including forestry, agriculture, peat extraction, biodiversity protection, nature products, hunting, reindeer husbandry, recreation and teaching (Ehdotus… 2011). It also lists the existing regulatory tools and policies, and suggests ideas for further development of the regulatory environment. Among others, stopping biodiversity degradation on Finnish peatlands and achieving the favourable status of peatland conservation as well as reducing water pollution from peatlands, reducing climate impacts and developing sustainable peatland forestry are outlined in the peatland strategy draft (ibid). The draft also guarantees the use of peatlands for agriculture and peat extraction. However, the rather ambitious proposal never became legally binding but was used as a background paper for the decision in principle on the Sustainable and Responsible Use and Conservation of Peatlands (Valtioneuvoston… 2012). This decision in principle is based on the National Strategy for Mires and Peatlands, which takes the ecosystem services approach as a starting point.

Peatland conflicts are caused by overlapping land use interests and different stakeholder values of the groups participating in the discursive struggles of peatland politics (Joosten & Clarke 2002, 8). They have emerged over time and are linked to the intensified use of peatlands for agricultural, forestry and peat extraction purposes. Peatland conflicts are connected to the trade-offs between the interests of different stakeholder groups (Joosten & Clarke 2002, 8) and share the characteristics of natural resource or environmental conflicts, which have been divided into knowledge based, interest based and value based conflicts (Rannikko 1994, 26; Sairinen 1994, 26–28; Laine & Jokinen 2001, 58). Knowledge based conflicts may emerge because of missing

information or incompatible standpoints on the information (Laine & Jokinen 2001, 58–59; Valkonen & Saaristo 2010, 109). Interest based conflicts emphasise different agencies which aim to influence the processes of natural resource governance from the point of view of an interest group, such as industry, forestry, land owners or nature conservation (Valkonen & Saaristo 2010, 108). Value conflicts emerge from the divergent values that people place on nature. Finnish forest conflicts, such Talaskangas, Murhijärvi and Kessi, are examples of colliding economic, nature and cultural values (Valkonen & Saaristo 2010, 107).

Local legitimacy challenges to nature conservation and interactions between agents that take part in the definition of nature politics have been the focus of previous studies on nature conservation conflicts in Finland (see eg. Valkonen 2003; Hiedanpää 2005; Puhakka 2007). The concept of local legitimacy refers to the acceptance of a shared rule by a community, whereas legitimacy refers to the acceptance of political authority (Bodansky 2007, 3). In natural resource governance legitimacy is often connected to procedural values, such as access to information, the right to participate and the outcome. Participatory and deliberative approaches to environmental planning and policy design are expected to reduce environmental conflicts. In natural resource conflicts, such as forest or species specific conflicts in Finland, participatory approaches and dialogue have been a useful part of conflict management (see eg. Raitio 2008; Ratamäki 2009). They have increasingly been adopted as practises of natural resource governance.

Participatory planning is also mandatory in processes that require an environmental impact assessment (EIA) and environmental permit (Pölönen et al. 2011). An EIA is a tool for conflict management and is part of the environmental permit process for peat extraction. Before the renewed Environmental Protection Act of 2014, production areas over 10 ha required an environmental permit. Currently all peat extraction areas require an environmental permit. In the European Union (EU) the EIA directive of 1985 establishes procedural rights for citizens in environmental issues (Raitio 2008, 18). Similar procedural rights were established with the Aarhus Convention (on access to information, public participation in decision making and access to justice in environmental matters established in 1998), as well as in principle 10 of the Rio declaration from 1992 (ibid.). When Finland joined the EU, EIA were integrated as part of national legislation with the EIA Act (468/1994; replaced by the EIA Act 252/2017), which improved citizen rights to information and opportunities to participate in planning processes with environmental consequences (Pölönen et al. 2011). EIA, as an established practise, has made a positive contribution to the openness and participatory opportunities of environmental permitting for peat extraction. However, these processes have major shortcomings, such as the lack of consideration for the total array of alternatives and insufficient assessment of water impacts (Pölönen & Halinen 2014).

In this study I mainly use the term mire to refer to the most common Finnish wetland types. Mires are geologically defined as peat deposits and biologically as places of peat composing plant formations (Cajander 1913, 7). In this study the term peatland, which more broadly refers to organic soil types consisting of peat, is also used. Mire is used as a subcategory of peatland types that are roughly divided into bogs and fens (Joosten & Clarke 2002, 25; Seppä 2002; Lindholm & Heikkilä 2005; Virtanen 2008, 18). The main mire types in Finland are aapa mires and raised bogs (Laitinen et al. 2007). On aapa mires the mineral rich water flows from surrounding areas can reach the centre of a peatland formation while on raised bogs the centre of the mire rises higher than the level of the surrounding mineral soil, which is why the centre of these mires are nutrient poor (Seppä 2002). Raised bogs are the result of the

continuous accumulation of sphagnum peat, which has grown over the water table over long period of time. Aapa mires are in a different phase of peat accumulation. Aapa mires are the characteristic mire type of central and northern Finland, whereas raised bogs are typical for southern Finland. The mire types of southern Finland are under more pressure than the aapa mires of central and northern Finland as most nature conservation areas are located in the northern part of the country and land use is more intensive in the more densely populated south (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015). Mires are complex water systems that are vulnerable to changes caused by human activities. Many of the changes in water level have been caused by forest and peatland drainage (Tanskanen 2000, 28). Many of the mires that remain undrained are surrounded by drained forest areas, which impacts the water balance of the mire. These areas are in need of restoration.

1.2 RESEARCH AIM AND SETTING

This study is positioned in the field of environmental politics. Environmental politics is about the interactions between various actors (human and non-human) and societal forces that aim to solve complex environmental problems (Sairinen 2000, 20; Palviainen 2004, 33). This sub-field of environmental social sciences emerged from the need to combine critical understanding of socio-economic, political and cultural structures and processes to interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary thinking in order to solve environmental problems (Roberts 2011, 3). Environmental politics has institutionalised as an established field of study in Finland since the late 1980s (Konttinen et al. 1999, 5). This follows the international expansion of interest in environmental topics in many academic fields. Research on environmental movements, environmental conflicts, local experiments on sustainable development and environmental policy development as well as environmental governance have been of interest to sociologists, political scientists and other environmental social scientists.

The environmental social sciences have widely focused on the symbolic and discursive construction of environmental problems (Lockie 2015). These environmental problems are often 'wicked', which means that they are not easily solvable because of the various actors and interests taking part in defining the problem (Rittel & Webber 1973; Whyte & Thompson 2012). On the other hand, environmental problems emerge in the material processes of ecosystems, production and consumption patterns, human metabolic functions and societal processes that have material consequences (ibid.). This dissertation recognises that the existing scarcity of 'pristine mires' is a result of the material processes that turned them into peat extraction sites, agricultural land and drained forestry land. Yet, this work focuses on the meanings, discourses, arguments and symbols that shape the human-nature interactions which derive from and result in changes in the material processes in the objects that are studied as ecosystems or hydrological units.

This study approaches Finnish peatland politics through case studies on local environmental movements and deliberative policy making. The objectives of this dissertation are to understand Finnish peatland conflicts in the 21st century, analyse the deliberative settings of peatland policy and study the arguments present in Finnish peatland politics. The broader aim of this synopsis is to analyse the transition patterns of mire and peatland politics in Finland, including shifts in governance and perceptions of sustainability, and to understand peat related conflicts. More detailed questions on peatland conflicts and deliberative policy making have been addressed in Papers 1–4.

Table 1. Research questions, methods and main findings of each article.

Paper	Research question	Method	Main findings
Paper 1: Albrecht, Eerika (2015). Energiaa vai luonnonrauhaa? Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi paikallisessa turvekonfliktissa Keski-Pohjanmaalla. (Energy or natural peace? For and against argumentation in a local peat conflict in Central Ostrobothnia). Terra 127:4, 157–168.	1) What actors took part in the Julkuneva peatland conflict? 2) What kind of arguments and justifications were applied in support of and against peat extraction? 3) What kind of collective forms of action and activism did the peatland conflict feature?	Argument analysis: Identify arguments in support of and against peat extraction	Stakeholders of Julkuneva peatland conflict: citizens, village association, fishing association, local FANC, regional administration and Vapo Ltd. Arguments in support of peat extraction: national energy policy, security of supply and employment. Against peat extraction: nature values, recreational use, place attachments and avoiding environmental impacts. Collective action in rural society is connected to recreational values that are shared by a new group of rural residents who live in the countryside but whose livelihoods are not dependent on farming.
Paper 2: Albrecht, E., Ratamäki, O. (2016). Effective arguments for ecosystem services in biodiversity conservation – A case study on Finnish peatland conservation. Ecosystem services 22, 41–50.	1) What kinds of ecosystem services did the stakeholders of the Viurusuo conflict identify and what were the arguments used in defending the importance of these services? 2) What arguments were effective and how? 3) What were the sources of effectiveness in the argumentation?	Argument analysis: Identify arguments that persisted throughout the local campaign and effectively influenced the administrative ruling. Classifying ecosystem services with CICES 4.3 categorisation.	Valuations of local ecosystem services emphasised cultural values and sustained the local campaign. Nature Directive Amendment IV species and habitats were effective arguments in administrative courts. Legitimate argumentation targeted towards courts were legal norms and scientific knowledge.
	Research question	**Method**	**Main findings**
Paper 3: Albrecht, E., Åkerman, M. (2016). Soidensuojelun osallistaminen ympäristöpolitiikan kokeiluna. (Participatory processes of mire conservation as an environmental governance experiment). Alue ja Ympäristö, 45:2, 4–19.	What is the role of participatory governance, government policy and experimental culture in the drafting process of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme?	Thematic analysis: Evaluate how and to what extent participatory processes enable elements of experimental culture, such as dialogue, public discussion and learning, and challenge existing policy, institutions and practices.	Representative democracy, participatory governance and deliberative experiments function with different logics of interaction, dialogue and learning. The analysis of the supplemental mire conservation programme raises the question of how to reconcile the participatory demands and safeguard nature values.
Paper 4: Albrecht, E., Discursive struggle and agency – Updating the Finnish peatland conservation network (Submitted).	a) What were the roles of different policy discourses and agency in the process of drafting the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme in Finland? b) Which discourses did agents rely on in order to gain discursive agency and persuade others to support their preferred policy solutions? c) How did this influence the outcome of the process?	Discourse analysis: analyses of discourses and discursive agency to reveal strategies to gain power and influence the outcome.	Four discourses of 'maintenance of biodiversity', 'regulatory programme', 'voluntary conservation' and 'participatory' shaped the mire conservation policy. The agents relied on keywords, such as voluntary and sustainability, to gain support for voluntary conservation and participatory discourses. A value shift towards market-based and voluntary environmental policy instruments is becoming more permanent.

This study aims to identify the actors who define the content of Finnish peatland politics, and examine the conflicts over the conservation of peatlands and the argumentation in relation to policy processes. These aims are connected to the modernisation of Finland, which led to peatland drainage, and landscape and ecological changes that raised concerns over nature conservation (described in Chapter 2). The case studies in this work empirically deal with two local peatland conflicts in western and eastern Finland (Julkuneva, Veteli, Central Ostrobothnia and Viurusuo, Outokumpu, North Karelia) and the policy process of updating the Finnish peatland conservation network in a working group for supplemental mire conservation. Additionally, it focuses on the rhetoric and interactions within the policy processes of peatland conservation. Therefore, the main interest is in finding successful arguments for conservation in Finnish peatland politics.

The research questions are:

a) What are the characteristics of local peatland conflicts in Finland?

b) What kind of deliberations take place in Finnish mire conservation policy?

c) What kind of arguments have been presented in Finnish peatland politics?

This synopsis summarises the results of four articles on three case studies on peatland politics, carried out between 2010 and 2015. Each study was conducted with the data triangulation technique, which is a qualitative research strategy aimed at in-depth understanding of a phenomenon through combining information from different data sources – not only to improve the validity and quality of the research but also to act as an alternative to validation (Denzin 2012). The first two case studies focus on local conservation movements, while the third case study focuses on the policy process of updating the mire conservation programme in Finland. The results of each case study have been published. Papers 1 and 2 present an analysis on peatland conflicts between the peat extraction company Vapo Ltd and local stakeholders, which emerged in the middle of the 1990s and persisted for nearly two decades. The two study sites were located at the Julkuneva mire, Veteli, Central Ostrobothnia and the Viurusuo mire, Outokumpu, North Karelia. In these case studies arguments for and against peatland conservation were analysed and changes of argumentation during the lengthy environmental conflicts were tracked. The first study is based on my master's thesis project. The field work for the second paper was conducted together with Dr Outi Ratamäki and the Besafe project (http://www.besafe-project.net/), so that both of us took part in the study design, interviews and analysis. I contributed to the analysis of ecosystem services by using CICES 4.3 and to the two narratives of small ponds and swamp frogs, while Dr Ratamäki was responsible for the more detailed argument analysis in Annex 1. We both contributed equally to writing the article.

In this study I aim to understand local environmental conflicts through two case studies – Julkuneva, Veteli, Central Ostrobothnia and Viurusuo, Outokumpu, North-Karelia. Both of these conflicts endured for almost 20 years (data samples run from 1995 to 2013), and with appeals to administrative courts. This dissertation aims to understand how these local movements emerged and why they persisted. Additionally, I interested in changes in argumentative practices and the legal system's practices

of interpretation as througout the conflict more arguments for peatland conservation emerged. The changing practices of interpretation were present in the case studies of Julkuneva and Viurusuo, where the environmental movement mobilised through appeals to the Finnish Supreme Administrative Court and the Vaasa Administrative Court (regional administrative court). The Environmental Protection Act (86/2000) harmonised the environmental permit procedure and broadened the right of appeal.

The third case study analyses the policy process of drafting the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme from 2012 to 2015 (Papers 3 and 4). The working group for supplemental mire conservation was a government initiated deliberative forum, which allows the analysis to be bound to deliberative forms of governance as a type of government initiated experimentation. Additionally, the moment of political opening, where the voluntary and regulatory means for peatland conservation was contested, enables the analysis of discursive strategies, which the actors actively employed in order to influence the outcome of the policy process. In Paper 3 I am responsible for the study design and data collection, while Dr Maria Åkerman strengthened the theoretical contribution on experimental governance. Paper 3 presents a thematic analysis which focuses on the elements of experimental culture, such as learning, participation, public discussion and dialogue. Manuscript 4 complements the analysis of the policy process with a discourse analysis that reveals the discursive strategies of actors to gain discursive agency. This approach recognises the strategic action of the agents within a process of building consensus over the policy means through reliance on hegemonic discourses, such as sustainable development.

Through these case studies I aim to reflect on one of the core questions of environmental politics: *"In what ways and for what reasons do citizens mobilize politically around nature?"* (Perreault et al. 2015, 209). However, case studies are not able to provide generalisable knowledge of environmental movements, but aim to go deeper by including the socio-environmental contexts and interactions within them. Accordingly, studying local environmental conflicts and the interactions within them is at the core of environmental politics. This study also analyses the participatory process of defining the content of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme. This process has been studied through two different analytical lenses: first by focusing on the capacity of the deliberation organiser, the Finnish State, to foster experimental culture: learning, dialogue and public discussion. The second analytical approach focused on the discourses and their role in establishing discursive agency – a power setting where actors are perceived as relevant speakers. These two approaches are used to critically examine the quality of the process in regard to the objectives of deliberative democracy: transparent, open and inclusive.

The outline of this dissertation is as follows: this first chapter has described the research objectives and orientation. Chapter 2 presents two narratives on the historical background of the conflict between peat extraction and peatland conservation, which reveals how the problem has emerged over the past decades during the modernisation of Finland and led to a scarcity of pristine peatlands. In Chapter 3 the theoretical aspects of this study are presented, including the theory of deliberative environmental governance and the theory of deliberative democracy, along with its post-political critique. Chapter 4 describes the data and methods. The analysis methods for each sub-study, such as argumentation analysis, thematic analysis and discourse analysis, are also described. Argumentation analysis and discourse analysis share an interest in meaning and language, whereas thematic analysis has a different empirical orientation. Chapter 5 summarises the case studies and briefly presents the main findings of each case study: Julkuneva (Paper 1), Viurusuo (Paper 2) and the drafting process

of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme (Papers 3 and 4). Chapter 6 consists of three parts in which the main results of this dissertation and future research trajectories are discussed.

2 BACKGROUND – FROM RESOURCE TO SCARCITY

> *"Once areas of marshy land were called swamps. The only sensible thing to do with swamps was to drain them, so the land could be put to useful purpose. Governments subsidized landowners to drain swamps. Today we call these same areas wetlands, and governments have passed laws to protect their value in providing habitat for wildlife, stabilization of ecosystems, and absorption of pollutants" (Dryzek 2013, 3).*

This narrative of change was told as a success story of modernity until the recognition of environmental problems in the 1960s (see e.g. Sutton 2004; Swyngedouw 2015). The modernity project required the exploitation of nature and was based on the interactions of humans, technology and nature as, *"[w]ilderness had to be tamed, land had to be cultivated and swamps had to be drained"* (Sutton 2004, 13). As described by Dryzek (2013, 3) above, the recognition of environmental problems in general and the scarcity problem of 'pristine nature' led to a discursive change and modifications of government policy. We now connect this discursive change to the development of environmental politics and policy, which originated from emerging environmental concerns and the environmental movement, and eventually led to the institutionalisation of the environmental movement and the development of environmental governance (Laine & Jokinen 2001, 66; Bulkeley & Mol 2003).

Mires and peatland cover one-third of Finnish land area (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2006, 108). More than half of the 10.4 million hectares of peatland have been drained for agricultural and forestry purposes since the 1950s (ibid.). Peatlands in Finland have been used as agricultural land, for intensive forestry and peat extraction, and they are still under pressure as these activities continue to degrade peatland ecosystems (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015). Finland is the number one peat extractor in the world with about 60 000 ha under exploitation (Ylönen & Simola 2012, 168; Chapman et al. 2003).

In 1913 Cajander, a Finnish forest scientists, wrote in the introduction to his study on peatland ecology *Studien über die Moore Finnlands*, in which he developed the concept of "Moorkomplexe" (mire complex), that *"[o]ne can only assume how important the meaning of mires must be for Finland"* (Cajander 1913, 3; author's translation). Almo Kaarlo Cajander created the scientific base for the exploitation of Finnish peatlands as an important part of the modernisation of Finland (Lindholm 2013). Cajander was an important figure in Finnish politics as he became the prime minister of Finland in 1937. He also developed a mire type classification system of 87 different mire types, although he is better known for his forest type classification system (Cajander 1916; Ruuhijärvi & Lindholm 2006, 119; Lindholm 2013). Cajander did not, however, predict what kind of changes the rationalisation of forests and peatlands would bring to ecosystem structures and functions in Finland during the modernisation process. The post-war period in Finland was characterised by rapid industrialisation driven by reconstruction and reparation payments (sotakorvaukset) to the Soviet Union. The Finnish modernisation project accelerated in the 1960s and 1970s and was based on intensified forestry, the draining of mires and building dams in the north (Suopajärvi 2001).

The rationalisation and intensification of Finnish peatland use became a national project (Swyngedouw 2015), which accelerated with the rhetorics of peatlands as national property (suot kansallisomaisuutena), energy self-sufficiency objectives (energiaomavaraisuus) and security of supply (huoltovarmuus) (Lempinen 2013; Paper 1). These are carefully selected rhetorical devices aimed at convincing the general public that peat is a necessary part of Finnish energy policy (Lempinen 2013). These framings affect Finnish energy politics and build legitimacy for the energy use of peat. The security of supply aspect of peat has been perceived as being such an important part of energy security that regulations, like the Act on Peat Stocks (970/1982) and the Act on Stockpiling of Fuel Peat (321/2007), ensure its availability. On the other hand, values connected to the identity of the national state have been used to argue for the protection of nature values and the founding of national parks (Rytteri & Puhakka 2009).

Since the 1960s and 1970s mire conservation has been a pressing issue. Forestry drainage intensified through the MERA programme, funded partially by the world bank, during this period (Tanskanen 2000) and consequently awakened the conservation movement to the need for action. In the beginning the conservation movement consisted mainly of ecologists who were concerned that no pristine peatlands would be left for future generations. The mire typology, which the Finnish ecologists Auer, Ruuhijärvi and Eurola adopted and developed in the 1960s and 1970s, later provided a scientific basis for the discursive struggle over mire conservation in Finland (Lindholm 2013). The arguments for mire conservation stem from the scientific understanding of declining biodiversity and local place attachments. In the Finnish context, the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation (FANC) has played a central role in the conservation movement. Additionally, the Swedish speaking nature conservation agency Natur och Miljö, international environmental NGOs (e.g. WWF, Birdlife), local associations, such as village associations (kyläyhdistykset), fishing associations (kalastuskunnat) and individuals are actors who have furthered the recognition of nature values related to mires.

In order to understand peatland conflicts, it is important to look at the historical development of the emergence of peat extraction and the mire conservation movement. Despite the large amount of peatlands, relatively few areas remain in natural condition as peatlands have been drained over the course of modernising Finland. Below, I approach this tension trough two narratives on the modernisation of Finland – the peat extraction narrative and the mire conservation narrative. This yields insights into the historical development that led to the current socio-ecological condition and therefore helps us understand the politicisation of nature in the context of Finnish mires. Drawing on past developments that led to problems with the acceptance of peat extraction and the scarcity of mires in a natural condition is relevant as the chains of events described in the narratives explain why and how the use and conservation of peatlands became a pressing question in environmental and energy politics and policy.

2.1 THE PEAT EXTRACTION NARRATIVE

Peat extraction began in Finland at the end of the 1800s. The technology for mechanical peat extraction spread from Germany to Russia and Sweden in the 1860s and reached Finland in the 1870s. Wood remained the most significant heating fuel, although brown coal was also in use in the 1920s and 1930s. During the Second World

War from 1939 to 1944 the energy use of peat in Finland increased. The war had closed the borders and heating fuel sources had to be domestic (Hilli 2010, 7). In 1941 the government asked the Geological Survey (geologinen toimikunta) to start field research on peatlands and in 1943 Suo Oy (suo = mire, Oy = Limited company) began peat extraction. Later this company was sold to Vapo Ltd (Klemetti 2008, 104).

The Finnish State Railways Fuel Office supplied government facilities with firewood. This government body changed its name in 1945 to Finnish State Fuel Office (Vapo), which later became the limited company Vapo Ltd (Hilli 2010, 7). The post-war period in Finland was characterised by rapid industrialisation driven by reconstruction and reparation payments (sotakorvaukset) to the Soviet Union. Finland's energy sector became dependent on oil in the 1950s and 1960s because of bilateral trade with the Soviet Union. Oil replaced domestic energy sources, mainly firewood, which led to greater dependence on fossil fuels and global energy markets (Åkerman & Peltola 2002). Also, co-generated district heating systems in Finnish mid-sized towns and municipalities increased the use of peat, especially in the 1980s, which made the Finnish energy system dependent on peat (ibid).

In the 1970s the energy crisis broke out. This was a remarkable period for the energy use of peat as the Finnish government asked Vapo Ltd to develop the technology and methods for peat extraction. As the prices for imported energy increased, energy saving measures were introduced together with plans for greater use of domestic energy (Ruuskanen 2010a, 35–36). The energy use of peat increased steadily through the 1980s and 1990s, reaching 28 500 GWh in 2007 (Tilastokeskus 2016; Figure 1). The expansion of the peat industry in Finland signals the effect of government policy interventions in the energy policy sector (Ruuskanen 2010a, 35–36). Peat became a domestic alternative to brown coal and the solution to energy self-sufficiency demands through government support. The forest industry also expanded from the 1970s onwards and formed the cornerstone of the Finnish economy. The use of peat for energy saved valuable forest resources for other purposes (Ruuskanen 2010b).

In the 1980s peat extraction companies began to take environmental regulations into account (Hilli 2010, 7). Environmental regulations were sectoral pollution prevention and air, noise and water pollution controls, such as the 1982 Air Protection Act (67/82), the 1987 Noise Prevention Act (382/87) and the Water Protection Act (467/87) (Palokangas et al. 1993, 20). Regulations on air and noise pollution had only indirect impacts on peat extraction licensing, as prior to the Environmental Protection Act (86/2000) of 2000 peat extraction required only a water permit (Belinskij 2015, 39); meaning that the only appeals possible were to the Water Rights Court.

During the 1990s environmental regulations advanced with the Environmental Impact Assessment Act (468/1994) in 1994 and the new Nature Conservation Act (1096/1996) in 1996. Also, peat extraction now required an environmental impact assessment with public hearings. Yet, the turning point for regulating the environmental impacts of peat extraction was the Environmental Protection Act (86/2000) of 2000, which harmonised the practices of environmental licensing for peat extraction. The Environmental Protection Decree (169/2000) establishes that all peat extraction sites over 10 ha in size require an environmental permit. Environmental permits became the main policy instrument to regulate the environmental impacts of peat extraction (Pölönen & Halinen 2014). This legislative review in the 1990s created a new arena for the communication of environmental values (Hellström 2001, 23). The institutional settings which emerged with environmental permits created a new forum in which local movements could argue for their rights in an environmental dispute.

Between 2000 and 2011, 1117 environmental permits were granted (Belinskij 2015, 39). These permits were processed in regional environmental permit offices. For local inhabitants and environmental NGOs, the Environmental Protection Act meant better possibilities to appeal projects that would cause environmental pollution and degrade nature values. Local stakeholders also very actively used the right to appeal to the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court. In Belinskij's (2015) analysis, two-thirds of environmental permits went through appeal proceedings between 2005 and 2008, although a positive permit was not very likely to be overruled by the Vaasa Administrative Court and these decisions often remained unchanged in the Supreme Administrative Court. Nevertheless the environmental permit procedure was very influential in stalling peat extraction projects.

Despite effective environmental regulations, the amount of peat extracted from Finnish mires increased in the early 2000s. During the peak years of the 2000s the energy use of peat averaged about 25 000 GWh. Peat extraction is highly dependent on the weather and during rainy summers the amount extracted is lower. However, 2010 was a turning point (Picture 1) as the energy use of peat slowly began decreasing. This cannot be connected to a single actor or event, although energy taxation guided the use of peat and the licensing of peat extraction became increasingly difficult in areas that were in a natural or close to natural state. This turning point in peat use is connected to shifting governance patters and forms of interactions constituted by government policies, civil society action as well as business strategies and operational preconditions.

Figure 1. Peat extraction in Finland from 1970 to 2015. Source: Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Energy supply and consumption [e-publication]. ISSN=1799-7976. Helsinki: Statistics Finland [referred: 20.8.2016 and 20.12.2017].

Energy taxation is the main policy tool guiding the use of peat for co-generated energy purposes. In 2010 the changes on Energy Tax Law were enacted, which introduced a moderately ascending energy tax on fuel peat with the plan to introduce energy taxation of 3.90 €/MWh by 2015. According to this plan, the initial tax rate was to be 1,9 €/ MWh from 1.1.2011–31.12.2012 and 2.90 €/MWh from 1.1.2013–31.12.2014 *(Laki sähkön ja eräiden polttoaineiden valmisteverosta annetun lain muuttamisesta 1400/2010)*. However, in 2011 the regulation was amended so that from 1.1.2013–31.12.2014 the tax rate was set at 4.90 €/MWh (The Act on altering the appendix of the act on excise tax of electricity and certain other fuels/ *Laki sähkön ja eräiden polttoaineiden valmisteverosta annetun lain liitteen muuttamisesta 1444/2011)*. As a result of the changes in taxation, in 2010 brown coal began replacing peat in Finnish heating power plants (Picture 2).

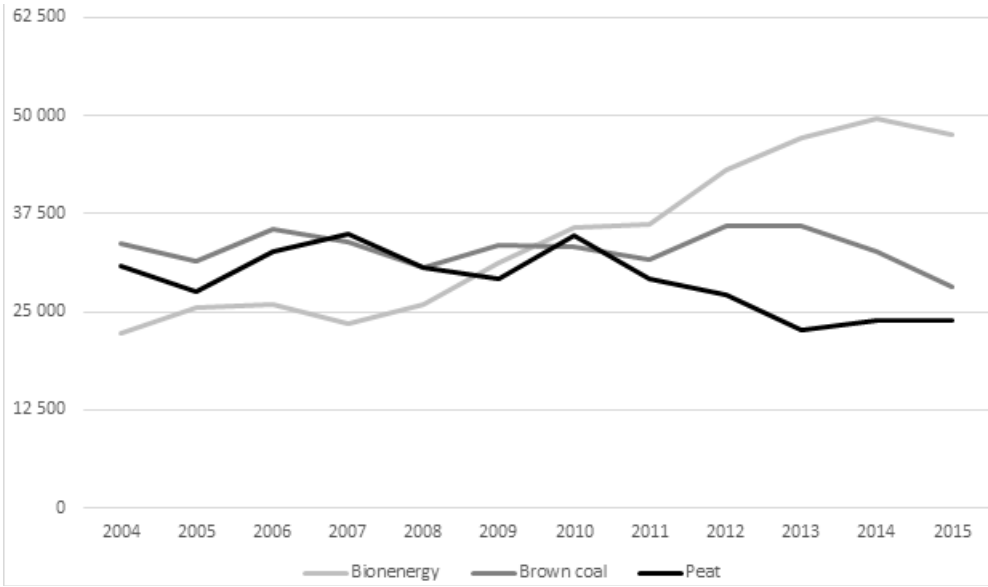

Figure 2. The proportion of bioenergy, brown coal and peat in Finnish co-generated heat production (GWh) between 2004 and 2015. Source: Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Energy supply and consumption [e-publication]. ISSN=1798-5072. Helsinki: Statistics Finland [referred: 20.12.2017]. Access method: http://www.stat.fi/til/salatuo/

Vapo Ltd recognised the changing operational preconditions as the company faced environmental permitting difficulties for peat extraction areas. Shifting perceptions of sustainability in Finnish peatland politics were accelerating the need to change operations. A scale to assess the natural condition of mires was developed during the drafting process of the peatland strategy, which was published in 2011. The Decision in Principle for the Responsible and Sustainable Use and Conservation of Mires and Peatlands outlines that areas which have not been previously drained should not receive an environmental permit for peat extraction (Valtioneuvoston… 2012).

In the 21st century peat extraction companies have been active in mire conservation as part of their strategies to gain social license to operate, which refers to the acceptance of a company's operations by stakeholders gained through interactions

(see e.g. Franks & Cohen 2012; Jartti et al. 2014). In fact, very few of the areas that were not integrated in the plans for the national mire conservation programme remained undrained (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008). Private landowners were eager to intensify forestry practices because of the funding guiding forest management practices. In the 2000s, those areas that remained relatively undrained and were not already part of a conservation programme were often owned by peat extraction companies. This is because Vapo Ltd bought large quantities of land for peat extraction in the 1970s. Their plan was to stockpile future production areas because production sites typically last for about 30 years. Recently, as environmental permit processes have become increasingly difficult, Vapo Ltd sold some of the undrained areas to the Finnish government (Vapo Oy 2012a). In 2012 Vapo Ltd negotiated an agreement to sell five peatland areas (1300 ha of total area) in natural condition to the State. The Viurusuo mire (Paper 2) was one of the areas that was purchased by the State. Other mires purchased by the State were: Kurkisuo, Hyvinkää, Suoniemensuo, Karstula, Potkunsuo, Vaala, Viisteenneva, Veteli (Vapo Oy 2012a).

2.2 THE NATURE CONSERVATION NARRATIVE

The first Nature Conservation Act was established by the Parliament of Finland in 1923. The Act enabled the establishment of nature conservation areas on government land. In the 1930s the need for mire conservation was recognised by scientists (Kaakinen & Salminen, 2006, 229). In Finland one of the main stakeholders for environmental activity has been the Finnish Association for Nature conservation (FANC). FANC was established in 1938 as Luonnonsuojeluyhdistys but reorganised and renamed Luonnonsuojeluliitto in 1969 (Järvikoski 1981). It took nearly two decades of work before the first mire conservation areas of Vaskijärvi, Häädetkeidas and Runkaus were founded in 1956 (Lindholm & Heikkilä, 2005). These areas were representative aapa mires and raised bogs preserved as strict nature reserves where only scientific activities were, and are, allowed with permission from a national park committee (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2005; Kaakinen & Salminen, 2006, 229). National parks, such as Oulanka and Patvinsuo (founded in 1958 and 1982 respectively), include peatland areas. The largest continuous mire, Sompionsuo, was lost under the Lokka reservoir, which was built in the 1960s as part of the hydroelectric system on the Kemijoki River (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008, 96).

Mire conservation gained significant attention for the first time in the 1960s. Finland was in the middle of a rapid industrialisation process which transformed the country from an agricultural nation to an industrial one (Konttinen 1999, 22). Forestry played a central role in the Finnish industrialisation process. Since the 1950s, forestry intensification plans were developed and the forest industry was rationalised (ibid.). Forestry programs left their marks on forests through increasing mechanisation and clear cutting, the use of fertilizers and pesticides, and the draining of marshes (ibid.). Draining marshes awakened the need for mire conservation among environmentally conscious citizens and scientists (Tanskanen 2000, 124; Lindholm & Heikkilä 2005).

Finnish environmental movements have been categorised as four waves (Rannikko 1994; Konttinen 1999). In the first wave the modern environmental movement reached Finland (ibid.). This movement protested against the impacts of rapid urbanisation and modernisation of Finnish society and their harmful consequences to nature in the mid-

dle of the 1960s. This movement was connected to the cultural radicalism of the 1960s as water pollution and the effects of intensified forestry gained attention. The criticism against water polluting pulp and paper mills and mechanised forestry with its use of pesticides and fertilizers, as well as the massive draining of marshes and peatlands that significantly altered the environment, was mainly presented by environmentalists, such as FANC or bird-watchers. The general public had not yet awakened to environmental issues and still perceived intensified forestry as providing welfare and economic benefits for small-scale farmers and forest owners.

The cultural environment helps explain why the conservation movement appealed to new members in the 1960s as it was also the decade when environmental concern reached the wider public. Radicalisation should not be understood only in the context of industrialisation, but in the broader context of single issue movements (Konttinen 1999, 23). The 1960s has been described as the decade of the birth of environmentalism, inspired by books such as Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (1962). This decade also witnessed the discursive shift from nature conservation to conservation of the environment (Väliverronen 1996, 50). The political environment in Finland was not in favour of mire conservation initiatives as the drainage of peatlands was perceived as a contribution to overall development, where one of the main benefits was increased employment in rural areas. The draining of mires and mire conservation were also under the control of a single ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Peasants Party, which was later renamed the Center Party (Borg 2008, 261).

The large-scale drainage of peatlands through the MERA programme between 1965 and 1975 resulted in an environmental awakening and the need for mire conservation (Tanskanen 2000, 196; Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008). The intensified forestry drainage caused fears that no pristine peatlands would be left for future generations. The first forestry funding programme (MERA I) was launched in 1964 and aimed at the sustainable production of raw-wood. As continuations of the first forestry funding programme, MERA II and MERA III were launched. MERA III received funding from the World Bank from 1973–1975 (Tanskanen 2000, 128). These were also the peak years for peatland drainage. During the ten year forestry intensification period over 2.6 million hectares of peatlands were drained and over 700 000 km of ditches were dug (ibid). Peatland drainage was led by the political-economic interests of the main national level forestry actors, leaving very little decision making room for local forest owners (Borg 2008, 260). Local peatland users, those who pick berries, hunt, fish in nearby rivers and lakes, or enjoy nature for other recreational purposes, were left out of the decision making structures and the value of these forms of natural resource use was not recognised.

In the enthusiasm of the 1960s development it was hard to find arguments for mire conservation. Rauno Ruuhijärvi and Seppo Eurola developed the regional division of peatlands in Finland, which acted as a scientific base to argue for the conservation of Finnish mire types (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2005; Borg 2008, 261; Eurola et al. 2015). They developed the mire typology first introduced by Cajander in 1913 as 'Moorkomplex' in two dissertations on mire ecology *(Ruuhijärvi 1960: Über die Regionale einteilung der nordfinnishen Moore Ann. Bot. Soc. 'Vanamo' 31: 1, 1–360 & Eurola 1962: Über die Regionale einteilung der südfinnishen Moore. Ann. Bot. Soc. 'Vanamo' 33:1-243)* (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2005; Eurola et al. 2015, 91–96). Their work became the scientific basis for the first mire conservation plans on public land. In 1966, the first proposal for mire conservation on public land in southern Finland was written (*Etelä-Suomen valtionmaiden soiden säilytyssuunnitelma/* Häyrinen & Ruuhijärvi 1966).

This proposal was drafted by a mire conservation committee, which was initiated by FANC and the Finnish Peatland Society (Tanskanen 2000, 124; Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008; Borg 2008, 261). A few years later the plan for mire conservation on public land in northern Finland was drafted. Based on these proposals, the Finnish State Forest Enterprise protected about 150 000 ha of mire areas (Salminen 1984, 58). Later on, the State Forest Enterprise had to rezone part of these areas to peat extraction (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008).

In the 1970s, peatlands became a central concern of the Finnish nature conservation movement alongside forests. The need for protected areas on private land was becoming a concern because the draining of mires had intensified (Salminen 1984, 58). The State took a more central role in conservation planning and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry invited a group of experts to draft a national mire conservation programme (Salminen 1984, 59). Additionally, the late 1970s were also the peak years of the grass roots environmental movement in Finland (Järvikoski 1994, 162–165; Rannikko 1996, 12–14). This second wave of environmentalism broadened the topics of protest for the environmental movement as the cultural climate emphasised 'soft values' (Konttinen 1999, 25). The protest wave in the 1970s targeted industrialisation and capitalist development, and argued for healthier everyday environments.

Towards the end of the 1970s environmental conflicts in Finland broke out (ibid.). The Finnish environmental movement had a significant year in 1979 as local environmental movements employed acts of civil disobedience in Koijärvi and Lappajärvi to increase awareness of environmental protection topics among the general public (Järvikoski 1981). The so-called Koijärvi Movement in the 1979 started this wave of action, which led to the establishment of the Ministry of the Environment in Finland in 1983 (Järvikoski 1994, 166; Konttinen 1999, 28). The Koijärvi Movement was a protest against the draining of a bird lake in southern Finland. The protesters were mainly young intellectuals from Helsinki who opposed local farmers (Konttinen 1999, 26). These individuals later formed the first generation of environmental professionals (ibid.) Also, movements in Lappajärvi, Kemijoki and Hattuvaara contributed to the wave of environmentalism in the 1970s, which in other Nordic countries occurred some years earlier (Rannikko 1994, 13). In Lappajärvi and Kemijoki local residents were involved in direct activism opposing hydroelectric projects. The Hattuvaara movement opposed the use of defoliants in forestry (ibid).

Common to these movements was the critique of environmental destruction brought on by modernity. They shared an anti-modern orientation and emphasised the value of human subjectivity with the search for unspoiled 'wild' environments and improved well-being of local communities (Konttinen 1999, 26). These movements represented the wilderness environmentalism described by Martinez-Alier (2002, 3–4), which is connected to the arrival of post-materialist values and appreciation of nature in societies where most material needs have been satisfied. These movements, although some of them were unsuccessful in achieving their conservation aims, were successful in pressing the importance of environmental topics. On the national level, mire conservation received the attention that the ecologists active in the 1960s conservation movement had demanded. The National Mire Conservation Programme was prepared and implemented in 1979 and 1981.

As a result of environmental activism, the environmental administration was established in Finland in the 1980s. In 1983 the Ministry of the Environment was founded, which was a remarkable 'victory' for environmentalists (Järvikoski 1994, 166–167), and the Green Party of Finland was founded in 1987 (Sohlsten 2007). The

establishment of an environmental administration reduced the need for direct action and many of the former activists were later influential in the Green Party and administrative positions (Järvikoski 1994, 166). Environmental regulations, mainly the Water Act of 1987 (467/1987), changed the peat industry's operational environment in the 1980s (Ruuskanen 2010, 128). The environmental movement quickly adopted the practice of appealing environmental licences in their set of tools to resist harmful environmental activities on Finnish peatlands. The institutionalisation of environmental concern and the 'greening' of policy making reduced the interest and need for direct action (Järvikoski 1994, 166; Rannikko 1994, 14–15; Konttinen 1999, 28). The decade was still active in terms of environmentalism although the years 1982–1985 were less active (Litmanen 1990, 41–42; Järvikoski 1994, 166).

Towards the end of the 1980s the Vuotos Movement against a hydroelectric project and the Kessi, Talaskangas, Murhijärvi and Porkkasalo forest conflicts highlighted the 'pristine nature' and national cultural values that started the third wave of environmental movement in Finland (Järvikoski 1994, 173; Rannikko 1994, 14; Konttinen 1999, 29). In these movements local residents and nature conservation associations were active and formed a common front to defend nature, although sometimes locals were against the movement, like in the Kuusamo forest conflict between 1994 and 1996 (Konttinen 1999, 30). It seems that the setting was changing as supporters of extraction were located in urban centres and supporters of conservation were in the peripheries (Rannikko 1994, 16).

Direct action in the 1990s was connected to the animal rights movement (Konttinen 1999, 33–35) and in the 2000s to urban planning issues. In the 1990s, biodiversity conservation gained significant attention internationally and environmental conflicts related to the use and conservation of forests also emerged in Finland (Rannikko 1996). Similarly, contestation over the use and conservation of peatlands emerged at the end of the 1990s as peat extraction projects caused local environmental conflicts. The active implementation phase of Agenda 21 also occurred in Finland in the 1990s, which changed the culture of participation and concern for local environments (Niemi-Iilahti 1998). After the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, local sustainable development initiatives opened up dialogue among citizens, local organisations and companies. These sustainable development initiatives led to the development of new forms of governance and brought decision making closer to the public.

The EU nature conservation network Natura 2000 provoked strong landowner opposition in several member states at the beginning of the 2000s (Konttinen 1999, 33; Hiedanpää 2005). The conflict stems from a legitimacy problem with EU decision making, which derives from the *sui generis* nature of the EU (which does not fit with any accepted category of government) and is described as top-down and hierarchical (Turnhout et al. 2015). This was visible especially with the implementation of Natura 2000 (Hiedanpää 2005). The legitimacy challenge of nature conservation, as in the Natura 2000 conflict, has accelerated the policy development of voluntary conservation and neoliberal nature conservation characterised by the commodification of nature. The METSO conservation programme can be seen as an example of the latter (Apostopolou et al. 2014).

Peatland conservation is one of the topics central to the 21st century's environmental movement. Currently 1.13 million hectares of mires and peatlands are protected, which is 13% of Finnish peatlands (Kaakinen & Salminen, 2006, 236). Since then the programme has been evaluated twice, in 1995 and 2004, and new areas have been protected through the Natura 2000 network. The need for supplemental mire conser-

vation was evaluated between 2012 and 2015 in a similar type of working group as the National Mire Conservation Programme, where the main actors with expertise on mire ecology, forestry etc were represented. The need to rescrutinise the mire conservation network was argued as evident, especially in southern Finland where the peatlands were under the most pressure and degradation of biodiversity is ongoing (Alanen & Aapala 2015; Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015). Mires have since been protected as national parks, strict nature parks and Natura 2000 areas.

Compared to the 'golden years' of environmental activism, the 21st century's environmental movement in Finland relies on environmental licencing and participatory policy making to resolve conflicts between the use and conservation of mires and peatlands. FANC and its local organisations have actively appealed to both the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court in cases where the nature values of a mire are threatened by peat extraction. FANC also lists mire 'victories' on areas where environmental permits have been rejected (Luonnonsuojelija 2016). Thus, appeals to the Water Court of Finland and, after the renewal of environmental permit system in 2000, appeals to the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court replaced the need for direct action. The environmental permit procedure is perceived by nature conservationists as the most effective method for stalling extraction projects on a single mire (ibid.). It seems evident that the Environmental Protection Act, which was designed as a tool to regulate environmental pollution, has become the main course of action for nature conservationists. Legal appeals seem to suit the toolkit of FANC's local level groups. The nature conservation movement in Finland has been described as a middle-class environmental movement that targets national level policies. FANC is 'taking credit' for prolonged environmental permit processes as the association has systematically used the right of appeal, which was also given to other environmental organisations and parties in 2000 (SLL 2012).

3 THEORETICAL APPROACHES

3.1 ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN NETWORKED GOVERNANCE

In the following I will present the theoretical approaches that this thesis is based on. This chapter has two aims, to scrutinise the demands for participatory democracy and environmental sustainability in society. Here, I present the theoretical foundations of this thesis, which connect the study of local peatland conflicts and policy making in deliberative settings. The demands for participatory democracy and environmental sustainability have been central themes to deliberative environmental governance and deliberative democracy scholars. Additionally, I present more recent critiques of the deliberative ideal, stemming from the failure of the governance system to provide sustainable outcomes that are inclusive towards citizens and reduce environmental strain.

Politics has, since the 1970s, witnessed a shift from government to governance (see e.g. Rhodes 1997; Kooiman 2003; Swyngedouw 2005). There is no longer any need to debate the shift from government to governance, instead we need to study the interactions between various actors within governance systems and structures. Governance has been defined as the, *"totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundations for all those activities"* (Kooiman 2003, 4). The governance approach sees problem solving and opportunity creation as a collective and interactive responsibility of all parties, including the state, market and civil society (Swyngedouw 2005, 1995). Governance processes consist of multiple levels and actors, like state and non-state actors (i.e. experts, industry associations, labour unions and environmental NGOs) (Dryzek et al. 2003, 187; Behagel & Arts 2014). Interactions between these actors take place within a governance network representing public and private interests. These interactions are mainly horizontal, participatory and voluntary, which is why new modes of accountability and legitimacy have emerged. Legitimacy as a concept refers to the foundations for the exercise of power and justification of political authority (Bodansky 2007, 706; Fabienne 2010). The state-civil society division as understood in traditional democratic theory has disappeared, and awakened a critical concern for democratic legitimacy in networked governance (Sørensen 2002).

Through governance practices, governance institutions have extended the group of actors that participate in the environmental policy processes (Häikiö & Leino 2014, 12). This extended group of actors influences the outcomes of these processes in more unpredictable ways (ibid.). The extended group of actors have also broadened the arguments present in these policy processes. The governance structures include a wide range of actors that take part in various interactions within electoral politics, sub-politics and the public sphere. Decisions on the use and conservation of Finnish peatlands are shaped during interactions among government actors, interest groups, such as landowners, forest and peat industry representatives, environmental NGOs, and civil society. These actors, through their various interactions and arguments, contribute to the formation of peatland politics by sharing their knowledge and expertise,

and influence governance processes through their interests and values. Additionally, networked governance and institutionalised forms of environmental decision making have changed the settings so that a multiplicity of environmental protests exist (Leino & Häikiö 2014, 250).

In networked governance the environmental movement has become increasingly individualised (Leino & Häikiö 2014, 250). Many single issue movements exist simultaneously, such as those focused on food or urban green spaces. Many of these are responses to current global challenges, of which the most pressing ones are climate change and degrading biodiversity. These movements are based on interactions that are scattered throughout governance networks. Actors and spaces of these interactions are heterogenous. Yet the environmental NGOs, such as FANC, WWF and Greenpeace have a central role in Finnish environmental movement. In previous studies on land use and environmental conflicts these motivations have been connected to place attachments and environmental concerns (Nie 2003). As citizens tend to be committed to only one issue, those involved in movements driven by place attachment in struggles over local environments are part of the new forms of the environmental movement.

The feeling of belonging to particular local community seems to be almost as relevant as place attachments for participation in local peatland conflicts. A local community is also a loose network of actors who live, work, have their second home or else have the feeling of belonging to particular place (Rannikko 2010). The local communities consist of heterogeneous groups of actors, who are bound to particular places through patterns of living or working and through social interaction. However, in contemporary society the borders of local communities are blurred as social interactions are not place-bound and often take place in online forums. Anssi Paasi (2003; 2013) has argued that identity is an important delineating factor when drawing the line between belonging or not belonging to a particular region or place.

Citizens are also required to be consulted about decisions concerning the environment. Their reactions to the impacts of peat extraction on water show that citizens distrust this expert system when local communities perceive that water quality is at risk (Mustonen 2014; Möttönen et al. 2016). This distrust of expert knowledge on water impacts and reactions towards peat extraction companies indicate that the social license to operate is currently inadequate and that the industrial use of peat is facing a legitimacy crisis. In turn, this means that it is important to seek alternatives to peat extraction and pay more attention to peatland policy. Social impact assessment practises and participation need to be improved in these processes to avoid the lengthy appeal procedures in administrative courts.

Additionally, studying the discursive and argumentative practices of local peatland conflicts and deliberative expert panels sheds light on how Finnish natural resources governance is currently organised around the particular setting of peatland conservation. Natural resource governance refers to the public and private institutions and interactions which guide the use, conservation and management of natural resources. It consists of the discourses, practises and regulations formed through interactions that affect the use and conservation of natural resources and the environmental issues related to them. The objective of natural resource governance can be more sustainable use of natural resources or more efficient use of natural resources. Natural resource governance is not meant to hinder the use of natural resources but to make sure that it is done with minimal strain on the environment. Sustainable use of renewable natural resources means using less natural resources annually than can be regenerated in a

year. Defining sustainability for non-renewable or 'slowly renewable' resources, such as peat, is more challenging. Responsible use and conservation of these resources is emphasised (Joosten & Clarke 2002; Valtioneuvoston… 2012). Literature on natural resource governance has focused on the problem of governing common resources (see e.g. Ostrom 1990; Paavola 2005; Bodin & Crona 2009). Here, responsive and participatory governance approaches have been emphasised, as top-down approaches are poorly suited to the engagement of various actors in defining problems, conflict resolution and making trade-offs (Bodin & Crona 2009).

3.2 DELIBERATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE

A growing body of deliberative environmental governance literature has addressed the balance between participatory decision making and the effectiveness of environmental or nature conservation policies (Newig & Fritsch 2009; Bäckstrand et al. 2010; Hogl et al. 2012; Behagel & Arts 2014). Interest in deliberative forms of decision making is connected to the assumed capacity of deliberative processes to provide environmentally sound outcomes (Humprey 2007; Bäckstrand et al. 2010, 6; Fast 2013, 95). The argument here is that the quality of participatory and deliberative decision making is improved through more open and transparent processes that are inclusive for local knowledge and alter the political arena in a manner that is more sympathetic to environmental interests (Newig & Fritsch 2009). Participatory and deliberative policy making are fully institutionalised forms of dealing with environmental topics in the European north (Mol 2014).

The deliberative environmental governance approach aims to achieve greater participation, accountability and deliberation (Kronsell & Bäckstrand 2010). Participation is one of the main deliverables of deliberative environmental governance. The expectation of participatory environmental governance is that participation and deliberation increase the effectiveness and legitimacy of policy making (Lövbrand & Khan 2010, 47; Zografos 2015, 75). These expectations build on the observation that public engagement and citizen dialogue lead to greater acceptance of public policy and improved implementation (Demeritt 2015, 226). Participation has the potential to contribute to the legitimacy and sustainability of policy making and reduce the risk of conflicts over the priorities, decisions and outcomes of nature conservation activities (Baker et al. 2014, 518).

Legitimacy here is achieved through the quality of deliberation rather than democratic representation (see e.g. Dryzek 2000; Borg & Paloniemi 2012). Legitimacy can derive from law, the participatory processes that respond to the democratic expectations of the citizens or from the outcome (Bodansky 2007, 710-711; Hogl et al. 2012, 11). Environmental policy making is often about finding a balance between these legitimacy demands. The accountability and legitimacy of governance have shifted towards more procedural values, such transparency, rule of law, fairness and inclusion, and effectiveness (Kronsell & Bäckstrand 2010, 38-39). The demand for effective governance practices and deliverables is connected to the discursive creation of 'failed state' and illustrates the influence of neoliberal discourse (Turhout et al. 2015). Due to this emphasis on procedural values and outcomes, the governance approach is vulnerable to challenges, such as technocratic decision making, elite capture or lack of accountability (Behagel & Arts 2014).

Deliberation is also subject to these legitimacy demands. According to Dryzek & Hendriks (2012): Democratically legitimate deliberation entails the right, opportunity and capacity to participate for all those affected by their decision – or their representatives – to participate in a consequential decision about the content of that decision. (Dryzek & Hendriks 2012, 37).

On the other hand, deliberation may increase the legitimacy of the policy choice, if the end result of that deliberation has been taken in account. The result of deliberation only informs political decision making and is not required to be taken into account in electoral politics. The policy impacts of a deliberative forum are consequently limited in electoral politics, which is why the outcomes of deliberation remain low (Dryzek & Stevenson 2011; Zografos 2015). This is especially true when the issue is contested. The legitimacy of a deliberative system is threatened when the deliberation remains a sideshow of where decisions are made. Also, the assembling of a deliberative forum may not be perceived as legitimate by all relevant stakeholders in a policy process. It may be difficult to empirically study all of the events in a policy process as agency behind the scenes can be hidden (Schoukens et al. 2012). Furthermore, with regard to inclusiveness and effect, the design of state-driven deliberative forums and who participates in them greatly influences the processes and outcomes.

Deliberative environmental governance literature have been influenced by the concept of deliberative democracy. Theory of deliberative democracy assumes a non-hierarchical, ideal speaking situation, in which argumentation and persuasion aims at a reasoned consensus (see e.g. Habermas 1981; Zocrafos 2015). Decision making is based on arguments offered by and to the participants that take part in public deliberation (Elster, 1998, 8). Deliberation can be understood as a normative process wherein the broader goal is improving the deliberative legitimacy of collective decision making and improving democracy through public engagement and empowerment (Habermas 1996; Bäckstrand et al. 2010; Ercan & Hendriks 2013). Those affected by collective decisions or their representatives should have the right, capacity and opportunity to participate in decision making (Ercan & Hendriks, 2013).

The developments of governance and professionalised sub-politics can also be seen as limitations to deliberative democracy as they restrict the group of actors participating in policy processes. Deliberations often take place within a self-selected group of individuals who are more concerned about public issues and therefore more committed to solving them (see e.g. Elster 1998). Additionally, differences in capacities, such as institutional, educational and knowledge background, and commitment, influence how stakeholders contribute to deliberation. Habermas (1970) called unequal communicative relationships where the power relations between experts and local communities matter "distorted communication". In this sense deliberative settings are a way to govern these power relations (Buchstein & Jörke 2012, 296).

Deliberative environmental governance aims at examining governance processes in which deliberations take place holistically. Thus the focus is not only on a single deliberative forum but on the deliberative capacity of the governance system where deliberation take place (Dryzek & Hendriks, 2012, 32). Micro deliberation takes place within institutionalised forums, such as parliaments, committees or citizen forums; and macro deliberation is understood as a broader communicative process that takes place within the broader public sphere (Ercan & Hendriks 2013; Ercan et al. 2017). In many conceptions of micro deliberation, which are often referred to as mini-publics or deliberative forums, participants are free and open to reason together for the purposes of collective decision making (Mackenzie & Warren 2012, 95; Riedy & Kent 2015). Mac-

ro deliberation refers to broader understandings of deliberation within the governance system. These distinctions of deliberative democracy have also been differentiated as empirical and systemic approaches (Davidson & Elstub, 2014; Ercan et al. 2017).

Deliberative forums are often constituted of professionals representing various economic and political actor groups (see e.g. Dryzek & Hendriks 2012; Busca & Lewis 2015). The number of participants is often limited to ensure that the forum can promote the communicative conditions for equitable and fair reasoning. These expert polls have become an institutionalised part of environmental policy making in many western democratic countries and they enable the testing of and dialogue over a particular policy issue. These professionals represent economic and environmental stakeholder groups, research organisations and government institutions. In deliberative forums they are supposed to leave their institutional affiliation behind and work towards common problem solving. The objectives of deliberation are pre-given and participants are selected to form an 'ideal mix'. Deliberation ideally combines social learning and problem solving (Dryzek & Hendriks 2012, 36). The transparency of deliberative forums is often connected to the quality of deliberation (Fischer & Leifeld 2015). It is important to note that in deliberative processes stakeholders and interest groups outside of deliberative forums also attempt to influence outcomes. This is why understanding agency and the discursive practices that guide interactions is relevant. It is therefore important to ask, in what ways, for and by whom, and with what side effects are these forums taking place? Deliberative forums, depending on their design, can be inclusive to certain groups of individuals and exclusive to others.

Deliberative forums exist within a broader political system of governance. The systemic understanding of deliberation highlights the communicative role of public discourse via media and civil society organisations, draws attention to the wider discursive aspects of democracy as well as the argumentation and contestations taking place within the public sphere, which is referred to as a deliberative system (Hendriks 2006; Dryzek & Hendriks 2012, 33). This systemic understanding recognises that deliberation takes place within multiple arenas, institutions and spaces of social life (Hendriks 2006). This more holistic understanding of deliberation is relevant to this study. On the systemic level the research task of empirical analysis of a deliberative system has been described as considering the role of institutions, practices, discourses and narratives (Dryzek & Hendriks 2012, 49). However, it is necessary to broaden this empirical analysis to include interactions within the environmental governance system where agency plays a particular role.

In Finland there is a long tradition of expertise on peatland ecology and peatland management. Finnish decision making has been described as being dominated by an expert culture. Supporting policy making with expert knowledge was already part of the national mire conservation programme from 1979 as it was drafted in a similar type of working group as the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme (Borg 2008, 262). Thus, deliberative forums and expert panels have been part of Finnish peatland governance for close to 40 years. Although Finnish peatland governance functions worldwide as a positive example of integrating expert knowledge and citizen participation into the decision making, it has not reached the objectives of strong sustainability. This can be connected to the failures of deliberative environmental governance to provide sustainable outcomes.

3.3 THE POST-DEMOCRATIC CRITIQUE OF DELIBERATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE

Deliberative environmental governance has been criticised for being unable to fulfil the demands of participation and environmental sustainability. Deliberative environmental governance has its shortcomings in delivering effects on nature conservation as the outcomes of deliberation reflect the values of the participants in deliberation (Bäckstrand et al. 2010; Bäckstrand & Kronsell 2015). Thus, it cannot be taken for granted that these decision making practices will simultaneously improve the democratic condition and protect nature values or the environment.

First, the more radical critique of technocratic decision making in governance is connected to the post-political condition (Mouffe 2005). The shift towards governance has redistributed decision making powers to non-state actors in governance networks and there is now a democracy deficit as market forces become more prominent (Swyngedouw 2005). This is eroding the participation, negotiation and conflict mediation mechanisms in governance networks (ibid). This has been called the post-political or post-democratic condition (Žižek, 1999; Mouffe 2005; Ranciere 2006). The post-political condition states that politics takes place in multiple domains, which can be considered as non-political (Mouffe 2005, 53). With post-politics, professionalised sub-politics have become part of environmental policy making (Dryzek et al. 2003, 187). Professionalised sub-politics consist of expert organisations, such as industry associations, labour unions and environmental NGOs, that take part in official and unofficial policy processes through public consultations, consensus conferences and deliberative forums. The increasing professionalisation of environmental policy actors and sub-politics have been criticised for not being capable of solving the environmental problems of the 21st century as they have led to the support of the modest eco-modern agenda that developed during the optimistic period of environmental policy making in the 1980s (Andersen & Massa 2000, 187). The post-political condition in environmental governance has been legitimatised as a way to solve 'wicked problems' (Swyngedouw 2009; Raco 2014). This critical view on governance argues that common problem solving is reduced to managerialism, where the process is guided by expert knowledge and public consultations with limited participation in actual decision making (Swyngedouw 2007, 23; Le Billon 2015, 602). Deliberative forms of governance are also vulnerable to elite capture.

Second, the governance approach requires new forms of accountability. The reorganisation of social relations, which reflects the change from government to governance and post-democratic developments in society, has led to a shift from input legitimacy to procedural and output legitimacy (Bodansky 2007; Kronsell & Bäckstrand 2010). Input or source based legitimacy refers to a situation where rule in a community is legitimised through its origin (Bodansky 2007). Authority is gained through institutional status, such as on the basis of a religion or law through its origin. Process based legitimacy emphasises procedural values, such as the accountability of governmental agencies to inform the public and provide opportunities to comment (ibid.). Output legitimacy connects the accountability of an institution to its effectiveness in terms of meeting the proposed goals and producing an outcome (ibid). Procedural values, such as inclusiveness, deliberation and outcome, are the sources of legitimacy in a deliberative environmental governance system (Bäckstrand et al. 2010, 6). The emphasis on outcome and the increasing importance of process based and output legitimacy have emerged simultaneously with the shift from government to governance (Kooiman 2003; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Kooiman & Bavinck 2005; Bodansky 2007).

Compared to traditional sources of legitimacy, such as religious authority or law, procedural values connected to deliberative democracy and the ability of decision makers to produce an outcome are the new ways to gain public acceptance. This new type of legitimacy leads to the post-democratic constellation (Blühdorn 2013a, 228). Mustonen (2017) describes this development as the emergence of the environmental management mentality. This mentality is evidently guiding environmental impact assessments and the environmental licensing practises and is also embedded in the legal tradition in Finland (Ervasti 2012: 79; Mustonen 2017).

The third participatory challenge is connected to the incompatible logic of markets and democratic debates in the public sphere, in which the exchange of arguments and articulations of interests to outline the future trajectories of technological development take place (Beck 1997, 117–118). According to Maarten Hajer (2003), a new vocabulary of nature development broadens the group of actors involved in governance interactions. For example, business actors are more responsive to the discourse of nature development than nature conservationists. This broadening of discourse and bringing it closer to hegemony was argued by Hajer as a way to forward nature conservation. However, reaching consensus may not necessarily bring about action.

The ecological critique on deliberative democracy has focused on the problem of representing nature and non-human entities in deliberative forums. Eckersley's (1999) discourse ethics aims to extend the 'fields' of communication to include non-human entities by arguing that nature should be part of moral concern regardless of its ability to participate in a dialogue in a deliberative situation. The main ethical concern here is asking who can speak for nature as individuals are expected to represent themselves. Dryzek (2000) also calls for openness in terms of communication with non-human nature, especially those entities that are directly connected to ecological politics. This critique concludes that, at best, ecological politics can only recognise multiple environmental values and be responsive towards nature in deliberative processes.

Although deliberative environmental governance has delivered positive outcomes in terms of inclusiveness and participation, environmental outcomes remain marginal. The emphasis on democratic practises coexists with the sustainable development discourse and Local Agenda 21 initiatives (Hajer & Kesselring 1999). This emphasis has dominated the field of environmental politics for over 20 years and is the dominant discursive frame to address environmental problems in the 21st century (Sutton 2004, 114). The eco-political critique claims that this framing has been inefficient in delivering sustainable outcomes. Sustainability has been divided into weak and strong sustainability (Caradonna 2014, 243). Weak sustainability moves away from destructive habits and stabilises ecosystems, climate and human populations where strong sustainability demands the active participation of human beings to repair much of the damage they have done (ibid.). Additionally, it should be noted that what is considered sustainable is subject to interpretation and might change over time. The three cornerstones of sustainable development add a dimension of complexity when social and economic sustainability occurs at the cost of ecological sustainability.

Sustainability aims to bring human actions back within ecological boundaries so that the preferred social development pathways are collectively discovered (Meadowcroft 2007, 2009). Conceptually, sustainability differs from sustainable development, which is a growth oriented concept; although the Brundtland report from 1987 calls for a different pattern of growth, one which is more equal, just and contributes to

human well-being and the well-being of future generations, and which recognises the interdependence of humans and the environment (WCED 1987; Hopwood et al. 2005). Currently, there is a disagreement within the sustainability movement about whether economic growth is desirable or not (see e.g. Schneider et al. 2010; Caradonna 2014). When ecological boundaries are exceeded, consumption levels are unsustainable. Politics typically has a short term perspective and the focus of politicians is on re-election (Meadowcroft 2009). Long-term goals, such as carbon reduction targets, are often negotiated at higher levels of policy making and international policy institutions may lack legitimacy or be unable to deliver binding environmental policies.

The concept of sustainable development has its origins primarily in the ecological understanding of sustainability. Yet, the concept has been adopted by actors committed to economic growth and competitiveness (Swyngedouw, 2007). The problem emerges when actors at all levels of society claim to be environmentally conscious and employ environmentalist arguments or the ecological discourse to legitimise their actions (Nieminen et al. 1999, 14). If everybody is environmentally conscious, arguments might diminish as ecological discourse is used to legitimise actions that are connected to individual economic benefit or economic growth. This change in environmental (eco-political) communication has been described as the post-ecologist turn, where the normalisation of environmental crises and overuse of ecological discourse has led to a relative weakening of environmental politics (Blühdorn 2013b).

According to Blühdorn (2013b), the depoliticisation of the ecologist critique and techno-managerial (re)framing of environmental issues under the ecological modernisation discourse are part of the politics of unsustainability. The argument here is that the politics of unsustainability is, instead of changing current lifestyles and consumption patterns to more environmentally friendly ones, aiming at legitimising current production and consumption patterns through ecological discourse. Thus, instead of transitioning to sustainability the politics of unsustainability maintains the status quo (Newig 2007). A democracy is unsustainable when democratic norms have been mobilised in order to defend value-preferences and lifestyle choices that are visibly socially exclusive and ecologically damaging (Blühdorn, 2013b).

Additionally, the post-political condition explains why sustainability goals translate so slowly into action at local production and consumption levels. Discourses of sustainable development, globalisation, multi-level and multi stakeholder governance, contribute to transformations that Žižek, (1999), Mouffe (2005), Rancière (2006), Swyngedouw (2007) and Catney and Doule (2011) have called the post-political condition. The optimism of deliberative theory has been criticised by these authors who argue that participatory politics, deliberative expert panels and environmental administration accelerate the post-political process in which government turns into a managerial body because the "political" no longer exists. Some authors (Žižek1999; Mouffe 2005) highlight that conflict is essential to politics. According to them, democracy is weak without discursive conflict. Mouffe's (2005) understanding of radical democracy calls for a return to traditional democracy, where citizens can actually participate in democratic processes and understand them.

These types of developments in society have also been referred to as a post-democratic turn that, *"fosters a new governmentality that mobilizes democratic values and redeploys decentralized, stakeholder-engaging forms of governance as a tool for legitimizing and stabilizing the politics of unsustainability"* (Blühdorn 2013b, 18).

Policy processes are no longer authentic as the polity is not open to citizens but occupied by bureaucrats and experts who support particular governance structures (Catney

and Doule 2011, 178). The post-political condition does not only cover political spheres but areas of economic and social life (Swyngedouw 2007, 24). These developments in society have also been referred to as a post-democratic turn or post-democratic paradox, in which citizens in modern post-industrial societies expect representative democracy to be in place but the emancipatory capacity of modern democracy is weakened by the pluralism in value preferences of modern citizens (Blühdorn 2013a & b, Durant 2015). Typically these authors differentiate between the authentic politics of the past and the expert-driven post-politics of the present, which leads to the question of how to restore politics (Bourdieu 2002; Kenis et al. 2016).

4 MATERIALS AND METHODS

4.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH

The case study approach is applied here to reveal contextual knowledge about peatland conflicts and mire conservation policy in Finland. It allows for inductive or deductive research design, although inductive analysis on processes is often favoured (Hartley 2004, 324). A case study is not a method but a research approach (see e.g. Yin 2003; Hartley 2004; Laine et al. 2007). It is a detailed description of a phenomenon that can be a person, organisation, process, programme, institution or series of events (Yin 2003, 14). This approach is helpful when situations are complex, context specific or the outcome of a process is unclear. Environmental conflicts and environmental policy processes are such complex processes because they include multiple actors and voices, values and interests. Accordingly, the contextual analysis of case study research is a fruitful approach to analyse environmental conflicts (see e.g. Malmsten 2007). In this study Papers 1, 2 and 4 follow inductive research design, while Paper 3 has a deductive orientation. In Papers 1 and 2 the case study data guided the analysis. In the thematic analysis presented in Paper 3, coding and theme development were directed by existing concepts or ideas of experimental culture (Berg 2013) and deliberative environmental governance (Bäckstrand et al. 2010). Paper 4 employs a constructionist research orientation, revealing the multiple truths in society.

The research design in this study derives from the empirical interest to understand local peatland conflicts, the perspectives of the citizens affected by peat extraction projects and their motivations to engage in lengthy appeal procedures as part of the environmental licensing process. Additionally, the research interest for the drafting of the supplemental mire conservation policy came from the desire to understand the role of multiple stakeholders, their agency and use of language within a deliberative process, and the interactions of existing discourses within the policy process. Qualitative research has been described as a situated activity, which consists of a set of interpretive and material practises where researchers study phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of and interpret them in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). A qualitative researcher acknowledges that the research design impacts the ways that he or she interprets the phenomenon by interacting with the data and research processes.

The case study data from Julkuneva mire consists of 11 semi-structured interviews, newspaper articles from the local newspaper Perhonjokilaakso from 1998–2011, and document material, including resolutions from the Environmental Permit Office of Western Finland, the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court, as well as letters to the administrative bodies from 2001–2011. The case study data from Viurusuo mire consists of six semi-structured interviews, newspaper articles from local and regional newspapers (Outokummun seutu and Karjalainen) from 1998–2013, document material, including resolutions from the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland, the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court, as well as letters to the administrative bodies from 2001–2011 and participatory observation. I also visited both mires.

The visits to Julkuneva and Viurusuo mires and maps were useful in gaining an understanding of the local conservation movements and helped to contextualise the information from other data sources. This material has not been analysed in detail separately, but it reinforces the interpretation of the other material. I visited the Julkuneva mire for the first time in the summer of 2010 and it is a medium-sized Central Ostrobothnian marsh-mire (about 400ha) with an open landscape but altered water balance. The edges of the mire have previously been drained and restoration practices would be necessary to return the water balance of the aapa mire. I visited the Viurusuo mire for the first time in 2013 with the local nature conservation group, Outokumpu Nature Friends. The visit was organised as a cross-country skiing trip around Viurusuo to enjoy the winter landscape but also to celebrate the victory of its conservation after 20 years of conflict. The skiing trip enabled me to observe how the Outokumpu Nature Friends perceive the nature values of Viurusuo and it also supported my understanding of the local conservation movement and the local community's interests. This trip can be seen as a kind of guided walk method since observation was conducted while skiing. It can also be understood as a form of participant observation (Kasandra & Janowitz 1974, 329). Participant observation has been used to investigate social networks and community involvement and to study activism and movements (Kasandra & Janowitz 1974, 329; Lichterman, 1999). However, in this study participant observation was only used as a supportive method to gain a better understanding of the Viurusuo conservation movement and the local community.

Also, differences in local communities play a role as local communities endeavour to maintain a united image towards the outside world. A local community is a loose network of people who share the same environment and interact with each other. It consists of a physical environment and a network of interactions. Interactions in a local community are different than interactions in a governance network. Veteli is an Ostrobothnian place with an identity consisting of traditional small-scale farmers and entrepreneurs. The villages of Räyrinki and Kalliojärvi, which surround the Julkuneva mire, differ in their environmental orientations as Räyrinki has more people who work elsewhere and do not earn a living directly from agriculture. Outokumpu, where the Viurusuo mire is located, is a mining town with a collective identity that follows a more hierarchical social structure as the Outokumpu Oy mining company was very influential in organising the daily patterns of the community in the past (Häyrynen 2010). Copper mining took place between 1910 and 1989 (ibid.) and in the 1950s Outokumpu was one of the main producers of copper in Europe. Interactions were hierarchical as the mine's workers inhabited local areas, while engineers and managers inhabited other areas. Women were officially not allowed to work underground but they did, for example, distribute food to the workers. Also, the villages of Maljasalmi and Viuruniemi were part of this chain as copper ore was shipped from the harbour in Pitkälahti.

Figure 3. Location of Julkuneva and Viurusuo. Source: MML and Esri Finland

4.2 ANALYSIS METHODS

Each paper in this study shares an interest in the constructive nature of language, which is characteristic of the argumentative turn and interpretive policy analysis (Fischer & Forester 1993; Bevir & Rhodes 2004). Additionally, this study applies argumentative analysis methods (Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Halonen 1998; van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004), thematic analysis (e.g. Boyatzis 1998; Simon & Cassell 2004) and discourse analysis (Hajer 1995; Wagenaar 2011).

Interpretive policy analysis focuses on meanings that are constitutive of political action, governing institutions and public policy (Bevir & Rhodes 2004; Wagenaar 2011, 4). Since the argumentative turn in the 1990s, interpretive policy analysis as a method of problem structuring has focused on the social construction of meaning (see e.g. Fischer and Forester 1993; Wagenaar 2011; Fischer and Gottweis 2012). The emergence of interpretive policy analysis reflects societal developments towards governance, in which different policy levels and actors interact with each other (Häikiö & Leino 2014, 9). This approach is close to deliberative policy analysis, which analyses the multiple interactions in deliberative governance (Hajer 2003).

As interpretive approaches recognise the multiple realities present in policy making, they follow the social constructivist understanding of problems embedded in particular discourses (see e.g. Hajer 1995; Turnhout et al. 2015). Discourses, storylines, vocabularies and arguments, which stakeholders use in order to shape policy meanings about environmental controversies, are central elements of interpretive policy analysis (Bevir & Rhodes 2004; Wagenaar 2011). By following an interpretive approach, contestations over meanings embedded in competing storylines and the arguments within

a policy discourse are reflected (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Dodge 2014). Additionally, in interpretive policy analysis the objects of policy analysis emerge from the practises of and interactions among actors (Wagenaar 2011, 138). This is why interpretive approaches have been criticised as having a subjective epistemology, which connects the validity of the researcher's explanation to the actors' conceptualisations (Wagenaar 2011, 19). Remaining clear about the researcher's position in the process of making sense of different meanings is therefore essential.

Papers 1 and 2 apply argumentation analysis methods (Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Halonen 1998; van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004), which build on Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1969) argumentation theory. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's argumentation refers to convincing an audience about the excellence (or superiority) of an argument. In their work The New Rhetoric, they study the means of how to persuade an audience by emphasising the role of a 'skilled rhetor' who knows how to design and formulate arguments according to specific audiences: *"knowledge of an audience cannot be conceived independently of the knowledge of how to influence it"* (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969, 23). Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004) have developed a pragma-dialectical approach which classifies argumentation as a verbal, social or rational activity. In this systemic theory of argumentation the act of argumentation is aimed at, *"convincing the listener or reader of the acceptability of the standpoint"* (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004, 2). Argumentation is also about producing an effect. In this way the systematic theory of argumentation differs from Habermasian theory of communicative action, which relies on the power of the argument (i.e. the best argument will convince the audience) and on an ideal speaking situation (Habermas 1981).

In the systematic theory of argumentation a single argumentation, which is a simple for or against argumentation, or the argumentation structure can be scrutinised (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004, 4). The first paper analyses the simple for and against argumentation employed during the peat extraction project at Julkuneva, in Veteli, Central-Ostrobothnia. The second paper analyses the multiple argumentations employed to conserve Viurusuo, in Outokumpu, North Karelia. Here the focus is on revealing the nature value argumentation and the argumentation for the conservation of Viurusuo. The effectiveness of different argumentations was also evaluated in light of influencing the administrative court system of Finland (the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court) and maintaining the local campaign.

Additionally, the analysis of case study material for Viurusuo (Paper 2) aims to advance the valuation of ecosystem services (ES) in order to recognise those values that local residents connect to mires. Typically a study on ecosystem services starts with classifying the ecosystem services associated with the type of nature or the study area (Haines-Young & Potschin 2011). The Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services (CICES) was created in 2009 as a standardised tool to account for ecosystem services and has been regularly updated since (see Haines-Young & Potschin 2010). CICES 4.3 is available at http://cices.eu/. The CICES classification has been previously applied in ecosystem services accounting (Schröter et al. 2014; Saastamoinen et al. 2014). Saastamoinen et al. (2014) created a comprehensive list of ES provided by forests in Finland which partially covers the ES provided by peatlands. In Paper 2 CICES 4.3 was applied to classify the case study data in order to identify those values that local residents emphasise.

Thematic analysis and discourse analysis were applied in Papers 3 and 4. Thematic analysis is a common method in qualitative content analysis, which requires a theoretical orientation to begin with. In Paper 3, experimental environmental governance

functions as a theoretical background for the thematic classification. Experimental culture is promoted in the Finnish government's programme. The features of experimental culture in public decision making have been described as advancing learning, participation, public discussion and challenging the current course of action (Berg et al. 2014, 13–14). Literature on experimental governance has focused more on grass root experimentation (Bulkeley & Broto 2014). However, governments can be active in promoting experimental culture.

Discourse analysis studies the use of language (Dick 2004; Wagenaar 2011). Many forms of discourse analysis build on Foucault's work on episteme (and power) (Wagenaar 2011, 113). Episteme is a cultural code that governs the thinking and acting of an age. Following the Foucauldian understanding, there is no such thing as an autonomous subject with the capacity to act and create individual meaning independently of a symbolic system which guides the practises and discourses employed (Wagenaar 2011, 113). There are many forms of discourse analysis, such as critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1993) and argumentative discourse analysis (Hajer 1995), but the discursive agency approach (Leipold & Winkel 2016) was selected for Paper 4 because it emphasises the interaction of agency with discourse. Central to this approach is understanding the ways that discourses shape action and agency, and how agency modifies discourses. Fairclough's (critical) discourse analysis, on the other hand, focuses on language as a constructive aspect of the world, whereby the analytic focus is on the reproducing and changing aspects of discourse and how these changes occur (Fairclough 1993; Dick 2004, 203). Also, for Hajer (1995, 59), agency and discourses are in a dialectical relation with each other. These approaches do not neglect the material reality of social practises nor the material consequences of agency and interactions within policy processes. Instead, discursive approaches ask how the practises of interaction and agency within these processes are constructed through discourse and are therefore open to change (ibid.).

Table 2. The qualitative data used in this study

Julkuneva	11 semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders, FANC, Vapo Ltd and local and regional administration	25 newspaper articles from the local newspaper Perhonjokilaakso from 1998 to 2011	21 Environmental permit resolutions of the Environmental Permit Office of West Finland, rulings of the Vaasa Administrative Court, rulings of the Supreme Administrative Court, letters to the above mentioned administrative bodies
Viurusuo	7 semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders, FANC, Vapo Ltd and local administration	26 newspaper articles from the local newspapers Outokummun Seutu and Karjalainen from 1998 to 2013	69 Environmental permit resolutions of the Environmental Permit Office of West Finland, rulings of the Vaasa Administrative Court, rulings of the Supreme Administrative Court and letters to the above-mentioned administrative bodies
Mire conservation programme	12 semi-stuctured interviews with experts taking part and not taking part in the working group for mire conservation	35 newspaper articles, press releases and blog posts from 2014 to 2015	22 statements regarding the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme, and other documents from the Ministry of the Environment
Total	30 semi-structured interviews	86 newspaper articles, press releases and blog posts	112 documents

5 CASE STUDY SUMMARIES

5.1 LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND PEATLAND CONFLICTS

Papers 1 and 2 present two case studies of lengthy environmental conflicts over the environmental licensing of peat extraction at the Julkuneva mire in Veteli, Central Ostrobothnia and the Viurusuo mire in Outokumpu, North Karelia. In these case studies the conservation movements persisted for 18–20 years. Local residents had to learn that their concerns did not resonate with existing legislation. Even though their arguments were ineffective in legal proceedings, they provided powerful support to their respective local conservation movements. Argumentation stemming from local culture and history were important for both of these conflicts. These arguments spanned the entire campaigns, effectively garnered publicity and motivated other local stakeholders to take part during the various appeals to the Vaasa Administrative Court and the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland.

The case study on Julkuneva (Paper 1) analyses the conflicting interests and arguments for and against the extraction of peat throughout a prolonged environmental permitting process. The study area includes the rural villages of Räyrinki and Kalliojärvi in the Veteli municipality, Central Ostrobothnia. In Paper 1 the arguments for and against peat extraction were analysed. Arguments that support peat extraction consist of peat as a domestic fuel source and part of the security of supply in Finnish energy politics. The need for peat extraction was also reasoned with the low economic value of peatlands as such and with Vapo Ltd's right to use those areas that it had been stockpiling since the 1970s and 1980s. The arguments for conservation of Julkuneva emphasised the need to leave the natural areas as they were and locate peat extraction on previously altered peatlands. The importance of aesthetic and ecological values, such as landscape and overall nature values, were emphasised by individuals, but they were not included in the planning and decision making on the use and conservation of peatlands.

Some of the inhabitants of Räyrinki and Kalliojärvi engaged in forms of collective action to encourage the conservation of peatlands and water as well as to protect their own living spaces and the "wilderness" as a whole. Laurén (2006, 210) emphasises personal connections to nature, such as childhood memories and recreational use. These personal ties and place attachments explain why local residents defend local environments. These values were highly visible in the empirical foundations of this study. Citizens who value a particular area because of personal place attachments and other cultural reasons do not argue on the basis of habitats and species. Personal interaction with nature and semi-urban lifestyles that emphasise the aesthetic and ethical aspects of nature, and an understanding of humanity as part of nature seem to be behind the motivations to act. Additionally, the conservation of Julkuneva was argued for on the basis of the environmental impacts of peat extraction. Paper 1 follows the Julkuneva case until the decision from the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland on the 27th of December 2010, which returned the issue to the Environmental Permit Office of Western Finland. The Julkuneva case was sealed by the environmental permit resolution (Regional State Administrative Agency of Western and Central Finland 2016) and the open bog was protected from peat extraction, although a permit on its fringe (reuna-alue) was granted.

The case study of the Viurusuo mire (Paper 2) focuses on the discursive struggle between different valuations of ecosystem services and specifically evaluates the effectiveness of the arguments presented on behalf of those services. Viurusuo is a raised bog of 360 ha located in eastern Finland. The peat mining company Vapo Ltd applied for an environmental permit for peat extraction at the Viurusuo mire in 1995, which resulted in 18 years of conflict. Many different ecosystem services were discussed during this period. Not all of the arguments supporting these services were effective in the legal proceedings for the environmental permit. Especially arguments stemming from local concerns related to recreational services or more abstract values, such as public interest or future generations, were ineffective. This case study shows how formulating the 'right' kind of arguments is highly dependent on the target audience and on the socially constructed context where the arguments are presented. In the case of Viurusuo, the final political decision of the Ministry of the Environment (Ministry of Environment 2012) to protect the mire echoes arguments provided by the participants in the local conservation movement. It is possible that without the local campaign Viurusuo would not have been bought by the State of Finland in 2012.

Many studies on nature conservation conflicts have witnessed a tension between the environmental administration and landowner groups (Rannikko 1994; Hiedanpää 2005). This tension is also visible in this study. Although nature conservation and environmental protection are generally well accepted in Finland, the protection of landowner interests is also generally high. This is due to the large number of private forest owners in Finland (about 632 000) (Mustalahti 2018). The acceptance of nature conservation on peatlands is considerably high because of the insignificant economic activity associated with wetlands. Forestry's interests are also well integrated in Finnish decision making structures. Yet, there is a small group of actors that persistently protect nature values and places from extractive practices. The environmental attitudes of local actors taking part in nature conservation conflicts explains part of the motivations to participate in an environmental campaign. Yet, the values, arguments and motivations of these stakeholder groups are heterogeneous (Rannikko 1994, 25). The diverse place attachments, (semi-) rural identities and personal ties that emerge through interaction with a place and emphasise nature (e.g. berry picking, hunting, bird watching or cultural values) explain why people act to conserve local environments.

The emergence of conflicts concerning the use and conservation of peat in local communities is connected to changes in social structures in rural areas. Recreational activities are of very high importance to many people living in the countryside. Arguments pertaining to the value of nature and its centrality to recreational activities are consequently gaining ground in rural communities. In these cases, it only took a single person or a few key individuals who were familiar with the local culture and who were able to motivate others for action to create the conservation movements. Prolonged legal battles have been one way that environmental movements organise their activities in addition to advocacy campaigns and printed polemics (Caradonna 2014, 94). Instead of radical action, legal battles have been a more typical way to try to influence the public and make the political arena more favourable to environmental topics. This has been a common feature of environmentalism in the post-war generation (ibid.).

Effective arguments in legal proceedings require a legal basis, such as a Habitat Directive Amendment IV species or protected nature type under the Finnish Nature Conservation Act. Legal institutions are not able to process local values since legislation, primarily the Nature Conservation Act, recognises individual species or biotypes

as targets for protection. Legitimate outputs are defined based on scientific knowledge and legal norms. In both case studies it was a singular plant and animal species and two ponds located in the surrounding areas upon which legal arguments could be formulated. The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland's resolution on the 27th of December 2010 returned the issue of Julkuneva to the Environmental Permit Office of Western Finland because of the small streams located in the area. Similarly, in Viurusuo the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland's resolution on the 8th of March returned the issue to the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland and the decisive arguments were related to two ponds located near the mire. During the second round of appeals the swamp frog breeding ground proved to be an effective argument.

The use of biodiversity arguments requires scientific knowledge. As these case studies show, local residents were not able to effectively argue in front of administrative bodies on the basis of biodiversity knowledge without support from scientific staff and trained biologists. It was the co-operation between researchers and local residents that led to the sightings of the small stream in Julkuneva and moor frogs in Viurusuo, and the argumentation around nature types and species conservation subsequently gained momentum. Co-operation between local ecological knowledge and scientific knowledge led to an effective result in these conservation cases. In this sense, both chains of events illustrate the role of local citizen movements in the production of knowledge and science-based argumentation. On the other hand, these cases also show that even if local residents have a formal right to appeal and take part in legal proceedings, they may lack the skills to formulate effective arguments without the help of scientists. Through co-operation with scientists, citizens can affect decisions concerning their environment.

Sources for argumentation stemming from local culture and history were important to local campaigns but irrelevant to legal institutions. Such cultural values include, for example, berry picking and hunting. Applicable legislation, primarily the Nature Conservation Act, recognises individual species and biotypes as targets for protection. In the case study of Julkuneva a small stream was found to be a habitat protected under the Environmental Protection Act. In the case study of Viurusuo the moor frog (Rana Arvalis), which is protected under the Habitats directive amendment IV, functioned as an argument to deny the environmental permit. In both case studies citizens were unable to effectively argue in front of administrative bodies on the basis of biodiversity knowledge without support from scientific staff and trained biologists because appeals to administrative courts require reasoning skills and expertise. Co-operation between local ecological knowledge and scientific knowledge led to conservation measures in Julkuneva and Viurusuo.

5.2 UPDATING THE FINNISH PEATLAND CONSERVATION NETWORK

Papers 3 and 4 present case studies on updating the Finnish peatland conservation network in the working group for supplemental mire conservation. The papers develop two different aspects of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme: an analysis of the role of experimental culture in deliberative environmental governance and an examination of the discursive struggle over regulatory and voluntary means for peatland conservation.

The Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme was drafted from 2012 to 2015. A working group for mire conservation was established to define the selection criteria for conservation areas, select the areas with high nature values and discuss the policy in order to implement the programme. Finnish mires and peatlands are under constant pressure from agriculture, forestry and the utilisation of peat as a heating fuel. These practices are making some of the wetland types rare. This is especially the case in southern Finland where most land use activities take place (Lindholm & Heikkilä, 2006), and the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme's first phase consequently concentrates on this area (Alanen & Aapala 2015).

This case study was conducted at the moment of political opening (määrittelykamppailu), where policy devices for peatland conservation were discussed. The working group members described the process as open and allowing dialogue. However, peatland conservation policy was contested when politics took over the well-proceeding deliberative work. In the beginning of the process the Government of Finland had a Minister of the Environment from the Green Party (Ville Niinistö). In the autumn of 2014 the Greens stepped out of the government because of a disagreement over the decision to build more nuclear power plants. The Government agreed to build three more nuclear power plants with a 10–7 vote on September 17, 2014. On September 26 the Minister's post was filled by a politician from the National Coalition Party, which is a centre-right pro-Europe liberal party (Sanni Grahn-Laasonen). The changes in the political setting altered the objective of the working group for supplemental mire conservation. Voluntary nature conservation became the policy solution advocated for by the new Minister and the working group's new task was to define suitable policy means for improved voluntariness.

Initially, the working group was supposed to create a regulatory mire conservation programme according to the Finnish Nature Conservation Act. At the point of contestation the advocated policy mean to achieve voluntary conservation was the National Forest Biodiversity Programme for Southern Finland (METSO). It was developed from 2003 to 2007 and implementation began in 2008 (Vainio & Paloniemi 2013). Forest owners were integrated in the planning process of METSO, helping its synchronisation with local forestry practices and governance patterns (Hiedanpää 2005). The programme recognises forest owners as important agents and improved the legitimacy of conservation but simultaneously contributed to shifts towards neoliberal nature conservation as the State's conservation responsibilities were moved to regional authorities, entrepreneurs, NGOs and private landowners (Vainio & Paloniemi 2013; Apostopolou et al. 2014). As the outcome of this policy process illustrates, a discursive shift towards voluntary conservation was ongoing in Finnish peatland conservation policy, which indicates a value shift among policy-makers towards market-based and voluntary environmental policy instruments (Jordan et al. 2003; Paloniemi & Vilja 2009; Gómez-Baggethun & Muradian 2015).

Paper 3 presents a case study on the role of experimental culture in deliberative environmental governance. This paper differs from Papers 1, 2 and 4 in its epistemology as it presents a deductive analysis of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme. It is a conceptually guided analysis of the participatory processes and state driven deliberation during the drafting process of the programme from 2012 to 2015. Through qualitative content analysis, the precondition of the deliberative process to support the advancement of experimental culture (see Berg 2013; Berg et al. 2014), which is connected to Jyrki Katainen's governmental programme of Finland, was studied. The paper evaluates whether and to what extent participatory processes ena-

ble the elements of experimental culture, such as dialogue, public discussion, learning, and challenging existing policy, institutions and practices. The analysis shows that governance experiments may succeed as long as they are applied in situations that are free of political conflict. Democratic principles and nature conservation objectives acted as limiting factors to the experimental culture in Paper 3, which links the study to the broader critique of transformations of democracy.

The working group for supplemental mire conservation was a government initiated deliberative forum, wherein the objectives and means for a conservation programme were negotiated. Deliberative forums are often constituted of professionals representing various economic and political agency groups (Hendriks 2005; Dryzek & Hendriks 2012; Busca & Lewis 2015). These forums exist within a broader political system, which is illustrated by governance (Hendriks 2005; Dryzek & Hendriks, 2012, 32). This case study shows that designing deliberative forums (Dryzek & Hendriks, 2012, 32) is a challenging task, especially when the issues at hand are contested. In a deliberative model where the state plays an active role in forum design, expertise is central to being selected to participate in the forum. The danger of fostering a techno-managerial approach, which is characterised by the use of scientific language and relying on expert statements, remains with many current forum designs.

The degree to which the output of a deliberative process influences a policy process is connected to the institutional and informal decision making structures because power behind the scenes may be more influential in terms of the outcome (see e.g. Zografos 2015). Deliberative forums, depending on their design, can be inclusive to certain groups of actors while excluding others. Also, deliberative processes often exclude radical discourses, which means that consensus seeking and hegemonic discourses gain discursive space (ibid.). Language and discourse can be a method of inclusion or exclusion in a deliberative arena, which is why it is relevant to pay attention to who participates in a deliberative forum and who is excluded. Also, in regard to inclusiveness and effect, questions about who participates in a deliberative forum and the design of state-driven deliberation matter as they influence the interactions of the forum and the policy agents.

Although the focus of the empirical analysis was on a deliberative forum, it seems that in this study electoral politics played an important role in defining the outcome. Deliberative processes are likely to face opposition when they interact with agents from interest-based policy advocacy, such as activists and lobbyists (Hendriks 2011; Zografos 2015). The outcome of the policy process might differ significantly from the outcome of the deliberative process after the interactions between the deliberative forums and interest-based model of policy communication. In the beginning of the process the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme was supposed to establish a mire conservation programme according to the Finnish Nature Conservation Act. Creating participatory space and deliberative processes is part of best practises in social impact assessments. Stakeholder analysis is relevant in terms of understanding the different interests and needs of those who are affected by a policy. Participation in a deliberative unit requires a lot of time and commitment. Consequently, the expert participants of the working group for the Suplemental Mire Conservation Programme were frustrated when politics took over the well-proceeding deliberative work. When the Minister of the Environment changed, the objective of the working group also changed and this change weakened the role of the deliberative forum while strengthening the position of external policy agents working through activism and lobbying.

Paper 4 presents the analysis of the working group for supplemental mire conservation as a discursive struggle over the competing means for conservation (voluntary vs regulatory). The paper presents an interpretive policy analysis, in which the four storylines of 'maintenance of biodiversity', 'regulatory programme', 'improved voluntariness' and 'local legitimacy' summarise the arguments, values and objectives of the groups engaged in the process. It appears that the need for mire conservation as such was generally well accepted by the agents participating in the conservation planning. However, the means for mire conservation were contested in a discursive struggle where agents presented arguments in order to influence the outcome and gain discursive agency. Discursive struggles emerge in wave-like structures, which have been conceptualised as political openings and epistemic closures (Leino & Häikiö 2014, 20–22). A political opening (avauma) is the moment when a policy issue becomes politicised and enters polity - the arenas of policy making. An epistemic closure (sulkeuma) is the moment when a decision is taken and the exchange of arguments is no longer aimed at influencing the policy decision.

In discursive struggles, language and communication are actively employed by the strategic actors in order to persuade others and protect particular interests. This intentional use of language in a policy process is called a discursive strategy (Rydin, 2003, 49). In this discursive struggle the disagreement was about 'new' and 'traditional' conservation (Oksanen & Kumpula 2008; Kallis et al. 2013; Tallis & Lubchenco 2014; Matulis & Moyer 2016). This paper deepens the understanding of the role of agency in discursive struggles with the discursive agency approach (Leipold & Winkel 2016). Discursive agency is about gaining ground as a speaker in a speaking situation (ibid). Agency can be gained through institutional status or by presenting the most persuasive arguments. The discursive agency approach differs from critical discourse analysis and other forms of more text oriented discourse analysis techniques by being more actor centred (Leipold & Winkel 2016). Discourses have a role in creating agency as the environmental discourse defines the enabled policy options and the legitimate stakeholders for environmental problem solving (Feindt & Oels 2005). Policy discourse also creates political identities (see e.g. Hajer 2003).

Here, it appears that the most successful argumentation strategy was the collaborative one. The professionals speaking on behalf of landowner and forestry rights successfully employed sustainable development discourse, with an emphasis on economic and social sustainability, to support the objective of greater voluntariness. The hegemonic discourse of sustainable development can contribute to developments that Blühdorn (2013b) calls the politics unsustainability, where democratic values and decentralised forms of governance maintain the socio-ecological relations favourable to a consumer society with its intensive use of natural resources. The voluntary discourse employed concepts, such as ecosystem services and bioeconomy, to strengthen their argument. These discourses emphasise the human well-being dimensions of conservation. This study reveals that neoliberal discourse became stronger in Finnish environmental policy after the change in political settings. The emergence of neoliberal discourse in environmental and conservation policy has been connected to the integrative ability to connect elements of different discourses and forms of legitimacy (Turnhout et al. 2015). Convincing several actor groups involved in conservation by using the language of economics may be a beneficial argumentation strategy in order to conserve resources (Hajer 2003). In this case study, this is one of the reasons why voluntary conservation appears as a successful discursive frame to gain access to relevant policy domains where the decisions concerning mire conservation were discussed.

FANC and the environmental administration relied on expert framings of conservation issues. This reduces the amount of participants as the general public has less opportunities to participate when the use of vocabulary requires the capacity to process scientific knowledge. For the general public, the lack of policy-relevant knowledge reduces the possibilities for meaningful participation in environmental policy processes (Fischer 2000, 23). The vocabularies of biodiversity indicators, conservation networks, ecosystem structure and functionality that nature conservation associations and other environmental experts employ are often perceived as complex by the general public. The concept of ecosystem services has changed these settings as it is perceived as a useful framing that helps to communicate the importance of nature conservation to policy makers and the general public as it recognises the trade-offs between different services and connects conservation to human well-being (Potschin & Haines-Young 2011). Critics of the ecosystem services framing argue that counting, mapping and commodification reduce the socio-environmental relations, whereas multiple values, different types of knowledge and 'living with biodiversity' should be recognised (Kallis et al. 2013; Turnhout et al. 2015). This value pluralism affected the outcome of the policy process for the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme, which combines elements of voluntary and regulatory conservation.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 PEATLAND CONFLICTS – A NEW WAVE OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN FINLAND?

This thesis shows that citizens in rural communities can influence decisions over the environment. Additionally, citizens can commit themselves to lengthy struggles over the environment. It appears that a sense of belonging to a local community combined with place attachments and an environmental orientation are the driving forces in the two case studies scrutinised here. Many, and increasingly, local rural residents work elsewhere and enjoy the recreational values of nature. These changes in rurality impact the agency in peatland conflicts. Social structure has changed less dramatically in rural societies, which might explain the strong place bound motivations behind the peatland conflicts in Papers 1 and 2.

The four waves of environmentalism reflect developments within Finnish society as it went from an agrarian to an industrial society and from a welfare state to a somewhat environmental or sustainable state (Massa 2013). Finnish environmental sociologists track the 'golden years' of the environmental movement to the end of the 1970s (Järvikoski 1994; Konttinen 1999; Rannikko 2003). Activism led to the institutionalisation of environmental protection, which simultaneously removed the need for direct action. In 1983 the Ministry of the Environment was founded as well as the regional environmental administration. Towards the end of the 20th century environmental regulations were well developed. Sairinen (2001) describes Finns as passive environmentalists based on surveys of Finnish environmental attitudes in 1994 and 1996. Sairinen concluded that the acceptance of environmental policies and reliance on the welfare state removed the need for a strong environmental movement. However, the modernisation discourse has remained strong in Finnish society and Finland has been described as a modest eco-modern state (Andersen & Massa 2000). Increased professionalisation in environmental policy making has led to support of a modest eco-modern agenda that developed during the optimistic period of environmental policy making in the 1980s and has been criticised for not being capable of solving the environmental problems of the 21st century (Andersen & Massa 2000, 187). Expert organisations, such as industry associations, labour unions and environmental NGOs, are part of this professionalised sub-politics.

The early 21st century has been eventful in terms of movements opposing the environmental impacts of peat extraction in Finland. In light of this, one could claim that peatland conflicts have become the fifth wave of the Finnish environmental movement. However, it is not that simple because protests over peatland drainage have been present since the 1960s. It seems that mire conservation concerns go hand in hand with forest concerns, although at times one or the other is emphasised. Also, nature conservationists have had remarkable achievements in the past, such as the national mire conservation programme in the 1970s. Yet, rural land owner groups have been against the demands of nature conservationists, especially those from supranational actors. This led to natural resource conflicts during the implementation of Natura 2000 (Hiedanpää 2002; Björn 2003, 107–111). Different interest groups with divergent values and colliding nature conservation ideologies (Oksanen & Kumpula 2008; Matulis &

Moyer 2016) were also present in the media representations during the development of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme. The policy devices for regulatory and voluntary nature conservation were contested during the METSO programme and more recently during the updating of the peatland conservation network for supplemental mire conservation. As in this case study, natural resource governance is often represented as a contestation between the use and conservation of natural resources, and the media often emphasises the conflict aspect (Väliverronen 1996, 16; Hiedanpää et al. 2010, 11).

What has changed in the 21st century is that the objection towards nature conservation is more discreet. It seems that the reframing of nature conservation arguments from biodiversity to ecosystem services and remodeling the mire conservation policy to its current policy mix of regulatory and voluntary means has helped gain legitimacy for nature conservation. However, one needs to remain critical of whether these approaches are effective in terms of the biodiversity objectives. Although it is not easy to identify a single wave of environmentalism that is characteristic of 21st century Finland, this study provides evidence that after forest related conflicts, traditional patterns of environmental conflict are recognisable in the conflicts over the use and conservation of peatlands. Compared to the earlier forms of environmental activism in the 1960s and 1970s, the conservation movement now relies on institutionalised forms of interaction, such as appeal procedures for the environmental permitting of peat extraction. Despite that, many of the concerns of current environmental movements are similar to those of the 1960s and 1970s (Leino & Häikiö 2014, 251). These concerns over environmental pollution and the degradation of nature values evolved as a critique of the modern way of life, which is very intense in its use of natural resources.

The environmental conflict over the use and conservation of peatlands is an example of the concern which evolved with critiques of rapid industrialisation and consumption of natural resources in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, peatland conflicts have evolved and de-evolved in a wave like structure, where mire conservation has been politicised with the national mire conservation programme and the attempts to reform it in the 1990s and 2000s. The latest phase of mire conservation politicisation occurred during the policy process of the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme, where the political 'opening' was about the means for conservation.

6.2 NEW ARGUMENTS FOR CONSERVATION

It is evident that the ecosystem services concept has entered the vocabulary of natural resource governance in Finland. The discursive shift form biodiversity to ecosystem services is now shaping the interactions, networks and power relations among actors taking part in the process of defining the content of sustainable use and conservation of peatlands. It is therefore relevant to discuss the promise and shortcomings of the ecosystem services concept (see Hiedanpää et al. 2010). The promise of the ecosystem services concept is to advance nature conservation by engaging new actors and offering new arguments for conservation (Paper 2). The promise continues that new arguments for nature conservation will convince the policy makers and businesses behind nature conservation objectives and improve the acceptance of nature conservation locally. The metaphor of nature as a fixed stock of capital, which was applied in the ecosystem services language, was deemed necessary to awaken the public about essential natural processes (Nordgaard 2010). The Millenium Ecosystem Assessment

(2005) documented how the stock of nature delivers flows of services (see e.g. Nordgaard 2010; Hiedanpää et al. 2010).

Ecosystem services is a widely used concept in ecology, economics and environmental policy. Ecosystem services are most commonly defined as the benefits that people obtain from nature (MA 2005) or the direct and indirect contributions of ecosystems to human well-being (TEEB 2010). In the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) report, ecosystem services are divided into four sub-categories of provisioning services, supporting or habitat services, regulating services and cultural services (MA 2005). The CICES classification, which is based on the existing MA and the Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity, and the TEEB classification, divide ecosystems services into three subcategories of provisioning services, supporting and regulating services, and cultural services (Haines-Young & Potchin 2013). Paper 2 aims to advance the valuation of ecosystem services by recognising the values that citizens emphasise regarding nature type.

The ecosystem services approach influences peatland policy developments in Finland. The Finnish strategy for the sustainable use and conservation of mires and peatlands uses the MA classification as a basis for balancing between the environmental, societal and economic sustainability goals in order to obtain the economic and ecological benefits provided by marshes and peatlands (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry 2011). The strategy proposal from 2011 was the first policy document in Finland that applied the ecosystem services approach. The strategy was never accepted as binding policy but the proposal influenced the Decision in Principle for Sustainable Use and Conservation of Mires and Peatlands (Valtioneuvoston… 2012). The ecosystem services approach also influenced further peatland policy developments in Finland as outlined in the Decision in Principle for Sustainable Use and Conservation of Mires and Peatlands. The policy choices were after all connected to market environmentalism, although implementing this set of values caused a policy struggle over the means for mire conservation. The policies towards more sustainable use of peat aim at protecting mires in a natural state from peat extraction (Valtioneuvoston… 2012). Accordingly, it was stated that a general nature value provision will be introduced during the reform of the Environmental Protection Act.

One critique of the ecosystem services concept perceives it as a new framing that can be employed to promote the interests and values of powerful stakeholders. The concept is employed to further commodify nature, which increases the inequality in natural resource dependent communities (Martínez-Alier 2002; Gomez-Baggethun & Muradian 2015). Ecosystem services are connected to market environmentalism, which is supported by a community of scholars committed to environmental governance that establishes valuation for environmental externalities, property rights for ecosystem services and market-based initiatives for environmental protection (Gomez-Baggethun & Ruiz-Perez 2011; Gomez-Baggethun & Muradian 2015). This has been argued (or presented) as an effective way to solve the environmental problems of the 21st century and to communicate the value of biodiversity.

Ecosystem services offer new possibilities for citizens to engage and improve their wellbeing (Hiedanpää et al. 2010, 17). This is because the concept takes into account a wide variety of services from provisioning peat and timber to enjoying the scenery or berry picking. For the most part, the mechanisms aimed at making nature conservation profitable are welcomed by private landowners in Finland and perceived, by scientists too, as a way to increase the legitimacy of nature conservation. Ecosystem services were commonly taken as a starting point by experts when asked how to

define the value of mires and peatlands. While the ecosystem services approach is well adopted by experts, it does not easily translate to a common understanding of values of mires and peatlands. As the ecosystem services discourse has entered Finnish natural resource governance, more actors have been able to access to the arenas of peatland politics than during the previous biodiversity discourse in the 1990s. The importance of biodiversity conservation has not disappeared but the language and rhetorical devices have changed. One challenge with ecosystem services is that it shifts the conservation discourse towards a more anthropocentric perspective. By recognising the values of things in or aspects of nature that benefit human beings, it may weaken the original objectives of biodiversity conservation. On the other hand, innovative solutions to protect nature values beyond the conservation areas advocated for by landowner groups and conservation scientists may add to conservation. This, however, does not reduce the need to establish new conservation areas through regulatory solutions.

6.3 ABOUT DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Consolidating the needs of different actor groups requires broad and inclusive dialogue and deliberation. Depending on the values that actors hold, different resolutions to environmental conflicts are perceived as just or unjust (Paavola 2007). Through the analysis of existing and emerging discourses within peatland politics, it seems evident that citizens and local landowner groups are acknowledged in the decision making processes over the use and conservation of peatlands in Finland. However, there are demands for wider recognition of local stakeholder values and arguments (see Paper 2), also those that are more inclusive towards nature. More dialogue between actors that support peatland use and conservation is needed (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2008).

Transparency and openness in policy processes are often emphasised because they are seen as ways to improve the normative condition of deliberative democracy. Consequently, recognising the diverse values of wetlands requires a participatory approach to policy development and decision making. Regulatory frameworks should be improved in ways that take into account multiple values and arguments. This was partially done with the renewal of the Environmental Protection Act (527/2014), where paragraph 13 was first formulated to take into account nature values in a broad sense, including landscape values, and then reduced to an assessment of nationally and regionally significant nature values based on endangered habitats and species or the natural condition of the mire. Currently, regional land use planning is an important tool for the reconciliation of the multiple uses of peatlands.

In Finland, the appreciation of private property rights is generally high, and guaranteed by the constitution (Oksanen & Kumpula 2008). This value is often defended in environmental governance structures to the degree that some aspects of welfare are neglected. While nature values and nature conservation are basic aspects of welfare, it is not easy to argue for them against economic interests because Finnish decision making structures are led by corporate interests and professionalised sub-groups. The dominance of landowner and forestry actors is characteristic of Finnish political-economic life (Rytteri & Kortelainen 2015; Mustalahti 2017). Finland also has a high number of private forest owners (nearly 14% of the population) (Mustalahti 2018).

Governance arrangements must continually gain legitimacy through participatory,

open and just processes and effective outcomes. When understood this way, there are high demands on sub-politics, which also partially explains why the professionalisation of environmental expertise has occurred. This is linked to the increasing demands for access to information and more open forms of public decision making for environmental issues (Barry 1999, 193). Collaborative learning and dialogue in deliberative settings emphasises that actors involved in deliberation can learn from each other and change their convictions (Barry 1999; Raitio 2008; Berg 2014). This requires a cultural shift from argumentative forms of defending one's interests to one that enables learning in experimental settings (Berg 2014; Paper 3).

The problem of representing nature remains in deliberative settings and deliberative democracy. This has been discussed in Eckersley's (1999) discourse ethics. The problematisation of humans representing non-human actors begins with Habermas' theory of discourse ethics and the green theorist critique of it as being too anthropocentric (Eckersley 1999, 25). The ideal speaking situation has, however, stimulated green theorists' minds while the conditions of free communication presumed by discourse ethics are more commonly leading to the protection of general interests (Eckersley 1999, 25). While there is common interest in the environment, deliberations do not always lead to better results from an environmental point of view. How, then, can this be tackled through a more inclusive socio-ecological thinking?

6.4 BACK TO PEATLAND POLITICS

This study examined some aspects of peatland politics through case studies of local environmental movements and peatland conservation. Perspectives that emphasise agency and social movements have been dominant in environmental social sciences. The contribution of case studies that focus on single issue movements can be broadened through analysis of national level policy to tackle a broader range of actors and arguments. The term politics in this study refers to the discursive struggles and agency that entail social change. The discursive and argumentative practices of deliberative forums and expert panels shedded light on how Finnish natural resources governance is currently organised around the particular setting of peatland conservation. In Finland there is a long tradition of expertise on peatland ecology and peatland management. Finnish decision making has been described as being dominated by an expert culture. Supporting policy making with expert knowledge was already part of the national mire conservation programme from 1979 as it was drafted in a similar type of working group as the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme (Borg 2008, 262). Thus, deliberative forums and expert panels have been part of Finnish peatland governance for close to 40 years.

Globally, climate change mitigation and biodiversity conservation are the key challenges of the 21st century. Peat is still part of energy politics in Finland even though, according to the IPCC (2007) definition, it is a non-renewable energy source whose use should be discontinued. The energy politics of Finland relies on peat as an energy source for co-generated heat and power, although carbon reductions will take place because of increasing bioenergy use and nuclear power (VTT 2009). Also, in some scenarios carbon capture and storage technology could reduce CO2 output. Additionally, as previously stated, the amount of peat extracted annually has been decreasing since 2010 (see Figure 1). This is mainly connected to changes in taxation, which caused increases in the use of brown coal. Yet, multiple interactions within the

governance system explain this change. Taxation is the most important environmental policy device. When a tax on fuel peat was introduced, peat began to be replaced by brown coal, a polluting alternative. When it comes to peatland politics and market mechanisms, the taxation of peat is different than that of coal (Belinskij 2015, 17–19). Peat extraction receives tax benefits as a domestic fuel source while brown coal is imported. This is contradictory to Finland's image as a country where the use of market mechanisms is well developed, such as carbon taxation (see e.g. Dryzek 2013). There are still influential interest groups that perceive peat as a domestic alternative to brown coal within the governance system.

The amount of peat extracted from Finnish peat bogs is declining due to various shifts in governance, such as global climate targets, which influence national policy. However, when the use of peat in co-generated heat and electricity power plants declined the replacement fuel was brown coal. Additionally, the environmental licensing system adopted in 2000 and the changing interpretation of the Supreme Administrative Courts have influenced the amount of peat extraction areas. Many of the new peat extraction areas were not licensed but ended up in lengthy environmental permit processes, described as long lasting environmental conflicts in this thesis (Papers 1 & 2). Simultaneously, peat extractors needed to adapt to the new situation and change the ways they operate. The peat tax is one of the most important environmental policy devices to control the use of peat as a fuel source. New governance mechanisms are needed to encourage Finnish energy policy to develop more sustainable pathways. This includes ensuring that reducing the use of peat results in the increased use of green energy from wind, solar or biomass, and not brown coal. The policy challenge that remains is getting various groups of actors involved.

Peatland policy has been altered so that areas in a natural state remain off limits to peat extraction. The Decision in Principle for Sustainable Use and Conservation of Mires and Peatlands, which states that undrained areas are protected from peat extraction, may have improved the sustainability of peatland use in Finland. The decision also forbids peat extraction activities on mires in a natural state (scales 4 and 5). Peat extractors, such as Vapo Ltd, have also developed more responsive corporate policies (Vapo Oy 2012b). These campaigns aim to alter the acceptance of peat extraction and turn the public eye away from local environmental controversies.

Although there has been governmental interest to redefine the peatland policy towards more sustainable use of peatlands, the technological lock-ins, such as the co-generated heat and power stations that use peat for district heating in many Finnish middle-sized and small towns and municipalities, hinder any rapid withdrawal from peat use. Such withdrawals may also come with unexpected consequences. Yet, there is a need to look at peatland politics in the broader context of climate change and carbon sinks. Climate change is currently the most pressing environmental challenge and we need more environmental social scientific research on balancing the carbon sink and other ecosystem services functions of peatlands, as well as how to argue for public action. Additionally, the effects of Finnish climate change and peatland policies should be addressed. In this study the arguments for mire conservation were connected mainly to peat extraction's impacts on water, but in global discussions the impacts on climate are more significant (see e.g. Joosten et al. 2012). Tackling climate change requires the inclusion of citizens, which is why more open and transparent policy processes need to be developed, which follows the basic ideas of deliberative democracy (Lammi & Rask 2011; Mustalahti 2018). Mires are the largest natural car-

bon sinks in Finland and sound management of mires and peatlands is the best way Finland can contribute to climate change mitigation (Kaakinen & Salminen 2006, 121).

The case studies on Finnish peatland conservation allow us to scrutinise the challenge of sustainability in natural resources governance. Sustainability has been divided to weak and strong sustainability (Caradonna 2014, 243). Weak sustainability moves away from destructive habits and stabilises ecosystems, climate and human populations whereas strong sustainability demands the active participation of human beings to repair much of the damage they have done (ibid.). In peatland governance strong sustainability means conserving areas that are still in a natural state and actively restoring degraded peatland areas. Peatland restoration aims to re-introduce a self-sustaining, carbon accumulating and nutrient retaining ecosystem (Vasander et al. 2002). According to Haapalehto et al. (2017), restoration also aims to regain the characteristics of the original ecosystem, which means that it may not impact the overall biodiversity. It is remarkable to notice that even the peatland areas that have been classified as class 4 or 5 (good or excellent) on the natural condition scale are surrounded by areas that have been drained in the past or their edges are drained. These are the most suitable areas for restoration. Peatland restoration is also necessary in conservation areas and other peatland areas with high nature values. Economic valuation should not define which peatland areas are to be restored as restoring only the areas where forest growth is insufficient for economic purposes despite drainage will be insufficient. Peatland restoration is the only way to repair part of the damage done during Finland's modernisation and move towards strong sustainability. Strong sustainability in relation to peat would also mean slowly discontinuing peat extraction. This needs institutional commitment, effective policies and environmental movements.

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ARTICLE I
Albrecht, Eerika (2015). Energiaa vai luonnonrauhaa? Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi paikallisessa turvekonfliktissa Keski-Pohjanmaalla. (Energy or natural peace? For and against argumentation in a local peat conflict in Central Ostrobothnia). Terra 127(4), 157–168.

ARTICLE II
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ARTICLE IV
Albrecht, Eerika. Discursive struggle and agency – Updating the Finnish peatland conservation network. Submitted article.

ARTICLE I

Albrecht, Eerika (2015). Energiaa vai luonnonrauhaa? Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi paikallisessa turvekonfliktissa Keski-Pohjanmaalla. (Energy or natural peace? For and against argumentation in a local peat conflict in Central Ostrobothnia). Terra 127(4), 157–168.

Energiaa vai luonnonrauhaa? Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi paikallisessa turvekonfliktissa Keski-Pohjanmaalla

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Albrecht, Eerika (2015). Energiaa vai luonnonrauhaa? Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi paikallisessa turvekonfliktissa Keski-Pohjanmaalla (Energy or natural peace? For and against argumentation in a local peat conflict in Central Ostrobothnia). *Terra* 127: 4, 157–168.

The use and conservation of mires and peatlands is a critical environmental concern, and the various actors and institutions with divergent interests only continue to exacerbate the problem. The case study on the Julkuneva mire analyzes the conflicting interests and the arguments both for and against the extraction of peat throughout a prolonged process of obtaining environmental permits. The area of study is Veteli, Räyrinki, a rural village in Central Ostrobothnia with 850 inhabitants. The emergence of conflicts concerning the use and conservation of peat in local communities is connected to changes in social structures in these rural areas. Recreational activities tend to be of very high importance to those living in the countryside. For this reason, arguments pertaining to the value of nature and its centrality to recreational activities are gaining ground in rural communities. The inhabitants of the Räyrinki village have engaged in forms of collective action to encourage the conservation of peatlands and water as well as to protect their own living spaces and "the wilderness" as a whole.

Key words: environmental conflict, peat extraction, local community, arguments

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Soiden käytön ja suojelun yhteensovittaminen voidaan ymmärtää "ilkeäksi ympäristöongelmaksi" (*wicked environmental problem*; Rittel & Webber 1973; Patterson 2013; Salmi 2013). Ilkeän ongelman määrittelyyn osallistuvat monet tahot, joilla on usein eriävät intressit, arvot ja päämäärät (Balint ym. 2011). Ongelman määrittelyyn liittyy lisäksi tieteellinen tai tiedollinen epävarmuus, jota toimijatahot pyrkivät hyödyntämään oman argumenttinsa läpiviemiseksi. Soiden käyttöön liittyvät konfliktiasetelmat mukailevat monia ilkeiden ympäristöongelmien tunnusmerkkejä: soiden käytöstä ja suojelusta päättävät lukuisat toimijatahot, ongelmaan ei ole löydettävissä lyhyellä aikavälillä helppoa ratkaisua, ja soiden taloudellinen hyödyntäminen vaikuttaa laajalti suon ja sitä ympäröivien alueiden tarjoamiin ekosysteemipalveluihin.

Suomen soiden kokonaispinta-ala on arvioilta 9,3 miljoonaa hehtaaria. Tästä kaksi kolmasosaa metsätalouskäytössä ja 1,2 miljoonaa hehtaaria soidensuojelualueena (Ehdotus… 2011). Jäljellä oleville luonnontilaisille suoalueille kohdistuu monenlaisia käyttöpaineita, kuten turpeennostoa tai virkistyskäyttöä. Luonnontilaisia soita pidetään myös tärkeinä luonnon monimuotoisuutta turvaavina kohteina. Soihin liittyviin maankäyttö- ja ympäristökysymyksiin vaikuttavat 1900-luvun vaihteessa alkaneet ja 1960-luvulla kiihtyneet metsäteollistumisen myötä tapahtuneet maankäytön muutokset ja vesistöjen tilan huonontuminen (Rytteri 2004). 1930-luvulta lähtien toteutettujen mittavien ojitusten seurauksena Suomessa on jäljellä verrattain vähän luonnontilaisia soita; pelkästään Mera-ohjelmakaudella vuosina 1965–1975 soita ojitettiin 2,6 miljoonaa hehtaaria (Tanskanen 2004: 90). Ohjelmallisen ojitustoiminnan myötä metsätaloudesta tuli suo- ja turvemaiden merkittävin käyttömuoto.

Puitteet soiden teolliselle käytölle luotiin 1960- ja 1970-luvuilla, kun turpeen energiakäyttöä lisättiin huomattavasti 1970-luvun öljykriisin seurauksena. Öljykriisin myötä Suomessa ryhdyttiin

tavoittelemaan energiaomavaraisuutta ja laajempaa huoltovarmuutta, ja turve kotimaisena polttoaineena nousi yhteiskunnallisen kiinnostuksen kohteeksi. Geologian tutkimuskeskus (GTK) ryhtyi kartoittamaan systemaattisesti Suomen turvevaroja, ja valtion enemmistöomistamalle energiayhtiö Vapo Oy:lle annettiin tehtäväksi kehittää turpeen energiakäyttöä. Turpeen energiakäyttö oli ollut teknisesti mahdollista jo 1800-luvulta lähtien, mutta valtion tuella sitä alettiin kehittää 1970-luvulta lähtien (Ruuskanen 2010: 43).

Kiinnostus turpeennostoa kohtaan on edelleen voimakasta, sillä Vapo on korvaamassa ehtyviä, 1970-luvulla käyttöön otettuja alueita uusilla soilla. Useille Vapon omistamille maa-alueille kohdistuu kuitenkin nykyisin myös voimakkaita suojelupaineita (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2006). Turvetoimiala onkin törmännyt vaikeutuviin ympäristölupaprosesseihin sekä lisääntyvään kansalaisvastustukseen. Suoekosysteemien ohella viimeaikaisessa kansalaiskeskustelussa on kannettu huolta turvetalouden vesistövaikutuksista. Yksittäiset kansanliikkeet, kuten kalakuolemien seurauksena syntynyt Jukajoki-liike, ovat haastaneet vallalla olevaa teknokraattista ja asiantuntijatietoon pohjautuvaa diskurssia (Mustonen 2014). Uusien näkökulmien myötä on esitetty, että turpeennostoa aikoinaan oikeuttaneen teknokraattisen hallintajärjestelmän legitimiteetti on murtumassa ja paikallisyhteisöjen merkitys ekologisen tiedon tuottajina ja ympäristölupaprosessien osallisina tulisi ottaa paremmin huomioon. Legitimiteetin murtumisen seurauksena luottamus hallintoa ja tieteellisesti tuotettua tietoa kohtaan on horjunut. Tästä on seurannut auktoriteettivaje (Hajer 2009).

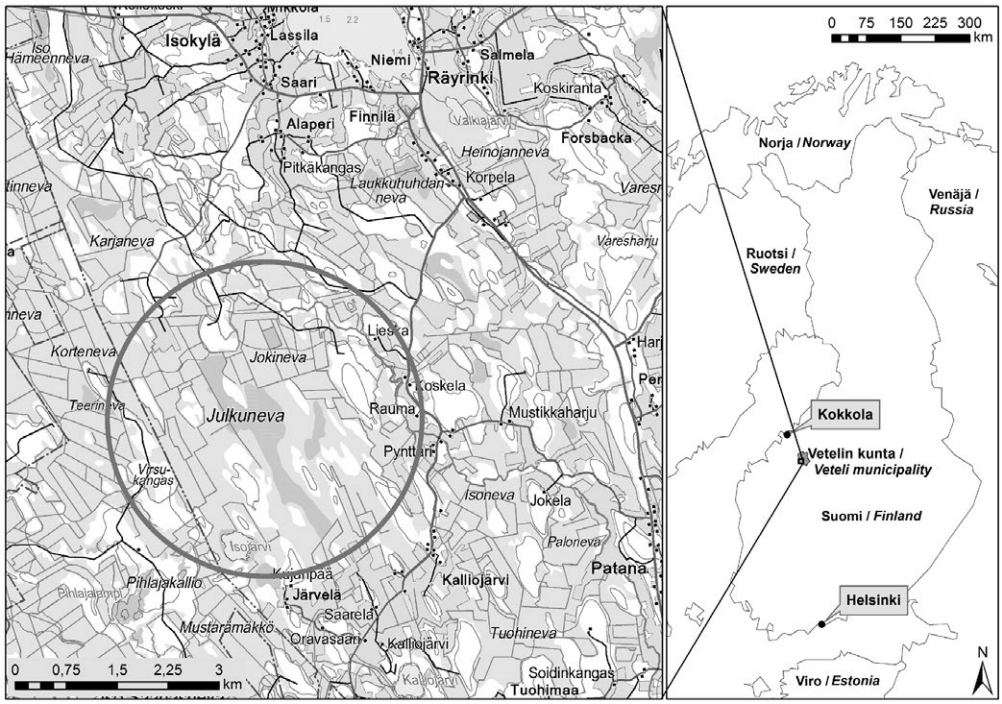
Luonnonvarojen käyttöä ohjanneiden ja perustelleiden diskurssien rinnalla on kulkenut viimeistään 1960-luvulta alkaen selväpiirteinen ympäristödiskurssi. Ympäristöajattelu yhteiskunnallistui tuolloin, kun paikalliset ihmiset alkoivat puolustaa asuinympäristöään valtiollista energiapolitiikkaa ja teollistamista vastaan (Rannikko 2003: 178). Ympäristökysymys nousi pinnalle viimeistään 1970-luvun kollektiivista toimintaa suosineessa kulttuuri-ilmapiirissä, ja tuolloin syntyneet ympäristöliikkeet kytkeytyivät osaksi laajempaa kulutusyhteiskunnan kritiikkiä ja vaatimuksia vallitsevan elämäntavan radikaalista muuttamisesta (Järvilehto 1981; Rannikko 1996, 2003). Samalla ympäristönsuojelun toimijakenttä alkoi saada vakiintuneempia institutionaalisia muotoja. Suomen luonnonsuojeluliitto (SLL) vakiintui nykymuotoonsa vuonna 1969 useiden luontojärjestöjen sulautuessa yhteen. SLL:lla on ollut perinteisesti vahva asema ympäristöliikkeessä ja luonnosuojelukonfliktien osapuolena. Pitkään jatkuneissa turvekonflikteissa SLL on toiminut valittajana ja onnistunut osaltaan pitkittämään ympäristölupaprosesseja. Vastaavasti vuonna 1979 perustettu Koijärvi-liike toi ympäristönsuojeluun uusia toimintatapoja tukeutumalla suoraan toimintaan, jonka tavoitteena oli estää matalan ja linturikkaan Koijärven kuivattaminen maatalouskäyttöön (Järvilehto 1981). Liikkeessä toimineet aktivistit olivat myöhemmin perustamassa Suomeen ympäristöministeriötä ja Vihreää liittoa (Rannikko 1996: 61).

Ympäristökeskustelua on kautta sen olemassaolon leimannut talous- ja luonnonarvoargumenttien vastakkainasettelu, joka toistuu nykyisissäkin konflikteissa. Turpeennostohankkeiden ympärillä käytävät keskustelut liittyvät tähän jatkumoon. Ne osoittavat, että turpeennosto on yhä ympäristö- ja luonnonvarapoliittisesti kiistanalainen kysymys. Turvekeskustelun retoriikkaa on aikaisemmin analysoitu energiapolitiikan ja energiaturvallisuuden näkökulmasta (Lempinen 2013). Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelen, miten turvekonflikti asemoituu osaksi paikallistason ympäristökeskustelua, ja miten konfliktin osapuolet argumentoivat kantojaan. Olen valinnut tapaustutkimukseni kohteeksi pitkäaikaisen paikallisen turvekonfliktin Julkunevalla, joka on Keski-Pohjanmaalla Vetelin Räyringissä sijaitseva yhtenäinen ojittamaton suoalue (kuva 1). Räyrinki on noin 850 asukkaan kyläyhteisö, jossa Vapon vuonna 1998 aloittama turpeennostohanke on ajautunut vastatuuleen ja joutunut vuosikymmeniä kestäneen ympäristökamppailun kohteeksi.

Artikkelini teoreettisena ja empiirisenä lähtökohtana on ympäristökonflikti, jossa eri tahot määrittelevät ongelman erilaisten intressiensä ja arvojensa pohjalta ja muodostavat siten erilaisia kantoja ja kannanottoja (Rannikko 1994; Schnaiberg & Gould 1994; Nie 2003: 308). Ympäristökonfliktiin mahtuu monenlaisia toimijoita ja osapuolia. Artikkelini tavoitteena on luoda ymmärrys siitä, millainen ympäristökonflikti Julkunevalle on muodostunut, sekä analysoida miten eri osapuolet argumentoivat näkemystensä puolesta suokiistassa. Artikkelini vastaa seuraaviin kysymyksiin: (1) Mitä osapuolia ja toimijoita Julkunevan turvekonfliktiin on liittynyt? (2) Millaisia argumentteja ja perusteluja Julkunevan konfliktissa on käytetty turpeennoston puolesta ja sitä vastaan? (3) Millaisia kollektiivisen toiminnan ja aktivismin muotoja kiista ilmentää?

Ympäristökonflikti, paikallisyhteisö ja ympäristöpolitiikka

Ympäristö- ja luonnonvarapoliittiset kysymykset ovat usein ristiriitaisia, ja ongelmien määrittelystä käytävät kiistat kasvavat helposti ympäristökon-



Kuva 1. Julkunevan sijainti kartalla. (© Maanmittauslaitos 2011; hallinnolliset rajat: EuroGraphics)
Figure 1. Location of the Julkuneva mire on the map. (© National Land Survey of Finland 2001; administrative boundaries: EuroGeographics)

flikteiksi. Ympäristökonfliktin käsitteellä tarkoitetaan paikallista tai ylipaikallista ristiriitatilannetta, jossa konfliktin osapuolet ja toimijat asettuvat puolustamaan tai vastustamaan luonnon- tai ympäristönkäytön toimia. Erilaiset ongelmanmäärittelyt ilmenevät keskenään ristiriitaisina luonto- tai ympäristökäsityksinä (Rannikko 2010: 262; Valkonen & Saaristo 2010: 105). Luonto voidaan nähdä esimerkiksi taloudellisen hyödyntämisen objektina tai virkistyskäytön kohteena. Ympäristönsuojelijat vetoavat yleisimmin argumentaatiossaan arvoperusteisiin vastapuolen turvautuessa usein taloudellisiin perusteluihin (Rannikko 1994: 26). Aina näin ei kuitenkaan ole. Osapuolet saattavat omaksua myös toistensa argumentteja varsinkin kiistan pitkittyessä.

Ympäristökonflikteja luokitellaan tiedollisiin konflikteihin sekä arvo- ja intressikonflikteihin, jotka syntyvät kun luonnonvarojen käyttöä tai luonnonympäristöä koskevat vaatimukset ja tavoitteet ovat ristiriidassa keskenään (Dietz ym. 1989: 49; Rannikko 2010). Pitkään jatkuneiden luonnonvarakonfliktien syynä on usein ”ilkeä” ongelmakimppu, johon kytkeytyy hyvin monisyisiä intressi- ja arvolataumia (Balint 2011). Ilkeitä ongelmia on vaikea ratkaista ilman jonkin toimijatahon intressien tai arvojen uhraamista (Gritten ym. 2009: 555).

Ympäristökonfliktien puhkeaminen johtuu usein yhteiskunnassa vallitsevasta hyväksyttävyysvajeesta. Yhteiskunnallinen hyväksyttävyys, legitimiteetti, viittaa vallankäytön perusteisiin ja oikeutukseen (Rannikko 2013: 230). Poliittisen legitimiteetin murtuminen johtaa päätöksenteon auktoriteettivajeeseen (Hajer 2009). Myös luottamus tieteelliseen tietoon saattaa horjua määrittelykamppailun yhteydessä. Martin Nie (2003) on ryhmitellyt ympäristökonflikteja niukkuudesta johtuviin, arvojen yhteismitattomuudesta johtuviin sekä paikan puolustamisesta johtuviin kiistoihin. Paikallisyhteisölle merkityksellisen paikan puolustaminen on esitetty usein syyksi paikallisten luonnonvarakonfliktien puhkeamiseen (ks. myös Vorkinn & Riese 2001; Brehm ym. 2013). Lähisuo marjapaikkoineen ja hiihtoretkikohteineen saattaa olla tällainen merki-

tyksellinen kohde, jonka säilyttämiseksi ihmiset aktivoituvat.

Paikallisyhteisö muodostuu maantieteellisesti yhtenäisestä alueesta sekä sosiaalisesta vuorovaikutuksesta. Keskeinen paikallisyhteisöä määrittelevä tekijä on identiteetti (Paasi 2003, 2013). Paikallisyhteisö on jatkuvassa muutoksessa sosiaalisten suhteiden dynaamisen luonteen johdosta. Sosiaalinen vuorovaikutus saattaa myös institutionalisoitua erilaisina yhdistystoiminnan muotoina, kuten kylä- tai asukasyhdistyksinä (Rannikko 2009: 6). Perinteisen paikallisyhteisön katsotaan menettäneen merkitystään postmodernissa yhteiskunnassa (Pollini 2005: 503). Paikallinen yhteisöllisyys voi kuitenkin voimistua ja institutionalisoitua yhteisesti vastustettavan hankkeen myötä (Usher 2013). Muodostuneiden paikallisten ja ylipaikallisten toimijaverkkojen synnyttämien uusien merkitys- ja paikkasuhteiden ansiosta paikallisiin merkityksenantokamppailuihin osallistuvat aiempaa aktiivisemmin myös tahot, jotka voi tulkita perinteisen maaseutuyhteisön näkökulmasta ei-paikallisiksi (Rannikko 2008: 83).

Paikalliset luonnonvarakonfliktit kytkeytyvät siis laajempiin yhteiskunnallisiin määrittelykamppailuihin. Käydyt kiistat muokkaavat yhteiskunnallisia käytäntöjä, joilla luontoa hyödynnetään (Valkonen & Saaristo 2010: 111). Laajimmin ymmärrettynä luonnonvarakiistat eivät ole pelkästään luonnonvarojen ja luonnon käytön kamppailuja, vaan määrittelykamppailuja, joissa otetaan mittaa siitä, mihin suuntaan kansallisvaltiota halutaan kehittää (Bridge 2010: 825). Turvekysymyksissä pelissä ovat paikallisten intressien lisäksi muun muassa Suomen imago uusiutuviin energiamuotoihin panostavana valtiona sekä soiden rooli kansallisessa ”kuvastossa” (Tanskanen 2000).

Aineisto ja analyysi

Tapaustutkimus määritellään tarkaksi ja yksityiskohtaiseksi kuvaukseksi tutkittavasta ilmiöstä, joka liittyy yksilöön, organisaatioon, prosessiin, ohjelmaan, instituutioon tai tapahtumakulkuun (Yin 2009: 17). Tapaustutkimus soveltuu erinomaisesti ympäristökonfliktien tarkastelutavaksi, sillä se antaa mahdollisuuden konkreettisten tilanteiden analyysille (Malmsten 2007: 63). Julkunevaa käsittelevän tapaustutkimukseni aineisto koostuu 11 puolistrukturoidusta teemahaastattelusta, *Perhonjokilaakson* sanomalehtiartikkelista vuosilta 1998–2011 sekä asiakirja-aineistosta, joka sisältää muun muassa lupahakemukset, valitukset sekä Vaasan hallinto-oikeuden ja Korkeimman hallinto-oikeuden (KHO) päätökset 2000-luvulta. Aineisto on kerätty vuosina 2010 ja 2011. Haastateltavat olen valinnut lumipallomenetelmällä siten, että olen onnistunut tavoittamaan konfliktista tunnistamani intressitahot ja kiistaan aktiivisesti osallistuneet toimijat. Haastatellut esiintyvät tässä artikkelissa koodeilla H1–H11.

Argumenttianalyysi pohjautuu Jürgen Habermasin kommunikatiivisen rationaalisuuden teoriaan (*Kommunikative Rationalität, communicative rationality*; Habermas 1981). Argumentaatiolla pyritään vakuuttamaan yleisö tietyn asian oikeutuksesta ja vaikuttamaan vastapuolen mielipiteisiin ja kannanottoihin. Argumentaatioteoria sisältää oletuksen konsensukseen pyrkimisestä. Puheen tavoitteena ovat yksimielisyyteen pyrkiminen sekä erimielisyyksien ja ristiriitojen sovittelu. Argumentin vakuuttavuus on kytköksissä Habermasin esittämään ajatukseen parhaan argumentin voimasta; parhaan argumentin ajatellaan luonnollisesti voittavan muut argumentit. Kommunikatiivisen rationalisuuden teoriaa on kritisoitu siitä, ettei teoria ota huomioon valta-asetelmia. Sitä pidetään siis liian idealistisena (Renn 2004; Fast 2013); sen katsotaan perustuvan ”ideaaliin puhetilanteeseen” (Habermas 1981; Dietz 2005), jossa puhujan taustalla ei ole merkitystä ja vakuuttavuus perustuu puhtaasti puheen retoriseen sisältöön. Tällaista tilannetta on tosielämässä vaikea saavuttaa.

Puolesta ja vastaan argumentoinnin esiintuomiseksi olen soveltanut analyysimenetelmänä argumenttianalyysia, jossa erotellaan argumenttirakenteet muusta tekstistä ja arvioidaan argumentin pätevyyttä (Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Halonen 1998: 60). Maija-Liisa Kakkuri-Knuuttilan ja Ilpo Halosen (1998: 101) mukaan argumenttianalyysi aloitetaan miettimällä, mikä on pääväitteen sisältö. Tälle pääväitteelle etsitään sitten tekstistä perusteluja. Tämän jälkeen on mahdollista paikantaa muut argumentit, argumenttien keskeiset suhteet, argumenttiketjut, rinnakkaiset ja toisiaan täydentävät perustelut sekä puolesta ja vastaan väittävät argumentit. Argumentin hyväksyttävyyttä voidaan mitata peilaamalla argumentin nostattamaa reaktiota vastapuolen toimijoissa.

Julkuneva ympäristökonfliktin näyttämönä

Ympäristökonfliktin tausta ja toimijat

Julkuneva on Keski-Pohjanmaalla Vetelissä sijaitseva pääasiassa luonnontilainen aapa- ja keidassuokokonaisuus. Suon keskivaiheen keidassuon vesitalous on melko häiriintymätön, mutta suon lai-

tamilla on ojitettuja alueita. Vapo omistaa nevalla maa-alueita 407 hehtaaria. Turveyhtiö kaavaili alun perin noin 430 hehtaarin suuruista turvetuotantoaluetta, ja ympäristövaikutusten arviointi teetettiin 450 hehtaarille vuonna 1998 (Länsi-Suomen… 1999). Ympäristölupaa haettaessa (v. 2002) suunniteltu turpeennostoalue oli pienempi, ja lopulta 1. maaliskuuta 2004 lupa myönnettiin 366 hehtaarin suuruiselle turpeennostoalueelle Länsi-Suomen ympäristölupaviraston päätöksellä (Länsi-Suomen… 2004). Tästä käynnistyi lähes vuosikymmenen jatkunut kamppailu suon säilymisen tai hyödyntämisen puolesta.

Ympäristölupaviraston päätöksestä on valitettu kahteen otteeseen sekä Vaasan hallinto-oikeuteen että Korkeimpaan hallinto-oikeuteen (Länsi-Suomen… 2004, 2007; Vaasan HaO 2005, 2009, KHO 2006, 2010). Molemmilla valituskierroksilla KHO palautti lupahakemuksen ympäristölupaviraston uudelleenratkaistavaksi. Uusin KHO:n ratkaisu on annettu joulukuussa 2010. Valittajina viimeisimmällä valituskierroksella toimivat muun muassa Räyrinkiseura, Räyringin kalastuskunta, Perhonjokilaakson luonto, Suomen luonnonsuojeluliiton Pohjanmaan Piiri, Pohjanmaan elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskus (ELY-keskus) sekä ELY-keskuksen kalatalousviranomainen (KHO 2010).

Julkunevan lähistöllä sijaitsee neljä kylää, Räyrinki, Kalliojärvi, Isokylä ja Järvelä. Alueen asukkaille Julkunevan merkitys perustuu virkistyskäyttöön ja luontoarvoihin: suolta on mahdollista poimia lakkoja ja karpaloita, ja talvella lähes luonnontilainen aapasuo on loistava kohde hiihtoretkille. Soiden monikäyttöä koskevassa Keski-Pohjanmaan maakuntakaavan toisessa vaiheessa Julkunevan kohta on jätetty avoimeksi (Keski-Pohjanmaan… 2006a; H9). Ennen kaavaluonnoksen vahvistamista Julkunevan kohdalle oli kaavailtu LUO-merkintää (luonnon monimuotoisuuden kannalta erityisen tärkeä suoalue), mutta lopullisesta kaavakartasta merkintä jätettiin pois (Keski-Pohjanmaan… 2006b). Maakuntakaavan toinen vaihe vahvistettiin valtioneuvostossa 29.11.2007.

Vapon suunnitelmien mukaan Julkunevan turvetta on tarkoitus hyödyntää pääasiassa Kokkolan ja Pietarsaaren voimalaitoksissa, mutta maakunnassa on myös joitakin pienempiä kunnallisia lämpölaitoksia, jonne turvetta on mahdollista kuljettaa. Julkunevalta on arvioitu saatavan turvetta 150 000 megawattitunnin edestä, joten kohde olisi Vapon mittakaavassa merkittävä. Maanomistajien on esitetty hyötyvän hankkeesta joko maa-alasta saatavien vuokratulojen tai maan myymisestä saadun voiton muodossa (H7; H8).

Luonnonsuojelijat vastustavat hanketta pääasiassa sen ympäristö- ja biodiversiteettivaikutusten vuoksi. Räyrinki-seura puolestaan vastustaa hanketta, koska sen uskotaan vaikuttavan negatiivisesti kylän elinvoimaisuuteen ja vetovoimaisuuteen. Kalastuskunta on huolissaan turpeennoston vaikutuksista veden laatuun ja kalastukseen erityisesti Porasenjoen kohdalla. Porasenjoki on turpeenottoalueen alapuolinen kalkkipitoinen joki, jonka kalataloudellisiin kunnostuksiin on panostettu huomattavasti. Räyringin kalastuskunta katsoo Julkunevan turvetuotannosta maksettavaksi määräytyvät kalatalousmaksut suhteettoman pieniksi verrattuna aiheutuvan haitan suuruuteen (H3; H4).

Konfliktin viriäminen

Paikallisille asukkaille ensi kosketus Julkunevan turvetuotantohankkeeseen syntyi hankkeesta järjestetyn tiedotuksen kautta. Asiasta uutisoitiin paikallislehdessä. Hankkeesta myös pidettiin tiedotustilaisuus jo ennen YVA-prosessin käynnistämistä. Tieto hankkeesta saavutti kuitenkin tässä vaiheessa vain rajoitetun joukon ihmisiä, ja yleinen kiinnostus asiaa kohtaan ei herännyt. Ensimmäiseen tiedotustilaisuuteen Räyringin kylällä osallistui vain kourallinen ihmisiä (PJL 12.3.1998).

Turpeennostoon alun perin kaavailtujen 430 suohehtaarin uskottiin Vapon laskelmien mukaan tuottavan 2,6 miljoonaa kuutiota polttoturvetta. Tämän määrän nostaminen olisi edellyttänyt 350 hehtaarin ojittamista ja kuivausta (PJL 25.3.1999). Vaasan hallinto-oikeus rajasi turvetuotantoalueen 390 hehtaarin suuruiseksi, jolloin lähimmäs asutusta kaavaillut turvetuotantokentät 7 ja 8 poistettiin suunnitelmista. Rajauksista huolimatta Räyrinkiseura, Räyringin kalastuskunta sekä Pohjanmaan TE-keskus valittivat päätöksestä Korkeimpaan hallinto-oikeuteen. KHO määräsi turpeen nostoluvan uudelleen käsittelyyn. Oikeus käytti perusteluinaan hakemuksen sisällön puutteellisuutta. Turvenevan aiheuttamista pölyvaikutuksista tuli tehdä leviämismallilaskelmat.

Kun Julkuneva nousi uudestaan ajankohtaiseksi, oli paikallisessa keskustelussa havaittavissa asennemuutos kielteisempään suuntaan. Vetelin kunnanhallituskin suhtautui ympäristölupaa varten antamassaan lausunnossa kriittisesti alueen turpeennostoon (PJL 20.3.2003). Negatiivista suhtautumista perusteltiin muun muassa sillä, että lähimmät talot sijaitsisivat 200 metrin päässä suunnitellusta tuotantoalueesta ja runsaista kuljetuksista aiheutuisi haittaa asumisviihtyvyydelle. Kunnan lausunnossa kannettiin huolta myös virkistyskalastuskohteena arvokkaaseen Porasenjokeen kohdistuvista vesistövaikutuksista. Vetelin kunta ei missään vaiheessa osallistunut valitusprosessiin, mutta ilmaisi kantansa antamissaan lausunnoissa (H1).

Aktivoitumisen aikakausi

Negatiivisen yleisvireen syntymisen myötä Räyringin kyläläiset aktivoituivat Julkuneva-kamppailussa. Länsi-Suomen ympäristölupaviraston antaman myönteisen ympäristölupapäätöksen seurauksena (Länsi-Suomen… 2004) kyläläiset lähtivät toistamiseen valitustielle. Samalla alusta asti mukana olleet Räyrinki-seura ja Räyringin kalastuskunta yhdistivät voimansa. Räyringin kyläyhdistyksen huolena olivat turpeennoston aloittamisen seuraukset kylän kehittämistoiminnalle. Räyrinkiä oli tarkoitus kehittää luontokylänä, ja kyläläiset laativat suunnitelmia alueen virkistyskäytölle, luontopoluille ja kylämaiseman entisöinnille (PJL 19.8.2004; H5). Kylän koululle suunniteltiin retkeilymajoitusta ja luontoleirikoulua. Näihin suunnitelmiin vedottiin myös valituskirjelmissä, joissa korostettiin Julkunevan tärkeyttä luontohankkeiden kohteena.

Kalastuskunta nimesi torjuntataistelun Vapon Julkuneva-hanketta vastaan yhdeksi tärkeimmistä edunvalvontatehtävistään. Paikalliset kalastajat ilmoittivat turpeennoston pilaavan vesistöjä kiintoaine-, humus- ja ravinnekuormituksilla. Räyringin kalastuskunnan ilmoitti Porasenjoen olevan käytännössä menetetty kalastusalueena, mikäli turvetuotanto aloitettaisiin. Tällöin joelle ei olisi enää kannattavaa tehdä kalataloudellisia kunnostustoimia (H3). Argumentaatiossa näkyy hyvin paikallisten ja ulkopuolisten toimijoiden vastakkainasettelu. Vesistöjä kuormittavat myös muut alkutuotannon muodot, kuten metsänojitus ja maanviljely, mutta turpeennostoa on helpompi pitää ”ulkopuolisena” toimintana, jota on samalla helppo syyttää vesistöjen pilaajaksi sekä rapu- ja madekantojen tuhoajaksi.

Kalasääski konfliktin symbolina

Julkunevan ympäristökiista symbolisoitui kalasääsken (sääksen) pesäpuusta käytyyn keskusteluun. Julkunevan alueella sijainnut pesäpuu kaatui mystisesti heinäkuun lopussa 2005. Sääksi ja sen pesäpuu ovat luonnonsuojelulain nojalla rauhoitettuja. Puun kaatumisesta uutisoitiin 28. heinäkuuta 2005 *Perhonjokilaakso*-lehdessä. Paikalliset marjanpoimijat havaitsivat rauhoitetun sääksen tekopesäpuun kaatuneen ja epäilivät *jälkien perusteella*, että puu on kaadettu (PJL 28.7.2005). Asiasta tehtiin välittömästi ilmoitus Länsi-Suomen ympäristökeskukseen. Puun kerrottiin aikaisemminkin kokeneen ilkivaltaa, ja sääksen pesää oli sohittu kepillä. Paikalliset turvehankkeen vastustajat epäilivät ilkivallan liittyvän turvetyömaahankkeeseen.

Epäilyt ilkivallasta kumottiin 3. elokuuta 2005. Tuolloin paikalla käynyt Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskuksen biologi totesi puun olleen niin laho, että se oli kaatunut voimakkaan tuulen vaikutuksesta (PJL 4.8.2005). Käynti sääksen pesäpuulla oli viranomaiskäynti, ja ELY-keskuksen edustajan lisäksi paikalla olivat myös poliisi ja Vapon edustajat.

Pesäpuun kaatuminen sattui ajankohtaan, jolloin debatti Julkunevasta kävi kuumimmillaan. Räyrinkiläisten valitus Vapon turpeenottoluvasta oli parhaillaan ratkaistavana KHO:ssa. Kyseisessä tilanteessa oli luonnollista ajatella, että joku oli tarkoituksella käynyt kaatamassa sääksen pesäpuun, jotta luonnonsuojelijat eivät voisi vedota puuhun turvetuotannon aloittamista vastustaessaan. Käsitys teon tahallisuudesta elää paikallisyhteisössä edelleen. Oli kaatumisen syy mikä tahansa, kalasääsken pesän symboliarvo alueen suojelukeskustelussa oli suuri.

Viivytyskamppailu vailla lopullista ratkaisua

Julkunevan turpeennostohakemuksen palautuminen ympäristölupaviraston käsiteltäväksi tarkoitti Vapolle uutta mahdollisuutta jättää ympäristölupahakemus (PJL 10.8.2006). Hakemusta täydennettiin vaadituilla lisäselvityksillä ja pölyn leviämismallilaskelmilla. Lupapäätöksestä valitettiin uudemman kerran Vaasan hallinto-oikeuteen kahdeksan valittajan voimin (Vaasan HaO 2005). Valitukset todettiin perusteettomiksi, sillä oikeus ei katsonut Julkunevan turvetuotannon aiheuttavan kohtuutonta pölyhaittaa tai haittaa vesistöille.

Julkunevan ympäristöluvasta valitettiin vielä kertaalleen Korkeimpaan hallinto-oikeuteen (PJL 15.10.2009). Ratkaisevaksi käänteeksi Julkunevan säilymisen kannalta muodostui SLL:n Pohjanmaan piirin löydös ilmakuvatarkastelusta. Löydös ajoittui oikeuskäsittelyn ratkaisuvaiheeseen. Ilmakuvatarkastelun avulla havaittiin, että suon poikki virtaa luonnontilainen puro, joka on luonnonsuojelulain nojalla suojeltava luontotyyppi (H11). KHO:n ratkaisun (27.12.2010) mukaan ympäristölupahakemukseen ei sisältynyt selvitystä kyseisestä purosta, joten turvetuotannon vaikutus oli selvitettävä luonnontilaisen puron osalta (KHO 2010).

Lisäksi KHO:n päätöksessä mainittiin perusteena hakemuksen palauttamiselle ympäristölupavirastoon, että uusia alueellisia vesienhoitosuunnitelmia ei ollut otettu huomioon hakemusta tehdessä. 31. joulukuuta 2004 voimaantulleessa laissa vesienhoidon järjestämisestä (1299/2004) säädetään vesienhoitosuunnitelman ja toimenpideohjelman laatimisesta toimenpidealueelle. Tämä laki ei ollut vielä tullut voimaan ympäristölupaa haettaessa, mutta lupahakemus määrättiin uudelleen arvioitavaksi lain voimaantulon jälkeen. Samalla hakemus palautettiin jo kolmannen kerran ympäristölupa-

viraston ratkaistavaksi. Kirjoitushetkellä Vapo ei ole hakenut uutta ympäristölupaa Julkunevan turpeennostoalueelle. Tilanne on siis edelleen avoin. Viereinen aapasuo, Viisteenneva, on puolestaan ostettu valtiolle suojelutarkoituksiin (Karstulan… 2012).

Puolesta ja vastaan argumentointi nevan laidalla

Erittelen tässä luvussa Julkunevan turpeennostokiistan argumentointia turpeennoston puolesta ja sitä vastaan. Argumentit kytkeytyvät usein osaksi laajempaa diskurssia, eivätkä ne ole irrallisia. Ympäristökonfliktin luonteen mukaisesti olen taulukoinut argumentit vastinparina puolesta ja vastaan. Esitystapa saattaa polarisoida konfliktia. Käsitteellisesti diskursiivinen konflikti ja arkikielen konflikti eroavat toisistaan, joten kiistan osapuolet eivät ole itsessään asettuneet konfliktiasetelmaan, vaan asetelma kuvastaa haastatteluissa sekä valituksissa ja muistutuksissa käytettyjen argumenttien sisältöä. Pitäydyn kaksinapaisessa esitystavassa (taulukko 1) huolimatta siitä, että osapuolet usein omaksuvat toistensa argumentteja ympäristökamppailun yhteydessä, ja samoja argumentteja voi hyödyntää sekä puolesta että vastaan.

Argumentointi turpeennoston puolesta

Ensimmäinen puolustusargumentti (P1) vetoaa turpeen kansalliseen asemaan *kotimaisena energianlähteenä ja huoltovarmuuden lisääjänä*. Tätä argumenttia käytetään laajasti sekä energiateollisuuden että turpeennoston poliittisen puolustuksen puheessa. Argumentointitavan mukaan turve on merkittävä kotimainen energianlähde Suomessa. Turvetta käytetään voimalaitoksissa sähkön- ja lämmöntuotannossa. Turpeen käyttö viime vuosina on ollut 20–29 terawattitunnin luokkaa. Tämä vastaa kuuden–seitsemän prosentin osuutta Suomen energiantuotannosta (Leinonen 2010). Turve soveltuu polttoaineeksi niin pieniin kuin suuriinkin voimalaitoksiin ja on monikäyttöisempi energianlähde kuin esimerkiksi puu. Turpeella väitetään lisäksi olevan hyvä huoltovarmuus.

Toinen puolustusargumentti (P2) on erityisesti turveteollisuuden suosima. Energiankulutuksen kasvaessa sekä 1970- ja 1980-luvuilla aloitettujen turvealueiden ehtyessä *tarvitaan uusia turvetuotantoalueita korvaamaan käytöstä poistuvia alueita*. Iso osa tällä hetkellä käyttämättömistä luonnontilaisista tai lähes luonnontilaisista soista on turveyhtiöiden hallinnassa. Suot ostettiin tai vuokrattiin 1970-luvulla, jolloin turpeennostoa tuettiin kotimaisena energianlähteenä kansainvälisen öljykriisin seurauksena (Ruuskanen 2010). Tuolloin turveyhtiöille päätyneitä soita pidettiin luonnonarvoiltaan vähemmän merkittävinä. Energiasektorin ja luonnonsuojelutahojen välisessä niin sanotussa EYR-sopimuksessa 1970-luvun lopussa osa soista osoitettiin turpeennostoon, osa määriteltiin suojeltaviksi, ja osa jätettiin ikään kuin reserviin odottamaan seuraavaa turpeennostokierrosta. Nyt reserviin jääneiden soiden luonnonarvot ovat nousseet ja soihin kohdistuu suojelupaineita.

Vapon on pidettävä turpeennostopinta-alansa lähes nykyisellään, jotta turvetta polttaville voimalaitoksille riittäisi jatkossakin raaka-ainetta. Koska turve on äärimmäisen hitaasti kertyvä luonnonvara, tämä tarkoittaa uusien soiden valjastamista turpeen-

Taulukko 1. Argumentit puolesta ja vastaan.
Table 1. Arguments in support of and against.

Puolesta / *In support of*	Vastaan / *Against*
P1 Kotimainen energianlähde ja huoltovarmuus / *Peat as a domestic energy and energy security*	V1 Turvetuotanto ohjattava ojitetuille alueille / *Peat extraction should be directed only to drained areas*
P2 Uusia tuotantoalueita tarvitaan korvaamaan 1970- ja 1980-luvuilla avatut turvesuot / *New production sites required to replace the sites opened in 1970's and 1980's*	V2 Suon luontoarvot ja virkistyskäyttö / *Nature values and recreational use*
P3 "Hyödytön maa hyötykäyttöön" / *"Useless land into use"*	V3 Henkilökohtainen paikkaside / *Personal attachment to place*
P4 Työllisyysvaikutukset / *Employment*	V4 Ympäristö- ja vesistövaikutukset / *Environmental and water impacts*

ottoon vanhojen varantojen ehtyessä. Uusia alueita otetaan käyttöön ympäristöluvituksen keinoin. Prosessit ovat nykyään hitaita, joten hakemuksia on tehtävä runsaasti. Haastattelemani Vapon edustaja (H10) totesi, että ”[t]urpeella on niin suuri kysyntä ollut viime vuosina, että kaikki nämä lupa-asiat, jotka ratkeavat positiivisesti, elikkä tulee lainvoimaisia päätöksiä, niin ne kyllä tulee heti käyttöön”. Turpeennostoalueilla edellytetään parasta mahdollista tekniikkaa, jolla turpeennoston vesistövaikutuksia pystytään eliminoimaan.

Puolustusargumentti P3, ”*hyödytön maa hyötykäyttöön*”, on ollut osa Suomen hyvinvointipolitiikkaa 1960-luvun metsänojituksista ja metsätalouden tehostamispyrkimyksistä alkaen. Tämä argumentti istuu hyvin maaseudun maanomistaja- ja maanviljelijäväestön ajattelutapaan. Ajattelumallin mukaan on yhteiskunnan ja yksityisen maanomistajan etu ottaa muuten tarpeettomana olevasta ja maatalouskäyttöön sellaisenaan soveltumattomasta joutomaasta taloudellinen hyöty irti. Turpeennostoalueen jatkokäyttömahdollisuudet nähdään hyvinä, eikä alkuperäisen suoalueen menetystä koeta merkittävänä: ”Maan joko metsittää tai peltokäyttöön ottais.” (H8)

Käytössä olevasta turvesuosta seuraa positiivisia *työllisyysvaikutuksia* (P4). Maanomistaja- ja maanviljelijätahot korostivat haastatteluissani turvetuotannon työllistävän esimerkiksi koneurakoitsijoita ja traktorikuskeja. ”Ne (turveurakoitsijat) käyttää monesti niitä, jotka on lähimpänä. Ja nuoria kavereita, ne on monesti innokkaimpia rahtorihommiin.” (H7) Ympäristövaikutusten arvionnin yhteydessä suoritettujen työllistävyyslaskelmien mukaan Julkunevan turpeennostohankkeen työllistävyys olisi 20 henkilöä kesällä ja kolme–neljä henkilöä talvella. Yhteensä tämä tarkoittaisi viittä–kuutta vuosityöpaikkaa ja 115 henkilötyövuotta. Turpeennoston kannattajat katsovat, että turvetyömaat ylläpitävät kylän vireyttä tarjoamalla töitä nuorille miehille, joille ei maaseudulla ole muuten juurikaan työpaikkoja.

Argumentointi turpeennostoa vastaan

Ensimmäinen vastustusargumentti (V1) perustuu valtioneuvoston suostrategian laadintatyöhön sekä valtakunnallisiin alueidenkäyttötavoitteisiin: *Turvetuotanto on ohjattava luonnonarvonsa jo menettäneille soille, sekä ojitetulle soille että suopelloille*. Tätä argumenttia turpeennoston vastustajat käyttävät kestävyyteen vedoten: luonnontilaisia soita on Suomessa niin vähän, että jäljellä olevat koskemattomat suoalueet tulisi säästää jälkipolville. Osa reserviin jääneistä soista on päätymässä suojelun piiriin.

Seuraava vastustusargumentti (V2) pohjautuu luonnonarvopuheelle. Turpeennostolla on vaikutuksia Julkunevan *luontoon ja luonnonarvoihin*. Valituksenantajat, erityisesti luonnonsuojeluyhdistys ja kalastuskunta, vetoavat luontoargumentteihin valitus- ja muistutuskirjeissään sekä puheessaan. Turpeennoston alkaessa luonnontilaiset tai lähes luonnontilaiset aapa- ja keidassuot muuttuvat kasvittomaksi peltoa muistuttaviksi turvekentiksi. Osa alueen eläin- ja kasvilajeista häviää kokonaan. Pesimälinnusto katoaa tai siirtyy muille alueille. Julkunevaa arvotetaan karulle suolle tyypillisen kasvillisuuden, linnuston ja eliöstön edustavuuden perusteella (H2–6, H9, H11). Suolla esiintyy harvinaisiakin kasvilajeja ja pesii vaarantuneita ja silmälläpidettäviä lintulajeja, kuten kalasääski ja selkälokki. Paikalliset arvottavat luontokokemuksessaan näyttäviä lintulajeja: ”Siellä on hanhet, siellä on joutsenet ja selkälokit ja se on tosi mahtava paikka.” (H4) Linnuston lisäksi suolla on tavattu muun muassa karhuja ja saukkoja.

Luontoarvoilla on kiistassa paikallinen, sosiaalisestikin rakentunut merkityksenanto. Turpeennoston aloittamisen koettiin vaikuttavan negatiivisesti kylän asumisviihtyvyyteen ja houkuttelevuuteen asuinpaikkana. ”Kylillähän on luontoarvot semmoinen vetovoimainen tekijä, joka ihmisiä vetää kylille.” (H6) Nykyään ihmiset valitsevat asuinpaikkansa vapaasti, usein palveluiden läheisyyttä ja työmatkan pituutta korostaen. Pienet kyläyhteisöt joutuvat taistelemaan asukkaistaan muilla keinoin kuin hyvällä palvelutarjonnalla, ja tällöin ne korostavat usein virkistäytymismahdollisuuksia ja luonnon läheisyyttä.

Suohon liittyy virkistyskäyttömahdollisuuksia, kuten metsästystä ja marjastusta, ja Julkunevaa pidetään tärkeänä kohteena luonnossa liikkumiseen. Paikallisille asukkaille suo merkitsee myös ainoaa jäljellä olevaa erämaista aluetta kylän lähettyvillä. Turpeennostohankkeen vastustajat arvostavat laajalti luonnonrauhaa ja alueen erämaisuutta. Turpeennoston seurauksena marjastusmahdollisuudet katoaisivat tai siirtyisivät suon reuna-alueille. Kokonaisuudessaan alueen virkistyskäyttömahdollisuudet vähenisivät:

> Se on niinkö sydänmaan keskellä. Se ei ole mikään laita jonka nävertämisestä olisi helpompi luopua. Se on kuitenkin niin keskeinen alue luontoharrastukseen… se on kuitenkin tässä reviirillä, jonka kokee omakseen ainoa kunnon avosuo, joka vielä on jäljellä. (H5)

Vastustusargumentti V3 liittyy toimijoiden *henkilökohtaiseen paikkasiteeseen*. Julkuneva nähdään ”luonnonkauniina ja mahtavana paikkana”. Luonto on maaseudulla paikkasuhteen muodostumisen

tärkeä osatekijä. Henkilökohtainen side paikkaan määrittyy luontokokemusten ja maisemallisten arvojen kautta. Luontosuhde voi olla joko subjektiivinen, jolloin ihminen kokee olevansa osa luontoa, tai objektiivinen, jolloin luonto nähdään välineenä tai hyödyntämisen kohteena (Rantala & Tuulentie 2010). Luontoon kytkeytyy monenlaisia merkityksiä. Se voi merkitä joko täydellistä rauhaa, erämaisuutta tai harrastusmahdollisuuksia. ”Se merkitsee luontoihmiselle, että se on aivan niin kuin Lappiin menis. Siellä on silmän kantama aava ojittamaton neva ja muun muassa kalasääski oli, pesi siellä.” (H4)

Neljäs vastustusargumentti (V4) kytkeytyy turpeennoston *ympäristö- ja vesistövaikutuksiin*. Turpeennoston näkyvimmät ympäristövaikutukset ovat pääosin paikallisia. Turpeennosto aiheuttaa haittaa lähialueen asukkaille pöly- ja meluvaikutuksina, jotka ajoittuvat kesäaikaan. Liikenne lisääntyy lähinnä talvella, jolloin turvetta pääasiassa kuljetetaan. Julkunevan turpeennostohankkeen ympäristövaikutuksista olennaisimpia ovat vaikutukset vesistöihin. Erityisesti turpeennoston vastustajia huolestuttaa Porasenjokeen kohdistuva kiintoaines-, humus- ja ravinnekuormitus. Räyringin kalastuskunta kantaa suurinta huolta hankkeen vaikutuksista joen tilaan ja kalakantaan. Porasenjoki on paikallisesti merkittävä virkistyskalastuskohde sekä alueen ainoa kalkkipitoinen joki, joka virtaa suurimmaksi osaksi metsäalueiden läpi. Vähävetisen uoman kestokyky olisi kiintoainekuormituksen takia lujilla jos turpeennosto aloitettaisiin:

> Siinä virtaama on niin pieni kesällä ja karikkoisia ja kivisiä ne kosket niin melkein mistä vain siellä kävelee kuivin jaloin yli. Että se on niin haavoittuva tuommoinen pienellä virtaamalla oleva joki. (H3)

Myös hiilidioksidipäästöt puhuvat turpeen polttoainekäyttöä vastaan. Turpeen ilmastovaikutukset ovat samaa luokkaa kuin kivihiilellä. Paikallisessa keskustelussa ilmastokysymykset eivät kuitenkaan näyttäydy: paikallistasolla ei käydä minkään muotoista ilmastokeskustelua. Ilmastokysymysten puuttuminen on näkynyt muissakin energiakysymyksiä käsittelevissä tapaustutkimuksissa (Fast 2013: 95).

Johtopäätökset

Turpeennoston herättämä laaja vastustus maaseutuyhteisöissä on 2000-luvun ilmiö. Vastustuksen lisääntyminen paikallisyhteisössä on kytköksissä maaseudun sosiaalisen rakenteen muutoksiin (Rannikko 2010). Maaseudulla asuvien toimeentulo perustuu luonnonvarojen hyödyntämiseen tai kasvukeskusten leviämisvaikutuksiin (Lehtonen 2015). Pertti Rannikko (2010) on esittänyt, että pellosta ja metsästä toimeentulonsa saavien maaseudun asukkaiden määrä on kaventunut – vastaavasti yhä useampi maaseudulla asuva käy töissä taajamissa ja kasvukeskuksissa. Maaseutu on uudenlainen asumisen ja virkistäytymisen paikka, mikä selittää luontoarvo- ja virkistyskäyttöargumenttien lisääntyvää suosiota. Tästä huolimatta turpeennostoa puoltava argumentti P3, ”hyödytön maa hyötykäyttöön”, on saanut kannattajajoukon maaseudun maanomistaja- ja maanviljelijäväestöstä. Ristiriita kumpuaakin erilaisista elämismaailmoista ja arvolatauksista.

Paikallisyhteisö on moninainen: se kätkee sisäänsä aina niitä, jotka ovat asiasta toista mieltä (Jokinen & Sairinen 2012). Paikallisyhteisössä konfliktiasetelman olemassaoloa ei tunnusteta ulospäin ja konflikti ilmeneekin enimmäkseen argumentatiivisella tasolla. Ulospäin paikallisyhteisö antaa usein kuvan yhteen hiileen puhaltamisesta, ja vastustajat vaimennetaan tai he eivät halua olla äänessä. Paikallisessa konfliktissa ei Julkunevan tapauksessa ole kyse siitä, että kyläläiset olisivat kääntyneet toisiaan vastaan, vaan siitä että heidän esittämänsä mielipiteet ovat asettuneet törmäyskurssille diskursiivisen konfliktin muodossa. Haastateltavani korostivat, että Julkunevaa ympäröivillä kylillä kukin saa olla haluamaansa mieltä, eikä vastapuolta pyritä ”käännyttämään”. Konfliktitilanteiden säilymisen edellytyksenä onkin se, että vastapuolta ei onnistuta vakuuttamaan argumentein. Konflikti ratkeaa, kun argumentoinnissa saavutetaan konsensus. Argumentointi tähtää ensisijaisesti ylemmän tahon päätöksentekijän vakuuttamiseen, ei vastapuolen käännyttämiseen. Paikallinen konflikti on siten kytköksissä laajempaan päätöksentekoon.

Julkunevan säilyttämiseen tähtäävät toimijat käyttävät yleisesti arvoargumentteja, kun taas turpeennoston puolestapuhujat argumentoivat usein taloudellisiin argumentteihin vedoten. Osapuolet ovat kuitenkin pitkään jatkuneessa kiistatilanteessa omaksuneet toistensa argumentteja ja pyrkivät käyttämään niitä omiin tarkoitusperiinsä. Virkistysarvot ja kylän vetovoimaisuus ovat argumentteja, jotka sopivat sekä vastustamaan ja puoltamaan hanketta. Julkunevan virkistyskäyttöarvo tulkitaan puhujan luontosuhteesta käsin. Paikkaa pidetään joko tärkeänä virkistyskohteena tai tavanomaisena suona, jolla ei juurikaan liikuta. Julkunevan luonnonarvoja korostetaan erityisesti luonnonsuojeluyhdistyksen ja kalastuskunnan argumentoinnissa. Turpeennoston vastustajien mielestä Julkunevan luontoarvot ovat säilyttämisen arvoisia. Suon käyttöönotto muuttaisi peruuttamattomasti maisemaa, kasvillisuutta ja hydrologiaa. Alueen käyttö

muihin tarkoituksiin estyisi ja luonnonolosuhteet huonontuisivat ympäristönsuojelulain (527/2014) tarkoittamalla tavalla. Luontoargumentit ovatkin tämänhetkisen lainsäädännön nojalla tehokkaimpia argumentteja valitusten läpiviemiseksi. Julkunevan tapauksessa viimeisin ja toistaiseksi ratkaisevaksi muodostunut luontoargumentti liittyi löydökseen, jossa ilmakuvatarkastelussa löytyi vesilain 17§:n mukainen puro.

Toimijuuden luonteesta voidaan päätellä, että hankkeen vesittämiseen ei välttämättä tarvita kuin yksi aktiivinen henkilö. Yksityishenkilöille ei tosin automaattisesti kuulu valitusoikeutta, elleivät maanomistusolosuhteet toisin määrää. Ympäristö- ja asukasyhdistykset ovat tyypillisiä toimijoita tämän kaltaisissa kiistoissa, sillä ne puolustavat asukkaiden ja ympäristön ääntä, joka jäisi muuten kuulematta. Julkunevankin säilyttämistä perustellaan yhteisöllisin syin – turpeennostosta ei paikallisten vastustajien mielestä koituisi yleistä hyötyä kylälle. Turpeennoston puolestapuhujat puolestaan perustelevat hanketta työpaikkojen ja positiivisten elinkeinovaikutusten turvin. Vastustajat näkevät tässä ongelman, joka korostaa tarkastelumittakaavan merkitystä konfliktin erittelyssä. Heidän mielestään hyödyt jakautuisivat varsin tasaisesti koko maakuntaan, mutta haitat kohdistuisivat kylälle ja kyläläisiin.

Julkunevan ympärille on muodostunut jonkinasteista paikallista kollektiivista toimintaa, vaikka sitä ei voi määrittää perinteisen ympäristöliikehdinnän kautta. Suon puolustaminen on tapahtunut olemassa olevien yhdistysten kautta ja puhtaasti laillista tietä. Suon puolesta on puhuttu valitusteitse sekä olemalla yhteydessä paikallisiin poliitikkoihin ja tiedotusvälineisiin. Tämä on tunnusomaista maaseutuaktivismille, jota on vaikea mieltää niin sanotun perinteisen ympäristöpoliittisen liikehdinnän raameissa (Suopajärvi 2001: 83). Suoraa toimintaa ei yleensä pidetä maaseutuyhteisöissä hyväksyttävänä, eikä siihen ole usein esiintynyt tarvetta.

Syyt aktivoitumiseen ovat joko luonnonsuojelulliset, vesiensuojelulliset tai oman elintilan ja erämaaksi koetun alueen virkistysarvojen puolustaminen (Nie 2003). Julkuneva koetaan paikkana, jossa vielä vallitsee luonnonrauha ja joka on yhtenäinen erämainen alue. Julkunevan puolustaminen nähdään tämän lisäksi oman elintilan puolustamisena. Suohon kytketään myös laajempia merkityksiä sen esteettisyyden ja henkisyyden vuoksi (Laurén 2006: 209). Merkitykset ovat hyvin henkilökohtaisia, ja henkilökohtainen tunneside paikkaan lienee yksi tärkeimpiä syitä aktivoitumiseen suon puolesta. Toimintaa Julkunevan säilymisen puolesta ei mielletä niinkään ympäristöliikehdinnäksi vaan oman elintilan puolustamiseksi ja kyläyhteisön hyvinvoinnin turvaamiseksi. Paikallinen ympäristönsuojeluliikehdintä on osoittautunut paikan puolustamiseksi myös aiemmissa tutkimuksissa (Nie 2003: 317; Scruton 2012: 25; Brehm ym. 2013).

”Ilkeän ympäristöongelman” luonteen mukaisesti soiden kestävän käytön kysymykseen kytkeytyy laajoja ympäristöllisiä, taloudellisia ja sosiaalisia haasteita, jotka vaativat integroidun päätöksenteon menetelmiä ja intressi- ja arvopunnintaa (Joosten & Clarke 2002). Vuonna 2011 laaditussa suostrategian ehdotuksessa ekosysteemipalvelut nostettiin osaksi keinovalikoimaa, jolla soiden käytön ja suojelun yhteensovittamisen ongelmakenttää voidaan valottaa (Ehdotus… 2011). Suostrategiatyö ei saavuttanut poliittista sitovuutta, vaan valtioneuvosto antoi 30. elokuuta 2012 soiden käyttöä ja suojelua koskeneen periaatepäätöksen, jonka mukaisesti lähdettiin toteuttamaan muun muassa soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmaa (Valtioneuvoston… 2012). Täydennysohjelmavalmistelu alkoi luonnonsuojelulain mukaisen suojeluohjelman valmistelulla, mutta kallistui vapaaehtoisten suojelukeinojen selvittämisen suuntaan (Soidensuojelun… 2015).

Suon tarjoamien ekosysteemipalvelujen arvottaminen taloudellisesti on haastavaa, sillä toimijat arvottavat soita ja niihin kohdistuvia toimintoja eri tavalla omista intresseistään ja näkökohdistaan käsin. Samoin yhteensopimattomien arvo- ja talousargumenttien yhteensovittaminen on hankalaa. Ilkeiden ympäristöongelmien argumentaation analysointi osoittaa, että kestävän päätöksenteon pohjan onkin perustuttava kattavaan arvopunnintaan sekä argumenttien tasa-arvoiseen kohteluun. Vain näin voidaan luoda normi- ja tietopohjaa, joka tukee yhteiskunnallisen legitimiteettitarkastelun kestävää päätöksentekoa.

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Effective arguments for ecosystem services in biodiversity conservation – A case study on Finnish peatland conservation

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Peatlands

ABSTRACT

Political and socially constructed arguments about values and benefits originating from ecosystem services (ES) may improve the effectiveness of biodiversity conservation. In this article we show how effective biodiversity conservation is dependent on stakeholders' rhetorical skills and their ability to introduce persuasive arguments for the target audience. We present a case study of a lengthy conflict to protect a mire area located in Eastern Finland. We follow locally constructed arguments and analyse their effectiveness with different audiences. Research data consist of interviews, newspaper articles and legal documents. Employing content analysis, we study the ES identified by different stakeholders and analyse the effectiveness and sources of arguments presented on behalf of those services. We differentiate between legal and political effectiveness as many ES arguments were effective in sustaining the prolonged conflict locally but ineffective in administrative courts. Legislation and scientific evidence are identified as the main sources for an effective argument in legal proceedings. This case is an example of how local residents require support from scientists in order to formulate effective arguments for legal audiences. Valid arguments for legal institutions are based on the protection of individual species or biotypes whereas political processes are more responsive to local ES valuations.

1. Introduction

Recent ecosystem services (ES) literature emphasizes the need to broaden the valuation language beyond economic or ecological values (Hauck et al., 2013; Gómez-Baggethun and Martín-Lopez, 2015; Jackson and Palmer, 2015; Comberti et al., 2015). One way to approach this is to pay more attention to the empirical analysis of the social construction of ES. In this article we investigate the role of arguments in the valuation of the ES. Political and socially constructed arguments about values and benefits originating from ES may improve the effectiveness of biodiversity conservation (Primmer et al., 2015; Bugter et al., 2015). Our approach does not only reveal the political nature of ES valuation but is also relevant in terms of understanding why and how people value biodiversity and what it means to them in local human-environment systems (Fisher and Eastwood, 2016; Vihervaara et al., 2012, 59).

In this paper we show how ES can be valued and identified in various ways by different stakeholders but also how challenging it is to present these arguments in political and legal arenas. It has been discussed how ES discourse translates scientific arguments on ecosystem functions and biodiversity to the public and policy makers but remains ineffective in legal proceedings as current environmental legislation aims at biodiversity conservation or reduced environmental pollution (Newig, 2007). Political structures and norms, e.g. legal norms, pose restrictions regarding what will be considered a valid argument, which values will be discussed or handled in policy-processes and ultimately how one can construct an effective argument.

This article introduces and analyses a Viurusuo mire which is a raised bog of 360 ha located in eastern Finland (see Picture 1). A peat mining company (Vapo Ltd) applied for an environmental permit for peat extraction at the Viurusuo mire in 1995 which resulted in 18 years of conservation conflict. Our investigation focuses on the battle between different valuations of ecosystem services and specifically evaluates the effectiveness of the arguments presented on behalf of those services. We will show how formulating the 'right' kind of arguments is highly dependent on the audience to which the argument is targeted at and on the socially constructed context where the arguments are presented. Viurusuo is a good case to analyse the contested ES arguments out of two reasons: first, the conflict lasted long and thus it is possible to analyse the endurance and adjustment of the arguments over time; secondly because peat is a contested natural resource as its energy use has high impacts on biodiversity and alters the balance of ecosystem services (ES) provided by peatlands.

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Peatlands provide various ecosystem services, such as flood management and control, agricultural land, room for recreation, etc. (Kondelin et al., 2006). Peat extraction causes trade-offs as increases in one ES category reduces provisions for other ES categories (Martín-Lopez et al., 2014; Rodriguez et al., 2006). Other ES are degraded when a mire is drained and transformed into a peat extraction site. In this paper we use the term mire which is commonly used as a sub-category for peatlands (Lindholm and Heikkilä, 2006; Chapman et al., 2003; Seppä, 2002). In Finland mires and peatlands cover about one-third of the land area (Korhonen et al., 2008). More than half of the 9.3 million hectares of peatland has been drained for agricultural and forestry purposes since the 1950's (Lindholm and Heikkilä, 2006). Peatlands are still under pressure as Finland is the number one peat extractor in the world with about 60,000 ha under exploitation (Ylönen and Simola, 2012; Chapman et al., 2003). The main mire types in Finland are aapa mires and raised bogs (Laitinen et.al., 2007).

This article contributes to the ES valuation literature by analysis of arguments and their effects. In our study we record the ES identified by the major stakeholders during the 18-year conflict over the conservation of Viurusuo mire. Further on we investigate how local people value ecosystem services and what kind of role their argumentation had during the conflict to protect the Viurusuo mire. Additionally, our case demonstrates how scientific knowledge feeds to real-world decision making in a local conservation conflict. Our research questions are: (1) what kinds of ecosystem services did the stakeholders of the Viurusuo conflict identify and what were the arguments used in defending the importance of these services, (2) what arguments were effective and how, and (3) what were the sources of effectiveness in the argumentation? (Fig. 1).

2. Arguments and their effectiveness

In our analysis we use argumentation theories and the concept of effectiveness. We approach argumentation analysis as presented by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecas (1969). In their work the purpose of argumentation is to convince the audience and induce them to change their convictions. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecas analyse the ways to make arguments more persuasive by focusing on rhetoric. The practitioner of argumentation is referred to as a rhetor, who is skilled in rhetoric and capable of varying the type of argumentation according to the audience: "Knowledge of an audience cannot be conceived independently of the knowledge on how to influence it" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecas, 1969, 23; Long, 1983, 110). Our analysis does not go into a detailed analysis of the rhetorical tools used by the stakeholders but the idea of audience is relevant here..

The rhetorical approach focuses on argumentation as a process of producing an effect (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004, 1984). Arguments are evaluated on the basis of their effectiveness, which is gained by approbation (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1984, 17). A linguistic unit is not automatically an argument but becomes one during a communicative process aimed at achieving a particular objective (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004, 3). In order to be effective an argument needs to carry through the process and influence the end result. The Viurusuo conflict is both a legal and a political battle, which is why we separate the effectiveness of arguments in terms of their outcome on the legal and political processes. In the Viurusuo case the end result, against which their effectiveness will be evaluated, is the legally binding decision to protect the mire as well as the ability to bind stakeholders for a lengthy political process.

However, we are not only interested in the direct links between an argument and the final decision to conserve Viurusuo but also in any other minor and indirect effects caused by the arguments during different phases of the process. Here the effectiveness of an argument means that it has caused a change in the state of affairs which contributes to the acceptance of the idea of conserving Viurusuo during the process. The growth of acceptance is, however, difficult to measure. One indicator is to follow what happens to the counterarguments. If an argument succeeds in suppressing or silencing counterarguments, it has been effective. This often results in a change of strategy or behaviour on behalf of the representatives of the counterargument. Sometimes the

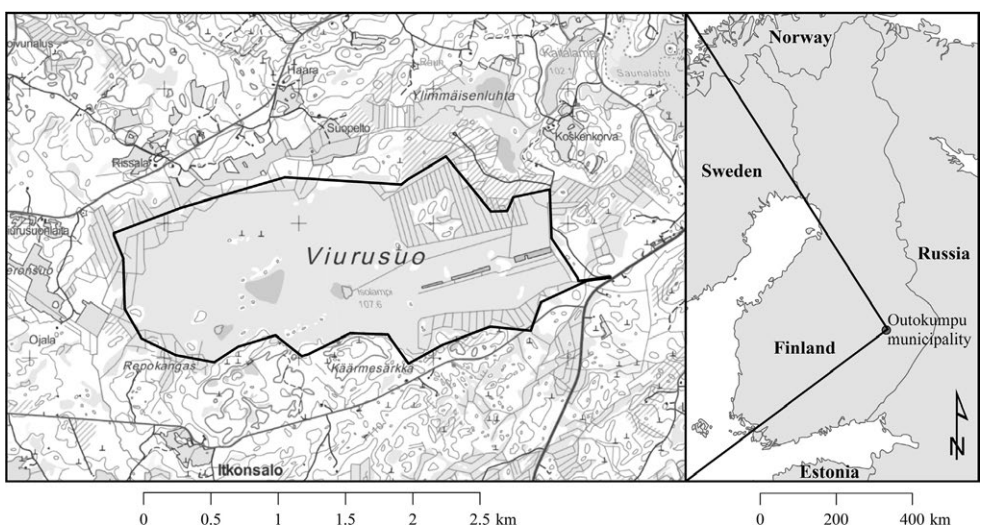

Fig. 1. Map of Viurusuo mire, Outokumpu Finland. (© NLS, Esri Finland/cc by 4.0. Finnish Environment Institute, Esri Geoportal Server 1.2. http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

effectiveness of an argument may grow or diminish because of a change in external circumstances, i.e. a change in legislation or through new research results.

In addition to identifying effective arguments we also investigate why they were effective. To achieve this objective we have combined two concepts: *acceptance* and *legitimacy*. The concept of acceptance is important for argumentation theory. According to Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004, 129), argumentation is sound if the target group accepts it. In investigating acceptance we utilize the concept of legitimacy (Bodansky, 2007; Thomas, 2014; Osei-Tutu et al., 2014). Bernstein's (2005, 142) definition of legitimacy combines the ideas of acceptance and legitimacy. Bernstein states that legitimacy is about "the acceptance and justification of a shared rule by a community" (Bernstein, 2005, 142; Osei-Tutu et al., 2014, 3590). The evaluation of legitimacy can be divided into output-based legitimacy, process-based or source-based (Bodansky, 2007; Thomas, 2014; Osei-Tutu et.al., 2014). Output legitimacy means that a certain activity or rule is legitimate if it helps to achieve an established goal (Bäckstrand, 2006; 295; Schmidt, 2013). Process-based legitimacy stems from institutional or administrative practices that are justified in an acceptable manner and democratically organized (Osei-Tutu et al., 2014). If a policy-process is somehow flawed from the perspective of stakeholders it may reduce the acceptance and effectiveness of arguments even if the suggested output or the sources of argumentation seem legitimate.

In our analysis source-based legitimacy helps us to identify where the acceptance of arguments stems from. Legitimacy can derive its power from different sources. Religion and cultural institutions are examples of sources that have been effective in legitimatizing authorities (Bodansky, 2007, 710). Additionally, Osei-Tutu et al. (2014, 3590) list common history, ethnic origin, belief, myth, culture, tradition and social identity as sources of legitimacy. In modern societies expert knowledge and science are important sources for building legitimacy (Riordan et al., 2014; Osei-Tutu et al., 2014).

We will now turn to illustrating the Viurusuo case and the research material collected before returning to the questions of effectiveness of arguments.

3. Data and methods

The study is based on qualitative case study research. Case studies typically involve different sources of data (Hartley, 2004, 323–324; Yin, 2003). In our study research data consist of interviews, newspaper articles, participatory observation and legal documents. For the interviews we identified a total of 35 possible informants from the legal documents related to the Viurusuo conflict. After contacting all of the potential informants, we were able to conduct seven semi-structured interviews, of which five were with local residents living at the edge of the Viurusuo mire, one with a representative from the local administration and one with Vapo Ltd. Interviews varied between 30 and 120 min and they were transcribed. During the interviews the interviewees were asked to describe the prolonged process that led to the conservation of the Viurusuo mire and to identify arguments that were used during the conservation conflict. A total of 26 articles from local and regional newspapers relevant to the conflict were collected between 1998 and 2013. The Viurusuo conflict also provided rich data in the form of legal documents (i.e. court rulings, appeals, reminders, etc.). This data consists of 69 documents from 2001 to 2011 when the latest decision of the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland was given. A visit to the Viurusuo mire and maps were useful in gaining an understanding of the local conservation movement and helped contextualize the information in other research data. This material (maps or the visit) has not been analysed in detail separately but it supports the interpretation of other material.

In the analysis our first step was to identify the main events of the Viurusuo conflict from legal documents and then compare them to the newspaper material to see how these events were reported to the public. The results are illustrated in Fig. 2. The second step for analysis was to conduct a qualitative content analysis of all three data sets (interviews, legal documents and newspaper articles). Here we first used the concept of ecosystem services to identify what kind of services the different stakeholders recognized and valued at Viurusuo. We used the CICES typology, Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services (Cices, 2016 www.cices.eu; Schröter et al., 2014; Saastamoinen et al., 2014; Haines-Young and Potschin, 2011), which is a continuation of the original typology presented in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA, 2005). After identifying the services mentioned in the data, we focused the analysis on the arguments used. In addition to identifying the events, ecosystem services mentioned and the arguments used, we also looked at the research data in order to analyse the effectiveness of arguments. Here we looked at the process and analysed whether or not the argument (1) persisted over time, (2) if the argument caused changes in the counterarguments, and/or (3) if it caused any changes in the strategies/behaviours of other stakeholders..

4. Results

4.1. Events of the Viurusuo conflict

The Viurusuo mire in Outokumpu, North Karelia was the scene of a conservation conflict from 1995 to 2013. The peat mining company Vapo Ltd applied for an environmental permit for peat extraction at Viurusuo in 1995 which resulted in a prolonged environmental licencing procedure. The latest resolution from the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland is from 2011. The conflict ended when Metsähallitus, the state-owned Finnish park and forest service, bought the peatland area from Vapo Ltd in 2013. The lengthy environmental permitting process enables a retrospective analysis of the relations between actors, the roles of knowledge and the power of the arguments.

In addition to Vapo Ltd, the stakeholders participating in the conflict were local residents, local and regional subsections of the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation (FANC) and Outokumpu's communal environmental administration and regional environmental administration in North Karelia. The Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland, the Administrative Court of Vaasa and the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland also play a role since the Viurusuo conflict became a legal battle which lasted from 1995 until 2011. Using legal documents and newspaper articles, we have listed the key events and their media framings in Fig. 2 below.

4.2. Classified ecosystem services at Viurusuo

Table 1 below summarizes the research results of our analysis of the ecosystem services identified by the stakeholders and follows the CICES V4.3 categorization.

When interpreting the research results presented in Table 1 it is worth noting that these are the services identified by the stakeholders in the Viurusuo conflict and not an exhaustive list of all possible services provided by mires in general. There are also differences between how stakeholders recognized the services. Local people recognized provisioning, supporting and cultural services as well as the importance of biodiversity. In addition, they

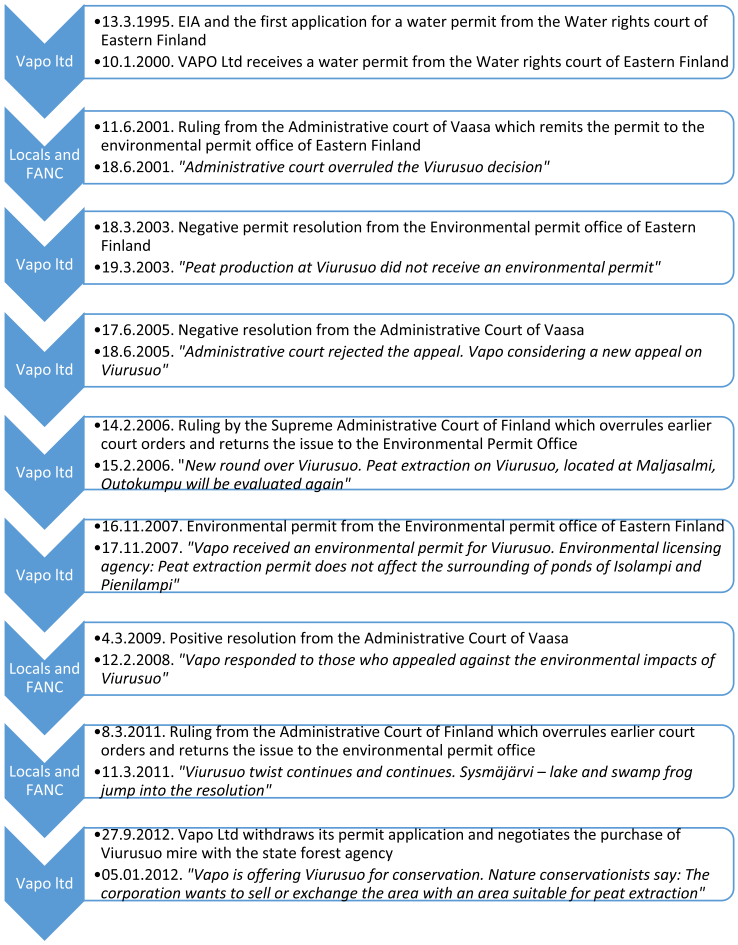

Fig. 2. Key events of the Viurusuo conflict in chronological order (Identified from and illustrated by the legal documents and newspaper articles (in italics)).

emphasized the cultural services, such as recreational use, sense of place, history, scenery as well as the moral and ethical perspectives of protecting plants, animals and habitats. CICES V4.3 classifies moral and ethical perspectives as cultural services. The local subsection of FANC and the communal environmental administration were better at recognizing the ES under the regulation and maintenance category, such as local and global climate control, flood regulation and habitats for plants and species.

Below we will examine the arguments used in defending the importance of different ES and their effectiveness.

4.3. Argumentation used in defending the importance of different ecosystem services

The document material and interviews contain 62 arguments all together. They have been listed in Appendix A. Of these arguments, 45 speak against peat extraction and Vapo Ltd's plans, while 10 arguments speak in favour of Vapo Ltd. There are also seven arguments that reflect the uncertainties of the case, such as the lack of sufficient information or trust among stakeholders. The arguments defending Viurusuo can be divided into four subcategories: water areas (8 arguments), biodiversity (10 arguments), economics (9 arguments) and public goods/recreation (18 arguments). Some of the arguments can be placed in more than one subcategory. In these cases we have chosen the category that is most applicable. Also, some of the arguments are sub-arguments of another more general argument. For example, the argument that "benefits do not override damages" could contain arguments such as "Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because of the short lifecycle of peat extraction", "Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because this project will not offer significant employment opportunities", and "Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because it will pose a risk to regional planning".

Some of the arguments had not been important for the conflict and had not gained any power. For the evaluation of effectiveness it is more important to analyse those arguments that had been repeated many times and had endured. One such group of arguments is the local residents' concerns about the ES, especially the

Table 1
Ecosystem services of the Viurusuo mire identified by the stakeholders.

Section	Division	Group	Viurusuo Mire (identified by stakeholders)
Provisioning	Nutrition	Biomass	Wild berries (cranberry, lingonberry)
		Water	Springs, wells
	Materials	Biomass, Fibre	Timber
		Water	Streams, springs
	Energy	Biomass-based energy sources	Peat
			Energy crops (reed canary grass)
Regulation & Maintenance	Mediation of waste, toxins and other nuisances	Mediation by biota and ecosystems	Water purification
	Mediation of flows	Liquid flows	Maintenance of ground water levels, flood control
	Maintenance of physical, chemical and biological conditions	Lifecycle maintenance, habitat and gene pool protection	Habitats for plants
			Habitats for animals
		Atmospheric composition and climate regulation	Global climate regulation
			Local modification of temperatures and humidity
Cultural	Physical and intellectual interactions with ecosystems and landscapes	Physical and experiential interactions	Cross-country skiing, swamp training
			Berry picking
			Recreational hunting and fishing
		Intellectual and representational Interactions	Research, education, historic records
			Cultural heritage, sense of place
			Artistic representations of nature
	Spiritual, symbolic and other interactions with ecosystems and landscapes	Spiritual and/or emblematic	National symbols: Finland – Fenland
		Other cultural outputs	Enjoyment provided by wild species, wilderness, ecosystems, land-/seascapes
			Willingness to preserve plants, animals, ecosystems, landscapes for the experience and use by future generations; moral/ethical perspective or belief

recreational services (scenery, sounds, smells, berries, hiking opportunities etc.), provided by Viurusuo. However, our analysis shows that these concerns were not effective in the legal proceedings. In other words, the judicial system as an audience had not put any value in these arguments. Instead it appears that two themes were focused on in the legal documents and their effectiveness and validity formulates the core of the Viurusuo conflict. These themes are the protection of water bodies and species conservation. We call these themes 'small ponds' and 'swamp frog'. In our description of these themes we tie them to different events of the Viurusuo conflict.

4.3.1. Small ponds

The Viurusuo conflict started when the peat extraction company Vapo Ltd applied for a water permit on the 13th of March 1995 (Outokummun seutu, 1998; The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2011). Since 1994 the environmental and social impacts of projects in Finland that exceed 150 ha have had to be assessed under the Environmental Impact Assessment Act. This has improved the status of biodiversity conservation in relation to peat extraction. (Kaakinen and Salminen, 2006; Pölönen and Halinen, 2014). Environmental impact assessment (EIA) of Viurusuo was conducted on approximately 360 ha owned by the Vapo Ltd. in 1997. After the EIA process, a participatory event was held in 1998 at a local restaurant in Outokumpu. This was the first time that local people were informed about the Viurusuo project. In this event the project was introduced as a positive development for the region with economic benefits, local energy for 20–25 years and local employment (11 permanent and 25 seasonal positions) (Outokummun seutu, 1998). At the second participatory event the atmosphere was more heated and the local media highlighted the contestations between conservationists, local residents and the company (Outokummun seutu, 1998). The conflict was slowly emerging.

Vapo Ltd received a water permit from Water Rights Court of Eastern Finland on the 10th of January 2000 (Outokummun seutu, 2001; The Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland, 2001; The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2011). Local residents and the Pohjois-Karjala nature conservation association (altogether 10 individual parties) appealed to the Administrative Court of Vaasa where the processing of Finnish environmental permit appeals are centralized (To The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2001). The arguments used in the first appeal by local stakeholders were: *"the decision was based on flawed or out-dated information"*; "*dust and noise impacts*"; "*water impacts*", such as the degradation of ponds, springs, wells and downstream water bodies, lowering ground water levels, increasing food risks, "*habitats*" that are protected under the EU habitats directive, such as bog woodland and fens, and reduced property prices in the area close to the peat extraction site (The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2001). Consequently, the Administrative Court of Vaasa returned the permit to the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland on the 11th of June 2001 as the account on water permit for draining the ponds Isolampi and Pienilampi were missing and the water impact assessment was insufficient (Outokummun seutu, 2001; The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2003). Thus, during this phase the water impact argument proved to be most effective.

By this time the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland was managing the renewed environmental permitting procedure under the Environmental Protection Act from 2000 (86/2000). According to Article 42.1, granting an environmental permit requires that the activity (alone or together with other activities and when taking permit regulations and the location of the activity into account) does not cause a health hazard, environmental degradation, deterioration of special natural conditions or endanger water supplies or other potential use important to the public interest in the area of the activity. Prior to the integrated environmental legislation only impacts on water could lead to the rejection of a project. Therefore the Environmental Protection Act Article 42.1 is a significant improvement for nature conservation as it introduces the concept of significant weakening of natural status as a premise for an environmental permit. As a result of these legislative changes the environmental permit was not granted to Vapo Ltd by the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland on the 18th of March 2003 (Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland, 2001; The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2011). In the ruling it was stated that:

"Viurusuo is mainly a naturally conditioned eccentric bog. When

taking into consideration Viurusuo mire's landscape, small waters, mire biotopes, fauna and flora and research values, peat production in Viurusuo would cause irreversible deterioration of natural conditions. Premises for environmental permit were therefore not fulfilled since the deterioration of special natural conditions can lead to the abandonment of an environmental permit under the Finnish Environmental Protection Act Article 42.1."

Local residents were now using a more diverse set of arguments as environmental permit consideration under the Environmental Protection Act accepted wider reasoning for the refusal of a permit. Arguments highlighting the special natural condition of the Viurusuo mire proved successful and local stakeholders were satisfied with the result. One of the main activists, who also maintained a protest webpage about the Viurusuo project between 2001 and 2006, commented in the local newspaper: *"To put it in a nutshell, humans and nature won this match"* (Karjalainen, 2003). Yet the battle was not over as Vapo Ltd appealed to the Administrative Court of Vaasa on the 17th of April 2003 and sought to have the environmental permit decision reversed (To the Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2003). On the 17th of June 2005 the original ruling was affirmed based on arguments under the Finnish Water Act Article 15a which prohibits altering the natural condition of a pond smaller than one hectare in all other regions except Lapland (The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2005). Thus the argument *"ponds would dry out"* proved to be effective.

Over 10 years after the EIA the attempt of the local residents to protect Viurusuo was referred to as a *"collective action"* for the first time (Karjalainen, 2005a). The battle was not yet over as Vapo Ltd appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland on the 18th of July 2005 in order to overrule the previous decisions of the Administrative Court of Vaasa (To the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2005; Karjalainen, 2005). In the court proceedings the small bodies of water protected under the Finnish Water Act proved to be a more significant argument than the deterioration of the natural conditions of the Environmental Protection Act. The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland regarded on the 14th of February 2006 that *"even if the physical alteration of the Viurusuo mire may impact the nature values of the area, the Environmental Protection Act Article 42.1 is not applicable as the impacts are not caused by pollution and thus not the consequence of an action that may cause environmental degradation"* (the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2006). In the ruling it was mentioned that *"an exceptional permit can be granted when general conservation objectives are not endangered"*. Debating whether or not an exceptional permit can be granted or if the nature values of small-scale water systems have to be protected was left to the environmental permit office. Consequently, the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland overruled earlier decisions from the Administrative Court of Vaasa and returned the issue to the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland (The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2006). The conservation movement had hoped for an ending to the decade-long battle, but the company was satisfied as no clear evidence of the nature conservation values of the Viurusuo mire had been presented (Karjalainen, 2006).

4.3.2. The swamp frog

The battle started again as the issue returned to the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland. The office granted a permit on the 16th of November 2007 in which 47 ha around the ponds were removed from the peat production area. Nevertheless the permission to start operating immediately was not licensed as there was no legal basis for an exceptional permit (The Environmental Permit Office Eastern Finland, 2007). These ponds were still located in the middle of the planned production area, which now covered 196.7 ha and peat extraction would impact their water levels.

Consequently the local campaign, which was referred to as a conservation movement in the regional newspaper, made 11 appeals to the Administrative Court of Vaasa by the 17th of December 2007 (Karjalainen, 2007; The Administrative Court of Vaasa 2009; The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2011). The arguments directed at the court were again based on *degrading water quality on downstream water bodies, loss of ponds, wells and springs, dust and noise pollution, conservation of habitats, flawed and missing information and reduced property prices* (The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2009). It is worth noting that the arguments directed at the administrative court were this time more diverse as *"loss of recreational values such as berry picking and fishing"* or *"loss of pristine nature"* as well as *"benefits do not override the damages"* were used as arguments in the appeals. Nevertheless these arguments proved to be ineffective in the Administrative Court of Vaasa. To the contrary, recreational values and other cultural ecosystem services, such as landscapes and attachment to place, were sources of power for the local campaign and emphasized in the interview material. The conservation movement used *the climate change argument* as they stated that burning peat frees more carbon dioxide than burning brown coal (The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2009). This argument was not taken into consideration in the Administrative Court of Vaasa but was relevant for gaining wider public support because climate impacts are global whereas impacts on water are local. The above-mentioned argument had no legal basis and although the Environmental Protection Act allowed for broader consideration only the impacts on water were scrutinized by the Administrative Court of Vaasa which stated on the 4th of March 2009 that *"the water treatment complies with the best available technology and that the environmental permit was still in effect"* (The Administrative Court of Vaasa, 2009).

In the final stages of the conservation campaign local people were supported by the regional nature conservation association. Local actors had noticed that their arguments were ineffective. A significant turning point for the Viurusuo mire was scientific support in the shaping of effective arguments. A breakthrough took place when a local resident, who is a retired biology teacher, mentioned that she had heard a moor frog croaking in the ditch bordering the mire. A biologist, who was also active in the regional branch of FANC, heard that and confirmed that the frog species was the moor frog *(Rana arvalis)*, which is an EU Habitats Directive Annex IV species in need of strict protection. The regional branch of FANC was also identifying water streams and springs located in the area and used them as an argument. During the most recent trial, on the 8th of March the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland overruled the decisions of the Administrative Court of Vaasa and the Environmental Permit Office of Eastern Finland on the grounds of reproduction and resting places for the moor frog. The degradation of reproduction and resting places of protected species is prohibited under the Finnish Nature Conservation Act Article 49.1, which was applicable as the Supreme Administrative Court had received an account of the occurrence of moor frogs at the Viurusuo mire (The Supreme Administrative Court of Finland, 2011). The loss of springs and streams in the area and dust and noise pollution were also considered by the Supreme Administrative Court of Finland which stated that water quality is not degraded when the best available technology and chemical purification are in place and that dust and noise pollution may not exceed established limits.

4.3.3. Final result

Finally, after 18 years of legal battles the Viurusuo conflict was resolved when Vapo Ltd withdrew its application on the 27th of

September 2009. After negotiations between the Ministry of the Environment Finland and Vapo Ltd the Viurusuo mire was sold to the State of Finland. A press release by the Ministry of the Environment explained the event (Ministry of the Environment, 2012). As the final event and end result of the Viurusuo conflict, the press release reflects the values that saved Viurusuo and the argumentation used to explain the purchase. Nine different arguments can be identified from the press release about the event: (1) the project goes against public interest, (2) it puts biodiversity at risk, (3) it would destroy habitats, (4) pristine nature would be destroyed, (5) Viurusuo is home to endangered species, (6) Viurusuo has endangered biotopes, (7) the project would destroy the landscape, (8) protecting Viurusuo is part of the general conservation objectives of mires, and (9) Viurusuo provides an ensemble of nature values (Press release 2012). These reasons strongly resemble the list of arguments we have identified from the research data, especially from the interviews with local residents. In this final event the general nature values, and not just individual water areas or species, were regarded as important motives for conserving Viurusuo. Thus, many values and ecosystem services which were not protected by the legal court ruling gained protection from the political decision.

4.4. Sources for the arguments

We will now turn to the third research question of this paper and illustrate the sources of the arguments presented above. Table 2 summarizes the arguments, their sources and effectiveness.

Firstly, local valuations were a source of arguments. These arguments were based on personal experiences, fears, worries and desires, which are attached to local history and have accumulated over generations. The fear of environmental degradation and loss of nature values together with a sense of place motivate people to participate in conservation campaigns (Brehm et al., 2013; Vorkinn and Riese, 2001). In addition, the importance of nature conservation and general willingness to preserve nature for future generations were expressed: *"What is left for you if everything is dug out of the bedrock and soil."* Viurusuo's importance as a place for recreation was expressed as *"the athletes were doing swamp training there…in summer there are lots of people collecting (picking berries) and hiking…and in winter cross-country skiing."* However, such arguments are ineffective in administrative courts.

A second source of argumentation derived from the law. Regional and national administrative courts enjoy a high level of process-based legitimacy through their institutional status as part of the Finnish legal system. A high level of trust by citizens and low levels of corruption are associated with the court system. The Viurusuo conflict started as a battle over water areas but grew into a battle over more general biodiversity issues for two reasons. First, there were different interpretations about the purview of legislation. An important topic of discussion was whether or not the Viurusuo case should be evaluated only from the perspective of emissions or if biodiversity aspects should also be taken into account. Also, legislation concerning environmental protection in Finland changed during the conflict. The Environmental Protection Act was enacted in 2000 and changed environmental licensing practices. The interpretation of what the legal issue is and what the applicable legislation is have a significant meaning for what actually constitutes an effective argument when the argumentation is targeted at administrative courts.

The third important source of argumentation is scientific knowledge. In the Viurusuo case this knowledge did not come directly from scientists to decision-makers but was processed by local people and administration. It is evident that local people perceived outside experts as very important for the process. The interviewees stated that they would have given up without the support from the biologists at the regional environmental administration and the regional wing of FANC who provided the required expert knowledge in order to formulate effective arguments: "*Boys and girls from the city came to investigate the area. They found something; ponds and springs. They should get the credit for the success.*" As we have shown, most of the argumentation that highlights the importance of broader ecosystem services failed to effectively conserve Viurusuo in the legal battle even though they have been persistent throughout the local campaign. Local concerns supported the decision making but would not have been enough to conserve Viurusuo: "*More value is put on some frog than local concerns…If the frog (or something else) is not found, then they say: you can pick your berries a little further away.*" Knowledge about how to argue in court was perceived as a key to success but the locals stated that they were lacking this capacity: "*It is difficult to assess how one can affect (the outcome), you should know the legislation.*".

Table 2
Main arguments, their sources and evaluation of their effectiveness during the conflict.

Argument	Sources of the argument	Effectiveness of the argument
"Benefits do not override the damages"	Local valuations/fears/worries/concerns/desires	Ineffective
"Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because this project will harm water bodies"	Local valuations/fears/worries/concerns/desires when spoken on general terms.	Ineffective
	Uncertain scientific knowledge when related to small ponds	Medium effectiveness, connectivity to legal norms uncertain
"Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because this project will put biodiversity at risk"	Local valuations/fears/worries/concerns/desires when spoken on general terms	Ineffective
	Science when a single species (swamp frog) was in question	Very effective
"Vapo Ltd's permit should be overruled because it is based on flawed information" and "Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because their arguments are based on insufficient evaluation and justification"	Law (parties have a legal obligation to provide sufficient information)	Effective
	Local valuations/fears/worries/concerns/desires	Medium effectiveness (locals had difficulties proving their argument)
"Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because it reduces recreational value" and "Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because this project goes against public interest" and	Local valuations/fears/worries/concerns/desires	Ineffective
"The Permit should be licenced because this project will not harm water bodies" and "The permit should be licenced because there are no endangered species in Viurusuo"	Economic interests of one stakeholder Economic interests of one stakeholder	Ineffective Ineffective because this was proven to be untrue
"Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because this project will have negative impacts on climate change"	Science	Ineffective

5. Discussion and conclusions

Many different ecosystem services have been discussed during the conservation conflict of Viurusuo. Not all of the arguments supporting these services have been effective in the legal proceedings regarding the environmental permit for peat extraction at Viurusuo. Especially arguments stemming from local concerns related to recreational services or more abstract values, such as public interest or future generations, have been ineffective. Locals have had to learn that even though they have identified many different services from Viurusuo and value Viurusuo in various ways, these concerns do not resonate with the existing legislation. However, argumentation stemming from local culture and history were important for the local conservation conflict. It only took a single person or a few key individuals who are familiar with the local culture and who are able to motivate others for action. Local arguments have spanned the nearly 20-years of prolonged environmental conflict and the final political decision of the Ministry of the Environment to protect Viurusuo echoes these values. They have also been effective at garnering publicity for the local campaign and motivating local stakeholders to take part during various phases. Even if the local arguments appear to be ineffective in the legal proceedings it is possible that without the local campaign Viurusuo would not have been bought by the State of Finland in 2012.

Legal institutions are not responsive to local values since the legislation, primarily the Nature Conservation Act, recognizes individual species or biotypes as targets for protection. Legitimate outputs are defined based on scientific knowledge and legal norms. In the early stages of the Viurusuo conflict decisive arguments appeared as two ponds located near the mire. During the second round of appeals the swamp frog breeding ground proved to be an effective argument. It was the singular plant and animal species and the two ponds located in the surrounding area upon which a legal argument could be formulated. Our case demonstrates that when a more general nature value argument is introduced to legislation, it potentially increases the responsiveness of nature conservation legislation to local values. However, introducing the ES approach to environmental legislation is not necessarily a good solution as it may weaken broader environmental objectives (Rinne and Primmer, 2015; Primmer et al., 2013; Primmer and Furman, 2012).

The use of biodiversity arguments requires scientific knowledge. As this case shows, local people were not able to effectively argue in front of administrative bodies on the basis of biodiversity knowledge without support from scientific staff and trained biologists. It was the co-operation between researchers and local people that led to the sightings of the moor frog and because of this the argumentation around species conservation gained more power. co-operation between local ecological knowledge and scientific knowledge led to an effective result in this conservation case. In this sense the Viurusuo conflict works as an example of science-policy interfaces and illustrates the role of local campaigns and local people in the formulation of knowledge and science based argumentation. On the other hand, the Viurusuo case also shows that even if locals have a formal right to appeal and take part in legal proceedings, they may lack the skills to formulate effective arguments without the help of scientists. Through co-operation with scientists local people can have an effect on decisions concerning their environment. Similarly, a case study on peatland governance in Ireland has shown that legitimacy was derived from scientific knowledge and less from participatory processes in public deliberations (O'Riordan et al., 2014).

In order to form effective arguments that are persuasive on different audiences one needs to be a skilled 'rhetor' capable of making effective use of existing knowledge and the target audience, whether it is an administrative court or a local community. Cultural valuations, sense of place and lay-people's ability to recognize species affected the success in the conservation conflict of the Viurusuo mire. If the biological knowledge that lay-people hold is diminishing, it raises the question of how to encourage people who see themselves as separate from nature and who do not understand the processes of nature to care for it (Atran and Medin, 2008). Since the target audience of argumentation formed by lay-people or policy-makers is less responsive to biodiversity knowledge, the arguments that highlight the benefits of nature conservation in ES language may improve the persuasiveness of the argument when interacting with these audiences.

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Appendix A. List of arguments

Arguments presented only in the documents (either because they were not mentioned in the interviews or because the stakeholder presenting the argument was not interviewed) are underlined.

A) Arguments against peat extraction / Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because…:

Related to water/aqua:

1. …draining will destroy ponds
2. …dust will spoil downstream water areas
3. …of risk of eutrophication
4. …of the risk of floods
5. …lowering water table will destroy springs
6. …lowering water table will risk household water
7. …this project must not harm water areas
8. …Viurusuo is part of a larger water system

Related to biodiversity:

9. …this project will risk biodiversity
10. …Viurusuo would be completely destroyed
11. …virginity of nature will be destroyed
12. …this project will destroy habitats
13. …Viurusuo holds endangered biotopes
14. …Viurusuo holds endangered species
15. …Viurusuo holds special values for research
16. …Viurusuo is big enough area for nature conservation purposes
17. …Viurusuo provides an ensemble of nature values
18. …this project will have negative impacts to climate change

Related to public goods and/or cultural services:

19. …of reduction of recreational value
20. …dust will lead to allergies
21. …Viurusuo is important for health revitalization
22. …it causes sadness among residents and other stakeholders
23. …historical values will be destroyed
24. …it will cause spiritual losses
25. …landscape will be destroyed

26. …Viurusuo provides a nice 'scentscape'
27. …Viurusuo provides a nice soundscape
28. …Viurusuo is a place for important memories
29. …Viurusuo is natural capital
30. …of the natural state of Viurusuo
31. …peat extraction causes noise
32. …this project is against public interest
33. …protecting Viurusuo is part of general conservation objectives of mires
34. …of the risk of reduction of habitability
35. …of Viurusuo's special regional value
36. …people have the right to healthy environment

Related to economics:

37. …of unpredictable and uncontrollable risks
38. …benefits of peat mining in Viurusuo do not override the damages
39. …of short lifecycle of peat extraction
40. …dust will spoil crop
41. …of the risk of fires
42. …Viurusuo is too close to housing
43. …it will reduce property value of the houses close by
44. …this project will not offer significant employment opportunities
45. …it will pose a risk to regional planning

A) Arguments for peat extraction/ Peat should be extracted because…:

46. …it is OK to extract peat from Viurusuo
47. …it is questionable that Viurusuo holds specific nature values
48. …this project will not considerably harm the ponds
49. …this project will not harm water areas
50. …there are no endangered species in Viurusuo
51. …Viurusuo is too small to be protected
52. …Viurusuo does not offer anything special for research
53. …Viurusuo is not a special habitat for birds
54. …Viurusuo peat is economically important to VAPO
55. …we (Vapo Ltd.) need to extract peat

A) Arguments related to the procedure:

56. Vapo Ltd. should not get a permit because alternatives to peat industry have not been considered
57. Highest administrative court cannot solve this issues because it does not hold authoritative power in this issue
58. Vapo Ltd's permit should be overruled because it is based on flawed information
59. Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because their arguments are based on insufficient evaluation and justification
60. Vapo Ltd should not get a permit because there is lack of trust among stakeholders
61. All the arguments here cannot be considered because this project should be evaluated only on the basis of emissions
62. Decision cannot be reached because there is confusion about purview of legislation

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ARTICLE III

Albrecht, Eerika & Åkerman, Maria (2016). Soidensuojelun osallistaminen ympäristöpolitiikan kokeiluna. (Participatory processes of mire conservation as an environmental governance experiment). Alue ja Ympäristö 45(2), 4–19.

45: 2 (2016) ss. 4–19

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Soidensuojelun osallistaminen ympäristöpolitiikan kokeiluna

Participatory processes of mire conservation as an environmental governance experiment

This paper presents a case study of state-driven deliberation as a form of environmental governance experimentation. The paper addresses the participatory processes during the drafting of the supplementation programme for mire conservation. The process is analysed as a deliberative experiment in order to develop the governance of mires and peat lands in Finland. Data consists of expert interviews, newspaper articles and drafting documents. We study the precondition of the deliberative process to support experimental culture using qualitative content analysis. We evaluate how and to what extent participatory processes enable elements of experimental culture, such as dialogue, public discussion and learning, and challenge existing policy, institutions and practices. The analysis shows that governance experiments may succeed as long as they are applied to situations that are free of political conflict. In this case democratic principles and nature conservation objectives acted as limiting factors to the experimental culture which links our study to the broader critique of transformations of democracy.

Keywords: experimental environmental governance, deliberation, nature conservation, mire conservation

Johdanto

Ympäristöpolitiikassa ollaan usein tekemisissä kiperien vastakkainasettelujen kanssa, jotka saattavat lukkiuttaa ympäristöhallinnon ja ympäristöasioiden edistämisen kannalta tärkeiden sidosryhmien välisiä yhteistyösuhteita vuosikausiksi. Huonoja esimerkkejä autoritaariseksi koetun ympäristöhallinnon ja paikallisten intressien kohtaamisesta löytyy Suomen lähihistoriassa niin Natura 2000 -verkoston toimeenpanossa (Borg & Paloniemi 2012; Hiedanpää 2005) kuin vesiensuojelupolitiikassakin (Peuhkuri 2002; Valve *et al.* 2013). Yhtenä ratkaisuna ongelmaan on tarjottu vastavuoroisuuteen, osallistumiseen ja kokeiluihin perustuvien politiikkakäytäntöjen kehittämistä (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Bulkeley & Broto 2014). Näitä periaatteita on sovellettu muun muassa Etelä-Suomen metsien suojeluohjelma METSOssa, jota on eri yhteyksissä tarjottu esimerkkinä vapaaehtoisuuteen perustuvan suojelun voimasta ympäristöpolitiikan legitimiteetin ja maanomistajien sitoutumisen edistämisessä (Borg & Paloniemi 2012; Salomaa *et al.* 2016). METSO-ohjelma nousi esille myös loppuvuodesta 2014, kun Vihreät erosivat hallituksesta, ja Ville Niinistön tilalle ympäristöministerin virkaan nimitetty Sanni Grahn-Laasonen (kok.) keskeytti edeltäjänsä aikana pitkälle edenneen soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman valmistelun ja asetti työryhmän selvittämään, kuinka ohjelma voisi edetä vapaaehtoisten suojelumenetelmien avulla. Ilmoitus herätti vastarintaa sekä ympäristöjärjes-

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töissä että ohjelmaa valmistelleissa viranomaisissa, ja nosti esille kokeilevan ympäristöpolitiikan kipukohtia.

Soiden suojelua luonnehtivat perustavanlaatuiset arvo- ja intressikonfliktit (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015). Luonnontilaisten soiden määrä on voimakkaasti vähentynyt metsätalouden ja maatalouden ojitusten sekä turvetuotannon seurauksena. Suo- ja turvemaat kattavat noin kolmanneksen Suomen nykyisestä maapinta-alasta. Tuosta noin 8,7 miljoonan hehtaarin turvemaapinta-alasta yli puolet on ojitettu 1950-luvulta lähtien (Ylönen & Simola 2012; Alanen & Aapala 2015). Samalla soiden eliölajiston ja suoluontotyyppien uhanalaistuminen on kiihtynyt ja nykyinen suojelualueverkosto ei riitä turvaamaan suotuisaa suojelun tasoa. Suomessa on ennen soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman toteuttamista yhteensä noin 1,26 miljoonaa hehtaaria suojeltuja suoalueita (Alanen & Aapala 2015). Soidensuojelun perusohjelmat vahvistettiin vuosina 1979 ja 1980 (Borg 1984, 13), ja niitä on täydennetty vuosina 1995 ja 2004 (Kaakinen & Salminen 2006). Osa suojelusoista sijaitsee kansallis- ja luonnonpuistoissa sekä erämaa-alueilla, ja soidensuojeluverkostoa on täydennetty myös Natura 2000 -ohjelmalla ja vanhojen metsien suojeluohjelmalla (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015, 186). Deliberatiivisen hallinnan näkökulmasta soiden suojelu on mutkikasta, sillä tavoitteista ja keinoista neuvoteltaessa osapuolten on huomioitava useita, osin toisensa poissulkevia intressejä uhanalaisten luontotyyppien ja lajien suojelusta metsätalouden ja turvetuotannon tulevaisuudennäkymiin sekä virkistysarvoihin.

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastellaan soidensuojeluohjelman kokemusten perusteella kokeilevien politiikkakäytäntöjen mahdollisuuksia ja rajoitteita ympäristönsuojelun edistämisessä. Artikkelin pohjana on soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman valmistelun yhteydessä vuosina 2012–2015 käytettyjen osallistamismenetelmien analyysi. Soidensuojeluohjelma on tyypillinen esimerkki vuosituhannen vaihteen jälkeen yleistyneistä sidosryhmäyhteistyöhön nojaavista luonnonvarapolitiikan ohjelmaprosesseista (Saarikoski *et al.* 2012; Valve *et al.* 2013). Vuorovaikutteisten käytäntöjen tavoitteena on sekä tuoda monipuolista informaatiota politiikkaprosesseihin että sitouttaa sidosryhmiä yhteisiin tavoitteisiin ja politiikan toteutukseen (Fischer & Forester 1993; Hajer & Wagenaar 2003).

Olemme kiinnostuneita tässä yhteydessä vuorovaikutteisten politiikkakäytäntöjen potentiaalista toimia *kokeilevan ympäristöhallinnon* edistäjänä. Kokeilevalla ympäristöhallinnolla viittaamme julkisen hallinnon pyrkimyksiin ja kykyyn edistää kokeilukulttuuria sekä tuottaa ja testata uusia toimintamalleja. Ymmärrämme näin kokeilevan ympäristöhallinnon sekä julkisen sektorin halukkuutena testata ja muokata sidosryhmäprosesseissa omia toimintatapojaan (Wengle 2015) että kulttuurina, joka edistää uusien toimintamallien nopeaa kehittämistä ja pilotointia (Berg *et al.* 2014). Kiinnitämme erityistä huomiota osallistavien ja kokeilevien menetelmien keskinäiseen suhteeseen ja pohdimme myös vapaaehtoisuuden ja ketterien menetelmien rajoitteita tilanteessa, jossa luonnonsuojelutavoitteet edellyttävät laajan mittakaavan yhdensuuntaisia ratkaisuja. Tätä kautta artikkelin pääkysymykseksi nousee, millaiseksi osallistavan hallinnan, ohjelmallisen politiikan ja kokeilevien käytäntöjen suhde muotoutuu soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmaehdotuksen valmisteluprosessissa. Tarkastelun tavoitteena on avata keskustelua hallintokäytäntöjen normatiivisten, demokraattiseen päätöksentekoon ja ympäristönsuojeluun liittyvien tavoitteiden ja luovien, innovatiivisten ja kekseliäiden käytäntöjen edistämisen välisistä jännitteistä.

Kokeileva ympäristöhallinto

Tarkastelemme soidensuojeluohjelmaa esimerkkinä deliberatiivisesta kokeilusta. Kokeilukulttuuria ja sen edistämisen keinoja tutkineen Annukka Bergin mukaan hallinto voi tukea kokeilukulttuuria edistämällä oppimista, osallistamista, julkisen keskustelun luomista ja rakenteiden ja käytäntöjen haastamista (Berg *et al.* 2014). Kokeiluilla viitataan usein tekemällä oppimiseen, nopeaan pilotointiin ja ideoiden pienimuotoiseen testaamiseen käytännössä vastapainona raskaille, asiantuntijavetoisille valmistelu- ja toimeenpanoprosesseille (Berg 2013). Kokeilukulttuuriin siis sisältyy ajatus perinteisten toimintatapojen kyseenalaistamisesta.

Kokeilevia politiikkakäytäntöjä koskeva kansainvälinen tutkimuskirjallisuus keskittyykin paljon juuri ruohonjuuritason paikallisten ratkaisujen, innovaatioiden ja niistä oppimisen analyysiin (Evans 2011; Bulkeley & Broto 2014). Keskustelun painopiste on näin ylhäältä alaspäin ohjautuvan *hallinnon* sijaan verkostomaisesta tai ruohonjuuritasolta lähtevästä eri toimijaryhmien vuorovaikutukseen perustuvasta *hallinnasta* (Kooiman 2003). Kokeilevasta hallinnosta puhuttaessa pääpaino on hallinnon pyrkimyksessä edesauttaa uusien ratkaisujen löytämistä tukemalla kokeilemalla oppimista (Berg *et al.* 2014). Ajattelutavan mukaan ympäristöpolitiikan kokeiluja tulisi edistää hallinnosta käsin ja siirtää onnistuneet kokeilut laajemman mittakaavan

toiminnaksi. Tässä mielessä kokeilevan hallinnon idealla on yhtymäkohtia sosioteknisten muutosten tutkimuksessa viime vuosina paljon kiinnostusta herättäneeseen strategiseen hallintaan. Siinä pyritään edistämään siirtymää kestävään yhteiskuntaan tukemalla toivottua muutosta edistävien innovaatioiden syntyä ja leviämistä (Meadowcroft 2009; Geels & Schot 2010; Markard *et al.* 2012).

Ruohonjuuritason innovaatioiden tukemisen lisäksi kokeilevalla hallinnolla on viitattu myös hallinnon pyrkimykseen kehittää omia menettelytapojaan vuorovaikutteisella testaamisella sekä edesauttamalla markkinamekanismeihin perustuvia ratkaisuja (Wengle 2015). Vuorovaikutteista hallintaa on kuitenkin kritisoitu demokratian heikentämisestä (Swyngedouw 2000; 2005) ja uusliberaalin luonnonsuojelun edistämisestä, jonka on tulkittu tietyissä tapauksissa heikentävän kansalaisten hyvinvointia, tasa-arvoa ja suojelun tehokkuutta (Apostopolou *et al.* 2014; Holmes & Cavanagh 2016). Myös politiikkakäytäntöjä, jotka edistävät toimivaksi todettujen mallien siirtymistä ja testaamista toisessa kontekstissa on nimitetty kokeilevaksi hallinnaksi. Euroopan Unionin 2000-luvun avoimen koordinaation mekanismia on pidetty esimerkkinä jälkimmäisen kaltaisesta kokeilevasta hallinnasta. Sen tavoitteena oli edistää jäsenmaiden keskinäistä oppimisprosessia politiikka-alueilla, jossa EU:lla ei ollut suoraa toimivaltaa yli jäsenmaiden (Sabel & Zeitlin 2010). Tämä tulkinta tuo deliberaation edistämisen osaksi kokeilevaa hallintoa.

Toimiakseen kokeileva hallinto edellyttää hallinnon ja kansalaisten välistä vuorovaikutteisuutta, tilaa vuorovaikutussuhteiden itseorganisoitumiselle ja dialogisuutta. Jännitteitä tähän tuo hallinnon velvoite taata *ympäristövaltion* toimintaperiaatteet sekä hyvän hallinnon periaatteet (Eckersley 2004; Hautamäki 2004,109; Mäenpää 2008; Andersson 2015, 65). Robyn Eckersley (2004) on hahmotellut ympäristövaltion toimintaperiaatteita ekologisen demokratian mallin avulla. Sitä luonnehtii usko ekomoderniin kehitykseen, vahva ympäristösääntely, diskursiiviset päätöksentekomenettelyt ja *demoksen* laajeneminen kattamaan ihmisten lisäksi kaikki post-humanistisessa mielessä tavalla tai toisella osalliset (ks. myös Oksanen 2013; Andersson 2015, 65). Ekomodernin valtion rinnalle onkin kehitelty utopiaa ekologisen rakennemuutoksen sisäistäneestä kestävästä valtiosta (Massa 2013). Tällaista uutta ekologista demokratiaa leimaa irtautuminen kasvusta ja ekomodernista kehityksestä. Pisimmälle tämä ajatus on viety degrowth-ajattelun parissa (Schneider *et.al.* 2010, Petridis *et.al.* 2015).

Ympäristövaltion toimintaperiaatteet ja hyvän hallinnon periaatteet ovat osin ristiriitaisia. Hyvään hallintoon sisältyy menettelyllisiä oikeuksia, mukaan lukien oikeus tulla kuulluksi, oikeus tutustua asiakirjoihin sekä oikeus saada perusteltu päätös (Hautamäki 2004). Selvimmin tämä ristiriita ilmenee ECE:n tiedonsaantia ja yleisön osallistumisoikeutta ympäristöä koskevaan päätöksentekoon säätelevään Århusin sopimukseen luonnonsuojelullisista syistä tehtävissä poikkeamissa luonnon monimuotoisuutta koskevan tiedon osalta (ks. Oksanen & Kumpula 2013). Kokeilevan ympäristöhallinnon on tapahduttava niin, että se ei vaaranna edellä mainittuja lähtökohtia.

Jatkossa puhuessamme kokeilevasta ympäristöhallinnosta viittaamme kokeilevuudella nimenomaan hallinnon haluun ja kykyyn edistää omien toimintatapojensa uudistumista vuorovaikutteisissa prosesseissa. Parhaimmillaan kokeilevan hallinnon lähtökohdat täyttyvät myös toimivissa, deliberatiivisiin verkostoihin perustuvan hallinnan käytännöissä, joissa julkiset toimijat yhdessä sidosryhmien kanssa etsivät ratkaisuja esiin nousseisiin yhteiskunnallisiin ongelmiin ja mobilisoivat resursseja ongelmien ratkaisuksi (mm. Rydin & Falleth 2006). Deliberatiivisen hallinnan ja kokeilevan hallinnan yhteydet eivät kuitenkaan välttämättä ole ristiriidattomat. Seuraavassa keskustelemme hieman tarkemmin deliberaation ja kokeilujen välisistä yhteyksistä ja jännitteistä.

Deliberaation ja kokeilukulttuurin edistäminen

Kokeileva ympäristöhallinto voidaan nähdä osana laajempaa, demokraattista osallistumista ja osallistamista sekä *deliberaatiota* korostavaa ympäristöhallinnan tutkimusperinnettä (Dryzek 2013, 15; Bäckstrand & Kronsell 2015, 12). Tässä yhteydessä tarkoitamme deliberaatiolla osallistamisen ja vuorovaikutuksen lisäämistä poliittisten instituutioiden ulkopuolella (Habermas 1996, 305; Dryzek 2000). Perusteena laajojen toimijajoukkojen mukaan ottamiselle on nähty edustuksellisen demokratian kyvyttömyys vastata ympäristöongelmiin, päätöksenteossa hyödynnetyn tietopohjan monipuolistuminen, hallinnan legitimiteetin ja päätösten noudattamisen paraneminen sekä toimeenpanon sujuvoituminen (Meadowcroft 2004; Bäckstrand *et al.* 2010; Bäcktrand & Kronsell 2015, 12; 5; Zografos 2015, 79). Deliberatiivisten prosessien on ajateltu johtavan ympäristön kannalta suotuisaan lopputulokseen. Tästä ei kuitenkaan ole laajempaa empiiristä näyttöä (Dryzek 2000; Lövbrand & Khan 2010, 52). Politiikantutkijat Frank Fischer ja

Herbert Gottweis (2012, 7) ovat lisäksi korostaneet uudenlaisen keskustelu- ja oppimiskulttuurin merkitystä hallinnan legitimiteetin lisäksi myös innovatiivisen ympäristöpolitiikan luomisessa.

Deliberaation on siis tarkoitus toimia päätöksenteon tukena. Myös Suomessa on tehty aktiivisesti työtä hallinnon avoimuuden lisäämiseksi ja kansalaisten osallistamiseksi osana laajempaa muutosta kohti yhteistyöhön perustuvaa päätöksentekoa (Mustalahti 2015). Deliberaatiokäytännöt ovat kuitenkin herkkiä yhteiskunnallisille valtasuhteille. Suomessa ympäristöpoliittisen päätöksenteon kulttuuria on kritisoitu muun muassa metsäteollisuuden ja energiateollisuuden teknologiavetoisten intressien leimaamaksi (Teräväinen-Litardo 2015, 178). Tällaisessa tilanteessa vahvat, olemassa olevat korporatistiset yhteistyösuhteet ja vastakkainasettelujen pelko saattavat rajoittaa sidosryhmien tasavertaista osallistumista deliberaatioon sekä jarruttaa vuorovaikutusprosessien tuloksena syntyneiden aloitteiden viemistä kokeilujen asteelle (mm. Saarikoski *et al.* 2012). Nopeiden kokeiluiden tavoitteena onkin osin ohittaa raskaat ja hitaat poliittiset neuvotteluprosessit.

Politiikantutkija Matti Wiberg on tiivistänyt deliberaatioprosessin kolmeen vaiheeseen, jossa ensin käydään läpi jokin asiakokonaisuus asiantuntijainformaation ja tehtävänannon pohjalta ja muodostetaan kollektiivinen arvio ja ratkaisuehdotukset, jonka jälkeen päätöksentekijät joko noudattavat deliberaation tuloksena annettuja ratkaisuehdotuksia tai jättävät sen huomioitta (Wiberg 2013, 99). Toimiakseen aidosti deliberaatioprosessi vaatii huolellista suunnittelua. Vuorovaikutusprosessin sisältö, kesto, mukaan otettavat toimijat ja tavoitteet on määriteltävä etukäteen (Dryzek & Hendriks 2012). Valtakamppailujen lisäksi osallistavien prosessien ongelmaksi nousee usein niiden epämääräinen suhde lopulliseen päätöksentekoon ja politiikan toimeenpanoon, joka on usein hyvin asiantuntijavetoista (Zografos 2015). Lisäksi aito dialogi ja ideoiden työstäminen vaatii aikaa ja taitavaa vuorovaikutusprosessin hallintaa.

Deliberatiiviset prosessit ja kokeileva hallinta pyrkivät haastamaan ylhäältä alaspäin johdettuja ympäristöpolitiikan käytäntöjä ja luomaan uutta toimintakulttuuria. Tavat, jolla ne tätä uudistamista tekevät, ovat kuitenkin osin erilaiset (ks. Taulukko 1). Koska deliberatiivisten prosessien tavoitteena on tuoda yhteen eri näkemyksiä ja rakentaa kompromisseja ja yhteisymmärrystä, ne ovat usein raskaita ja hitaita. Konsensushakuisuus saattaa myös jarruttaa uusien radikaalien avausten mahdollisuutta. Kokeilujen tavoitteena on puolestaan tuottaa nopeasti tekemällä oppien ja testaamalla tietoa. Molempien käytäntöjen suhde edustukselliseen demokratiaan ja sitä kautta demokraattiseen kontrolliin on kiistanalainen, sillä ne korostavat osallistumisprosessiin valittujen ja niissä vahvojen toimijoiden sekä kokeiluja valitsevien ja valmistelevien virkamiesten roolia. Jatkossa tarkastelemme, kuinka kokeilevuuden ja deliberaation tavoitteet ilmenivät soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelussa, ja millaisia jännitteitä ja synergioita niiden välillä paljastui.

Taulukko 1. Deliberaation ja kokeilukulttuurin edistäminen.
Table 1. Promoting deliberation and experimental culture.

Deliberaation edistäminen	**Kokeilukulttuurin edistäminen**
Riittävästi aikaa	Nopea käytäntöjen haastaminen
Ylhäältä alaspäin suunniteltu	Usein ruohonjuuritason toimintaa, voidaan edistää myös hallinnosta käsin
Osallistujat rajattu, optimaalinen toimijajoukko	Itseorganisoituva toimijajoukko
Keskustelu ja ratkaisuvaihtoehtojen pohtiminen	Tekemällä oppiminen ja käytäntöjen haastaminen
Käytäntöjen uudelleen määrittely	Uusien käytäntöjen testaaminen
Päätöksenteon tukena	Irrallaan päätöksenteosta

Aineisto ja menetelmät

Tämä tutkimus hyödyntää tapaustutkimusotetta, joka määritellään tarkaksi ja yksityiskohtaiseksi kuvaukseksi tutkittavasta ilmiöstä (Yin 2009, 17). Tapaustutkimus soveltuu prosessien ja tapahtumakulkujen analyysiin, sillä tutkimusote sallii useiden aineistokokoonpanojen hyödyntämisen samanaikaisesti (Hartley 2004, 323–324; Yin 2009). Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmaprosessin valmistelun yhteydessä kerätty tutkimusaineisto koostuu haastattelu-, media-, sekä asiakirja-aineistoista vuosilta 2012–2016. Haastatteluaineisto koostuu tammi-helmikuussa 2015 kerätystä 12 asiantuntijahaastattelusta. Haastateltavat ovat täydennysohjelmatyöryhmän jäseniä tai osallistuneet täydennysohjelmatyöryhmän aloitusseminaariin. Kysyimme haastateltavilta prosessin vaiheista, työryhmässä käydyistä keskusteluista sekä soidensuojelun perusteluista ja ohjauskeinoista. Valmisteluhankkeen valmisteluasiakirjat, kuulemisasiakirjat ja maan-

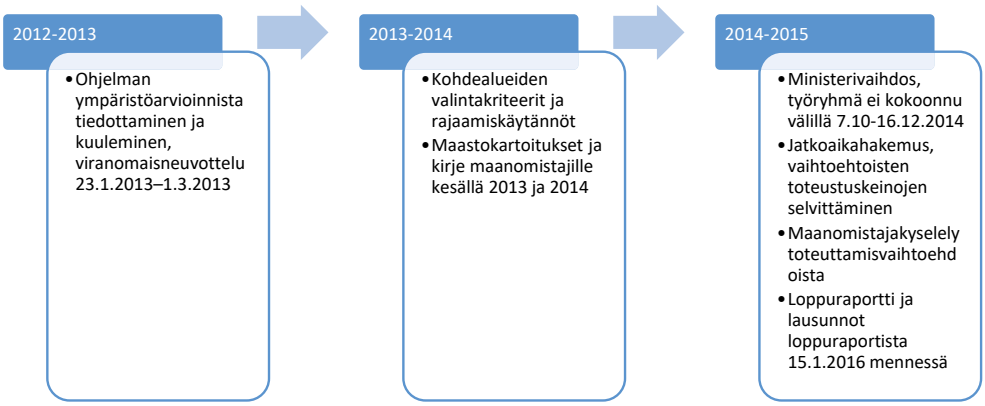
omistajakysely on tallennettu valtioneuvoston hankerekisteriin (Dnro: YM027:00/2012). Analyysin tukena käytetty media-aineisto koostuu sanomalehtiartikkeleista, tiedotteista ja blogikirjoituksista ajalta 12.6.2014–13.2.2015. Tuona aikana julkinen keskustelu soidensuojelun toteuttamiskeinoista oli kiivaimmillaan. Media-aineisto koostuu Suomen luonnonsuojeluliiton (SLL) suolistan aktiivien toisilleen lähettämistä viesteistä ja on tutkijoiden itsensä täydentämä. Media-aineistossa vapaaehtoisten suojelukeinojen aiheuttama vastareaktio korostuu, sillä Sanni Grahn-Laasosen tiedote vapaaehtoisten suojelukeinojen selvittämisestä aiheutti voimakkaan kansalaisreaktion.

Analyysi lähtee liikkeelle täydennysohjelman valmisteluprosessin ja sen yhteydessä toteutetun osallistamisen kuvauksesta. Etenemme teoriaohjaavan sisällönanalyysin avulla (esim. Silvasti 2014) kokeilevuuden ja deliberaation välisen suhteen analyysiin. Luokittelimme aineistoa kokeilukulttuurin piirteiden mukaisesti (Berg *et al.* 2014). Onnistuessaan kokeileva ympäristöhallinto edellyttää aidosti deliberatiivisia ja dialogisia käytäntöjä ja edistää tämän tyyppisen toimintakulttuurin syntymistä. Tarkastelemme jatkossa, millä tavoin kokeilevan ympäristöhallinnon piirteet ilmenivät soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmahankkeen valmistelussa, ja pohdimme, missä määrin ohjelmaprosessin toimintatavat tuottivat edellytyksiä dialogille, oppimiselle sekä rakenteiden ja käytäntöjen haastamiselle (*ibid.*).

Soidensuojelupolitiikan valmistelussa on käytetty useamman tyyppistä osallistamista, tärkeimpinä verkkokeskustelu, eri tahojen muodostama asiantuntijatyöryhmä, kuulemiset valmistelun aikana sekä maanomistajakysely. Lisäksi ohjelman valmistelun seuraaminen on ollut mahdollista ympäristöministeriön internet-sivujen kautta, avoimessa aloitusseminaarissa ja sidosryhmille järjestetyssä työpajassa. Rajaamme tarkemman käsittelyn kohteiksi soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmatyöryhmän ja sen yhteydessä käydyt keskustelut ja kuulemismenettelyt.

Osallistaminen soidensuojeluohjelmassa

Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmahanke käynnistyi vuonna 2012 (ks. Kuva 1). Hanketta valmistelemaan kutsuttiin laajapohjainen työryhmä, joka kokoontui yhteensä 36 kertaa vuosina 2012–2015 (Alanen & Aapala 2015). Työryhmä koostui muun muassa Ympäristöministeriön ja Maa- ja metsätalousministeriön edustajista, tutkimuslaitosten edustajista (SYKE, GTK, Metsäntutkimuslaitokset), Metsähallituksen ja Metsäkeskusten edustajista sekä maakuntahallinnon edustajista (Eteläi-Pohjanmaan ELY, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan liitto). Vastakkaisten intressien edustajina mukana olivat Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliiton ja Luonto-Liiton sekä Maa- ja metsätaloustuottajain keskusliiton edustajat. Työryhmä kokousti säännöllisesti välillä 4.9.2012–7.10.2014. Työryhmätyö oli ympäristöministerivaihdoksen seurauksena tauolla 16.12.2014 asti, jolloin se kokoontui jälleen. Työryhmän tehtävänanto säilyi samana, mutta keinojen osalta haettiin kompromissia (Valtioneuvosto 2012). Uutta keinovalikoimaa pohtimaan perustettiin alatyöryhmä, joka kokoontui tammikuusta



Kuva 1. Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman valmistelu
Image 1. The preparation and participatory process of the mire conservation programme

syyskuuhun vuonna 2015 yhteensä 7 kertaa (Alanen & Aapala 2015). Ohjelman toteuttamisvaihtoehdoista järjestettiin myös maanomistajakysely. Työryhmälle haettiin jatkokautta syyskuun 2015 loppuun. Työryhmään kuului ohjelman viimeisessä vaiheessa 14 varsinaista jäsentä ja 8 varajäsentä, sekä alatyöryhmään 7 jäsentä. Kokoonpano vaihteli työryhmätyöskentelyn aikana.

Soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmatyöryhmän alkutehtävänanto ja esivalinta oli toteutettu virkatyönä. Alkutehtävänanto oli selkeä, sillä soidensuojelun täydentäminen perustuu valtioneuvoston 30.8.2012 tekemään periaatepäätökseen soiden ja turvemaiden käytöstä ja suojelusta. Monialaisen työryhmän tehtävänä oli luonnonsuojelulain 7-9 § mukaisen luonnonsuojeluohjelmaehdotuksen valmisteleminen vuoden 2014 loppuun mennessä (Valtioneuvosto 2012). Luonnonarvoiltaan valtakunnallisesti merkittävien suokohteiden määrittäminen, kohdevalinta ja rajaaminen sekä ehdotuksen laatiminen suojeluohjelmaan valittavien kohteiden suojelutavoitteista ja keinoista sisältyivät myös ohjelman alkuperäiseen tavoitteidenasetteluun. Keskustelun kohteet liittyivät valintakriteereihin, rajaamiseen ja soidensuojelun kokonaispinta-alaan sekä viimeisessä vaiheessa toteuttamisvaihtoehtoihin.

Ohjelman tarkastelualueeksi määritettiin ympäristöministeriön toimeksiannossa koko maa lukuun ottamatta Tunturi-Lappia ja Metsä-Lappia sekä Peräpohjolan aapasuovyöhykkeen pohjoisosaa (Alanen & Aapala 2015). Tarkastelualueen rajaus poikkeaa soidensuojelun perusohjelman aluerajauksesta, vaikka eteläinen Lappi on mukana tarkastelussa alueen soidensuojeluverkostossa havaittujen täydennystarpeiden vuoksi [H11]. Täydennysohjelman ensimmäinen vaihe rajattiin käsittämään eteläistä Suomea, jossa paineet soiden käyttöönottoa kohtaan ovat suurimmillaan (Lindholm & Heikkilä 2006). Ohjeistus ohjelman toteutuksen vaiheistamisesta Etelä-Suomeen ja Pohjois-Suomeen annettiin toukokuussa 2014 (Valtioneuvosto 2012). Tarkoituksena oli kohdentaa valtion resursseja ensin kaikkein uhatuimmille suoalueille, joista suurin osa sijaitsee eteläisessä Suomessa. Pohjoisen Suomen osalta valmistelu etenisi vuodesta 2017 eteenpäin. Täydennysohjelma painottui suojelun kustannustehokkuus sekä suojeluverkon täydennystarpeet huomioiden pienemmille, mutta luontotyypiltään puutteellisesti edustetuille suoryhmille [H7; H12]. Soidensuojelun perusohjelma, joka vahvistettiin vuosina 1979 ja jota täydennettiin vuonna 1981, toteutettiin laajoilla edustavilla soilla (Borg 1984, 13). Nämä suot eivät ole suotyyppinsä puolesta erityisen uhanalaisia.

Ohjelman SOVAL:n (laki viranomaisten suunnitelmien ja ohjelmien ympäristövaikutusten arvioinnista) mukaisesta ympäristöarvioinnista järjestettiin kuuleminen, jonka yhteydessä jätettiin 32 mielipidettä, lausuntoa ja kannanottoa yksityishenkilöiden, etujärjestöjen sekä luonnonsuojelujärjestöjen toimesta (Valtioneuvosto 2012). Kannanotoissa korostettiin, että maastoselvityksiin on varattava riittävät resurssit, ja että aluerajaukset on toteutettava siten, että rajaus säilyttää suon ravinne- ja vesitalouden sekä mahdollistaa tarvittaessa ennallistamistoimenpiteet. Lisäksi ohjelman painotus tulee kohdentaa eteläiseen Suomeen.

Jännitteet ja dialogisuus

Käytäntöjen dialogisuutta tarkastelemalla voi arvioida sitä, missä määrin soidensuojeluohjelman osallistamiskäytännöt pystyivät edesauttamaan ympäristöhallinnon menettelytapojen vuorovaikutteista testaamista ja uusien käytäntöjen tuottamista. Ymmärrämme dialogisuuden moniäänisyytenä, prosessien avoimuutena ja järjestelyinä, jotka mahdollistavat yhteistoiminnallisen merkitysten tuottamisen ja muiden toimijoiden näkemyksiin perehtymisen (mm. Black 2008). Sidosryhmävuorovaikutukseen nojaavan deliberaation ongelmana on usein keskustelun jähmettyminen intressiryhmien välisiin vastakkainasetteluihin (mm. Saarikoski *et al.* 2010). Prosessi on avoin uuden kokeilemiselle ja oppimiselle, jos näistä intressiryhmien välisistä poteroista päästään avoimeen keskusteluyhteyteen ja tehtävänanto jättää tilaa yhdessä tekemiselle ja pohtimiselle.

Työryhmän ulkopuolisten tahojen osallistaminen ja kansalaisvuorovaikutus oli huomioitu kuulemismenettelyjen, maastokäyntien, verkkokeskustelun ja seminaarien toteuttamisella. Kuulemiskäytännöt nostivat esille muiden kuin työryhmässä edustettuna olevien intressiryhmien kannanottoja, mutta mahdollistivat samalla työryhmälle työrauhan. Taulukkoon 2 olemme koonneet soidensuojeluohjelman yhteydessä esiin nousseita, keskeisten sidosryhmien kannanottoja, ja jatkossa tarkastelemme, kuinka neuvottelu soidensuojelun sisällöistä eteni ohjelman valmistelun aikana, ja missä asioissa sekä minkä välineiden avulla toimijat löysivät yhteisen pohjan keskustelulle.

Soidensuojeluohjelman varsinaisen valmistelutyöryhmän jäsenet kokivat soidensuojelun täydennysohjelmatyöryhmän toimivaksi ja hyvähenkiseksi prosessiksi, jossa oli tilaa dialogille: *”Siellä ei ollut semmosta selkeesti valmiiks tehtyä päätöstä jo siitä*

Taulukko 2. Näkökantoja suojelun toteuttamiseen kuulemisen aikana.
Table 2. Stakeholder views on the implementation of nature conservation during the public hearing.

	Maanomistaja	**Elinkeinoelämä ja etujärjestöt**	**Luonnonsuojelu-järjestöt**
Suojelun toteuttaminen	Vapaaehtoisuus	Vapaaehtoisuus ja suojeluohjelma	Luonnonsuojelulain mukainen luonnonsuojeluohjelma
Suojeluohjelman laajuus	100 000 ha toteutettava ensisijaisesti vapaaehtoisin keinoin	100 000 ha +/-suojeluarvoiltaan merkittävimpiin kohteisiin	100 000 ha ei riittävä suoluonnon monimuotoisuuden turvaamisen kannalta
Rajaaminen	Ei saa hankaloittaa kulkua metsäpalstoille	Ei saa aiheuttaa toimenpiderajoituksia rajauksen ulkopuolella	Riittävä suon ravinne- ja vesitalouden sekä ennallistamistoimenpiteiden kannalta
Kohdevalinnat	Ehdotukset yksittäisen suon suojeluun	Kohdevalinnat virkatyönä, valtakunnallisesti arvokkaimmat suot	Huomioidaan kaikkein uhanalaisimmat suotyypit ja hyödynnetään luontotietoa
Korvauskäytännöt	Täyden korvauksen periaate	Täyden korvauksen periaate	Korvataan puuston arvon menetys
Ennallistaminen	Toteutetaan maanomistajalähtöisesti	Toteutetaan maanomistajalähtöisesti	Toteuttaminen mahdollistaa suojeluverkostonlaajentamisen

mihin päädytään, vaan sitä tosiaan matkan varrella pystyi kaikki jotka halus vaikuttamaan ja tekemään sitä yhdessä" [H7]. Prosessi koettiin siis avoimeksi kehittämisideoille, mutta dialogisuuden näkökulmasta ongelmallisena nähtiin kuitenkin etujärjestöjen ja elinkeinon harjoittajien puuttuminen työryhmästä. Tämä tuotiin esille myös valtioneuvoston työryhmän toimintaa arvioineessa kannanotossa: *"Luonnonvaroja hyödyntävien etujärjestöjen puuttuminen valmistelutyöryhmästä ei tue avointa ja läpinäkyvää yhteistyötä."* (Kannanotto, Valtioneuvosto 2012).

Yksi eniten työryhmässä keskustelua aiheuttaneista asioista olivat kohdealueiden valintakriteerit ja luonnontieteelliset perusteet valtakunnallisesti arvokkaiden kohteiden kartoittamiselle. Vuonna 2011 valmistuneen suostrategian (Ehdotus…2011) yhteydessä laaditun ja valtioneuvoston periaatepäätöksellä (Valtioneuvoston…2012) vahvistaman suoalueiden luonnontilaisuusluokituksen ei katsottu soveltuvan työryhmätyön pohjaksi, vaan luonnontilaluokitus koettiin turvetuotannon ohjauskeinona. Perusteeksi esitettiin, että uhanalaisia luontotyyppejä tai lajeja voi esiintyä myös luonnontilaltaan muuttuneella suolla. Sen sijaan luontotyypit ja lajisto nousivat keskeiselle sijalle valtakunnallisesti arvokkaiden kohteiden arvioinneissa. Arvioinneissa kiinnitettiin huomiota yleiseen seudulliseen suoluonnon suojelu- ja ojitustilanteeseen, ja työryhmätyön aikana kyettiin tuottamaan uusi arviointikriteeri, *soiden alueelliset erityispiirteet* [H11]. Käsite esiintyi myös kuulemisaineistossa, josta ympäristöhallinto nosti valtakunnallisten kriteerien lisäksi alueelliset erityispiirteet deliberaation kohteeksi.

Suotyyppien ja alueellisten erityispiirteiden osalta asetettiin tavoitteeksi mahdollisimman kattavan suojelualueverkoston saavuttaminen suhteessa täydennettävään suojelualueverkostoon. Täydennysohjelma-alueiden valintakriteerien suuntausta muutettiin siten, että kaikkein uhanalaisimmat suotyypit saivat enemmän painoarvoa *"…ja matkan varrella tosiaan suuntausta tehtiin esimerkiks niin, että näihin kaikkein uhanalaisimpiin luontotyyppeihin soilla kiinnitetään enemmän huomioo"*. [H7]. Soidensuojelun perusohjelmassa suojeltiin laajoja aapasoita ja keidassoita, joten täydennystarve kohdentui reheviin puustoisiin soihin, kalliosoihin, luhtiin, suolaikkuverkostoihin ja rantasoihin [H11; H7]. Pienemmät, usein eteläisessä Suomessa sijaitsevat suokohteet ovat nykyisessä suoverkostossa heikoimmin edustettuna.

Kohteiden valinnassa tärkeään osallistuji-

en välistä vuorovaikutusta välittävään tehtävään nousi *zonation*-analyysimenetelmä, jolla käytiin läpi luonnontieteellistä aineistoa [H2; H9; H10]. Uuden analyysimenetelmän hyödyntämisessä oli keskeisessä asemassa Geologian Tutkimuskeskus GTK, sillä analyysissä käytettiin erityisesti GTK:n tietoaineistoja, paikkatietoanalyyttistä osaamista ja asiantuntemusta. Analyysin avulla tarkasteltiin kohteiden luonnonarvo-ominaisuuksia, kytkeytyneisyyttä, kustannuksia ja ennallistamispotentiaalia ja muita arvoja siten, että kohteen luonnonarvot painottuivat [H10]. *Zonation*-ohjelman avulla kohdealueet pisteytettiin ja asetettiin järjestykseen sen mukaan, mikä hyödyttäisi suojelualueverkoston täydentämistä. Lisäksi työryhmä tuotti oman pisteytysjärjestelmän, jolla valikoitiin lisää kohteita. Ennallistettavat ja eräät muut alueet käytiin läpi kohta kohdalta. Kohteiden pisteyttämisessä hyödynnettiin työryhmän asiantuntemusta, mutta kohteiden yksityiskohtainen läpikäyminen tehtiin virkatyönä, ja tulokset esiteltiin soidensuojelun täydentämistyöryhmälle. Dialogi oli luonnonsuojelupolitiikalle tyypilliseen tapaan luonnontieteellisen asiantuntijatiedon kehystämää.

Kuten taulukosta kaksi ilmenee, kohdevalintojen lisäksi suokokonaisuuksien rajaaminen jakoi sidosryhmien mielipiteitä ja herätti keskustelua työryhmässä Maa- ja metsätaloustuottajain Keskusliitto MTK:n ja ympäristönsuojelujärjestöjen edustajien välillä [H5; H11]. Maanomistajien ja metsätalouden intressit asettivat rajaamiselle ehtoja siten, että suojelualueella toteutettavilla ennallistamistoimenpiteillä ei saa heikentää metsätalouden toimintaedellytyksiä. Suomaan ja kivennäismaan rajan määrittämiskriteerit sekä kivennäismaalaikut suolla asettivat haasteita rajaamiselle, sillä suon topografiasta riippuen kohderajaus sisältää myös joitakin metrejä kivennäismaata. Olemassa olevia kriteerejä suokokonaisuuksien rajaamiselle ei pidetty toimivina. Työryhmässä esitettiin kompromissia, jonka mukaan *"puun pituus sitä kangasmaata siitä suon reunasta vois olla mukana tässä soidensuojeluohjelmassa."* [H5]. Rajauksen osalta päädyttiin periaatteeseen, jonka mukaan rajauksen tulee olla niin laaja, että ennallistamistoimenpiteiden toteuttaminen suolla on mahdollista ilman, että naapurimaat vettyvät [H11]. Tässä periaatteessa huomioitiin metsätalouden tarpeet. Samoin esitettiin, että rajauksen tulee olla niin laaja, että suojelu rajauksen sisällä on riittävää, eikä rajoituksia alueen ulkopuoliselle maankäytölle tarvitse asettaa. Lisäksi suon ennallistamistarve keskustelutti rajauksen yhteydessä. Ennallistamistarve osaltaan määrittää, kuinka paljon ojitettua osaa sisällytetään ohjelma-alueeseen (H11; Valtioneuvosto 2012).

Suurimmaksi kiistakapulaksi muodostui suojeltavien soiden kokonaismäärä. Ohjelmavalmistelun lähtökohdaksi otettiin työryhmässä Suomen ympäristökeskuksen arvion pohjalta 100 000 hehtaaria suojeltua suomaata. Arvio perustuu niin sanottuun laikkuaineistoon, joka sisälsi tietoja Eteläi-Suomessa yli 20 hehtaarin ja Pohjois-Suomessa yli 50 hehtaarin laajuisista suomaista [H7]. Ohjelmavalmistelun yhteydessä käytiin intressikamppailu siitä, onko 100 000 hehtaaria riittävä vai ei. Ympäristöministeriö ja luonnonsuojelujärjestöt esittivät, että luonnonsuojeluohjelman tulisi olla kokonaisuudessaan 100 000 hehtaaria. Luonnonsuojelujärjestöjen mukaan suojeltavaa olisi enemmän:*"…huomattiin, että niitä on nyt kuitenkin jonkun verran, että niistä olis se toinen mokoma tullut, jos ne oltais tehty sen alkuperäisen suunnitelman mukaan"* [H7]. Maa- ja metsätalousministeriö ja maa- ja metsätalouden etujärjestöt pitivät 100 000 hehtaaria vain arviona suojelutarpeesta, joka on toteutettavissa muillakin kuin soidensuojeluohjelman keinoin, kuten METSO-ohjelmalla, metsähallituksen muilla suojelukeinoilla ja kaavoituksella [H10]. Toisaalta pinta-alaa tärkeämpänä pidettiin soidensuojelun kustannustehokkuutta ja kansallisesti arvokkaiden luontoarvojen suojelua [H8].

Suojelun ja turvetuotannon yhteensovittaminen on voimakkaimmin politisoitunut soiden maankäytön suunnittelun ja energiapolitiikan kysymys. Tätä ei kuitenkaan nähty deliberaation yhteydessä ongelmana. Soidensuojeluohjelman kohdentaminen reheviin puustoisiin soihin, kalliosoihin, maankohoamisrannikon uusiin soihin vähentää päällekkäisten maankäyttövaatimusten todennäköisyyttä: *"Ne kohdentuu niin eri alueelle, kun ajatellaan Etelä-Suomessa, minne pitää soidensuojelua suunnata"* [H1]. Turvetuotannon ohjauskeinouudistusten vuoksi turvetuotanto suuntautuu pääasiassa jo luonnontilansa menettäneille soille. Turvetuotanto uhkaa kuitenkin edelleen maamme suoluontoa, sillä turpeennostoon on arvioitu tarvittavan 58 000 ha lisää suomaata vuoteen 2020 mennessä (Ehdotus…2011; Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015). Virallisesti turvetuotanto luokitellaan Suomessa lisäksi edelleen hitaasti uusiutuvaksi biomassapolttoaineeksi (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2013). EU:n energiapolitiikan hiilineutraalisuustavoitteiden mukaan turpeen käytöstä tulee vähitellen luopua vuoteen 2050 mennessä, sillä hiilitaseeltaan turve kuuluu uusiutumattomien polttoaineiden joukkoon.

Edellisten lisäksi metsästys suojelualueilla on ainainen kiistanaihe [H11]. Esimerkiksi keskustelu metsästysrajoitusten laajentamisesta luonnon-

suojelualueilla kansallispuistojen lisäksi Natura 2000-alueille ja soidensuojeluohjelman mukaisille alueille vuonna 2011 herätti voimakkaan vastareaktion (Maaseudun tulevaisuus 2011). Metsästyksestä suojelualueilla keskusteltiin laajemmin deliberaation ulkopuolella käytyjen sidosryhmäkeskustelujen yhteydessä. Luonnonsuojelulain (1096/1996, LSL) 17 a §:n mukaan metsästys on sallittua muulla luonnonsuojelualueella, jos se ei vaaranna alueen perustamistarkoitusta tai aiheuta haittaa alueen muulle käytölle. Tämä poikkeaa siitä mitä metsästyksen toteuttamisesta kansallispuistossa tai luonnonpuistossa on säädetty. Soidensuojelun perusohjelma-alueilla metsästys on usein sallittu, tosin tähän on lukuisia poikkeuksia ja rajoituksia etenkin vanhojen metsien ja lehtojen suojelualueiden osalta (H11; Metsähallitus 2016). Yksityismaalle perustettavalla suojelualueella maanomistaja saa päättää metsästyksen harjoittamisesta sillä ehdolla, ettei siten vaaranna suojelutavoitteita. Tämän vuoksi vapaaehtoiset suojelukeinot voisivat toimia paikallisen legitimiteetin lisääjänä: *"Jos metsästys säilyis ja luvattais, että sitä ei ilman erityisen painavia perusteita luonnonsuojelualueella kiellettäis, niin veikkaisin että suhtautuminen koko suojeluohjelmaan muuttus olennaisesti positiivisemmaks paikallistasolla."* [H3].

Yksi eri sidosryhmätahojen intressien huomioimisen tapa soidensuojelun yhteydessä liittyi maanomistukseen ja korvauskäytäntöihin. Näiden osalta keskusteltiin, tulisiko puubiomassan lisäksi korvata myös turve [H2; H5; H6]. Maa- ja metsätaloustuottajien keskusliitto ajoi täyden korvauksen periaatetta, joka edellyttää myös turpeen korvaamisesta sopimista suojeluneuvotteluissa maanomistajan kanssa. Turpeen arvon korvaaminen olisi mahdollista kohteilla, joilla on käynnissä turvetuotannon lupaprosessi. Korvaukset toteutetaan yleisen käytännön mukaan täysimääräisinä, jolloin korvataan puuston arvo. *"Ja sitten ruvetaan neuvottelemaan, et tota miten homma jatkuu ja korvauksesta ja rajauksesta voidaan sitten neuvotella. Se on sillälailla aitoa vapaaehtoisuutta."* [H5]. Dialogi toteuttamisen tavoista ja korvauksen keinoista näyttää siis siirtyneen työryhmästä julkisuuteen ja viranomaisten ja maanomistajien etujärjestöjen väliseksi.

Soidensuojeluohjelmassa pyrittiin siis ottamaan huomioon mahdollisimman laajasti eri sidosryhmien näkemykset ja etsimään kompromisseja jännitteitä nostaneisiin kysymyksiin. Prosessi oli tietyissä rajoissa avoin ja mahdollisti muun muassa kohdevalintojen kriteeristöjen ja rajauskriteerien määrittelyn yhteisessä neuvotteluprosessissa. Dialogisuuden suhteen ongelmallista oli kuitenkin tärkeiden luonnonvarojen hyödyntäjien intressiryhmien rajaaminen prosessin ulkopuolelle, mikä rajoitti vahvasti eriävien näkemysten sovittelua ja siihen liittyvää oppimista osana prosessia. Kohderajauksiin ja -kriteereihin liittyvät ryhmätyön tulokset nojasivat edelleen varsin vahvasti luonnontieteelliseen suojelukriteeristöön ja olemassa oleviin soidenkäytön yhteensovittamisen traditioihin eivätkä nostaneet esille soiden käytön sosioekologisen kestävyyden argumentteja, kuten paikallisia virkistysarvoja. Tässä mielessä työ ei ollut erityisen innovatiivista ja kokeilevaa, mutta eteni kohti tiedossa olevaa päämäärää ja hyvässä hengessä. Yhdessä työskentelyn historian ja yhteisen tietopohjan jakavien sidosryhmien välillä on usein sosiaalista pääomaa, joka edesauttaa yhteistyötä ja oppimista ja helpottaa neuvotteluprosesseja. Tämän kaltainen työryhmien koostaminen saattaa kuitenkin jarruttaa uusien, innovatiivisten avausten esille nostoa, mihin osallistujapohjan laajentaminen saattaisi tarjota mahdollisuuden (mm. Rydin & Falleth 2006). Tilanne muuttui kuitenkin radikaalisti loppuvuonna 2014, kun Vihreät erosivat hallituksesta ydinvoimakohun seurauksena ja ohjelman toteuttamisesta vastannut ympäristöministeri vaihtui.

Vapaaehtoisten suojelumenetelmien kokeilu

Ministerivaihdoksen jälkeen soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelussa seurasi kahden kuukauden epävarmuus, jonka aikana soidensuojeluohjelmaa valmistellut työryhmä ei kokoontunut. Tammikuussa 2015 ympäristöministeriö nimitti alatyöryhmän selvittämään vapaaehtoisen suojelun keinoja luonnonsuojelulain mukaisen suojeluohjelman rinnalle (H10; Valtioneuvosto 2012). Vaikka siirtymää vapaaehtoisen suojelun tielle ei esitelty hallinnollisena kokeiluna, voidaan sen toteutusta pitää luonnonsuojelupolitiikan keinoihin liittyvänä kokeiluna, jossa metsien suojelussa aiemmin hyödynnettyä keinovalikoimaa testataan erityyppisessä suojelukontekstissa. Malliksi otettiin Etelä-Suomen metsien monimuotoisuusohjelma METSO, jossa yksityiset metsänomistajat tarjoavat aluettaan joko määräaikaiseen tai pysyvään suojeluun, ja valtio maksaa korvausta ohjelman mukaisesta suojelusta tai luonnonhoidosta. METSO-ohjelmaa on pilotoitu vuosina 2002–2007, ja ohjelma on onnistunut toimintakaudellaan vuodesta 2008 eteenpäin lisäämään vuorovaikutusta hallinnon ja maanomistajien välillä (Borg & Paloniemi 2012). Siihen onko METSO lisännyt biodiversiteetin suojelun tehokkuutta, on suhtauduttava kriittisesti. METSO:n on kuitenkin katsottu lisäävän suojelun hyväksyttä-

vyyttä (Salomaa *et.al.* 2016). Tämä perustuu kannustinajatteluun, jonka mukaan rahallinen korvaus on tehokkaampi muuttamaan totuttuja toimintatapoja kuin pakko tai moraalinen herääminen. Kannustinajattelu on herättänyt myös paljon kritiikkiä. Markku Oksasen ja Anne Kumpulan (2008) mukaan luonnonsuojelu ei ole ainoastaan vaihtoehtoinen maankäyttömuoto, vaan se on velvoite. Tämän eettisen pohdinnan kautta tarve maksetulle vapaaehtoisuudelle poistuisi.

Vapaaehtoisuuden merkitys on joka tapauksessa kasvanut suomalaisessa luonnonsuojelupolitiikassa yleisemminkin. Natura 2000-ohjelman aiheuttaneiden konfliktien jälkeisenä aikana vapaaehtoinen metsiensuojelu METSO-ohjelman muodossa koettiin maaseudulla luonnonsuojelun legitimiteetin lisääjänä (Hiedanpää 2005; Borg & Paloniemi 2012). Entistä useampi maanomistaja hyväksyy nykyään luonnonsuojelun argumentit ja on valmis suojelemaan maisema- ja virkistysarvoja. Lisäksi virkistyskäytön korostuminen kaupungistumisen seurauksena, turvetuotannon vesistövaikutuksista käyty keskustelu ja ilmastonmuutos ovat lisänneet suojeluohjelmien legitimiteettiä (H1; H4; ks. myös Rannikko 2010). Aiemmat kokemukset luonnonsuojeluohjelmien toimeenpanosta ja niihin liittyvät vastakkainasettelut lakisääteisen, valtiovetoisen suojelun ja vapaaehtoisuuteen perustuvan suojelun välillä näyttävät kuitenkin edelleen värittävän luonnonsuojelupoliittista keskustelua Suomessa. Tämän vuoksi on esitetty vaatimuksia vuorovaikutuksen sijoittumiselle varhaisempaan vaiheeseen suunnitteluprosessia.

METSO-ohjelman käytäntöjen kokeileminen soidensuojelun yhteydessä herätti vastarintaa sekä julkisuudessa että asiantuntijatyöryhmässä. Soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelun alatyöryhmä katsoi METSO-ohjelman soveltuvan huonosti sellaisenaan soidensuojeluun [H10]. Suot ovat hydrologisia kokonaisuuksia, jotka tulee suojella yhtenäisinä alueina. METSO-ohjelman kaltainen malli soveltuisi huonosti etenkin laajempien suokokonaisuuksien suojeluun, sillä maanomistus soilla on pirstaleista. Yhden suon alueella voi olla useita kymmeniä, jopa satoja eri maanomistajien hallinnoimia suoalueita. Tämän vuoksi METSOn käytännön, jonka mukaan kuka tahansa voi tarjota suoaluettaan suojeluun yleisten kriteerien puitteissa, ei katsottu soveltuvan soidensuojeluun. Työryhmän mukaan vapaaehtoisten tunnustelujen perustana pitäisi olla luonnonsuojelukriteerien mukaiset kohdevalinnat, sillä sitä kautta varmistetaan valtakunnallisesti arvokkaiden suokohteiden valikoituminen suojeluun. Valmista keinovalikoimaa ylhäältä päin määriteltyjen kohteiden täysin vapaaehtoiselle suojelulle ei kuitenkaan ollut olemassa, eikä uusia ohjauskeinoja ollut mahdollista kehittää olemassa olevan lainsäädännön puitteissa. METSO-ohjelman katsottiin lopulta soveltuvan metsäisten suotyyppien kuten korpien suojeluun, ja se valikoitui näiden suotyyppien osalta ensisijaiseksi toteuttamiskeinoksi (Alanen & Aapala 2015).

METSO-ohjelman mahdollisuuksiin toimia soidensuojelun tehokkaana toteuttamiskeinona suhtauduttiin myös luonnonsuojelujärjestöissä kriittisesti: *"METSO-ohjelma on tuonut hyväksyttävyyttä, mutta samalla se on tuonut hirmuisesti tehottomuutta ja tyhjäkäyntiä"* [H7]. Luonnonsuojelulain mukainen luonnonsuojeluohjelma kykenisi varmemmin turvaamaan soiden luontoarvot koko Suomessa. Paluu luonnonsuojelulain 7-9 §:n mukaiseen luonnonsuojeluohjelmaan on kuitenkin osoittautunut haasteelliseksi vapaaehtoisuutta ja vuorovaikutteista hallintaa korostavana aikana norminpurkutalkoineen. Siitä huolimatta luontojärjestöjen mukaan ylhäältä päin ohjautuvan luonnonsuojelusuunnittelun tarve ei ole poistunut METSO-ohjelman kaltaisten suojeluinnovaatioiden seurauksena.

Keväällä 2015 ELY-keskukset toteuttivat ympäristöministeriön toimeksiantona maanomistajakyselyn, jossa selvitettiin suhtautumista soidensuojeluun ja sen toteuttamiskeinoihin. Osallistamisessa haluttiin edetä kohti minimitason ylittävää maanomistajien kuulemista. *"Pelkkä ilmoitus tulevista kohteiden maastokäynneistä ei ole avointa ja läpinäkyvää vuorovaikutusta." (*Kannanotto, Valtioneuvosto 2012*).* Tämän vuoksi maanomistajille lähetettiin maanomistajakysely soidensuojelun toteuttamisvaihtoehdoista. Koska lakisääteisen, luonnonsuojelulain 7 §:n mukaisen luonnonsuojeluohjelman toteuttamisesta luovuttiin, maanomistajien kuulemisen sijaan toteutettiin maanomistajanäkemysten selvittäminen vaihtoehtoisten politiikkakeinojen osalta.

Luonnonsuojelulain mukaisen luonnonsuojeluohjelman viimeisenä toteuttamiskeinona lakiin kirjattujen pakkolunastuksen ja toimenpidekiellon pelko on aikaansaanut voimakkaita vastareaktioita metsänomistajissa (Hiedanpää 2000; Oksanen & Kumpula 2008). Myös vapaaehtoista suojelua ja täyden korvauksen periaatetta kannattavissa kommenteissa esiintyi termi "pakkosuojelu". Maanomistajakyselyn toteuttamiseen liittyikin tavoite lisätä suojeluohjelman vapaaehtoisuutta ja sitä kautta suojelun hyväksyttävyyttä maanomistajien silmissä. Kyseinen tavoite istui hyvin MTK:n pyrkimykseen vahvistaa maanomistajien päätäntävaltaa suojelukysymyksessä ja välttää pakkosuojelua. Luonnonsuojelujärjestöjen mukaan luonnonsuo-

jelulain mukaisen suojeluohjelman ajautuminen vastatuuleen vain osoittaa sen, kuinka suuri määrä valtaa yksittäinen etujärjestö on saavuttanut Suomessa: *"…varsin kapea intressi- osa yhteiskuntaa, niin kuin MTK ja yksittäinen uus ministeriö, sitten tavallaan pysäytti tän paluun normaaliin hetkenä jolloin yhteiskunnallisesti sovittu ohjelma piti saada maaliin ennen vaaleja"*. [H4]. Vaaleja ennen spekuloitiin keskustavetoisella hallituksella, joka todennäköisesti ei tulisi toteuttamaan 100 000 hehtaarin lisäsuojelua. Lakisääteiseen suojeluun ei vaalien jälkeen olisi käytettävissä riittäviä määrärahoja. Vuoden 2015 eduskuntavaaleissa keskusta sai vaalivoiton ja Juha Sipilän hallituskaudella määrärahat puolitettiin (Alanen & Aapala 2015).

Ohjelman toteutusvaihtoehtojen arvioimisen seurauksena luovuttiin lakisääteisen luonnonsuojeluohjelman valmistelusta yksityismailla. Ohjelmaa päädyttiin toteuttamaan pirstalaisesti yhdistelemällä koko käytössä olevaa suojelukeinovalikoimaa. Soidensuojelutyöryhmä valmisteli toimenpideehdotukset erikseen valtionmaiden ja yksityismaiden osalta. Valtionmailla noin kuudentuhannen hehtaarin suojelu toteutettiin keväällä 2015 ennen eduskuntavaaleja. Lisäksi linjattiin luonnonsuojelulain mukaisten suojelualueiden perustamisesta valtionmaille sekä määriteltiin soidensuojelun täydennyskohteet Metsähallituksen hallinnassa olevilla maa-alueilla. Yhteensä valtionmailla toteutetaan linjauksen mukaisesti noin 36 000 hehtaarin suojelutoimenpiteet. Yksityismailla suojelu toteutetaan aluksi METSO-kriteerit täyttävien soiden suojeluneuvotteluilla. Suojelun toteutus kohdistetaan työryhmän valitsemiin Etelä-Suomen arvokkaisiin suokohteisiin painottamalla luonnonarvoiltaan arvokkaimpia soita, joille on kohdistumassa maankäytön muutoksia, sekä soihin jotka ovat merkityksellisiä suojeluverkoston täydentämisen tai alueellisten erityispiirteiden osalta (Alanen & Aapala 2015). Käynnissä on siis kokeilu vapaaehtoisten menetelmien toimivuudesta ja niiden vaikutuksesta luonnonsuojelun hyväksyttävyyteen yksityismaiden soidensuojelussa. Jotta kokeilu toimisi oppimisen alustana, tulisi sen seuranta ja vaikutuksia koskeva tiedonkeruu kuitenkin suunnitella huolellisesti.

Julkinen keskustelu soidensuojelun kokeilujen näyttämönä

Koska soidensuojelu on merkittävä yhteiskunnallinen suojelukysymys, jota myös värittää vastakkainasettelujen historia ja ristiriitaiset intressit, on selvää, että siihen liittyvät tapahtumat päätyvät helposti julkisen keskustelun kohteeksi. Tässä mielessä hallinnolliset kokeilut usein eroavat merkittävästi pienimuotoisista ruohonjuuritason kokeiluista. Julkinen keskustelu on tekijä, joka saattaa muokata merkittävälläkin tavalla hallinnollisten kokeilujen toimintaympäristöä. Sen kautta kokeilujen merkitystä pääsevät määrittämään uudet toimijat, ja julkisilla areenoilla tuotetut tulkinnat kokeilujen luonteesta saattavat yllättää. Soidensuojeluohjelman yhteydessä julkisuutta hyödynnettiin myös avoimesti suojeluohjelman toimeenpanoon liittyvien poliittisten tavoitteiden kampanjoinnissa.

Tiedotteessa, jossa Ympäristöministeriö ilmoitti keskeyttävänsä soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelutyön ja selvittävänsä mahdollisuuksia edetä suojelussa vapaaehtoisuuden pohjalta, kiitellään soidensuojelutyöryhmän työtä ja mainitaan, että METSO -ohjelmassa on saatu hyviä tuloksia metsien suojelussa. Tiedotteessa todetaan:

"Jos rakennamme maanomistajien kanssa hyvää yhteistyötä vapaaehtoisuuden pohjalta, rakennamme samalla luottamusta ja positiivista asennetta luonnonsuojelua kohtaan. Tätä asennetta me tarvitsemme, sillä Suomen luonnosta ja ympäristöstä huolehdimme me kaikki yhdessä. Vastakkainasettelun sijaan etsitään uutta tapaa toimia: yhteistyötä ja vapaaehtoista tahtoa toteuttaa soidensuojelutavoitteet." (Ympäristöministeriö 2014).

Saman iltapäivän aikana MTK antoi tiedotteen, jossa kiiteltiin ympäristöministerin toimintaa: *"… Grahn-Laasosen tämänpäiväinen ulostulo on mitä parhain luonnonsuojeluteko, sillä se parantaa luonnonsuojelun hyväksyttävyyttä maanomistajien keskuudessa."* (MTK 2014). Tiedotteiden samanaikaisuus herätti mediassa poliittisen spekulaation ympäristöministerin ja MTK:n kytköksestä (Kouvolan Sanomat 2014).

Kansalaiskeskustelu toteuttamisvaihtoehdoista jatkui vilkkaana läpi syksyn vuonna 2014. Vastareaktiona vapaaehtoisen suojelun selvittämistavoitteelle etenkin luonnonsuojeluväki aktivoitui: *"Nyt kun ympäristöministerikin on asettunut luonnon vastapuolelle, on syytä tiivistää rintamaa puhtaan luonnon puolesta taisteluun."* (mielipidekirjoitus, Keskisuomalainen 2014). Luonnonsuojeluliiton aluejärjestöjen edustajat hämmästelivät suojelun laittamista "jäihin" ja "pakkosuojelu" -sanan käyttöä julkisessa keskustelussa (Radio Pori 2014; Etelä-Saimaa 2014; Kymen Sanomat 2015). Julkisuudessa esitettiin toiveita ohjelman nopeasta toteuttamisesta ja esitettiin huoli soidensuojelutyöryhmän valmistelutyön sivuuttamisesta: *"Vuosia valmistellun soidensuojeluohjelman ydin on arvokkaimpien suoalueiden kokonaisuus, jossa on huomioitu myös verkoston kytkeytyvyys."* (Helsingin Sanomat 2014). Samoin tehtävänannon muuttumisen seurauksena soidensuojelutyöryhmässä vallitsi

epätietoisuus *"on ollut semmoista epätietoista tässä ryhmässä, että mitenkä tässä mennään eteenpäin"* [H12].

Julkisuus on aivan erityinen poliittisen toiminnan areena, jossa dialogi ja argumentointi tapahtuvat eri logiikalla kuin suljetuissa työryhmissä (mm. Hajer 2009). Lehtien mielipidepalstat ja blogien tapainen kansalaisjournalismi, puhumattakaan sosiaalisen median suomista suoran vuorovaikutuksen mahdollisuuksista, muodostavat kansalaisosallistumisen areenan, jota kautta poliitikkojen lisäksi myös yksittäiset kansalaiset ja mielipidevaikuttajat voivat tuoda kantojaan näkyville (Hokkanen 2004). Kirjallisiin kuulemisiin sekä deliberaatiofoorumeihin verrattuna median kautta esitetyt kannanotot on suunnattu suuremmalle yleisölle. Niiden tavoitteena on kansalaisten tiedontarpeen tyydyttämisen lisäksi julkisen mielipiteen muokkaaminen, ja puheenvuoroissa esitetään myös kärkkäitä kommentteja.

Mediassa soidensuojeluohjelman suunnanmuutos esitettiinkin alusta asti poliittisesti hyvin polarisoituneena kysymyksenä, ja yhdessä oppimisen ja kehittämisen sijaan soidensuojelu alkoi määrittyä konfliktina. Lakisääteinen suojelu ja vapaaehtoinen suojelu asetettiin selkeästi vastakkain soidensuojeluun liittyvissä uutisoinneissa eikä uutisoinneissa juuri haettu kompromisseja ääripäiden väliltä. Soidensuojeluohjelman julkisuuskonfliktin syntymiseen vaikuttivat päivänpolitiikan lisäksi myös suojelupolitiikkaa vaivanneet vuosikymmenien jännitteet (Heikkilä & Lindholm 2015).

"Koko ympäristöliikkeen olemassaolon ajan, niin toki maanomistajat on, niin kuin intressiryhmät on…niin toki he on syystä varmasti vuosikymmenet vastustaneet hyvin eri keinoin yhteiskunnassa tehtyä suojelua, joka sitten vähentää maanomistajan vaikutusvaltaa". [H4].

Soidensuojelutyöryhmässä vastaavaa vastakkainasettelua ei ollut *"valmisteluprosessina tää oli harvinaisen hyvä ja toimiva"* [H7]. Mediakeskustelu ei näin ollen ollut omiaan edesauttamaan soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelun dialogia. Sen sijaan mediakeskustelu oli tärkeässä roolissa soidensuojelupolitiikan näyttämönä ja tarjosi areenan vapaaehtoisten toteuttamiskeinojen kritiikille.

Lakisääteisen ja vapaaehtoisen suojelun välisen vastakkainasettelun lisäksi mediassa esitettiin myös vahvoja epäilyjä siitä, että työryhmätyö sivuutettiin ja sen työ jäi politikoinnin jalkoihin. *"Kuusi vuotta valmistelutyötä takana voidaan jättää aika kevyen näköisesti lepäämään kun edessä on kuusi kuukautta vaalityötä pääministeripuolueen asemasta"* (Karjalainen 2014). Kokoomuksen arveltiin poliittisen teatteriesityksen avulla tavoittelevan maaseudun maanomistajien hyväksyntää ja lähettävän samalla piiloviestiä Keskustalle (Yle 2014). Tapahtuman arveltiin myös ärsyttävän oppositiopuolueista etenkin SDP:tä ja Vihreitä. Demari-lehden pääkirjoituksessa arveltiin vapaaehtoisen soidensuojelun olevan osa kokoomuslaista norminpurkuintoa (Demari 2014). Epäilyt soidensuojeluohjelman keskeyttämisen yhteyksistä lähestyviin eduskuntavaaleihin ilmensivät laajemminkin esiintyvää kritiikkiä edustukselliseen demokratiaan perustuvan päätöksentekojärjestelmän kyvyttömyydestä vastata pitkäjänteistä työtä vaativiin ympäristöongelmiin (mm. mielipidekirjoitus, Kymen Sanomat 2015). Edustuksellisen demokratian vaalikausien mukaan rytmittyvä tempoilevuus sai kritiikkiä myös haastateltavilta: *"Tämä pitkä linja pitäis aina pitää mielessä vaikka hallitukset vaihtuu"* [H1].

Koska vapaaehtoisuuteen perustuva suojelu pääosin leimautui julkisessa keskustelussa poliittisten intressien edistämiseksi, ei julkisilla areenoilla pystytty esittämään näkemyksiä siitä, minkälaista uutta tietoa luonnonsuojelun edistämisen käytännöistä kokeilu voisi mahdollisesti tuottaa. Annukka Berg on nimennyt julkisen keskustelun herättämisen yhdeksi kokeilevan hallinnon päätavoitteista (Berg *et al.* 2014). Poliittisesti konfliktiherkissä tilanteissa julkinen keskustelu saattaa kuitenkin myös rajoittaa kokeiluista oppimista tuottamalla kärjistyksiä ja uusintamalla vanhoja vastakkainasetteluja. Kokeilevien käytäntöjen, julkisen keskustelun ja kokeiluista oppimisen välinen suhde on monimutkainen ja saattaa vaihdella tilannekohtaisesti paljonkin. On perusteltua väittää, että toimiakseen oppimisen välineenä kokeilut tulisi suunnitella huolellisesti ja niistä tulisi tiedottaa avoimesti. Soidensuojeluohjelman tapauksessa viestinnän pääpaino oli testatun politiikkavälineen sijaan päätöksenteon taustalla olevissa poliittisissa intresseissä.

Päätelmät

Tarkastelimme edellä soidensuojelun täydennysohjelman toteutumista kokeilevien käytäntöjen näkökulmasta. Tunnistimme kokeilevan hallinnon piirteitä sekä soidensuojeluohjelman valmistelun laajassa, deliberatiivisessa osallistumisprosessissa että päätöksessä luopua lakisääteisestä suojelusta yksityismailla ja ottaa käyttöön vapaaehtoisen suojelun menetelmät. Jälkimmäistä päätöstä ei suunniteltu kokeiluksi, mutta käytännössä se käynnisti testin vapaaehtoisuuteen perustuvien välineiden toimivuudesta soidensuojelussa. Soidensuojeluohjelmaa koskeva tarkastelu toi selvästi esille ongelmia, joita kokeilevien käytäntöjen soveltamiseen liittyy silloin, kun ollaan tekemisissä konfliktialt-

tiiden yhteiskunnallisten ilmiöiden kanssa. Ongelmat liittyvät sekä valmistelun demokraattisuuteen että suojelutavoitteiden turvaamiseen.

Soidensuojeluohjelmaa valmisteltiin laajassa osallistumisprosessissa, jossa sidosryhmät hyvässä yhteistyössä kokosivat tietoa ja kehittivät uudenlaista kriteeristöä suojeluohjelman toteutukseen. Vuorovaikutusprosessin lopputulos oli avoin, mutta vain tietyissä, ennalta asetetun suojelutavoitteen asettamissa raameissa. Samoin osallistujajoukko ja osallistumisen muodot olivat hallinnon toimesta rajatut. Deliberaatio kykeni tuottamaan ratkaisuja suojeluohjelman toteutukseen, mutta avoimeksi jäi se, kuinka vahvasti prosessi haastoi olemassa olevia ja vahvasti luonnontieteelliseen asiantuntijuuteen nojaavia hallinnon käytäntöjä. Selvästi nousi joka tapauksessa esille tyytymättömyys siihen, että tärkeitä sidosryhmiä oli jätetty valmistelutyön ulkopuolelle. Deliberatiivisten ja kokeilevien käytäntöjen yhteydessä onkin esitetty huoli päätöksenteon entistä laajamittaisemmasta siirtymisestä demokraattisen kontrollin ulottumattomiin (Swyngedouw 2007; Blühdorn 2013).

Sekä vuorovaikutteisen että kokeilevan hallinnon vaarana on lisäksi se, että osallistavat käytännöt aktivoivat vain yksittäisiä kansalaisryhmiä, jotka osallistuvat aktiivisesti myös politiikan muilla areenoilla. Toimijajoukon rajaaminen saattaa kuitenkin paradoksaalisesti olla asia, joka edesauttaa nopeiden kokeilujen toteuttamista ohittaessaan raskaat ja usein aikaa vievät neuvotteluprosessit. Jotta vältettäisiin tilanne, jossa kokeilevat käytännöt edesauttavat ennen kaikkea vahvojen toimijatahojen omia kehittämistavoitteita, tulisi kokeilujen yhteiskunnalliset oppimistavoitteet ja niiden seuranta suunnitella ja toteuttaa huolellisesti.

Soidensuojeluohjelman keskeyttäminen ja vapaaehtoisen suojelun kokeilu yksityismaiden soidensuojelussa nosti kärjistetysti esille deliberatiivisen demokratian ja edustuksellisen demokratian välisen jännitteisen suhteen myös toisesta näkökulmasta. Asiantuntijatyöryhmän, kuulemisten ja maanomistajakyselyn tulokset näyttivät jäävän eduskuntavaalien alla käydyn politiikan valtapelin jalkoihin. Työryhmän ponnistelut sivuutettiin ja päätöksenteko nojautui maanomistajien intresseihin. Vuorovaikutteiset prosessit koetaankin usein turhauttaviksi, koska ne ovat aikaa vieviä, tuloksiltaan heikkoja ja poliittisesti sivuutettavissa (Zografos 2015). Edustuksellisen demokratian osalta politiikan teko on usein lyhytjänteistä toimintaa, jossa tavoitellaan parempaa vaalitulosta seuraavalle vaalikaudelle. Ympäristöongelmien ratkaiseminen vaatii kuitenkin pitkäjänteisempää suunnittelua kuin edustuksellisen järjestelmän lyhytjänteisyyden vuoksi usein saavutetaan. Joka tapauksessa on selvää, että edustuksellinen demokratia, deliberatiiviset käytännöt ja nopeat kokeilut toimivat erilaisilla vuorovaikutuksen, neuvottelujen ja oppimisen logiikoilla ja rytmeillä: näiden yhteensovittaminen ei ole vaivatonta. Mikäli kokeilevaa ympäristöhallintoa halutaan edistää, näiden keskinäisiä suhteita pitäisi tapauskohtaisesti selkiyttää.

Pitkään valmistellun soidensuojeluohjelman keskeyttäminen ja siirtyminen kokeilemaan vapaaehtoisia suojelumenetelmiä yksityismailla nosti myös esille kysymyksen siitä, millaisten asioiden yhteydessä kokeilevia menetelmiä on perusteltua ja mielekästä toteuttaa. Vapaaehtoisuuden seurauksena soidensuojelun tavoitteet saattavat vaarantua. Voidaan siis perustellusti kysyä, toteuttaako kokeilu hyvän hallinnon periaatteita ja turvaako se ympäristöhallinnon toimintaedellytyksiä. Hyvin suunniteltujen kokeilujen avulla on mahdollisuus kehittää hallinnon toimintatapoja ja integroida uusia toimijoita mukaan tähän kehitystyöhön. Mikäli ympäristötavoitteista halutaan pitää kiinni, kokeilut pitäisi kuitenkin raamittaa niin, että ne kohdentuvat suojelun keinoihin tavoitteita vaarantamatta. Tavoista, joilla tuetaan tämän kaltaista kokeilukulttuuria, kaivattaisiin edelleen lisätutkimusta.

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H3 Suomen riistakeskus
H4 Natur och Miljö
H5 MTK
H6 MTK
H7 SLL
H8 Metsäteollisuus ry
H9 GTK
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ARTICLE IV

Albrecht, Eerika. Discursive struggle and agency – Updating the Finnish peatland conservation network. Submitted article.

DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE AND AGENCY –
UPDATING THE FINNISH PEATLAND CONSERVATION NETWORK

Peatlands, referred to as mires, cover about one-third of Finnish land area. This paper explores the process of updating the peatland conservation network in Finland as a discursive struggle over regulatory and voluntary policy means for nature conservation. This study employs discourse analysis to evaluate the role of discourse in the context of Finnish Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme, which was drafted from 2012 to 2015. It also applies the concept of discursive agency to reveal how agents actively seek to gain legitimate speaker positions and influence policy outcomes as they rely on existing discourses. The empirical data consists of expert interviews, newspaper articles and policy documents. The results indicate that the discourses of 'maintenance of biodiversity', 'regulatory program', 'voluntary conservation' and 'participatory approach' influence the peatland conservation policy. Additionally, discursive agency is achieved through hegemonic discourse and a consensus seeking argumentation strategy that rely on keywords, such voluntary and sustainability.
Keywords: discursive struggle, discursive agency, conservation policy, peatland conservation

1 INTRODUCTION

Peatlands such as bogs and fens, also referred to as mires in Finland (Seppä 2002), are under pressure from agriculture, forestry and the utilization of peat as a cheap and local energy source. Peatlands cover about 9.6 million hectares, or one-third of Finland's land area (Kaakinen & Salminen 2006). This paper studies the process of updating the Finnish mire conservation network between 2012 and 2015 in the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme (SMCP). Before the network was updated 1.12 million hectares of mires and peatlands were protected; about 13% of all Finnish peatlands (Alanen & Aapala 2015). The National Mire Conservation Programme was prepared in 1979 and implemented in 1981 (Kaakinen & Salminen 2006). Since then the program has been evaluated twice, in 1995 and 2004, and new areas have been protected through the Natura 2000 network. The need to update the conservation network is evident especially in the southern part of Finland where many mire types are degraded and the land use pressure is high.

In this paper, policy making is studied as an ongoing discursive struggle over the definition and framing of the problem, public understanding of the issues and shared meanings which motivate action (Stone 2002; Fischer & Gottweis 2012). Here, the discursive struggle occurred over the establishment of a conservation between proponents of a regulatory program and those who favored a voluntary one. The legitimacy of so-called conventional nature conservation has been problematized in the past with the implementation of the Natura 2000 network (Hiedanpää 2005). The regulatory solution would establish new conservation areas, whereas voluntary policy means have been advocated as a response to legitimacy issues. Additionally, Finland has been actively developing market-based and voluntary environmental policy instruments, which are inclusive towards the forest owners (Jordan et al. 2003; Paloniemi & Vilja 2009; Primmer et al. 2013). The voluntary policy solution that the SMCP eventually followed was initially introduced with the conservation

model of the National Forest Biodiversity Programme for Southern Finland (METSO) (Hiedanpää 2002; Paloniemi & Vilja 2009; Primmer et al. 2013). This voluntary model, which allows private forest owners to establish 10-year conservation contracts, has become an established practice in Finland (Primmer et al. 2013).

The aim of this paper is to reveal the discourses and the role of agents in the nature conservation policy process intended to update the Finnish peatland conservation network. The working group for the SMCP, was an expert forum to discuss the selection criteria for conservation areas and policy solutions. This working group followed the idea of inclusive policy making in network governance (Saarikoski et al. 2012; Sørensen & Torfing 2016). Additionally, this paper aims to reveal who participates in the construction of Finnish peatland conservation discourses and what kind of argumentative "building blocks" these discourses employ. The main research questions in this paper are:

a) What was the role of different policy discourses and agency in the process of drafting the Supplemental Mire Conservation Programme in Finland?
b) Which powerful discourses did the agents rely on in order to gain discursive agency and persuade others to support their preferred policy solutions?
c) How did this influence the outcome of the process?

2 DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE AND DISCURSIVE AGENCY

Discourse analysis is a well-established approach in environmental politics because it is suitable for the analysis of complex interactions in policy processes (Sharp & Richardson 2001; Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Kleinsmit et al. 2009; O'Riordan et al. 2015). Discourse is an articulatory practice that organizes social relations and consequently shapes identities and constructs power relations (Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Howarth 2010). These discursive structures are always interpreted by the researcher (Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Leipold & Winkel 2016b) and discourse analysis builds on Foucault's post-structural theory. For discourse analysts, language use is action which is always socially and historically situated in a dialectical relationship with the social context, being both constitutive of and constituted by it (Fairclough 1993; Hajer 1995); although drawing on this 'linguistic approach' requires recognition that these processes have both discursive and material consequences.

Discourse analysis often focuses on moments where discursive patterns or routines are broken up in a moment of dislocation (Hajer & Versteeg 2005). These moments of 'dislocation' enable the analysis of power and contestation in a discursive struggle (Rydin 2003; Hajer & Versteeg 2005). This paper analyzes a moment of 'dislocation' in Finnish nature conservation policy - the policy process of updating the SMCP in Finland, which was drafted between 2012 and 2015 (Alanen & Aapala 2015). What makes this an interesting example of dislocation in environmental politics is the change in political settings during the policy process that allowed the discursive struggle to emerge. In a discursive struggle agents take subject positions and rely on existing discourses to produce storylines, which are strategies to gain discursive agency. Storylines have been defined as, "discursive practices of condensed narratives that guide a policy process over time" (Hajer 2005, 448). Storylines reduce the complexity of

environmental problems and produce meaningful policy interventions (Hajer 2005; Teräväinen 2010), but they do not require mutual understanding or coherence among agents.

This article focuses on how agents seek to legitimate their speaker positions and arguments through discursive agency (Leipold & Winkel 2016a; Leipold & Winkel 2016 b). With this emphasis, the paper continues interest in how various actors exercise power by drawing on existing discourses and how these existing discourses shape agency (Hajer & Versteeg 2005; Leipold & Winkler 2016b). Compared to the more established approach of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1993; 2010), the discursive agency approach has been less tested empirically. While critical discourse analysis studies the reproducing and changing aspects of discourse and how this change occurs – revealing power asymmetries and critically examining the relationship between power and society (Fairclough 1993; Takala et.al. 2017), the discursive agency approach recognizes the role of agents, which aim to gain acknowledged speaker positions within the dialectical process relying on hegemonic discourses and shaping discourse through agency (Leipold & Winkel 2016a). The aim to legitimate oneself as a relevant speaker can be achieved through strategic action in terms of relevant subject positions to the policy issue (Leipold & Winkel 2016a), positioning oneself within competing storylines or by strategic practices of argumentation. In speaking situations agency is mainly recognized as human speaking objects, such as experts, government officials or members of the public, although 'discourse ethics' calls for the need to recognize non-human entities (Eckersley 1999; Dryzek 2013, 18).

Discursive agency is also about power relations (Leipold & Winkel 2016a). The concept of power has also been conceptualized through institutional and ideational power (Carstensen & Schmidt 2016). Institutional power refers to attempts by actors to achieve their objectives or control others through formal and informal institutions, whereas ideational power has been conceptualized as the capacity of actors to influence ones normative and cognitive beliefs through the use ideational elements (ibid). This paper combines the authoritarian understanding of power and the power embedded in discourse as it assumes that the speaking position, which is perceived as legitimate, is achieved through strategic practices of argumentation or participation in 'legitimate discourse'.

3 CASE STUDY, MATERIALS AND METHODS

This work is based on a case study. Case study research is a qualitative research strategy that may combine different sources of data (Yin 2003; Hartley 2004). The working group for supplemental mire conservation consisted of 17 full members and 9 substitute members selected by the Ministry of the Environment. While these agents represent various institutions, interests and voices, they were expected to collaborate and set aside their institutional affiliations in the deliberative forum. The meetings of the working group took place between September 4, 2012 and September 30, 2015 (Alanen & Aapala 2015). The process was led by the Ministry of Environment, which invited a government initiated forum to deliberate on the mire conservation objectives. The aim of this working group was to define criteria for the selection of conservation

areas, select areas with high nature values and discuss the policy and implementation measures of the SMCP. The working group specified areas where conservation needs were most urgent, decided on selection criteria for areas of high nature value and the methods to develop scientific evidence in areas with high nature value. Subsequently, the first phase of the program concentrated on southern Finland.

Initially the working group was supposed to create a mire conservation program according to the Finnish Nature Conservation Act. This objective changed when the political setting shifted. In the beginning of the process the Government of Finland had a Minister of the Environment from the Green Party. In the autumn of 2014 the Greens stepped down from the government because of a disagreement over the decision to build more nuclear power plants. On September 26 the ministerial position was filled by a politician from the National Coalition Party, which is a centre-right pro-Europe liberal party (Yle 2014). Voluntary nature conservation became the policy solution advocated for by the new Minister of the Environment and the new task of the working group was to define suitable policy means to improve voluntary measures. In addition, a sub-working group was selected to evaluate the policy instruments for mire conservation before the actual working group was allowed to continue the selection of conservation areas.

The data for this article consists of semi-structured interviews, public policy documents and relevant newspaper articles. First, the agents involved in drafting the SMCP were identified from the document material, which are publicly available on the Finnish Council of State web-page under the project YM027:00/2012. This web-folder includes the minutes from the working group, 22 public hearing documents and 81 responses to the call for comments on the proposal. After identifying relevant agents, 23 professionals were contacted for interviews and 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted in January and February 2015. These interviewees were either participants in the working group or representatives of interest groups that took part in the seminars or workshops organized by the Ministry of the Environment. Interviewees were asked to describe the process, including what topics and policy solutions for mire conservation were discussed in the working group. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in full. The interview transcripts and document material were coded following qualitative content analysis. Furthermore 35 newspaper articles, fact sheets and blog posts from June 12, 2014 to February 13, 2015 support the analysis.

The discourse analysis was carried out in two phases. In phase one analysis of the arguments applied throughout the discursive struggle was conducted. In this phase 207 arguments presented by 22 stakeholders were identified from the document material and the interview data. The arguments were verified with qualitative content analysis from newspaper material, which also focused on the arguments employed to persuade others. Based on this, four coherent storylines that demonstrate how agents employ strategic practices of language and argumentation and aim to gain discursive agency to influence the outcome were identified. In phase two the outcome of the process, which was published as a draft report in 2015, was analyzed.

4 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 THE DISCOURSES OF MIRE CONSERVATION

The moment of discursive opening, wherein the struggle over the content and definition of the mire conservation policy occurred, allows us to scrutinize the role of discourses, agents and arguments, and how they constitute discursive agency in the process of updating the content of the Finnish mire conservation network. The interviews for this study took place in the middle of the process where the voluntary and regulatory means for mire conservation were contested. At that point the outcome of the process was unclear, which allows us to look for storylines and other discursive elements in the struggle over the means of the SMCP.

The four discourse categories of 'maintenance of biodiversity', 'regulatory program', 'voluntary conservation' and 'participatory' summarize the values and arguments of each discursive agency (Table 1). The agents employ each other's arguments, some of which belong to multiple discourse categories. Due to this, discourse analysis is always artificial and related to the researcher's interpretation. However, analyses of discourses and discursive agency reveal strategies to gain power and influence the outcome in a particular speaking situation. Within these storylines the agents employ arguments in a coherent way in order to shape policy meanings, interpretations and the outcome.

a.Maintenance of biodiversity

This discourse highlights the improvement of nature conservation networks, maintaining ecosystem structure and functionality, achieving the favorable status of nature conservation and protecting mires as hydrological units (Interviews 4 & 7; Finnish Council of State 2012). International biodiversity targets, protecting habitats and species and returning the ecological health of wetlands were represented as infallible targets requiring action. The discursive agency here consists of nature conservation associations and the regional environmental administration. They argued that state driven regulatory measures are necessary to achieve biodiversity targets. Under this discourse category, the agents employed the professional vocabulary of nature conservation, which included terms such as conservation network, ecosystem structure and functionality, and nature or habitat type:

> *"The biodiversity indicators of Finnish nature, […] conditions that can not be reduced to endangered nature types and endangered single species, […] these indicators are alarmingly red, which means mire biodiversity is declining. So this is basically the scientific fact that many stakeholders have systematically emphasized"* (Interview 4).

Recreational values, such as berry picking and bird watching, were also emphasized within this discourse. This reflects the middle-class, recreational background of the conservation movement. Characteristic to the Finnish nature conservation movement is that it has been in the hands of experts and has institutionalized over time (Kaakinen & Salminen 2006). Climate change, although it was mentioned did not play a major role within this discourse (Interviews 4, 5 & 7). Yet, climate change is an important argument for peatland conservation on a global scale (Joosten et al. 2012). Water pol-

lution control and water quality targets, which have been highlighted in Finnish peatland conflicts (Albrecht & Ratamäki 2016), were major concerns within this discourse category (Interviews 4, 5 &7). Additionally, the ecosystem services emphasized by this discourse were water resources, flood control, and carbon sequestration and storage.

b. Regulatory program

Central to this discourse was the willingness to proceed according to the Finnish Nature Conservation Act (1096/1996; paragraphs 7–9 and 50–54). The European Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC), which has been implemented by the Finnish Nature Conservation Act, aims at the favorable conservation status of natural habitats and species. This was linked to the effectiveness of a top-down approach, as 'traditional' nature conservation would most likely lead to a sufficient outcome. Thus, a mire conservation program adhering to the Environmental Protection Act would be the most cost-effective solution to reach the SMCP objectives because it would lead to an environmentally preferable result (Interviews 4 & 7). The argument here is that conservation targets are better achieved through centralized administration and expert analysis:

> *"It is crystal clear for us that there is a need for this type of nature conservation planning, the so-called conventional nature conservation which is approved by the Council of State"* (Interview 4).

It appears that this discourse builds on administrative rationalism, which relies on the institutionalized problem solving of the government agencies, expert panels and regional administration (Dryzek 2013, 20). The regulatory solution was the basis of the SMCP, before the Minister of the Environment from the Green Party (Ville Niinistö) resigned. As a regulatory conservation program, the selection of areas with conservation values of national significance should be carried out with appropriate methodology and the resulting program should consist of nationally significant wetland areas to be purchased for permanent conservation. Mires are hydrological units that should be integrated in the program as a whole.

Additionally, this discourse emphasized that hearing procedures are already at a good standard and follow regulations on social and environmental impact assessments (Social Impact Assessment Act (200/2005) & Environmental Impact Assessment Act (468/1994)). The resources of the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and Environment are limited, which is why they see additional landowner questionnaires as an extra burden for the regional administration.

c. Voluntary conservation

This discourse emphasized a voluntary conservation model, especially on private land. In this model, mire conservation should be approached voluntarily because of the lessons learned from previous conservation conflicts. The implementation of previous conservation programs, such as Natura 2000, provoked negative reactions among forest industries and forest owners as the program did not fit with existing national and regional governance practices (Hiedanpää, 2005). This discourse argued that the conservation model for mires should follow the national forest biodiversity program for southern Finland, METSO, which introduced a voluntary approach to forest conservation (Borg & Paloniemi, 2012; Primmer et al. 2013). These agents per-

ceived the 'new' conservation solutions as a way to build legitimacy for conservation and solve the conflict between individual property rights and nature conservation as a public good.

The discursive agency here consists of expert organizations representing landowner and forest owner interests as well as forest industries. Peat extractors did not take part in the drafting process of the SMCP, but they may have influenced the policy process indirectly. What is noteworthy here is that these agents were not against mire conservation but called for more innovative solutions to improve biodiversity targets that would not hinder the developments in the bioeconomy:

> *"That type of symmetry or equilibrium and action that allows the development of the bioeconomy as a leading economic activity in Finland, which is based on sustainable natural resources and sustainable use of them, and which is a state-of-the-art activity in Finland compared to many other nations. And in this regard we should reconsider the nature conservation issue, not only as an ideology, but in practice and being realistic"* (Interview 8).

The constitutional protection of property was used as an argument to support voluntary conservation. Here especially the central union for agricultural producers and forest owners argued that landowners should have the right to make land use decisions on their property and, if willing, offer their property to the conservation program. According to this discourse, the legitimacy of conservation improves with voluntary measures, as many landowners are in favor of conservation. This is especially the case when conservation is voluntary and compensation fair (Interview 5). It also includes the idea of full compensation, which is compensation for the loss of future peat production and the loss of economic benefits from forestry (Interviews 5 & 6). When the compensation for conservation is fair, it will motivate land owners to choose conservation. Additionally, 'forced conservation' was used as a rhetorical device to gain power for the voluntary discourse.

The sustainability of the voluntary conservation model was highlighted, especially its socio-economic benefits which would guarantee that the profitability of forestry activities would not decrease and that the property rights of private land owners would be respected (Interviews 6, 8 & 10). When establishing borders for conservation areas, forest agents argued that the forestry sector's operational precondition should be respected (Interviews 8 & 11). It should be noted that the forest industry has traditionally played a strong role in Finnish decision making structures (Rytteri & Kortelainen 2015).

Additionally this discourse emphasized the multiple uses of peatlands, including recreation, tourism, medical uses of peatlands, peat extraction and forestry (Interview 2). The concept of ecosystem services was employed to emphasize the human well-being dimensions of conservation. The voluntary conservation and participatory storylines relied on the concept of sustainability and the hegemonic discourse of sustainable development was influential in the argumentation of these solutions. This contributed to the legitimacy of conservation received from local land owner groups as the outcome of the process was closer to the forest and land owners' interests.

d. Participatory

> *"I think that talk is increasing that there has to be local support to these[…] nature values and biodiversity*" (Interview 1).

This discourse emphasizes the role of local communities and calls for wider deliberation and greater inclusion of local agents in decision making. The argument here was that local legitimacy increases through a voluntary bottom-up approach to mire conservation and local decision making improves the social and economic sustainability of nature conservation. Therefore, local landowners need to be provided with sufficient information and heard in the decision making process (Interviews 1, 3, 9 & 12). This discursive agency consisted of conservation experts with first-hand experience with the wants and needs of the landowners. They argued that recognizing local needs was important, even though the acceptance of nature conservation is generally high at the local level. Within this discourse the multiple uses of peatlands were recognized and calls for open dialogue between various stakeholders who benefit from the use and conservation of peatlands were emphasized. Dialogue would benefit both the nature values of mires and local inhabitants who benefit economically from peatlands. Additionally, to maintain the acceptance of mire conservation, compensation should be fair and align with the full compensation principle (the value of wood and peat).

> *"A model that could be applied, would be to find out what are the most important mires for conservation and then to market voluntary conservation for landowners in those areas, that there would be compensation. We can negotiate higher compensation and then, if the area is under conservation, the recreational uses should not be restricted unnecessarily. And another important thing is to reserve enough resources for peatland restoration"* (Interview 3).

Local uses of peatland, such as berry picking and hunting, were emphasized here. Nature conservation and hunting are typically contested during most nature conservation projects in Finland (Interview 11). Hunting is not allowed in nature conservation areas established under the Nature Conservation Act, but on voluntary conservation areas the landowner can decide whether or not to allow hunting if it does not significantly weaken conservation objectives. Hunting as a form of recreation was an argument used to garner support for voluntary conservation and increase local legitimacy. Other recreational values and the need for restoration were also recognized with the argument that peatlands should be conserved for local people, and not from them.

4.3 THE OUTCOME

At the point of discursive opening, the suggested policy means was the National Forest Biodiversity Programme for Southern Finland (METSO). It was developed from 2003 to 2007 and implementation began in 2008 (Vainio & Paloniemi 2013). Forest owners were integrated in the planning process of the METSO program, helping its synchronization with local forestry practices and governance patterns (Hiedanpää, 2005). This payment for ecosystem services approach is based on discussions in which the state and private forest owners negotiate the terms of a conservation contract (Borg & Paloniemi, 2012). The program recognized forest owners as important agents and improves the legitimacy of conservation but simultaneously contributed to shifts towards neoliberal nature conservation as the state's conservation responsibilities were shifted to regional authorities, entrepreneurs, NGOs and private landowners (Vainio

& Paloniemi 2013; Apostopolou et al. 2014). The METSO model, in which forest owners can offer high biodiversity forest areas for conservation, would be a suitable policy solution for the voluntary conservation of the wooded peatlands. METSO, however, currently lacks resources.

The new Minister of the Environment gave a press release on October 15, 2014 stating that the supplemental mire conservation was to establish voluntary conservation alongside the regulatory mire conservation programme (Ministry of the Environment 2014). On the same day the Central Union of Agricultural and Forest Owners (MTK) gave a press release saying that the Ministry's press release is a significant act for nature conservation because voluntariness will improve the legitimacy of nature conservation (MTK 2014). These press releases resulted in a lively citizen debate where the constitutional protection of property and nature conservation were contested. Members of FANC and politicians from the opposition parties, such as the Greens and the Social Democratic Party of Finland, were particularly active in this debate. On December 2, 2014, Minister Grahn-Laasonen organised a public event in which she invited an expert panel to discuss conservation (Helsingin sanomat 2014; Maaseudun tulevaisuus 2014). Nature conservation associations were concerned that the Central Union for Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners were behind the watering down of the original objective (Interview 4, 7). This reflects the antagonism between interest groups for nature conservation and land owner groups which derives from divergent worldviews (Interview 4).

The Ministry of the Environment applied for an extension until September 30, 2015 (Finnish Council of State 2012). After the new Minister of the Environment took over, a sub-working group was formed to discuss alternative policy solutions. The sub-working group consisted mainly of representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Ministry of the Environment, which meant the number of participants who were allowed to take part in the policy process was reduced. The rest of the working group saw this as a politicized effort to return power to state institutions:

"This change of assignment was clearly brought in by political direction and where those politics came from, there has to have been a group of political forces that wanted to push towards voluntary conservation instead of the nature conservation program according to the Nature Conservation Act" (Interview 12).

The outcome of this process was a compromise between different policy means on public and private land. These were outlined in the proposal for the SMCP (Alanen & Aapala 2015). The final report suggests voluntary conservation on private land based on the METSO conservation program on wooded peatlands and voluntary conservation on open bogs (Alanen & Aapala 2015). With the political changes the program was increasingly reoriented towards voluntary conservation. On state land mire conservation will be enforced through nature conservation areas under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Environment and supplemental mire conservation areas by the state forest enterprise (Metsähallitus). The voluntary approach will be used in mire conservation on private land. For those areas that meet the METSO-criteria (wooded peatlands) negotiations between landowners and the state will lead to conservation contracts. Temporary conservation contracts may be negotiated with those landowners who do not want to commit their land to permanent conservation. Several pilot projects are going to take place where the possibility to include open bogs on private land will be tested.

The proposal for the SMCP received comments from 81 stakeholder groups. These comments are summarized in Table 2. This reflects the categories of discursive agency

which were previously identified from the interview and document material during the drafting process (see Table 1). At this stage environmental conservation agencies were satisfied with the process, describing it as inclusive but dissatisfied with the proposal. Environmental conservationists stressed that the outcome was insufficient to guarantee the favorable conservation status of Finnish mires. Compared to the moment where the 'dislocation' occurred, in these comments the actors from the regional administration were more responsive to the ideas of voluntary conservation, arguing for pilot projects to test the voluntary conservation model. The actors behind the voluntary measures and participatory discourses still argued that the interests of forestry and tourism should be better taken into account and that there should be as few restrictions on the use of natural resources as possible. Thus, when comparing the stakeholder argumentation from early 2015 to 2016, from the moment of dislocation to the proposal, it appears that the voluntary discourse gained momentum. Also, when comparing stakeholder argumentation from the first hearing round to the comments on the proposal for the SMCP, it appears that the stakeholders adopted arguments from each other. Adopting the objectives of other stakeholders may function as a discursive strategy in a discursive struggle over the definition of a problem and its solution (Åkerman & Peltola 2002). Additionally, it is very difficult to draw the line between discursive structures as there are as many speakers as there are viewpoints: "the value of peatland is connected to which point of view is used and who is thinking about the issue" (Interview 12).

Table 2. Feedback to the proposal for supplemental mire conservation, which received 81 comments in 2016.

	Maintanance of biodiversity	**Regulatory program**	**Voluntary conservation**	**Participatory**
Satisfied/ dissatisfied with the proposal	Dissatisfied: leads to (un)favorable status of mire conservation	Dissatisfied: Suggested measures do not guarantee favorable conservation status	Satisfied: Interest of tourism and forestry have to be taken into account	Satisfied: No legal effect on land use
Openness	The working group was well organized and open;	The working group was well organized and open;	Co-operation with interest groups	Acceptance of the land owners and forest owners
Resources	Sufficient funding has to be guaranteed	Sufficient funding has to be guaranteed	Sufficient resources needed; Cost-effectiveness	Full compensation principle; Direct compensation to landowners
Selection of areas	Should be based on nature conservation science, too much reliance on the 100 000 ha guiding the selection of areas	Ecological foundation for the selection criteria of areas; The connectivity of mire areas; hydrology	The bordering areas have to be purchased by the state	-
	Maintanance of biodiversity	**Regulatory program**	**Voluntary conservation**	**Participatory**
Favored policy measures	Mires have to be protected as hydrological units; METSO not suitable for the conservation of open bogs	Temporary conservation insufficient; METSO not suitable for the conservation of open bogs; Conflicting land use interests have to be consolidated	Voluntary action on private land; Land use planning part of the policy means; Most important areas with forestry use have to be prioritized; No restriction on hunting	Voluntary action; Increasing the knowledge of the importance of conservation through information campaigns; No restriction on hunting
Other	Decision on principle of sustainable use and conservation needs to be taken into account	Risks of voluntary conservation not assessed; Few resources for informing landowners and the public	Reduction of bureaucracy	Voluntary land owners can take part in restoration projects
Pilot projects	-	Deleloping new measures	Pilot projects	Pilot projects

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The policy process of updating the peatland conservation network in Finland was analyzed here as a discursive struggle over the means for conservation. The policy instruments for mire conservation were contested in a discursive struggle where the agents drew on discourses and presented arguments in order to influence the outcome and gain discursive agency. It appears that the need for nature conservation as such was generally well accepted by the agents participating in drafting the SMCP. Instead, the discursive struggle occurred between 'new' and 'traditional' conservation approaches (Oksanen & Kumpula 2008; Tallis & Lubchenco 2014; Matulis & Moyer 2016). Additionally, expert discourses were challenged by demands for voluntary measures and participatory approaches. In a case study on Irish peatland discourses similar demands for participatory approaches were recorded (O'riordan et al. 2015).

In this example of 'dislocation in politics', agents actively sought to gain discursive agency through their use of language, both intentionally and unintentionally, in order to influence the process and its outcomes. The dislocation occurred with the change of the Minister of the Environment, which challenged the well-established discursive order of the expert discourse, which relied on the vocabulary of 'conservation network' and 'favorable conservation status of habitats and species'. After dislocation, the new aim was to create a voluntary conservation model. The agents representing the forest industry and agricultural sector were then successful with their 'voluntary conservation' storyline. These agents also had strong institutional status as the forest sector's interests have been very powerful in Finnish decision making structures (Rytteri & Kortelainen 2015; Lukkarinen & Rytteri 2016). This institutional setting is characteristic of Finnish environmental policy structures. Besides the institutional power, the ideational power is visible in the ways that actors tried to promote the full payment principle and how they referred to the hegemonic discourse of sustainable development in order to legitimate their claims for better compensation in exchange for conservation.

The environmental NGOs and environmental administration relied on expert framings of the conservation issues. The vocabularies of biodiversity indicators, conservation networks and ecosystem structure and functionality that nature conservation associations and other environmental experts employ are often perceived as complex by the general public. This reduces the amount of potential participants in dialogue as the general public lacks the capacity to engage in particular discourses. In general, lay-people have less opportunities to participate in debates when the vocabulary used requires the capacity to process scientific knowledge. This is a challenge to meaningful participation in environmental policy processes (Fischer 2000).

In the context of Finnish peatland conservation, the consensus seeking discursive strategy effectively increased its discursive agency – gaining ground as a relevant speaker through institutional status and participation in the dominant discourse (Leipold & Winkel 2016b). The professionals and policy makers as well as the public speaking on behalf of landowner and forestry rights employed the rhetorics of sustainable development and emphasized economic and social aspects to support their objective of greater voluntary measures. Consensus seeking discursive practices are powerful rhetorical devices to argue for one's interests and garner support for preferred policy options across the political spectrum. As this study illustrates, they may also function as a strategy to gain discursive agency and defend one's speaking

position. This speaking position is often achieved through institutional status and maintained through expertise, expert status and references to legitimate discourse.

The outcome of this policy process indicates that voluntary policy solutions are gaining acceptance in the context of Finnish peatland conservation. A value shift towards market-based and voluntary environmental policy instruments has been previously recorded (Jordan et al. 2003; Paloniemi & Vilja 2008; Gómez-Baggethun & Muradian 2015). This case study demonstrates that this value shift is becoming more permanent. During the process of drafting the SMCP, policy instruments were altered to support this new value emphasis with strong autonomy demands for landowners. Also, for the improved mire conservation network the voluntary conservation model was advocated for as a way to increase the effectiveness and legitimacy of conservation. Since the Natura 2000 conflicts in Finland, the METSO program and voluntary solutions have been perceived as a solution to the legitimacy crisis of nature conservation (Hiedanpää 2005). The dominance of these voluntary discourses in conservation policy has been connected to the integrative ability to connect elements of different discourses and forms of legitimacy (Turnhout et al. 2015).

Further analyses on power within the discourses could potentially reveal why 'new conservation solutions' were favored over conventional ones. New conservation solutions have not only been advocated for by agriculture and forestry interest groups but also by conservation science (Kareksela et al. 2013; Matulis & Moyer 2016). Simultaneously, one needs to remain critical about the material consequences of these changes within the vocabulary, such as the biodiversity impacts of voluntary conservation, and further examine whether it is possible to achieve effective conservation beyond traditional conservation areas. Despite the success of voluntary conservation in this particular case, the call for 'traditional conservation' and environmentalism is evident in the context of Finnish peatland conservation policy.

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Appendix 1. Background organization of the interview respondents

Interview 1. The Bioenergy Association of Finland
Interview 2. Forest Centre Tapio
Interview 3. Finnish Wildlife Agency
Interview 4. Natur och Miljö - Swedish speaking nature conservation association of Finland
Interview 5. Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners – Forest services
Interview 6. Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners – Central Office
Interview 7. Finnish Association for Nature Conservation
Interview 8. Finnish Forest Industries
Interview 9. Geological survey Finland
Interview 10. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Finland
Interview 11. Ministry of the Environment, Finland
Interview 12. Council of Oulu Regions

Appendix 2. Central arguments employed by the agents of 'maintenance of biodiversity', 'regulatory program', 'voluntary conservation' and 'participatory' discourses

Arguments	Maintanance of biodiversity	Regulatory program	Voluntary conservation	Participatory
Biodiversity	x	x		
Conservation networks	x	x		
Ecosystem structure and functionality	x	x	x	
Climate change	x			
Water management	x		x	
Ecosystem services	x	x	x	
Favorable conservation status of habitats and species	x	x		
Intrinsic value of nature	x			
Recreational values	x			x
Hydrological units	x	x		
Ecological criteria for selecting most valuable areas		x	x	
Mediating conflicting land use interests		x	x	
Voluntariness			x	x
Cost effectiveness			x	
Full compensation principle			x	x
Sustainability			x	x
Avoiding forced conservation			x	x
Avoiding restrictions on hunting			x	x
Avoiding impacts on forestry			x	x
Land user approval				x
Reasonable compensation				x
Restoration	x	x	x	x

EERIKA ALBRECHT

Finnish peatlands are under pressure from the utilisation of peat as an energy source. Peatlands cover about one-third of Finland's land area. This dissertation studies peatland politics in Finland and focuses on local peatland conflicts and deliberative environmental governance. It connects the study of interactions between a broad range of actors to the study of language and argumentation and suggests a broad dialogue between actors taking part in peatland use, restoration and conservation.

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