The development of windpower at the city mountain Vårdkasen
– a turbulent change of land use?

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Abstract

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Development of windpower is a popular measure to meet the international and national goals to reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases. On the same time, there are goals to increase citizen participation in decision-making processes. In Sweden, citizens’ right to participate in the planning- and consultation process is regulated by the Planning and Building Act. The rapid increase of windpower turbines in Sweden has been followed by a growing number of conflicts. In this study, conflicts of interest appeared due to the establishment of windpower turbines at the popular city mountain Vårdsken in Härnösand. By interpreting nine interviews carried out with some of the involved interests, deeper knowledge could be gained of how citizen participation and conflicts of interests are handled in windpower planning. It was the municipality owned company HEMAB who wanted to construct four windpower turbines, but the municipality was responsible for the formal planning and consultation process. A consultant working for HEMAB conducted an informal consultation process using walks, visits and meetings to interact with the interests. This interaction gave the consultant deeper insights on their concerns and that were the reason to why HEMAB strongly proposed a reduction of the planned turbines from four to two. That the consultation process started early made it possible for the different interests to influence the planning process. This long planning process made it possible for the planners to consider the different interests. Local interests could through participation influence the planning process, which prevented an escalating conflict and increased local democracy. This also created an acceptance of the establishment and therefore made the decision sustainable. In addition, the positive social memory of the process will be beneficial for similar projects in the future. These gained insights are useful if the different international and national goals to increase both windpower development and citizen participation shall be reached broadly.

Keywords: Consultation process, participation, conflict, interest, social memory
Abbreviations

CA – County Administration Board
DEC – Description of Environmental Consequences
HEMAB – Härnösands Energi och Miljö AB
HOK – Härnösand Orienteringsklubb
Hsand – Härnösand
MKB – Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning
PBA – Planning and Building Act
TWh – Terra Watt hours

Translation of terms and names
Building Permits – Bygglov
Consultation process – Samrådsprocess
County Administration Board – Länsstyrelsen
Comprehensive Development Plan – Översiktsplan
Detailed Development Plan – Detaljplan
District heating – Fjärrvärme
Field of shibble – Klapperstensfält
Interest of the public – Allmänn intresse
Municipality Board – Kommunstyrelsen
Municipal Council – Kommunfullmäktige
Particularly Concerned – Särskilt berörda
Party – Sakägare
Planning and Building Act – Plan och bygglagen
The Swedish Environmental Code – Miljöbalken
The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning – Boverket
Application of Permission – Tillståndsprövning
Table of Content

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 4
   1.1 Research problem ..................................................................................................... 7
   1.2 Research aim ........................................................................................................... 8
   1.3 Research questions ................................................................................................. 8

2. Literature review and theoretical framework ....................................................... 9
   2.1 Literature review of windpower and public participation ........................................ 9
   2.2 Theoretical framework .......................................................................................... 11
       2.2.1 Why participation? ......................................................................................... 11
       2.2.2 Challenges with participation ......................................................................... 12
       2.2.3 What is a conflict? .......................................................................................... 13
       2.3 Communicative planning theory .......................................................................... 13
       2.3.1 The importance of listening and respecting each other’s needs and interests ... 15
       2.3.2 The importance of trust, leadership and time .................................................. 16
   2.4 Social memory and its effects on future collaboration ........................................... 17

3. Research methodology, method and material ..................................................... 18
   3.1 Methodology ........................................................................................................... 18
   3.2 Method: Motivation of subject and the case study Vårdkasen ................................. 19
       3.2.1 Choice of interviewees ..................................................................................... 19
       3.2.2 Interviews and literature study ......................................................................... 20
       3.2.3 Limitation of study and interviews .................................................................. 21
   3.3 Choice of method for presentation of result and analysis ...................................... 22
   3.4 Material and criticism of material .......................................................................... 23

4. Conventions, laws and regulations connected to the phenomena of participation and windpower ............................................................. 24
   4.1 Agenda 21 and the Aarhus Convention ................................................................. 24
   4.2 The Environmental Code and the Planning and Building Act ............................... 24
       4.2.1 The Detailed Development Plan (DDP) .......................................................... 25
       4.2.2 The regulations of participation ..................................................................... 26

5. Case study area; Vårdkasen, Härnösand ............................................................... 28
   5.1. Why more windpower at Vårdkasen? ................................................................. 29
   5.1.1 How did the formal consultation process regulate the different interests? ........ 30

6. Presentation of result and analysis ........................................................................ 32
   6.1 What main interests were present in the consultation process? Why and how did they participate? ................................................................. 32
       6.1.1 Outdoor activities in conflict with windpower? .............................................. 32
       6.1.2 Sport activities in conflict with windpower? ................................................. 33
       6.1.3 Natural values in conflict with windpower? .................................................. 34
       6.1.4 Neighbors in conflict with windpower? ......................................................... 34
       6.1.5 Other interests in conflict with windpower? .................................................. 36
6.1.6 Windpower as a local interest ................................................................. 37
6.2 How where the different interest managed and with what implications for now? .... 38
6.2.1 The organizational implications of the consultation process .......................... 38
6.2.2 Positive implications for the interests ....................................................... 41
6.2.3 Negative implications ............................................................................. 44
6.3 What future implications can the establishment of windpower have? .......... 46
6.3.1 The interest groups memory of the process and its effect on the future ............ 46
6.3.2 The planner and consultants memory of the process and its implications ......... 48
6.3.3 Future is present for some of the interests ................................................. 50
7. Summarizing discussion ........................................................................... 51
8. Conclusions ............................................................................................. 54
9. References ............................................................................................... 55
10. Appendixes ............................................................................................ 60
10.1 Appendix 1 ............................................................................................ 60
10.2 Appendix 2 ............................................................................................ 61
10.3 Appendix 3 ............................................................................................ 62
10.4 Appendix 4 ............................................................................................ 64
1. Introduction

In the world today there is an ongoing debate about the human contribution to the rapid increase of the global warming. On the international and national level, actions have been taken to mitigate the effects of the temperature. One of these actions is to reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases such as CO$_2$, which contributes to the rising temperature on Earth, causing droughts, floods, increased run-off etc. The Kyoto Protocol that came into force in 2005 obliges the committed countries to reduce their emissions (Unfccc1, undated). The Developed Countries, including Sweden, committed themselves to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by at least five per cent below the emission level of 1990 until 2012 (Unfccc2, 1988). In 2009 an EU Directive, 2009/28/EG, was established to promote the use of renewable energy in order to reduce the emissions from fossil fuels. Sweden is, according to this Directive, obliged to produce at least 49% renewable energy by 2020 (Regeringen, 2012).

One attempt to reach this renewable energy goal is a Swedish governmental decision to establish more windpower turbines. These turbines are planned to contribute with 30TWh until 2020, 20TWh at land and 10TWh at sea (Boverket2, 2009). There has been a rapid increase of windpower turbines in Sweden, from around 100 in 1992, 600 in 2002 and 2,385 in 2012. However, windpower only contributed with 7.2TWh in 2012 or 4.4% of the total net production of electricity in Sweden in 2012 (Energimyndigheten, 2012). Swedish Government argues that it is important for municipalities, the County Administration Boards (CABs) and other authorities to actively improve the conditions to plan and anchor local renewable and sustainable energy from wind power (Prop. 2005/06:143). In August 2009, changes were made in the permitting regulations to make the establishment of windpower easier (Boverket1, 2012).

The rapid increase of windpower turbines has not passed without conflict in Sweden. Arguments against windpower are for example; visual and aesthetical concerns, noise and shadows, decreased value of natural and cultural landscape, decreased property values, safety concerns and negative effects on tourism (Bergek, 2010; Boverket2, 2009). Swedish Radio reports that the resistance towards windpower has grown stronger and more organized in relation to the increased construction of turbines. They also report that windpower often faces resistance that complicates and delays new establishments, and in some cases even threatens establishments (Sandberg & Johansson, 2013). Another consequence of this unease with windpower development is that the environmental courts in Sweden have received an increased number of appeals. In 2008, the number was 27 but in 2011 it had increased to
almost 40; these numbers of appeals are correlated with the acceleration of the increased establishment of turbines (Eklund, 2011). Researchers as Glasl (1999) argues that the number of conflicts related to land use changes will further increase in the future, as well as the complexity of conflicts related to the environment. Conflicts that often become expensive, in economic terms as well as in terms of delayed projects, destroy relationships, reputations and causes loss of time (Carpenter & Kennedy, 1988).

One way of dealing with different interests in society is by working with participatory methods. Agenda 21 from 1992 declares that all groups in society shall be involved to reach a sustainable development (Nationalencyklopedin1, 2013) and the Aarhus Convention from 1998 claims that citizens are entitled to take part in decisions that concern the environment (Naturvårdsverket2, 2007). Sweden is a representative democracy which means that the citizens elect political representatives every fourth year (Riksdag, 2010). During the last decades the citizen participation has increased as an important complement to the representative democracy. The Swedish Planning and Building Act was created in 1987 to make the planning system more simple and modern, as well as to democratize the planning process. Through a decentralization of power from the state, the local democracy should increase by bringing the decisions closer to the citizens, but also to increase citizen participation (Henecke & Khan, 2002). Today, a consultation process with citizens and concerned actors is part of physical planning in Sweden. It is seen as the best way to optimise decisions to facilitate transparency and to support citizen influence (PBA, 2010: 900).

1.1 Research problem
Due to the fact that conflicts related to the establishment of windpower turbines are increasing in Sweden and that new establishments are likely to increase, more research is needed to describe, understand and analyze the conflicts that occur and why. This in order to find usable tools to reach the existing democratic and sustainable development goals.

To gain insights on how the broader phenomena of windpower and participation are managed, case studies can be beneficial in bringing deeper knowledge of the phenomena. In the municipality of Härnösand, the establishment of windpower turbines at the popular city mountain of Vårdkasen caused conflict of interests due to the change of land use. Different interest groups were concerned that areas for recreation, sport activities and outdoor life would be reduced, that the landscape scene would change and that disturbing noise and negative environmental effects would appear etc. The different interests participated in the
consultation process to express their interests and to influence the planning process. By examining the conflict of interest, the planners’ strategies and how the different interests have been handled in the case of Vårdkasen, this study reveals how the consultation process was managed and perceived by the involved interests and how this can affect future projects.

1.2 Research aim

The aim of this study is to analyze how citizen participation and conflict of interests are handled in windpower developments in Sweden. By using the establishment of windpower turbines at Vårdkasen as a case study, I will get insights on this broader phenomenon. The results from this study can be used to develop policy applications in terms of democratic development and sustainable and acceptable decisions.

1.3 Research questions

- What main interests were present in the consultation process? Why and how did they participate?

- How where the different interest managed and with what present and future implications?

- How can the specific insights of this empirical research be used in the broad development of windpower processes?
2. Literature review and theoretical framework

This part starts with a literature review related to windpower and public participation. It continues with presenting why participation is important to reach well-anchored decisions around public policy and what challenges there are within participation. The discussion roots in Communicative planning theory and continues with a definition of conflicts, the importance of listening and respecting each other, as well as how trust, power and leadership can affect communication in the planning process. At last social memory is presented.

2.1 Literature review of windpower and public participation

The Guide Book for windpower, Vindkraftshandboken, from the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, states that there are formal demands on participation in the legislation. Nevertheless, these demands are no guarantee that citizens are given, or perceive that they are given, an actual possibility to influence decisions. The citizens’ actual possibility to have influence is argued to partly be determined by the amount of information that has been available during the process, and when the public had the chance to enter the process. The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning argues that the circumstances in each case determine which consultation- and cooperation methods that should be used. The authority argues that the acceptance of windpower is individual and based on a number of reasons. A wider acceptance for the establishment of windpower turbines is gained through an open process and dialogue with the public and involved interests (Boverket 2, 2009).

In the article Wind Power Planning in Three Swedish Municipalities (2003), Khan analyzed how there different planning methods had influenced three aspects of wind power development; the siting of windpower, the ownership of turbines and citizen participation. He argues that it is problematic when the development of windpower differs in the country due to the competence and views of the local politicians and civil servants. This is seen as problematic because the national aim is to make the implementation of windpower efficient, environmentally friendly and democratic. In the municipality of Laholm, Khan (2003) found that the laws had been followed but there was lack of participation in the municipal Comprehensive Development Plan and in specific projects. No actual citizen participation had been present due to the lack of information to the neighbors’ in the planned areas. This have contributed to a negative attitude to windpower in the municipality and have resulted in protests during the application process and installation.
Pettersson (2009) concluded in her thesis *Wind power in Markbygden – a well functioning consultation process?* that the majority of the actors involved in the consultation were satisfied. Some smaller groups although felt that they not had been listened to, or that their interests been fully accepted. Her results show that a full deliberative democracy could not be reached since a wide number of actors are present and that the distribution of power is unequal between them. Pettersson (2009) although argues that if the company Svevind had not work hard and been engaged in the project, the resistance could have increased.

In the article *Does Public Participation in Environmental Decisions Lead to Improved Environmental Quality? - Towards an analytical framework*, Newig (2007) presents that actors interest in being a part of decision-making is determined by their distance to the object. A frequently used term when discussing localization of windpower is Not-In-My-Backyard, or the NIMBY effect. NIMBY means that people in general have a positive attitude towards windpower, but reject the turbines when they are established on their local arena due to selfish reasons (Wolsink, 2007). This way of thinking has been questioned during the last few years. Wolsink (2007) asserts that NIMBY leaves the actual cause of opposition unexplained and write in the article *Wind power implementation: The Nature of public attitudes: Equity and fairness instead of “backyard motives”*, that it rather is the announcement of a project that creates a sudden interest among people with connections in the area. Whilst Ek (2005), who has written; *Public and private attitudes towards “green” electricity: the case of Swedish wind power*, argues that NIMBY is incorrect since people interested in environmental issues are more likely to be positive to windpower than others. Ek (2005) also argues that people who often express their public preferences are more likely to be positive towards windpower than those who don’t (2005).

In the article *Levelling the playing field? The influence of national wind power planning instrument on conflicts of interests in a Swedish county*, Bergek (2010) focused upon two national planning instruments implemented in Sweden during the early 2000s. The first was the national planning target of reaching 10 TWh of windpower energy until 2015. The other the identification and appointing of areas as national interest for generation of electricity. Her results indicate that these instruments did not strengthen windpower as a national interest, nor supported the municipalities on how to deal with conflict of interests. Instead, these methods have caused an increased number of conflicts as well as avoidance to deal with conflicts.

The British researchers Ellis et al (2010) argue that planning is a barrier for the expansion of windpower and present three different planning problems. The first is that planning is to
slow in reaching decisions. The second that planning is complex due to the wide number of voices heard in the participatory and discursive opportunities in the planning system. The third is the fact that most windy locations are located in areas where landscape sceneries are highly valued. Ellis et al (2010) also present that there is a sustainability fight which they call “green on green”, where different environmental interests discuss the future.

2.2 Theoretical framework

*In this section participation and communication are presented as tools for how to negotiate between conflicting interests. I am not testing the following presented theories. I rather use the theory to get insights on the phenomena of windpower and participation, as well as how conflicts and future projects can be affected by the management of the process. The insights from the case study will then be used to discuss the broader phenomenon of windpower and participation with the literature review.*

2.2.1 Why participation?

Researchers as Hallgren (lecture, 2013-01-13) argue that participation is required to meet the human need for recognition as social actors, and Nyström & Tonell (2012) presents several benefits with active citizen participation. The first is; citizen participation can bring new knowledge and information to the planning process which can then help the planners to identify the public interests. The second is; an increased degree of democratic influence can create a larger understanding and respect for the counterparts’ opinions, which can increase the trust between municipal representatives and citizens. The third benefit is according to Nyström & Tonell (2012); the result of the planning is likely to be thoroughly elaborated and therefore sustainable in the long term. Innes & Booher (2005) present five reasons which justify participation. These are; the decision-makers find the preferences of the public which can be a part of the decisions; the decisions are improved by using the citizens’ local knowledge; fairness and justice can be reached through local participation; public participation increases legitimacy for public decision and; participation is carried out since planners and public officials demand it. Khan (2003) argues than citizen participation is an important part of planning as a measure to avoid potential conflicts or handle rising conflicts. He argues that citizen participation is preferable because it; increase the democracy in the decision-making, contributes to better decision-making through allowing more perspectives, improves the legitimacy and acceptance of the decisions, and develops personal skills among the participants.
2.2.2 Challenges with participation

A problem with participation at the local level is according to Stenseke (2009) its time-consumption and economic costs. Nyström and Tonell (2012) agree and add that the municipalities can see participation as problematic because of the loss of formal power to the citizens. If participation of the public increases, the plans of the municipalities might also have to change. The researchers argue that true citizen influence in the planning process is needed if the process shall be satisfying from a local democratic perspective and not only from a representative democracy perspective. Innes & Booher (2005) also present arguments which show that participation causes delays. They also present that if planners listen to citizens, bad decisions might be made if the citizens are neither informed about the economic and political reality, nor the long-term considerations for the communities. Although the planners on the other hand might not have the same knowledge as the local citizens.

Newig (2007) highlights that power positions are affecting participation. Dominant, influential and powerful economic actors tend to participate to a larger extent than actors with less education or those who lack time or money. More powerful actors can also suppress the weaker due to these asymmetries of power, asymmetries that according to Newig (2007) could be avoided to a larger extent if an authoritative decision was made. Allen (1998) rather highlights that decision-makers often fail to get a demographic representation of the public when conducting a structured process. He argues that the level input from citizens in decision-making processes varies due to; the local polity and the traditions of decision making in their society. The question of who is heard in the participatory process is important to ask according to Franzén (2012). Henecke and Khan (2002) present that civil servants normally have an advantage in comparison with the citizens in the consultation process, which makes it harder for the citizens to participate. They also argue that citizens who are able to understand the language of the planners and can express themselves in this context have larger influence than citizens without those abilities.

Forester (1982) argues that planners have the power to steer the planning and need to be aware of this. Although planners can not affect power or ownership structures in the society, they have the possibility to influence the conditions that makes citizens able or unable to participate, act and organize themselves. He therefore argues that the planner has the possibility to make the process more or less democratic, has the power to shape documents, decide who is being contacted and with whom informal meetings are held etc. Forester (1982) also argues that the planners shape the trust and expectations that the citizens will get.
2.2.3 What is a conflict?
A conflict is a disagreement between different parts which demands a solution (Nationalencyklopedin2, 2013). Conflicts can be described as a negative spiral where a disagreement grows bigger and bigger, where polarized positions are formed and harden over time until communication stops (Carpenter & Kennedy, 1998). According to Daniels and Walkers (2001), conflicts are inevitable and will always be part of human life. They argue that most humans see conflicts as something negative, although lead researchers consider that conflicts both can be positive and negative. Hallgren argues that conflicts either can be seen as reducing development or learning, or as necessary for the formation of the society (Hallgren, lecture 2013-01-24). Hallgren et al (unpubl.) argue that a conflict becomes destructive if the trust decreases among the involved actors. Whilst a constructive dialogue appears when different actors can increase their understanding of each other’s arguments and views etc. Other authors, such as Johnson et al (2006) and Deutsch (2011) argue that differing views can be constructive when people are discussing their differences. Khan (2003) presents three dimensions of conflict that are central in land-use planning and windpower development. The first is the conflict between public and private interests, where the planners needs to protect the interests of the public. The second is that national and international goals can be in conflict with local interests, for example; the environmental benefits from windpower appear on the larger scale, whilst its negative effects are local. The last is the potential conflict between the environment and the economic growth.

2.3 Communicative planning theory
The need for land use planning has developed as a tool for solving conflicts and to combine different land use needs. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Rational planning theory was the dominant planning theory. It was built on the idea that the planners alone had the knowledge needed to construct the planning. Their so called objectivity was then used to interpret the different needs in the society and to evaluate conflicts’ of interests (Nyström & Tonell, 2012). This former hierarchical decision-making is no longer sufficient to resolve the problems which evolve in urban areas (Mohammadi, 2010). The last decade’s growth of Communicative planning is a result of the increasing need of dialogue, democracy and consensus in the planning process (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). Researchers such as; Jürgen Habermas, John Friedman, John Forrester, Tore Sager (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008) and Patsy
Healey (Mohammadi, 2010), are frequently mentioned as developers of Communicative Planning theory.

Mohammadi (2010) and Larsson & Jalakas (2008) argues that Rational Planning theory is equivalent to top-down planning since decisions are taken by politicians, local authorities and planners. Their plans affect all citizens; who were not a part of the process. On the other hand, they consider Communicative planning as bottom-up planning where the role of the planner is to mediate between the involved stakeholders. Mohammadi (2010) defines the two as follows;

“... top-down planning emphasizes on governmental authority, bottom-up planning pays special attention to the local communities as main actors.” (Mohammadi, 2010: 19)

The focus in Communicative planning theory is on the process rather than the outcome, where consensus is created through negotiations and debate with planners, stakeholders and interests groups. Through a bottom-up perspective citizens are participating in planning as individuals or groups, instead of only being represented by the political parties. In this way the citizen becomes objects which can bring knowledge to the planning (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008).

Communicative planning is known for using respectful dialogues as a working method, incorporating the different actors at an early stage (Boverket2, 2009). It is seen as a joint term for several different methods and theories, where the common denominator is the focus on a development of the process itself. This means the substance of the planning and the different actor’s roles and influences of the process, not at least the citizens’ rights (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). According to Larsson & Jalakas (2008) there are several democratic reasons which support a Communicative planning approach. The first is that everyone shall have the right to express their opinions as well a possibility to affect the planning process as stated in the Planning and Building Act. The second reason is that the citizens’ engagement and feeling of belonging to the community will be strengthened. The third is that the awareness among the citizens concerning that their knowledge is valuable for the planning will increase (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). Nyström and Tonell (2012) argue that when using Communicative planning, the learning process that can be reached both will gain the planning organization as well as develop the competence of the participating individuals’. They also argue that there are a wide number of models to be used within Communicative planning, and rather consider the lack of application of these models as the actual problem.

The last decades has transformed the earlier Providing State into the Cooperating State where the planners meet a wide number of demands. On one hand there is a demand on an increased dialogue with the citizens and a development of democratic processes. This have
been met by the development of Communicative planning. On the other hand there is a demand on faster and more efficient planning and consensus between the involved planning actors. From this demand, Negotiation planning has developed. This means that the municipality and the planner in an early stage make decisions about the planning. Negotiation planning is argued to decrease transparency and the possibility for citizens to influence the process (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008).

2.3.1 The importance of listening and respecting each other’s needs and interests

Carpenter & Kennedy (1988) argue that before a negotiation begins the different interests should be found to make sure that the problems are understood at start. Rosenberg (2004) who argues that conflicts occur when humans fail to express out actual needs, proposes that actors should be pushed to express their own needs and listen to the others needs as a mean to prevent conflicts. Krauss & Morsella (2006) also emphasize the importance of trying to understand what the other part is actually saying, as well as the importance of remembering the counterparts’ perspective. In addition, they warn for misinterpretations and urge that actors are careful when communicating with each other to not cause any further harm. Carpenter and Kennedy (1988) argue that counterparts shall meet face-to-face without lawyers and discuss the problems together. They should also teach each other about their interests and come with suggestions for solutions. They also argue that, the question of “who has the right position?” shall be exchanged with “how can it be solved?”

According to Rosenberg (2004) a key element to reach a successful conflict resolution is that the different parties show respect to each other. Johnson et al (2006) propose that the actors should use “the golden rule of conflict” to show each other respect, this means that you should act upon others as you want them to act upon you. They also argue that different situations needs different types of process design and models.


2.3.2 The importance of trust, leadership and time
Daniels and Walker (2001) stress that communication and trust is intrinsic keys between leaders and citizens. Lewicki (2006) argues that when there is lack of trust between parties’ conflicts often becomes destructive. Rosenberg (2004) argues that when a conflict has become severe, the amount of trust decreases and instead there is an increased distrust which makes it even harder to find a solution to the conflict. For effective conflict management, Pretty (2003) considers trust as necessarily for cooperation to become reality, distrust rather makes cooperation unlikely. Pretty (2003) also discuss that trust easily is destroyed and that time is needed to make the construction of trust possible, by keeping a level of trust, costs can be reduced and both time and money can be saved. The willingness to participate is also explained to be created through generalization of trust (Newig, 2007).

Folke et al (2005) argue that key persons who provide leadership, trust, vision and meaning can help transforming management organization towards the creation of a learning environment. They also argue that strong leaders which are key persons can work as catalysis of opinion shifts. Franzén (2012) argues that leadership is a significant factor for changing pathways and for pushing development forward. Whilst Ternström (2005) presents that well functioning leadership is one of the most intrinsic characteristics to make a common-pool resource management system well functioning; arguing that individual leaders have an important impact on development. Mostert et al (2007) rather emphasize an independent leader or facilitator as an important factor since many organization struggles with their dual roles of defending their own interests as well as being a facilitator. They therefore argue that facilitators preferably should be neutral.

Henecke and Khan (2002) state in their report about citizen participation in the physical planning that the national and industrial goals of reaching a fast and effective planning process as well as increased participation. They argue that a faster process is not equal to increased participation; instead they see increased participation as a mean to increase the effectiveness because that can mean a lower amount of appeals and an easier process. Despite this, Henecke & Khan (2002) although see that effectiveness is given larger room than citizen participation. Larsson (2011) also argues that there is a contradiction between a fast process and a good process, because there is a limit on where the process looses quality such as participation and rule of law. He argues that citizen participation needs to take time, and that it is problematic if only words as “slow process” are used to explain low effectiveness and that the words “fast process” is linked with a good process.
2.4 Social memory and its effects on future collaboration

Carpenter & Kennedy (1988) argues that an unmanaged conflict will mean high costs, for example loss of personal time and revenue, delayed projects, destroyed relationships and reputations. They therefore argue that a solution is desirable. Social and institutional memory is according to Franzén (lecture 2011-12-06) the common memory for a group or an institution of experiences, concepts, learning and knowledge. The baggage from earlier events can be either positive or negative related to change and learning. A collective memory of bad experiences from earlier occasions is argued to block joint management (Franzén, 2012). Folke et al (2005) also discuss social memory and present that the definition of social memory is an important link between past experiences and present as well as future policies. Moreover Hahn et al (2006) present that social memory can be grown out of management practices and rules that have been used at the collective level. Information about progress and success as well as interactions can foster social memory in both formal and informal institutions as well as in individuals and organizations etc. Hahn et al (2006) argue that future collaboration is based upon the social memory of the past.
3. Research methodology, method and material

3.1 Methodology:
The aim of this thesis is to get a deeper understanding of the phenomena of windpower and participation. To be able to get this deeper understanding a qualitative case study (Repstad, 1991) with an interpretive approach can be made, where a particular establishment of windpower can give insights on the broader phenomena. I argue that a qualitative study is more appropriate than a quantitative study due to my search for deeper insights about the phenomena of windpower and participation. To get these insights, interviews will be conducted with those who participated in the planning process and to gather their experiences from the process. By using an interpretive approach, I can understand the phenomena of windpower by studying how the participants assign it and reject that there already could be “objective” or “factual” reports of the (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). In this case the findings can give indications of how to develop policies. Kaplan and Maxwell (2005) emphasize that within qualitative research, open-ended questions are often used to evoke details and bring in-depth knowledge on the interviewees’ experiences from a situation or issue. The answers to the open-ended questions and written documents form the data that is analyzed.

The aim of this study is to understand the respondents’ experiences through my interpretations, not to find a definitive or objective truth. The experiences of the respondents will be interpreted by drawing on the theories and conclusions from previous studies related to the phenomena of windpower and participation. The reason for choosing participation, Communicative planning theory and communication methods as theories, is that there are policies, Conventions and regulations at different levels in the society to manage and develop infrastructure measures such as wind power. The theories discussed are not only useful for analytical purposes, but they influence how these guidelines are designed and implemented. The theories discussed also provide an understanding of the interviewees’ experiences from a particular angle. This is an important understanding since these results can indicate if and how the policy applications can be improved in terms of a development of democracy and sustainability through acceptable decision-making on the local level. I argue that we need to find appropriate tools to deal with the design and implementation of participation in windpower developments in order to enhance democratic processes, reduce/prevent severe conflicts (now and in the future), ensure an informed debate about the merits of windpower and to achieve better outcomes. That said, I am aware that the position argued in this thesis does not provide a solution to this problem or provide full policy answers.
3.2 Method: Motivation of subject and the case study Vårdkasen

The intention is to increase the understanding of the deeper structure of how citizen participation and conflict of interests are handled in windpower developments in Sweden. By doing a case study, the present patterns in the interviewees’ experiences which are related to the research questions can be identified. Through looking at the processes behind the establishment of windpower turbines at Vårdkasen, it can be captured how the interests presented in this study perceived and experienced the phenomena of windpower and participation. In this way I will be able to study the perspectives of the participants given directly to me, instead of having only secondary data as a basis. The reason I chose to study an establishment of windpower is because of the international and national goals to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases by increasing the amount of renewable energy as windpower, which has caused conflicts on the local level. Due to the fact that there has been a rapid increase of turbines and conflicts, and that the development of turbines is likely to proceed due to the goals of renewable energy, it is urgent to answer the questions of this study.

I chose the establishment of windpower at Vårdkasen because Vårdkasen it is a popular area that attracts a range of activities and is in visible from almost anywhere in town. By studying the establishment of windpower at Vårdkasen, I will get an overview of the whole process from planning to management of the turbines producing electricity. The empirical focus on the consultation process makes it possible to gain insights as to how this process is actually performed, thereby enabling me to indentify different types of conflicts and how they were managed. The insights gained through this experience are then discussed in the broader windpower policy context.

3.2.1 Choice of interviewees

I have chosen to categorize the involved actors in this study after their interest. This categorization is appropriate since the establishment of more windpower at Vårdkasen can be - and has been seen as a conflict of interests due to the wide number of activities that take place in the area around Vårdkasen. The important aspect to consider is how their interests have been met in the planning process. During the research, I identified a number of interests present in the area of Vårdkasen. These have been categorized into different interest groups; environment, outdoor activities and recreation, sport activities, local produced renewable energy and neighbors’. I started by contacting at least one association or private interest within these groups to ensure that I collected data on the broad range of interests relevant to
the consultation process. To further strengthen the study, I complemented some of the interests with one more association or private interest. For the collection of the empirical material I have interviewed representatives who are associated with the following interests:

- **Natural interest:** Naturskyddsföreningen in Härnösand (SSNC)
- **Outdoor activities and recreation:** Friluftsförbundet in Härnösand
  Föreningen Vårdkasen
- **Local renewable energy:** HEMAB
  The municipality department of planning
- **Sport activities:** Härnösands Orienteringsklub (HOK)
  Härnö IF
- **Neighbors’:** At Vangsta
  At Stenhammar

I have framed the interviewees as representing the view of their affiliation or a private interest (neighbors), and they have responded as such representatives. They are although likely to remember and perceive the process as individuals, which mean that the results from the interviews could have differed depending on whom I had interviewed within the interest groups. However, the interviews give insights of how the different interest groups have perceived the process. It is also appropriate to reflect upon the objectivity when interpreting the interviewees and results due to preferences and previous knowledge of the author.

### 3.2.2 Interviews and literature study

I have used a semi-structured method when conducting the interviews. I created an interview schedule with a number of questions, some basic questions were used in all interviews, while others have been used only in some of the interviews depending on which interest I have interviewed. The order of the questions has varied during the interviews depending on situation, and follow-up questions have been used when those would be interesting for the result, as proposed by Bryman (2011). I prefer doing semi-structured interviews since they allow the conversation to be flexible and have used more strict informational questions and open-ended questions. The open-ended questions have started with “how”, to make sure that I do not guide the interviews in a specific direction. This leaves more space for the interviewee to decide what is important for them to discuss about their experience. I have done four interviews face-to-face during circa 30-40 minutes, three interviews by phone during circa 20-
30 minutes and two by sending the questions through email. See appendix 10.3 for interview scheme.

I have also studied a wide number of documents from HEMAB and the municipality, as well documents from authorities and publications. A part of my study is therefore a literature study that will help the analysis forward.

### 3.2.3 Limitation of study and interviews

This study will focus on the part of the consultation process where four turbines were reduced to two. I find this the most interesting part because this is where the different interest groups affected the process through participating in the planning. The focus will be on the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal and how it developed into a Detailed Development Plan.

Interviews were held with organizations/associations and private households that were present in this process, both with them who rejected the proposal of four turbines and those who had comments on the whole establishment windpower. That the first meeting about the establishment of windpower was held in 2005, have made it hard for some of the interviewees to remember all details about the consultation process. Some potential interviewees have rejected to answer due to loss of memory or because of they lacked time to or possibility to answer my questions. In addition, most of the associations are built on the voluntarily engagement, which have made some reject to contribute in this study. This study although give an indication on how the different interest have been met in the process, and by doing several interviews within most of the groups of interest I have been able to mirror different perceptions within the interest groups. There is also the risk that the interviewees would not feel confident enough to speak their minds, Härnösand is a small town which can make it unpleasant to talk about the process. To reduce these risks, the respondents are anonymous and only the names of the association or interest groups are presented. Throughout the process is has also become clear that the conflict not has been infected, making the responds likely to be uncontroversial.

I have not done face-to-face interviews with all of the representatives from the interest groups; this could have meant that I did not manage to gain sufficient understanding or knowledge from the different groups. But, it has not been possible to meet with all interest in person due to limitations of their and my time. I argue that the interviews held on telephone have given me the information needed to fulfill the purpose of the interviews as well as important knowledge which was needed to complete this study. It could also be questioned if
the interviews made by email could have any value, and if I steered the interviewees in any direction by sending them the interview schedule. However, the alternative would have been not to get these two different perspectives of the consultation process, which would have been a loss for the analysis and conclusions from this study. See appendix 10.4 for how the different interviewees was contacted and referred to.

I have neither done interviews with instances of remiss such as the County Administration Board in Västernorrland, the Military of Sweden, airports, mast owners or departments within the municipality of Härnösand etc. In this particular case I argue that these organizations and authorities are not as important to interview given my central interest in this study on public participation. Instead, some of their manifestations from the consultation for the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal is presented.

3.3 Choice of method for presentation of result and analysis
In this study I have preferred to present the result and analysis alongside each other. Because of this I have strived to make a clearly distinguish between these two aspects of the work. The sections start with a presentation of the results and continue with the analytical part, which are distinguished by words that present which parts start when. At the first part there is although only a short presentation of each interviewed interest group and a description of what their interest are in the area around Vårdkasen. The data collected from the interviews is presented both by using quotes and a descriptive text to present; ensuring to distinguish between result and analysis. I will use a narrative voice when presenting the results, which differs from the tone in the analysis. The reason why the results and analysis have been integrated this way is to make it easy for the reader and to reduce the potential risk of duplication. That said, I have not fully mixed the two because I find it important that the reader has the opportunity to view the results prior to the analysis; this structure makes it possible for the reader, at least in theory, to make her own interpretations.
3.4 Material and criticism of material

The thesis is to a large extent based on information and documents from the municipality of Härnösand and HEMAB. This material could be biased since they present material that they have gathered themselves. As an example, this could be the case with the different summaries of the consultation processes, and instead of trusting only those presentations I have made interviews with a number of the involved interests.

The conducted interviews, regulations, and descriptive data from official documents and other literature have been translated from Swedish to English. My choice of words could be questioned, even though I have used several translating sites to ensure accurate translations. I have also translated idioms, trying to capture the spirit of the expression.

I have considered the laws and regulations within the Swedish Environmental Code and the Planning and Building Act (PBA). There has been an amount of confusion involved when reading the PBA due to the fact the law was renewed at the end of 2010, which was made after the process of establishing the Wind Turbines at Vårdkasen. The changes of law were also created after the spread of the Guide Book of windpower from 2009 created by the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, which not have been revised after the changes in PBA.
4. Conventions, laws and regulations connected to the phenomena of participation and windpower

This section consists of a strict presentation of conventions, laws and regulations which are related to the broader phenomenon of participation and windpower. This part functions as a background and will make it easier to follow the case study.

4.1 Agenda 21 and the Aarhus Convention

The Agenda 21 is a program of action to reach a sustainable development; ecologically, economically and socially. It was admitted by 180 nations during the Rio Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992 (Nationalencyklopedin, 2013) and ratified by Sweden in 1993 (Naturvårdsverket, 1993). In Agenda 21 the involvement of all groups in the society is said to be needed if the sustainability goal shall be reached. On the local level, all communities are recommended to create their own Local Agenda 21 (Nationalencyklopedin, 2013). A high level of participation including minorities and under-represented groups is needed to create long-term well being at the local level (Environ, undated). The Aarhus Convention that went into force in 2002 also highlights the need of public participation. It declares that citizens have the right to participate when decisions are to be made about the environment. It also declares that citizens are entitled to anonymously access environmental information held by public authorities and that citizens have the right to try environmental matters in court (EU, 2013). The Aarhus Convention is built on the perspective that environmental work can be improved if it has been anchored among its citizens (Naturvårdsverket, 2007).

4.2 The Environmental Code and the Planning and Building Act

The overall aim of the Swedish Environmental Code is to enable a state of sustainable development where both the current- and future generations can live in a healthy and good environment (MB 1998: 808). The Swedish Environmental Code regulates the localization of windpower turbines through for example the Rule of Localization and the Rules of Economizing, hushållningsbestämmelserna. Windpower is planned in accordance with the Environmental Code due to its impacts on the environment, as noise and shadows, as well as its possible impacts to valuable natural- and cultural environments. Due to effects like these, the Environmental Code demands that a Description of Environmental Consequences, MKB, is needed for some plans, programs and activities (Boverket, 2009).

The implementing law of the Environmental Code is the Planning and Building Act (Knobblock, lecture, 2012-09-07) and these two laws are the most important laws when
establishing wind power (Boverket2, 2009). The Planning and Building Act, the PBA, regulate planning of land- and water areas, as well as Building Permits (Boverket2, 2009). The PBA (2010: 900) says that every municipality shall have an updated Comprehensive Development Plan. It works as a base for decisions regarding land use in the municipality and is a strategic document for land use planning in the long-term basis. In that Plan the municipality can point out areas that are suitable or non-suitable for windpower turbines (Boverket2, 2009), but is although not binding by law. A Detailed Development Plan is more precise when regulating land- and water use and is legally binding (Drejare & Fällgren, 2012). It decides how the land or water can be used, which size and height that is granted as well as distance to housing etc (Hsand4, undated). When the plans of the establishment at Vårdkasen started, the law said that if an establishment of windpower were to be made, the municipality could determine if there was a need of a DDP or regulations in a certain area. There was also, most often, a demand of a permit of construction (Boverket2, 2009). However, since the first of August 2009, there are new regulations for trial of wind power that has changed some parts in both the Planning and Building Act and the Swedish Environmental Code. For example, there is only a demand on a DDP if the planned windpower turbines will be constructed in areas where there is a large demand on land for construction or other facilities. This demand remains, whether or not a Building Permits is needed (Boverket3, 2009).

4.2.1 The Detailed Development Plan (DDP)

When an application to the municipality is made that needs a DDP to be adopted, changed or removed, the municipality shall present the effects of this new plan and a map over the area. Within four months, the municipality shall inform whether or a new plan will be created. If it decides to proceed the municipality can, if it is needed to make the work with the DDP easier, create a DDP Program Proposal. When the DDP Program Proposal is finished, a consultation process is needed with the County Administration Board, Lantmätetmyndigheten and the concerned municipalities and other concerned stakeholders affected by the plans (PBA 2010: 900). The opinions that are gathered during the consultation process are then to be handled; the program is to be revised and is then presented again to make further comments possible. When this is finished, the program can be recreated into a DDP which also goes through the consultation process, becomes remade and is revised again by the concerned instances of remiss, stakeholders and the public. When the consultation is over, the municipality shall announce its proposal for the DDP and let it be revised. The plan shall be available for all
those who wish to take part of it. After the revision time has ended, the municipality shall conduct a summary of all written opinions that have come in, as well a description of how the municipality handled these opinions. If it needs to be changed to a large extent, the process of revision needs to be done again. If you want to be able to appeal, you need to hand in a written comment during the revision time otherwise you might lose your right to appeal (PBA, 2010: 900). Environmental organizations can also appeal if they for example have more than 2 000 members (MB, 1998: 188). The DDP is then to be adopted by the Municipal Council and can come into force (PBA, 2010: 900). After this process the application can be sent to authority of surveillance by the one who wants to realize the plans. This application shall then include, as decided in the Environmental Code 6 chapter 1§, a Description of Environmental Consequences over the construction, running or changing of activities etc. The aim of this description is to identify and describe the effects the activity or action can have on humans, animals, plants, ground, water, air, climate, landscape and the cultural environment. As well as management of the resources found in the nature and its effect on the human health and its environment (MB, 1998: 808)

Picture 1: Shows the process of establishing a Detailed Development Plan, from application until it comes into force.

4.4.2 The regulations of participation

Within the laws of the Planning and Building Act, the municipality is responsible for the consultation processes and to communicate the planned changes. The Swedish Environmental Code puts the responsibility on the one that practice the activity (Boverket, 2009). The aim of the consultation process is according to PBA:

“To find the best possible material for decision-making and that it gives possibilities to transparency and influence” (PBA, 2010: 900, chap 5 12§) (See appendix 10.1 for original)

Democracy is argued to be strengthened when the citizens are active in shaping the plans which the directly elected members in the Municipal Council then use to take decisions (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). The Planning Process has through PBA moved from the former elitist system to a more democratic participatory approach where the citizens have the right to participate in a transparent physical planning process (Henecke & Khan, 2000). However,
except from the regulations of how a DDP shall be created by the municipality as presented on the previous page, the Planning and Building Act does not in detail present how a consultation process shall be handled. Some models of how the work has been carried out in Sweden are presented in Vindkraftshandboken, a guidebook for how to establish windpower published by The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. These models are for example; a constant dialogue through having local offices open within the planned area where employees are present to answer questions, a walk with the planner and the users of the area, an early consultation through dialogue meetings on several occasions, or the construction of local working groups which mirrors the interests of the citizens and organizations in the area (Boverket2, 2009). Other models used in consultation processes are surveys, focus-groups, study circles public hearings and group discussions (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008).
5. Case study area; Vårdkasen, Härnösand

The city mountain Vårdkasen is located close to the city centre of Härnösand and is a popular area for outdoor activities. There is a number of hiking tracks in the area with view points towards the sea as well as number of mountain bike slopes around the mountain (Stiernberg, 2011). The alpine skiing area on the mountain has three ski lifts, four slopes and a fun park (Hsand3, undated). In the area there is also a 5 kilometer long cross-country ski track with lights, one 8 km track and one 15 km track (Hsand1, undated) and all tracks are used during the summer for running and walking. There are also natural values in the area, between Vårdkasen and Bräntberget there is a natural reserve called Vårdkasmalen which protects a field of shibble (Hsand2, undated). The area around Vårdkasen is also used for picking mushrooms or berries. Other interests in the area are windpower, other natural values, holiday housing, permanent housing, masts for communication, horse riding, hunting, landscape scenery, city scenery, military interests etc (Fällgren, 2005).

In 1996, the first HEMAB owned windpower turbine was installed at the top of Vårdkasen and it has for long been seen as a landmark for Härnösand (Persson et al, 2006). The old turbine produces circa 1200MWh per year, enough to support 50 electricity heated houses (Hemab2, undated).
5.1. Why more windpower at Vårdkasen?

The process of establishing new windpower turbines at Vårdkasen started during the autumn in 2004. It was HEMAB; the municipality owned Energy Company responsible for investigating the establishments of windpower within the municipality who came with this idea (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20). In 2000 the local windpower company NordanVind Vindkraft AB had the same plans but got rejected by the municipality (Flodin, 2013-04-29).

One of the major reasons to why HEMAB wanted to construct more windpower at Vårdkasen was because of the negative situation in Härnösand with economic problems, a decreasing population and the shot-down off the hospital etc. The formerly manager of HEMAB and member of Moderaterna, and a local politician from Socialdemokraterna therefore wanted to do something positive. Something that would drive the development in the municipality forward within the responsibility of the company. An external expert on windpower evaluated the possibilities to replace the old turbine at Vårdkasen, but proposed an establishment of two or three more turbines in the area (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20).

HEMAB was aware that the chosen area for establishment of windpower was in sight of a large part of the town and that is was frequently used for outdoor- and sport activities. They although argued that citizens in town are not that fussy about landscape scenery and that the scenery already was disturbed by a number of masts. They therefore argued that an adding of a few more white towers rather could change the view in a positive way. Another argument was that the area is characterized by activities and a certain background noise is already created which would make the additional noise from the turbines less disturbing. HEMAB admitted that there were some silent parts in the prospected area, as east of Solumsklinten, but only a small number of people were said to move in that area and HEMAB decided that is was reasonable to proceed with the establishment (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20).

HEMAB judged the establishment of two new turbines as possible and discussed this with the municipality. The planners at the municipality although questioned their application because it only consisted of two turbines. They wanted all possible locations to be presented in the application due to principal reasons and to make it easier to make an optimal consideration between different interests and values. The consultant working for HEMAB therefore added two-three turbines on mountains in the area, even though the consultant doubted that those would be accepted. However, the municipality argued that we should bring all of the locations into the process and then remove some during the process (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20). Even though HEMAB had received a wide number of positive
responses from organizations and associations in the area that made them believe that the project seemed possible (Fällgren, 2005), conflict of interests were present in the area (Hsands kommun, 2005).

5.1.1 How did the formal consultation process regulate the different interests?

In 2005, HEMAB applied to the municipality to construct four windpower turbines, and the municipality chose to conduct a DDP Program Proposal to make the future planning of the DDP easier (Stadsbyggnadskommun, 2006). It was Stadsbyggnadnämnden, a political driven committee responsible for the physical planning of land and water in the city, as well as creation of Comprehensive Development Plans and DPP, who decided that the plans could proceed. It was the civil servants at the municipal office of planning, Stadsbyggnadskontoret, who was responsible for carrying out the practical work (Fällgren, 2005).

The municipality decided to create a DDP Program Proposal consisting of the four windpower turbines. This proposal was then announced in the local newspaper Tidningen Ångermanland, which started the consultation process. This start meant that municipality had to consult with the County Administration Board, other remitting instances and concerned stakeholders that were affected by the plans (Stadsbyggnadskommun, 2006). During this process, the program was available at the City Hall between the 7th of July and the 14th of August 2006. After this process the plan was worked with and then presented again, with the possibility for further comments (Stadsbyggnadskommun, 2006). The program was then remade into a DDP which consisted of maps, descriptions of the plan with pictures, a plan of how to make perform the plan as well as a DEC (Fällgren, 2005).

Picture 4. Shows the focus of this study, namely the reduction of the four proposed windpower turbine to two after the consultation process for the Detailed Development Program Plan Proposal.
The Detailed Development Plan was available at the local library between the 23 of March until 21st of May 2007, and was delivered to the concerned authorities and stakeholders. In this DDP, HEMAB applied for the construction of two windpower turbines at the area around Vårdkasen (Fällgren1, 2007). The DDP was then remade and an exhibition was held in the City Hall between the 28th of June and the first of August 2007, no changes were done from the consultation process (Fällgren2, 2007).

When the DDP had come into force, HEMAB decided to apply for approval to construct the two windpower turbines at the County Administration Board in Västernorrland. Even though smaller windpower projects according to the Environmental Code did not need such an approval. According to HEMAB, it was although beneficial to apply for approval. It felt safer for them as a company to have a permit if anyone wanted to appeal later on, strong reasons would be needed to annul/cancel the permit (Consultant, interview, 2013-04-29). In 2011 the company Nordex started the construction of the turbines (hemab4, 2011) and on the third of March in 2012, an opening ceremony was held at Vårdkasen (hemab5, 2011). The two new turbines located at Solumsklinten and Bräntberget each support 300 houses a year with energy (hemab2, undated). See appendix 10.2 for their locations.

Picture 5. Shows the old wind mill located at the top of Vårdkasen and the two newly constructed windpower turbines at Solumsklinten (l) and Bräntberget (r), as well as two of the larger masts.
6. Presentation of result and analysis

Under this theme there will be a presentation of the result from the interviews. In some sections the analysis will follow directly after the results. The following sections are structured around the research questions and the theoretical concepts discussed earlier.

6.1 What main interests were present in the consultation process?

Why and how did they participate?

In this section the chosen interests from the consultation process related to the progress from the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal until the construction of the Detailed Development Plan will be presented. The representatives from the different interests are divided after interest groups and their major interests at Vårdkasen will be described, as well as their view and concerns on the establishment at Vårdkasen and windpower in general.

6.1.1 Outdoor activities in conflict with windpower?

*Friluftsförbundet in Härnösand* is an association that shield the possibilities for out-door activities, both for members and others. The association has group activities such as bungy-pump, snowshoeing, alpine ski school, Nordic skate, Nordic walking, kayaking, children activities, hiking and serves waffles at Fälleberget. Their major interests on the area around Vårdkasen are the alpine ski school they arrange during the winter as well as snowshoeing. Their general view on windpower is positive and when the discussions started about the establishment of more windpower at Vårdkasen, Friluftsförbundet felt that it was rather exciting than negative. They argue that they are used to the old turbine at Vårdkasen which has been there for a long time (FF, interview, 2013-04-29). That Friluftsförbundet did not resist the plans is obvious in the following quote from their manifestation in the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal:

“We do not spontaneously see any inconvenience in those windpower turbines. And a relative large number of members in our association are positive to windpower.” (Hemab1, 2006: 3)

Although Friluftsförbundet believe that the turbines are positive for the environment, they have concerns about the construction of roads and electric cables due to the interference in the nature. Friluftsförbundet argues that windpower turbines are a matter of localization and that that in the case of Vårdkasen, the localization of the turbines did not interfere with their interests. They were therefore not further active in the matter (FF, interview, 2013-04-29).

The association *Vårdkasens Friluftsområde* shields the development in the area of Vårdkasen. The association is no larger than its board, but functions as a creator of public opinion and strives for a continued development in the area. Vårdkasens Friluftsområde shields the area since they see it is a unique area for outdoor- and sport activities. Their
concerns were that the planned windpower turbines should disturb that unique environment. They were worried that the area would be shattered by roads and had some concerns over possible ice falls from the turbines. However, their goal is to continue the development of Vårdkasen and they did not want to reject the plans of developing windpower, even though they could because Vårdkasens Friluftsområde earlier had been given land using rights by the municipality. Nevertheless, instead of saying no, they negotiated with the municipality and HEMAB to find solutions that would gain all parts. The association has not taken any stand in the question of windpower in general (VF, interview, 2013-05-02).

6.1.2 Sport activities in conflict with windpower?

Härnösands Orienteringsklubb, HOK, has orienteering on its agenda. They have training during the year for children and beginners as well as more advanced orienteer’s. They also arrange national competitions in orienteering and district competitions in ski orienteering (HsandsOK, undated). HOK are positive to windpower in general, but the establishment at Vårdkasen came in conflict with their interests. They do not have any especial remarks on the municipality vision of more renewable energy if the vision does not interfere with the areas where they have their activities (HOK, interview, 2013-04-29). Regarding the turbines they wrote in their manifestation for the DDP Program Proposal:

“For our sport activity there will be some clear disadvantages in the area and its surroundings; it will be harder to create demanding orientation tracks and some maps need to be redrawn. But on the same time it is modern to utilize energy through windpower. In summary: We do not object the project, although it brings disadvantages for us” (Hemab1, 2006: 2)

Härnö IF is an association that has several sections; bowling, archery, catch and crossbow (hsand5, undated). The archery, catch and crossbow section has their field of practice at Vårdkasen; it is large as a football field. They did not have any particular comments on the number of windpower turbines that was planned in the area. The plans of the municipality and HEMAB did not clinch in particular with the interests of Härnö IF. Härnö IF argues that they could not reject the windpower establishment since they themselves are using arrows close to a neighborhood. They were therefore neutral in this matter and argue that you get used to the noise of the turbines fast. The association has neither taken any positions about windpower in general (HIF, interview, 2013-05-08).
6.1.3 Natural values in conflict with windpower?

*Naturskyddsföreningen in Härnösand* is a local association of the main association Swedish Society of Nature Conservation, SSNC. The local association has circa 400 members; 10-15 of them are active. Their goal is to open the eyes of the citizens within the municipality and help them see the beautiful nature surrounding Härnösand. The association in Härnösand works with conservation after different themes, such as forest, water, sea and climate. They for example cooperate with Friluftsförbundet and arrange hikes, where they join information about the nature with outdoor activities. Their interests at Vårdkasen are related to the old forest, the flowers, animals and insects in the area. They were concerned about what affects the wind turbines would have on the nature and on the outdoor area. One of their major concerns was the effects of the roads that were going to be constructed. The roads are referred to as being huge and well constructed to make the heavy transports possible. Naturskyddsföreningen argue that these roads have large effects on the nature and the wild life in the area. They cause fragmentation and it is unknown that type of life that is hindered by the roads, which also increase the level of dehydration in the area. The establishment also has effects on bats, causes damages due to rock blasting and disturbs the mountain tops. Naturskyddsföreningen in Härnösand is although positive to windpower in general, even if they argue that there could be improvements in the planning and that windpower on occasions cause problems locally due to the localization of the turbines. They argue that SSNC on the national level is positive towards windpower, but is starting to realize that the establishments cause problems locally for local natural values (SSNC, interview, 2013-04-23).

6.1.4 Neighbors in conflict with windpower?

The *neighbors in Vangsta* first heard about the plans to establish more windpower at Vårdkasen through a neighbor. They were concerned about the noise the new turbines located close to them would bring, especially since they could hear the old turbine on occasions. They were also concerned since the proposed turbines would end up right in front of their eyes, in the middle of the beautiful nature. The neighbors created and signed, together with seven other neighbors in the area, a petition that was sent to the planners. They manifested their concerns.
rejection of the establishment of four windpower turbines, and questioned why they not have been contacted since they live closest to the turbines. The petition as well as some of the opponents’ arguments was presented in the local newspaper Tidningen Ångermanland. In the article it is said that the opponents would appeal if all turbines would be constructed. After this, the interviewees learned that more people in the area where against the project and they could have gained names, especially in the terraced house area. It is although said in the petition that the seven neighbors not were negative to this energy form in general, but that it in this case is a question of localization (Vangsta, interview, 2013-04-24). Arguments used were for example:

“The countryside environment with a beautiful landscape of culture would be transformed into an industrial landscape with us having the best seats. The prices on our real estate will decrease. The environment will be polluted by noise and shadows. Beautiful areas for country walks and horse riding will disappear.” (Vangsta, 2006: 1)

The neighbors in Vangsta believe that the municipal vision of creating more renewable energy is good. However they have some skepticism about the windpower turbines that we have today, and wonder if there will be some better solution in the future. Nevertheless, they argue that for now, these windpower turbines might be the ones we shall have (Vangsta, interview, 2013-04-24).

The neighbors at Stenhammar lives on the street closest to the mountain Vårdkasen in direct connection to the forest. The plans of establishing more windpower turbines came in conflict with their interest due to the noise that could reach their home. It was also in conflict with
their other interests as; outdoor activities and recreation such as hiking, running, cross-country skiing, alpine skiing and picking of berries and mushrooms. They were worried that the construction of roads as well as the noise from the turbines would decrease the areas attraction for outdoor activities. They although felt that since the area is a city mountain and already is exploited, one or a few turbines would be alright, but not five as proposed in the early start (Stenhammar, interview, 2013-05-01). They wrote in a manifestation for the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal;

“The planning of Vårdkasen for both the exploitation of windpower and as a natural area for outdoor activities, definitely brings the question of these two purposes can be combined at the same place. That windpower both give noise and affects both the local environment and the landscape scenery is well known”. (Stenhammar, 2006: 1)

The interviewees at Stenhammar believe that windpower is a good alternative in comparison with other energy sources and that the municipality/HEMAB vision of creating more renewable energy is good as long as sufficient environmental concerns are taken (Stenhammar, interview, 2013-05-01).

6.1.5 Other interests in conflict with windpower?

The County Administration Board argued that if four turbines were to be allowed, they argued that the planning should constitute of several more alternative location sites in accordance with the Swedish Environmental Code. They also highlight that prefer to locate windpower turbines within 1000 meters from housings (Hsands kommun2, 2005). The environmental department/office at the municipality of Härnösand, Miljökontoret, write in their manifestation of the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal that they;

“…believe that it is positive that the area will be developed and that all interests such as sport activities, outdoor activities and natural values are taken into account. It is positive that a Detailed Development Plan will be created for the whole area where these interests are weighed before the process of permission for the windpower turbines have started”. (Uebel, 2006)

The Swedish armed forces has national interests at Härnön and wrote in their manifestation that the suitability of the area for windpower turbines needs to be tried before a decision of the establishment can been made (Olsson, 2006). Luftfartsstyrelsen, the Swedish authority who regulates aerial navigation wrote that they and Härnösand flygklubb, the local airplane club, after consultation have concluded that the establishment of windpower was acceptable from the air safety perspective (Lundman, 2006). Teliasoner that has one major mast in the area did not have any concerns about the proposed establishment (Bynkenheim, 2005). Teracom
AB also has a mast in the area and did not reject the establishment although they want compensation if their transmission would be disturbed (Järpåinge, 2005).

*Länsmuseet in Västernorrland,* the Museum of the County, wrote in their manifestation of the Detailed Development Plan Program Proposal that:

“The localization of the windpower turbines at the area around Vårdkasen is less appropriate since they affect the landscape scenery, particularly the ones around Solumsby and Gånsviksdalen. If another location can be found outside Härnön this would be preferable…” (Ek, 2006)

### 6.1.6 Windpower as a local interest

Windpower is seen as a matter of profile for *the municipality of Härnösand,* and the old windpower turbine at Vårdkasen has for long been seen as a landmark. The municipality defines itself as having good opportunities to develop windpower, and the municipality actively welcomes actors that are interested in establishing more windpower. In the governmental spring budget for 2006, money was given to the planning of further windpower establishments (Persson et al, 2006). This money was used to create a new extension to the Comprehensive Development Plan in Härnösand. The extension concerns the development of windpower and will be used to guide the municipality when working with windpower issues (Drejare & Fällgren, 2012). Well planned windpower is said to have small negative environmental effects and can contribute to local development and new investments (Hsands kommun3, 2011).

*Härnösand Energi & Miljö AB, HEMAB,* is responsible for investigating further establishments of windpower within the municipality (Persson et al, 2006). HEMAB is a 100% municipality owned company that employs 130 people and has a turnover of circa 300 million Swedish kronor a year. Its activities such as district heating/windpower, sanitation/retailing, water, drainage systems and power distribution are determined by the owner directives, the articles of association, and decisions made by the Municipality Board or the Municipal Council. The company shall give profit and conduct responsible and cost effective activities with long-term sustainability, concerning both economic and environmental issues (Hemab3, undated).
6.2 How where the different interest managed and with what implications for now?

In this section I will use subtitles to present the theme that is discussed. From this section the results and analysis are presented alongside each other under themes. The result from the interviews is presented first under respective theme, and is followed by an analysis on the theme. The idea is to make it easy for the reader to directly link the result to the analysis. The first theme is the management of the consultation process; the second is positive implications for the interest and last negative implications for the interest groups.

6.2.1 The organizational implications of the consultation process

The municipality was responsible for the formal planning process, including the creation of a DDP Program Proposal and a DDP. Including related consultation processes with meetings, revision and exhibitions in accordance to the PBA, and spread information in the newspaper etc (Planner, interview 2013-04-25). The planner at the municipality argues that the aim of the consultation process is to;

“Take care of the interest of the public as well as everyone’s opinions. This consultation is then seen as a support for us when making plans to learn what the public wants.” (Planner, interview, 2013-04-25)

The consultant at HEMAB held the more informal process and talked with the interests on the field (Planner, interview, 2013-04-25) and gave the municipality material such as maps and Description of Environmental Consequences. During the process, the consultant at HEMAB held contact with the press so that the same person would be seen along the way (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20). When the plans of establishing four turbines in the area at Vårdkasen got known, it was both questioned and rejected by some interests. Since the consultant at HEMAB thought that many interests had correct reasons for their worries, he went to talk with them (Consultant, 2013-05-20). As earlier presented, the Planning and Building Act does not present any specific methods on how to work with the consultation process. There is although a winder number of methods available as presented before by the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, Nyström and Tonell (2012) as well as Larsson and Jalakas (2008). In this case the consultant at HEMAB did several walks with several persons from Naturskyddsföreningen, a mushroom specialist, a biologist at the municipality, Vårdkasens Friluftsområde and staff from the municipality department of Free Time and Culture, FKU (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20). Together with Naturskyddsföreningen, HEMAB constructed a conservation plan with some land owners in the area that they were obliged not to make any measures in the forest that would reduce the value of being in them. This worked as a compensation for the forests that were lost due to the establishment of the
two new turbines. They also walked and discussed the planned roads and their effects on the nature (Consultant, 2013-05-20; SSNC, 2013-2013-04-25). Together with HEMAB, Vårdkasens Friluftsområde searched for measures that would benefit both of their interests. These measures were for example improvements of the road up the mountain, lights, signs, as well as a monetary compensation to the area because of the interference (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20; VF, interview, 2013-05-24).

*Friluftsförbundet* (interview, 2013-04-29) had one or two meetings with HEMAB or the municipality at the start of the process to discuss the new plans and they wrote some manifestation. *Härnö IF* (interview, 2013-05-08) was contacted early by HEMAB and was well-informed about the plans of establishing windpower in the area around Vårdkasen. They participated in information meetings where good reviews of the plans were made and were invited to consultation process meetings where they participated. *Härnössänds Orienteringsklubb* (interview, 2013-05-24) first learned about the plans when they read about it in the newspaper. They took part in some meetings and also wrote a manifestation where they described their activities in the area around Vårdkasen. *The neighbors at Stenhammar* (interview, 2013-05-01) also got the information through the newspaper and through information sent to them. They were contacted as a party since their house was in the distance from the windpower turbine which could cause disturbing sound. They wrote their manifestation and visited the potential locations of the turbines in the forest. The only time they had direct contact with the planners was when they received a call from HEMAB who said that the turbines closest to them had been removed.

*The neighbors at Vangsta* (interview, 2013-04-24) does not read the newspaper carefully and received the news about the planned establishment from their neighbor. This made them disappointed since they did not get information directly and they wrote a petition of complaints with 7 other neighbors. After this, they were visited by the consultant at HEMAB who came to talk with them on his bike. He then gave them information in person about the plans and also contacted them when the two turbines closest to them were removed.

*The consultant at HEMAB* spoke, in most cases, directly to the representatives of different interests to listen to their arguments and to give them information in a correct manner. The consultant says that focus has to be on understanding the other part and not to argue for the companies sake. The consultant expresses that these kinds of processes develop up in the wrong way before and opponent reactions have developed, because people’s arguments are not met with respect (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20). The consultant says;
“When you fully understand the counterpart, you have the best possibilities to find solutions of compromise that the counterpart will accept. Without letting the compromise becomes a too large disadvantage for the project. Or you realize in time that the proposal shall be withdrawn.”
(Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20)

The consultant argues that the more tense a question is the more careful is the choice of words, the accent and to meet the counterpart’s argument seriously and objectively:

“I want to be as correct as possible to avoid conflicts through meeting others with respect”.
(Consultant, 2013-05-20)

After listening to the different interests, the consultant proposed a removal of the turbines closest to Vangsta and the manager of HEMAB accepted the reduction and the plans proceeded (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20).

**Analysis:** Given that methods such as walks, visits and meetings were used during the process with different interests, this shows that the consultant choose those methods that were appropriate for the different representatives of interests in different situations as proposed by Johnson et al (2006) and the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket2, 2009). The consultant at HEMAB thereby implemented some of the suggested models for how to conduct a consultation process and succeeded in incorporating the interests in the early stage of the process. That the municipality chose to create a DDP Program Proposal as presented in section 5.1.2, in respect of the large number of interests, made it possible for the interest groups to involve formally in the process. This early involvement of the citizens is one of the working methods within Communicate planning (Boverket2, 2009), and by using bottom-up planning the planners and consultant managed to mediate between the different interests involved as suggested by Mohammadi (2010) and Larsson & Jalakas (2012). Through negotiations and dialogue, a consensus and solution that were acceptable for all interest groups could be found.

Since HEMAB is a municipality owned company with a board of elected politicians (Hemab3, undated), it could although be argued that the establishment of windpower at Vårdkasen has similarities with Negotiation Planning. Meaning that the municipality and planners earlier agrees on how the planning shall look like (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). That the consult at HEMAB after meeting with the different interests, strongly proposed that the number of turbines should be reduced, although indicate that this process has been
communicative. If he had not fought for this reduction, the influence from the citizens would have been reduced and the municipal proposal might have remained.

The way that the consultant at HEMAB communicated with the different interests shows that the consultant is well aware of how to prevent an escalated conflict (Rosenberg, 2004). He was careful when communicating with the interest, which is proposed by Krauss & Morsella (2006) as an important step no not harm the process. The consultant also investigated and found the real interest and needs the different groups had, which is important to deepen the understanding of the problem (Carpenter & Kennedy, 1998). The above quote also shows that the consultant knew the importance of respecting the counterparts which is argued by Rosenberg (2006) to be a key for how to reach a successful conflict resolution. In this case this means that the consultant respected and listened to the arguments given by the interest groups related to the locations and numbers of the turbines etc. The fact that the consultant argued for a reduction of the turbines, shows that he was careful to take their concerns into account.

By communicating with the involved groups, the consultant managed to create a trustful relation with the different groups which helped them cooperate as suggested by Pretty (2003). Daniels and Walker (2001) express that communication and trust is of large importance in relation between leaders and citizens. In this case it can also be argued as suggested by Folke et al (2005), Franzén (2012) and Ternström (2005) that the leadership is of large importance for the development of projects etc. Mostert et al (2007) although stress that a neutral leader is preferable since it is hard for organizations to both be defending their interests and to vary out the process as a facilitator. That the main leader in this case was a consultant might have affected his strong engagement in the reduction of the number of the turbines. The consultant was not directly employed by HEMAB and might have been more objective in his role, which might have made the decisions during the planning process more objective and have benefitted the acceptance of the windpower turbines.

6.2.2 Positive implications for the interests

Friluftsfrämjandet (interview, 2013-04-29) does not recall that they had any problems during the consultation process; and have no further comments on the matter except from that they do not experience any problems with the turbines. They also appreciate the improvements made on the road up to Vårdkasen since this is positive for Friluftsfrämjandet in terms of availability of the area, especially for their alpine skiing interest.
Vårdkasens Friluftsområde (interview, 2013-05-02) thinks that the consultation process was good and they consider the cooperation with the consult at HEMAB as extraordinary good. They felt that they could discuss different solutions with the consult even though they were not experts on windpower, which they felt was positive.

“We feel that our opinions came into account in the investigation over the area and we could make agreements with the consult… It was lucky that we discuss this; we participated early in the process and could give our opinions. We feel that this was positive for the process.”
(VF, interview, 2013-05-02)

The association believes that the result, meaning the construction of two turbines is fine, although they have comments on some details. They believe that the aim of the consultation process as written in the Planning and Building Act has been fulfilled;

“To find the best possible material for decision-making and that it gives possibilities to transparency and influence” (PBA 2010: 900, chapter 5 12§).

Härnö IF (interview, 2013-05-28) also agrees that they had the possibility to affect the process and could follow it in a transparent way. They do not have any particular comments on the number of windpower turbines and they argue that the noise they create is something you get used to fast. Moreover Naturskyddsföreningen in Härnösand (interview, 2013-04-23) also think that the consultation process as regulated in chapter 5 in PBA have been fulfilled and that the municipality managed the process well. They did not have that much to say about the number of turbines, but rather the locations. Naturskyddsföreningen felt like HEMAB really listened while negotiating since they changed the forest that would be exploited and for example decided that some forests should be saved for 50 years. The interviewee says;

“This felt good! We did not only get opposed, we got accepted… The consultant from HEMAB listened carefully and when they found orchids along the way, he said that the road should be drawn around that area…” (SSNC, interview, 2013-04-23)

The neighbors in Vangsta (2013-04-24) are not disturbed by the turbines today. They have gotten use to the turbines that stand there and have swallowed and accepted them. They are neither disturbed by the whirring sound that reaches them during some evenings. When only two turbines located at distance from their house were constructed, they hardly reacted and never appealed because the planners had listened. They feel that the consultation process worked fine and felt like the planners listened to them and said;

“Oh, is it that easy to affect things” (Vangsta, interview, 2013-04-24)
The interviewees in Vangsta felt that they had a good dialogue with the consultant who they remember as being a nice careful who were very good at giving information, trying to explain how their plans looked like. However, the neighbors in Vangsta were shaken at start. They also agree that the quote from the PBA was fulfilled and says the following about the process;

“We actually got what we wanted, which we in fact were quite surprised over!”

(Vangsta, interview, 2013-04-24)

The neighbors at Stenhammar (interview, 2013-05-01) also perceive that the organization around the consultation process was good. They got information in time and could therefore affect the process. They also agree that the quote from PBA is fulfilled. Today they do neither hear nor see the two new turbines from their home. They are rather affected when they visit the ski tracks. The neighbors at Stenhammar argue that it was good that only two roads were constructed and that improvements on the road to Vårdkasen were made. However they argue that the new roads have had large impacts on the mountains due to rock blasting, and that the roads destroy more than the actual windpower turbines.

Analysis: The fact that the above interests’ feel that their opinions have been taken into account and that they have been listened to, is one reason to why the conflict of interest transformed into a constructive dialogue (Deutsch, 2011). The management of the process stopped the development of a negative spiral where the conflicts grow severe (Carpenter and Kennedy, 1998). All of the involved interests presented above also feel that the quote from the Planning and Building Act has been fulfilled. This shows that the consultation process has been transparent and given room for influence. In the case of Vårdkasen, the methods used by the consultant during the informal consultation got well accepted by the involved interests. It can be argued that the use of these methods strengthened the interests’ feelings of being listened to. Something that some of them did not actually believe was possible. This makes it interesting to wonder why they have the social memory of believing that their opinions would not matter. Did they have bad experience from earlier?

The participatory process can also be argued to have improved the decision-making by allowing more perspectives, which contributed to make the establishment of two windpower turbines legitimate and accepted (Innes & Booher, 2005). It can furthermore be argued that citizen participation in this case has brought new knowledge to the planning process that made it easier for the planner to identify the public interests (Nyström & Tonell, 2012). Through the informal process even more knowledge of the interests opinions, which made the
planners gain even more knowledge. Through these processes, there was also an increased understanding and respect of each other’s interests which created a trust between the planners and the citizens, or at least the consultant and the citizens. These results indicates that the local democracy has been strengthened since there has been, to a large extent, satisfying citizen participation (Nyström & Tonell, 2012) as well as an increased acceptability for the establishment.

It can be argued that HEMAB had a larger role than the municipality when it comes to anchoring the project among the interests groups. The consultant at HEMAB is in general the person that is remembered, even though most interests believe that the municipality did manage the formal process well. However, the leadership and respect the consultant showed towards the interests seems to have had large part in the anchoring of the turbines. Larger than the importance of the municipality’s formal responsibility for the consultation process. This analysis is strengthened by the fact that most of the interviews recall the consultant as a nice person, who listened and respected their opinions and could inform them in an easy matter. It shall although not be forgotten that it was the municipality that wanted a DDP Program Proposal to be created, which included the interests early in the planning process and therefore strengthened democracy.

6.2.3 Negative implications

Härnösands Orienteringsklubb (interview, 2013-94-29) argues that although their opinions were relatively general, they where acknowledged to an insignificant extent in the planning. Despite this, HOK feels that the organization of the consultation process was good in terms of information and given time, but they had no comment on the leadership. They argue that it is better for them with a low amount of windpower turbines since this means that the interference in the forest. Nevertheless, the roads have decreased the forests they use for orienteering and the windpower turbines have become obvious aiming points in the terrain. HOK have although continued their activities at Vårdkasen, adjusting them to the new conditions.

Naturskyddsföreningen (interview, 2013-04-23) feels that it was positive that it was the municipality owned company HEMAB that made the constructions, but is not fully satisfied with the areas that the planners are proposing, and even if they were listened to by the planners during the consultation process, they did not fully achieve what they wanted. They argue that the plans still ends up as the politicians want it, which makes them feel dejected.
Vårdkasens Friluftsområde (interview, 2013-05-02) made an agreement with HEMAB when they accepted the plans of establish more windpower at Vårdkasen. HEMAB promised to continue and develop the area by donating money for the development each year, 650 000 Swedish kronor the first year and 100 000 Swedish kronor the following years. But this agreement was changed, which makes the association a bit more skeptic about the whole process. Instead of HEMAB giving money directly to the area, they are distributed through the politicians that the association feels is undemocratic in a way. Vårdkasens Friluftsområde is also discontent to some extent that neither HEMAB nor the municipality reconstructed the road to Vårdkasen all the way up to the top. Vårdkasens Friluftsområde also had some proposals on how to further develop the area which not have become reality.

The planner at the municipality (interview, 2013-04-25) says that after the different opinions have been gathered, it is up to the planners to weigh the different interests towards each other. This part is according the planner problematic because people shall be given the possibility to come with their opinions, but everyone cannot be satisfied. The planner also highlights that the discontent is heard the most, and that only a few positive voices get in contact with the planners. The planner also argues that all do not have the possibility to make their voices heard in the consultation process:

“We have also realized that there often is one small group of people that often are engaged in these matters. So we are trying to find ways of how to get all interests represented in the process”.
(Planner, interview, 2013-04-25)

Analysis: The planner at the municipality herself also explain that it is hard to make everyone satisfied in this process even though they see the consultation process as a support when making decisions for the public. Ellis et al (2010) argues that the planning becomes complex due to this reason; that a wide number of voices heard in the participatory and discursive opportunities in the planning system. To some extent, Härnösands Orienteringsklubb has suffered from disadvantages from the establishment which could be seen as their interests not fully have been respected. However, the reduction of the turbines can be used to explain why they did not want to proceed with their complainant in the DDP even though they were not fully satisfied. That HOK did not get their voice fully heard in the process can be explained by that they as an association has too little power to be fully recognized. In this case the planners have suppressed this interest for the benefit of the planners’ goal to establish windpower at Vårdkasen. This shows the effect of asymmetries of power as presented by Newig (2007). The same asymmetries of power can also explain that Naturskyddsföreningen
and Vårdkasens Friluftsområde have some comments on the process. Vårdkasens Friluftsområde seems disappointed because some of the agreements they made with HEMAB as well as some measures they proposed never became reality. According to Forster (1982) the planners create expectations, which in this case have not been met. It is likely that the discontent the association possesses will develop into a negative social memory due to this. They feel discontent and to some extent fooled by the planners. This can possibly block their cooperation with HEMAB in the future as proposed by Folke et al (2005).

The planner at the municipality shows an awareness of the problematic of who is actually being heard in the participatory process as discussed by Franzén (2012). That the planner argues that all groups do not all have the same possibilities to participate, and that some groups are frequently engaged in these processes, shows that there are clear power problems in Härnösand. Where more powerful actors can suppress the weaker by expressing their opinions, whilst does not (Newig, 2007).

6.3 What future implications can the establishment of windpower have?

The same principal of result and analysis as above is used. The first theme is the interests’ groups’ remembrance of the whole process. The second is what effects distrust on future collaboration between the planners and interest groups. Next follows the planner and consultant memory of the whole process. The last theme handles the interests who are participating in other windpower issues today.

6.3.1 The interest groups memory of the process and its effect on the future

Härnösands Orienteringsklubb (interview, 2013-04-29) feels that the word conflict is to strong when discussing if the plans of the municipality and HEMAB was in conflict with their interests. Naturskyddsföreningen (interview, 2013-04-29) does neither feel that there has been a conflict; they rather believe that there has been a good dialogue and that the decisions to some extent were compromised. Naturskyddsföreningen believes that the whole process of establishing wind turbines was managed well, especially when thinking about the amount of time it actually took and that they could discuss the plans during the process. Härnö IF (interview, 2013-05-08) also consider the whole process as well handled, and feels that the planners were eager to get opinions. They argue that the planners have handled it well and have been listening to opinions; they see the construction of only two turbines was constructed as a receipt on this. Vårdkasens Friluftsområde (interview, 2013-05-02) considers the whole process as good, except from the monetary agreement. The neighbors at Vangsta (interview, 2013-04-24) feel that HEMAB managed the process very well, but do not recall
the municipality at all. They do not perceive that they were in any conflict, despite the fact that they were upset at start. When thinking about the whole process from 2005-2012, the neighbors at Stenhammar (interview, 2013-05-01) believe that the municipality and HEMAB acted well under the process. They also remember that the process was long, but that the result was good in the end.

When it comes to the number of turbines that were established at Vårdkasen, Härnö IF, the neighbors in Vangsta and Naturskyddsforeningen discussed whether the reduction of the number of turbines at Vårdkasen could have been a part of the plan from the beginning. They argue that the municipality and/or HEMAB might have planned to reduce the number of turbines during the process to make people feel satisfied over the process (HIF, interview, 2013-05-08; Vangsta, interview, 2013-04-24; SSNC interview, 2013-04-23).

Analysis: None of the above presented interviewees describe the process as filled with conflicts. They rather think that the process was a good dialogue, and as earlier presented all of them believe that they have had the possibility to affect the process and could follow the process in a transparent way. As written in the Planning and Building Act. Those who were truly against the establishment of four turbines, are likely to have continued with their complaints if there would not have been a reduction of the turbines to only two. The fact that the interviewed actors are, to large extent, content with how HEMAB and the municipality managed the process, indicates that the social memory of them who participated in this process is positive. This is positive for future collaboration (Hahn et al, 2006) between the planners and citizens. Since most of the interests groups felt that they could affect the planning process in an early stage, this has given them a positive memory from the consultation- and planning process. This will be beneficial for future projects held by the municipality and HEMAB.

Nevertheless, three of the interviewed interests are suspicious about the actual goal that the municipal planners had in this case. This indicates that they do not fully trust the planners, and trust is easily destroyed and is needed if cooperation shall take place (Pretty, 2003). The fact that the interests are suspicious although do not seem to have affected their trust in the process as presented earlier. As shown in 5.3, the planners decided to present a wide number of locations to scrutinize all possibilities. Whether or not they had a hidden agenda remains unknown, but the known history tells that the planners at the municipality wanted all locations to be discussed and take in all possible interests. If the planners would inform how they
discussed this matter, this could probably contribute to an increased positive form of social memory (Hahn et al., 2006) and reduce the risks of developing distrust.

If the concerns of the three interests are true, this would mean that the planning process is more similar to Negotiation planning, where the municipality and planners early agrees on the plans (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008). In this case HEMAB although proposed two turbines at first, which was extended by the municipality to four or five. An extension HEMAB withdrew to meet the opinions from the different interests. This measure rather corresponds to the bottom-up planning of Communicative planning where the citizens in the communities can make their voices heard. Instead of politicians and others steering decisions through top-down planning without discussing it with citizens (Larsson & Jalakas, 2008; Mohammadi, 2012).

6.3.2 The planner and consultants memory of the process and its implications

The planner at the municipality (interview, 2013-04-25) agrees that the process was long and explains that since the consultant was very careful, it took time. The planner also argues that the time might have been needed, because it was the first time we at the municipality did a DDP for windpower. Other municipalities contacted them later to see how they had done. The planner wouldn’t either say that there had been a conflict and argues that since no one appealed the Detail Development Plan, this proofs that the process was good, that the planners were responsive and could understand the concerned actors’ arguments. The planner argues;

“We were quite surprised that only a few people were against the project, we had expected otherwise. This is probably due to the fact that there was a successive decrease of the windpower turbines. That only two remained seems to have been acceptable.” (Planner, interview, 2013-04-25)

The planners did not bring any learning’s from the consultation process except from knowledge about windpower turbines and the noise they create into the creation of the thematic “addition” for Windpower in Härnösand. They just followed the law when carrying out the consultation process and constructed the DDP (Planner, interview, 2013-04-25).

The consultant at HEMAB (interview, 2013-05-20) describes the dialogue with the interests as good and substantial. The consultant does not feel that the establishment at Vårdkasen is an infected question today, although some people are skeptical. The consultant although agrees that if they had been consistent with their plans to construct four turbines, they as planners would have given energy to the opponents to start a wave of protests. There are therefore argues a number of egoistic reasons to have a perceptive dialogue, as for example to create Good Will for HEMAB. If they had not listened, the consultant argues that
HEMAB and windpower in general would meet problems for many years ahead (Consultant, interview, 2013-05-20).

**Analysis:** The planner at the municipality argues that the absence of appeals regarding the DDP is linked to that the citizens have accepted the proposal of only two turbines. This elaboration of the establishment has therefore become sustainable in the long term (Nyström & Tonell, 2012). It could also be argued, as mentioned by some of the interests, that the time given in this planning process might have been needed to anchor this decision. Especially since this process started when the number of windpower turbines in Sweden started to increase at a higher speed (Energimyndigheten, 2012). That time is needed in citizen participation is argued by Larsson (2011), although this argument is in conflict with the demand from national goals to have a fast and effective planning process. A faster process is not preferred by Henecke & Khan (2002) since this decreases the quality of the participation. The result from this study shows that it took time, and that no appeals or conflicts were created. This is in line with Henecke & Khans (2002) arguments that effectiveness rather can be reached if the amount of participation is increased. Ellis et al (2010) although argues that slow planning is a barrier for the expansion of windpower and Innes & Booher (2005) argue that participation causes delays. The planner at the municipality in Härnösand indicated that the process had taken too long time and had been due to careful management. This can be explained by the above arguments as well as the facts that participation is costly (Stenseke, 2009). In addition the municipality had to leave some of its formal power to the citizens and also the consultant at HEMAB, which can be an additional reason to why the planner feels that the process was long. Especially since the municipality might not have gotten the result they wanted from the first place (Nyström & Tonell, 2012). The planner at the municipality although argued that they did not bring anything in particular from the process in itself and that they just followed the regulations in the Planning and Building Act. This indicates that they have not reflected upon what learning’s can be drawn from this planning process. If they had reflected, it is likely that they would have found valuable tools which could be used in their future work with participation.

It is obvious that the consultant at HEMAB were well aware that if they as a company treated the opinions from the interest groups well, this would affect them and windpower in the future. This argument is fully connected to the arguments from Franzén (2012), Folke et al (2005) and Hahn et al (2006) which says that a positive social memory can affect future
collaboration. That the consultant was well aware about this problematic is likely to be the reason why the consultant persuaded the manager at HEMAB to accept the removal of some turbines, not only for the sake of the company, but also for the reputation of windpower.

6.3.3 Future is present for some of the interests

Friluftsfrämjandet (interview, 2013-04-29), Härnösands Orienteringsklubb (interview, 2013-04-29), Naturskyddsföreningen (interview, 2013-04-23) and the neighbors at Stenhammar (interview, 2013-05-01) are engaged or concerned over the planned establishment of more windpower at Spjutåsberget south of Härnösand. Their presence in that matter although is due to their interests in the area rather than any bad memory of the former process at Vårdkasen. Naturskyddsföreningen gained some learning’s from their engagement at Vårdkasen;

“We have brought a thinking of “changing lands”, meaning that we prefer to be active in a project and say what they think, rather than doing nothing. By doing this, we can at least try to affect decisions. As an example, we have decided to negotiate rather than doing nothing in the project at Spjutåsberget”. (SSNC, interview, 2013-04-23)

For the sake of Friluftsfrämjandet their engagement at Spjutåsberget is also related to that they have had disputes with the landowner in the area before (interview, 2013-04-29). This can in accordance with Franzén (2012) be explained as a negative baggage of earlier events, and can be one factor to why they are very engaged in this matter. Except from their interests in the outdoor activities in the, for them, holy natural area (2013-04-29). Härnösands Orienteringsklubb is also involved since they hold Swedish National Competitions in the area on occasions. The area is by some seen as the best area for orienteering in Sweden and if the establishments become reality, HEMAB has promised to create a new map which they think is positive. HOK was not fully satisfied with the development of windpower at Vårdkasen (interview, 2013-04-29), which can have given them a negative baggage (Hahn et al, 2006) and have made them more thorough to take part in this process. The interviewees at Stenhammar was neither fully satisfied with the establishment of windpower turbines at Vårdkasen (interview, 2013-05-01). They therefore have a negative baggage to some extent, and remember this when discussing the establishment at Spjutåsberget as proposed by Franzén (2012). They often go skiing at Spjutåsberget. Their general feeling is that turbines seem to be located in untouched forest areas where landowner gets an increased value of his/her land, and the number of concerned actors who can appeal is minimal. For them, the choice of localization it seems to be juridical/administrative rather than environmental. To some extent, their social memory of windpower planning has therefore become negative.
7. Summarizing discussion

In this part I summarize the findings from the analysis and connect them to the broader phenomena of windpower and participation. Data from the literature review is together with insights from this study used to present patterns within the phenomena. The major insights are italicized to make it easy for the reader to find them.

As earlier presented there are international conventions and national laws and aims to further integrate citizens in the decision-making processes. However, there are also international and national goals to mitigate the effects of the climate change and windpower development is becoming more common. These different goals and aims have direct effects on the local development and cause conflicts when they are implemented. In this study at the local level of Vårdkasen in Härnösand, conflict of interests appeared due to the establishment of windpower. Even though there were conflicts of interests at start, they never developed into a severe conflict but rather a constructive dialogue. The planners managed to make the different interest groups satisfied to a large extent. All the interviewed interests stated that they could influence the consultation process as presented in the Planning and Building Act. So, how can the specific insights of this empirical research be used in the broad development of windpower processes?

Even though a development of renewable energy is urgent, this study indicates that time is useful to get the citizens on board to anchor the establishment. In the case of Vårdkasen, the longer timeframe gave the interest groups an actual possibility to participate early in the planning process and influence the number of planned windpower turbines. This early participation increased the quality of the decision-making process through adding the citizens’ perspectives. It should be remembered that if a planning process is made too efficient, the quality could decrease as well as the respect towards citizens’ perspectives. A too efficient process risks delaying local democracy; generate conflicts as well as poor outcomes. This study therefore suggests that even though there are demands of an increased establishment of windpower, the participation process must be allowed to be longer if the establishments shall be accepted and sustainable.

The study at Vårdkasen indicates that it is complex to find appropriate locations for windpower turbines. Initially, the locations sites seem to have been the reason why the interest groups became active in the planning process because the locations were in conflict with their interests. This can be explained by the NIMBY effect. However, none of the
interviewees fully rejected the plans of establishing windpower at Vårdkasen and nearly all realized that there is a need of more renewable energy. In the broader perspective it could therefore be argued that an open transparent process where the citizens are allowed to influence the planning process is beneficial for finding appropriate and acceptable locations. If the planners, as in this case, are prepared to change their plans if they face legitimate arguments from counterparts, this will increase the satisfaction among the citizens.

In the case of Vårdkasen, the informal process held by the consultant at HEMAB had major part in making the establishment accepted. The consultant made walks and visits and held information meetings. Which together with the well-informed process, made the interests feel that they actually had been listened to and that their arguments had been met with respect. These management procedures prevented an escalated conflict between the interests of establishing windpower and the other interest groups, hence a constructive dialogue developed. The windpower company Svevind used a similar engagement with interest groups when they develop windpower in Markbygden, Sweden. Through engaging they prevented the growth of a large resistance to the project (Pettersson, 2009).

The analysis of Vårdkasen also indicates that it is beneficial for the planning process if a neutral person conduct parts of it. The consultant at HEMAB was to some extent neutral, which provided a distance to the context, and made it easier to strongly propose the reduction of the number of windpower turbines. A reduction which can be argued to have had large importance in the case of Vårdkasen, both to make the establishment sustainable and acceptable, and to strengthen local democracy through listening and respecting the citizens. It can be difficult for the planners both to implement their goals and to increase citizen participation, and it can therefore be beneficial to use more neutral planners also in the broader perspective. The consultants’ previous experience and learning’s are likely to have had part of the successful management procedures (Folke et al, 2005) that were used in the informal process. The consultant’s positive and negative baggage from previous and similar projects are very likely to have affected the management procedures used.

In this case there was an actual citizen participation that allowed the citizens to influence the planning process. Actual citizen participation is according to this study as well as a study of a windpower development in Laholm (Khan, 2003), a key to prevent and handle conflicts. If, for example, the neighbors at Vangsta had not been allowed to participate and influence the planning process, a severe conflict could have developed. The reduction of the windpower turbines decreased the discontent among almost all of the interest groups and is a reason to
why a severe conflict never evolved. The majority of the interests at Vårdkasen were satisfied with the consultation process, which is similar to the case of Markbygden. In both cases only a few interests were discontent. In the case of Markbygden, a fully deliberative democracy was not reached due to the wide number of actors and the asymmetric distribution of power (Pettersson, 2009). The case of Vårdkasen shows similar indications. However, most interests in this study remember that they could affect the process, which have given them a positive memory about the consultation process and the management. This is of considerable importance for future projects of establishing windpower, as well as for democracy itself. A positive memory at local level is therefore desirable if the international and national goals of increased democracy through participation shall be met, as well as if increasing number of windpower turbines is to be accepted.

There are diverse outcomes of participation and acceptability for local establishments of windpower. This shows that there is a need of evaluating and analyzing the planning and consultation processes to see how and why the outcomes are different. It is therefore important to document the tools that were used to construct a satisfying consultation process also in the participants’ perspectives. In addition, it is important to present which tools that worked and which did not in order to learn what methods are appropriate. It is not only the planners and companies that should benefit from an evaluation of the consultation process. The above learning’s can contribute to an improved local democracy through improved citizen participation, a reduction of conflicts and make future collaboration between parts easier. This is of importance if the international and national shall be met.
8. Conclusions

- The results from this study show that the reduction of wind turbines from four to two was an important part of the planning process. This decision made the different interests accept the establishment and not to oppose the plans furthermore. Through this decision, it was concretely demonstrated that local interests could influence the development of windpower through participating in the consultation process. Because of the longer planning process, it was also possible for the planners to fully consider the different interests and arguments. This consideration was another important part of anchoring the establishment. Although the study indicates that it is difficult to fully satisfy all interests and their concerns, all interest were content with the consultation process itself to a large extent.

- The consultant at HEMAB had a major part in developing a constructive dialogue with the involved interest as well as in anchoring the establishment. After listening and respecting the needs of the involved interests groups, the consultant strongly proposed a reduction of the number of windpower turbines which prevented an escalating conflict. The fact that the consultant was not directly employed by HEMAB is likely to have given the consultant the neutrality needed to respect the different interests. This neutrality provided a distance to the context, which might be the reason to the consultant’s strong engagement in reducing the number of turbines. This study also indicates that the earlier experiences of the consultant, as an expert on windpower, have contributed to the management of an informal consultation process where listening has been a key to make the different interests satisfied.
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Pictures
Picture 1
Created in Word by the author of this study, using the references presented in the section 4.2.1.

Picture 2

Picture 3

Picture 4
Created in Word by the author of this study, using the references presented in the section 5.1.3.

Picture 5
Photo taken by HEMAB, available at front page at; http://www.hemab.se/

Picture 6
Photo Frida Hamrén

Picture 7
Zoom on Härnösand from, http://maps.google.se, Available; 2013-05-01., Locations of turbines from the map ”Översikt projekt Himmelsberget – Bräntherget” created by HEMAB.

Picture 8

Picture on front page
Photo Frida Hamrén

Interviews:

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<th>Date of contact</th>
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10. Appendixes

10.1 Appendix 1

Below the quote from the Planning and Building Act concerning the aim of the consultation process is presented. First in the original language Swedish and translated to English.

12 § Samrådet ska syfta till att få fram ett så bra beslutsunderlag som möjligt och att ge möjlighet till insyn och påverkan. (PBA, 2010: 900, chap 5 12§)

“To find the best possible material for decision-making and that it gives possibilities to transparency and influence”
10.2 Appendix 2

Picture 7 shows the location of the two newly established windpower turbines at Solumsklinten and Bräntberget in the area round Vårdkasen in Härnösand (Hemab2, undated).
10.3 Appendix 3

Interview Schedule

Tell me about yourself, your organization and what it does?
How do you feel about windpower in general?

Vårdkasen

How did you find out that plans were made to establish more windpower at Vårdkasen?
Which needs/interests does your association/organization have in the area around Vårdkasen?
How did the plans of HEMAB/the municipality’s conflict with these interests?
How did you think about the municipality/HEMAB vision to create more renewable energy?

How did you participate in the consultation process?
How were your needs and interests met in the process?

Could you describe the consultation process from your perspective with a few words? (well-managed, destructive)

How did you perceive the organization of the consultation process? (Amount of information given, info on time, the leadership?).

Do you have any comments on the other interests view on the process?

The consultation shall aim;

“To find the best possible material for decision-making and that it gives possibilities to transparency and influence” (PBA, 2010: 900, chap 5 12§) (See appendix 1 for original law.)

Do you believe the process was transparent and could you participate? Do you feel that you could influence the process?

Did you work together with other interests groups?
- If yes, how did you organize that? What did that cooperation result with?
- Do you still have contact today in other issues?

2 turbines were constructed instead of 4, how do you feel about that?
How do you perceive that the result, 2 wind mills, has been received by the citizens in Härnösand?
Do you know if anyone is unsatisfied?
How do you feel when you think back on the whole process (2005-2012) and the actual result today?
How would you describe the whole process?
- Was there an infected conflict, a constructive dialogue?

How do you feel about the way the municipality and HEMAB handled the process of establishing more windpower turbines at Vårdkasen?

How do you feel when thinking about HEMAB today? - The municipality?
Is there anything you will bring to future engagements/opinions in a similar project?

**Spjutåsberget:**

HEMAB has plans to construct more turbines to create more sustainable energy, what do you think about that? (For example Spjutåsberget)

Have you been involved in that project as well?
Why?

Which needs and interests does your organization have in the area around Spjutåsberget?
How did the plans of HEMAB/the municipality’s conflict with these interests?

Would you like to add something?

Thank you!
### 10.4 Appendix 4.

**List of interviewees and the way were contacted.**

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