



The art of the ‘common good’: Property and nature values in strategic land-use planning in Finland

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ABSTRACT

Cutting across many biophysical, institutional, cultural, and psychological boundaries, the quest for the ‘common good’ is an enduring legitimization for land-use planning interventions that go beyond statutory planning, even supporting the emergence of new commons. We analyse a body of qualitative and semi-quantitative data from a recent strategic land-use plan process in Southwest Finland, including a series of planning documents and the results of a Q study. We describe how planners, citizens, and stakeholder organisations co-created a regional land-use plan and, focusing on the relationships between the practice of land-use planning and the legal structures of private property, ask how the commons were advanced in relation to private land ownership and how the different interpretations of the common good were reflected in the process. In the studied process, the planners strove to emphasise the commons and the common good by introducing new strategic land-use symbols. However, the emergence of new commons was seen as a threat by many landowners, their advocacy organisations, and regional decision makers. Instead of an unavoidable impasse, we urge that the situation should be seen as a call for novel solutions in the face of the ambitious and spatially explicit nature conservation commitments that increasingly contest the prevailing perceptions of the relationships of nature, property, and the distinct interpretations of common good.

1. Introduction

Resource scarcity, biodiversity decline, and climate change are challenging land-use governance (Krawchenko and Tomaney, 2023; Perrin et al., 2022; Vatn, 2018; Kusmanoff et al., 2016). The processes aiming to ensure that the use of land does not jeopardise its short-term value and longer-term profitability (see Blomley, 2017) are therefore increasingly intertwined with the quest for a broader ‘common good’ legitimising multi-interest and long-term land-use planning interventions (Wideman, 2021; Murphy and Fox-Rogers, 2015; Etzioni, 2014). In particular, environmental concerns increasingly contribute to how the mid- and long-term value of land is seen, not only for the landowner but also the wider community (Scott, 2022). The challenge is both theoretical and practical. Land-use planning cuts across many biophysical, institutional, cultural, and psychological domains (Spears et al., 2021) and therefore addressing problems of unsustainable resource use, biodiversity decline, and climate change calls for a radical

change in how boundaries and interfaces between these domains are understood and overcome (Ortiz Gala and Madorrán Ayerra, 2023; Mäntysalo et al., 2023; Hiedanpää and Bromley, 2016; Naskali, 2010).

As a cornerstone of capitalist order, clearly defined property rights are critical for addressing the common good in planning (Thorpe, 2022; Wideman, 2021; Freyfogle, 2003). When planners engage in drawing new plan symbols (i.e. designations that define the location and extent of a specific plan regulation) the resulting spatial units often spread over existing formal land properties and overlap with other socio-natural features of interest. Precisely, the purpose of many plan symbols is to foster specific landscape features considered valuable for the community, and these features can often be understood as the commons (Seitanidis and Gritzas, 2022). Since its historical origins, nature conservation has developed in alignment with property arrangements that intend to specify whose land and whose nature are in question (Kamal et al., 2015; Kelly, 2011; Escobar, 1998). Making the commons visible through institutionalising them in land-use plans can be seen as

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an exercise of power that disrupts the prevailing order emanating from how land as property is generally understood (cf. Wideman and Lombardo, 2019; Nightingale, 2019; Helfrich, 2012; Albrechts, 2003; Lapintie, 2002).

The starting point of this article is a case described above. We took part in a land-use planning process as participant-observers (Seim, 2021), keeping track of how the planners navigated the conflicting property-related reasoning frequently applied in the process. The questions revolving around rights and corresponding responsibility were constantly present but without definitive answers. When the plan was partially rejected on the grounds of the argument that it potentially violates property rights, we wanted to dissect the debates that led to this end.

Contributing to a growing body of literature on the relationships between the practice of land-use planning and ideologies of private property, we explore nature values (i.e. features of nature with intrinsic and/or instrumental value) as commons. Our main research questions are 1) whether land-use planning is capable of advancing the commons in relation to private property and ownership, and 2) how the different interpretations of the common good are reflected in planning processes. We analyse a body of qualitative and semi-quantitative data related to a recent process of a strategic land-use plan in Southwest Finland. The primary materials include a body of written and transcribed planning and participation materials analyzed through a qualitative content analysis method. We also apply a semi-quantitative Q methodology to analyse the beliefs and rationale of stakeholders participating in the collaborative planning process, situating the planners in this effort.

The paper is structured in the following way. In Section 2, we describe the concepts of ‘common good’ and ‘commons’ in the context of land-use planning. In Section 3, we present the Finnish land-use planning system and its multifaceted and difficult-to-interpret relationships with private and public ownership. In Section 4, we present our case study, a strategic regional land-use planning process in Southwest Finland, and the research materials and methods. In Section 5, we present the results on the strategic planning process in which the planners strove to emphasise the commons and the common good by introducing novel strategic plan symbols (called ‘*Development Principle Symbols*’). We explore how beliefs about property and the reasons stated to support them influenced the plan’s result. In Section 6, we further discuss the relationship of land-use planning with private and public property. In Section 7, we present the conclusions.

2. The common good and the commons

The purpose of land-use planning is to define the future use of land, considering the functionality and vitality of the larger whole and minimising harm. The concept of the common good has been used for centuries to legitimise the use of public power in land-use planning. It is worth noting that the concepts of the common good and public interest are related and sometimes used synonymously (see: Puustinen et al., 2017a). In this article, we have chosen to use the concept of the common good referring to the concept deriving from Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), according to which the common good is the purpose of the state’s existence. The state must guarantee the conditions for people’s well-being, such as peace, order and justice. The common good refers to these goods that are shared and may not be reduced to private goods (Puustinen et al., 2017a; Douglass, 1980). The concept of the common good has been debated at various times and by various thinkers, and with new layers of interpretation, the term’s ‘conceptual burden’ has grown. Today, the concept of the common good bears multiple but too often hidden discursive frameworks. The concept has become ambiguous, and its rhetorical appropriateness in legitimising the use of public power is questioned for good reasons (Puustinen et al., 2017a; Mäntysalo et al., 2023). In land-use planning, apart from the fact that the concept of common good has been used to legitimize the state’s role in planning, the realization of the common good has served as a standard criterion in

the evaluation of planning and the environments it produces (Alexander, 2002: 227). These obligations that justify land-use planning itself and its goals and results will not disappear, even if we do not use the concept of the common good *per se* (Flathman, 1966, cited in Campbell and Marshall, 2002 and Moroni, 2004, Puustinen et al., 2017a). It is therefore necessary to try to clarify the concept, while making it visible and subject to discussion.

Defining the common good is related to defining *the community* and the role of the state in relation to private interest. One way is to consider the common good as an aggregate of private interests, in which case the state’s role is mainly to guarantee private actors the greatest possible freedom of action. Yet there may also be an entity larger than private interests, *a community*, whose interest is the duty of the public authority. In this latter case, private interests must give way to the larger whole (Puustinen et al., 2017a). While the first view is typical of political liberalism, the latter represents communitarian thinking (Nozick, 1974, Rawls, 1993/1996, Puustinen et al., 2017a).

Another key question related to the common good is *whose task* it is to define its content in any given situation: is it the authorities’ (e.g. planners exercising power) or is it rather a participatory and deliberative process (e.g. Lapintie, 2002; Puustinen, 2006; Bäcklund and Mäntysalo, 2010; Mäntysalo and Jarenko, 2014; Puustinen et al., 2017b; Mäntysalo et al., 2023)? Traditionally, Finnish land-use planners have considered it their task – or even a duty – to define the interest of the community at the expense of private interests (Lapintie, 2002; Puustinen, 2006, Puustinen et al., 2017a, Puustinen et al., 2017b; Mäntysalo et al., 2023).

Safeguarding nature and its values has become an increasingly obvious content of the common good as the state of our living environment is critical for humanity’s wellbeing and survival (e.g. IPBES, 2019). Promoting land use that enhances the value the ecosystems generate for society demands longer-term and more strategic planning that is less dominated by legally binding detailed plan symbols and technical aspects (e.g. Naskali, 2010). Albrechts et al. (2019); (2003) argue that strategic planning not only requires innovative and transformative approaches but also needs to be embedded in local interpretations of what desirable development is, and how it can be achieved. This not only offers a means to address the value or utility of nature but also enables the emergence of property. Namely, as Bromley (2006: 183) argues, things are not protected because they are property; rather, when things are protected, they *become* property. While codified natural assets belong to already established property categories, emerging property does not. This is a key aspect of nature values and recreational values as commons. Strategic land-use planning is a particularly good example of how the planner ‘seeks to enroll private property in order to achieve desired ends’ (Blomley, 2017: 353), and the rationality of the common good also readily becomes a subject of debate when plan symbols ascribe new expectations to private landowners in relation to their use of land and resources.

The commons refers to cultural or nature values (e.g. ecosystem functions valuable to humans, other nature values, or a beautiful landscape), usually without a defined price or owner. Even if the commons is owned by no one they are still ‘collective property’, and everyone should have access to them (Uusivuori, 2021). While not privately owned, they nevertheless are produced or situated on privately owned land or water. The landowner’s right to use private property – for example, to cut a forest for economic benefit, is in most cases unrestricted, even if the action reduces the commons, i.e. produces *negative externalities* (Uusivuori, 2021). The landowner is not responsible for the reduction of the commons he/she causes, but ‘everyone’ suffers, including nature. Ultimately, the landowner also suffers from the negative externalities, but the chain of impacts can be so convoluted that the effects are insignificant in relation to the immediate financial benefit. Landowners also generally have no financial incentives to produce or maintain the commons. However, the incentive structure is always politically determined (Naskali, 2010). For example, financial compensation can be paid for the protection of a privately owned forest.

The commons does not recognise the limits of property rights. A beautiful landscape or a biologically diverse ecosystem can be on the territory of several landowners. This is one motivation for land-use planning that is not based on the boundaries of privately owned land. When planning is justified, the view of the common good as a protector of the commons increasingly surfaces, including the balance of private and public interests, namely private land property and the common good.

Capitalism is built on clearly defined legal ownership rights (Pistor, 2019). Here, we refer to ownership using the concept of property as a social institution defining who has a right to benefits from specific items or entities in the existing world. From the perspective of inclusion and exclusion, property can be categorised in many ways (on property regimes see Bromley, 2006). One distinction is between private and public property, in which the former concerns non-state and the latter state owners at any level of government. Private does not equal individual, and private property can be owned by individual persons or collectives such as corporations. We acknowledge that the above conceptualisation of property does not cover all its dimensions (Helfrich, 2012; Humphrey and Verdery, 2004), but with the above conceptualisation of common property, it serves the purpose of our analysis.

The growing concern about the environment drives planning processes to make the values related to the commons visible, from carbon storage to the diversity of ecosystems, recreation opportunities, and landscape values. While the capitalist system drives society towards coded private ownership of resources, goods, and services and therefore towards the commodification of nature (Gómez-Baggethun and Ruiz-Pérez, 2011; Kosoy, Corbera, 2010), this is increasingly challenged by the hybrid views of property within public and private spaces such as green areas in the city (Turner, 2017; Eizenberg, 2012; Morris, 2001). In parallel, the quest of the common good in land use has undergone various land-use governance ideas and systems without any definite indications of achievement (Murphy and Fox-Rogers, 2015). Nevertheless, it remains one of the frequently used (but not clearly explained) justifications for public interventions in private property (Alexander, 2002; Puustinen et al., 2017a).

3. Land as property in the Finnish planning system

The Finnish landscape is dominated by private property, particularly in the southern parts of the country, where land owned by the state, municipalities, parishes, and corporations is mostly small and/or scattered in the matrix of small properties of private individuals and families (Korhonen et al., 2021). Planning that intends to achieve wider regional land use and development objectives therefore needs to adopt a stance regarding privately owned land. Meanwhile, not all kinds of property are restricted by the same territorial boundaries in space. For example, no one owns wild animals, mushrooms and berries (Matilainen and Lähdesmäki, 2021). However, game hunting is only allowed with the permission of the landowner, unlike mushroom and berry picking, which are free to everyone.

Furthermore, and more relevantly, many commons expand across property limits and are considered other than private property. The recreational value of landscape most often transcends property boundaries. In the Nordic countries, this is even secured by the soft-law-type *everyone's rights*¹, meaning that experienced and habitual psychological boundaries (Preston and Gelman, 2020; Matilainen et al., 2017) are also potentially trespassed when land-use planning seeks to reconcile the overlapping claims to benefits arising from private property.

Finnish land-use legislation follows the Northern European way of thinking, according to which land should primarily be used in the interest of society as a whole, i.e. private interest must give way to the

common good, and in the context of land use, non-landowners must be able to influence decisions regarding land use (Virtanen, 1999). However, the concept of the common good in land-use planning in Finland has been variously interpreted: In recent decades, the interpretation of *the whole* has shifted from the state or regional level as a *community* towards the level of cities and even individual landowners. The reasons given for this include poorly functioning planning instruments at the regional level and increasing competition between municipalities (Puustinen, 2006). The importance of private interests in planning has also increased with the spread of neoliberal land-use planning (Sager, 2009; Puustinen, 2006, Puustinen et al., 2017b; Mäntysalo and Kosonen, 2016).

The Finnish political system and land-use planning are characterised by principled openness, transparency, and participation. Yet the system is corporatist, i.e. power at all levels of the system is dictated by influential interest organisations (e.g. Koskimaa et al., 2021). The *Land Use and Building Act (1999)* requires participatory approaches at every level of planning, and everyone considering themselves a stakeholder can participate. However, the participants do not necessarily see beyond their own interests as assumed in deliberative democracy theories. Nor is it automatically the case that participatory and deliberative planning processes result in better informed actors with an improved understanding of the importance of the commons. (Innes and Booher, 2010; Jarenko, 2013; Kyllönen, 2010; Mäntysalo et al., 2023). The participatory process and the versatile information collected may result in a better plan, but it can also be a mere smokescreen to legitimise planning. Several studies show that the parties involved in the planning process are not in an equal position with each other (Puustinen, 2006; Kyllönen, 2010; Eranti, 2014; Puustinen et al., 2017b).

Dictated by the Land Use and Building Act, the Finnish statutory land-use planning system consists of three hierarchical levels and includes a strong participatory component (Mattila, 2017; Puustinen et al., 2017b). The Regional Land Use Plans are strategic and they implement and adapt the relevant national strategies and guidelines to regional realities and development aspirations, while municipalities implement their own specific land-use governance objectives through Master and Detailed Plans. Regional Councils are joint municipal boards with representation from all the region's municipalities, and they approve the Regional Land Use Plans. This means a possible conflict of interest between the will emanating from the planners as representatives of the regional administration and that embodied in the board of municipality representatives (Regional Council). In our case, this included differing views of the private, the public, and the commons.

4. Materials and methods

4.1. Case study and research materials

We examined a Regional Land Use Plan process initiated by the Regional Council of Southwest Finland in 2015. We followed the process closely between the years 2017 and 2021, collecting the primary data used in this research. In this section, we first present the main characteristics of the planning process and how we collected our data. Then we summarize the resulting materials. Our study targeted the actors that took part in the interactive planning process. This meant that the sample was not random but included all of those, and only those, persons and organizations that either voluntarily or because of their position took part in the process. Our interest was in the planning process, and therefore only those persons and organizations were included who either took part in the Natural Resources Forums or gave their opinions to the planning materials.

During the early planning process, the planners prepared a large body of materials – 15 documents and 26 thematic maps (Varsinais-Suomen liitto, 2021a) – that were put on public display for the municipalities, authorities, stakeholders, and citizens in March 2018 for statements and opinions. Our first data set consists of the written

¹ The official term was *'everyman's rights'* until June 2023 (see Kettunen and La Mela, 2021)

feedback to these materials.

After this phase, in May and June 2018, we organised with the planners a series of eight participatory Natural Resources Forums to discuss the regional plan themes and forthcoming plan symbols. The forum process began with an event that focused on the feedback given on the preparatory phase materials (data set 1, Table 1). The six subsequent events treated the three thematic objectives of the regional plan: 1) natural values; 2) natural resources; and 3) recreation and tourism – with two forums dedicated to each objective. The last forum offered a space to propose a further agenda based on the seven previous events.

The participatory forums were open to all citizens, but in the end only two participants had no affiliation of a particular stakeholder organization. A total of 79 people (excluding the organisers) participated in the forums (average 24/event). Most of the participants (n=51) were present at least in two events, while the rest (n=28) participated in only one. The participants represented municipalities (23 individuals, 29 %), business (17, 22 %), the regional authorities (12, 15 %), the state (11, 14 %), NGOs (9, 11 %), research (5, 6 %), and individual citizens (2, 3 %). We recorded and transcribed the discussions in the events, and these transcriptions form our data set 2 (Table 1). In the forums, we also conducted a Q study, which is a semi-quantitative technique applied to explore human perspectives (Stephenson, 1935). This part of the study is described in more detail below in the Section 4.2.2.

After the forums, the regional land-use planners prepared the first Phase Regional Land Use Plan proposal (stage I), and during the winter of 2019, they organised eight informal meetings with the municipality planning authorities to discuss the plan and collect feedback. We participated as observers in these meetings. The recorded and transcribed discussions in these meetings form the data set 3 (Table 1). One of the resulting insights was that the municipal planners did not fully understand some of the strategic symbols envisioned by the planners and further co-developed in the forums, and we therefore organised a ninth natural resources forum in May 2019 (discussions in this event form part of the data set 2). Stage I of the plan proposal was finally delivered for a stakeholder review in February 2020, and the written feedback given by stakeholders forms our data set 4 (Table 1).

Table 1

Source materials produced in the regional land-use planning process and used in the analysis, and the number of instances of property discussion identified therein.

Data set	Source material	n	Date
1 (qualitative)	Preparatory materials feedback	42	26.3–27.4.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 1	10	15.5.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 2	24	22.5.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 3	21	22.5.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 4	23	5.6.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 5	32	5.6.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 6	23	7.6.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 7	7	7.6.2018
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 8	2	13.6.2018
5 (semi-quantitative)	Q study	147	15.5–13.6.2018
3 (qualitative)	Municipality Tour (8 events)	26	22.1.2019–27.2.2019
2 (qualitative)	Natural Resources Forum 9	15	16.5.2019
4 (qualitative)	First plan proposal feedback	77	5.2–6.3 & 3.9–2.10.2020
	TOTAL	449	

The primary research materials therefore consist of four qualitative data sets and a semi-quantitative Q study (Table 1). The qualitative data sets include 1) the written feedback from organisations and citizens to the preparatory phase materials, 2) transcriptions of the discussions during a series of natural resources forums (9 events), 3) transcriptions of discussions during a series of events on a municipality tour of the regional planners (8 events), and 4) the feedback from organisations and citizens to the stage I proposal of the regional plan. We present below in more detail the data set 5 (Table 1) which is the outcome of a Q sorting exercise with the natural resources forum participants, including their written statements.

All the above described different types of data were analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods, which are described in the Section 4.2 below.

4.2. Methods of analysis

4.2.1. Qualitative analysis

We applied a simple qualitative content analysis method based on close-reading to all the materials in the data sets 1–4 and to the written reasons given by the Q study participants (data set 5). The texts were mostly in Finnish and to a minor degree in Swedish. We first used key words in these languages related to ownership and property, and then also identified other arguments related to these key words during the close-reading. We identified and coded all the elements of the discussion where the reasoning directly involved the concept of property or ownership, paying attention to the thematic context, type of property rights in question, and the specific connections of the property-related reasoning to the planning process. In total, we identified and extracted 449 instances of ownership and property-related reasoning (Table 1) into a MS Excel database for further examination. In the following stages of the analysis, we used these instances to evaluate the incidence of different arguments and illustrate the different ways of thinking towards the role of property in the planning process.

4.2.2. Semi-quantitative Q study

The aim of the Q study was to focus on the actors that took part in the preparation of the Regional Land Use Plan exploring whether they represented distinct and identifiable postures towards the plan and the planning process, and in case such postures were found, what kind of thinking patterns characterized them. For this purpose, we applied a set of 36 claims about planning, natural values, natural resources, and recreation (Appendix 1), and asked the participants to rank-order the claims according to how much they agreed with them (the three claims with which they agreed most; the three with which they agreed least; and the remaining 30 claims rank-sorted between, with the five next to the three most important at each end of the continuum, six claims next to these, and finally, eight in the middle of the continuum). We also asked the participants to give reasons for the six arguments found at the ends of the continuum, and finally report the organisation they represented. This exercise as a whole resulted in the semi-quantitative data set 5.

To tease out different thinking postures, we clustered the participants using a self-organising map (SOM) based on their responses to the 36 claims (Kohonen, 1982, 2001). SOM is an unsupervised dimensionality reduction method that visualises high-dimensional data (here: 36 claims; 71 forum participants), typically in a two-dimensional map. To facilitate quantitative analysis of the map and the Q sorting data, the participants with similar Q sorts were clustered. This two-stage procedure, first using SOM to produce the prototypes that are then clustered in the second stage, has been found to perform well compared with the direct clustering of the data and to reduce the computation time (Vesanto and Alhoniemi, 2000). Although our data are not large, they have many explainers (claims), and this makes clustering challenging. The two-stage procedure solves this problem. The two dimensions of SOM were clustered using a k-means algorithm (Kohonen, 2014) and the Davies Boulding validity index (Davies, Bouldin, 1979) as a performance

criterion. In the parameter optimisation, SOM net sizes (x and y dimensions), the initial learning rate, and the number of clusters in parameter k of the k-means algorithm were altered using a grid search until the minimum of the Davies Boulding index was found. Each trial SOM consisted of 1000 training rounds, and the learning rate function was inverse-of-time, ensuring that all input samples had an approximately equal influence on the training result.

Q sorting differences between the participant clusters were estimated using predictor weights (Lagrange multipliers) of a dot (linear) kernel Support Vector Machine (SVM) classification model (Joachims, 1999, Rüping, 2000). In general, SVM (Vapnik, 1995, 1998) is a group of supervised, semi-supervised, and unsupervised machine-learning methods used for classification, regression, clustering, anomaly detection, and distribution estimation, which avoid the curse of the dimensionality-related difficulties of using functions in the high-dimensional feature space. Elsewhere, the predictor weights of a linear kernel SVM model have been used to estimate the impact of many (up to thousands) possibly correlated predictors in the analysis of causation and prediction challenge (Causality Challenge; Chang and Lin, 2008, Guyon et al., 2008), for example. The SVM parameters C and insensitivity (also called ‘slack’) constant ϵ (epsilon) were estimated using 10-fold cross-validation (Kohavi, 1995), applied to the grid search. That is, having found the best parameters based on 10 non-overlapping test sets, the model was applied with all the data once. The statistical analyses were performed using RapidMiner software (version Studio Large 9.1.000., <https://rapidminer.com/>, Mierswa et al., 2006).

Thirteen of the 36 claims (13/36) were directly about property, including commons issues (Appendix 1). As an exploratory analysis, we compared the mean values of the responses in the different clusters between the property claims and other claims pairwise to see whether

some clusters differed more in property claims than in others. We did this using both the SOM diagrams and the mean values calculated for each cluster and claim.

5. Results

5.1. Ways of thinking: Constraining or liberating land use?

The Q sorting generated four participant clusters representing different patterns of thinking in relation to planning and land as property (Table 2). Among these four, Cluster 0 particularly differed from the three others. This cluster, ‘Private initiative’ (see details of the clusters and their names below), was dominated by natural resources-related businesses and their advocacy organisations. Another cluster, ‘Spatial neutrality’ (C1=Cluster 1), was dominated by the Regional Council of Southwest Finland, as well as municipalities. In almost all accounts, it was the most distant cluster from the ‘Private initiative’ (C0). The ‘Regulation’ (C2) and ‘Public initiative’ (C3) clusters mostly accommodated representatives of municipalities and state agencies.

Pairwise comparisons of the clusters (Table 3) showed that the ‘Spatial neutrality’ cluster (C1) appeared the most distant from all the other clusters where property claims were concerned (i.e. their answers to the property claims differed more from the other cluster’s answers than their answers to the other claims). Between the ‘Private initiative’ (C0) and ‘Public initiative’ (C3) clusters, this difference was also present, while there was no notable difference when the ‘Regulation’ (C2) cluster was compared with the ‘Private initiative’ (C0) and ‘Public initiative’ (C3) clusters. The differences can also be seen in Fig. 1. For the ‘Spatial neutrality’ (C1) and ‘Public initiative’ (C3) clusters, the difference between the mean ratings for the property and other claims was much

Table 2

The number of items of reasoning related to property identified in the research materials by actor type, typical cluster(s) representing the different actors, and the SOM representation and the ‘names’ of the clusters: ‘Private initiative’ (C0); ‘Spatial neutrality’ (C1); ‘Regulation’ (C2); and ‘Public initiative’ (C3).

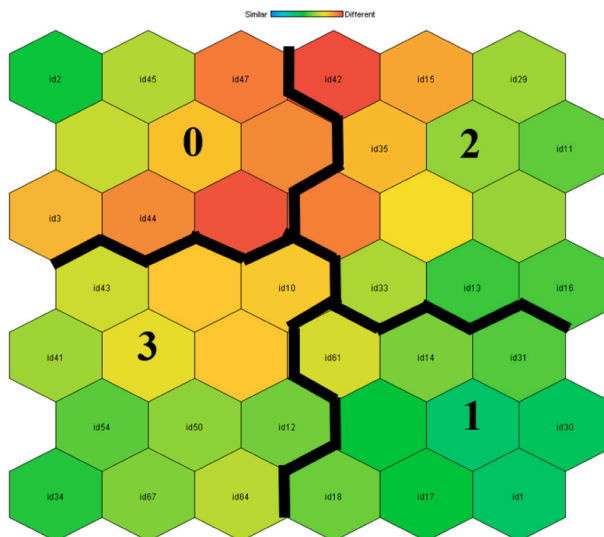
Actor type	n	Typical cluster(s)
Regional authorities	124	<i>Spatial neutrality (C1)</i>
NGOs, interest groups	107	<i>Private initiative (C0), Regulation (C2)</i>
Municipalities	60	<i>Spatial neutrality (C1), Regulation (C2), Public initiative (C3)</i>
State agencies	59	<i>Regulation (C2) & Public initiative (C3)</i>
Businesses	39	<i>Private initiative (C0)</i>
Citizens	17	-
Researchers	16	-
Consulting firms	15	-
Unknown	12	-
TOTAL	449	

Cluster 0: ‘Private initiative’

Businesses 9
NGOs, interest groups 4
Researchers 2
State agencies 1

Cluster 3: ‘Public initiative’

Municipalities 6
State agencies 4
Consulting firms 2
NGOs, interest groups 1
Citizens 1
Regional authorities 1



Cluster 2: ‘Regulation’

Municipalities 6
State agencies 4
NGOs, interest groups 3
Consulting firms 2
Researchers 1
Unknown 1

Cluster 1: ‘Spatial neutrality’

Region 12
Municipalities 5
Citizens 3
State agencies 1
Businesses 1
NGOs, interest groups 1

Table 3

Pairwise comparisons between mean ranks by the clusters concerning the property claims and the other claims. The difference is presented as follows: d property claims = the difference of the mean rating of property claims between the two compared clusters; d other claims = the difference of the mean rating of the other claims between the two compared clusters. In the graph, the length of the arrows depicts the difference of the mean ratings between the compared clusters (longer arrow means larger difference).

Pairwise comparison	d property claims	d other claims	t-test p value	Distances of the clusters
Cluster 0 vs 1	2.06	1.66	0.09	
Cluster 1 vs 3	1.01	0.75	0.10	
Cluster 1 vs 2	0.71	0.49	0.08	
Cluster 0 vs 3	1.33	1.12	0.17	
Cluster 2 vs 3	0.85	0.82	0.45	
Cluster 0 vs 2	1.63	1.66	0.46	

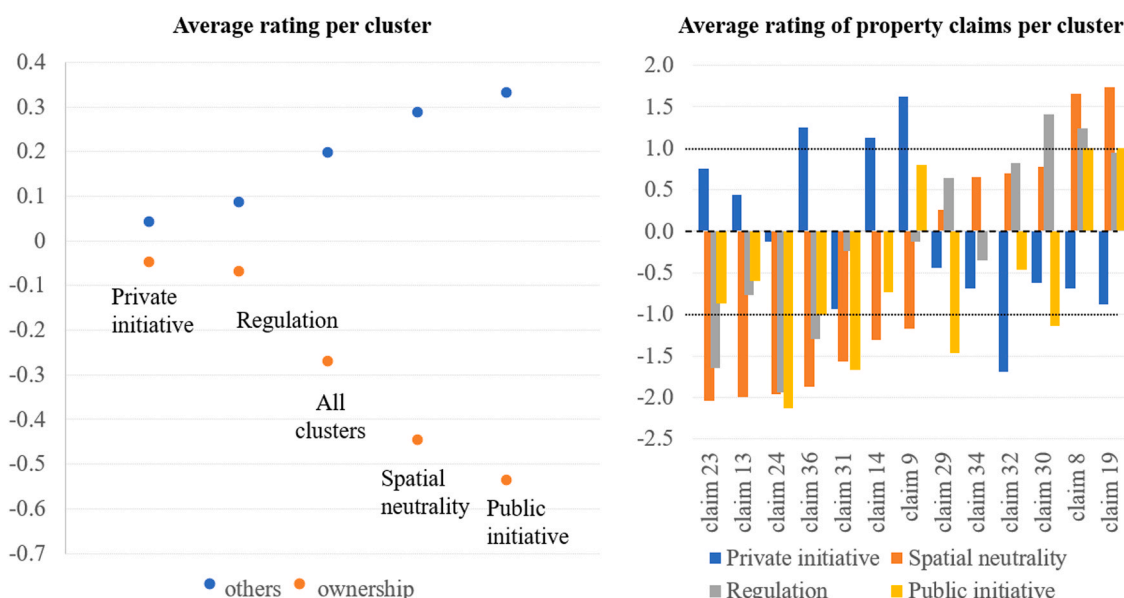


Fig. 1. The difference of the mean ratings of the property claims and the other claims (left), and the average ratings of the property claims in the different clusters (right). A strong agreement is 3.00, and a strong disagreement is -3.00. The numbered claims are presented in Annex 1.

larger than for the ‘Private initiative’ and ‘Regulation’ clusters.

The respondents in the ‘Spatial neutrality’ and ‘Public initiative’ clusters also adopted stronger stances (i.e. ranked the property claims as more important) towards a larger number of property claims than the respondents in the ‘Private initiative’ and ‘Regulation’ clusters (Fig. 1). In the ‘Spatial neutrality’ cluster, in nine of the 13 property claims, the mean rank differed by at least 1.00 from zero. For the ‘Public initiative’ cluster, this was 7/13, while for the ‘Private initiative’ and ‘Public initiative’ clusters, this was 4/13 and 5/13 respectively.

Based on the qualitative data, the Regional Council planners emphasised the neutral stance of the plan towards landownership, claiming that this approach leads to the best possible overall planning result at the regional level. They used the vocabulary of the common good, arguing that while strategic planning unavoidably transcended property boundaries, landowners were entitled to compensation if affected. The planners also underscored voluntary implementation – importantly, for landowners and their advocacy organisations.

However, tensions emerged about how strategic planning symbols would actually arrange the limits between authoritative and voluntary action.

As expected, the businesses and advocacy organisations for agriculture and forestry emphasised the rights of private landowners. They considered all planning symbols to be constraints, hence not liberating action. In the cluster ‘Private initiative’, the ranks of the property claims tended to discourage planning symbols that would protect private forests beyond compliance with the Forest Act. Also the customary everyone’s right (i.e. public access rights to nature, see Kettunen and La Mela, 2021) was seen as sufficient to enable recreation on private land. These respondents also tended to see landownership inherently leading to sustainable use, and that any use restrictions must be compensated.

‘This claim [that the sustainable use of natural resources is an inherent feature of landownership] is the basis of the continuity of livelihoods and therefore self-evident’ – a business company representative (data set 5).

The central argument of these businesses and advocacy organisations was also that the protection of nature values and the designation of recreation routes on private land should be voluntary, and all economic losses compensated. Only plan symbols with clear procedural and legal effects were acceptable.

‘These [strategic and development principle] symbols are a threat [to landowners]. A reasonable symbol is one that is strictly delimited, with clearly defined orders and compensation responsibilities’ – a forest owners’ advocacy group representative (data set 2).

The ‘Spatial neutrality’ cluster was dominated by the Regional Council of Southwest Finland, including the regional planners and some municipality representatives. This cluster showed the most highly ranked property claims. The respondents tended to think that plan symbols should protect commons related to the natural, cultural, and recreational values of private land, and that landownership did not automatically incentivise sustainable use and conservation. These respondents also saw planning symbols and associated legislation as constraints rather than liberating features.

‘A claim about whether people care about their property in principle and the answer that this isn’t necessarily the case indicate why the Land Use and Construction Act exists in the first place’ – a planner (data set 2).

‘Nature conservation cannot only be based on how the landownership pattern is taken into account’ – a public servant (data set 5).

Nature values were a shared concern, initiating the institutionalisation of their status. Through the data, the regional planners’ reiterated that the plan operated independently of property limits and landownership. The topic was therefore deliberately left unattended with the aim of creating a holistic solution for implementation and only providing a set of general propositions and orders. Although the regional planners carefully acknowledged landowner rights, they also aligned with the idea of the commons when they pointed out that:

‘[t]he nature values cannot choose on whose property they are located’, and that ‘[the] owners are unknown. The planners try to avoid using the property information database to keep planning appropriately general’ – a planner (data set 2).

The ‘Regulation’ and ‘Public initiative’ clusters were dominated by municipalities and state agencies, whose representatives tended to think that landowners did not necessarily use their land sustainably merely because they were owners, and that the liberty to choose how to take nature values into account on private land should be restricted. Respondents in the ‘Regulation’ cluster tended to associate public landownership with better sustainability compared to private landowners, whereas in ‘Public initiative’, the respondents did not perceive a difference.

‘Landowners’ decisions contribute to a significant work in favour of environmental values. There should be more trust in this’ – a public servant (data set 5).

‘Decisions [taken by municipalities] are based on economic thinking, and the sustainable development viewpoint is never [a priority]’ – a public servant (data set 5).

State agencies bear the responsibility to pay compensation for land-use restrictions due to nature conservation. Voluntariness was central to the arguments of state agency representatives. Instead, municipality representatives notably avoided discussing private landowners’ voluntariness. Municipalities do not compensate conservation-related land-use restrictions, but recreational routes ordered by municipalities through the recreation route survey (*ulkoilureittitoimitus* in Finnish) involve compensation.

‘Legislation, forest certification, and voluntary conservation are sufficient means for the conservation of biodiversity on private land’ – a Finnish Forest Centre representative (data set 1).

Among the three themes of the Regional Plan, conservation and recreation were those most often raised in relation to property. The use of natural resources did not similarly challenge private property.

‘Preparatory materials show no conflict with the sustainable use of state-owned land’ – Metsähallitus (a state-owned company managing the state-owned forests) (data set 1).

The role of property created divisions among the actors. First, the landowners worried about restrictions to the use of land, usually forests and bogs, in the eventual implementation of new plan symbols. Second, they were concerned about damage to their property from recreational use. The planners and other actors also emphasised the value of groundwater resources, recreational sites and routes, nature values, quietness, scenic beauty, ecological connections, and cultural heritage, which they saw were in need of additional protection through plan symbols and their implementation.

5.2. Strategic coordination to constrain and liberate: Development Principle Symbols

Below we focus on the three strategic Development Principle Symbols (DPS) launched as novelties in the planning process: 1) significant, continuous, and large forested areas; 2) tourism, hiking, and recreation development areas; and 3) aquaculture development areas (Table 4). The first was a DPS to help safeguard some of the region’s largest forests from conversion, providing diverse benefits and values through multiple use, including forestry. The second contributed to long-term planning, promoting sustainable utilisation of specific areas of the region for free-time activities and businesses. The third indicated water areas offering the best conditions for large-scale marine fish farms so that further planning would secure the prerequisites for this activity. Evidently,

Table 4

Three strategic Development Principle Symbols (DPS) in the plan proposal and their associated planning regulation texts.

Development Principle Symbol (DPS)	Plan regulation
Significant, continuous, and large forested areas	<i>Planning and activities shall safeguard the forests’ capacity to provide ecological, social, and economic benefits, including carbon capture, maintenance of biodiversity, and provision of clean water, as well as to help maintain the area’s continuity and multiple use. The area’s values and its internal ecological connections shall be promoted and safeguarded. In the Archipelago, special attention must be paid to the safeguarding of the particular features of the area and its landscape. Other forms of land use are also possible in the area if its continuity is not imperilled. The symbol refers to the development of livelihoods and activities in the area, as well as to the utilisation of its natural resources, particularly based on forestry.</i>
Tourism, hiking, and recreation development areas	<i>Planning and activities shall support long-spanning, year-round ventures and livelihoods that make use of local features, forwarding accessibility in ecologically, socially, and economically sustainable ways. In the Kasnäs-Teijo, Velhonvesi, Archipelago Ring Road, and other similar development target areas, attractive and safe cycling and walking possibilities must be developed.</i>
Aquaculture development areas	<i>Planning and activities in the area must take into consideration the prerequisites for operation of aquaculture. Planning in the area must consider the environmental values and shall advance the objectives of the management of water resources and marine environments.</i>

ownership issues and questions of the commons varied in discussions concerning the three DPSs. While property was commonly referred to in relation to forests, biodiversity conservation, and recreation in the studied materials (over a hundred instances each, see Table 1), marine space related to the third DPS was much less discussed (Table 4).

The design and reception of the strategic symbols was about defining the limits of constraint and liberty, and the commons were an implicit accompanying theme. How much would the DPSs restrict alternative land and water use, and how much would they facilitate and liberate the development of the specific economic activities? The three DPSs underwent extensive preparation and deliberation, but only the tourism, hiking, and recreation areas and the aquaculture development areas survived the Regional Council's voting. The forest DPS was rejected by the council because, it was argued, '[the symbol] violates the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the landowners [...]' (Varsinais-Suomen liitto, 2021b: 3). Below, we seek to explicate why it was this DPS that became contested and not the other two.

Aquaculture was mainly discussed as a technical challenge of location management, and recreation linked to tourism-related livelihoods that rendered it positive echoed across many groups of actors. A business company representative voiced a point of entry for the concern about the forest DPS at a Natural Resources Forum event:

'If the symbol is "sold" to the forest owner as including extra benefits in comparison to a plan without the symbol, the forest owner will support it. But if the owner perceives the symbol as concealed conservation without compensation, there will be no support' – a business company representative (data set 2).

How the three DPS could liberate action in practice was not very clear to most stakeholders, e.g. by allocation of extra funds to open new opportunities. The regional planners presented the view that this DPS would facilitate the landowners in protecting their forests voluntarily through the Southern Finland Forest Biodiversity Programme METSO (see Primmer et al., 2013) and receiving due compensation. Yet how far was it from the average forest owner's mindset to see this as an incentive? Landowners mostly asserted that organisations' maintaining the view that understanding forests as core areas of natural value should not lead to restrictions:

'A rational landowner maximises the present value of net income over the generations (they cannot log excessively). If this right of the owner to use her property in the way she sees best is limited, there will be a loss of wellbeing in society, and irrational decisions will be taken' – a representative of the The Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (MTK) (data set 5).

This confirms a view of timber equalling forest value and the common good as the aggregate of private interests. This particular interpretation of the common good became here visible and overshadowed the possible positive outcomes of the strategic symbols. Yet other views were presented:

'One's own interest isn't necessarily the same as the common interest' – a representative of the construction industry (data set 5)

This view was directly linked to the extraction of gravel and rock for construction but also reflected a broader question of seeing restrictions to land use for conservation or recreation preferably concern public land. Many stakeholders also emphasised that the identification of nature and recreational values should not be linked to landownership boundaries. However, the actual effect of plan provisions regarding recreation sometimes depended on how agriculture or forestry was carried out on private land.

'On some sites, cherishing the cultural landscape with recreational value requires continued agricultural production; on some others, it may require forms of forest management that take recreation into consideration' – a planner (data set 1).

Recreation was less a question of access than it was of management. In practice, this was encapsulated in the reiterated idea that everyone's right and voluntary agreements alone suffice for the provision of recreational space. However, making the commons visible in the plan was not supported by these actors, as they often discouraged the explicit use of the concept of everyone's right to indicate agricultural and forestry areas for recreation and hiking purposes in the plan and its provisions.

The strategic symbols were not intended as instruments of biodiversity conservation. Yet many landowners and their advocates clearly suspected that the DPS of significant, continuous, and large forested areas had a hidden agenda.

Beyond the issue of strategic symbols, the plan also includes sites suggesting either a private protected area where land remains privately owned and the state compensates all future loss of income, or where the land must be purchased by the state. These areas protected based on the Nature Conservation Act have a clear status: the landowner is fully compensated. In this regard, there was a concern that any protected area designations in the plan potentially violated landowners' rights, for example, if the compensation process was not clearly established in advance. One reason for this view was a fear that private land designated as protected in the plan beyond the established state programmes could make companies unwilling to buy wood from such areas. Conservation symbols without the actual establishment of protected areas might therefore leave the forest owner with neither compensation nor forestry income. In short, the strategic land-use planning of nature values was not considered feasible in privately owned forests.

'According to §15 of the Finnish Constitution, the property of everyone is protected' – a citizen (data set 1).

The planning interaction, both in the feedback and the forums, involved a good representation of landowners, particularly of forest owners. The whole plan, including the DPS of significant, continuous, and large forested areas, was mostly seen as a restrictive instrument and interestingly, quite widely across the different clusters.

6. Discussing the power of property: *The planners' daze*

According to the regional planners, the Regional Land Use Plan aims to provide the best possible overall solution at the regional level independently of the limits of specific private or other land properties. Yet the protection of particular values attached to the land of any kind of owners is not politically neutral, and land-use planning defines relations between forms of property rights, legal statutes, and the private and the public (Wideman and Lombardo, 2019). Different instruments of governance deal with land use and property rights differently (Albrecht and Hartmann, 2021), and it is striking not only how little emphasis the examined planning documents explicitly gave to the questions of property, but also how rare this topic is in the literature concerning (Finnish) land-use planning. This has implications for how property is 'enrolled' in planning to provide the common good (Blomley, 2017: 353).

Blomley (2019: 245) describes property as 'a system of relationships between people, which derive from, enforce, and sustain a set of relationships of power', and property rights therefore serve to 'organize and distribute social privileges and powers'. Planning operates in this environment, contributing to what in specific situations is defined as property. Furthermore, the fundamental and constitutionally endorsed right to hold private property in one hand, and a legal title to a particular land area and the specific rights this title entails in the other, are often confused (Moroni, 2018). The Finnish Constitution not only guarantees the right to private property, but also specifies that everyone is responsible for nature and its diversity. These two provisions may well cause a conflict of norms that needs to be reconciled on a case-by-case basis (Karhu and Määttä 2010).

Many respondents and stakeholders representing the 'Private initiative' cluster, reasoned that they preferred strictly defined plan

regulations with procedurally clear legal and economic consequences rather than more strategic symbols that were seen as ambiguous. Regional Land Use Plans may trigger mechanisms (e.g. conservation instruments) that restrict the use of privately owned land, but such outcomes are only realised in practice through mutual agreement with the landowner. This may sometimes lead to expropriation (the transfer of ownership upon compensation), but often only some specific rights are restricted, and compensation is paid (Nuuja and Viitanen, 2007). Our data indicated that many rural landowners and their organisations seemed to prefer to accept full expropriation and compensation than to hold on to the property with possibly restricted use rights. The logic seemed to be that if the land was to produce public goods, it was better to make it public property too.

As expected, the Development Principle Symbols of significant, continuous, and large forested areas divided the political field. The symbol first narrowly passed a vote in the Executive Board of the Regional Council by ten votes in favour from the Left, the Greens, and the Swedish People's Party, and nine votes against from the centre-right parties issuing a dissenting opinion:

'We remove the plan symbol "significant, continuous, and large forested areas" proposed for the Phase Regional Land Use Plan due to its unclear legal effect. If enforced, the symbol violates the constitutionally guaranteed rights of landowners by restricting, without compensation, the use of the land area in question with regards to construction and forest management' (Varsinais-Suomen liitto, 2021b: 3).

Although planning abides by the law and regulations related to land use, this is not necessarily enough for the planner, especially when the goals are strategic and forward-looking. The regional planners also mentioned that planning might need to take steps beyond mere compliance with what the law establishes as the minimum. The commons such as valuable ecosystem functions is rarely integrated into land-use planning processes (Longato et al. 2021). Currently, recreational space and biodiversity are not effectively protected as public property, at least beyond public land, and the planners also repeatedly stated that they had a duty to represent and watch over the perpetuation and development of these values. This view aptly describes the typical thinking of Finnish land-use planners, according to which their professional role in the planning process is to protect the interest of *the whole* or the commons, for it is not in the interest of private participants (Puustinen, 2006, Uusivuori, 2021). Although the classical liberal view of externalities emphasises the relationship of property rights to other individual rights, it is also clear in practice that specific rights to use land are regulated to avoid harm to the collective, that is, wider society at different levels from local to global, and not only to other individuals or property owners. Land-use planning may therefore also be seen as a vehicle to protect new commons and give rise to new kinds of property. The DPS of tourism, hiking, and recreational development areas was perhaps less threatening for the landowners because it was clearly linked to income-generating livelihoods.

If we accept and follow Bromley's (2006: 183) claim that things are not protected because they are property, but because they are protected, they become property, it seems that the logical consequence of concern about nature and recreational values is the emergence of new property through a process of *commoning* (see, Partelow and Manlosa, 2023) rather than privatisation and commodification. Commoning, here, would take place through the establishment of plan symbols that provide a formal status for concrete place-based features with nature and recreation value, institutionalizing them and making them visible. Beyond legitimate political and ideological struggles, there is the question about the degree to which the declining trends of biodiversity and vital ecosystem functions can be reversed by only protecting publicly owned land. The ambitions reflected in the European Nature Restoration Law (Hoek, 2022) and the Kunming-Montreal Agreement with their explicit surface-area conservation targets (Antonelli, 2023) render this an even more important issue to be resolved in future land-use planning.

Albrechts et al. (2019) argue for a co-productive strategic planning process. DPSs are a new constraining element in the land-use structure, but their objective is also to call the attention of the authorities, interest groups, citizens, and businesses to proactively define the meanings of these symbols in practice (Hiedanpää et al. 2019). One implicitly perceived feature of the DPSs could be that they initiate contested commoning processes.

In the final vote, in June 2021, the Regional Council approved the Phase Regional Land Use Plan but decided to remove the DPS of significant, continuous, and large forested areas. There were 56 votes against and 42 in favour of the symbol. The centre-right held 56 seats on the council.

7. Conclusions

We studied a regional land-use planning process, exploring how the commons were advanced in relation to private land ownership and, further, how different interpretations of the common good were reflected in the process. The results indicate that the role of commons is deficiently identified and institutionalized. In particular, the strategic and general nature of the regional land-use plan implies that the planners intend to craft a plan that delivers the best possible overall result (i. e. their interpretation of the common good) independently from land ownership which is only implicitly treated in the process.

Consequently, the issue of property and landownership was purposefully left aside, especially in the case of the forest DPS, which arguably contributed to the ill fate of one of these symbols. It is obvious that the views of landowners, their interest organisations, and representatives of municipalities, and on the other hand, regional level planners, about the common good differed significantly. While the planners believed they were defending the common good of a large territorial and functional entity, advocacy organisations saw the common good as being formed as a result of individual landowners' unrestricted activities.

Seeking the common good may require a vantage point that enables a view transcending individual property boundaries. Nevertheless, private landowners and associated businesses are tightly linked, and both emphasised the sovereignty of landowners. Even the municipalities may seek their own interest in relation to the region. The DPS of tourism, hiking, and recreational development areas was not heavily contested because of its clear link to livelihood development, and the DPS of aquaculture development areas was discussed mainly as a techno-scientific challenge. The fate of the forest DPS shows that the commons were seen as a threat by many landowners and their advocacy organisations. Yet these processes are also part of an increasingly powerful discourse and are a necessary component in strategic land-use planning processes.

A comprehensive societal dialogue is needed about how to redefine the liabilities and responsibilities emerging in the transition zones between private property and the emerging commons.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Matti Salo: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Harri Hänninen:** Investigation. **Pekka Jounela:** Formal analysis, Writing – original draft. **Sari Puustinen:** Conceptualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Juha Hiedanpää:** Conceptualization, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Supervision, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data Availability

Part of the data is confidential, other data freely available. The authors will share all non-confidential data upon request.

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Appendix 1. The set of 36 arguments used in the study. The 13 ‘property claims’ are in *italic*

No.	Arguments
1	To utilise biomass and waste materials, the terminal areas and their expansion possibilities should be indicated in the regional land-use plan.
2	The current principles of natural resource use are sustainable.
3	The nature surveys carried out during the preparatory phase of the regional land-use planning provide a sufficient knowledge base for safeguarding nature values in more detailed planning.
4	The regional land-use plan should limit economic activities that reduce recreational opportunities in the areas of recreational importance.
5	National nature conservation programmes are not enough to safeguard biodiversity.
6	The knowledge base for the phase regional land-use plan is sufficient for licensing fish farming sites.
7	Environmental legislation provides a sufficient legal basis and conditions for the sustainable use of natural resources.
8	<i>During the preparatory phase of the regional land-use plan process, if the experts have identified natural values on privately owned land, those sites should be safeguarded by the plan symbols.</i>
9	<i>Everyone’s rights suffice for safeguarding recreational use of private land.</i>
10	The regional land-use plan should centralise gravel and rock extraction to certain areas to ensure that mining does not endanger groundwater, landscape, and other future needs.
11	The long coastline of the archipelago of Southwest Finland enables broader construction of holiday homes.
12	Without the guidance of the regional land-use plan, municipalities do not zone enough areas for recreation.
13	<i>The regional land-use plan should not indicate new recreational routes and infrastructure on private land.</i>
14	<i>The landowner does not need to protect nature without financial compensation.</i>
15	Environmental organisations represent future generations when taking care of the preservation of natural values.
16	The use of natural resources in Southwest Finland should be increased in accordance with the needs of businesses.
17	Regional land-use planning should indicate areas for recreation if independent surveys indicate an increased need for them.
18	Gravel and rock extraction should be possible where the material exists, and where it is needed.
19	<i>Significant landscape values and cultural sites on private land identified in the preparatory materials should be protected by land-use plan symbols.</i>
20	To mitigate climate change, the industrial and energy use of forests must be increased in Southwest Finland.
21	The Finnish way of life respects natural values.
22	All residents should have an opportunity to enjoy natural values in the vicinity of their neighbourhood.
23	<i>In the regional land-use plan, there is no need to indicate areas of particular biodiversity importance on private forest land.</i>
24	<i>The landowner may decide for herself how to take natural values into account on her land.</i>
25	The most pristine nature provides the fullest recreational experiences.
26	Due to its special characteristics, Southwest Finland has a greater responsibility than other regions to safeguard Finland’s biodiversity.
27	By indicating in the regional land-use plan the ecological corridors connecting valuable natural sites, species will be protected in larger areas than at site level.
28	Recreational areas and their services create a sense of community and shared experiences.
29	<i>The use of natural resources on publicly owned land is as short-sighted as that on privately owned land.</i>
30	<i>On publicly owned land, economic objectives have too strong an emphasis compared to objectives related to the protection of natural values.</i>
31	<i>Hikers often cause problems when using private land.</i>
32	<i>In the regional land-use plan, orders regarding the use of private forest resources can be more difficult than the requirements of the Forest Act.</i>
33	Fish farming is currently practised on jointly approved water areas.
34	<i>All landowners should take recreational values into account in their land use.</i>
35	The expansion of urban infrastructure threatens southwestern Finnish biodiversity produced by its long history of human settlement.
36	<i>Sustainable use of natural resources is an inherent feature of landownership.</i>

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