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**Consensus Processes in Land Use Planning in British Columbia:  
The Nature of Success**

by

Laurie Skuba Jackson  
B.Sc., University of Alberta, 1976  
M.Ed., University of Alberta, 1984

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Geography

We accept this dissertation as conforming to the required standard

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Dr. C.J.B. Wood, Supervisor (~~Department of~~ Geography)

---

Dr. H.D. Foster, Committee Member (~~Department of~~ Geography)

---

Dr. D. Duffus, Committee Member (~~Department of~~ Geography)

---

Dr. T.R. Warburton, Outside Member (Department of Sociology)

---

Prof. A.H.J. Dorcey, External Examiner (~~School of Community and Regional Planning,~~  
University of British Columbia)

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University of Victoria

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Supervisor: Dr. C. Wood

## ABSTRACT

The general goal of this research is to address the question, what makes consensus work in resource management decision-making? Its purpose is to identify success factors for employing the consensus decision-making model specifically in land use planning; to examine the models incepted by the government of British Columbia during the period 1992-1995; and to investigate the application and effectiveness of the models as actually employed in integrated resource planning in British Columbia. The specific objective is to develop a general diagnostic framework for evaluation, based on indicators and success factors derived from a review of pertinent literature; from interviews with stakeholder participants in these processes; through review of government documentation, and through interviews with government officials who design and manage those processes.

Four general success factors for public involvement were derived from the literature: Integrity; Explicit Objectives; Early Stakeholder Identification; and Strategic Communication. These are then examined in this research in the context of consensus. Government documentation provides a historical background of the development of integrated resource management in the province. It is shown that British Columbia's resource-based economy is cyclic and it is postulated that environmental policies and proactive planning tend to swing with economic cycles. Increasing environmental conflict in the 1990's led the governments of the day to embrace innovative planning methods, including provisions for public involvement at the degree of shared decision-making, or consensus processes with affected stakeholders. Consensus was employed at the regional level with the establishment of the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) in 1992, and even earlier at the sub-regional scale with Land and Resource Management Planning; and at the community level with Local Resource Use Plans, administered by the Ministry of Forests. No provision for evaluating these processes was outlined; existing evaluations consisted of summative reports prepared by process managers or facilitators.

Interviews with policy and senior managers of government contributed another success factor to be tested, that of Management Style. Additional success factors were compiled through a pilot study, government reports, and previous evaluations, such as the CORE Vancouver Island survey. In-depth interviews were conducted with 50 managers and participants of consensus processes at all three levels, in eight planning regions of the province. As interviews of participants proceeded, any new factors which emerged were also added to the list below.

Integrity of process	Neutral chair/process mgr.
Commitment of participants	Interpersonal dynamic
Openness	Clear operating principles
Explicit objectives	Relationships
Early stakeholder identification	Representative of constituency
Strategic communication	Funding
Facilitator	Continuity of participants
Solid information	Local participants
Clear policy guidelines	Meeting facility
Prescreening participants	Plain language
Training	Size of group
	Budget, support of ministry

Respondents rated, defined and discussed these factors, and answered general questions regarding success of consensus processes. From qualitative and quantitative analysis, using the spreadsheet program *Excel*, the following indicators (the top quartile) were determined to be “critical” to the success of a consensus planning process: Integrity; Solid Information; Facilitator; Commitment of Participants; Explicit Objectives; Training; Strategic Communication; and Government Support. Based on an analysis of the definitions and comments of participants, an evaluation framework was developed for consensus processes in land use planning. This includes diagnostic questions, followed by further considerations and recommendations for some critical indicators.

The significance of this study will be in the short term to planners of consensus public involvement processes; in the long run as part of an adaptive model of contemporary resource management decision-making.

Examiners:

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Dr. C.J.B. Wood, Supervisor (~~Department of Geography~~)

---

Dr. H.D. Foster, Committee Member (~~Department of Geography~~)

---

Dr. D. Duffus, Committee Member (~~Department of Geography~~)

---

Dr. T.R. Warburton, Outside Member (Department of Sociology)

---

Prof. A.H.J. Dorcey, External Examiner (School of Community and Regional Planning,  
University of British Columbia)

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

“The future is not going to be an extension of the past; it’s going to be something entirely new, whether we like it or not. The world is not changing - it has changed. And we’re going to have to catch up.”

– Travers (1993), *From Conflict to Consensus*

This chapter presents an overview and summary of the framework of this research. It is, essentially, the research proposal which was defended in April, 1995, with some additional information, such as the delimitations and terminology.

### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, around the world, decision-making in resource management has often become more an exercise in conflict resolution than the rational legislative procedure it once was. Decisions regarding resource use in Canada have traditionally been handed down from legislators, shaped by policy analysts working in the bureaucracy, under the rationales that

- 1) Politicians are elected to represent all the people and
- 2) the Government employs ‘experts’ to gather information and advise the politicians on alternative courses of action. Since the 1960’s, increased pressure from citizens and stakeholder groups has altered these simple decision-making mechanisms. In the 1960’s and 70’s, the public began to be consulted; today they are demanding shared power with decision makers. Many believe that traditional systems have not worked, and have marginalized certain groups in society. Better forms of representative democracy are being sought and tried.

The government of British Columbia is one example of a democratic body which is experimenting with new forms of public involvement in land use planning and resource management. At several different levels of planning, it has implemented the concept of consensus decision-making as a way to:

- resolve inequities in land allocation
- increase fairness in decision-making
- reduce conflict by involving stakeholders in decision-making processes.

Yet, as evidenced by ongoing protests in the evening news, the conflict continues. In 1992, the provincial government established the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) with the statutory mandate to advise government on resource and environmental management issues and to work with government and the public to develop and implement a sustainable land use strategy. The Commission then established 'round tables' in four regions of the province, composed of competing interest groups, with the mandate to produce regional land use plans and guidelines for conservation. In each region, a consensus model of decision-making was employed. At the same time, 'sub-regional' plans were being developed through similar multi-party consensus processes at the forest district level. These Land and Resource Management Plans (LRMP's) are managed by Inter-agency Management Committees made up of representatives of the Ministries of Forests, Environment, Land and Parks, Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, and Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. At the time of writing, 14 processes at this level were underway (See map, Figure 4.1).

Community level Local Resource Use Plans, led by the Ministry of Forests, were also being developed for specific areas which had experienced severe conflict. Some of these community level plans also used consensus-type public involvement processes.

The government, at various levels, has undertaken some evaluation of these processes. Participants of the Vancouver Island CORE process responded to a questionnaire on its effectiveness, for example. However, it appears that 'trial and error' has been the primary course of action, with little information shared even between government managers who are charged with managing these processes. One regional forest manager described his consensus land use planning process as 'the bleeding edge' and added that he had no idea if what they were doing was 'right', but that it appeared to be

working, albeit painfully. Among organizers, stakeholders and participants in these consensus processes there did not appear to be a common definition of success, nor accepted criteria for evaluation.

Evaluations which have been undertaken have utilized various criteria, developed either from the personal experience of the evaluator, or from assorted literature in public involvement, planning, and conflict resolution. Penrose's (1996) evaluation of the Cariboo-Chilcotin CORE process (developed concurrently with this research) utilized criteria developed from an extensive literature review, which is seen as an improvement from other, more *ad hoc* evaluations of the past. Although the literature contains discussions of various success factors for citizen involvement processes, none have been tested or evaluated *by participants* themselves. It seems ironic that researchers, writers, and evaluators of public processes have taken a somewhat managerialist approach to evaluating processes which, by their nature, reject the managerialist model of decision-making.

This research attempts to reverse this trend by studying, comparatively, the components of consensus planning and potential evaluation indicators from the perspective of the participants themselves as well as those of managers. It also analyzes the similarities and differences as a function of location, stakeholder group, type of process and gender.

## PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general goal of this research is to address the question, what makes consensus work in resource management decision-making? Its purpose is to identify success factors for employing the consensus decision-making model specifically in land use planning; to examine the models incepted by the Government of British Columbia during the period 1992-1995; and to investigate the application and effectiveness of the models as actually employed in integrated resource planning in British Columbia. The specific objective is to

develop a general diagnostic framework for evaluation, based on indicators and success factors:

- 1) cited in the literature on public involvement in planning,
- 2) cited by the stakeholder participants in the processes, and
- 3) compared with those of government officials who design and manage those processes.

As Nay and Kay (1982) stated, 'evaluation' must include analysis of not only what was intended, but what is actually going on and how the activity compares with the expectations of management. To this end, this research also advances the work conducted by Duffy (1991), who evaluated "Stakeholder Involvement in the BC Ministry of Forests Planning Process", but who focused only on the designed provisions for planning and decision-making, under the assumption that 'practice follows form.' This study tests that assumption by investigating the perceptions and attitudes of managers, stakeholders, and participants in processes at the three levels discussed above (regional, sub-regional and community level). Their input was used to

- identify and define indicators for evaluating the use of consensus decision-making in land use planning in British Columbia, and
- to develop prescriptive recommendations for successfully applying the shared decision-making model.

Other jurisdictions which are experiencing conflict in resource management and are considering consensus decision-making as a way to deal with conflict or to proactively involve stakeholders in planning may be able to apply lessons learned in British Columbia. The theoretical contribution of this research will be to the existing literature on alternative approaches in resources decision-making, land use planning, and the role of public involvement.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research addresses the following questions:

1. What are the current planning structures for Crown land in British Columbia and how is public involvement meant to function in these structures?
2. At which levels of land use planning in British Columbia is consensus decision-making being employed as a public involvement mechanism?
3. What indicators of success are cited by managers and how do these compare with those cited by the various stakeholder participants and with the literature?
4. What is a suitable evaluation framework for consensus (shared decision-making) processes? What criteria are used to evaluate them?
5. What is the relative importance assigned (by participants) to the various indicators cited and how might this evaluation assist future planning processes of this type?
6. Is there a specific geographic scale for which consensus decision-making is most appropriate in land use planning?

## **RESEARCH DESIGN**

This study is an exploratory one, following the basic premises of Applied Geography, and specifically Environmentalism, which was described by Johnston (1991) as encompassing

- 1) the description and analysis of society-environment interrelationships, and
- 2) environmental management, including an emphasis on societal response.

As such, this research is behavioural and descriptive. It is also pragmatic and postmodern, incorporating multiple methods including the analysis of relevant literature and government documents, qualitative interviews of managers and citizens, quantitative rating questions and analysis, as well as participant observation. A detailed discussion of the methodology is found in Chapter 3.

A thematic overview of this research is shown in Figure 1.1. The majority of information was gathered between September, 1994 and November, 1995, with follow-up interviews of government managers in June, 1996. The research was based on information from three sources:

- 1) review of current relevant literature as well as government planning and policy documents;
- 2) interviews with government officials in the resource ministries affected by forest land use decisions in British Columbia and who are involved in consensus planning;
- 3) interviews with representative stakeholders in the consensus processes (September to November, 1995).

The left column (Figure 1.1) represents the state of current research, the 'literature review'. The broad topic of Resource Management Decision-Making was scanned, then the review narrowed its focus to Public Involvement, then more specifically through the use of consensus, and finally some relevant works from the field of Program Evaluation. The detailed literature review is found in Chapter 2. From this, as well as from a pilot study, potential evaluation indicators to be discussed in the interviews were determined.

The middle path represents the interviews with policy managers and reviews of government documents which identify the plans and rationales of consensus planning processes in British Columbia – the normative pattern. The Assistant Deputy Minister of Forests; two Regional Forest Managers; policy managers in the head offices of the Ministry of Forests and the Ministry of Environment, Land and Parks; as well as managers from the Commission on Resources and Environment and the Land Use Coordination Office provided information. Managers were interviewed to determine what public involvement processes are employed in land use planning, and where consensus or shared decision-making are being attempted.

## RESEARCH DESIGN SCHEMATIC

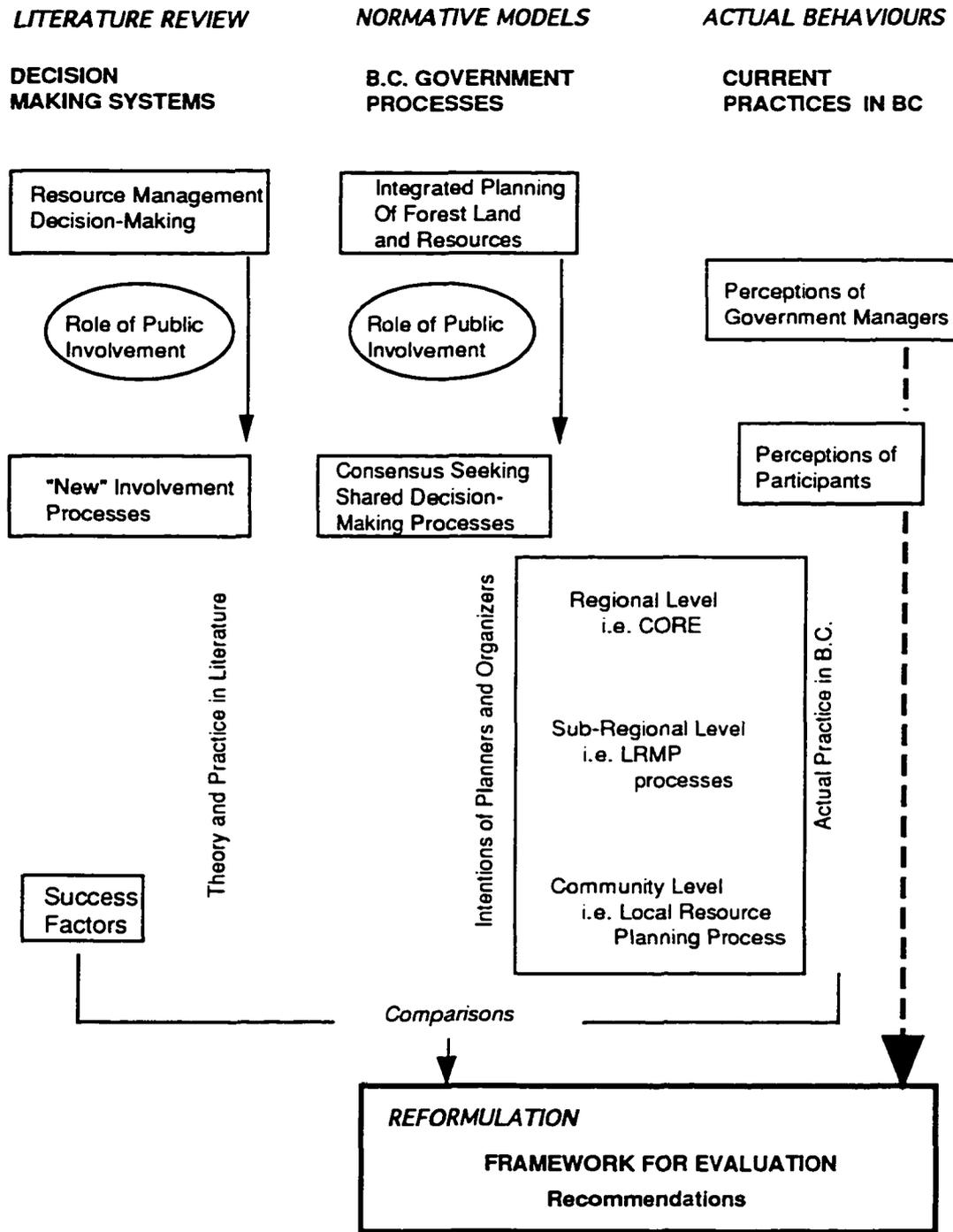


Figure 1.1

The right column represents the **main** focus of this research study, the bringing to light of actual practices in British Columbia through the experiences and perceptions of those involved in the processes – the ‘actual behaviours’. These components are then compared and analyzed in order to develop recommendations and a diagnostic framework for evaluating consensus-based land use planning processes.

## **PILOT STUDY**

A pilot study to determine the feasibility of the topic and approach, and to assist with developing an interview format was conducted in the summer of 1994. Two regional forestry managers from two separate regions were interviewed, as well as representatives from two CORE committees, representing each of the ‘sectors’ of tourism, industry and environmentalist, as well as one First Nations representative of a sub-regional process. There was definitely interest in this research from all contacted, and a willingness to be candid about their experiences and perceptions of government processes.

## **INTERVIEW METHOD**

The research proceeded with unstructured, in-person interviews with policy officials and senior level managers responsible for each of the three levels of planning processes in the province, and review of government documentation provided by them. The interviews helped determine the range of perceptions and attitudes toward consensus planning at various levels in the province. Managers’ views on evaluation indicators were sought as input to the generic model and to answer the first two research questions posed on pp. 4 and 5.

The second phase, which included semi-structured interviews with a stratified sample of 50 local managers and participants of consensus planning processes at the regional, sub-regional and community level addressed the remainder of the research questions.

The method is more fully described in Chapter 3.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

The objectives were to determine a set of indicators; to determine whether value differences occurred between respondents; and to establish plausible explanations for those variations, particularly where they might occur between government managers and stakeholders.

Interview results were first examined manually and systematically, extracting all indicators used by the manager or participants to describe and assess consensus processes. A spreadsheet was then employed to analyze this information and cross-tabulate the indicators cited by participant or stakeholder group. Indicators were correlated by type of process, whether at the regional, sub-regional (LRMP), or community level; by stakeholder group; and by geographic location. A qualitative and descriptive analysis of each of the evaluation indicators and the associated perceptions and experiences of these managers and participants in British Columbia consensus processes is presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Quantitative ratings by all participants were averaged and analyzed using the Analysis of Variance to detect any significant variance by stakeholder, type of process or location.

## **RESULTS**

From these analyses, an evaluation framework was developed, with critical questions and check points which will be helpful in planning responsive public involvement processes in the future. It includes a description of the pre-conditions, as well as the factors which may be under the control of managers, which are deemed, from the data analysis, to be necessary for successfully employing consensus methods of public involvement in land use planning. Other recommendations which follow from the interviews are included to assist in the planning of future processes.

## **DELIMITATIONS**

This study was limited to consensus-based land use planning processes in British Columbia which were complete or nearly complete, and to those people who had participated in them. It was intended as a cross-sectional study of the perceptions of participants and managers in a variety of levels of process and a variety of locations, as opposed to a case study of one process as other research has pursued. It was designed as an objective study of government initiated and managed land use planning processes; it was not intended to be a critical study of power or political analysis, nor one of models of conflict resolution.

It is hoped that in researching and comparing the experiences of people involved in various forms of consensus-based land use planning, albeit limited to British Columbia, some concepts and theories could be developed which might be generalizable to other geographic jurisdictions which might undertake this type of public involvement.

The difficulty in studying complex socio-political processes is that unlike study of the physical world, there is the factor of perspective. People in the process, and people studying the process affect what is being studied, a 'double hermeneutic'. This study focused on the participants' and managers' perceptions of the consensus processes they were involved in. The study relied on their recollections and their subsequent evaluation. It is with this understanding that the delimitations include the following description of the perspective brought to this study by the researcher. It is acknowledged that there is bias, even in objective and independent research. For this reason, multiple methods were employed to achieve triangulation, or the confirmation of findings from more than one source – corroboration from different perspectives.

## **RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE**

At the defense of the proposal for this research the committee challenged me to 'state my bias'. I had a difficult time with this as I was trained in research from a

positivistic perspective; the researcher was unbiased. New paradigms of research, such as humanistic studies which acknowledge the ubiquity of bias was a liberating thought, yet I struggled with the answer to what perspective I would personally bring to this research.

During the research process itself, it became clearer to me how I view the world and how that would affect the research I conduct. This came as a result of recognizing strong feelings of empathy for one position or another during the course of my interviews. I realized that these feelings could not be 'turned off', as in the positivistic model, and I realized that they came from my background and my resulting world view:

I am female, born in the 1950's, raised in the 1960's, embraced socialism in the 1970's and capitalism in the 1980's. Today, I view myself politically as a socially liberal moderate. I believe in the value of seeing issues from different perspectives, rather than holding fast to an ideology, for I have learned that in a postmodern world not many issues are 'black and white', but rather, many shades of grey.

I was educated first as a scientist, specializing in Botany and physical Geography to fulfill an interest in environmental studies, then as my career developed in business and post-secondary education, I pursued graduate studies in management – Business, then Educational Administration. My work experience in marketing and public relations, as well as my teaching experience, have developed in me a strong belief in the power of communication. I returned to further studies in Geography because it is an interdisciplinary field that acknowledges the value of research and inquiry into the 'big picture'. This time I embarked to learn more about human geography, in particular the relationships between humans and the environment.

I am a strategic thinker and planner. My consulting work with numerous organizations and government agencies has taught me the opportunities and pitfalls of our current models of management. Foremost, I am interested in seeing new ways of managing develop, ways which are more responsive to the myriad needs and interests in our society today, and in my small way I want to contribute to that change.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research will contribute to the literature on resource management, land use planning and public involvement. In the last five years a great deal has been written in popular literature and government reports extolling the use of consensus in land use planning as a method of mitigating land use conflicts (Darling, 1991; Ness, 1992a; Dorcey *et al.*, 1994; Commission on Resources and Environment, 1995a), however there has been very little empirical study. As governments search for ways to allocate diminishing resources more fairly and communities search for ways to exert more control in decisions which affect them, there is a need for research to guide them.

This study offers a conceptual framework, empirical analysis, and a diagnostic evaluative template which will enhance understanding of contemporary consensus-based land use planning processes, while proposing models which are also practically applicable. It is hoped that the results of this research will be useful to planners who are considering consensus as a public involvement technique.

In recent years, consensus-based forms of decision-making have been embraced in British Columbia in a number of policy areas (in addition to land use planning). Other jurisdictions are viewing with interest these experiments in shared decision-making, and may also be considering their adoption in land use planning. These processes, however, can be time consuming and expensive, therefore the evaluation framework derived from this research will be useful to governments, corporations, and stakeholder groups in understanding the advantages and risks, as well as the factors which can influence their successful implementation.

This research and accompanying analysis and recommendations will also provide future participants in these processes with a valuable and insightful view of how normative processes may be challenged in order to achieve empowered community development and influence in resource management decision-making.

In the long run, it is hoped that the analysis, models, and recommendations presented will be useful as a first step toward the development of a comprehensive adaptive model for public involvement and resource decision-making.

## SPECIFIC TERMINOLOGY

Various terms and acronyms specific to land use planning in British Columbia and relevant to this research are used throughout this document. Because one of the problems discovered during the course of this research was confusion due to the inconsistency of definitions and terminology, it is important to clarify certain terms for the reader here, in order that other connotations are not used. A more comprehensive glossary is found in Appendix VII.

### Community Level Planning

Defined as 'local planning' by the Ministry of Forests (1995). Typically these have employed the LRUP and have been undertaken to resolve potential land use conflicts in local areas smaller than LRMP's (see below).

### Consensus

The process of developing a plan through the input and acceptance of diverse and even competing groups of people (Avery *et al.*, 1981). It does not, in the context of this research, refer to an *agreement*, but rather to a *process* of reaching agreement on a land use plan (further discussed in Chapter 2: section: 'Consensus').

### LRMP

Land and Resource Management Plans – sub-regional strategic land use plans, also called 'higher level plans'.

### LRUP

Local Resource Use Plans – community level land use plans, administered by the Ministry of Forests, under Section 4(c) of the *Ministry of Forests Act*.

**Public Involvement**

Processes of including citizens or groups in the development of plans, or in any resource decision-making. It can include any number of activities of varying degrees of involvement or power, from public education to consultation to consensus decision-making (further discussed in Chapters 2, 10).

**Regional Level Plan**

Those forwarded by the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE).

**Stakeholder**

A person or group with a significant interest in, or who may be directly affected by, a program or recommendation under consideration (cited in Brown, 1996).

**Sub-regional Land Use Plan**

Those developed through the Land and Resource Management Planning (LRMP) processes.

## **SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW**

This chapter provided an introduction and overview to this document. It outlined the purpose of the study; research questions which followed from that purpose; an introduction to the research design (which is more fully developed in Chapter 3), and discussed the pilot research which preceded it. The delimitations, including the researcher's perspective; and the significance of this study were then outlined, and terminology specific to this research were introduced.

The following chapter explores the relevant literature and develops the conceptual framework from which this research stemmed. Chapter 3 details the research methodology, design, instrumentation and analysis employed. Chapter 4 presents the results of the second phase of the study. It discusses the results of the review of B.C. government documents and interviews with senior government officials, in order to enhance understanding of the government's (normative) model of consensus planning.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the results of the third phase – the participant interviews, or investigations of actual practice. Chapter 5 discusses the results of the general questions regarding participants' determination of successful elements of procedure; Chapter 6, the details of the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the 'critical' evaluation indicators; and Chapter 7 the qualitative analysis of the remainder of the evaluation indicators investigated. Chapter 8 then provides further discussion and implications of the results in the previous chapters. Chapter 9 synthesizes the analysis of results into a proposed diagnostic framework for evaluation, as well as further considerations and theoretical and practical models as recommendations for the use of consensus in land use planning. The final chapter provides some further considerations about public involvement, in the context of an emerging adaptive model for resource management decision-making. Methodological lessons from this research are presented, and suggestions for further research are posed.

## CHAPTER 2

### A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE EVALUATION OF CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING IN PLANNING AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

#### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents an overview of historical and current literature relating to this study. First, the broad topic of Resource Management and Decision-Making is explored, with further inquiry of normative decision-making through managerialism. This is followed by a discussion of Public Involvement in Resources Decision-Making, including its emergence, evolution, typologies, success factors, and contemporary implementation. The 'funnel' narrows with further exploration of one of those contemporary procedures, Consensus. Literature on Program Evaluation, relevant to this study is also reviewed. Finally, Research Implications and opportunities to enhance the existing knowledge and literature on contemporary public involvement are investigated.

The purpose of this review was to provide a conceptual framework for this research, as well as an initial formulation of the use and evaluation of consensus decision-making in land use planning and resource management. It was also used to determine an initial list of success factors which might be tested as indicators for evaluation of public involvement processes which would be studied in this research. The assumption made in this research is that consensus is a degree of public involvement which has not been empirically studied to any great degree. Although much literature exists about negotiation and dispute resolution, this review looked to uncover success factors of public involvement which could then be applied to the evaluation of consensus as a form of public involvement in resource management and land use planning.

This conceptual framework was developed over the course of three years. It began in 1993 with a literature review of public involvement in planning, submitted as a term paper for a course in Resource Management. It was then further developed and presented as a potential research framework to the Association of American Geographers in April, 1994. At that time the case was made that geographers who had studied the rise and wane in popularity of public involvement in the 1970's should now once again bring their attention to public involvement in planning, given that new mechanisms and typologies were being developed and written about, primarily by practitioners and government agencies. It was again time for objective and empirical study.

The framework was then broadened, grounded in the general resource management literature for my comprehensive examinations in June, 1994. It was then refined and narrowed for the defense of my thesis proposal in April, 1995. Since that time, during the course of the research and writing of this dissertation, additional literature has been added as it came to light, and the review has been strengthened by the addition of relevant cited literature from the field of Program Evaluation.

Of note is that the literature in the field of consensus, public involvement and decision-making continued to develop throughout the course of this study. Where appropriate, these more recent works were added to this conceptual framework; others have been cited in subsequent chapters to illustrate or support findings of this research.

It is acknowledged by the author that consensus and cooperative forms of decision-making have been studied also in other fields, as illustrated in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 (at the end of this chapter). I believe it would be a dissertation in itself to review all developments in every field which contribute to knowledge and understanding of this concept. As this research project is a dissertation in Geography, the primary focus is the stream of literature from, and related to that field, and how this research might contribute to the field of Environmental Geography (discussed in Ch. 3).

## RESOURCE MANAGEMENT DECISION-MAKING

O’Riordan (1971) described resource management as “a decision-making process where optimal solutions regarding the manner, timing, and allocation of resource uses are sought within the economic, political, social and institutional frameworks, afforded by a given culture at a particular time”. In practice, however, these frameworks are not always compatible even within one culture at a particular time. In his volume, *Resource and Environmental Management in Canada*, Bruce Mitchell (1995) chose the themes, ‘Conflict and Uncertainty’, stating that “each is a central element in resource management and development,” and that resource management is often centered on the resolution of conflict. Conflict exists between various users of a resource, as in the nations and groups within nations competing for diminishing fish stocks; it exists also between users of a resource and those who would conserve it, as in the old growth forest disputes. Conflict in philosophy exists between conservationists who seek to preserve resources and economists, who believe that left on their own, market forces and development will overcome scarcity. Conflict also exists between decision makers and those who want more of a say in those decisions.

O’Riordan (1977) pointed out the role of differing values in environmental conflicts, the difficulty and yet the importance of including them in what has been a technical process of decision-making. Following Gilbert White’s (1966) description of the role of opinions in decision-making, he went on to explain that values figure in two ways: those of the various gainers and losers of each alternative solution in the decision-making process, and the value systems of both the technical experts and the political decision makers. The proponents of contemporary consensus-based planning and conflict resolution believe that awareness and understanding of people’s different value systems are the first step in this type of decision-making (Estes, 1984; Cormick, 1991; Massam, 1993).

Krueger and Mitchell (1977) described the planning and policy making process as one in which decision-makers identify goals, define the problem, establish means and strategies, evaluate alternatives and then implement and monitor the decision. Simplified, the process consists of the following steps:

- 1) Identify the issues
- 2) Organize the information
- 3) Establish the evaluation criteria
- 4) Develop options
- 5) Apply the evaluation criteria and rank the options, and
- 6) Select the best option

O’Riordan (1977) added that multiple objectives need to be considered in resource management decisions, and he cautioned the avoidance of solving problems to the neglect of other objectives. This was an early reference to the very essence of contemporary consensus decision-making models.

Patrick Geddes, an early teacher and activist in ecology promoted an ecosystems approach to planning, and incorporated such ideas in his projects in late-19th century Scotland. He was also one of the first to consider the need for public involvement in planning, and followed this idea in his community housing projects. Gilbert White (1966) was perhaps the first to discuss, in a comprehensive way, the need in decision-making for resource managers to understand and appreciate the importance of public attitudes. He called for a turn away from the “customary promotion of single solutions” and suggested that decision-makers consider a *range of alternatives*, with less reliance on a technical elite, and more confidence in citizens. White cautioned that some students of resource management and even federal and state departments may impose their preferences on people in the effort to “...manipulate public attitudes in what they regard as the right direction.” His was an early realization that to eschew a managerialist approach would lead to better decisions.

## MANAGERIALISM

Following White, O’Riordan (1977) also referred to the concept of managerialism as the dependence on technical professionals, and characterized the period up to the mid-1960’s as one of “participation by expertise” where the “common man (sic) was well removed from the corpus of powerful and influential individuals and organizations, and kept generally uninformed”. Managerialism was further described by urban geographers Cater and Jones (1989) in their discussion of the allocation of public housing, enhancing our understanding of decision-making involving the allocation of any scarce resource.

The key ideology of a managerialist approach is that “the expert knows best”. Cater and Jones (1989) described managers as “gatekeepers”, those who hold the power of deciding who gets what, resulting in bias and constraint, which they characterized as the manner in which scarce resources are rationed, where access is denied to some groups. They also suggested that because decisions involving the allocation of scarce resources are influenced by the unequal distribution of wealth, status and power, the managerial culture may be seen as hostile to more vulnerable social groups, adding that “Particularly in the public sector, a great gulf exists between the goals, aspirations and perceptions of the managers and their expert professional advisers on the one hand; and those of ordinary people, their ‘clients’ on the other.”

Hendee *et al.* (1977) suggested an alternative approach, where through public input, resource managers can identify the values that people attach to the alternative goods and services that resources provide and added that it assists in the collection and evaluation of alternatives in the decision-making process. Today, public input and active involvement in decision-making is taking on new importance. According to O’Riordan and O’Riordan (1993), as resources are depleted, confidence in legislators has eroded, and the locus of decision-making power has shifted away from them to the public, and public interest groups.

## PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN RESOURCE DECISION-MAKING

### EMERGENCE

Sadler (1977) suggested that the early foundations of public involvement were in volunteer work for community development and that it expanded with social activism, including the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960's. The 1960's were a time of growing social unrest; Pieterse (1992) proposed that public involvement and activism that started then and continues today is part of the "emancipation process of the modern period". In the 1960's and 70's, the public began to be consulted in decisions that affected them; today they are demanding shared power with decision makers. As groups within our society have become more sensitive to social and economic inequities, as discussed by Rawls (1971), they have also become more insistent on fairness in decision-making, decisions made for the greatest good.

Deutsch (1985) expanded on Rawls' work, exploring the concept of "distributive justice". He stated that the procedures for decision-making were as important as the decisions, adding that, "people who participate in making decisions that affect their lives are more likely to accept the decisions and to feel that they are just than if they have had no part in the decision-making process." Conversely, he stated "centralization of decision-making results in an increase in alienation and a decrease in the sense of cooperativeness."

Wengert (1976) also addressed centralization and proposed that the stimuli for the increase in participation were dissatisfaction with representative democracy which resulted from the expansion and centralization of government, as well as the policy-makers' dependence on professionals resulting from the increased use of technical and scientific bases for decision-making. Draper (1977) concurred, stating that, "In part, the wish to participate is a defensive reaction against the excessive centralization of power."

Involvement of the public in policy decision-making in the environmental context began to be supported by government with the *National Environmental Protection Act* in the United States in 1969, leading to the provision of public hearings in the process of

environmental impact assessments. In Canada, environmental impact assessment was also the primary arena for public involvement. Meredith (1991) stated that "Impact assessment is no more than a process by which common-sense concerns about community futures are incorporated into decisions which will affect the future". In 1970 the federal government established a task force to study environmental impact policy, procedure, and to establish guidelines. The Canadian Environmental Assessment Review Council prepared a report in 1988 with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of impact assessment. One of their central concerns related to the efficiency and fairness with which the assessment process accommodated the needs, concerns, and values of all the interested parties, and theirs were among the earliest references in Canada to the use of negotiation-based approaches in public involvement.

From there, consultation with the public in decision-making has waxed and waned in popularity, and in effectiveness. The greatest volume of material about public involvement was written in the 1970's, and much of it dealt with problems people were experiencing in its implementation. Evidently, it had not fulfilled the expectations of becoming a panacea for solving conflicts in planning and decision-making.

## EVOLUTION

O'Riordan (1977) discussed the evolution of participation, beginning in the early 1970's after the passage of various Town and Country Planning Acts in Britain. He named one stage "Participation by Protest", characterized by the emergence of formal pressure groups and the increasing use of media. He went on to describe more contemporary processes, adding, "It is still largely a kind of institutionalized ritual of conflict between various government machines, groups and individuals who feel opposed to them." This was reflected in Bregha's (1977) description of the Canadian experience where, he claimed, the government initially tended to practice "participation by invitation only." He called it a "crude device" which further evolved as "participation through negotiation", then

“participation through litigation.” Although the concept of public involvement was being practiced, there appeared to be problems in the way government administered it.

MacMurray (1971) described the mismanagement of participation and the need for management skills in balancing information from the public vs. “professional criteria and values.” In his discussion of public participation in Britain, Bailey (1975) suggested that “it has a masking function in that it appears to acknowledge and provide for participatory democracy while in fact ‘educating’ clients towards planners’ views...” and Damer and Hague (1971) concluded that public involvement amounts to no more than public relations by planners to ease their tasks. There was even an article published in *The Planner* entitled “The Great Participation Fallacy” (Howard, 1976).

Other criticisms included those describing the excessive time and costs associated with including the public (Erickson & Davis, 1976; Sewell & O’Riordan, 1976; Sewell, 1979), as well as questioning its effectiveness. “The involvement of the citizenry contributes to a decision which is not in the public interest, broadly defined, but also probably not even in the community’s interest in the long run.” (Kasperson, 1974)

What started out as a promise of a new democratic process in the 1970’s, seemed to be turning out, according to Arnstein’s (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, as exercises in manipulation. Lake (1980) said “public hearings create expectations of public involvement, but result frequently in frustration and futility for the testifiers”. Estrin (1979) in an article entitled, “The Public is Still Voiceless”, called public hearings a ‘sham’ since the proponent is always more knowledgeable, with access to technical and financial resources far beyond those of the public. A similar, if not more eloquent description of the same criticism was put forth by Christiansen-Ruffman and Stewart (1977):

“At present, challenging public decisions could be viewed as a form of Kafkaesque baseball. Citizen groups are always the visiting team in their own home town. They play by rules that are largely contrary to their interests, incompatible with their skills and inordinately biased in favour of the interests and skills of the opponents. Umpires are selected and paid for by the opponents. There are no restrictions on the number of imported professionals or “ringers” either side may use - except only the opponents have unlimited

funds to hire whomever they please - with funds that have been provided by the citizens. Furthermore, citizen groups are usually not told about the game until the game is almost over. The ball park is usually closed to the citizens until the ninth inning. Coming to bat in the ninth, the citizens are forced to resort to desperate tactics to catch up. Then after the citizens have had their one inning, the opponents have the advantage accorded a home team - last bat. The strangest aspect of the whole game is the initial surprise of many citizen groups when they lose - most, if not all the time."

It appeared that consultation was occurring in name only. Perhaps the most important reason proposed was the fear of loss of power, summed up by Draper (1977): "Government secrecy and citizen participation co-exist with little serious attempt so far to reconcile the different value systems implicit in each... To have information is to have power." The power theme was also explored by O'Riordan (1977) who said, "participation remains largely a means to be exploited by those who see they can benefit from it and to be manipulated by those who are anxious to protect their power base." Gunton (1984) noted that the fear of loss of power is not just from politicians; he maintained that bureaucrats, including planners, often have agendas of their own, valuing prestige, income, security and power.

Manipulative participation processes were perhaps destined for the outcome predicted by Sewell and O'Riordan (1976) who said, "[public involvement]...may even prove to be counterproductive in the sense that sincerely motivated citizens may become deeply frustrated, resentful and cynical about the whole process and the holders of power."

This result perhaps characterized citizens' response to these processes through the 1980's; they had become cynical and disinterested (Creighton, 1992a), leading Sewell and Coppock (1977) to predict, "This attitude of caution, coupled with a number of negative experiences, has led some observers to suggest that the movement towards group public participation may already be on the wane and that it may soon die out."

It has not died out; in fact there is an even greater movement embracing public involvement in the 1990's, both by government decision-makers, and an insistent public. The question remains as to whether it is a revisitation of the 1970's, or have the processes

evolved to something more workable? In order to answer this question, to explain why public involvement had fallen into disfavour in the 1980's, and further, to understand its evolution in the 1990's, it is important to note that it is not a single concept, but covers a range of involvement and power, as described by a number of writers.

## TYPOLOGIES

One of the most often cited authors on this topic is Arnstein, whose (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation (Figure 2.1) offered eight levels to describe involvement processes, from the bottom rungs of 1) Manipulation and 2) Therapy, which she called "Nonparticipation", through 3) Informing, 4) Consultation, and 5) Placation, which she called "Degrees of Tokenism", to 6) Partnership, 7) Delegated Power and 8) Citizen Control, which she called "Degrees of Citizen Power."

**Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Involvement (1969)**

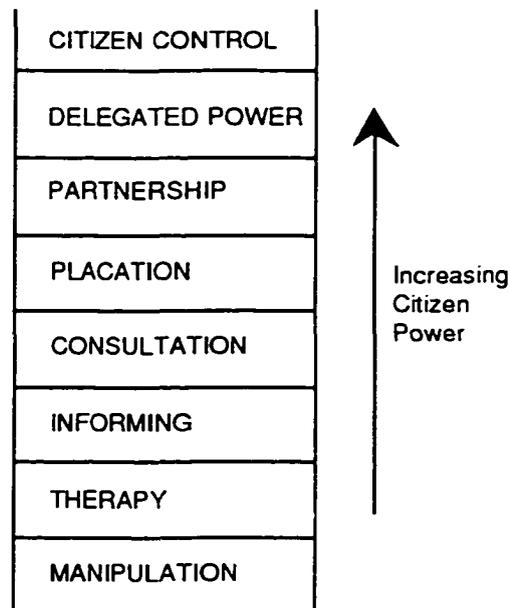


Figure 2.1

Burke (1968) had proposed an earlier typology, but with five levels, once again moving from a kind of manipulation, “Education Therapy” to the highest level, which he named “Community Power.”

Arnstein charged that citizen involvement processes have been “contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable power holders to ‘educate’ or ‘cure’ the participants.” This view was reiterated by Kasperson (1974) who said, “participation does not occur when individuals are attached to institutions or processes where the agendas are already set, the issues defined, and the outcomes limited. Participation is ‘unreal’ when the motivation is legitimation and support rather than creation.” Ingram and Ullery (1977) called this ‘procedural’ participation which, “entails giving interested public participants an opportunity to air their views and perhaps creating for them the *illusion* of substantive impact.” They went on to say, “...participants may feel they have at least had their day in court and are more likely to accept policy decisions.” They distinguished this from ‘substantive’ participation which, they explained, is measured by the extent to which the public actually affects policy. Mitchell (1995) called this a teamwork approach, in which various interests, or stakeholders, are drawn into the management process.

Dorcey’s *et al.* (1994) more contemporary analysis described a spectrum of public involvement with eight levels defined according to increasing levels of public interaction, influence and commitment (Figure 2.2):

The lowest end of interaction includes, “informing” and “educating”, while they call the highest levels of involvement “seeking consensus” and “ongoing involvement.” Unlike Arnstein, however, they do not criticize the “lower” levels of involvement as being manipulative or less effective. Instead, the point is made that each level in the spectrum may be appropriate, depending on the decision to be made. They also recommend that as

higher levels of involvement are employed, each of the lower forms will need to be carried out simultaneously, in order to keep all stakeholders involved and informed.

### Dorcey's *et al.* Spectrum of Public Involvement (1994)

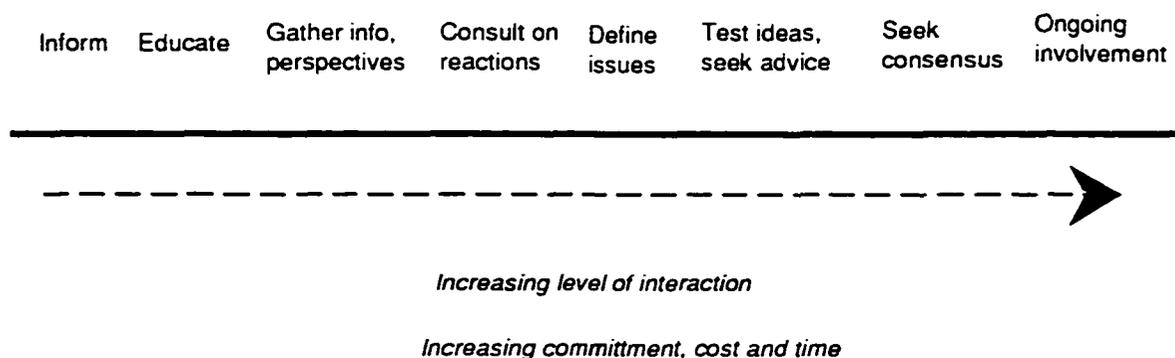


Figure 2.2

Each of these classifications makes it clear that for participation to be effective, bureaucrats and decision-makers need to relinquish or at least share some of their power. Evidently the criticisms and problems of involvement processes throughout the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's reflected their unwillingness to do so.

### SUCCESS FACTORS OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Before turning to a specific form of public involvement, that of consensus, the success factors for public involvement in general which have been proposed in the literature are discussed below. In the area of land use planning these emerged as most significant factors in considering whether public involvement would achieve its purpose of gathering meaningful input from those affected by a plan, and as a result the development of a better plan. As such, they could form the basis for an indicator approach to evaluation.

## 1) Integrity

Even the early writers on public involvement recognized the need for honesty and responsiveness to citizen input to be successful. O’Riordan (1977) said that “participation should be a communal exercise which means that the politicians and their political and technical advisers have to share the stage with the participants in a genuine effort to create a better living environment for everyone.” As early as 1971, O’Riordan characterized resource management as a ‘negotiation’ between the responsible elite and those who feel threatened by the implications of the decisions. He said that in effective involvement the public must be not only informed and politically articulate, but willing to negotiate.

Arnstein’s description of the levels of citizen involvement suggested that many such processes had been run less than honestly, leading citizens to believe they had more input or power into decisions than was the reality.

## 2) Explicit Objectives

Homenuck *et al.* (1977) directed that clear objectives must be set, and results evaluated against them. Bush (1990) said participants should be involved in setting clear and understandable objectives. She advised that all parties agree on the objectives and that the expectations of the public participation be discussed. Erickson and Davis (1976) also expressed the importance of objectives and performance criteria, and were among the first to recognize the necessity of identifying and seeking to involve the full range of ‘target publics’ who are affected by an issue.

## 3) Stakeholder Identification

Instead of the public meetings popular in the 1970’s where the public at large were invited to view and comment on plans, most contemporary writers endorse a more targeted approach. Gunton and Vertinsky (1991) suggested, “Those significantly affected by a decision, the stakeholders, need to be effectively and directly involved in the process.” In his description of a successful process involving siting a hazardous waste facility,

McQuaid-Cook (1992) pointed out that, “all stakeholders were identified and included at an early stage.” Abs (1991) proposed that “Consultation strategies should include various types of involvement in order to address the diverse needs of stakeholders.” She recommended the creation of comprehensive stakeholder lists which include a full range of interests, including aboriginal people, academics, business, environmental and public interest groups, professional and labour groups, community groups and interested citizens.

Connell (1992) called these ‘third party interests’ who can assist with information and opinion, addressing groups such as regulators, policy makers, industries, public interest and environmental groups and the academic community. Connor (1990) added that after identification, stakeholder groups should be prioritized.

#### **4) Strategic Communication**

Erickson and Davis (1976) said it was vital to communicate information to affected publics “with fidelity.” McQuaid-Cook (1992) suggested a basic approach of heading off conflict by presenting accurate, understandable information from the outset. Brethour (1992) recommended communicating the whole process, and using a personalized approach, not just a battle through the media, while Connor (1990) suggested developing an educational strategy, including an information plan for each ‘public’. According to McGuire (1992), “Information is essential to the process; however proponents must be patient in communicating it. A large number of contacts with small groups is preferred. Constant contact with the media is essential.” Creighton (1992a) took this one step further stating, “Embedded in every public participation program is an effective public information program,” but he qualified this by cautioning that the information should not be prepared with a ‘spin’ or to sell, but rather should be the kind one would prepare for a decision-maker. He added, “If decision-makers sense they’re not getting the whole picture, or that staff is setting them up to a predetermined outcome, they’ll soon get new sources of information;...the public is at least as smart!”

It was the intention of this research to explore these proposed success factors, search for others, and to determine their relative importance in contemporary public involvement processes.

## CONTEMPORARY IMPLEMENTATION

Arnstein presented her typology in ladder form, but probably did not intend it as an evolutionary hierarchy. Yet in the 1990's it appears that organizations embracing public participation are moving up this ladder. Decision-makers have realized that the public is not fooled by staged events with predetermined outcomes. The public has demanded from their governments a real say in the shaping of their environment (Connor, 1990). Ness (1992a) showed that the public in British Columbia has not been satisfied with the traditional approach to decision-making, which has been "arbitrary, ad hoc, and unresponsive." She says there has been an increasing call for more local participation in and control over resource management planning and decision-making.

The 1990's have also brought to the field of public involvement a new nomenclature. It is now spoken of as 'conflict resolution' (Ness, 1992a; Maser, 1996), 'consensus building' (B.C. Roundtable, 1991; Darling, 1991; Lathrop, 1992; Dorsey *et al.*, 1994), and 'shared decision-making', employing mediation and negotiation techniques, with the involvement of 'stakeholders' (Gunton & Vertinsky, 1991; Abs, 1991; Mitchell, 1995). Ness (1992a) suggested that "public participation is conflict resolution in the sense that plans for land use and resource allocation affect conflicting, and sometimes competing interests over scarce resources."

It now seems evident that Sewell and Coppock's (1977) dire prediction that participation would soon die out, may be better replaced by O'Riordan's (1979): "Participation, warts and all, is here to stay." According to O'Riordan and O'Riordan (1993), the role of the public in natural resources decision-making is accelerating, and as

Ness (1992a) illustrated, “British Columbia is witnessing a detectable shift away from the expert decision maker toward the individual, away from an hierarchical system to a more collaborative, equal system...”

A very important factor evident in resource planning and decision-making today is the perceived importance of process. In 1977 Hendee *et al.* wrote that “the overriding objective of public involvement is to procure better resource management decisions”. They further said, “Public input is not an end in itself but a means to better decisions.” More recently, however, O’Riordan and O’Riordan (1993) have identified that “process is now seen as important as the decision itself...”[in reducing conflict]. One method of reducing conflict by focusing more on process has been through the use of **consensus planning** approaches.

It is acknowledged that separate streams of literature have developed over the past 20 years which explore the concept of ‘conflict resolution’, based on seminal work by Deutsch (1973). From Deutsch’s discussion of alternatives to litigation in two- and multi-party conflicts, a body of literature has developed in Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), mainly from the field of Law. Principles of dispute resolution and negotiation have also been incorporated into a stream of literature in Environmental Mediation. Much of this literature is reviewed in Dorcey and Riek (1987) and is illustrated in the framework in Figure 2.5. They examined 32 cases where negotiation-based approaches were used for settling environmental disputes in Canada, and proposed that the same principles might be applied to wide-scale land use planning.

Although consensus forms of public involvement in planning may incorporate the principles of conflict resolution, negotiation, and mediation, the context of this dissertation research is planning, and the use of consensus as a proactive decision-making tool. Although the value of literature in negotiation is acknowledged in contributing to the understanding and use of consensus processes, this research concerns itself with evaluating

the tool of consensus in a land use planning framework, not the development of the tool. In this context, relevant literature in consensus is reviewed below.

## CONSENSUS

Consensus is generically thought of as a type of decision, such as the definition in Funk and Wagnalls (1963), *Standard College Dictionary*, "A collective opinion; general agreement." In public involvement, however, it is a *process* of reaching agreement; in resource management, more specifically, of developing a plan through the input and acceptance of diverse and even competing groups of people (Avery *et al.*, 1981). A common error made in reference to consensus is to focus on the agreement, rather than on the process of reaching it (Estes, 1984).

Even in the 'expert' literature designed to assist groups in designing consensus processes, definitions vary, and it is important to determine what definition a particular author or group is assuming. For example, the Canadian Round Tables (1993) defined a consensus process as "one in which all those who have a stake in the outcome aim to reach agreement on actions and outcomes that resolve or advance issues related to environmental, social, and economic sustainability," while the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy stated that consensus "means that all parties with a stake in the matter (the stakeholders) agree to a decision". They qualify this, however, by stating that the parties need not agree to everything about a decision, but there be no substantial disagreement (BCRTEE, 1991b). In this regard, where each member has a potential veto, it is not different than the Quaker model described by Estes, except for the emphasis on *decision*, rather than the *process* of reaching it.

Consensus-type processes have been employed since time immemorial to develop plans or decisions by a group of people. Mansfield (1993) studied traditional dispute resolution mechanisms of the Coast Salish nations and concluded that their decision-making processes which focused on respect, consensus, ceremonial meetings and ongoing

relationships are still relevant and should be recognized as viable options for today's world. Ross (1992) pointed out that when native people use the term 'consensus decision-making' they are referring more to the process of arriving at a decision communally, rather than the end agreement. There is emphasis on joint thinking rather than on arguing about competing conclusions until one prevails.

The Quakers have long used consensus in virtually all their decision-making. Like the traditional native approach, consensus decision-making is *relationship centered* rather than *outcome centered* (Estes, 1984). This becomes an important distinction in the analysis section of this research (see Chapter 8). The Quakers believe that everyone has a piece of the truth, or "God in every one", therefore the input of each member of the group is sacred and equal. Input is offered to and becomes an asset of the group, rather than being maintained and defended by an individual. This is where consensus decision-making differs from negotiation, which is often another source of confusion. Consensus, or shared decision-making as defined by CORE articulated this difference, "... empowered jointly to seek an outcome that *accommodates* rather than *compromises* the interests of all concerned" (described in Brown, 1996).

According to Gifford (1989), negotiations generally progress through developmental stages, starting with competitive processes which eventually give way to cooperative tactics as negotiators become frustrated with their lack of success. This phenomenon was modeled and described by Isard (1975) who examined through simulation a number of 'Prisoner's Dilemma' cases and discovered that in the long run adversarial techniques are not effective, that it is more desirable to develop a cooperative procedure that will enable the selection of joint action, and of developing ways to improve the outcome of negotiation for not only each participant, but for society as a whole.

Dorcey and Riek (1987) stated that "negotiation can be used to foster and strengthen an ongoing relationship between negotiation parties", and that "adversarial parties can gradually develop an improved relationship and work together on a variety of issues".

Cormick (1991) described consensus as ‘cooperative negotiation’, which involves the power of any participant to veto potential outcomes. Mutual agreement must be achieved, therefore the focus on interests and group problem solving become paramount. Unlike normative bargaining processes, which are intended to undermine the opponent’s confidence in their position, producing an adversarial relationship, negotiation properly utilized in consensus building is *interest-based*, also called ‘problem-solving’ or ‘cooperative’ tactics (Gifford, 1989).

Fisher and Ury (1981) in the Harvard Negotiation Project described interest-based negotiation, and recommended the following process for creative problem solving among groups of any size and for issues of any complexity. A very similar process is described by Avery *et al.* (1981) in their guide to consensus decision-making.

- 1) *Separate the people from the problem* - Based on the Quaker approach, Avery *et al.* suggested that as individuals offer their interests, they actually become the interests of the group. This is accomplished by the group collectively developing a ‘purpose statement’ at the beginning of the process.
- 2) *Focus on interests, not positions* - Participants are encouraged to communicate their interests, feelings and values in order to encourage understanding. Each member of the group has the responsibility not only to communicate their interests, but to try to develop empathy for the feelings and values of other participants; all are respected and listened to.
- 3) *Generate a variety of options before moving to a decision* - Creative problem solving and brainstorming are used to develop potential ideas. The brainstorming process is one of deferred judgment, where the goal is to develop the largest possible range of ideas, not to evaluate or defend possible solutions.
- 4) *Objective criteria* - for evaluating options generated in the previous step are developed by the group as a whole, based on the interests of all.

Maser (1996) likened consensus to a facilitation process: “a process of communication whereby people are assisted in freeing themselves from difficulties and obstacles in making decisions that either avoid or eliminate destructive conflict by forging commonly held values into a shared vision towards which to collectively build.”(sic) He saw the process as a step toward sustainable community development, which he defined as

“... the mechanism through which people empower themselves by increasing their ability to control their own lives in order to create a more fulfilling existence through mutual efforts to resolve shared problems. Community development works on the belief that through collective action people can successfully resolve their issues as well as organize and implement change. It thus promotes a sense of accomplishment and belonging through shared learning and service...[It] enhances people’s potential by helping them dissolve barriers...by bringing all parties affected into the decision-making process... Local people are empowered by acting collectively through organizations to influence decisions, policies, programs and projects that affect them as a community.”

According to Dorsey *et al.* (1994) ‘Consensus Seeking’ is a level of public involvement which is an example of shared power in the decision-making process. The only level higher on their spectrum is ‘Ongoing Involvement’, which might be characterized by a citizen panel which takes over responsibility for implementation of a plan developed through consensus, for example.

The Government of British Columbia, since 1990 has embraced the idea of consensus-based public involvement processes in resource management and planning, as a way of managing growing conflict, and in response to the 1987 Brundtland report of the World Commission on the Environment and the Economy, with its emphasis on the need for sustainable development.

In 1991 the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy published two volumes entitled, *Reaching Agreement*, documents which explored the use and implementation of consensus in British Columbia, to address one of the mandates of the Round Table, “to recommend to Cabinet processes and mechanisms for the resolution of land use and other environment/economy conflicts...”. They stated that “attempting to solve problems through consensus can enhance sustainable use of natural resources, as well as provide British Columbians with meaningful input to decisions regarding these resources” (B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, 1991a). The BCRTEE (1991b) developed ‘key components’ of a consensus process, or nine conditions which must be met in designing and implementing an effective consensus process:

- 1) A conflict: There must be an identifiable issue, and those affected are not satisfied with the existing decision-making processes for dealing with it.

- 2) Incentive: The parties must perceive that they will be better off seeking solutions collaboratively rather than pursuing individual courses of action...all parties must support the consensus process.
- 3) Stakeholder involvement: The full range of interests or stakeholders must be represented in the process.
- 4) Government involvement: Government authorities must participate to represent the broad provincial perspective, to bring public policies and legal requirements to the process, and to keep decision-makers informed of the process.
- 5) Accepted process rules: The objectives of the process, its format, and the rules and procedures by which it will operate must be agreed to by all participants as well as the governing authority.
- 6) Time limits: There must be clear and reasonable time limits for reaching a conclusion and reporting on outcomes...
- 7) Full mandate: The parties must be provided the opportunity to participate in defining the problems, identifying options, and seeking solutions rather than simply responding to the objectives or solutions selected by government.
- 8) Government commitment: Government must be committed to responding to the outcome of the process in a timely fashion.
- 9) Fallback: There must be a clear understanding that there are alternatives for making necessary decision if an agreement is not reached.

Following from some of the recommendations of the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, the Province of British Columbia's *Draft Policy on Land and Resource Management Planning* (1993) said that consensual decision-making is used to develop agreement on future land use and to address conflicts that arise as a result of differing resource values, and The Commission on Resources and Environment (1995) further articulated, "As important as direction from elected government, is the opportunity for all those affected by government decisions to participate in the making of decisions by making their views known and heard. Broad participation encourages the potential for sustainability by ensuring that government decisions take into account the needs of a fuller range of values." A further benefit was described by Creighton (1992b), "Consensus isn't always reached...But stakeholders are clearly at the table throughout...people still feel consulted and valued. And decision-makers become more trusted."

The Canadian Round Tables (1993) developed ten guiding principles for consensus processes:

- 1) Purpose Driven: people need a reason to participate in the process
- 2) Inclusive not exclusive: All parties with a significant interest in the issue should be involved in the consensus process
- 3) Voluntary Participation: The parties who are affected or interested participate voluntarily
- 4) Self Design: The parties design the consensus process
- 5) Flexibility: Flexibility should be designed into the process
- 6) Equal Opportunity: All parties must have equal access to relevant information and the opportunity to participate effectively throughout the process
- 7) Respect for Diverse Interests: Acceptance of the diverse values, interests, and knowledge of the parties involved in the consensus process is essential
- 8) Accountability: The parties are accountable both to their constituencies, and to the process that they have agreed to establish
- 9) Time Limits: Realistic deadlines are necessary through the process
- 10) Implementation: Commitment to implementation and effective monitoring are essential parts of any agreement.

This research will, in an exploratory way, investigate the applicability of these principles to the use of consensus as a tool of public involvement in wide scale land use planning.

## EVALUATION

Although governments are facing increasing pressure to be “accountable to their publics”, there has either been little formal evaluation of programs or processes, or, according to Wildavsky (1979), there is a multitude of evaluations of governmental programs which are seldom used to improve them. This may be due to the delicate and political nature of evaluation, the perceived expense, or the confusion and lack of confidence surrounding decisions of what type of methodology would best be utilized (House, 1978).

Formal program evaluations have traditionally utilized empirical, results-oriented approaches; however more recently, qualitative methods have become popular because of problems in quantifying human behaviour. These problems, first identified in evaluation work by House (1978) included the presence of extraneous variables, experimenter effects, the limitations of existing measurement instruments, and the generalization of findings to new settings.

Traditionally, evaluation was concerned with one thing: were the goals of the program (or process) achieved? Several authors have argued that evaluations should deal with how programs work and how they can be improved, rather than just what they produce (Weiss, 1972; Patton, 1978; Wildavsky, 1979; Scriven, 1980; Nay & Kay, 1982). Wildavsky charged that merely asking whether a program is accomplishing its objectives does not necessarily tell anyone what to do about achieving these objectives: “If planning were judged by results, that is, by whether life followed the dictates of the plan, then planning has failed everywhere it has been tried.”

Scriven (1980) proposed a goal-free method of evaluation in order to reduce the effects of bias in evaluation. According to House (1978), goal-free evaluation reduces the bias of searching for pre-specified intents in favour of the evaluator being open to discover all outcomes. Scriven proposed it as a useful method of finding out what a program is *doing*, without a detailed description of what it is *trying to do*. Merit is determined by relating program achievements to the needs of the impacted population, rather than to program goals. “Illuminative evaluation” has become an increasingly popular type of goal-free study where the primary concern is with description and understanding rather than measurement and prediction (Miles, 1981).

Miles described “summative” evaluation, conducted at the end of a program or process, as compared with “formative” evaluation, where decisions are made during the program or process as to what improvements can be made. The formative type was preferable to Wildavsky (1979) who stated, “Learning that a program is terrible might be

relevant to a body with the authority and the desire to abolish it, but it is useless to a program manager who needs to know which of his present or alternative activities might be less terrible in order for improvement to take place.” In addition, he pointed out that managers who face evaluation as an all-or-nothing judgment will be reluctant to make mistakes, and that reluctance, according to DeBono (1983), stifles creativity, one of the success factors related to management style identified in this research.

According to Wildavsky, “Trying to avoid errors stultifies; besides, no application of care will avoid all mistakes. Expecting to make errors and pick up after oneself is much more satisfactory...because there is no one truth – indeed, because correcting error rather than establishing truth is the norm [in government] – evaluation would be continuous so that common understandings (not mere assertions) can grow... Evaluation, therefore, is conceived best as a social procedure that is the cumulative result of many efforts rather than just one.”

## RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

This research attempts to describe and explain the current status of public involvement in British Columbia, and how important it is in today’s natural resource planning and management. Although a great deal of research on public involvement was conducted some 20 years ago, this review has provided evidence that there is renewed interest in it, particularly in its contemporary applications. Sewell (1979) discussed the succession of interest in mechanisms of resource management and presented a schema based on Downs’ Issue Attention Cycle, which depicted a five node cycle. See Figure 2.3.

Perhaps the large volume of research and critical analysis of public involvement in the 1970’s indicated its movement to Stage 3—Realizing the cost of significant progress; then as Sewell and Coppock (1977) alluded, it moved into Stage 4—A gradual decline of public interest. If this is an ongoing cycle, perhaps we have once again reached Stage 2—

Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, characterized by the resurgence of interest in public involvement, particularly in its modern iterations of consensus building and shared decision-making processes. If this is true, then it can be expected that as we move into the stage of reappraisal, there is once again a need for critical analysis of these “new” processes, and their effectiveness.

### Downs' Issue-Attention Cycle (1972)

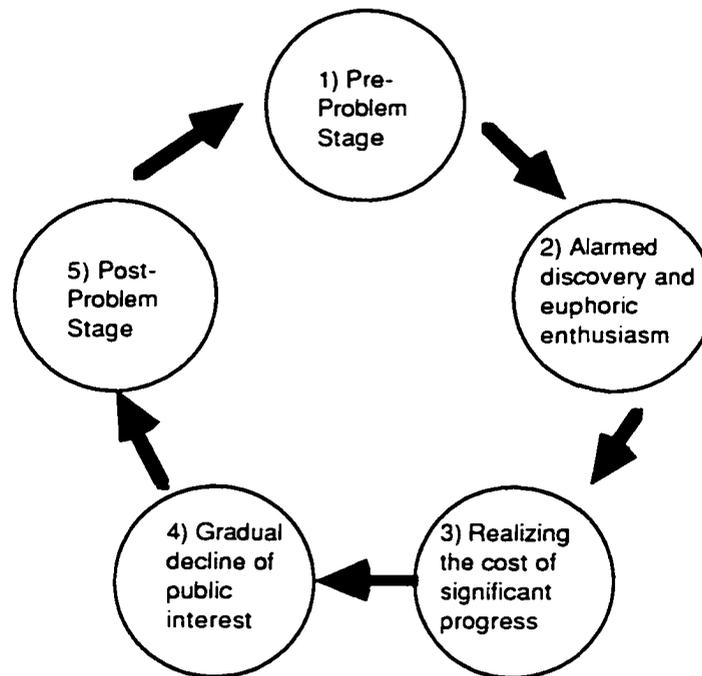


Figure 2.3

White stated in 1966, “Adequate models are lacking to describe the intricacies of decision-making and, thereby, to indicate critical points in the process.” Today we are experiencing new forms of decision-making, and in order to manage the escalating levels of

conflict associated with resource management in Canada, many believe we need new descriptive models and new indicators of critical points in the process. Sewell (1977) identified needed research in the “examination of alternative ways of identifying public views, including studies of perceptions and attitudes and experience of direct involvement in the planning and policy-making processes...”, while O’Riordan (1979) stated, “... the attitudes of established groups to wider participatory initiatives is a matter worth investigating in future research.” He further pointed out that research areas offering promise are “analyzing views on different forms of participation (both tried and untried), held by those who already have power in both the formal sense of control and the informal sense of influencing public values.” However, little detailed research has taken place in the interim, for as recently as 1993, Massam stated that “there has been a dearth of serious analysis” in terms of public involvement.

While Dorsey and Riek (1987) proposed a number of principles in the use of negotiation in environmental disputes which were then adopted in consensus in land use planning, they stated that their conclusions about evolving systems of governance “should be refined and tested in more comprehensive analyses”. They also pointed out the need for further research, stating, “Given the extensive use and apparently great potential of negotiation in settling environmental disputes in Canada, it is remarkable how little research has been undertaken to evaluate its productivity and guide its development.” They go on to say that there is a “...lack of analytical frameworks appropriate to the systems of natural resources governance in Canada”. The B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a) said that as a next stage of implementing consensus an area of interest is, “What would a consensus approach to land use planning in the regional and provincial contexts look like? Are these processes fulfilling the expectations of government, private, and public interests in terms of meaningful involvement in land use decisions?” This research is an attempt to begin to answer these questions.

Figure 2.5 below illustrates the role of geographers in the research of public involvement over the past four decades. As stated, it is evident from this chart that while interest in public involvement and planning waned in the 1980's, so did academic interest in it. The lack of planning and attention to environmental issues at this time (discussed in the British Columbia context in Chapter 4) gave rise to a large body of literature related to environmental conflict and its resolution. As government and organizations attempted to deal with this conflict and experiment with the implementation of different ways of planning and decision-making, including the use of consensus, a body of documentation appeared which had been written by practitioners, consultants and government agencies.

It is the contention of this researcher that it is time that the mechanisms which have had nearly 10 years to develop now be methodically and critically evaluated and studied. This research addresses the need for geographers to engage in this further analysis and evaluation of contemporary forms of public involvement. As governments search for ways to allocate diminishing resources more fairly and communities search for ways to exert more control in decisions which affect them, there is a need for research to guide them. As illustrated in Figure 2.4, below, many fields have contributed to what will become a comprehensive understanding of consensus. Geographers can contribute by studying and commenting on its use as a contemporary tool in adaptive resource management and planning.

This study will contribute to that goal by developing conceptual tools which will enhance understanding of consensus in contemporary planning processes, while offering guidelines which are also practically applicable.

**FIELDS CONTRIBUTING TO KNOWLEDGE OF CONSENSUS**

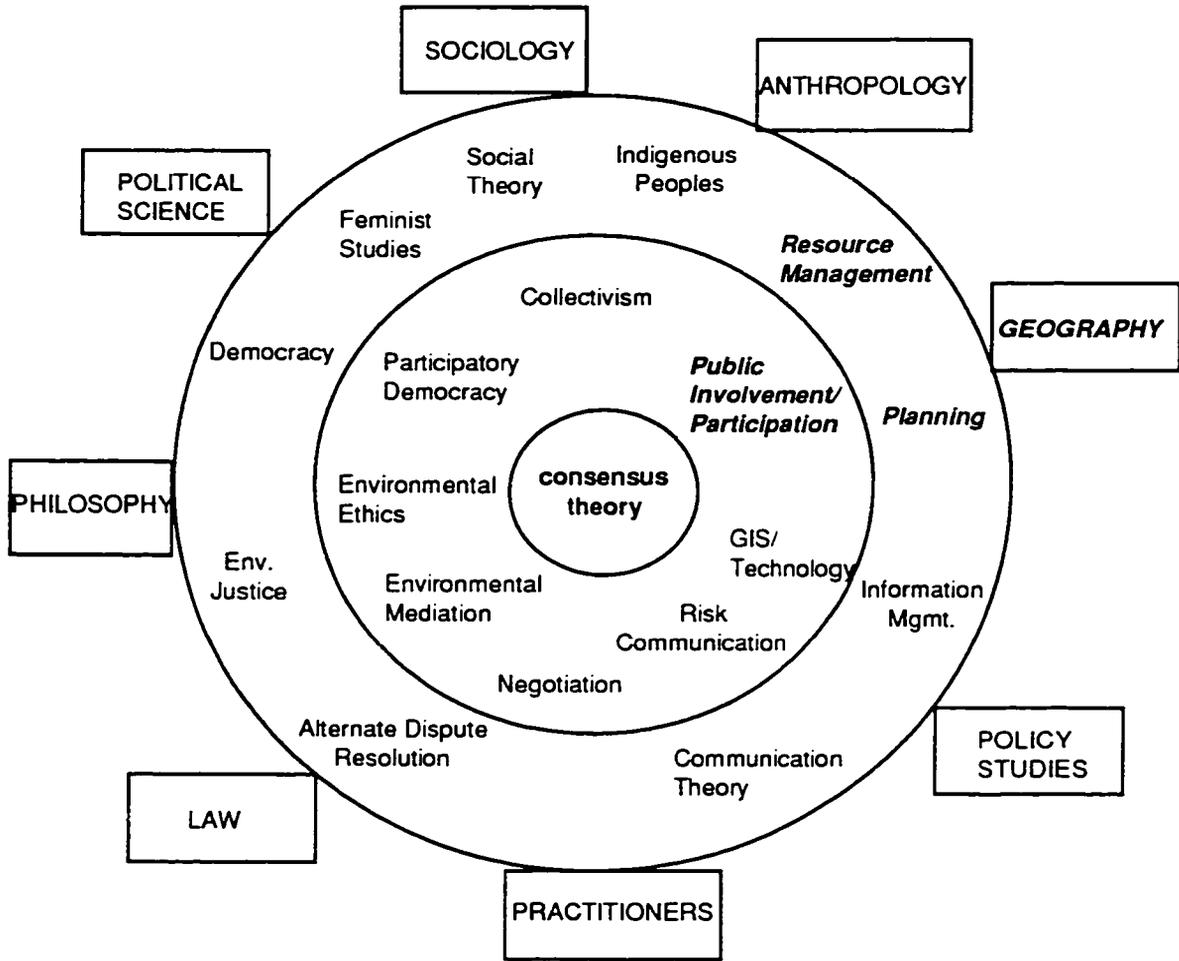


Figure 2.4

	GEOGRAPHY/ RESOURCE MGMT/ PLANNING		PRACTITIONERS/ GOVERNMENT		DISPUTE RESOLUTION/ MEDIATION/ LAW	
Decade	Year/Writer	Contribution	Year/Writer	Contribution	Year/Writer	Contribution
Early work	~1880 Geddes	Integrated planning citizen involvement				
1960's	66 White 66 White 68 Burke 69 Arnstein	'range of alternatives' less reliance on technical elite Participation typology Participation typology	69 NEPA	public hearings in EIA	65 Lindblom*	Bargaining
1970's	71 Damer & Hague 71 O'Riordan 74 Kasperson 75 Bailey 76 Howard 76 Sewell/O'Riordan 76 Wengert 77 Draper 77 Hendee 77 Ingram/Ullery 77 O'Riordan 77 Sewell 77a O'Riordan 79 MacMurray 79 Sewell	criticisms of particip. model res mgmt as "optimal solutions" criticisms of particip. model criticisms of particip. model "Great Participation Fallacy" criticism: time & costs "Practice in search of theory" excessive centralization power public input types of participation managerialism; power decision-making process multiple objectives "How not to have participation" criticism: time & costs	76 Erickson/Davis 77 Bregha 77 Christiansen 77 Draper 77 Homenuck 77 Sadler 79 Estrin	criticism: time & costs, public criticized public hearings criticized public hearings criticisms of particip. model success factor: clear objectives history of public involvement "Public Still Voiceless"	73 Deutsch 75 Isard 75 Rubin/Brown*	"Resolution of Conflict" Negotiation Negotiation
1980's	89 Cater&Jones	managerialism "gatekeepers"	81 Avery et al 84 Estes 84 Gunton	consensus decision-making consensus decision-making power	80 Lake 81 Fisher/Ury 82 Haussmann* 82 Raiffa* 83 Talbot* 83,84 Shrybman* 84 Susskind/Madigan* 85 Cormick*	criticisms of particip. model Interest-based negotiation Canadian env. mediation arbitration; mediation env. mediation in U.S. Canadian env. mediation facilitators; mediation* env. mediation in U.S.

<b>1980's (con't)</b>			85 Deutsch 86 Bingham* 86 Dorcey* 86 Greenbaum* 86 Haussmann* 86 Sadler* 87 Dorcey/Riek 87 Dorcey/Riek 89 Gifford	distributive justice <i>env. mediation in U S</i> <i>bargaining in governance</i> <i>arbitration; mediation</i> <i>conciliators</i> <i>environmental mediation</i> negotiation, dispute res environmental mediation 'cooperative' negotiation
<b>1990's</b>	93 Massam values, consensus 93 O'Riordan/O'Riordan d-m power; conflict res.; process 95 Mitchell conflict; SDM; adaptive mgmt	90 Bush success factors: objectives 90 Connor stakeholder i.d.; communication 91 Abs identifying stakeholders 91 BCRTTE consensus building 91 Darling consensus building 91 Gunton/Vertinsky stakeholders, shared d-m 91 Lathrop consensus building 92 Brethour communication 92 Connell third party interests* 92 McGuire communication; media 92 McQuaid-Cook stakeholder i.d.; communication 92a Creighton public cynical 92b Creighton benefits of consensus; public 94 Dorcey et al typology; consensus 95 CORE benefits of consensus d-m 96 Brown (CORE) shared decision-making 96 Maser p.l. as conflict res.; consensus;	91 Cormick negotiation 92 Ross consensus, traditional peoples 93 Mansfield consensus, traditional peoples	

\* Reviewed in Dorcey & Riek (1987)

Figure 2.5

## SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a conceptual framework for study into public involvement, and specifically the evaluation of the use of consensus in land use planning and resource management. Relevant literature to this study was summarized. First, the broad topic of Resource Management and Decision-Making was explored, with discussion of conflict and the role of values. To preface the discussion into the evolution of public involvement, literature on normative decision-making through Managerialism (the dependence on a technical elite), was presented.

The role of public involvement in resource decision-making was described, including a historical summary of its emergence in the 1960's, and its evolution through the 1970's, waning interest in the 1980's, and contemporary implementation in the 1990's. Various typologies and levels of public involvement described by different writers were also discussed.

Further exploration of one of those contemporary procedures, consensus was presented. Literature on program evaluation, relevant to this study was also reviewed. Finally, research implications and opportunities to enhance the existing knowledge and literature on contemporary public involvement were investigated.

The gaps in knowledge from the field of Geography were identified as a lack of:

- adequate models to describe the intricacies of decision-making and the indices of critical points in the decision-making process (White, 1966)
- studies of perceptions and attitudes and experiences of direct involvement in planning and policy-making processes (Sewell, 1979)
- research on the attitudes of groups to wider participatory initiatives, including the analysis of views on different forms of participation (O'Riordan, 1977)
- analytical frameworks appropriate to the systems of natural resource governance in Canada (Dorcey & Riek, 1987)

- information on whether consensus processes are fulfilling the expectations of government, private, and public interests in terms of meaningful involvement in land use decisions (BCRTEE, 1991a)
- serious analysis of public involvement (Massam, 1993)

Although some of these gaps were pointed out some 20 years ago, there has been little evidence of research since then. Most recent literature on public involvement has been written by practitioners and government agencies, as illustrated in Figure 2.5. There has been a serious lack of empirical studies of current processes from the perspective of public involvement in planning and resource management.

In addition to identifying a rationale for this study, the body of literature on public involvement was reviewed to determine specific factors of success and what contemporary writers believed should be included in evaluation. Four success factors of public involvement were drawn from the literature: Integrity; Explicit Objectives; Early Stakeholder Identification; and Strategic Communication. These will then be compared with the Government of British Columbia's 'normative model' of consensus decision-making in land use and resources planning (Chapter 4) and with actual practices, based on the recollections and perceptions of participants in those processes, results of which are presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

“One of the common and commonly destructive questions about research runs, ‘But is it geography?’ I would like to see us substitute, ‘Is it significant?’ and ‘are you competent to deal with it?’”

– Gilbert White (1972)

Many social science researchers today emphasize the importance of stating methodological philosophy, the epistemology, or assumptions inherent in a research design, about valid ways of gaining knowledge. This study is a descriptive, exploratory one, following the basic premises of Applied Geography, described in part by Johnston (1991) as “a liberalist approach seeking to win reforms within society, while leaving its major structure untouched”. Harvey (1984) described relevant Geography as, “a field which records, analyzes and stores information about society, and how such conditions are subject to continuous transformation through human action, in the context of place and time”.

This study is also Environmental in nature. Johnston (1991) discussed the sub-field of Environmentalism as an important part of Geographic inquiry, encompassing:

- 1) the description and analysis of society-environment interrelationships, and
- 2) issues of environmental management, including an emphasis on societal response.

This research is a behavioural study, in the context of Environmentalism, first described by O’Riordan (1976), and applied by geographers such as Massam (1993) and Mitchell (1995), and researchers of community development, such as Maser (1996):

- that it challenges many aspects of Western capitalism
- it points out paradoxes, rather than clear solutions
- it involves a conviction that better modes of existence are possible
- it is a politicizing and reformist movement, based on a realization of the need for action in the face of impending scarcity and a lack of faith in western democracies.

O’Riordan discussed the need for a new social era, one encompassing local self-determination. The study of consensus decision-making is the exploration of one attempt at local self determination as related to the natural environment.

This research is also pragmatic, building on the author’s many years of work in government and consulting to government. Peet (1977) said of pragmatism as “better to be involved in partial solutions than in futile attempts at revolution”, while Lofland (1984) called pragmatic research “a useful combination of humanistic qualitative and quantitative data”. It follows a long standing premise, first suggested by Berry (1972), that the academic geographer should provide a base knowledge involving interaction and cooperation with policy makers on which policy can be built.

This study is postmodern in nature, incorporating multiple methods including the analysis of literature and government documents, qualitative interviews of managers and citizens, quantitative rating questions and analysis, as well as participant observation. Where possible, most interviews were performed in person, at the participant’s home, place of work, or restaurant in their community. The researcher also participated in a consensus planning meeting and was, to a small degree, ‘immersed in the culture’ of each area for up to two weeks during each phase of data-gathering.

## **METHOD AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

The methods employed in this study were primarily qualitative; the approach was methodical and the instrumentation employed was systematically developed for this study. The focus of the study was on gathering the perceptions and recollections of participants in consensus processes, in order to be able to compare those with normative government-planned processes, and ultimately to critique and reformulate those processes.

A number of methods were employed in order to achieve “triangulation”, or validity evidenced by similar results from multiple methods. This was described by Reason (1981) as the use of different observers or groups to analyze the same phenomenon.

Information collection proceeded through two main phases. First, a series of unstructured interviews with government officials and analysis of government documents was employed to answer the first two research questions, and to elicit government managers’ responses regarding the third. The second phase, which included semi-structured interviews with participants of consensus planning processes, addressed questions 3, 4, and 5 below:

*Phase I: Interviews and Document Review (Establishing the Normative Pattern)*

1. What are the current planning structures for Crown land in the Government of British Columbia and how is public involvement meant to function in these structures? and
2. At which levels of land use planning in British Columbia is consensus decision-making being employed as a public involvement mechanism?

*Phase II: Semi-structured Interviews (Investigating Actual Practices)*

3. What indicators of success are cited by managers and how do these compare with those cited by the various stakeholder participants and with the literature?
4. What is a suitable evaluation framework for consensus (shared decision-making) processes? What criteria are used to evaluate them?
5. What is the relative importance assigned by participants to the various indicators cited by stakeholders, and how might this evaluation assist future planning processes of this type?
6. Is there a specific geographic scale for which consensus decision-making is most appropriate in land use planning?

## **PHASE I: MANAGERS' VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT MODEL OF CONSENSUS**

The collection of field data began in the fall of 1994 when four members of the Integrated Resource Planning Branch of the Policy and Planning Division of the British Columbia Ministry of Forests were interviewed. Their input, as well as documentation on current forest and integrated resource planning procedures was gathered in order to determine the feasibility and potential usefulness of this study. In addition, background information was gathered regarding the use of consensus in government, the administrative responsibility for it, and what specific mechanisms were employed in land and resource planning.

Consensus-type public involvement processes which were underway at the time included the sub-regional level Land and Resource Management Planning (LRMP) and the community level Local Resource Use Plan (LRUP) processes, which were both utilizing consensus type public involvement procedures. Clarification was sought about the role of regional public involvement processes of this type which had been overseen by the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE), as well as the role of the Land Use Coordination Office (LUCO).

A considerable amount of documentation concerning forest land use planning in British Columbia was reviewed. Due to government reorganization during the course of this study, it became necessary to update all information gathered during this phase with an additional interview with a planner from the Policy and Planning Division in 1996, after the second phase had been completed.

From the initial interviews, information was sought regarding:

- 1) the status of specific planning processes;
- 2) recommendations about which might be most suitable for further study:
  - those that were completed, or nearing completion
  - those that might be considered 'successful' processes.

Informal telephone interviews followed with a representative of the Land Use Coordination Office; then the Deputy Commissioner, and a Research Officer of the Commission on Resources and Environment, to clarify roles as well as to determine the current status of the CORE processes. One result of these interviews was that participant lists of CORE processes were supplied for the sample (discussed below), as well as the results of a survey of the Vancouver Island participants which had recently been completed. Some of this information was used in preparing questions for the participant interview questionnaire for this study.

Personal interviews were completed with managers of two CORE processes, as well as the Assistant Deputy Minister, Operations Division, Ministry of Forests, all who provided a broad perspective on land use planning in British Columbia. More specific information was gained through interviews with two Regional Forest Managers who were interviewed, one in person, one by telephone, regarding specific activities within their region, as well as their views on public involvement and the use of consensus. These individuals also provided participant information to assist in sampling, discussed below.

## **PHASE 2: INTERVIEWS TO INVESTIGATE PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES OF CONSENSUS PROCESSES**

### **Sampling**

The interviews described above provided names of the managers of individual consensus processes. These managers were then asked to provide a list of participants for the plan they were overseeing, and these then formed the basis for the participant interview sample. Most of the managers approached were helpful and forthcoming, but in one region participant names were difficult to obtain as the Ministry officials were concerned about the effects of information and privacy legislation. In that region, however, the researcher was invited to attend the LRMP meeting to speak with participants directly and inquire whether they would be willing to participate in the study. This provided an added dimension to the study, to observe the consensus process in action.

In addition to the sample drawn from these sources, the researcher became aware of one particular community level process which was not considered to be successful by the manager. He agreed to participate, and to supply names of participants for the sample.

The intention was to gather information from a cross-section of participants who had been involved in consensus land use planning processes, attempting to ensure a balanced representation between regional, sub-regional, and community level processes; between geographic areas of the province; and between 'types' of stakeholders, all as far as possible within the limitations of:

- 1) number of these processes which had been completed,
- 2) cooperation of managers and participants, and
- 3) travel time and costs.

This was achieved. What was not expected was that a number of participants had been involved in multiple processes. This turned out to be an added benefit, as they were able to compare and contrast various processes based on their experience.

Stakeholder types were classified by the following main categories:

- a) Government, which was further divided by Organizers, including the manager(s) of the process who may or may not have also acted as facilitator/chair and Government Participants, which included process participants who were not organizers and generally represented other ministries, such as Environment, Lands and Parks; Agriculture, Fisheries and Food; or Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources. There were 8 organizers and 5 other government participants involved in the study.
- b) Industry, including representatives of forest companies, mining companies, or any related activities. There were 10 industry representatives interviewed.
- c) Environmental stakeholders, which included formal groups as well as individuals who stated their interest as environmental. There were 10 environmental representatives interviewed.

- d) Recreation/tourism sector representatives. There were 11 recreation/tourism representatives interviewed, which included for example, fish and wildlife organizations, fishing resorts, rod and gun club, ski club, canoe club, guide outfitters, and a tourism association.

In addition to ensuring equal representation from these main stakeholder categories, which would have been approximately equally represented in the processes themselves, a specific attempt was also made in this study to seek out representation from groups which were not well represented in the planning processes, but who might provide significant insights, such as:

- e) Community associations, rate payer groups, or any other citizen action group, with specific interests not covered by the above – 2 were interviewed.
- f) Women – 8 were interviewed.
- g) First Nations – one representative was interviewed.
- h) Municipal representatives, which may, but not necessarily, include elected officials – 2 were interviewed.
- i) Union representatives or industry workers, whose interests may not be consistent with industry representatives – 1 was interviewed.

### **Participant Interview Process**

In total, 50 detailed participant interviews were completed over three months. These varied from 40 minutes in duration to three hours, with the majority being about one and one half hours in length. This variation was due to the nature of the interviews which had a semi-structured portion, as well as in-depth, more free-form discussion. Some respondents were more direct and comfortable with the specific questions and quantitative assessments, while others were more comfortable and more forthcoming only with the opportunity for lengthy explanations and discussion of their experience. It proved to be of

benefit to provide both methods to obtain the most valid and thorough information from various personality types.

This phase of the research was divided into three separate trips which spanned over 4000 kilometres, through four different regions of the province. Land use planning in the province generally follows B.C. Forest Service regional and district boundaries, so an attempt was made to include participants from all planning regions. A map of Ministry of Forests Regions and list of Districts appears as Appendix VIII. Although there are six administrative regions, with the establishment of CORE which was mandated to resolve conflicts on Vancouver Island, there was a geographical split that created the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island planning regions, each with its own Interagency Management Committee. The CORE Kootenay process was further divided into East and West Kootenays, so for the purpose of this research, eight planning regions are discussed.

Sixteen interviews were completed over eight days in the first region. These included representatives from regional (CORE), sub-regional (LRMP) and community level (LRUP) processes. As previously mentioned, a number of respondents had been participants in multiple processes. The interviews were recorded by hand and later transcribed to a spreadsheet/database program. After each interview and each evening, personal notes were also recorded.

After the first trip, in which setting up interviews *in situ* was found to be extremely time consuming, participants were contacted one week prior via fax or mail. Copies of the participant letter and consent form appear in Appendix I.

The second trip yielded 15 completed interviews which were gathered over five days. All were from a community level (LRUP) process, which had been selected independently of the recommendations by senior government officials. It was one from which the local manager had contacted the researcher, and was, incidentally, not held up as a 'successful' process by managers.

The third trip included five days spread over two regions. In the first, seven interviews were completed with representatives of a CORE process. In the second region, an all-day meeting of an LRMP was attended. The consensus planning process at work was observed; participants were interviewed informally, and formal interviews were arranged, five of which were subsequently completed. Because this particular land use planning process was still in progress, it became evident that participants did not have enough experience upon which to base evaluation, therefore only those individuals who had some background with other, completed, processes were included in this study.

In order to allay any concerns of potential bias by limiting the interviews to these geographic areas, a small selection of consensus participants from other regions was included, as a simple control to detect any significant variations in their responses. Based on the Analysis of Variance tests on their quantitative responses (discussed in Chapter 6), it was evident that there was no significant difference in responses based on geographic location. In addition to the four regions represented by the trips described above, an additional seven interviews were completed with managers and participants of CORE and LRMP processes from four additional regions of the province. Therefore all six forest regions were represented, as well as the two additional CORE planning regions.

Also to reduce possible bias, included in the study were five respondents recommended by other participants, but who did not appear on the participant lists which had been provided, either because they had been alternate stakeholder representatives, or had withdrawn before completion of the process. It was believed these people might provide some additional insights.

Of the 50 interviews, 33 were completed in person and 17 were completed by telephone. In some cases, the participants preferred to respond by telephone, in others, the use of the telephone facilitated interviews which would have been very difficult to obtain because of the physical distances or remote locations involved. Responses were collected by hand, utilizing 'facesheets' and post-interview comments by the interviewer, as

described by Lofland (1984). A copy of the facesheet used appears in Appendix II. The interviews were not tape-recorded. As discussed at the defense of this research proposal, in the experience of the researcher some individuals are not comfortable being tape-recorded; it is sometimes seen as an invasive technique which can hamper the building of an open relationship between the interviewer and the respondent, and may cause some participants to respond differently, an example of the "Hawthorne effect" in research (Hodgetts & Altman, 1979).

Because of the nature of the interviews in this research, it was considered to be more important to record key points made by the participants, rather than to transcribe an entire two hour conversation. The researcher's experience in media relations also determined that tape recording, while providing a verbatim account, can often be criticized for taking sentiments "out of context" when quotations which are only part of an overall context in conversation are used. Before any comment was recorded, the researcher used "active listening" and fed back the essence of what was said. The participant agreed to the actual wording of what was recorded and was invited to check the notes at the end of the interview. None felt the need to do so, and one commented that the researcher had an excellent listening ability.

The response rate was very good. No one actually refused to participate, although some CORE participants were hesitant. Two reasons were cited:

- 1) the fact that they had already been studied by two or more students or academics previously;
- 2) they felt their views would be very negative.

When they were reassured that negative views were very valuable to this study, they agreed to participate. Some problems were encountered, as expected, with lists being out of date and participants having moved, but enough participants could be contacted to ensure adequate representation of stakeholders groups. In three cases, people who had initially

agreed to participate could not be reached for the actual interview; these might be considered refusals.

### **Interview Questions**

Each interview began with the question of what that person's involvement had been in consensus processes, followed by their general assessment of this type of planning. They were then asked how they would define 'success' in this type of planning. Next, they were told how the interview would proceed, that they would be asked to suggest what factors they believe to be most important to the success of a consensus planning process, and then they would be asked to rate other success factors that had been collected from various sources, such as literature, other surveys, or from other interviews in this study.

Each interviewee was first given the opportunity to answer an open-ended question regarding factors that would contribute to the success of a process. Once they were finished, they were then asked to rate, on a scale of zero (not at all important) through 10 (critical), a list of previously compiled success factors. Because many of the factors, particularly those derived from the Vancouver Island CORE survey, were broad and undefined, respondents were told that in addition to their numerical rating, they should define what that factor meant to them, based on their own experience.

At the end of the rating portion, they were asked if there were any other factors they believed to be important but hadn't been yet discussed. They were then asked two further questions,

- 1) their recommendation of the appropriate scale for consensus planning, and
- 2) any suggestions they might have for future land use planning in British Columbia.

The numerical data were recorded on a Success Factors Rate Sheet (Appendix III), which was updated as new responses emerged. There were not many additions, however; most factors had been accurately pre-determined. The qualitative information from each interview was recorded by hand on separate interview forms with attached sheets as

required for each participant. Responses were often rephrased and fed back, and on some occasions notes were read back to the participant to ensure their accuracy.

## DATA ANALYSIS

Interview responses, in the form of 1179 separate entries of one to three sentences, were entered into the database/spreadsheet program, *Excel*. This process took approximately two months. Each response was classified by respondent number, organization or affiliation; stakeholder group; type of process (CORE, LRMP or LRUP); geographic location, and which factor or question the phrase corresponded to. Factor responses were then separated and sorted to determine the range of responses, and then correlated with stakeholder type, geographic area, and process, to determine if there were any relationships between these and the types of responses. A sample of the spreadsheet appears in Appendix IV.

To ensure confidentiality, the interview results in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are presented as aggregate responses by seven groups: Citizen Action (including First Nations and Union), Environmental, Government Organizers, Government Participants, Industry, Municipal Government, and Recreation/Tourism. These results chapters present objective results; Chapter 8 provides discussion and further analysis of the responses, as well as personal observations of the researcher.

Numerical data were also analyzed to determine the relative importance of each factor, and correlated by stakeholder group, type of process, and geographic location. Respondents were asked to rate each factor for importance on a ten point scale. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to investigate the presence of any significance between groups. It is acknowledged that the 10 point scale used in the interviews represents ordinal data and it might be argued that the Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance by ranks might be a more appropriate statistical test. On further investigation of the two

tests, it was found that ANOVA is commonly used for this type of ordinal but continuous data, and that significance generally matches in the two tests, unless data are wildly skewed.

In this case, the purpose was not to draw inferences about the samples or populations, but rather as an indicator of possible differences in *types of response* between groups, i.e. did the types of response have a tendency to vary according to stakeholder group, type of process, location or gender? ANOVA was thus used as a triangulation technique to support the qualitative analysis of success factors, and should not be interpreted as anything more.

## SUMMARY

This chapter identified the research methods used in this study, how the samples were drawn, the data collection and analysis methods used. The study is descriptive and exploratory, following the premises of Applied Geography and Environmentalism. It is also pragmatic, and postmodern in nature, employing multiple methods.

Information collection followed two phases:

- 1) Analysis of the government model of consensus decision-making, through document review and management interviews, and
- 2) Interviews of participants to determine their perceptions of the actual application of consensus processes.

The sampling technique, and subsequent stakeholder categories of the participants were described, followed by a detailed description of the interview process and the data collection trips. Equal representation was sought between environmental stakeholders, industry, government organizers and participants, and recreation/tourism representatives. Also included were municipal government representatives and citizen action groups, or those not represented by the other groups. Special attention was given to obtaining

interviews from a First Nations representative, a union representative and women, as these groups were not well represented in the processes themselves. The interview portion of the study was divided into three research trips.

The analysis methods used for both qualitative and quantitative data were described. The spreadsheet program *Excel* was used to record, sort and correlate qualitative responses with the variables of stakeholder group, type of process, geographic location and gender. Analysis of Variance was used to determine significance of quantitative responses related by the same variables.

The next four chapters present the results logically in reference to the “Research Design Schematic” (Fig. 1.1); Chapter 4 describes the results of the investigations of government documents and interviews with senior government officials. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the objective results of the participant interviews, while Chapter 8 discusses and analyzes these results, including observations of the researcher. The results and analysis culminate in the recommendations of the Framework For Evaluation in Chapter 9.

## CHAPTER 4

### STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF LAND USE PLANNING IN B.C. THE BLUEPRINTS AND MANAGERS' VIEWS

This chapter examines and describes the (normative) frameworks for land use planning in British Columbia, by answering these research questions:

1. What are the current planning structures for Crown land in British Columbia and how is public involvement meant to function in these structures?
2. At which levels of land use planning in British Columbia is consensus decision-making being employed as a public involvement mechanism?
3. What indicators of success are cited by managers and how do these compare with those cited by the various stakeholder participants and with the literature?

Question #3 is addressed in this chapter from the perspective of senior managers. This is compared with the indicators discussed by participants of consensus processes, which will be presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 which present the results of in-depth interviews with participants and organizers of consensus planning processes.

These questions were addressed through a review of government documents, as well as through interviews with government officials, including the Assistant Deputy Minister of Operations, Ministry of Forests; two Regional Forestry Managers; managers with the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE), the Land Use Coordination Office (LUCO); and officials in the Integrated Resources Branch (later renamed the Range, Recreation and Forest Practices Branch) of the Ministry of Forests. Their candid views and assistance were very much appreciated.

The land use planning system in British Columbia did not appear suddenly, but evolved over about a century of economic and socio-political development; therefore a brief

overview of the historical development of resource management bureaucracy in the province is presented in order to understand the nature of the conflict and the organizational structures which have given rise to consensus planning. This is followed by a description of the Government of British Columbia's response, its 'normative frameworks' for resource management. As part of the presentation of the normative models, a discussion of current evaluation frameworks is provided, then results of the senior management interviews are presented.

### **HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA**

To appreciate why British Columbia has experienced conflict in land use, it is valuable to review some history of resource management in the province. Although politics have certainly played a part, this research avoids political analysis, focusing instead on the economic realities and pressures of each 'era' in British Columbia's history, which are also paralleled in other areas of the country and beyond, particularly in resource-based economies.

It is the contention of this author that politics, particularly in B.C., tend to follow rather than shape economics. Over the century outlined in this history, British Columbia's political power has swung from 'right' to 'left' and back again a number of times, yet policy has tended to be driven more by economic and social pressures than by political ideology. It has been somewhat paradoxical, for example, that while drastically reducing staff in the early 1980's, the same government increased staff devoted to forest planning. More recent evidence is the example of CORE, which was established in 1992 by a New Democratic Party (NDP) government, but following recommendations from an earlier round table process under the previous Social Credit government. The NDP government

who had campaigned on a platform of openness and public involvement, then eliminated CORE in 1996, citing severe budget pressures.

According to the *B.C. Financial and Economic Review* (1995) “The province’s rich endowment of natural resources and their development form the backbone of British Columbia’s economic structure.” With Crown forest and range land comprising 90% of the province, the economy is based largely on forest production, as well as other natural resource development, such as agriculture, mining and fishing. Forest land covers 62% of the province, affording British Columbia nearly half of Canada’s softwood inventory. B.C.’s forests, mountains and natural beauty have also attracted a rapidly expanding tourism industry, classified as its ‘Number 2 industry’.

The *Review* explains that because the province relies heavily on international and inter-provincial trade for the exchange of goods and services, its economy is sensitive to developments in world markets and fluctuations in international commodity prices. Historical swings in world commodity prices have caused periods of rapid growth followed by slowdowns, the ‘boom and bust’ endemic to resource-based economies. It is through understanding our historical responses that the same pitfalls can be avoided in the future, regardless of the government in power, as these economic cycles continue.

## LAND USE AND BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

The 1867 *British North America Act* gave the responsibility for managing Crown land and resources to the provinces. When those provinces were organizing to manage their various responsibilities, like other large organizations, they adopted Weber’s model of bureaucracy: a “mechanistic structure, characterized by a clear-cut division of labour, formal chain of command, rules and standards, and a degree of impersonality” (discussed in Hodgetts & Altman, 1979). This compartmentalized approach to managing resources is still in place with resources being administered in British Columbia by the following ministries: Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food; Environment, Lands and Parks; Energy,

Mines and Petroleum Resources (subsumed by the Ministry of Employment and Investment, February, 1996); and Forests. In addition, the Ministries of Municipal Affairs; Aboriginal Affairs; Small Business, Tourism and Culture; and Transportation and Highways, as well as other provincial agencies, such as the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE, since disbanded, May, 1996); the Okanagan Valley Tree Fruit Authority; BC Hydro; and Forest Renewal BC each have had some impact on land use decisions.

## **INTEGRATED RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

Although integrated resource planning may be a new concept in practice in British Columbia, its roots in theory and ideal stem back to the early part of this century. In 1906 there were a series of Canadian Forestry Conventions which brought together professional foresters, conservationists and government, and introduced themes of preservation and planning, putting Canada ahead even of President Roosevelt's well known 1909 North American Conservation Conference. Each of these events called for legislation to manage renewable resources to ensure continued productivity.

In 1910, the Province of British Columbia held its first Royal Commission on Forest Resources. As a result, the Forest Service was created in 1912, with the first *Forest Act*, which laid out a system of forest reserves, earmarked for cutting. Little attention was given to management or renewal. In the United States at this time, Gifford Pinchot, the first US Chief Forester, was promoting a 'doctrine of stewardship', which he described as resources for the benefit of many, not for the profit of few, beginning a trend of multiple use management. He was sometimes criticized for standing in the way of economic growth, and so began the policy tug-of-war between the values of conservation and environment at one end, and economic prosperity at the other, so prevalent throughout the history of natural resource dependent economies, such as British Columbia.

The effects of the tug-of-war were analogous with changes in the economic cycles. In the early part of the century, attention began to be paid to conservation, with Canada establishing a Commission on Conservation. It advocated the coordinated management of groups of resources, multiple purpose resource use, the integration of resource management and urban and regional planning, and consideration of the impacts of pollution. These seem to be very modern ideas, but before they could be implemented, the Commission was disbanded in 1921. During the 1930's B.C. suffered, as did the rest of Canada, from economic depression. Both the federal and provincial governments at the time believed that resources could and should be used to stimulate the economy and provide jobs, leading to a rapid decline in government and public interest in any kind of comprehensive management of resources. This 'doctrine of usefulness' philosophy (Krueger & Mitchell, 1977) was that an economy of a depressed region could be stimulated by more efficient use of its resources, however it did not take into account lowered demand or world prices for those resources, and led to increased cutting and destruction, for minimal economic benefit.

During the war years, natural resources were in high demand for manufacturing. In 1944, a commission of inquiry, the Sloan Commission, was established, and called for changes from a system of unmanaged and unregulated liquidation of forest resources to a planned and regulated policy of forest management (discussed in Ness, 1992b). It noted that, "it is not too late to plan now for the future, but the sands are running out and the time is now upon us when the present policy of unmanaged liquidation of our forest wealth must give way to the imperative concept of a planned forest policy designed to maintain our forests upon the principle of sustained-yield production" (quoted in CORE, 1995a). However, a second Royal Commission in 1956 found that little planning had actually been done. The 1950's had brought a new wave of economic growth and with it, higher demand for lumber and other resources and little concern for conservation or the environment. Between 1956 and 1976 the annual forest cut in B.C. increased by 400%. It

was a time of unprecedented economic development, including resource extraction, dam building and other mega-projects, with their inevitable effects on the natural environment.

The 1960's saw the beginnings of public concern for the environment, as well as increased demand for recreational wilderness experiences. The perceived increasing scarcity of wilderness at the time led to the establishment of advocacy groups to lobby for the protection of areas both for recreational use and for biological conservation. This growing environmental movement contained groups with a variety of goals, such as protection of water quality, expansion of protected areas, maintenance of game species and wildlife, and preservation of intact ecosystems. The result, according to CORE (1995a) was "a gradual increase in the number of vocal and potentially conflicting interests in the use of public, and especially forested, lands".

In 1973, with the establishment in the Ministry of Forests of a system of Resource Folio Plans, planning had finally begun, but still only for timber values. Included were target rates for harvesting and reforestation, however it was discovered by the Pearse Royal Commission in 1975 that these were not widely applied. In 1976 the Ministry of Environment was established. Recommendations of the Pearse report included increased environmental and other resource considerations, and most of the recommendations were included in the new *Forest Act*, passed in 1978 (Ness, 1992b).

In the early 1980's, however, the balance in the tug-of-war shifted once again. British Columbia experienced a serious economic recession which impacted resource management in a number of ways. Already that decade, companies had reduced the number of workers due to technological advances which had enabled them to increase the amount of timber taken from the forests, using less labour. Severe competition and low commodity prices during the recession caused even more job losses in forest-related industries. The (right-wing) government of the day was concerned about declining resource revenues, and about the survival of resource corporations, among the largest employers in the province.

Declining provincial revenues resulted in severe reduction of government personnel, including those responsible for regulation and enforcement under the *Forest Act*. An Environment and Land Use Committee Secretariat, established in the early 1970's to encourage inter-ministry cooperation at senior levels, was disbanded. At the same time, the government looked for ways of stimulating industry, and as a result relaxed harvest limits and forest practice regulations.

“He [a Ministry of Forests manager] related a story about working in regulation in the early 80's. He had tears in his eyes and so did I when he told me about seeing salmon jumping through piles of slash in a recently cut area which the day before had a stream running through it.”

– Author's Personal Notes, October 2, 1995

The full impact, according to many environmentalists, is only beginning to be realized, some 15 years later, with evidence in some areas of drastic overcutting, erosion, and resultant destruction of critical habitats. In addition to environmental effects, the social and economic effects have included the near decimation of communities who had become dependent on one industry. Other industries, also important to the provincial economy, such as recreation and tourism have also been affected by environmental degradation.

The concerns of environmental groups, forest workers and industry became more vocal, and escalated throughout the 1980's and 1990's, involving the general public who watched the conflict in the forest unfold each night on the evening news. The conflicts included publicity-gaining activities including road blockades leading to mass arrests in areas including the Slocan Valley in the Kootenay region, and several valleys on western Vancouver Island. As noted in Chapter 2, literature on public involvement and planning had also waned during this time, giving way to a burgeoning interest in dispute resolution, environmental mediation, and other ways of dealing with these conflicts (as reviewed in Dorsey and Riek, 1987). To the provincial governments of the 1990's, both right and left wing, resource management and decision-making represented a precarious balancing act of economic, social and environmental interests, a political 'hot potato' that could jeopardize their survival.

## GOVERNMENT RESPONSE: EMERGENCE OF INTEGRATED LAND USE PLANNING

Where in the past resource planning meant planning for timber, current mechanisms for integrated planning of land and resources are attempting to cross bureaucratic boundaries to recognize and plan for other values of Crown land, beyond simply timber.

In 1988 a number of government agencies met with a broad range of interest groups (the Dunsmuir conferences), resulting in an agreement which described the need for a comprehensive land use and water management strategy. A year later, the Forest Resources Commission was established and in 1991 made recommendations on forest management, including comprehensive land use planning for the entire province. At the same time, the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy developed principles for sustainability and public participation, after a series of public forums around the province. As described in Chapter 2, their reports discussed the benefits of collaborative approaches, and provided guiding principles to implementing consensus-based decision-making.

As a result of the recommendations of these initiatives, in 1992 the British Columbia government established the *Commission on Resources and Environment* (CORE), an independent, statutory commission to advise the government and people of B.C. on land use and related resource and environmental issues. Its mandate was to develop and oversee the implementation of a provincial land use strategy and to facilitate the development of strategic regional land use plans, particularly in regions where conflict had been particularly intense: Vancouver Island, Cariboo-Chilcotin, East and West Kootenays. The plans would be strategic in nature, designating land and resources for a variety of purposes, ranging from intensive resource development to protected areas. They would be designed to accommodate a full range of land use and community values, and would be developed through the use of shared decision-making, or consensus processes (CORE, 1995a).

CORE was established mainly as the body charged with implementing many of the recommendations and ideas which had been developed previously by the Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (BCRTEE). The BCRTEE paper by Dorsey, Doney and Rueggeberg (1994), for example, became the standard in public involvement, cited and used by CORE officials.

In 1992, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, in conjunction with the University of Victoria, developed a national conference called *The Consensus Approach*. The executive director of the BCRTEE was on the organizing committee of this conference, which was intended to bring together experts and practitioners to provide ideas for collaborative approaches to decision-making to government managers. It facilitated the exchange and development of ideas on consensus decision-making, at which traditional forms, such as First Nations and Quaker, as well as contemporary implementation such as the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy and CORE (which had recently been founded) were represented.

It is important to note the influence of various bodies on the development of consensus planning in British Columbia at the time. What is interesting is that while these high profile bodies were developing principles and practices for consensus decision-making, the Ministry of Forests was already involved in strategic land use planning, and in some cases had been implementing consensus-based processes as early as 1990.

At the sub-regional scale, Forest Land Management Plans were initiated as a result of a 1989 District Managers' Meeting which had stated a priority for resource integration through planning. They were designed to incorporate multiple values, which would be represented by public interest groups and representatives from other ministries and government agencies. These sub-regional processes, later renamed Land and Resource Management Plans (LRMP), are generally developed according to Forest District boundaries, encompassing an area of 15,000 to 25,000 km<sup>2</sup>. At the time of this writing, 14 of these processes were either completed or in process across the province (Fig.4.1)

## STRATEGIC LAND USE PLANS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Completed or in Progress)

### Regional Plans

- A Vancouver Island
- B Cariboo/Chilcotin
- C West Kootenay-Boundary
- D Easy Kootenay

### Land and Resource Management Plans

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1 Fort Nelson    | 8 South Kalam    |
| 2 Fort St. John  | 9 Kispiox        |
| 3 Dawson Creek   | 10 Robson Valley |
| 4 Prince George  | 11 Kamloops      |
| 5 Fort St. James | 12 Lakes         |
| 6 Vanderhoof     | 13 Okanagan      |
| 7 Bulkley        | 14 Lillooet      |



Figure 4.1

A key principle in LRMP's is the level of public participation. The Integrated Resource Planning Committee (1993) stated that

“Major benefits of the consensus processes are participant commitment to implementing a decision, application of a wide range of knowledge and expertise, improved understanding among participants, and better working relationships. The cost and time required to reach consensus can be significant. Representing large, diverse organizations in consensus processes is difficult. Despite these challenges, application of consensus building techniques in LRMP is expected to result in better, more open, accountable and stable decision-making.”

LRMP's are based on consensus decision-making, however, the public role is advisory in nature; final decisions rest with those with the statutory mandate to make them. According to Ness (1992b), though, the consensus-based decision-making approach does rely heavily on input by local participants, who are involved at a minimum of six stages in the process:

- Terms of reference
- Information assembly
- Development of initial options
- Impact evaluation of the revised options
- Draft plan
- Implementation of the plan.

Also of interest is that at the local scale, watershed, or community level, the Ministry of Forests had also designated a number of high conflict areas in which it initiated Local Resource Use Plans (LRUP's), some of which also utilized consensus-type public participation .

Therefore, there has not been one normative model, and the normal hierarchy of strategic planning (Figures 4.2, 4.3) was actually happening concurrently. This process is becoming rationalized, however, with Landscape Level planning (up to 100,000 hectares in size) now following LRMP's. Although some LRUP's had employed consensus involvement of stakeholders, Landscape Unit plans which will come after consensus-based higher level plans will be developed by planners in government.

**COMPONENTS OF FOREST PLANNING LEVELS**

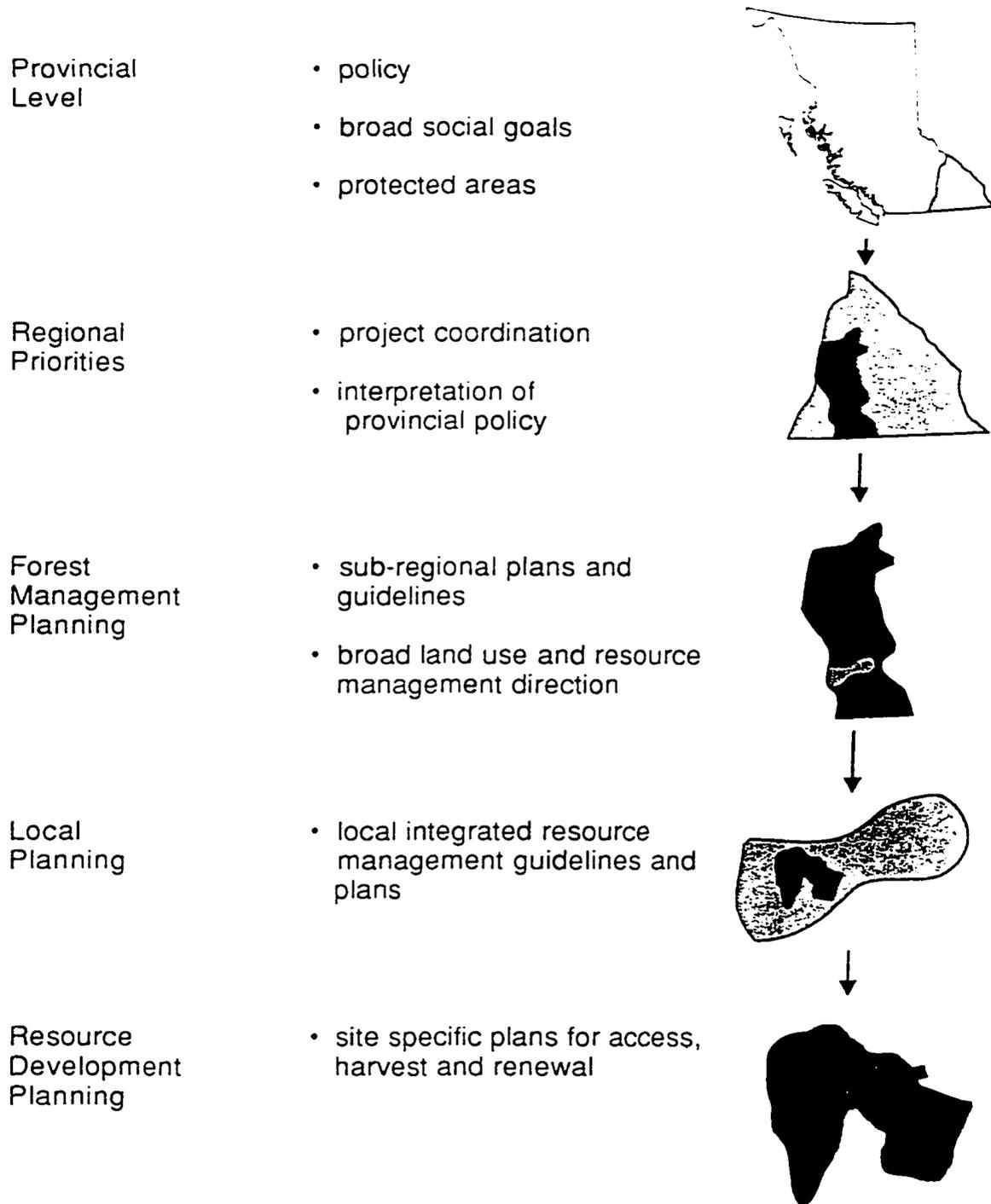


Figure 4.2

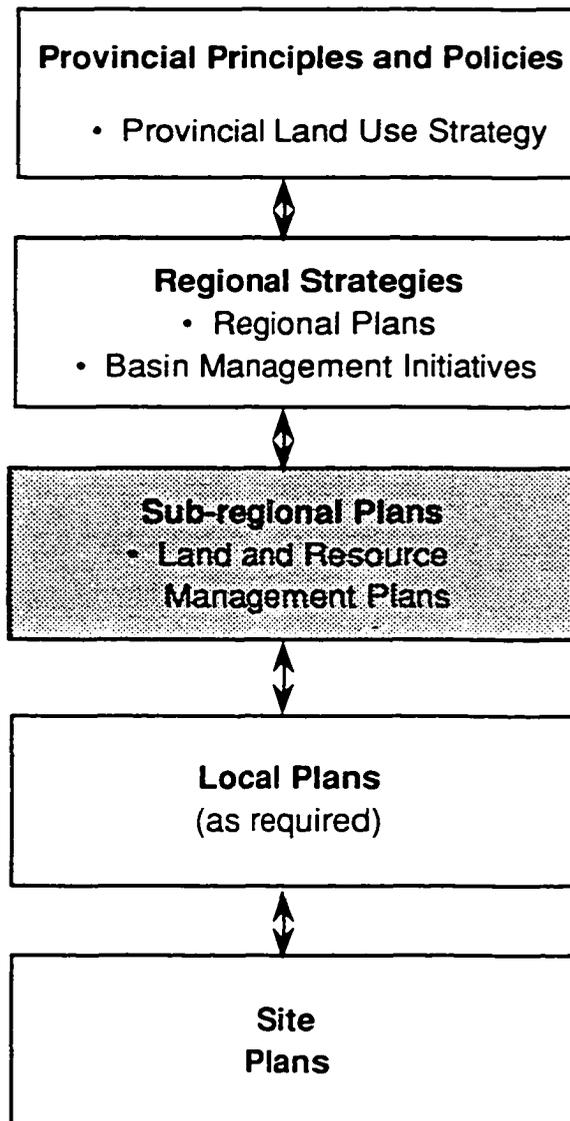
**LRMP IN THE PROVINCIAL LAND USE FRAMEWORK**

Figure 4.3

LRMP's are administered by an Inter-agency Management Committee composed of senior officials of all resource ministries in each region of the province. The committee is responsible for integrating all resource planning and protected areas work in a region and for setting regional planning priorities. Representatives from other resource ministries also sit as resource people and participants on both LRMP's and LRUP's. They make up the Inter-agency Planning Team, which is open to any provincial government agency that has a resource management mandate, federal government agency or regional district at their discretion and is divided into two categories of participation – participatory or consultative.

Participatory agencies are those with land or resource management mandates and sit on the planning team on a full-time basis; these include, but are not limited to, Ministries of Environment, Land and Parks; Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (now part of the Ministry of Employment and Investment); and Forests. Consultative agencies are those who wish to maintain contact with the planning team throughout the process, but who feel that the focus of their interest does not merit full time attendance, for example, the Ministries of Small Business, Tourism and Culture, or Transportation and Highways (Ness, 1992b).

In addition to comprehensive planning, the government has taken additional steps recently to address the damage created by earlier policies. Several initiatives were introduced during the course of this research. The *Forest Practices Code* introduced stringent new regulations of forest and range operations. The Protected Areas Strategy was designed to double the area set aside for parks from 6% to 12% of the province. It provides for land and water areas to be protected from development to ensure the protection of important ecosystems and significant natural features, maintenance of biodiversity, preservation of wilderness, and provision of parkland for recreation. Forest Renewal BC, a Crown agency funded by increased stumpage and royalties was established to rehabilitate forest lands, enhance silviculture, and restore watershed areas. Its broader mandate will

also address investment into value added industry, research, and diversification of communities which have been singly dependent on the forest industry.

These initiatives were being developed concurrently with a number of the planning processes, which resulted in some frustration for participants, evidenced by their call for “clear policy direction” as a stated success factor in the CORE evaluations. They found it difficult to make land use decisions, not knowing how new initiatives and legislation might affect their plans and the implementation of them. Inter-regional and inter-agency coordination of land use plans and other processes, for example those involving parks and protected areas, watershed management, and aboriginal treaties, is carried out by the Land Use Coordination Office (LUCO), which was established in 1994 and reports directly to Cabinet. LUCO has the mandate to advise the government on strategic direction and priorities, assists the government in making plans and policy decisions, coordinates inter-agency planning activities province wide, and manages corporate resources relating to planning.

Much of the administrative responsibility for the land use planning processes rests, in the regions, with the Ministry of Forests mainly because they have traditionally had more resources for planning, while other ministries are now becoming involved. They also have the infrastructure with District Forest offices in each district. However, this has been viewed by some participants and representatives of other ministries as an unfair monopoly by a ministry who has been primarily planning for timber values, and there have been some attempts to create more balance administratively, for example with process co-chairs being appointed from the Ministry of Environment, as well as Ministry of Forests.

One example where the various ministries could work more cooperatively is in the area of training. During the course of this research, training modules were being developed by the Ministry of Forests in Victoria. At the same time, the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks developed similar orientation materials for their own staff who were to become involved in LRMP processes. It was also reported by a Ministry of Forests

training specialist that some LRMP process managers in the regions had hired independent consultants to develop materials which were very similar to those already offered, free of charge by the ministry. These appeared to be examples of preventable government waste and duplication, but on further investigation, the reasons came to light.

Although the Ministry of Forests initiated consensus planning processes long before other government agencies became involved, it experiences a lack of trust with citizens and with other government ministries and agencies. There are 'turf wars' which can then lead to a lack of communication between ministries and even between branches within one ministry. As one process organizer pointed out, "before LRMP, even the government agencies hadn't sat down together to plan; it's not just a new concept for the public". These situations have affected even the dissemination and adoption of training materials.

Within the Ministry of Forests, the same problems exist. Regional offices operate independently, preferring autonomy to accountability to Victoria. This includes hiring consultants and developing materials as they deem necessary. A further barrier to the adoption of the training materials was precipitated in the spring of 1996 with the government's budget control procedures (the same budget that saw the demise of CORE). The budget severely reduced or deleted funds earmarked for training, travel, or contracts (for example, to hire trainers).

Chapter 8 will provide further discussion of government support necessary for the successful implementation of consensus planning processes.

## **EVALUATION OF CONSENSUS PROCESSES IN LAND USE PLANNING**

### **THE NORMATIVE MODEL**

Examination of the government model, through document analysis and manager interviews shows very little attention given to evaluation of public involvement processes. Ness (1992a), in her report about Community Resources Boards offered the

recommendation that, “new evaluation criteria should be established to account for the different structure... and to take into consideration such factors as the education and enhanced communication networks which may result from these processes”. However, few subsequent documents which outline consensus processes mention evaluating them. Where ‘monitoring’ is discussed, it is often in the context of monitoring implementation of the plan after agreement, for example, “All resource agencies, with the co-operation of the public, are responsible for monitoring resource management and development activities to assess compliance with Land and Resource Management Plans.” (Integrated Resource Planning Committee, 1993). CORE (1992) specified only the following:

“The mediated planning process will result in a single report to the Commissioner which:

- 1) includes consensus recommendations with respect to land use allocation and resource planning and management; or
- 2) indicates where the parties disagree and, if possible, identifies options as to how outstanding issues may be addressed.

When an agreement is reached, Commission staff will undertake responsibility for supporting the implementation and monitoring phases of the process.”

In neither document is there mention of monitoring or evaluating the process itself either prior to or after agreement.

While it is apparent from the above that at its establishment the designers of CORE may not have seen any need to evaluate the actual processes, a later document (1994) discusses a review under a chapter headed, “Identifying Needed Improvements”. It was stated that CORE’s ‘workplan’ included “reviewing the effectiveness of current land use planning delivery”. Management set out to answer the following questions through convening a multi-sectoral provincial advisory forum comprised of representatives from diverse sectors with a known interest in land use:

- How adequate and clear are the planning structures and processes?
- How adequate are planning methods and procedures?
- How can planning coordination be improved?

- How effective and fair are public participation provisions?
- Is the status of plans evident, and are the methods of plan implementation, monitoring and review clear?

One of CORE's final documents (1995b) appeared to attempt to set up the agency as the approval and monitoring mechanism for government consensus processes. Its recommendation was for CORE, in consultation with the inter-ministry policy committee, to develop a policy which would:

- “• ensure that the goals of public participation are achieved and that the principles of decision-making are reflected
- ensure meaningful participation of groups whose interests are affected directly or indirectly by land use and related resource and environmental decision
- provide criteria and guidelines for determining appropriate levels of public participation”

They also called for regular reviews for effectiveness, and for conformity with the provincial policy. However, CORE did not survive to become the monitoring agency that might have been envisaged in this document. The responsibility for monitoring and evaluation rests with the Integrated Resource Planning Committee and the Land Use Coordination Office.

## **ACTUAL PRACTICE**

Evaluations of land use planning processes initially investigated in this research were conducted internally for government and were difficult to procure. In most cases, the evaluations were written as descriptive summations by the managers or facilitators of a particular process (for example Fraser, 1994). These were perhaps conducted mostly for the purpose of satisfying some institutional requirement for reporting on results and activities of a particular institutional unit. One might question the value of this type of summative evaluation, by nature conducted after a process has been completed, where the results may not be made readily available to others who might be in the initial planning stages of similar processes. Even if results from such a study were available, any lessons learned in one region may or may not be applicable to other jurisdictions.

One might also question bias inherent in 'manager as evaluator', particularly where there is no specified format followed, no empirical rigor even in the context of specific questions to be answered, but where the evaluation consists of the recollections, analyses, and recommendations of the very individuals who had been responsible for the process. In one case (Cooperman, 1995), a separate evaluation report was produced by one of the stakeholder participants in an effort to combat this bias, however, this might simply represent a different bias, rather than a solution to alleviate it.

In another study, a specific questionnaire was administered to participants, again summatively, however, the report consisted simply of raw data, leaving readers to develop their own analysis and conclusions. Or perhaps these data formed the basis for some policy recommendations, however these were not readily evident, nor available to individuals looking for generalizable principles of consensus decision-making.

Two evaluation studies, completed during the course of this study, were conducted more independently and empirically than those described above. Wilson *et al.* (1996) evaluated the CORE Vancouver Island process summatively, as did Penrose (1996) in his study of the Cariboo-Chilcotin CORE process.

Wilson's framework qualitatively evaluated the process according to these criteria, which were further explained by the indicators below. Each indicator was evaluated according to a 3 point rating (Good, Fair, or Needs Improvement) and then described, according to the authors.

1. Incentive to Reach Agreement
  - a) Support for the process from government, meaning policy guidance and timely access to information
  - b) Support from participants, meaning willingness to collaborate
  
2. Participant Involvement
  - a) Inclusive

- b) Balanced
  - c) Maintain legitimate representation, through sector accountability and good representative - constituency relations
  - d) Equal access to resources, training, funding and information
  - e) Appropriate process manager involvement, meaning neutral and to ensure the process is decision-oriented
3. Process Mechanics
- a) Self designed and flexible
  - b) Meaningful involvement in developing options
  - c) Realistic time lines
  - d) Accepted process rules

Penrose's framework was based on Wilson's and included the following criteria:

1. Participant support for process
2. Government support for process
3. Inclusive representation of interests
4. Effective representation of interests
5. Sufficient resources for participants
6. Effective process management
7. Clear terms of reference and realistic scope
8. Comprehensive and effective procedural framework
9. Structured and integrative decision-making framework

In another recent study, Fraser *et al.* (1996) designed a diagnostic and design tool which might be described as a formative evaluation of LRMP processes in general. As a consulting group of experienced consensus planning facilitators, they were retained by the

Integrated Resource Planning Committee and the Land Use Coordination Office to review the LRMP processes in order to address:

1. Identification of elements which contribute to, or impede, the successful completion of LRMP's.
2. Description of planning functions and planning products in a comprehensive framework that could be used to assess the current status and assistance requirements of existing LRMP's.
3. Identification of the long term actions which would further the development of the LRMP process in the context of provincial planning policies.

In their study Fraser *et al.* developed a diagnostic tool which they described,

“... can be used as a self-administered diagnostic framework for short-term status assessment of existing LRMP projects. The purpose of such assessments would be to identify product, process or resource issues that could be addressed by LRMP managers to improve the quality, timeliness or utility of the planning products”.

This is the very nature of a formative evaluation. Their framework consists of a diagnostic chart with 22 steps in the formulation of a Land and Resource Management Plan, each with a description of Attributes of Successful Practice, and a separate column of Problem Signals.

It should be noted that all three of the above-noted studies (Fraser *et al.*, 1996; Penrose, 1996; Wilson, 1996) were being conducted concurrently with this research; therefore although their results are presented here as current practice, this evidence of current practice was not available at the inception of this research into evaluation indicators.

As this study moved to the next step of interviews with managers and participants, it became clear that a key concept had not been considered in any of the reports reviewed. Evaluation generally determines how ‘successful’ a process has been. But what is ‘success’? Implicit in most government reports was that success would be indicated by an

agreement arrived at by consensus. That led to a further question: is there a normative definition of 'consensus' (i.e. what it ought to be under normal circumstances)?

The definition of consensus by CORE, and adopted by this research is,

“Shared decision-making, i.e. on a certain set of issues for a defined period of time, those with authority to make a decision and those who will be affected by that decision are empowered jointly to seek an outcome that accommodates rather than compromises the interests of all concerned” (discussed in Brown, 1996).

An important note is that it does not refer to an agreement, but rather to a *process* of reaching agreement on a land use plan. The definition put forward by the Ministry of Forests (1995) on the other hand is, “a *general agreement* as defined and accepted by all those concerned [emphasis mine]. It assumes that participating parties accept the overall package of decisions reached, even if there is not complete concurrence on each aspect”, while the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a) also defined it as a general agreement, or acceptance of decisions by participants in the consensus process.

These inconsistencies suggested that further research was required regarding definitions of 'success' and 'consensus' before developing a comprehensive evaluation framework, therefore these questions were incorporated in the participant interviews, discussed in Chapter 5.

As a further part of understanding the normative model of land use planning in British Columbia, and to begin the process of sampling for the participant investigation, policy officials and senior managers were interviewed. These results are presented below.

## INTERVIEWS WITH SENIOR MANAGERS

In total, eight individuals at the policy or senior management level in the B.C. government were interviewed regarding their views on land use planning, and specifically the use of consensus. These interviews were open-ended and unstructured. Individuals were asked to respond to the following questions, similar to those later posed to participants:

1. What is your assessment of consensus type processes? Are they an effective way to plan?
2. What factors contribute to a successful process?

### Question 1

The managers in Victoria (i.e. at 'head office'), particularly those with a background in policy, tended to discuss consensus and public involvement in the context of direction from the current government, and in the context of political trends. While they were not critical of these processes, it did not seem they would embrace them if they were not directed to do so. As one policy manager stated, "We are the experts, we are hired to advise government, but now we can't make a move without consulting the public". Another manager raised a concern about fueling the public's expectations, "If you seek advice from the public, they then expect you to act on that advice".

The CORE managers interviewed were very much committed to the idea of shared decision-making and consensus. They spoke of the need for a more participative democracy as a way to resolve current land use and resource conflicts. They did not believe that the current trend to more public involvement was a cyclical one, or political in nature, but rather a force which began in the 1960's and was gaining momentum.

The two regional managers interviewed also agreed with the use of consensus and public involvement. These, however, were both from regions where consensus planning was being employed, and where the processes were considered to be progressing successfully. Both individuals were pragmatic, and perhaps not surprisingly, seemed far less bureaucratic than the managers from Victoria. When asked why he favored consensus planning, one regional manager responded, "I believe in doing what works. If it doesn't work, we'll try it one more time, then try something else." His region began the use of consensus-type planning years before it was mandated by Victoria, because they recognized that what they had been doing was not working. He also said that the process

itself is not as important as ongoing working relationships with stakeholders in the community.

The other regional manager, like the CORE managers, discussed consensus in terms of representative democracy. He said elected representatives provide broad policy direction, but then those who are affected by a decision have a chance to influence decisions that affect them. He believed that the consensus table does not have the authority for shared decision-making, but because the process is open, elected officials must be more accountable. He added that if decisions had been historically made in a more transparent fashion, these processes may not now be necessary. When queried about benefit to the public, if they do not have any real power in these processes, he responded, "It increases public confidence, they become better educated and the social demand for being involved is satisfied", adding that it also assists in a better working relationship and personal contact with government officials in the regions. When queried further, he clarified his comment about public education, saying that it is a spin-off benefit, that it would be arrogant to say we need to educate the public, since "they own the business".

## Question 2

When asked what might enhance success of this type of land use planning, both regional managers discussed leadership as a key factor. One said the organizers must be committed to get to know the stakeholders' interests, and to open communication. He also pointed out that one of the complaints of the inter-agency planning team has been senior management direction. These processes must be facilitated and supported at the senior management level, and the local managers must be empowered to run them without interference. He added that "you have to have the right people running and organizing the processes", and when asked what that was, one factor he recommended was "lack of ego". He referred to a contemporary book about management, Semler's (1993) *Maverick*, adding

that government would work much better if they would incorporate such strategies, and had done so in his region.

The other manager concurred; he said we must be careful who runs these processes, and that it should be based on skill and attitudes, not a particular job or position. He pointed out that the Ministry of Forests in many areas has traditionally been viewed as the “big, bad guys” and they must then be prepared to step back, especially the district managers, but be sure that resources are there for the process which might then be run by another ministry. He believed that the table itself should choose the chair, and that government representatives should bring information only, not be involved in value-level debates. This was reflected later in many interview responses by the participants.

Given these sentiments, and given the open, progressive management style demonstrated by these regional managers, the factor of management style was then added as another possible success factor to be explored in this research. Throughout all of these interviews with senior managers, there were references made to various processes around the province, some proceeding successfully, others riddled with problems and conflict, and the style and philosophy of the district manager and the process managers seemed to be an important factor.

## SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the context and characteristics of the consensus approach to land use planning processes in British Columbia (i.e. the normative model). It presented the findings of a review of government documents and interviews with senior government officials in order to answer research questions regarding the current planning structures for Crown land in British Columbia, and the role of public involvement in those structures. In addition to the review of documentation, policy and senior managers in government were interviewed to determine their views regarding the use of consensus and appropriate evaluation indicators.

In order to understand the nature of resource management decision-making in B.C. the chapter presented the history of the bureaucracy, and how that has related to the historical development of integrated resource management in British Columbia. Although the province is attempting to integrate resource management across bureaucratic lines, it was shown that decisions regarding resources are still affected by four different ministries and a number of other agencies. The history of resource management in the province was discussed in relation to B.C.'s economy, one which is sensitive to international trade and commodity prices. It was described as a tug-of-war between the conflicting values of economic development and the environment, believed to swing with economic cycles.

The chapter went on to describe the government's response, the emergence of integrated resource management, and the current land use planning structures in the province. Three levels of planning which have employed consensus, regional (CORE), LRMP, and community level (LRUP) were detailed.

The normative recommendations for evaluation of these processes, although scant, were explored, and results of recent (produced concurrently to this research) evaluation studies of consensus processes in B.C. were presented. It became clear that no commonly accepted evaluation format has been adopted. Further, there was not even a common description of what would constitute 'success' in consensus processes.

Results of interviews with senior government managers supplemented the information derived from government reports, providing a comprehensive view of the government's planned model of consensus decision-making. Detailed results of interviews with two regional forest managers provided information regarding the perceived efficacy of consensus in land use planning. From the interviews, it became clear that management philosophy and style may be a success factor.

The following chapters (5, 6, 7) present the results of participant interviews. In contrast to the normative framework discussed in this chapter, these subsequent chapters investigate the actual practices of consensus land use planning in British Columbia, based

on the recollections and perceptions of the participants. Chapter 8 provides a discussion of all results. Chapter 9 then proposes recommendations, including a proposed evaluation framework for consensus land and resource planning.

## CHAPTER 5

### PARTICIPANTS' DETERMINATION OF SUCCESSFUL ELEMENTS OF PROCEDURE

The literature review (Chapter 2) provided a conceptual framework of the consensus model of public involvement in resource management decision-making. The previous chapter (Chapter 4) described the Government of British Columbia's procedures for consensus land use planning, based on a review of documentation and interviews with senior managers and policy officials. This chapter begins to explore the actual behaviours, from the perspective of participants in those processes. A summary of the data collection method appears below, however, for a more thorough description, readers are referred to Chapter 3.

Information was gathered from 50 participants, a cross-section of those who had been involved in consensus land use planning processes in British Columbia. The objective was to ensure a balanced representation between regional, sub-regional, and community level processes; between geographic areas of the province; and between 'types' of stakeholders. In-depth interviews were conducted in eight planning regions of the province to gather information about evaluation indicators in consensus public involvement processes.

Each respondent was asked, open-ended first of all, what were the most important factors they believed contributed to the success or failure of the process(es) they experienced. They were then asked to rate the relative importance of a series of indicators which had previously been compiled from the literature, from previous studies, and from other interviews. This list appears below as Table 5.1. Perhaps the most important part of the in-depth interviews was the third part, that of the individuals' interpretations and recommendations for each of the evaluation indicators cited, and answers to more general questions about land use planning and the use of consensus. Responses to the general

questions and their analysis are presented in this chapter. The second part of the chapter presents aggregate analyses of the evaluation indicators by both qualitative and quantitative responses, and a ranking of all indicators, the top quartile representing 'Critical Indicators'<sup>1</sup>.

More detailed analyses of the qualitative responses to questions about each evaluation indicator appear in Chapters 6 and 7.

### THE GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS IN CONSENSUS PLANNING

Questions 1 and 2 below were posed at the beginning of each interview, then after the respondents completed the specific portion of the interview, that dealing with the individual evaluation indicators, each interview concluded with questions 3 and 4:

1. Before we can discuss the actual factors which might lead to success in a planning process like the one(s) that you were involved in, would you please define what you believe 'success' means in a planning process such as this. Would you say the process you were involved in was successful? Why or why not?
2. What is your general assessment of this type of planning?
3. Based on your experience, what do you believe is the most appropriate scale for consensus type planning, and why?
4. What are your recommendations for the future of land use planning in British Columbia?

Like the subsequent analysis of responses to evaluation indicators (Chapters 6 and 7), similarities and differences in responses to these general questions were examined and

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<sup>1</sup>'Critical' indicators are defined in this research generically, as those factors which were viewed by most participants as 'critical (crucial) to the success of a consensus process', and are not meant to be related in any way to critical social theory.

analyzed. The spreadsheet/database program *Excel* was used to sort responses by the following variables:

1. Stakeholder Type: including Citizen Action, Environmental, First Nations, Government Organizers, Government Participants, Industry, Municipal Government, Recreation and Tourism, Union
2. Scale of Process: Regional (CORE), Sub-regional (LRMP) or Community Level (LRUP)
3. Location
4. Gender

The Citizen Action (CA) grouping was somewhat of a miscellaneous group including rate-payer associations, and political pro-industry organizations, such as “Share BC”. In the synthesis of information into tables First Nations and Union were added, since each of these generally had only one or two respondents each. Because this is obviously not a homogenous group, where it is significant to point out differences in types of response between members within this grouping, it has been done.

The Environmental (EN) stakeholder group includes those who identified themselves as such. Examples of organizations represented are conservation associations, naturalist clubs, Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, etc.

Government Organizers (GO) are those people who have set up and managed these processes. They are either from the B.C. Ministry of Forests, or the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE). Government Participants (GP) are those people who work in the provincial government, but acted as resource people and participants in various planning processes. As individuals they represented the interests of one of the following ministries: Agriculture, Fisheries and Food; Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (later merged with the Ministry of Employment and Investment); Environment, Land and Parks; or Forests.

Industry participants (IN) represented large forest companies, small independent forest contractors, pulp mills, mining companies, and forestry or mining associations. Municipal government (MG) representatives included urban elected officials, as well as a regional district. Recreation and Tourism (RT) stakeholders included such organizations as rod and gun clubs, ski clubs, guide outfitters, canoe clubs, resorts and hotel associations.

For each question, frequency tables showing the types of responses are presented. The tables include frequency of types of responses by stakeholder group, or by other variable, as appropriate. Examples of comments by participants in response to each question are then presented.

## **DEFINITION OF SUCCESS**

As discussed in Chapter 1, it appeared that before, during and after the planning processes, there had not been a widely accepted definition of what constitutes 'success' in a consensus planning process. This was certainly supported by the results of the in-depth interviews. It was considered to be critical to this research that before discussing factors which might lead to or enhance success, that the concept of 'success' be defined, by the participants. There were 46 responses to the question, "How would you define success in a consensus planning process?" Four participants' responses were missing to this initial question. Two had limited time and would answer only the questions about indicators, while two tended to ramble and their responses to this question were better suited to other questions, so were recorded there. Types of responses, sorted by stakeholder group, are summarized in Table 5.1 below.

DEFINITION OF SUCCESS		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Compromise	11	0	1	2	2	2	0	4
Consensus	9	0	3	2	1	1	2	0
Ongoing/ implementation	8	1	3	2	1	0	0	1
Information, communication	7	2	1	2	1	1	0	0
Plan, feel it's a success	7	0	0	3	2	1	0	1
Other	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	1
Total	46	3	8	11	8	7	2	7

Table 5.1

Perhaps not surprisingly, this was a question in which responses did tend to vary by stakeholder type. The Municipal Government respondents both defined success as reaching consensus, as did 3 of the 8 Environmental stakeholders. There was also quite a bit of discussion about the definition of consensus, however, these respondents tended to agree that it meant agreement on a plan, or as one person described, "Not everyone gets what they want, but are prepared to accept the end result."

Comments from the Industry stakeholders tended to define success differently. One forest company manager characterized it as, "To see good forestry done and to have a timber land-base to continue our business", while two others did not believe that consensus could work. One said, "Majority rule is better", and the other stated, "If a high majority agrees, that would be success". Others were more broad in their definition, such as, "Coming up with a good product which manages to address and optimize the various interests around the table," and "Acknowledging different wants and needs and pressures on a resource".

Like the one Industry representative, 3 of the 11 responses from Government Organizers, as well as one Recreation stakeholder, were end-product oriented, and described success as the plan itself, with one adding that success would also be how well the plan is implemented. A Government Participant added that with consensus, “You get better results than a government developed plan”. A number of their responses included the concept of sharing information, for example, “Maybe it’s better to disagree, but provide good information”, “The ideal of consensus is a holy grail; you don’t need to be successful. You need to establish relationships and get information”.

The Recreation/Tourism responses tended more toward describing success as a compromise. This supported one representative’s description that this stakeholder group tended, in his process, to be the ‘compromisers’, while the environmentalists and industry were at polar ends of the spectrum on most decisions. Some examples of responses are, “Environmentalists didn’t want to compromise anything”, “If you’re not prepared to compromise, you’ll never get consensus”, “If you want 100% consensus, it’s difficult; I’m not sure if that’s what we’re looking for, you can agree to disagree.” One Government Participant and one Government Organizer also reflected the idea of compromise, “The group stayed together, made some decisions, everyone bent a little”, “No one should come and expect to get everything they want, but leave with an equitable share, on a pro-rated basis, on interests and representation”.

When studying the responses by location, it was interesting that one of the LRMP processes in which all participants surveyed had described it as ‘successful’, and as ‘reaching consensus’ actually resulted only in the agreement with written reservations or qualifications by 18 stakeholders, and one total dissent. So if consensus agreement was not a major a factor in the perception of success, what led participants to deem this one successful? Perhaps the answer to this lay in the tendency of responses which came primarily from the Environmental and Citizen Action stakeholders, which tended to be much more process-oriented:

The majority of the 11 Environmental and Citizen Action responses described 'success' as a process of communication and working together, for example, "Everyone has an equal voice, the right to bring forward information and have it discussed", "Coming together and building local relationships", "Reaching understandings", "A part of success is the working together".

One commonality noted, by gender, were the three of four female responses about feelings associated with the process, "You need to feel that your value is heard", "Feeling of meaningful input; people should feel part of the process and not just props", "The ongoing sharing of feelings, interests, ideas, fears".

Although it was not a major trend in responses, one type of definition posed by four participants, three Environmental, one Recreation, may answer why some processes which reached consensus were not deemed to be successful by participants, while others which did not reach agreement were still considered to be successful. These people spoke of the need for ongoing relationships, "Success would also leave room for future processes", "You don't need to come to consensus to be successful, but you need to be able to talk to people on an ongoing basis", "Follow-up groups keep meeting", "Be able to deal with this on an ongoing basis", "Ongoing dialogue is crucial."

## **ASSESSMENT OF THE PROCESS**

After defining success, respondents were asked for their general assessment of consensus processes in land use planning. Even though many did not characterize their own experience as a success, the majority agreed with the concept of consensus planning, if it were conducted better. Of the 53 responses to this question, 32 were positive. Types of responses and frequencies are summarized in Table 5.2 below:

ASSESSMENT Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
General agreement	13	0	1	5	0	2	0	5
Agree w. reservations	13	2	3	1	1	2	0	4
Reference to negotiation	10	3	0	0	1	3	1	2
Education, information	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
Reference to power	5	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
Disagree	6	0	1	0	0	3	2	0
Total	53	6	10	6	2	10	3	16

Table 5.2

Some examples of unqualified agreement with consensus planning included, from Government Organizers: “It’s the only way to go”, “It’s the only way these plans will be able to solve anything [referring to conflict]”; from Industry: “Necessary. In this day and age it’s appropriate”; from First Nations: “The concept is good, and long overdue”. The highest incidence of unqualified agreement was from the Recreation and Tourism stakeholders. Some examples, “Very positive, met my needs; I like discussion around things, much to be learned from discussion”, “For the most part, good information was generated”, “It was successful; people listen to one another and work together to come to a good plan”, “Hugely educational, personally rewarding, we did some good work”, “It was the missing link that had to come”, “The government got more than their money back; a lot of successes came out of it”, “It’s good. I agree with it”.

The most common reasons cited for agreement with consensus-type planning mentioned the education process and respect for the views of others. These comments also came mostly from the Recreation/Tourism stakeholders.

As in the previous question, the only stakeholder group which had an unqualified negative trend in response was with the Municipal Government responses: “It’s a struggle”, “The process is in place to spread blame”, “It is just social engineering; ‘they’ want to change the fabric of society”.

In total, 13 respondents believed consensus can work, but had reservations, based on how the process is carried out. These findings may be very significant to the process questions presented in the next chapter. Notable examples of responses which were generally positive, but with general qualifiers about the process are summarized below: Environmental Stakeholders: “I have hope, but reservations”; First Nation: “An important step in the right direction, but very poorly planned and managed”; Government Organizers: “Generally a good idea, but it’s extremely hard to get people to arrive at consensus, and everyone has a different idea of what it means”; Industry: “The concept is good, we must have them, but the manner they’re conducted is marginal at best”, “The idea is great, potential wonderful, but the reality is unless there are strict guidelines on participants, it will never work”, “Good experience, but a disappointed feeling coming away from it”; Recreation and Tourism: “Good idea, but people don’t know what consensus means; it may not be possible, especially where there is so much conflict”, “Ideally, it’s a fine idea, but the way it was done, it had no chance”, “Consensus is a great idea, but it is doomed to failure because of the time frames and inequalities”.

Some of the reservations specifically cited were the imbalance of power and references to adversarial negotiation, rather than consensus. The power imbalance was cited most often by Environmental stakeholders. Some examples were, “It can work, but when there is hidden power and hidden agendas, it’s difficult”, “The bias of industry and the ministry [of Forests] is to maintain the structure they have enjoyed. It’s about power and keeping it simple”.

The most often cited reservation demonstrated that the actual consensus process and how it was conducted may be a key indicator. Seven references to adversarial negotiating

may have demonstrated an incorrect application of consensus, as described by Estes (1984) and others (See Chapter 2). “It ought to have been a planning exercise, but rather it was seen as a mediation exercise, therefore it became a horse trade, a one shot ‘divide up the pie’ to take care of uncertainty”, “Towards the end people moved to positions and got away from consensus”, “Positions get very entrenched”, “The flaw of this process was that it was not an interest based composition”, “It eroded to shuttle diplomacy”, “...didn’t get egos out of the way.”

Another concern, cited by both an Environmental stakeholder as well as by a representative from Industry was with implementation; there seemed to be a distrust of what government would actually do with the plan once it was formulated and agreed upon. This sentiment arose again in subsequent questions.

Once again, sentiments from female respondents, regardless of stakeholder group, related to feelings associated with the process. Examples included, from a Citizen Action representative: “It was a very male process, very paternalistic; all through the process women stepped back”; from Industry: “People were very negative during the process”, “I felt disbelief, just like a death or loss when it was over. I thought the relationships would go on forever. We were idealistic and innocent”.

## **GEOGRAPHIC SCALE**

Twenty-three of the 30 respondents to this question, or 77% believed that the LRMP, or sub-regional scale was the most appropriate for consensus type decision-making. Of those, 16 had experience in LRMP’s (and 10 of those had experience with LRMP as well as some other scale). The only respondents who believed that CORE or regional processes were the most appropriate scale were those who had only experience in CORE, and yet only represented half of the total respondents with only CORE experience. Types of responses, grouped by process experience, are summarized in Table 5.3 below, and examples of comments follow.

SCALE Type of Comment	#	From Type of Process				
		CORE	CORE/ LRMP	LRMP	LRMP/ LRUP	LRUP
LRMP appropriate scale	23	4	5	6	5	3
Regional, like CORE	4	4	0	0	0	0
Local level best	2	0	0	1	0	1
Other	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	30	8	5	7	5	5

Table 5.3

### *LRMP Most Appropriate Scale*

As shown above, this was overwhelmingly the most popular answer. Examples of comments included, from CORE only participants: “Big regional processes maybe don’t work”, “Regional is too large; it’s difficult to deal with large tracts of land”; from participants of CORE who also had LRMP experience: “I like the LRMP - you speak for yourself. In the other you have disagreements within the sectors. There is a range of values even within the sector”, “We’re accomplishing the same thing as CORE at the LRMP, except we don’t have Owen<sup>2</sup> and the higher up echelon. Larger processes become much more political”, “LRMP is better; in East Kootenay the scope was too great. People were fighting to lock up land they had never seen”, “LRMP scale is best, regional is too big, too many viewpoints, too much variation in geography”.

Examples of comments from those with only LRMP experience included the following: “LRMP is the best strategic level; regional plans are too big with heavy hitters being brought in”, “There were pitfalls in CORE; LRMP has a better chance; participants

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<sup>2</sup>Reference to Stephen Owen, the former Commissioner of the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE).

have familiarity with the region, local based, experienced”. One Government Organizer pointed out, “LRMP has more chance of succeeding than any other because it has implementation built in”.

Those who had experience with both LRMP and LRUP had these comments: “LRUP was too narrow. LRMP is the whole district - it needs to be first, and will stop the conflicts”, “Regional level like CORE won’t ever work; you get outside interest groups who don’t know each other and aren’t affected by the outcome”. A Government Organizer added, “I don’t like the little ones to solve hot spots. One million hectare TSA size is best. People know each other, are affected by the outcome, so have a stake. Even from an ecological view, it’s better; you can plan the whole watershed”.

Of those who only had experience in LRUP’s (5), three believed that LRMP was a better scale, for example, “The size of the area is critical. You need an area large enough to be able to plan in an integrated way”, “A larger planning area may have been better in terms of integrated use - LRMP would be better”, “LRUP has a problem; it’s manipulated because it’s run by the Ministry of Forests. It should be like the LRMP’s with all ministries there”.

### *Regional, Like CORE*

Of those who believed these processes work best at the regional level, all had experience only with CORE. Examples of their comments included, “It depends on the region, but you couldn’t do Cariboo any other way; it’s too integrated to do as three or four LRMP’s. Scale should match the scale of issues”, “It’s important that they happen at a regional level. They can work now that we’ve learned lessons from those that maybe didn’t succeed”, “LRMP is too small an area because there may be no integration between LRMP areas”, “You need to look at the big picture”.

### *Local Level Best*

One Government Participant said, “CORE and LRMP were the same, but the local round tables captured the interest of a lot of people. They could see tangible results”, and another participant said simply, “It works better in a local area”.

The one “other” comment was, “There are overlapping boundaries; it needs to be a scale where there are geographical and socio-economic similarities”.

## **FUTURE OF LAND USE PLANNING**

At the very end of the interviews participants were asked to comment and provide additional ideas on what they would recommend to make land use planning in British Columbia more effective. In total, 103 comments were generated from this question. Many of them reflected comments made in response to other questions, which perhaps helped to validate other priorities discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 6. Of the 103 comments, 35 related to the use of consensus or other forms of public participation as a positive step in the future of land use planning, although 12 others questioned the use of consensus, and eight pointed out the need to go further, to revisit consensus decisions, follow-through and implementation. Twenty comments, the highest proportion from Industry and Municipal Government, related to local control of planning and resources, local power, or discussed the need for a change in how government works, including less bureaucracy, and 13 related to the need for land use planning and resource management to be more strategic and/or more integrated. Frequencies of types of comments grouped by stakeholder are presented below in Table 5.4.

FUTURE OF LAND USE PLANNING		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Use consensus, participation	35	4	7	9	5	2	2	6
Local power, less gov't	20	2	1	0	2	7	3	5
More strategic, integrated	14	4	3	3	1	1	1	1
Question use of consensus	12	2	0	0	0	7	0	3
Follow up, implementation	8	2	0	0	0	4	2	0
Other	14	2	3	0	0	6	1	2
Total	103	16	14	12	8	27	9	17

Table 5.4

### *Use Consensus, More Participation*

Examples of comments, from Citizen Action participants included, "It has to be consensus, but it has to include fairly all viewpoints, and the groups need to be balanced", "There is no alternative to this approach, but it can be made better"; from Environmental stakeholders: "I like the process; I don't know if it's the best way, but I've bought in and will work hard", "Consensus is absolutely the way to go, but it has to be practical. CORE was not a consensual process; it was political", "It's the basis for democracy - use consensus as much as possible", "It's part of living together with other people in the 1990's - teaches tolerance, but it may take ages - that's the down side", "This is the beginning; it needs to be fine tuned".

Government Organizers had these comments, for example: "I believe the public has a role to play; if you don't believe in that, you shouldn't be there", "Ultimately these processes are the answer", "Consensus planning is the answer; I hate to say it. Law makers are too remote from public use of the land", "Give it some time. We only have one LRMP approved so far. There was not enough detail in CORE and too much political

interest; the strategy was too broad”; Government Participants added, “Consensus is the only way to go, but it might not work if people have had a bad experience with government processes before”, “CORE was too big a chunk; bring it to the local level where people understand the land base, or it’s not going to work”, “Consensus is here to stay [said perhaps somewhat grudgingly]; government still has to show some leadership”, “We need these kinds of processes. They should be at the local, watershed or landscape level; we need policies to ensure diversity and protection of sensitive species”.

Only 2 of 27 comments from Industry suggested consensus or increased public involvement for the future of land use planning. These comments were, “There’s not a lot of success out there with LRMP’s. That we do it is important, and that we study successes and failures”, “Community involvement and planning is the way to go”. Examples of comments from Municipal Government included, “Don’t see any way around [consensus planning]; we need to develop good consensus models, and make sure you get all the players at the table”, “It’s a good thing government has done this. Now that people are involved, the old way won’t be tolerated; that day and age is over with”; and from Recreation and Tourism stakeholders: “I would like to see this type of process in all kinds of public determination”, “It’s the best solution to the adversarial political structure, which has had one objective - power - getting it and keeping it, and satisfying the needs of those who got you in”.

#### *Local Power/Less Government Bureaucracy*

In all, 20 responses related to the need in land use planning for less government control or bureaucracy, and/or local power. Not surprisingly, the most vocal sectors in this regard were Industry and Municipal Government. There were also five comments in this category from Recreation and Tourism, and none from the Government Organizers. Examples included, from Citizen Action participants: “Local people are a resource that’s being overlooked, so planners are missing out; it would make it easier for the ministry if

they trusted people at this level”; from Industry: “We need to craft a new approach. If more bureaucrats became facilitators, they’d be heroes”, “There should be no filters like LUCO; the report should go from the table directly to Cabinet”, “There are too many layers and too many processes happening and too many layers of bureaucracy...”, “The dream land use plan would be one level, LRMP size, as many groups as possible, and no government there negotiating; they’d be for information and technical advice only”; from Municipal Government: “The public WILL be involved, and the ministry doesn’t really like it”, “Local power is what it must evolve to. Local will is crucial”; from Recreation and Tourism: “Local resource councils may be an idea – get representatives from community associations, appoint people from an ad in the paper”, “Need a community based planning process, not under the aegis of Ministry of Forests. Need a Forest Land Reserve, like the Agricultural Land Reserve. Need to encompass all values”, “Need community-based forestry”.

### *More Strategic/ More Integrated*

Of those who commented that land use planning should be more strategic or more integrated, most responses came from Government Organizers, Environment and Citizen Action representatives. Examples included, from Environmental and Citizen Action groups: “It’s ass backwards. There should be [strategic] planning first, then specifics; the policies are not integrated or coordinated”, “LRUP’s shouldn’t exist; get into LRMP’s all over the province”, “We need a clear understanding of where regional plans fit in the overall scheme of things - there ought to be a provincial strategy”, “The problem with local and regional plans is NIMBY<sup>3</sup>, so you need some provincial perspective”; from Government Organizers: “It’s important for government to bring the districts on track in the order of planning framework and utilize a common framework throughout the province”, “The forest districts have been there for a long time, so the infrastructure is

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<sup>3</sup>“Not in my back yard” – refers to self-interest.

there. With good planners, not foresters, it will work”; from Industry: “I’m all for integrated use, that should be stressed, not just one way or the other; there is a place for everyone”; and from Recreation: “It needs to be done strategically, scientifically, not a protected area strategy based on ‘not in my back yard’”.

### *Question the Use of Consensus*

Of the 12 responses, 7 were from Industry. These included, “There are too many freight trains coming at us in industry; all these processes take too much time”, “Politicians need some balls to make decisions”, “I’m not sure if these should be done at all until First Nations land claims are settled”, “They are only effective if you believe the joint decision will be better than letting government do it”, “People are sick of consultation; just let us do the job”. Other examples included, from Citizen Action: “It’s up to the government to govern”, “...it’s a waste of time and money”; from Recreation: “You can’t do it like this; it costs too much, there’s no control, some just refuse to compromise on anything, and they’re all self appointed”, “There is a small group of activists involved in all these processes and the rest of the public don’t know or don’t care”.

### *Need Follow-up, Implementation*

Examples included, from Citizen Action: “If there is something else that would benefit Canada, I would want someone to overrule us”, “...it should be reviewed every 5 to 10 years”; from Industry: “Decisions should be flexible; give it 20 years and then revisit”, “Having them finished is only a first step. Government has been warned; they must be implemented, or there will be no trust for the next 20 years”, “... need follow-up, continuity, an annual review”, “What’s really important is implementation; there is concern that a lot of good work was done and it may be lost”; from Municipal Government: “We need assurance that government will follow through and give direction to bureaucrats; there

are things that are not happening”, “Bureaucrats are not there to make changes, they are there to implement the plan”.

There were also 15 other comments which did not fit any of these categories. Some notable ones included, from a Citizen Action representative: “Results will only be as beneficial and long term as the people at the table, so don’t burn them out”; from Environmental stakeholders: “I was disgusted at what I found out; there is no information, no code, lying; they made me an environmental activist - I never was before”, “Identification of the problem should be done by experts, not industry; academics should be consulted a lot more, to give talks, be educational resources”; from Industry: “They should start with the *Forest Practices Code*, then a timber supply review, then move toward land use; they’re putting the cart before the horse”, “Turn the whole province into a park to satisfy the world, but allow selective logging in it”, “Get women to do it, then the job gets done”.

## EVALUATION INDICATORS

After discussing the first two general questions, respondents were asked in an open-ended fashion what factors they believed most contributed to the success of a consensus planning process. Their responses were recorded. They were then asked to rate a pre-compiled list (Figure 5.5 below) of potential evaluation indicators, and explain, based on their experience what each of these meant to them.

## EVALUATION INDICATORS TESTED

Integrity of process
Commitment of participants
Openness
Explicit objectives
Early stakeholder identification
Strategic communication
Facilitator
Solid information
Clear policy guidelines
Prescreening participants
Training (General)
In Critical Analysis
In Consensus
In Negotiation
In Conservation
In Listening
Integrated Resource Mgmt
Neutral chair/process mgr.
Interpersonal dynamic
Clear operating principles
Relationships
Representative of constituency
Funding
Continuity of participants
Local participants
List all issues up front
Meeting facility
Plain language
Size of group
Budget, support of ministry

Table 5.5

This list was derived from four sources:

- 1) success factors cited in the literature on public involvement and planning;
- 2) previously gathered, but unpublished data, such as the Vancouver Island Core Survey Results;

- 3) pilot interviews; and
- 4) new factors identified by respondents during the interviews. The order of appearance on the survey instrument, and as presented in Table 5.5 above, roughly followed the sources described above.

In some cases, terminology was unclear in its original source, for example the term 'solid' information, which first appeared in the CORE Vancouver Island survey results, so the intent in this research was also to investigate definitions, from the perspective of the participants.

As previously described, as part of the interview method, as much to focus respondents attention to thinking about critical indicators for evaluating consensus processes as actually to employ quantitative analysis, each participant was asked to assess and rate each of these indicators. Each factor was verbally rated, based on the experience of the respondent, on a scale of 0 to 10, with the interpretation of 10 meaning "Critical to the Success of a Consensus Public Involvement Process" and 0 meaning "Not at all Important to the Success of a Consensus Public Involvement Process". These were compiled on a "Success Factors Rate Sheet" (Appendix I). Each participant was asked to rate each factor as explained above, however due to the length of some interviews, not all factors might have been rated by every respondent.

"Some people seem to have a very hard time assigning the numbers in my matrix. It seems that the quantitative types, the engineers and foresters, can be interviewed very quickly. They have no trouble rating the indicators. But for others, each rating question generates a great deal of discussion while they define, qualify and explain the indicator and how it related to their experience. After recording all their answers I ask them again to assign a number to rate the importance of the indicator – which just propels them into yet more discussion. Very interesting. It would seem that for the majority, the REAL stuff comes out in the discussion, and especially at the end when we speak more philosophically."

– Author's Personal Notes, August 29, 1995

Table 5.6 below illustrates a ranking of all evaluation indicators as derived from the qualitative data, according to the number of comments generated by each indicator. Table 5.7 compares a ranking by quantitative analysis and presents descriptive statistics of each indicator, according to an aggregate of all respondents. In Chapter 6, differences between responses to these indicators according to the variables of stakeholder groups, type of process, and location, are explored.

**RANK OF EVALUATION INDICATORS,  
BY QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS**

Rank (Qualitative Analysis)	# Responses
1 Solid information	78
2 Integrity of process	73
3 Facilitator, including neutral chair/process mgr.	66
4 Strategic communication	64
5 Explicit objectives	63
6 Commitment of participants	58
7 Training, includes all topics	58
8 Stakeholder identification	57
9 Interpersonal dynamic, including op. principles	49
10 Relationships	47
11 Local participants	46
12 Funding, including budget, support of ministry	46
13 Openness	40
14 Clear policy guidelines	37
15 Prescreening participants	36
16 Time	32
17 Management style/philosophy	25
18 Representative of constituency	19
19 Continuity of participants	18
20 Size of group	16
21 Plain language	13
22 First Nations participation	9
23 Meeting facility	5
24 Field trips	3
25 Dispute mechanism	2
26 Creativity	2
27 Power balance	2

Table 5.6

**RANK OF EVALUATION INDICATORS,  
BY QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>St.Dev.</b>
1	Integrity of process	9.35	10.00	0.93
2	Budget, support of ministry	9.33	9.00	0.58
3	Neutral chair/process mgr.	9.15	9.00	0.90
4	Facilitator	9.10	9.00	0.98
5	Commitment of participants	8.89	9.00	1.25
6	Explicit objectives	8.84	9.00	1.28
7	Training In Consensus	8.64	8.00	1.03
8	Solid information	8.45	9.00	1.79
9	Training - In Listening	8.44	8.00	1.13
10	Openness	8.21	8.00	1.55
11	Local participants	8.10	8.00	1.80
12	Strategic communication	7.90	8.00	1.75
13	Stakeholder identification	7.84	8.00	2.02
14	Relationships	7.78	8.00	2.28
15	List all issues up front	7.63	8.00	2.64
16	Interpersonal dynamic	7.62	8.00	1.91
17	Plain language	7.00	7.00	2.24
18	Continuity of participants	6.93	8.00	2.89
19	Clear policy guidelines	6.81	8.00	2.69
20	Representative of constituency	6.79	7.00	2.47
21	Training - (General)	6.71	7.00	2.42
22	Funding	6.65	7.00	3.02
23	Meeting facility	6.61	7.00	2.09
24	Training - In Negotiation	6.45	7.00	3.45
25	Training - Integrated Res Mgt.	6.10	6.50	2.88
26	Size of group	5.25	5.00	3.04
27	Prescreening participants	4.62	5.00	3.19
28	Clear operating principles	4.60	4.00	2.07
29	Training - In Critical Analysis	4.36	5.00	2.62
30	Training - In Conservation	3.55	3.00	2.88

Table 5.7

During the course of the qualitative analysis (presented in Chapters 6 and 7), some indicators were combined – those which appeared, according to the definitions of a majority of respondents, to be similar. In the case of Training, because so few respondents

chose to respond to each topic area, Training in general was combined, but a full explanation of comments regarding topic areas is found in Chapter 6. Another factor, Time, was not rated quantitatively, but rather respondents were simply asked to comment on it.

It is interesting to note that the top quartile in both tables yields very similar indicators which might be termed the “Critical” ones, including:

- Integrity of the Process
- Solid Information
- Facilitator/ Neutral Chair
- Commitment of Participants
- Explicit Objectives
- Training

The only difference in the top quartile between the quantitative and qualitative tools was the presence of Strategic Communication in the qualitative table, and Budget/Ministry Support in the quantitative table, therefore both were added to the list of Critical Indicators. These will be further explained in Chapter 6, while the analyses on the remainder of the indicators, many still important to the success of a public process, are presented in Chapter 7.

## SUMMARY

This chapter presented results of part of the in-depth interviews with participants and organizers of several consensus planning processes. General questions regarding their perceptions of success in consensus planning were posed to 50 participants, including stakeholders and government organizers of the processes. They were asked to define ‘success’ in consensus planning and then to provide a general assessment of this type of planning. They were also asked for their recommendations about scale and the future of land use planning in British Columbia.

It was confirmed that there was no widely accepted definition of ‘success’, however what appeared to be more important than reaching consensus, was that communities be able to continue to work together. The majority of participants agreed with the concept of consensus planning, although many had reservations with how it had been carried out. The sub-regional, or LRMP scale was overwhelmingly the most popular choice. Responses about the future of land use planning included the use of consensus and more participation; local power, less government bureaucracy; that it should be more strategic and integrated; and that there needs to be follow-up and implementation of plans. Many responses showed similarities in types of response by stakeholder group, or by type of process, location or gender.

In addition to the results of general questions, this chapter also presented an overview of the more specific portion of the participant interviews. All respondents were asked to rate a pre-determined list of evaluation indicators. This quantitative ranking is included, and compared with a table of ranking by qualitative comments (further described in Chapter 6). The top quartile of each ranking determined the “Critical Indicators”:

- Integrity of the Process
- Solid Information
- Facilitator/ Neutral Chair
- Commitment of Participants
- Explicit Objectives
- Training
- Strategic Communication
- Government Support

The next chapter presents the qualitative and quantitative objective results of the interview questions regarding about these indicators, while Chapter 7 continues with the detailed interview results related to the remainder of indicators discussed.

## CHAPTER 6

### CRITICAL EVALUATION INDICATORS

As presented in the previous chapter, based on quantitative ratings and on the number of qualitative comments by participants, the following evaluation indicators were considered to be ‘critical’ ones:

- Solid Information
- Integrity of the Process
- Strategic Communication
- Facilitator/ Neutral Chair
- Explicit Objectives
- Commitment of Participants
- Training
- Government Support

This chapter now turns to detailed explanations of participant responses regarding their interpretation of each of these factors, in the context of their experience in one or more consensus processes. These responses are summarized below, organized by indicators. Each indicator is presented in the order of total frequency of responses generated. Note that ‘Government Support’ was added to this list of critical indicators, based on quantitative ratings.

As in the previous chapter, frequency tables showing the types of responses are presented for each question. As before, the stakeholders were divided into the following groups:

The Citizen Action (CA) grouping was somewhat of a miscellaneous group including rate-payer associations, and political pro-industry organizations, such as “Share BC”. Later, First Nations and Union were added, since each of these generally had only

one or two respondents each. Because this is obviously not a homogenous group, where it is significant to point out differences in types of response between members of this group, it has been done.

The Environmental (EN) stakeholder group were self-identified. Examples of organizations represented are conservation associations, naturalist clubs, Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, etc.

Government Organizers (GO) are those people who have set up and managed these processes. They are either from the B.C. Ministry of Forests, or the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE). Government Participants (GP) are those people who work in the provincial government, but acted as resource people and participants in various planning processes. As individuals they represented the interests of one of the following ministries: Agriculture, Fisheries and Food; Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (later merged with the Ministry of Employment and Investment); Environment, Land and Parks; or Forests.

Industry participants (IN) represented large forest companies, small independent forest contractors, pulp mills, mining companies, and forestry or mining associations. Municipal government (MG) representatives included urban elected officials, as well as a regional district. Recreation and Tourism (RT) stakeholders included such organizations as rod and gun clubs, ski clubs, guide outfitters, canoe clubs, resorts and hotel associations.

For each question, frequency tables showing the types of responses are presented. The tables include frequency of types of responses by stakeholder group, or by other variable, as appropriate. Examples of comments by participants in response to each question are then presented. The analysis of responses was performed using the spreadsheet and database program, *Microsoft Excel*. Once the responses were sorted by stakeholder, type of process and location, then responses were analyzed and grouped manually using coloured highlighter pens. Examples of the raw data and analysis sheets (with names removed to protect privacy) appear in Appendix IV and V.

At the end of the chapter, results of further quantitative analysis are presented. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to determine if there was quantitative support for the differences in responses demonstrated qualitatively between such variables as stakeholder group, type of process, location or gender.

## SOLID INFORMATION

The need for 'solid' information was first identified as an important factor in the Vancouver Island CORE survey results. It was posed as such to respondents who were asked not only to rate its importance but to define what this term meant to them in the context of their consensus experience(s). Although relatively few people volunteered this factor as the most important one, it generated the most amount of discussion, in terms of its meaning, and the experiences associated with it. In all, there were 78 responses, and there did appear to be differences in types of response, according to stakeholder group. Table 6.1 below summarizes the types of responses to this question, and frequency of each response category.

SOLID INFORMATION		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Questioning credibility	22	2	4	1	3	7	1	4
Lack of; obstruction to Information overload	14	2	7	0	0	0	0	5
What is needed	12	1	1	4	0	3	0	3
Don't hold up process	11	1	3	2	1	1	0	3
Other	8	0	0	4	1	2	0	1
	11	0	0	2	6	1	2	0
Total	78	6	15	13	11	14	3	16

Table 6.1

### *Questioning Credibility*

Some of the comments from the Environmental stakeholders about credibility of information included, “Interpretations can vary; solid information would be where it comes from more than one source”, “It’s always one person’s version of the truth”, “There were discrepancies between ministries”, “Need to be honest where it comes from”, “Depends on who’s bringing it and what it’s used for”. Comments from the Industry participants about credibility included, “Validity is very important, not where it came from, that it can be backed up if challenged”, “Someone quotes a statistic and then someone else quotes a conflicting one”, “It should be fact-based, not, ‘I think I saw a Marbled Murrelet’”, “People are going to argue with whatever you bring and they won’t trust it. If they tell me there are 100 caribou, they didn’t need to prove it six different ways.” Respondents from the Recreation and Tourism sector also questioned the credibility of information: “A lot of it is a snow job”, “It should be credible and complete as possible; if it’s fuzzy it could lead to different interpretations”, “Should be treated for what it is, like multiple account analysis - the science is not refined, limitations must be explained”, “There is no such thing as solid information, it’s always changing. We need credible information and that comes with a price tag”.

### *Lack of, Obstruction to*

All of the outside stakeholders, other than Government and Industry had someone state that information had been withheld, or was difficult to obtain. Some comments from the Environmental stakeholders were: “Some had information and some didn’t”, “The forest companies had information they held back”, “The government had inventory information and they wouldn’t provide it. There was phony information, like Ministry of Environment maps altered by the Ministry of Forests”, “Industry couldn’t bring any information to support their position; they would just say, ‘trust us’”, “A major flaw is lack of information; the ministry obstructed it in a calculated way”. Two other comments

referred to specific types of information that are lacking, such as biophysical information, biodiversity and habitats.

The comments from the Recreation and Tourism stakeholders were not quite as accusatory, and may have shed some light on the frustration of the Environmental stakeholders regarding information availability: “It’s quite often not available; the environmentalists were dedicated enough to gather it themselves”, “We had trouble getting information from government and had to generate some of our own stuff, but their technical people caught up”, “Participants were expected to produce it”. Also noteworthy is that the older processes had more comments about unavailability of information. One Government Organizer who was in the process of establishing a brand new LRMP at the time of the interview acknowledged how scant the information had been in earlier processes, especially biophysical inventories, but that this would not be such a problem in subsequent processes, as the information and information systems have been rapidly developed to cope with decision-making which now takes into account many values other than timber.

### *Overload*

Although as shown above, many people felt there was a lack of information, a number of others commented on the profusion, discussing the sheer volume of information provided to participants, the detail and the format. Only the Government Participants did not mention this. Some examples of comments from participant stakeholders:

“Information overload can make it useless; it needs to be condensed, without bias. There was tons of reading”, “We were overwhelmed with peripheral information. Quality is more important than quantity”, “Overkill”, “Don’t bury people”, “Didn’t need all the detail”, “Reams and reams, powerful good stuff, but didn’t know what to do with it all”, “Too much and too specific”, “Eleven boxes worth – need a concise, readable format”.

Three of the Government Organizers also mentioned the overload of information, and two

used the phrase, “Paralysis by analysis”, commenting that participants wanted information that was simply not available, and that it shouldn’t stop the table from proceeding.

### *Don't Stop the Process*

Closely related to the above comments, there were a number received, but only from Government and Industry, which dealt with not letting the lack of information hold up the process: “Some want to halt all activity until we know, to stop the train of social progress”, “Let’s not stop everything until we get more; go on and revise the plan as information becomes available”, “If we had perfect information, we wouldn’t need the process”, “It’s never good enough; some use that fact to stall or steer the process”. Comments from Industry included, “Don’t lament for lack of information; it’s the best we have today, so just go with it”, “You don’t have to study it to death, keep it rolling”, and a very interesting one from a forest company, “We’ve learned to deal with a lack of it in this business”.

### *What is Needed*

Again, there were differences here between stakeholders who responded to this factor by discussing what kind of information they felt was needed. Examples from the Environmental group were, “We need good ecological information; people need to understand this”, “Inventory is critical”, “We don’t know the carrying capacities”. From Government, the comments were like this: “Need refined information and analysis, like multiple account analysis”, “Need an appropriate mix of quantitative and qualitative”, while the comment from Industry was, “We need on the ground practicality, hands-on local experience, not statistics. Put people ahead of paper.” Once again, the Recreation stakeholder group was more middle of the road, with these comments: “Need a good body of knowledge to make a rational decision”, “All possible information has to be at the table

for a level playing field; you can't have too much", "Should include environmental costs in any risk analysis of developments".

## INTEGRITY

By far the most important factor cited by nearly all respondents was integrity, of the process and of the organizers. The most common responses, by stakeholder, are summarized in Table 6.2 below. These responses also appeared to vary by process. The Kamloops LRMP had been a process which most participants were very positive about, and although integrity was still considered a critical factor, the comments were on the positive side of that. The CORE processes and one of the LRUP processes left participants very cynical about government, questioning the integrity of the organizers. A summary of the types of comments appear in Table 6.2 below, and significant comments, grouped by type of response follow.

INTEGRITY		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Trust manager, neutral	15	0	2	4	2	4	0	3
Mistrust of gov't, control	32	3	5	3	2	5	4	10
Gov't support, implementation	11	0	3	4	2	2	0	0
Seen by particip as fair	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
People working against	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	2
Other	8	2	1	2	1	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18</b>

Table 6.2

*Importance Of Trust of the Manager, Neutral Facilitator*

“You have to have faith in the guys at the front”, “They should be impartial and trustworthy”, “People could trust the managers; they were ethical, available, forthright”, “You need a trust factor to conduct it fairly, examine all sides and have a professional background, and be sincere”, “Showed up as honesty, totally committed...organizers had the respect”, “Need people we can trust”, “We had two well informed and experienced coordinators, because of their impartiality, we were successful”, “Honest, open, willing to listen”, “They leaned over backwards to do the best they could, no hidden agendas, honest, listened to everyone and got input without trying to lead”.

Conversely, those who had been in processes that they felt were not as successful also had comments about the honesty and integrity of the managers: “People were shocked that information was ignored, we were hurt. There was no willingness by industry and the ministry”, “Control of the minutes was atrocious; when errors were found, we had no way of knowing whether they were corrected”, “Accuracy of the minutes is also important; sometimes they were absolutely wrong”, “What was originally agreed was changed and watered down by the government people who are limited by what they feel they can administer”. Industry people also, especially from CORE processes, questioned the credibility of government organizers: “A lot felt there was a hidden agenda”, “Some had problems with the CORE people, that they had their own agendas”, “The thought was that the CORE people had their minds made up, they didn’t come in neutral”.

The Municipal Government people were unanimous in their comments questioning the integrity of government: “The ministry is entrenched and dominates; they say they’re value-neutral, but as they lose power, they manipulate to no end. How do you wrestle away this kind of control?”, “There was an agenda being pushed”, “the problem is bureaucrats; they have their own agenda...could have written the report without putting us through two years of hell”.

Once again, with the Recreation and Tourism respondents, those from successful processes, such as Kamloops, responded positively, but those from CORE and an LRUP offered these comments: “Government individuals are there to protect the system”, “With the ministry chairing it, they were not neutral and not forthcoming, so there was no trust right from the start”, “Reports were not available; they should have brought everything to the table, but didn’t; we even had to use FOI [Freedom of Information legislation] to get information. The District Manager was the block”, “There was a mistrust of government all the way through”, “Our work was not reflected in the final document... deals were made...a series of deals tied together”, “There was a government agenda, so evident”.

Even some Government Organizers reflected on the concept of agendas or control: “The ministry hasn’t had much credibility for the last ten years”, “We were trying to steer a process instead of letting it steer itself; being told by the District Manager to go a certain way. Most District Managers were trying to steer the process”.

#### *Government Support For the Process, Implementation*

Respondents in the Environmental stakeholder group, both Government groups, and Industry commented that integrity also had to be trust that government would support the process, empower the people, and implement their recommendations. Some examples included, “How empowered it is by politicians”, “The process needs to be meaningful, not a public relations exercise, and not to divert people’s energies. There is a lot of cynicism, because this has happened”, “Is there government support for the end product? If the group feels they can make a difference, they’ll really work at it. If they feel it will be shelved, there’s no point.”, “Not clear what they [the government] wanted, so didn’t trust that they would follow through”, “Will the plan be accepted and implemented by the political level?”

*The Process Must be Seen To Be Fair*

There were only two responses related to this, one from the Government Participants and one from Recreation/Tourism, but they may be important points. “The process must be credible, seen as legitimate by participants”, “It is not only important that the process have integrity, but that participants view it as having integrity”.

*People Working Against the Process; People Must Want a Solution*

Again, although not great in frequency, this may be a significant comment about the success of consensus processes. Five respondents made the point that integrity meant that people working in a consensus process must actually want to find a solution; they must work within the process and believe that it can work. The First Nations representative likened a process like this to marriage counseling, saying that if both parties want to solve it, it has a much better chance of working, but on the other hand, if one does not want a solution, the skill of the mediator won't make a difference. He said that the parallel with a consensus planning process is that there were people who questioned the integrity of the process, but perhaps they were really just opposed to coming to a plan at all, especially one that might involve some compromise.

One Government Organizer was frustrated that if participants were unhappy with an outcome, they would lobby politicians directly, “The opportunity for political football is still there; the process is flawed unless the lobbying is stopped”. On the other hand, an Environmental stakeholder gave their side, “The problem is not the process, it's the politics behind it. We needed to do end runs to Victoria when [the local Ministry of Forests] obstructed it.” Other comments included, “Some worked against the process”, “There was a hidden tape at a ...meeting ... said they had manipulated the agenda, they wanted it to fail.”

## FACILITATOR/ CHAIR

Quantitatively, the facilitator or chair of the process scored among the highest in importance to the success of a consensus process, according to most participants. The number of comments about it supported this rating. There were 66 comments in all, with the majority of those related to the need for the meeting chair or facilitator to be neutral and unbiased. Thirteen people commented that the importance of the facilitator is that they are in control of the meeting proceedings and eight stated that they should be trained and have facilitation skills. The types of comments, by stakeholder group, are summarized in Table 6.3 below:

FACILITATOR Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Neutral, unbiased	27	1	8	6	4	2	2	4
Trained, facilitation skills	10	2	2	0	2	0	0	4
Should be in control	14	1	1	1	1	4	0	6
Planners, not mediators	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Group is more important	6	0	1	4	1	0	0	0
Other	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	1
Total	66	5	13	13	10	7	2	16

Table 6.3

### *Should Be Neutral; Unbiased*

The Environmental and Municipal Government stakeholders in particular felt strongly that the most important thing about the chair is that they be value-neutral. In some processes they experienced independent facilitators, while others were chaired by managers or planners from the Ministry of Forests. In processes which were considered to be successful, a combination of ministry people and outside facilitators were used and the ministry chairs had some training in facilitation skills. Some examples of the comments

from the Environmental stakeholders: “Should be an independent facilitator, I didn’t believe the chair was neutral”, “Biased - they shouldn’t be from the ministry”, “Highest priority, the number one thing; they can’t be Ministry of Forests, they should be independent and with professional credentials”, “An independent one would be more easily workable. You need the respect of the community”, “Success is greater with an outside facilitator”, “It has to be an independent, outside community and have the goal in mind”, “Desirable to have non-MOF as a facilitator”, “Unless they are from outside, they won’t be neutral. They do their best, but they are still the Ministry of Forests”.

Some Government Organizers also referred to an independent chair: “If there are disputes, it needs to be independent”, “Should be independent, should be funded; it’s difficult to be a value-neutral chair”. One organizer, from the Ministry of Forests who did act as chair and was well regarded by most participants said, “You need to be unbiased, you need empathy. If you don’t have it, hire someone”, while another pointed out that he was not neutral, he chaired the process and represented the Ministry of Forests, but then said that he hired a facilitator for more intensive meetings, “We hired a facilitator because of the high distrust of government”.

The Government Participants who came from various ministries had these comments: A participant from the Ministry of Forests: “The process coordinators were excellent, open, neutral and allowed the group process”; from the Ministry of Agriculture: “You need an outside one at critical stages of negotiation; it can compress the time for the process”; from the Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources: “The risk to having an outside one early in the process is that they can steer or bring a flavour, and you can get bogged down in process”; from the Ministry of Environment: “The role of the chair should be clearly defined and needs to be objective; that’s difficult when MOF is not neutral and can lead the process any way he wants”.

The Municipal Government stakeholders also felt strongly that a neutral chair would enhance success: “It can’t be someone with a vested interest, you need a true value-neutral

chair; they must have the interest of all, not their own”, “There has to be real trust that they are not just following governments agenda; one was obviously leaning to the green side”. Two people from Industry were also concerned about facilitators following their own agenda: “We gave one the boot for having his own agenda”, “A good one is worth their weight in gold. An opinionated one following their own guidelines instead of the participants, that’s a disaster”.

The Recreation and Tourism stakeholders reflected the opinions of others about the need for neutrality: “The key is a neutral chair who is a good facilitator”, “Someone everyone trusts, from the outside”, “They must be fair, if there is any perception that they manipulate, it’s over; it gets back to the government manipulation thing”, “You should have an independent chair, it needs to be neutral, someone with the respect of the community and detached. Ministry of Forests should be there only for input”.

### *Should Be Firm, In Control*

The second most popular answer related to this factor is that the facilitator or chair must be in control. This comment, however, came more frequently from the Industry and Recreation stakeholders. This comment also came more frequently from those participants from CORE processes. Some examples were, “At the outset they were challenged by the group and they became not much more than scribes. There were deliberate attempts to undermine the process and they should have taken more control”, “CORE was too loose; they need to be not afraid to manage the process”, “The facilitator had to keep things under control; if someone is disruptive, they should have the authority to eject them”, “You need someone refereeing”, “He needs to be the leader of the pack, referee, planner, scorekeeper...was outstanding; he had patience and was genuine”, “CORE was out of control, but they were not authorized to control. It was chaos, not organized chaos”, “You need someone firm”, “They would allow bad behaviour in CORE and things got out of

hand”. One of the female participants added here that she was very uncomfortable at the level of course language at the table and even threats of violence.

### *Should Be Trained, Have Facilitation Skills*

Closely related to the above discussion, 10 participants said that people chairing the meetings should be trained or should have good facilitation skills. These came from different stakeholders and from different processes. Some examples were, “Need to be well trained”, “Critical; they should be trained and there should be rules”, “Here because of the confrontation, it required an exceptional facilitator”, “Good listening skills, healthy mix of leadership and management, respect for people’s interests”, “Balanced facilitator and chair with skills – listen, be clear and good with language to capture the essence of points of view”, “The skill and organizing ability of the chair or facilitator has a profound effect on the committee”.

### *Know Land Use Planning*

Four people, from various stakeholder groups pointed out that the role should be one of a planner, and that they should know the subject and community area, and that these are more important traits than mediation skills: “They should have land use planning experience”, “Facilitators should be planners, not mediators”, “LRMP was better than CORE where they had trial lawyers facilitating; you have to be aware of the local area and issues”, “Not just process; they need to know the subject”.

### *Group Is More Important*

Six people, the majority from the Government Organizer group, did not feel that the role of facilitator was important and made the point that how the group operates is more critical. This was interesting, given that these were the same people that other participants credited with contributing greatly to the success of their process. Some examples were,

“It’s not necessary, depending on the history in the area of people working together”,  
 “Very important, but there’s also a responsibility on the part of participants; local processes  
 should be able to run without an outside one”, “You need to hear where the table wants to  
 go, not where the facilitator decides it should go”, “I used to think this was number one,  
 but if there is a good solid team it will work too”, “Stay out of the way and ensure that  
 human rights abuse is at a minimum; it’s not as important as some of the other factors”.

## STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION

Like Solid Information, this factor did not rate highly on the quantitative aspect of  
 importance to the success of a process, yet it generated a great deal of discussion.

Types of comments are summarized in Table 6.4 below:

COMMUNICATION Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Planned; built into process	17	1	2	6	2	2	1	3
Not enough	12	0	0	4	1	1	0	6
Comments re. media	11	0	4	1	1	1	0	4
Report back to constituency	6	0	0	0	3	2	0	1
Tools cited	9	0	1	4	0	2	0	2
Other	9	2	2	0	1	1	2	1
Total	64	3	9	15	8	9	3	17

Table 6.4

Here the type of comments did not correlate as much with other variables, but were  
 randomly distributed among stakeholder groups, type of process and location, with a few  
 exceptions.

### *Should Be Planned; Built Into The Process*

Strategic communication, by its very definition, means that communication with stakeholders and the wider public should be planned and deliberate. Sixteen responses supported this view, with the majority of those coming from the Government Organizers. In addition to discussing the importance of a planned communication and public education strategy, other responses were that it should be the responsibility of the table or the organizers, not the individual representatives. Some notable examples are presented below: “It’s up to the organization to bring people along, or you die the death of Meech<sup>1</sup>”, “If you want a plan with longevity and buy-in then you need to take care of this”, “It’s a public process, so we must keep them informed and report regularly and receive input”, “Reporting back is extremely important; you have to be able to sell the agreement back to a group”, “You need every effort to communicate with the public”, “Take it from the table to a wider process”, “We fire fight more than we plan - that’s unfortunate; we need to educate the public to what’s happening in government and industry”, “Ideally, there should be someone assigned to do it”, “The public is not stupid; you must take it to them. We should put out a newsletter or something built into the process; this would give it more credibility”, “It should be handled as a group”.

### *Not Enough*

Particularly in the Recreation group, and in the Government Organizers, there were comments criticizing the lack of wider public communication. No one in the Citizen Action or Environmental group made this comment. Some examples, “We weren’t reaching the public as much as we could”, “Bureaucrats are not trying hard enough to get the public there; the public isn’t sitting there waiting, you have to keep trying”.

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<sup>1</sup>Meech Lake Accord, federal/provincial constitutional negotiations, which, after agreement, failed to gain public support at referendum

### *Comments Referring to Media*

There seemed to be a degree of frustration by participants and organizers about trying to get the message to the public, and not having the cooperation of the media. These comments were interspersed in all stakeholder groups. Some examples were, “There are fear mongers out there; we have to combat this sort of thing”, “Newspapers are biased”, “We didn’t get a lot of media because there was not a lot of conflict”, “[The process] was totally public with the media, so there was lots of posturing”. One Environmental representative felt the process should be totally open and that media should be invited, while others said that the media should be managed more selectively, for example, “People would run the process through the media; invite the press, but only when the team is ready to present something”, and from a Government Participant: “There was an agreement at the table that individuals would not deal with the media outside of official ways”. From Industry: “We said we didn’t want to fight our table in the newspapers, but it happened”. One Recreation representative who had participated in two CORE tables as well as an LRMP, described the situation very eloquently, “If you want to play out there [in the media], go, but then you forfeit your say in here.”

### *Report Back to Constituency*

Some participants felt that communication with the general public was not that important, but that reporting back to constituency or stakeholder groups was vital. These comments came especially from the Government Participants and Industry. Some examples included, “Rely on participants and work with them to communicate with their constituents”, “They all knew up front that each rep must report back to their groups and to get information”, “Equally or more important [than public communication] is each representative must keep up with their group. If we didn’t do that, it would have killed us”, “Without that, you have no business being at the table; you’re just representing yourself”.

### *Tools of Communication Cited*

Some respondents, in answering this question, discussed how communication should be carried out, and referred to the relative success of various communication tools, such as open houses, newsletters, radio and newspaper, and meetings. Some examples were, “We had two displays at trade shows, two newspaper inserts and a newsletter sent to 250 people”, “We used newsletters and had a working caucus from three communities”, “Had a bi-weekly newsletter, went out and talked to clubs”, “Go to meetings; one on one is better than mail outs”, “You need time and resources; we used a newsletter, but it was mostly ad hoc”.

Some of the “Other” responses, worth noting, were as follows: “It’s vital, but very difficult to do”, “Getting the public involved acts as a check to ensure it’s going the right way, ensures integrity”, “It’s very important to keep them informed, but you can’t change the whole plan because suddenly someone criticizes it”, “Expect criticism and flack”, “In the end, you need public acceptance. A lot are not willing to participate, but when the plan comes out, then they get upset”.

### **EXPLICIT OBJECTIVES**

Discussion about objectives once again tended to vary by stakeholder type. Although the most common comment related to the need to have clear objectives up front, at the very beginning of a process, it came mostly from the government people and Industry. The Citizen Action, Environmental and Recreation/Tourism stakeholders had more tendency to want broader terms of reference and a geographic boundary, but believed that the group should develop the actual objectives and that these should remain flexible.

Types of comments are summarized in Table 6.5 below:

OBJECTIVES Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Boundary should be provided	13	0	0	2	1	2	4	4
Need terms of reference	7	1	4	0	1	0	0	1
Should be flexible	6	0	1	2	0	1	0	2
Have them up front	17	0	1	2	4	6	1	3
Let group develop, evolve	5	1	1	2	0	0	0	1
Other	15	2	1	5	1	2	0	4
Total	63	4	8	13	7	11	5	15

Table 6.5

### *Have Clear Objectives Up Front*

Many participants wanted the government to give them objectives right up front. For example, “No rules to follow, we had to make our own and it took one and a half years of the whole process”, “It wasn’t done initially, but when done, then we made some headway; the more certainty, the higher probability of consensus”, “Don’t just let it evolve”, “The manager should spend time at the outset so the table doesn’t spend so much time on process”, “Essential, and they have to be specific. Whether the manager or the table sets, it must be done early on. Maybe give the table a set time frame to develop them, after that turn it over to the manager”. One Industry participant did not believe they should be flexible, “That’s it; we’re not deviating”.

### *Boundary Should Be Provided*

There did seem to be some trends evolving in this regard over time as new processes emerged. During the CORE tables, there were no boundaries, and the table was to decide on the process and the objectives. A number of respondents who were involved in these processes, stated the importance of a boundary and objectives up front. Some

examples of the comments were: “That’s a failure of CORE; people didn’t know what the parameters were”, “There was too much time on process, yet the government objectives weren’t clear; the boundary wasn’t even defined”, “Clear guidelines are necessary if we’re doing this kind of planning. The only target we had was 12%, but of what, when there’s no boundary assigned?”, “If government could do anything, they could have given us a boundary; this was frustrating for everyone.”

In later processes, which were deemed to be more successful, the managers did provide participants with geographic boundaries and terms of reference, yet participants did have input, so there was some flexibility. As one manager stated, “I gave them a boundary; it won’t vary. I had input from the group and people agreed. What happens within that boundary will be left to the group”.

#### *Need Terms Of Reference*

Most comments relating to terms of reference came from the Citizen Action and Environmental stakeholders. Examples: “We spent more than a year on terms of reference. Industry tried to draw it out and polarize us”, “You need terms of reference, more direction, more structure, to speed it up”, “Didn’t know what we were doing for one and a half years”, “Need terms of reference and clearly held to; the chair must follow”.

#### *Should Be Flexible*

As one Environmental participant commented, “There should be an overall framework by the province for these processes, but then let the groups work out the specifics, and as one Government Participant stated, “You don’t want your terms of reference too specific and then have to back off”, “You may not know all the interests and objectives when you start, for example mushroom picking, so you need some flexibility”, “Permit room for negotiation of objectives, but not too much”, “We’re breaking fresh ground, so it’s a tough job; the process should be dynamic”, “You need a goal statement

and objectives, but you need flexibility”, “There is a line between the government having all the answers, then you don’t need a process; you must have flexibility”.

*Let the Group Develop the Objectives; Let Them Evolve*

“They must be preceded by a well managed process to determine; they must be developed by consensus”, “Being told them at the beginning is not critical; they will emerge”, “Too hard; takes away a table’s creativity; the group should set the objectives”, “The more explicit anything you give a table, the more they resent it; we gave them goal posts and then let them decide specifics”.

*Other*

Some valuable comments which did not fall into the above categories included, “They should reduce expectations that less than consensus is less than success”, “What do we want to achieve in this session, almost like a mini-work plan”, “People tried to be too specific; the actual plan is broad brush - quite general; it took a long time to realize that we didn’t need to decide all the little things”, “Arrogance and stupidity developed at the table; people had grandiose schemes; they thought the government had turned decision-making over to them. [Objectives] should be made clearer”.

## **COMMITMENT OF PARTICIPANTS**

Commitment of participants also ranked highly for frequency of response with 58 total comments, but there were a number of different definitions of what this term meant to participants and managers. Types of responses are summarized below in Table 6.6:

COMMITMENT		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Attendance, see to the end	17	1	3	2	2	5	1	3
Desire, belief in the process	15	2	0	3	0	2	2	6
Be prepared, do homework	13	0	4	1	1	1	0	6
Open minded, listen	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Report back to constituency	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Other	6	0	1	0	0	3	0	2
Total	58	3	9	8	4	11	4	19

Table 6.6

### *Attendance*

In all, 17 people, 5 of which were from the Industry group defined participant commitment as attendance, a willingness to be at meetings or to provide an alternate, and seeing the entire process through until the end. Some examples of comments related to attendance are: "Willingness to see it through to the end, seek empowerment to be there, be answerable, be there 100%", "Commitment is very important. It means attending all meetings, not a lot of coming and going", "100% willingness to participate, staying involved; continuity, and alternates have to be up to speed", "See it through to the end. If you can't attend have someone attend who is up on the process and knows the issues", "Got to be willing to be there or you lose continuity", "Anyone who sticks it out must be committed". Although the highest number of responses about attendance came from Industry, there were several comments from Environmental participants which were critical of others' attendance: "If someone only comes once in awhile, you don't get to know them", "There were hard feelings when some didn't show up, but what they do is a

reflection of how they feel; it could be a tactic and it was”, “Except at major decision points, at 80% of meetings industry would be absent”.

*Desire For An Outcome, Belief In the Process*

An interesting pattern of responses, with most from the Government Organizers and the Recreation and Tourism group, defined commitment as “believing in consensus, or having a desire to come to a decision”. Some pointed out that some participants were there more to defend or to block, rather than to build a plan or solution. Examples of these comments were, from the First Nation representative: “You need a common sense of need. Some participants are enthusiastic, others are threatened by the process and are there to ensure the status quo. You need for parties to recognize the need for it; it’s hard to reach consensus with someone who isn’t interested in consensus”; from the Government Organizers: “You need a desire to come out with an agreement; they don’t always enter with this in mind. You have to want a successful outcome”, “To benefit all in society, understanding we are a democracy, to produce an agreement, the best possible for all interests and time”, “To secure a negotiated agreement. You need to work through the process, not call the premier directly, but then this may be an unrealistic expectation”; from Industry: “A commitment to come to consensus; each participant must believe that consensus is possible”, “There has to be a commitment to make a deal or reach an agreement. If someone threatens divorce, open the door for them” [Note: both of these comments came from Industry representatives of a successful process which reached consensus]. Examples from Municipal Government were: “You need those who really want to come to some finality...”, “To seek solutions; one or two were there to stop something, not to find a solution”, and related comments from Recreation and Tourism included, “It’s interest-based bargaining; the process must be driven on interests, rather than defense”, “Need a desire to seek an end to the process - a consensual conclusion”, “They have to be willing to see that it is in their interest to come to a solution, willing to

find a solution”, and this comment, which was made very soberly: “Must be interested, informed, inspired to want to create a better world”.

### *Be Prepared, Do Homework*

Thirteen people, four from Environment and six from Recreation discussed the need not only for attendance, but to be prepared for meetings, to do the reading and homework, and to take part in committee work. Some examples of these comments were: “You need the commitment to working at the table, doing homework with the constituency group, sub-committee work; most work is between meetings”, “Need a strong personal motivation and an understanding of what it requires or people fall out”, “Be committed to the process, willing to spend the time and energy necessary to complete it”, “Take initiative, do the work, like writing reports. Industry was dragged into the process, so didn’t want to do the work”, “Some didn’t do their homework and took a ‘I’m going to screw this process’ point of view”, “Some were totally unprepared, not plugged into doing the work, wouldn’t show up”, “Need to be willing to devote time, really care about the process, do the work involved, and take it seriously”, “Some are there just as grandstanders; you must participate in committees and assignments”. An interesting comment from an Industry participant which fell in the ‘other’ category was contrary to these: “People get burnt out. If they’re working, they can’t put in the kind of time the greens can; they’re all on welfare”.

### *Open Minded, Listen*

Four respondents characterized commitment as being open-minded, willing to listen and to learn. Examples are: “Be prepared to put aside power, politics, personal selfishness; not everyone has the capacity to do that”, “Beyond time, you have to be open minded and willing to listen to others’ concerns and interests”, “Willing to listen to the other side; there’s got to be give and take and they must understand this from the

beginning”, “Be knowledgeable or willing to spend time to learn”. Two people also added a phrase which had been introduced as a model for operating at one of the successful consensus processes, “Be hard on problems, soft on people”.

### *Report Back to Constituency*

Two people from Government and one from the Environmental sector also felt that commitment was represented by taking responsibility to report back to ones constituency group: “Getting information back to the group”, “Upholding the responsibility to communicate with the constituency”, “They should be recognized as legitimately representative of a constituency and be willing to report back”. This factor is further explored in a separate question on representation of a constituency, later in this chapter.

Other comments included two references to the community: “Participants must have a commitment to the region - you have to love it”, “People have to have the same commitment and focus. If you live in the community, you share an objective”. One of the Government Participants pointed out that there had been some difficulty with participant commitment. He said, “The process is long, so it’s a lot to ask. Sectors should be organized so that their representative is elected and funded”, while one Recreation representative said, “Individuals take it more seriously when they’re not paid; it needs to be an emotional commitment”. The concept of participant funding is further explored later in this chapter. A final comment on commitment of participants related back to an earlier factor, when one Environmental representative stated, “If the process has integrity, then people will be committed to it”.

## **TRAINING**

Training was one factor which scored bi-modally on the quantitative scale, so it was of real interest to determine why people felt strongly for or against the idea of training as an

aid to success in a consensus planning process. Types of responses are summarized in Table 6.7 below:

TRAINING		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Consensus, IB negotiation	19	0	2	3	2	5	1	6
Planning, other topics	10	3	0	1	1	1	0	4
Orientation to process	8	0	2	3	1	1	0	1
Need it; non-specific	8	1	1	1	1	3	0	1
Not important	8	2	1	2	1	0	0	2
Facilitator more important	5	0	2	2	0	0	0	1
Total	58	6	8	12	6	10	1	15

Table 6.7

Although many people did not rate training highly as critical to the success of a consensus process, most did feel it was a good idea, particularly those who had taken some training. Some processes provided it, others did not, and some participants had taken some private training in conflict resolution or negotiation. Many participants discussed types of training that might be helpful, while others talked about it in more general terms.

#### *Consensus, Interest-Based Negotiation,*

In all, 19 respondents mentioned the need for training in consensus decision-making, tools of interest-based negotiation, active listening or conflict resolution. Most of these came from the Industry and Recreation groups. Some examples included, "You could shorten the time-frame by doing training in consensus; we got into traditional negotiations", "I wished there was more, prior to starting. We had one workshop on interest-based negotiation, but we needed mediating, consensus, how to reach

agreements”, “There was good training on consensus, asking open questions, but not enough; we needed communication and conflict resolution”, “Training in interest based negotiation would be beneficial”, “It’s critical. They should identify early on who has and hasn’t had training and design an A and B program. We needed negotiation, the newer paradigms of interest-based”, “A few hours on consensus building, active listening”, “Need training in consensus negotiation. We had a two hour session, but that was a drop in the bucket”, “You get a good education as you go through, but a good dose of consensus, a couple of days, would give them a taste of what it’s about”. One Government Organizer suggested an exercise, saying, “First they must be convinced that they gain more through consensus than imposing their will”, while a Government Stakeholder also spoke about pedagogy, “You need simulations and role playing for interest-based negotiation”.

#### *Planning, Other Topics*

Ten people also stated a need for other topics for training. Examples from the First Nations representative: “We needed more time in the early stages to discuss the need for sustainable land use planning, and demonstrate to the parties why it’s in their interest. What people needed training on was planning. There is a role for public input, but it needs to be more structured. The technical people [Government Stakeholders] need it too; they need to know the limitations of their input, and they need an appreciation of ‘value’ input. There is not a good understanding of that duality”. Two Recreation participants also mentioned the need for planning: “You need everyone on the same wavelength. Land use planning is an alien concept to a lot of people”, “Maybe need a lesson in planning - the strategic scope”. On the other hand, one Government Organizer would disagree, saying, “We’re not training people to be planners; we’re the planners”.

Other topics that were mentioned, from a Government Organizer: “What is integrated resource management?”; from a Government Stakeholder: “What is LRMP?”

Show examples”; from Recreation participants: “Also need some definition of protected and sensitive areas”, “The whole problem solving process”; and from Industry: “People don’t understand the concepts of forestry”, “Need training too in PR and media relations”.

### *Orientation to Process*

Eight people, including three Government Organizers, pointed out the need for some orientation to the process itself. Examples of their comments were, “Rules of the table, what are these processes and where do they fit?”, “Orientation to the process, orientation to interests/values; this is key with First Nations”, “It would be a tremendous boon to the whole process if participants were trained in the process and the knowledge required”, “What’s expected of you; ground rules”, “More up front training”, “Some people have less education and are intimidated going into a process; training would help”. One Environmental representative did not feel formal training was necessary, but rather, “We need sharing of information and advice from people who have been through these processes”.

A further eight people discussed the need for training, but in a non-specific way, for example: “Learning will happen anyway, but it will save time. It would provide a non-threatening way to establish relationships”, “An excellent idea. The time we spent, alone, would speak for itself the need for this”, “Training was available but optional; it should be mandatory. Assume no one has experience”, “If everyone took it and were willing, it would have made a difference”.

### *Not Important*

Eight people also made comments against any kind of formal training, for example, from a Citizen Action representative: “It would add to time”; from the Union representative: “We have had some, but I have not been impressed by it. I still can’t see how the process can handle strongly held opposing opinions without falling apart”, and

from an Environmental respondent who had participated in two different processes: “It’s not necessary. We had it in one, not in the other and there was no difference to the process”. Two Recreation representatives had these comments: “Some would help, but you can bet that if someone is not ready to reach consensus, it won’t help”, “I don’t think you can train. You either come with the skills or you don’t; there’s not enough time”. One Government Organizer felt very strongly that formal, separate training was unnecessary, as the entire process is a learning exercise: “You could have information overload at the beginning of a process. People have to make their own mistakes, and that’s how they learn”.

Five people, from the Environmental group, Government Organizers and Recreation brought up points that it was more important to have a good facilitator than training for participants. Examples were: “It’s not a major obstacle. You can explain consensus, interest-based negotiation in about an hour. More important is the chair”, “A good facilitator helps with that. I went to the CORE session; it was a waste of time. It could have been summarized in one sheet”, “A good facilitator can provide all those things. It shouldn’t be separate. The person doing the training should be the one assisting the process”. Two Government Organizers who had chaired their processes added, “Some managers are extroverted and charismatic, but others need training on how to facilitate a process”, “If the facilitator is trained, then participant training is not as important. But you may need more where people don’t know each other”.

## **GOVERNMENT SUPPORT**

No participants volunteered the factor of Ministry Budget/Support as a critical indicator, however when asked about Funding, meaning participant funding, the issue of budget and support for the process was sometimes raised. Because of this, in later interviews, separate questions regarding Funding and Ministry Budget/Support were

raised, however because many respondents had responded only to Funding, the qualitative responses were later recombined.

It was clear that individual participant funding was not considered critical to the success of a planning process. These results appear in Chapter 7. However, support of the government, through such actions as a dedicated budget was considered critical, especially when rated quantitatively. It perhaps generated few comments only because it appeared as a separate indicator only in later interviews, after several participants interpreted Funding in this way. Some comments regarding government support for the process were also recorded in response to the question on Integrity. The qualitative analysis of Funding and Ministry Budget/Support will remain in its order in Chapter 7, but indicator, Government Support has been added to the Critical Indicators list.

## QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As described earlier, during the interviews respondents were asked to rate each evaluation indicator numerically on a ten point scale as to their perceived importance to the success of a consensus planning process. These ratings were then averaged in order to determine the top, or 'critical' indicators, as compared with those previously determined to be 'critical' by the number of qualitative responses.

In the qualitative analysis presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, possible differences are pointed out in types of response when compared with the variables of stakeholder group, type of process, or geographic location. As a method of triangulation, or to determine if there was support for these qualitative differences in responses indicated, a Single Factor Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test was carried out on the quantitative responses to each evaluation criterion.

Quantitative responses to each indicator were analyzed, according to the variables of stakeholder type, location, type of process and gender. It should be noted that the ANOVA

is generally a parametric statistical test, and would not normally be applied to ordinal data. In this study, however, its greater power, as compared with nonparametric tests utilizing medians, was desired in order to discern any minor differences between response variables. Since this information is used only to illuminate possible perceptual differences in this sample only (which were already indicated by qualitative analysis) and not as a method of predicting outcomes, its use was considered to be appropriate in this case.

A total of 46 functions were run. Each of the 'critical' variables – those in the top quartile – were tested for significance, as well as others which appeared in the qualitative analysis to have somewhat significant differences in responses between stakeholders, or according to other variables, such as location, type of process or gender. An example of the output appears in Appendix VI. Below, the significant factors are presented.

Statistically, there was not a great deal of significance between variables, except for those shown in Table 6.8 below. In other words, there was a significant difference between the values assigned to Solid Information as a success factor by the various stakeholders. This supports what was determined by the qualitative findings in Chapter 6.

#### SIGNIFICANT FACTORS

Factor	Variable	P-Value
Solid Information	Stakeholder	0.0004
Stakeholder ID	Process	0.0139
Stakeholder ID	Location	0.0100
Facilitator	Process	0.0435
Facilitator	Location	0.0072

Table 6.8

The factor of Stakeholder Identification varied significantly in importance according to both the type of process and the location. Although the qualitative analysis for this factor

noted differences between Stakeholder responses, it would seem that there is greater significance between the types of process, which is not surprising since various process types were shown to have identified stakeholders quite differently.

The Facilitator was also a factor for which scores varied by location and type of process; once again, there were great variations in the use of facilitators between processes, so it is not surprising that participants of different processes rated it quite differently.

It was also noteworthy that there were NOT significant differences found for most criteria between geographic locations. This may be viewed as a validation that the sample was homogenous and appears to represent all participants of consensus processes.

## SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the results of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the 'critical' evaluation indicators which were determined in Chapter 5. These were:

- Solid Information
- Integrity of the Process
- Strategic Communication
- Facilitator/ Neutral Chair
- Explicit Objectives
- Commitment of Participants
- Training
- Government Support

The qualitative responses related to each of these were tabulated and summarized. The most comments generated were about the indicator Solid Information. These related to: questioning the credibility of information; lack of information or obstruction to it; information overload; what is needed; and a need to go ahead with processes and not wait

for information. Comments about Integrity related to the need to be able to trust the manager, that they should be neutral; general mistrust of government; the need for government support of consensus processes, and as evidenced by their willingness to implement plans; the processes must be seen by participants to be fair; and people must work within and for the process, not against it. Participants stated that the facilitator should be neutral, unbiased, and trained in facilitation skills. They need also to be in control, and should be planners, not mediators.

Comments about communication related to needing more of it, that it should be planned and built into the process. Personal contacts and specifically targeted methods were considered more effective than mass mailings or advertising, and media relations was considered to be an important tool. In terms of Objectives, participants stated that a boundary and terms of reference should be provided, but that they should be somewhat flexible. Participant commitment was described as attendance, doing the work; a desire and belief in the process; open-minded, good listening skills; and reporting back to the constituency.

Reaction to training was mixed. Many felt training in consensus or interest-based negotiation was important, as well as an orientation to the process, planning, and other topics. As many said it was needed as said it was not important, yet it seemed that those who had effective training saw more value in it. Government support, related to implementation, budget and resources was also a critical indicator.

This chapter also provided results of ANOVA tests to determine if there were any significant differences in rating responses between stakeholder groups, location, type of process, or gender. Although many of the qualitative responses had seemed to vary by one or more of these variables, only these showed significant differences in the quantitative responses: solid information by stakeholder group; stakeholder identification by type of process, and by location; facilitator by type of process, and by location.

The next chapter explores the objective qualitative analysis of all of the other evaluation indicators which were discussed by participants during the interview phase of this study. Chapter 8 then discusses the implications of the objective results presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, and Chapter 9 presents an evaluation framework and recommendations derived from these results.

## CHAPTER 7

### OTHER EVALUATION INDICATORS

This chapter continues the presentation of qualitative analysis of participant interviews discussed in Chapter 6. Whereas the indicators in Chapter 6 were determined, based on the number of qualitative comments and quantitative ratings, to be Critical Indicators, the indicators presented below are still in many instances quite important in consensus planning processes and should not be ignored.

As in the previous chapters, participant responses are presented below, regarding their interpretation of each of these factors, in the context of their experience in one or more consensus processes. Their responses are summarized and organized by each indicator discussed. Each indicator is presented in the order of total frequency of responses generated. For each question, frequency tables showing the types of responses by stakeholder group, or by other variable, as appropriate, are presented. As in previous chapters, the stakeholder groups are indicated by the following abbreviations: Citizen Action – CA; Environmental – EN; Government Organizers – GO; Government Participants – GP; Industry – IN; Municipal Government – MG; and Recreation and Tourism – RT. (For complete definitions of these groupings refer to Chapter 5). Examples of comments by participants in response to each question follow each frequency table.

Discussion and implications of these results appear in Chapter 8.

#### **STAKEHOLDER IDENTIFICATION**

The public involvement literature presents the early identification of stakeholders as a key success factor. In all there were 57 responses to this question and the majority felt that it was more important to keep it an open process, rather than prescribing sectors and participants at the beginning, as the CORE Vancouver Island process had done. It

appeared that those processes which were deemed to be more successful by participants were those which allowed anyone at the table who had an interest, that participants were there to represent interests, rather than a sector or constituency, and where there was a process to determine interests, yet it was kept flexible if others emerged later on. The range of responses to this factor are summarized below, in Table 7.1. Once again, there appears to be evidence of variation in types of responses by stakeholder group.

STAKEHOLDER ID Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Open, evolving process	17	1	4	2	2	1	1	6
Balance, participants	11	0	5	2	2	0	1	1
Represent interests	10	0	1	2	3	1	0	3
Recommended process	10	1	0	2	0	5	1	1
Do it early	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Other	5	0	0	1	0	1	1	2
Total	57	2	11	10	7	9	4	14

Table 7.1

### *Open, Evolving Process*

In all, 17 respondents stated that the process for identifying stakeholders should be an open one. Most of these came from the Environmental and Recreation groups. Some examples of these comments were: “We added people; you can’t get everyone at the beginning”, “It’s part of openness”, “Important, but not critical; it falls out through the process, they come out of the woodwork”, “The process takes time, so if they come later, that’s not a problem”. The Government Organizers and Government Participants said, “Keep the way open for anyone to come into the process; new people can come in”, “Open process - you can always make accommodations for people overlooked or who chose not to be involved”, “Do a good job at the beginning, but if you missed anyone, add them later;

you may miss some anyway”, “You need an open door; it can’t be a closed shop. Ask participants, ‘Can you think of anyone we’ve missed?’”

One Industry representative responded, “Don’t think you can do it all at the front end; it’s an evolving process. It’s more important to have ongoing communication, so others can pop up”, and one Municipal Government participant added, “We did let some in later on, because some were missed. You need a good cross section, but you need to be flexible”.

Examples from the Recreation and Tourism group included, “Don’t close the door”, “You’ve got to leave room for the wild card showing up. It may be a group that hasn’t participated”, “People do keep coming out of the woodwork”.

#### *Balance, Who Should Be Included*

Eleven comments related to balance of interests at the table, or other comments about who should be included. Notably, none of these came from Industry. From the Environmental participants: “You need a balance of participants, of interests, industry vs. environmental, government vs. community, and you need women to bring a different perspective to problems and other solutions”, “I was concerned about inequities during the process; I wish it was more equal between timber and the environment”, “Identify people with expertise, rather than those who are most vocal”, “Need to have the government resource people there; I felt it was a real mistake to exclude them and boil it down to one person” (this referred to a CORE process in which there was a prescribed format of participants, including one government representative).

Of the Government Organizers and Government Participants, these comments were received, “You must make sure you get those who can stop the process, those who are affected and those you don’t want surprised by the outcome”, “It should be set up so there is equal representation and all interests are represented”, “Split so it’s equal”.

The Municipal Government representative said, “Locals need some kind of input, but the way they found the people was the problem”, while one Recreation stakeholder had this comment, “You must have a balance, but it’s hard to do. Are they going to be honest enough to look at both sides?”.

### *Represent Interests*

Ten comments were also received about the importance of identifying interests as a way of identifying stakeholders and who will participate. These were fairly evenly dispersed among stakeholder groups, but the majority of these comments came from participants who identified their experience as a positive one, or their process as successful. Some examples were, “Have all interests at the table, even people who might block, but not sectors - they are divisive. People don’t fit into boxes”, “It’s more important to get all issues on the table”, “It’s not democratic, they’re not elected or empowered to make decisions for others; you need a representative of an interest, and get the spectrum of interests”, “There should be room for individuals to represent an interest; it shouldn’t be exclusive”.

### *Recommended Process*

There were also 10 comments which related to how participants felt stakeholders should be chosen. The majority of these comments came from Industry. Examples were, from a Citizen Action representative: “Invite everyone; the agency should not identify, the community should”, From Government: “It should have been addressed in a more structured format”, “Get a group together and structure objectives, then it rapidly becomes apparent if an interest is missing. It’s important to have everyone there”. Comments from Industry participants included, “You have to know who the stakeholders are and the table decides who you will allow. Identification at the front will avoid problems later”, “Getting them there is important, and how it’s done”, “We made sure no one was missed; we went

to each community and went to major organizations, but also allowed others to sit”, “There were 108 interests at the first table, we split these into four groups and then did a mini session as a look-see”, “Stakeholders must be defined. You can’t prescribe sectors beforehand; it has to be up to the group to define”, “Start with a big meeting and ask who wants to be involved. Start with an education process, so they understand the bigger issue”. One Recreation participant who also responded in this way said, “Let the group decide who should be at the table”.

### *Do It Early*

Four participants referred to the need to identify stakeholders at the beginning of the process, for example, “The ones who were most influential tended to be there from the outset; when problems developed, it was a newcomer with a new interest”, “Often the people you have to hunt out aren’t as important; those who are interested will get involved early”, “It’s important at the beginning in order to make sure all potential participants know the process is happening. After that, proceed with those you have, and make the best of it”, and from one Industry representative: “Identify stakeholders early, then shut the door”.

Two other comments referred to people not being interested: “If you need to spend time getting people interested, then they’re not”, “If they’re not interested, they won’t participate”. One other disagreed, pointing out that those who are not initially interested, may be most valuable: “We don’t get the viewpoint of the rural community, or the back country. These aren’t the type of people who will get involved, so you get more political types”.

## **INTERPERSONAL DYNAMIC**

Twenty-seven comments were received regarding the importance of the interpersonal dynamic at the table. Closely related was a question regarding the importance of establishing operating principles for the table, which generated 22 comments. Because

the responses of these questions were so closely related, and because mostly different people responded to the two questions, the answers have been combined, in Table 7.2 below.

INTERPERSONAL DYNAMIC		Stakeholder Group					
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	RT
Need rules of conduct	16	0	2	6	2	4	2
Problems in group dynamic	14	1	2	3	0	3	5
Job of chair, facilitator	6	1	2	2	0	0	1
Respect, trust	5	0	0	3	0	1	1
Personalities, style	5	2	0	1	0	2	0
Other	3	0	0	0	1	2	0
Total	49	4	6	15	3	12	9

Table 7.2

### *Need Rules of Conduct*

Of the 16 comments relating to rules of conduct, only the Citizen Action group was not represented. No Municipal Government participants responded to this question at all. Most of the comments about rules, or operating principles came from the Government Organizers and Participants. Examples of comments related to this topic were, from the Environmental stakeholders: “Operating principles would encourage people to behave themselves in a manner congenial to debate. Emotions do play a big part. Give people some direction, guidelines”, “The table needs to have input into operating principles; it shouldn’t be top down”. One Government Organizer also stated that the group should have input into these principles: “You need a code of conduct. Start with draft principles, then have the table work on it”. Another Government Organizers said that the manager “can’t anticipate every potential problem”, so the principles should be reviewed and updated

occasionally. He also made the point that CORE took 18 months just to develop principles. Another said that the group should agree at the beginning on a specific procedure and negotiate how they will conduct business, and another successful organizer coined the phrase, “Hard on the issue, soft on the person”, which was also offered by one of the Industry representatives in response to this question.

Another response from an Industry representative was, “Peer pressure works well. If you didn’t follow the guidelines, you were ostracized”. Two people from the Industry group also mentioned a need for a centralized approach to developing guidelines for these types of processes in general: “They should have guidelines and an agenda for these meetings in B.C.”, “[The government] should have basic rules of procedure ahead of time with the option of customizing to individual circumstances”.

An example of a comment from Recreation was, “It should be stressed right at the beginning to try to get along and understand others points of view. You have to be prepared to listen”.

### *Problems in Group Dynamic*

It should be noted that of the 50 participants interviewed, only nine were female, and five of the comments about problems experienced in the group dynamic of the planning process came from women. Women had more to say in response to this question than any other question. Examples of their comments were, from a Citizen Action representative: “Negotiation is not part of an LRUP; that’s where it all goes wrong. They’re talking about compromising values”; from female Recreation and Tourism stakeholders: “I broke down and cried. That was not uncommon because people were abused verbally. There was intimidation at the table at sub-committees”, “In the LRMP, it feels more like we have an equal voice, but that wasn’t true with CORE, where there was ridicule and verbal abuse. We were made to feel insignificant”, “There is so much back room negotiation; it should have taken place at the table, not side dealings”, “It’s not a matter of compromise.

Consensus occurs naturally when people talk and share a context”. Other comments from male participants reflected these sentiments: “No one knew what we were getting into; there was not modus operandi - needed to define consensus”, “Should have provided background on consensus”, “How can we keep it from reverting to positional bargaining?”, “There is no room for disparaging comments, profanity, threats”, “...bickering, quarreling, cheap shots”, “I heard, ‘if you’re man enough, let’s go outside and settle this’. There HAS to be a mode of conduct”.

#### *Job of Chair or Facilitator*

Six people, including two managers believed that the interpersonal dynamic is the job of the facilitator. Examples of comments included, “That’s the chair’s job... wasted a lot of time on irrelevant issues and emotion, but that’s part of the process”, “The chair should ensure that [rules of conduct] are set out”, “It comes down to the chair. Some people are disruptive; they shouldn’t put up with it”.

#### *Respect, Trust*

Five people, three of them Government Organizers made comments about the need for respect and trust, for example, “Each participant needs to have respect for others and the organization they represent”, “The biggest aspect is respect for others and their views”, “Respect the fact that you’ll differ on issues, but that doesn’t make the other guy a bad person”, “Trust among community groups”.

#### *Personalities Or Style Can Affect the Outcome*

Examples of these comments were: “More articulate people said more and got their way more. I was unarmed compared to them”, “Some people were destructive”, “This was a good group. Personalities can make it or break it”. One comment from a female member

of Industry was, “The final negotiation came down to who was bigger, tougher, louder. they played corners and battle stations”.

Other comments included, from Industry representatives: “Interests should be stated right off the bat. Work together. The world’s changed”, “Come to the table, leave baggage at the door, look for solutions. These are the key elements of success”.

## RELATIONSHIPS

One factor which was raised by participants in this research is the need to build relationships with other members of the process. They discussed informal gatherings as one way of doing so. Because it was raised, other respondents were then asked to comment on this as a potential factor of success. The types of responses are summarized in Table 7.3 below:

RELATIONSHIPS		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Contributes to results	13	0	3	1	4	3	0	2
Not critical, but helps	11	2	2	1	0	2	2	2
Builds trust	8	0	3	1	1	1	0	2
Not important	8	0	0	2	1	4	0	1
History more important	4	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
Other	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Total	47	3	10	7	8	10	2	7

Table 7.3

### *Contributes to Results*

Thirteen people made comments relating to the fact that as much was accomplished in the informal setting, at coffee or at the bar, as was at the formal table. Some examples

were, from the Environmental stakeholders: “A lot happens at side meetings. We formed committees; it’s where the work gets done”, “In the bar afterwards people would be more candid”, “The network outside of meetings would help. It would encourage more communication, whereas the table was adversarial”; from one Government Organizer: “As much is accomplished over coffee. We tried to facilitate breaks as well, to get people talking”; from Government Participants: “Almost as much got decided over a beer”, “Informal discussion goes a long way to understanding where other people are at”, “Coffee breaks were purposely done so people could have side discussions”, “Lots took place at the breaks; we found out what people are really about. They were more open outside the actual meeting; it takes away walls between people”. Three Industry participants also agreed with these sentiments: “The best discussions were over dinner, people are more relaxed. At the table tempers flare, but around a campfire we were all people with ideas, not representatives of the Sierra Club, for example”, “We went to the bar after, but there wasn’t enough of it to help with the barriers. We also had organized events, like a Christmas party; I feel strongly that these are a good idea”, “If you go to the bar after, you can air these things. A meeting after the meeting is a good thing”. Examples from the Recreation and Tourism representatives included, “At the table there was friction and bitterness, but at the break there was camaraderie. Some people I took a dislike to, but we got along”, “It personalizes the issues; you need to get to know people in a human context, rather than just as representatives of an interest”.

### *Not Critical, But It Helps*

A number of others made comments related to the relationship building being a ‘nice to have’ feature, but it not being critical to a process. Examples were, from Citizen Action groups: “It would make it more interesting”, “I had no time for it, but a lot did benefit; it’s nice, but not critical”; from Environment: “It’s over-rated. It may help, but it’s better if it’s spontaneous, rather than planned”, “You start to see each other as people and

work together. Dinners and things help”; from Industry: “this would build enthusiasm for being involved, instead of dreading meetings and coming home drained”, “It’s not paramount, but it certainly helps. Outside, we would kick the ball around a bit”; from Municipal Government: “You can’t really build it in, but social events can’t hurt”, “To me it wasn’t important. Some people found the mingling beneficial to them, it broke the ice, but then they sat in their own groups anyway”; from Recreation: “The process should be fun; it gets intense and social events can cement relationships”, “It helped quite a bit; we had some good gatherings and they were well received. Food and drink get people together, and some really partied”.

Eight others who agreed that relationship building was quite important stated that social events help to build trust among table members. Some examples from the Environmental stakeholders were, “It builds trust; if you get to be friends it helps”, “I developed a real trust for some industry guys that I didn’t trust before, by getting to know them as people”, “I learned a lot about people, society, lifestyles; I found a human side in my adversaries and this was a very positive thing”. One Government Organizer said, “Relationships and trust are a key part. If there is a dispute then there is distrust, but if you make it fun and informative, that helps. The setting can also contribute to this”, while one Government stakeholder put it this way, “You need to build trust, through knowing each others values”.

### *Not Important*

Eight people, four of whom were from Industry stated that relationships were not important. Their comments were, “It is overplayed. Some people you’ll never be compatible with, and no amount of social time will help”, “They’re not my friends, they’re business associates”, “It’s not important; there is a difference between respecting someone and liking them”, “Disagree that you need a relationship”. From the Government people, some examples of comments included, “You will never have a love-in”, “It’s not as

important as all the previous factors discussed”, “You can’t force it; it gets down to the people and how open they might want to be”.

### *History More Important*

The Government people (both groups) were primarily those who raised another category, that of a need for a prior relationship. It was interesting that all of the responses relating to this category came from the same process, a successful one in which many people commented that the history in the area of good relationships between stakeholders and with government was a strong factor contributing to its success. Examples were, “There was an old guard who had already built trust in one another”, “There was a history of people working together; half knew each other - I think success depended on this”, “You may all have hockey tickets, so you can’t call someone an ass-hole at a meeting and then run into him at the game”, “History is important. People in this area have worked cooperatively, but CORE was set up where there was more conflict”.

The comments which did not fall into these categories, but were still interesting, included, “You need to build these relationships in the process, not outside”, “This depends on the commitment, on integrity. If people bring those values, then respect and relationships develop”, “Some people are really hooked on the process. In small communities people get bored; this was really exciting”.

## **LOCAL PARTICIPANTS**

Another factor that was first mentioned in this research was that some participants felt a contributor to success would be if all participants were local. Comments related to this question are summarized in Table 7.4 below.

LOCAL PARTICIPANTS		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Feel strongly - local	21	2	0	5	2	5	2	5
Local knowledge, interest	15	3	2	1	0	3	1	5
Disagree	5	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
Other factors more important	5	0	0	1	1	3	0	0
Total	46	5	3	9	4	11	3	11

Table 7.4

Twenty-one comments related to strong feelings that participants should be from the area being planned, while 15 believed that participants need not live in the area, but should have some local knowledge, or an interest in the community. Five disagreed that participants should be local, and an additional five commented on other factors that were more important. It was interesting that far less Environmental stakeholders chose to respond to this question, and of those who did, none of their comments were a strong support for local participants. The other pattern detected was that participants who were not local residents were, not surprisingly, those who did not believe it was necessary to have local participants. Examples of comments appear below:

*Feel Strongly That Participants Should Be Local*

Citizen Action stakeholders: “If you don’t live there, you shouldn’t be there. Think globally, act locally. It stays here”, “You don’t want someone from Vancouver who represents a mining company. Kennedy should start in Massachusetts”. Government Organizers: “There was a distrust of people from ‘out of town’”, “No heavy hitters. CORE people were there to make a name for themselves; here people were there to develop

a plan and work together”, “They drive in, say a few snotty words, and leave. It’s not like having to work together later in the implementation”, “I have seen that LRUP’s are more successful when they are local vs. the larger scope where there are outsiders”, “People don’t trust outside reps to decide on issues in the community”. Government Stakeholders: “A key was local people, as opposed to the outsiders involved in CORE”, “That’s why it was successful. They are familiar with the total area. No outside negotiators; they’re seen as outsiders”. From Industry: “When people are imported they’re bringing baggage. This is one reason CORE was so disruptive”, “We knew each other; this is one reason we were successful”, “Nothing creates more hostility than outsiders”, “It’s not good when people are parachuted in, make decisions that affect lives and then leave”, “Nobody has business coming from another area. They shouldn’t be there”. Municipal Government: “There was resentment for people outside of the region - we pay the price locally”, “We’ve never had a problem with our local environmentalists; you have to have local people, not from Vancouver”. From Recreation and Tourism: “We all lived here and care about the same things”, “I felt uneasy that the spokesperson became aligned with big environmental groups part way through. There was provincial interference and it ceased to be grassroots. We resented their interference, but we had already accepted their money”, “People here don’t take to outsiders”, “Local people carrying the ball is essential; they have ownership. Don’t want to see people parachuted in”.

### *Local Knowledge or Interest*

Citizen Action: “The majority should be local, but there may be others with a right too”, “The intent is for it to be a local plan, but you also need a technical side, so they should be encouraged to bring in expertise. The value component needs to be local, though”, “Local knowledge is essential for defining the resource values in each area, but participation of those with a stake but little knowledge is important too”. Environmental Stakeholders: “It’s difficult if the sector has no local representative; you should be able to

bring people in. Local knowledge and understanding is the important thing”, “Local knowledge is essential”. Government Organizer: “Need to understand the local issues and impacts. There is a longer buy-in and sustained plans when we use local people”. Industry: “They should be familiar with the area and directly affected by the decision”, “The Ministry of Environment rep was not local, but he was well versed in what’s going on. the majority should be. Industry should be represented by local persons”. Municipal government: “Have locals involved and that the reps are accountable to a group of people form the region”. Recreation and Tourism: “Very important for LRMP’s, but not for regional processes”, “One of the strengths here was that most reps were local, but there is room for a few outsiders, visiting firemen so to speak, to help out”, “In a regional process they should be from the region, but some from outside were also helpful”, “There has to be an openness to people out of the region who have local knowledge”, “They must have a local interest”.

### *Disagree*

In all 10 respondents did not agree that participants should be local; five talked about the need for a provincial perspective, while the others mentioned other factors which are more important. Examples, from an Environmental stakeholder was: “It’s a provincial resource; in LRMP’s there has to be room for any legitimate interest; it can’t just be local”; from Government Organizers, and Participants: “It’s more important to have the interests covered”, “We’re in the same boat in this province, so it’s presumptuous for a small group in a corner of the province to make decisions”, “You need to have some provincial perspective. There are people in Vancouver who have more interest in what happens here than do some of the locals”, “It depends on the interest they bring to the table, for example the environment is a broad interest, so it doesn’t need to be local”, “Depending on the community, they may be very biased toward resource use; it’s more important that different interests are represented”; from Industry: “It’s not necessary; I’d rather have someone who

has more intelligence and is dedicated and can represent a view”, “It’s not as important as the commitment that you’re trying to come to an agreement”, “Who they are and how they represent the interest is more important than whether they are local or not”; from Recreation: “People have to realize this is Crown land. We have no more right over it than people on the lower mainland. People need to understand ‘public resources’”.

## FUNDING

Another factor which emerged through the discussions with participants of this research was participant funding. In all, there were 46 comments related to this issue; 13 related to the reimbursement of expenses, 11 related to funding more than direct expenses; 9 people interpreted the question as funding and resources for the process itself, while 8 disagreed with any sort of participant funding, three discussed the need not to exclude people on the basis of financial need and two had comments unrelated to these categories. A summary of the frequency of types of comments by stakeholder is presented below:

FUNDING Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Reimburse expenses	13	1	4	3	0	3	0	2
Expenses plus more	11	1	3	3	0	3	1	0
Resources for process	9	1	1	0	1	2	1	3
Disagree	8	1	1	0	2	3	0	1
Don't exclude people	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	46	5	10	6	3	11	2	9

Table 7.5

It is important to point out that the history of different processes in regard to funding was very different. The CORE tables generally paid a per diem amount to sectors,

which they split to cover their expenses. This was administered by the organizers and each sector had to submit a budget. The LRMP tables generally paid out of town travel expenses, for those who needed it. The LRUP's were not consistent and in one participants had very hard feelings because they were not reimbursed for travel, expenses, and they even had to pay for their own photocopying and in some instances to obtain information pertinent to the decision-making.

### *Reimburse Expenses*

The only groups not to mention the need for reimbursing expenses were the Government Stakeholders and Municipal Government who presumably would not have to worry about this since their employers would pay any of their expenses relating to this kind of activity. Examples of comments from the other stakeholder groups were, from a Citizen Action representative: "It goes without saying, it would make it more comfortable. My kids went without some things so I could pay phone bills [related to this process]"; from the Environmental stakeholders: "It would be good to refund travel costs, but to be paid to be involved would feel funny - it is harder to bit the hand that feeds you", "People should be committed, not there for the money, but it also shouldn't prevent someone from attending; there should be a mechanism to recoup costs", "For those not in industry, they should provide expenses, accommodation and mileage. People donate their time", "Expenses should be covered for those who need it, not industry"; from Government Organizers: "I have mixed feelings. We should make sure everyone is able to attend. I suppose a base level of expenses is appropriate. It would make people feel more valued", "Gas, meals, only for those coming form away. It may not be critical to the process, but it builds some goodwill toward government", "I think we should rely on motivation, but provide transportation. [If there is more] some come for the funding and make it a career"; from Industry: "Not everyone has the means, but some came because of the fun, staying hotels, dinners, etc. It should not be a per diem, travel expenses only", "Out of pocket

expenses, but we don't want it to become a job", "If people are on a salary, then they are already being paid, but small independents should have their expenses covered"; from Recreation and Tourism: "You need funding for some groups to get the best [representatives] they need, but costs only, not wages", "Costs. It needs to be done at all processes; we need to make sure everyone can participate".

### *Expenses Plus More*

From the Union representative: "Certainly you would not have half the participation you now have if most people did not have their wages and expenses covered by someone"; from the Environmental stakeholders: "You must have funding for travel, for expert assistance and time away from your job", "This became the major focal point of my life and it cost me to do it. There has to be compensation - expenses and a per diem", "This is getting to be a hot issue. The major problem is that environmental groups have nothing, so you need to find wealthy people to be involved, or provide funding"; from Government Organizers: "It depends on who's getting supported elsewhere; it should be for everyone or none", "It should be a base level for equal access, done on a need basis, and they must have employment", "You've got to be able to fund some people. The public are spending time and energy on travel; the area has an impact"; from Industry: "It's necessary, but should be handled outside of the process managers. Separate it; they have too much control. It should be handled directly by the Ministry of Finance", "Everyone or no one. If funded, then there is more continuity and we can hire the best negotiator", "If it's truly a public process you have to have funding for people to be able to attend and report back to their constituency"; from Municipal Government: "It's important and should be equal to each sector and they can divide it up. I understood some got up to \$175 per day". None of the Recreation and Tourism participants commented in this category.

### *Resources For the Process*

As mentioned, some people interpreted this question as funding or resources for the process itself, which sounded like in some processes was very inadequate. Some examples of comments were, from the Citizen Action representative: “You need a budget; there was no funding for the process. There should be a budget with the participants having input into it”; from Environment: “It’s a good idea, fund basic necessities, like a good map”; from Government Participant: “It should go to getting information, otherwise you get people for the wrong reasons”; from Industry: “Research should be covered, photocopying - this would be an incentive to go the extra mile”, “The priority should be the terms of reference, goals, and a budget. It’s very difficult to get information; funds are not available”; from Municipal Government: “Not for individuals, but needed for studies”; from Recreation: “Had to fight to get a bigger venue for the open house. We paid for the ad ourselves, so that people would see it”, “We paid for printing the report ourselves so that we could get it to the First Nations. We spent hours on the phone”, “There was just no money available for the process, other than the first year for phone calls and photocopying”.

### *Disagree*

Of the eight people who disagreed with any funding, the highest number were from Industry. Examples of the comments were, from a Citizen Action group which supports industry: “No. People on welfare or retired people would then do this for a living”; from an Environmental representative: “It’s a sore point, but it does show a level of commitment if it’s not there”; from Government Participants: “If not, then you know you have a strong commitment”, “If it’s important enough for a group to be represented, then they should fund it”; from Industry: “Some represented no one and made \$175 a day. It’s used as a lever. Money could control representation”, “It could be abused if people come for funding, not out of commitment”, “Absolute no, other than out of town travel; you’ll attract

the wrong kind of people”; from a female Recreation representative: “Individuals take it more seriously when they’re not paid; it needs to be an emotional commitment”.

### *Other*

As previously mentioned, there were three comments related to not excluding people on this basis, for example, “Some couldn’t do it if it wasn’t there”. Other comments related to funding were simply, “Inadequate”, “There was nothing provided; it would have made us feel that the ministry was working with us”.

## **OPENNESS**

Types of responses by each stakeholder group are summarized below in Table 7.6:

OPENNESS Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group					
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	RT
Honest, forthcoming	11	1	1	3	1	4	1
No hidden agenda	8	1	0	2	0	4	1
Can't be totally open	8	1	1	0	2	0	4
Open to public, media	5	0	3	1	0	1	0
Make information available	4	0	1	1	0	0	2
Other	4	1	2	0	0	1	0
Total	40	4	8	7	3	10	8

Table 7.6

Like the other factors, openness, which was first introduced in the literature, had different interpretations from different participants. In all, there were 40 comments related to openness; 11 believed it meant participants should be honest and forthcoming, while eight more specifically stated that it meant there should be no hidden agendas. Eight also

disagreed, saying that it is not possible for participants to be totally open. Five respondents believed that openness referred to the process itself and discussed the need for openness with the public and media. Four responses related back to the factor previously discussed on information; they believed that openness referred to the availability of information.

### *Participants Should be Honest and Forthcoming*

Examples of comments related to this category were, from the Citizen Action stakeholder: “State what your position is, cheerfully, right up front; there is no end to the benefits of that”; from Government Organizers: “People shared ideas, thoughts with everyone else, but to be able to say anything takes awhile”, “To share real concerns and interests. Be able to feel free to comment on other things. Not touting some company line. When there are sectors, you can't be as open”; “It may be against their nature; you don't need it to the extent to spill your guts, but you do need to get interests out in a clear way”; from Government Participant: “The ability to talk about issues - get them all on the table; speak up, not hold back”; from Industry: “Hard to find, it relates to honesty. People have to learn to be honest with what they're saying. I guess it's not in reality, but I would like it there”, “For everyone at table - if you don't have openness, honesty, integrity, it won't work. Builds trust”, “Got to be honest”, “Kootenays was like a poker game. People were holding back - get all the issues out”; and from Recreation and Tourism: “Be prepared to say what you want to say”. It was interesting that no Environmental stakeholders made comments relating to this category.

### *No Hidden Agendas*

Examples of comments related to this topic were, from a Citizen Action representative: “If someone has an agenda, it shouldn't be hidden. Some people didn't talk; non-verbals doesn't add to openness”; from an Environmental stakeholder: “Everyone needs to be honest in presenting their interests, fears, knowledge and no hidden agendas.

No behind closed door dealings; that's extremely important to the trust of the process"; from the Government Organizers: "Important, but difficult at the same time. It's important that there's no hidden government agenda", "The lead agency and all participants must be frank, but especially the agency. There's got to be no hidden agenda. [As a manager] I say it as I see it, even if it doesn't fall with government policy. This relates to trust"; from Industry: "From experience on the LRMP, yes; on CORE no - there was more personal agenda stuff in CORE", "If it's run interest-based, then agendas will come out", "Everyone's true agenda should be known to everyone else", "What are their real agendas? i.e. postpone logging for 5 years"; from one Recreation stakeholder, who had been involved in both CORE and an LRMP: "There's got to be honesty, no hidden agenda, all cards on the table, no game playing. We should be able to trust one another. There was more honesty in LRMP".

### *Can't Be Totally Open*

Eight people did not agree that openness was important, in fact, said it was not possible. Examples of these comments were, from the Union representative: "We are negotiating for our point of view. How much openness can you expect?"; from one of the Environmental representatives: "...participants don't necessarily need to be - it's a negotiation process"; from the Government Participants: "There was grandstanding with CORE; it may be preferable to put sectors in a room together, not totally open", "It may not be so important. There's games being played, like a poker game; you don't want to throw all your cards down". The most responses related to this came from the Recreation and Tourism respondents. Some examples were: "You cannot be totally honest; people can take advantage", "Not important. You can be open but not listen and that's destructive", "It's harder for participants; it's a negotiating game, so they won't put their cards on the table", "It doesn't need to be totally open process, if there is integrity. Sometimes there are

sensitive issues, people may not want to open up and have it turned around”, “Realistically, you’re never going to get it, and it’s not something you can impose”.

#### *Open To Public and the Media*

Four people, two from Recreation, and one each from Environment and Government Organizers felt that openness should refer to the process itself. Examples of their comments were: “The press should be there; information should be available to the public. Let the daylight in; that will have an effect”, “I believe in public processes, or destructive things can happen. Draw on the press as independent observers”, “It should be transparent to the public”, “Some parts should be limited to the committee. but most should be open to the public and the media.

#### *Information Should Be Made Available*

Comments related to openness of information all came from the same process, in the same geographical area. They included the following, from an Environmental stakeholder: “There was a lack of openness by government and industry in the extreme - they wouldn’t make information available”; from the Government Organizer: “This ties in with integrity - not lying by omission by not putting forth information that may help foster a decision”; from an Industry representative, “Material should be open; participants should not need to use FOI”; “from Recreation participants in the same process: “It would be great if the ministry would be open; information should be forthcoming”, “Information from the process needs to be open. Everyone should have access, and they should say where it came from”.

Four comments which did not fall into these categories included two related to openness meaning being open to new ideas, or being open-minded, from an Environmental representative: “You need to be open to new ideas. It can really hold up the process if this is not the case, whether participants or government reps”, from an Industry representative,

“People need to be open minded, listen to others, prepared to learn. Others weren't prepared to give process a chance. Other comments were, “[Openness] helps set the tone, trust, but it's not as critical as other factors”, “It will emerge; it's not critical at the start until people learn interest-based methods”.

## CLEAR POLICY

In the Vancouver Island Core Survey, the need for clear policy from government was stated as a problem for that plan, so respondents in this study were asked to comment on this as a potential success factor, given their experience. The types of comments by stakeholder are summarized in Table 7.7 below, and examples of the comments follow.

CLEAR POLICY		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Process can shape policy	13	0	1	1	3	3	1	4
Criticism of gov't policies	8	2	1	0	0	3	0	2
Not critical	8	1	2	2	2	1	0	0
Agree	8	0	1	3	2	1	0	1
Total	37	3	5	6	7	8	1	7

Table 7.7

Most did not feel it was important, and in fact 13 believed that these types of processes can shape government policy. Eight criticized the government for their policies or timing; eight said clear policy is not critical to a consensus process, but eight did agree that it would make the process easier.

### *Process Can Shape Policy*

These comments came from most stakeholder groups, but more from Recreation and Tourism. Examples included, from an Environmental stakeholder: “Some policy comes from above and some from below. Government shouldn’t restrict their creation at the grass roots level”; from a Government Organizer: “This sort of process provides pragmatic, grass-roots policy advice to government”; from Government Participants: “It was frustrating that forest practices policy came in during the process, but also we had the ability to shape policy”, “This is an example of bottom up policy; we came up with our own grazing policy, but it may build expectations”, “With an LRUP, the plan should set the policy, that’s what it’s there for; it ties in with integrity of process”; from Industry: “If we didn’t like it, we could do something about it”, “There were mixed messages from government and conflicting information on protected areas, but the table can affect policy”, “Not “this is what’s coming”, but more important, what do the people want?”; from the Municipal Government representative: “Don’t need; we’re here to shape, but that’s not an easy process. People can lead and politicians will have to catch up to it”; from Recreation and Tourism: “You don’t need policy. Ask, ‘what do you want to see’, not how many trees. Let’s define what WE want”, “We went for change around policy. They should be clear, but look at change”, “I see the process as effecting change to policy. The government was unprepared for this; it made them defensive and agitated, but they agreed. That’s one benefit of this process - it’s good for government”, “You don’t need it ; if the table identifies policies that are clearly impediments to the desires of table, then you change policy”.

### *Criticism of Government Policies or Timing*

Interestingly, but not surprising, none of these comments came from any of the government groups, yet all the other groups had some criticism to make. Examples were, from Citizen Action representatives: “It can’t work when they say, ‘Don’t worry, the

policy is coming out”, “It was ludicrous that we spent 3.5 months arguing over financial assistance and boundaries. This should have been supplied by government”; from an Environmental stakeholder: “I don’t think government should be involved - they’re just another stakeholder; it should be managed according to interests evident through process”; from Industry: “Everything is out of step. Once it’s legislated, there’s no sense talking about it”, “The government is really flying a kite with these processes, afraid to put their ass out to dry. Don’t waffle and then people won’t have a quarrel with a decision one way or other”, “Policy should be set down, but government does change. We should go with whatever is current and have a vehicle in the terms of reference to facilitate changes”; from Recreation and Tourism: “We were almost doomed to failure due to timing, when the Protected Area Strategy came down. There are too many unknowns from industry point of view”, “You’ll get [the clear policy] when the thing’s done; they’ll never tell you”.

### *Not Critical*

Examples, from a Citizen Action stakeholder: “Government policy has created the need for LRUP’s; theirs haven’t worked so far, so it’s not critical to the process”; from Environmental stakeholders: “We did it in spite of them. It would have been nice to have more direction; it might have cut back on bickering, but it doesn’t determine consensus”, “We should be prepared to act regardless of policy. I’d like to see policy that supports public processes”. This comment came from a Government Organizer who led a successful process: “You’re talking to a guy who didn’t know we had policy. Clear policy is an oxymoron. We can’t wait for it, while another Government Organizer said, “Need clear boundaries around issues, but policy always seems to be one step behind next level of process”. Government Participants agreed: “Firm policy from the outset may have meant ranchers walked out”, “We can proceed in the absence of it”. The Industry representative said, “There should be no preconceived end-policy, but should be strategic in nature. Don’t clutter the process with restrictions so that we can’t find creative solutions.”

### *Agree*

Of those who agreed that there should be clear policy, more of these comments came from Government. Some examples were: “If they’re not there, we should give direction on guidelines, for example protected areas”, “Policy assists the process, but this is new ground, so everything was happening at once”, “It’s fairly important, depending on the level of process. The higher level ones have to go through interagency and cabinet, so it’s very important”, “It would have shortened the process, would have simplified it”, “Sometimes it was hell operating in a vacuum. Some people were comfortable with it, but others weren’t. It was difficult for us to allay their concerns”.

Examples from other stakeholders were: “They should state areas which will be integrated use areas, rather than may be protected, rather than 100% this way or that”, “You need a balance of both. You need policy as a guideline, but you still need public input. It should be a local plan, and the rules are changing as we go”.

### **PRESCREENING**

Another factor which was mentioned in the Vancouver Island CORE survey was that participants should be prescreened. The meaning of this was not clear from the survey, so the idea was tested in this study, and was met with very mixed response. There were a total of 36 comments about prescreening participants. Eight, half of those from Industry, said that it should only be conducted within the sector and seven said it should not or could not be done. Eight comments, the majority from the Recreation and Tourism sector outlined desirable traits for participants as a way of answering this question, while six said it should be a process of self-screening, or by application. Five respondents, the majority from Government, said it was more important to educate potential participants, rather than screen them. The two “other” comments, both from the Environment sector,

both said that Industry should not be included in these processes. Types of comments, by stakeholder are summarized below:

PRESCREENING Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Conduct by sector	8	0	0	1	2	4	0	1
Desirable traits	8	2	1	0	1	0	0	4
Shouldn't be done	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	2
Self screen; by application	6	0	1	1	1	1	0	2
Educate, rather than screen	5	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
Other	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total	36	3	6	5	5	6	1	10

Table 7.8

### *Conduct By Sector*

Examples of comments related to prescreening only by sector are, from a Government Organizer: "Go to the sector and say, 'tell us who your participant should be'. Then it's up to the table to decide, set rules of conduct, etc."; from Government Participants: "If by sector, it should be done, not by government. Screening should cover commitment, whether they represent a group or are independent", "Do they have a legitimate interest, e.g. tenure vs. constituency. This is more important for community level processes"; from Industry: "I think it should be that people can't come unless they have the authority to make a decision", "Participants need to be empowered [by a group], not single interest people. Some individuals seem to be there just to get financing", "If they said you had to be local, that wouldn't be good. Screen the organization, though - should they be involved?", "Ideally, it should be limited to groups that are committed with valid constituency, but you can't do that because it's supposed to be public". There was also

one related comment from a Recreation stakeholder: “You’ve got to be able to limit the number of stakeholders from a particular segment, quantify and qualify them as part of process; this should be decided by the table”.

### *Desirable Traits*

In answering the importance of prescreening participants, some chose to answer by stating traits that would be desirable in a participant. These included, from Citizen Action stakeholders: “This would be hard to do, but some people’s personality is disruptive”, “Look for recognized experience, knowledge, credibility that should be at table. It’s a lot of work”; from an Environmental stakeholder: “They need education and a level of intelligence”; from a Government Participant: “Are they willing to be interest based?”; from Recreation and Tourism: “We need people who are good representatives of their issue, but also be willing to listen to other points of view. Those are the people who make them work”, “Have to have people with background and enough people from sectors to do the work. You’ve got to work in committees, so can’t have just one rep.”, “It’s the same people in all these processes; most people just don’t get involved. Search out people who have a reasonable approach”, “Ensure individuals don’t already have their minds made up and are willing to listen. They need an open mind and the support of their group”.

### *Shouldn't Be Done*

Examples of comments that were against the concept of screening included, from a Citizen Action stakeholder: “Some at public meetings felt they weren’t being represented and wanted into the process, but the group wouldn’t let them”; from an Environmental representative: “You need agreement from the table that people accept each other, not a sieve process by government”. One Government Organizer agreed: “You would lose objectivity if you tried to determine the suitability of individuals. Explain the process, but not yeah or nay”.

An Industry representative said, “You can’t do it. Express to groups kind of people you’re looking for”, which also relates to the first category of conducting any prescreening by sector. The Municipal Government representative also said, “You can’t do it”, and added, “The group dynamic has a way of sorting itself out”. Two comments from the Recreation sector included, “Government shouldn’t control who’s at the table”, “I believe it should be 100% open; you can’t restrict participants, but there needs to be commitment to rules of conduct, frames of reference, etc.” This comment leads into the next type.

#### *Should Be Self-Screening, or By Application*

From an Environmental stakeholder: “The key is the chair of the process, or a process to decide who sits at table”; from a Government Organizer: “We asked people at open houses: ‘How do you want to be involved?’”, while a Government Participant said, “Only if it’s an ‘are you willing’ situation”. An Industry representative felt participant screening should be done “By application; they must represent a large interest of the region”, and one Recreation representative had the same idea, and provided an example of the Ministry of Parks who had advertised for an advisory committee in the newspaper and called for resumes. He also said, “It’s more important than operating principles to have the right people involved. Ask for resumes, and have guidelines for applicants”.

#### *Educate, Rather Than Screen*

Related to the above comments, some participants felt it was important to communicate to potential participants what is involved, and this would also assume a self screening. Examples of comments included, “ It’s very important - allow someone to see what they’re in for, & get the best person from an organization, the one that’s best suited to this kind of work”, You can’t do as much as some might like, but you could say, ‘This is what’s required.’ That’s important - set out guidelines”, “Before the convening event find out whether they have the commitment and understanding. Let them know what the

process is about”, “Impress upon groups what makes a good sector rep, then rely on self policing of the group”, “Some plan and work, others just expound and block. Keep it open. Try to educate. Keep representation broad”.

The only other comments, as previously mentioned, were both from Environmental stakeholders who did not believe that Industry should be allowed in these processes.

## TIME

Dorcey et al (1994) had commented on the relationship between higher level public involvement increased time involved in planning. After hearing a number of comments regarding the time frames of consensus processes – one LRUP had taken nearly five years to complete – participants were asked to offer their views on time frames. There were 33 responses, 17 of which involved recommendations of a set time limit. Eight participants said that the process they were involved in could have been completed in less time, three believed that they needed more time, and five responded that their should not be a set time frame. The comments, organized by stakeholder group are summarized in Table 7.9 below, and examples follow.

TIME Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group						
		CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Should be a set time limit	17	2	2	6	1	4	1	1
It was too long	8	0	1	0	1	2	1	3
Should be flexible	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
It was too short	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	33	4	4	6	3	6	2	8

Table 7.9

During the interviews, members of both the Environmental group and the Industry group had accused the others of “dragging out the process”, however, their responses to this question were very similar. Most believed there should be a set time limit, a few thought the process could have been done faster and none, in either group felt that the time was too short.

### *Time Limit*

Of the 17 participants who believed that consensus processes should have a set time limit, 12 specified a duration, five suggested two years, four suggested 1.5 years, and three said they should not take longer than one year. These suggestions were interspersed throughout stakeholder groups and types of processes. Examples of comments, by stakeholder included, from Citizen Action participants: “It must be within reason for someone to volunteer to do it”, “Two years max., or with an agreement on what information is needed and will be used, it could be done in one year. This one was simple”; from Environmental stakeholders: “It could be done in a year easily; you don’t need to study everything to death”, “Industry want to make it as long as possible, hoping for a change in government who will chuck the whole thing”.

All of the responses from Government Organizers related to a set time frame. Examples of those mentioning a specific time limit included, “It’s not a timeless thing, decisions will be made without us if we don’t get it done; 24 months is realistic”, “We projected 1.5 years; beyond that you erode continuity and table dynamics”, “It should be two years. Set a work plan and time frames on each aspect within the process”, “They were given 1.5 years, two years ballpark, it’s not over”. The more general comments included, “It needs to be bounded with milestones and monitored; it needs to be outcome oriented”, “You have to be goal-oriented, with data up front, and a commitment to finish. This will shorten the process; it’s important to get some results quickly”. One of the

Government Participants said, “You must have a time frame. Set it but be flexible; two years is admirable”.

Comments from Industry included, “It should not be an open time frame; some people get emotionally and physically burned out. It should take 12 to 16 months”, “The economy needs to roll and they [the environmentalists] want to shut it down. You need a contingency plan and a time limit of one year”. One Recreation stakeholder also referred to burn out: “You should have completion dates and stick to it. These processes burn people out; they are a test of endurance; whoever holds out wins. It could be done in one year”.

### *Process Was Too Long*

Comments about the process being too long came from all types of processes, and from most stakeholders, but most often from Recreation and Tourism. Examples were, from an Environmental participant: “There was no reason on earth it took four years. They wouldn’t let us have information. It should have been done in two years”; from Industry: In CORE there was too much time on process and not enough on the map. Identify interests; it shouldn’t take two years”, “If we came to a vote, it would be quicker”; from Recreation: “I never thought it would take five years. If it’s not a crisis situation, but planning with open-minded individuals it should take one year”, “It could have been shorter, but it was so polarized that no matter who ran it we couldn’t have come to consensus”, “So much time was wasted in the process...reinventing the wheel”.

### *Keep It Flexible*

Those who did not think there should be a set time frame came mostly from the Recreation group, and did not include any of the participants of the LRUP which had taken over four years. Comments included, “Babies are born when they’re ready; same on things like this, or it won’t be the best”, “People often begrudge the time taken to get a final result. ‘X-type’ managers [relating to McGregor’s (1960) Theory X and Y] say it should

be done in six months, if you do as you're told", "You need whatever time you need; there cannot be a deadline".

### *Too Short*

Of the three people who felt they needed more time in their process, two were from the same LRMP process and one was a First Nations representative from another process. The comments, first from a Citizen Action representative were, "There was a timeline mandate, so it was railroaded through at the end. The government people needed results; agreements were made, but they were rushed". A Participant of the same process said, "A time limit could create frustration; you can't crowd it or people may say you're just using us as a rubber stamp". The First Nations representative had this to say, "It should take longer, but not as much time. What I mean is, things need to be done between meetings, and allow time for information gathering. Have the full table meetings in a two day session quarterly, but spread it over three years".

## **MANAGEMENT STYLE**

One factor that became apparent in the course of this research, but that hadn't been mentioned directly in literature was management style. After it was mentioned by 11 participants, the Government Organizers were specifically asked about their management style or philosophy. These responses are grouped below according to those from 'successful' processes, and 'unsuccessful' processes:

MANAGEMENT STYLE	#	Number of comments	
		Government Organizers	Participants
Successful processes	16	12	4
Unsuccessful processes	9	2	7
Total	25	14	11

Table 7.10

*Comments From 'Unsuccessful' Processes:*

Examples of comments from participants included the following: “The District Manager was intimidating. There was constant redirecting of the group. Terms of reference were altered without group input. When we got going we would be held back”, “The guys here [at the Ministry of Forests] are a bunch of dinosaurs”, “Anyone in the ministry who talks about integrated planning or values other than timber is ostracized”, “They would have a commitment for public process at the upper level, but then it’s reinterpreted at the district level. All the power is here”, “60’s people can’t buy into a 90’s concept; you have to act differently”, “It could be a factor of good intention, but there is a lack of knowledge, experience, training, and a dinosaur mentality with tremendous power”.

Comments from managers of these processes concurred: “One District Manager felt resource management should be done by resource managers. He said, ‘You don’t involve the public in brain surgery’”, “I am torn between what I’m told to do and reducing the credibility of the ministry. I was told I need to do what I’m told”.

*Comments From 'Successful' Processes:*

Comments from participants included the following: "It works best when the manager is not 'king of the hill'; some managers just aren't conducive to this type of planning", "The problem has been with the bureaucrats; it doesn't take long until he thinks he is the job", "A good manager needs personal security, self esteem, and a background in facilitation and consensus building".

In discussion with managers of successful processes, certain traits became evident in the comments they made in response to the question, "What does a good manager need to lead a process like this?" Responses included, "They can't agree with everything, but will take the intent of the plan and set aside their own biases", "Got to provide strong direction", "Don't like to be dictatorial; give them freedom", "An appropriate blend of working group participation in the plan with leadership", "Be honest, open, able to listen. Hear what they're really saying and respond to that, not what it may sound like".

In addition, successful managers had a willingness to take risks, not to simply do what they were told, for example, "Not constrained by policies; Victoria may not like it, but they won't know about it", "Risk taking, political smarts", "If we weren't willing to take some risks, we'd be only halfway through this process". They believe in public involvement: "I enjoy meeting the public; took it as a personal challenge to assume their concerns. To be proactive, you have to involve them", "Willingness to entertain all views". These managers are proactive and modern in their approach to land use planning: "Entertain other disciplines in planning, not foresters", "With old fashioned planners, the forest means timber, to me, what's left over is timber". After a long discussion with one manager, the personal assessment of the researcher was that he was irreverent, bright, flexible, results-oriented and creative.

## PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REPRESENT A CONSTITUENCY

One factor which emerged in this research, and one on which participants were divided, was the idea of representation. Eight felt that participants should represent a legitimate constituency, seven disagreed, and four provided other comments about this subject. These responses did not vary as much by stakeholder as they did by type of process. See Tables 7.11 and 7.12 below. More people who agreed that there should be a legitimate constituency were from CORE processes, whereas more people who did not agree were from the more “successful” LRMP and LRUP processes.

CONSTITUENCY		Stakeholder Group						
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Agree	8	1	1	1	0	1	2	2
Disagree	7	1	0	2	1	2	0	1
Other	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
Total	19	2	1	6	2	3	2	3

Table 7.11

CONSTITUENCY		Process		
Type of Comment	#	CORE	LRMP	LRUP
Agree	8	4	3	1
Disagree	7	1	4	2
Other	4	1	2	1
Total	19	6	9	4

Table 7.12

Those who agreed that participants should represent a constituency had these comments to make; from a Citizen Action representative from LRMP: “You have a responsibility to represent more than yourself; talk about your participation with neighbors, be available; from a CORE organizers and varied participants: “Representation is a key issue. There needs to be a way of testing it, like periodic check points where representatives caucus with their constituency”, “You either have a legitimate constituency or you don’t. I didn’t believe in that group who called themselves ‘All Beings’”, “One person bands don’t work; they are the fringe and they are usually there to block, not to contribute”; from an LRUP Recreation representative: “They must represent a fair per cent of the population”.

Comments from those who disagreed included these, from First Nations in CORE: “Leaves little latitude; it’s not solution oriented. Position based. May be better if they’re not ‘representatives’, but need a responsibility to the whole”; from Government Organizers and Participants: “The interests or value they represent is the important thing, not if they have a membership list”, “Not important. Need a representative cross-section of the community, but they don’t need to represent a constituency”, “It never will be a democratic process; it’s people who are concerned”. Two Industry representatives from LRMP had these comments: “All you can achieve is a good representation of interests”, “You don’t want to get into issues of parity and who has the most say”, and a Recreation stakeholder who had experience with both CORE and LRMP said, “You can be involved even if you are John Q. Public - then you do represent a constituency; this is a reincarnation of ideal democracy”.

The other comments included the following, from Government Organizers: “It can’t be controlled by planners; it’s a tough one to deal with”, “When there is only one government representative, it’s difficult for that person to make decisions”, “Problems are usually communication problems. If that’s taken care of, it will run smoothly”.

## CONTINUITY

Along with Commitment of Participants, some named continuity as an important factor. There were a total of 18 comments related to this; eight which spoke generally about the need for continuity, five about the use of alternates or replacements, and five who said continuity was either not possible, or not particularly important or desirable. The types of comments grouped by stakeholder are summarized in Table 7.13 below:

CONTINUITY Type of Comment	#	Stakeholder Group					
		EN	GO	GP	IN	MG	RT
Agree	7	2	3	1	0	1	0
Use of alternates	6	0	1	0	2	0	3
Disagree	5	0	1	1	0	2	1
Total	18	2	5	2	2	3	4

Table 7.13

### *Agree*

Examples of comments about the importance of participants continuity included, from the Environmental stakeholders: “It’s not fair for people not to attend”, “Newcomers wouldn’t read the minutes and could be very disruptive”; from a Government Organizer: “Very important, or it can really slow down a process. Again, communication is the key”; from Municipal Government: “To have someone come in halfway through is almost impossible and very frustrating. There’s a trust built up that people are sincere and have legitimate concerns”.

### *Use Of Alternates*

Most comments about alternates came from the Industry and Recreation stakeholders. On comment by a Government Organizer was, “It has to be participants’ responsibility to bring replacements up to speed; they can’t reopen things that have already been decided”. Other examples included, from Industry: “You should have an informed alternate. Have full attendance to get the most out of each meeting”; from Recreation: “The sector must make sure replacements are brought up to speed, or it can destroy a table”, “Should have one alternate, no more, or it could be disruptive and sets you back”.

### *Disagree*

Of those who disagreed that continuity was important or possible, two comments came from Government, two from Municipal Government and one from a Tourism stakeholder. Examples included the following; “People change and leave; this can be dealt with; the table has to adapt”, “It’s not always achievable”, “It would be nice, but the reality is people change and it’s also refreshing to go away and come back with new energy”, “You end up with different players because it can be a four year span. You must consider those variables”, “If they’re not doing a good job, you need to be able to change”.

## **SIZE**

The question about size, as opposed to scale, related to the number of people involved in a process, rather than size of the region to be planned. There were a total of 16 comments generated, of which six believed the size should be limited, six said size was not important, and five specifically discussed the use of sub-committees as a way of dealing with size. The types of comments, organized by type of process are summarized in Table 7.14 below. Examples follow.

SIZE Type of Comment	Type of Process				
	#	CORE	LRMP	LRMP/ LRUP	LRUP
Limit size	6	0	1	1	4
Not important	5	0	2	2	1
Use sub-committees	5	2	1	0	2
Total	16	2	4	3	7

Table 7.14

*Limit Size*

Of those who believed number of participants should be limited, five had experience with LRUP, and one was from LRMP. Although there was commonalty in the theme of the comment, the recommended sizes varied considerably, as illustrated by some of the comments, for example, "It shouldn't be over 40... has 60 or 70. Ours evolved to a natural level", "Too big is not good; optimum is 10 to 12", "Based on experience 30 is a workable group, with 15 different sectors", "Keep it manageable; 30 was too big", "You need a good cross-representation, but over 12 becomes difficult".

*Size Not Important*

Examples of comments of those who did not believe that size should be limited included, "You'd get agreement [if it were smaller], but it wouldn't sell", "There didn't seem to be any restrictions limiting the size or make up of the group; we just evolved and it seems to be working. Too few could cause problems too", "Must be inclusive or you get late joiners. Consensus can work in large or small groups", "It doesn't matter, try to avoid the voting model". One Government Organizer related this factor to others: "It's a trade

off between representation and functionality. Combine this with training, it's an exponential scale - if it's large, with no training, there is less chance of success".

#### *Use Sub-Committees to Deal with Size*

Examples included, "There are ways to manage larger groups, like using sub-groups", "The work got done in sub-committees; the large table was more political and there was more posturing".

### **OTHER FACTORS**

Other factors mentioned included 13 comments relating to plain language; nine mentioned the need for First Nations participation; five discussed the importance of the meeting facilities; three said how useful field trips were in learning about the region; two mentioned the need for a dispute mechanism; two talked about the need for creativity, and two referred to power.

#### *Plain Language*

In all 13 comments were made regarding terminology and language. These are summarized in Table 7.15 below:

PLAIN LANGUAGE		Stakeholder Group				
Type of Comment	#	CA	EN	GO	GP	IN
Agree	8	0	1	1	3	3
Disagree	5	1	2	0	0	2
Total	13	1	3	1	3	5

Table 7.15

Examples from Government Organizers and Participants included, “We need good communicators who spend time listening to understand issues”, “Get rid of acronyms. On subject areas that people are not familiar with, adjust the agenda to explain areas”, “...be articulate and use language that is plain and matter of fact”, “It hinges on people understanding what is being talked about. Use simple English; that’s just good communication”.

Examples from Industry were, “It hinders things. Bureaucrats need to be able to explain things clearly”, “There has to be a universal language; the CORE process had different terminology”, “Try to avoid jargon; there should be a glossary, but half the people haven’t read it”. Some comments from the Environmental group refuted some of the previous comments: “You can’t get away from buzzwords; there is a glossary, participants have to be willing to learn”, “Don’t reduce the whole thing to the lowest common denominator. You need a level of intelligence; these are complex issues”, “Terminology needs to be very carefully scrutinized regarding the implications and meanings different people may have”.

### *First Nations Participation*

Of the nine comments regarding First Nations involvement, one was from Environment, three from Government Organizers, one from a Government Participant, two from Industry, one Municipal Government, and one Recreation. All but one discussed the need for more first nations involvement, for example, “Ensure native participation. we sent letters, but you need to go in person”, “We need substantial first nations input, not drop in, say hi and leave”, “We need native involvement, but we’ve tried until we’re blue in the face. They don’t agree with the process”, “It was a void in our process”, “A big problem is the uncertainty of native land claims; it’s a big black cloud hanging over the process, the

lack of native participation”. The only negative comment came from one Industry representative who scoffed, “...and now they want Indians involved”.

### *Facility*

There were five comments regarding the facility and location of meetings, one from an Environmental stakeholder: “It should be a round table, not facing the front; comfort is important, air conditioning, good coffee. It wouldn’t work in a gym somewhere with metal chairs, for example”. Two comments from Government Organizers included, “It should be comfortable, but doesn’t need to be slick. The location is important”, “It depends on the level of trust of the agency. You want to meet on neutral ground, and you must be aware of local custom, for example, here, natives won’t go into the legion hall”.

### *Field Trips*

Three participants, one from each of Citizen Action, Environment and Industry mentioned the use of field trips, for example: “Field trips helped see what we were talking about”, “We had excursions to the area with the foresters; we learned a lot”, “Seeing what we were discussing; it put it into perspective. I would recommend this”.

### *Dispute Mechanism*

Two participants, both from the same CORE process said there was a need for a mechanism to resolve disputes or impasses, as well as to be able to answer questions.

### *Creativity*

One Government Organizer and the Union representative both spoke of the need for creativity: “There is no template; you have to decide what’s right for a particular area”, “It takes creativity to solve problems like how can we mine or at least explore without

disturbing caribou? How can we harvest bug killed trees in a protected area and preserve those things that need preserving?”.

### *Power*

Two comments regarding power, interestingly both came from female participants, one a Citizen Action representative from an LRUP, and the other an Industry representative from CORE: “There is a power imbalance at the table. It’s clear who is familiar, comfortable [discussed industry representatives walking behind the counter at the Ministry of Forests office]... it feels like it’s not our process”; “It’s amazing how much power they have; it’s a kind of a high. In designating a study area, they’re hurting others without realizing it”.

## SUMMARY

This chapter, along with Chapters 5 and 6, has presented objective results of the detailed interviews with participants and organizers of several consensus planning processes. These chapters have started to interpret shortcomings in consensus land use planning processes (the normative model), as defined by the subjects. Participant responses to questions about the factors of success for shared decision-making processes have been presented, and where there have been similarities in types of response by stakeholder group, or by type of process, location or gender, these have been pointed out.

This chapter specifically focused on the qualitative analysis of evaluation indicators other than those which have been deemed to be ‘critical’, however, many are still important to the success of a consensus process. These included stakeholder identification; the interpersonal dynamic; building of relationships outside of the consensus process; local participants; funding; openness; clear policy; prescreening of participants; time as a factor; management style; representation of a constituency; continuity of participants; size of consensus group. In addition, other factors which were mentioned by only a few

participants were also discussed, including the use of plain language; First Nations participation; the meeting facility; use of field trips; dispute mechanism; creativity; and power.

Subsequent chapters offer some directions for improvement and a reformulation of the use of consensus in land use planning. Chapter 8 provides further discussion of all the indicators presented in these chapters and how these might lead to an adjustment of the government model, while Chapter 9 introduces an evaluation framework based on this analysis, as well as further models and recommendations for consensus public involvement processes.

## CHAPTER 8

### DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

“I am haunted by the spirit of the people. It is easy to do analysis, to group responses and to look for trends, but that is not what I am left with. I am left with the image of sitting in a cafe in a small town in B.C. with a mother of 10 children. She didn't want to participate at first, not because she wasn't interested, but because of her enormous time commitments. When I told her how important it was I speak with her because there are so few women involved in these processes, she agreed. We met for coffee one morning, after her work shift, on her way home. I still remember that the moss green of her sweater blended in with the green of the walls and I thought how fitting it was, given the topic. She had never been 'green' she assured me, had valued economic growth, until their drinking water began to be affected by the logging. She feared for the future of her children, and so she decided it was important enough to devote 4 years of her life, countless hours, and much of her own money to the effort to save their watershed.

This same interview will appear as a set of numbers in my quantitative analysis - averaged and manipulated to detect trends. But I stop to wonder, is it as important to group people together to find trends, lumping them into a faceless, unidentified mass, as it is to understand and really *feel* with the woman with ten children with the green sweater on? She spoke haltingly about the process. Her assessments were not different than the other 12 I had interviewed in that area, but her words were. She spoke of feeling powerless, even desperate sometimes. She spoke of men controlling the process, of not being listened to. She seemed surprised at this, like something was wrong with her. It was supposed to be consensus. She felt that meant everyone should be heard.”

– Author's Personal Notes, January 15, 1996.

This chapter provides further discussion and implications of the results of questions presented in Chapter 5, and of the individual indicators presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Where beneficial, the discussion incorporates a comparison of findings from the literature review, from the normative government models, and from the interviews conducted in this research. Some excerpts from the author's personal notes, which were compiled after each interview, are also included. Recommendations following from these discussions, as well as a proposed evaluation framework, appear in Chapter 9, and broader conclusions about consensus, public involvement and resource management decision-making are discussed in Chapter 10.

## GENERAL QUESTIONS

### SUCCESS

Participants were asked to provide their personal definition of 'success' because it had never been explicit in the government's normative models. One of the earlier land use planning documents from the Ministry of Forests (Ness, 1992a) described public participation as "an instrument of conflict resolution": success, therefore, was discussed as the "reconciliation of conflicting and competing interests over scarce resources". Other than this reference, implicitly it appeared that 'success' would be characterized by the achievement of consensus in a consensus land use planning process, yet as discussed in Chapter 4, there was also no definitive interpretation of 'consensus'.

In the context of this research, there were numerous different responses from managers and participants in defining 'success' in a consensus-based land use planning process. For a majority, success meant compromise, others believed that unless a consensus agreement was reached by the group, it was not truly successful, while others, who might have been more results-oriented, simply defined it as arriving at a plan, however it came about. To have successful public involvement, however, the process is as important as the short term result, as was pointed out by some respondents.

Whether or not there is a plan approved by every stakeholder, the real test of success would be whether people feel that their input has been worthwhile, whether the community could come together to implement the plan, and whether the degree of understanding between stakeholders has risen to the point that further work could be accomplished in that community. As many respondents explained, success is when there has been trust built, as well as an ongoing working relationship. If this is absent, then a plan, whether or not there was consensus, wouldn't be easily implemented. For successful implementation there are other factors that need ongoing participatory management and that will be hampered if the process has been divisive and polarized.

Following Maser's (1996) contention, perhaps the real goal of this level of public involvement in land use planning is not simply to develop a short term plan, but to start to build a model of sustainable community development, as described in Chapter 2. One might ask if there is evidence of this view supported in the government decision-making model in British Columbia. From the document review and government interviews in this study, the most common view of consensus land use planning is more as a necessary concession to resolving conflict in order to get on with business, than as the fulfillment of some loftier goal of empowering communities. There is no question, however, that many of the *participants* envision the role of consensus land use planning processes as a beginning step toward stronger community control.

## CONSENSUS

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, there is a great deal of confusion about the concept of consensus. Penrose (1996) abandoned the term in his evaluation study, favouring 'shared decision-making' (SDM). As discussed in the government document review in Chapter 4, inconsistencies appear even in the working documents of the agencies involved in developing and administering these processes. The definition of consensus by CORE is,

"Shared decision-making, i.e. on a certain set of issues for a defined period of time, those with authority to make a decision and those who will be affected by that decision are empowered jointly to seek an outcome that accommodates rather than compromises the interests of all concerned" (discussed in Brown, 1996).

An important note is that it does not refer to an agreement, but rather to a *process* of reaching agreement on a land use plan. As discussed in Chapter 4, the definition put forward by the Ministry of Forests (1995) is, "a *general agreement* as defined and accepted by all those concerned [emphasis mine]. The B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (BCRTEE) (1991a) also defined consensus as a general agreement, or acceptance of decisions by participants in the consensus process. The definition adopted by the Canadian Round Tables (1993) expanded on the BCRTEE, stating that it is "a

*process* in which all those who have stake in the outcome *aim* to reach agreement...”[emphasis mine].

It is little wonder that participants, especially those with experience in multiple processes, were confused about this term. Consensus, as a form of decision-making, discussed in Chapter 2, originated in indigenous societies, and in modern times with the Society of Friends, the Quakers. As stressed by Estes (1984), it was designed, and used, as a *process*, not as a result. It is a problem solving process of communicating interests and attempting to formulate a creative solution which addresses all interests. As stated earlier, it is not compromise or negotiation, although might ultimately use these tools. This is a critical distinction which has an impact on the definition of ‘success’ in consensus-based land use planning, as discussed above. In addition, one wonders whether in land use planning, which represents a series of ‘decisions’, a goal of general agreement would even be realistic.

If the long-term objective of a land use plan is actually sustainable community development, then focus on an inclusive process is paramount. If the objective is simply to develop a plan, then it might be more efficient to leave it to the planners, with traditional forms of input from concerned citizens. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the benefits of consensus decision-making appear to have wide acceptance – benefits like participant commitment to implementing a decision; application of a wide range of knowledge and expertise; improved understanding among participants; and better working relationships (Integrated Resource Planning Committee, 1993). The IRPC report added, “Despite these challenges, application of consensus building techniques in LRMP is expected to result in better, more open, accountable and stable decision-making.”

The important point is that a particular planning process using consensus must first define its objectives, and come to a common definition of consensus. This was first raised by the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, which stated, “An operational definition of ‘consensus’ should be agreed to by the participants. For instance,

it might mean unanimous agreement or no explicit disagreement, but it is vital that the definition be established before the process gets underway.” This evidently had not been followed in many of the processes studied in this research.

## ASSESSMENT OF THE PROCESS

“What prompts people to spend up to five years of their life donating their time to such an exercise? An exercise which is riddled with the frustration of dealing with government, of trying to change a system that most believe is not working, yet having to work within that system. These people seem to share a vision of a better way. No individual can envision some ultimate process, but what keeps them attending meetings and working long hours for no remuneration is that there is a seed of idealism that there is a better way to plan and manage our resources. They don’t believe they have yet found it, but they believe that they are moving closer. They are motivated by the idea of community control, of community synergy, of community. Yet the communities, unlike our traditional ideas of community as a homogeneous sub-culture, are a collection in some cases of such disparate factions that they could represent any pluralistic society in our postmodern world. In these crucibles, in small pockets of British Columbia, we are testing new, or perhaps old and revisited, ideas of cooperation, community and consensus. Perhaps what is happening here is even more important than land use planning.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, August 27, 1996

In assessing the efficacy of consensus in land use planning in this study, the majority of both participants and managers were in favour of it, even committed to it, however, their reasons varied. As pointed out above, many come with an idealism that they are searching for a better way of managing land and resources. Some participants, however, appear to become involved out of a “siege mentality”. Whether from a philosophy of environmental protection, in the vernacular called the “Greens”, or a philosophy of business development and industry (the “Browns”), there were individuals who, during the interviews, spoke of feeling compelled to be involved in such a process because the “other side” would be, therefore they had to retain or regain power. It was described in militaristic terms, not as community building or as searching for a better way of making land use decisions, as described in the section above.

Even some managers and some government participants appeared to be involved only because it was part of their job, rather than out of a sense of being prepared to share

power with the community. Evidence of managerialism still exists in these processes which are intended to share decision-making with citizens. These respondents were a minority, but managers considering such processes should be aware that not all participants share a vision. As stated by one participant, "... the organization of the process is not as important as the attitudes toward the whole thing".

It was surprising that most people were in favour of these processes, even those interviewed who had left them before completion. Those who did admit reservations about consensus processes in land use planning most often related to how they were conducted. Many problems raised related to the success factors discussed below. Others related to confusion about the nature of consensus, as discussed in the section above. Where the processes were run as true consensus planning, participants were mostly satisfied with them. Other planning processes, which eroded into traditional adversarial negotiation, were less successful. This seemed to occur more often in processes where objectives were unclear and where the facilitator was not as effective.

It is hoped that, through studies such as this one, knowledge will be gained to determine the best use of consensus decision-making in land use planning, and at the same time, to develop its procedures to make such processes more effective, and more satisfying for participants.

"They say that other planning structures are no longer working. Note that they started these kinds of processes in Kamloops 10 years ago with localized land use plans. They evolved to consensus. There is a lot of trust now between the government and other stakeholders because of the credibility built by 10 years of ongoing dialogue. Another respondent added that it didn't always work; under a former manager issues were raised by stakeholders that did not appear on the agenda, certain stakeholders were not listened to, and power was retained by a select few. But they learned over the years that this way did not work."

– Author's Personal Notes, August 30, 1995

## **GEOGRAPHIC SCALE**

Most participants in this study (77%) favoured the LRMP scale for consensus-based land use planning. They believed that, unlike smaller community level processes,

LRMP provides a large enough regional area in order to designate land use for industry as well as for protection. The LRUP, or landscape level, was considered too small, and in most cases caused even more conflict from the 'log it/protect it' factions, because there was not enough land in question to be able to make trade-offs. At the other end of the scale, most participants believed that the CORE regions were too large in order for stakeholders to have meaningful input; that many were involved to impart ideology, rather than out of a first-hand knowledge of most of the land under question. Fraser (1994) recommended that "if the region is defined by administrative convenience rather than natural perception, then the area may be too large."

It was pointed out that whether at the regional or community level, these processes are far more successful where there is an ongoing relationship, not only between participants, but between participants and management, such as the Forest Service. It was suggested this may be one reason that the CORE processes were less than successful in reaching consensus; the organizers were outsiders, seen to be imposed onto a distant community from Victoria. LRMP, on the other hand, which can be nearly as wide in geographic scope as CORE, has the distinction of being managed by local people who often have a previous relationship with most participants and would continue to do business with them in the implementation of the plan, unlike their counterparts in Victoria.

Although the size of the LRMP was deemed to be appropriate, some participants and government officials continue to question the boundaries used. LRMP's have been designated generally according to Forest District boundaries, and according to some participants and representatives of the Ministry of Environment, these do not make sense from an ecosystem perspective. In the interest of efficiency, it may be a good idea to maintain the Forest District boundaries; there is an infrastructure established to deal with these land tracts, however, perhaps the boundaries should be reviewed and made flexible to better address the needs of specific watersheds and ecosystems. This would support the conclusion of Fraser *et al.* (1996), whose study of LRMP processes stated that "Land units

should be socio-geographically realistic. They should be based initially on physiographic and ecological features but should also be capable of representing relevant units of social, economic and environmental considerations of interest to the parties.”

Although the Government of British Columbia had attempted regional land use planning on a much larger scale, through CORE, during the course of this study (April, 1996) they disbanded CORE. It had been surprising to the author that CORE had been created in 1992 with what appeared to be a similar mandate as the LRMP and LRUP processes which were already operating successfully, using consensus decision-making. When queried about this duplication, one CORE manager replied, “We thought they were different at the time”. CORE had a high public profile and demonstrated that the government was acting to alleviate environmental conflict, but eventually, it perhaps came to light that CORE might have been an unwieldy and unnecessary additional layer of government.

## **FUTURE OF LAND USE PLANNING**

The majority of responses to the question regarding the future of land use planning, other than from industry participants, stated that consensus and participation were the desired way of the future. Many industry and local government representatives also called for less government control and bureaucracy, and more local power. These sentiments all reflect the commitment to community development illustrated earlier in this chapter.

Government needs to realize that whether or not it maintains a commitment to shared decision-making, communities will continue to demand it. In addition, many participants were, and continue to be, concerned about implementation of land use plans which are developed by consensus. They are concerned that action should not stop with a written plan. Continued participation and trust of these processes will depend in large part on what government does with the results generated by the consensus land use processes which have been completed to date.

## EVALUATION INDICATORS

### SOLID INFORMATION

A lack of 'solid information' was first stated as a problem in the CORE Vancouver Island survey results, however the term was not defined, so an attempt was made in this research to determine not only how important information is to the success of a consensus-based land use planning process, but how participants would define 'solid' information. Participants had lots to say, with this indicator generating the highest number of qualitative responses of all the factors discussed.

It appeared that especially for earlier processes, the lack of consistent and credible information was seen as a problem by many participants. Representatives of most stakeholder groups made comments questioning the credibility of the information that was used, whether it had been provided by the government, by industry or by environmental groups. The participants who were more "neutral" in their philosophy were particularly confused when conflicting information on a topic was presented by different groups, and it was reported that this occurred on numerous occasions.

Non-government stakeholders were often surprised at the lack of information available from government. In one particular consensus planning process, participants did not believe that certain information did not exist; some reported that information had been withheld and they used Freedom of Information legislation to bring to light specific government reports. This obviously should not be necessary in an open process, and brings to question another success factor discussed in this research – that of 'integrity'.

The B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a) first stated that there is a "responsibility of parties to provide technical or scientific information they have at their disposal"; they also recommend that a protocol should specify how jointly approved research would be conducted and supported. The Canadian Round Tables (1993) pointed out that equal opportunity should be a guiding principle of consensus

processes, and that this should include “adequate and fair access to all relevant information and expertise”.

In this study, government participants and organizers were less concerned than other stakeholders about solid information. Many stated that planning processes should not be held up due to lack of information; that consensus decisions should depend more on ‘value-related’ information provided by the community than on technical and scientific information, which, they reported, would never be sufficient.

Before the advent of multi-stakeholder consensus processes, integrated planning was a new concept in government, so little information on inventories, habitats, etc. was available, and what did exist was often inconsistent between ministries. In the newer LRMP’s, initiated during or after this study, there was a much greater emphasis on compiling the appropriate information and having it available for participants from the very beginning of the planning process. Managers reported that it took some experience to know what would be needed and how to best present it. In later processes, the quantity and quality of information had greatly improved. Government departments and ministries have become diligent in developing information and mapping with more consistent boundaries and scales through the use of Geographic Information Systems, so this should be even less of a problem in future processes.

One problem that should be avoided, however, was that reported by a number of participants: ‘information overload’. Government organizers and participants need to be diligent in culling information to that which is necessary to make decisions. When participants reported having to read many boxes of printed material, many felt it was overwhelming and in the end, not even all that useful. The use of GIS in future can simplify information, but can also provide overload in another sense. Managers must be careful not to over burden participants by either the volume of information, or by fancy technology. Maser (1996) stated that “current public environmental debates are so politicized that we become preoccupied with relatively minor details, which causes us to

run around looking for knowledge while we are drowning in information". There has even been a specific provision in the Environmental Protection Agency in the US, that information provided to the public not be excessive nor too complex.

The topic of information, and the use of GIS in multi-stakeholder decision-making processes is addressed more fully in a recent study by Canessa (1997).

## **INTEGRITY**

A number of writers on public involvement have referred or alluded to the need for it to be well planned and delivered with integrity, honesty, and with an open attitude. Specifically related to consensus, the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a), for example, stated that "the process must be seen to be open, fair, and equitable or the resulting consensus and decisions will not last". For this study it was necessary to have participants rate the importance of the factor of 'integrity', but even more importantly, to compile their definitions and experiences of it.

Integrity was judged, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to be a priority indicator of success. But what is meant by this from the perspective of participants, as opposed to the broad statements in the literature? It is something that is difficult to describe, in terms of employing it in a prescriptive technique, yet it was most clearly described by some participants by its absence in the land use planning processes in which they were involved.

How a process is managed can and does contribute to the factor of integrity. The organizers must be committed to public involvement and must be willing to share power and step aside from their own preconceptions. As one official pointed out, "the public knows when you are telling the truth, and they can sense when something is being hidden". If public involvement processes are approached by officials in an honest way, they have the ability to increase trust and credibility of government generally, while the converse is also true. If they are staged events with predetermined outcomes, trust and credibility of the agency will suffer. This analysis was voiced by several government officials.

Integrity, by one participant, was described as a willingness to put all issues on the table, not to gloss over anything, not to hide anything – both on the part of the organizers and on the part of the participants. The more participants discussed this factor, the more it appeared to be related to the others indicators of management style, openness, neutral chair/process manager. As such, integrity also very much relates to the proposed definition of success in a consensus land use planning process. It was clear that some processes left participants feeling less trustful of government in general, and of their public processes specifically. Any lack of integrity would certainly hamper future efforts. Even if a plan is eventually procured, but the community leaves with less trust of the government agencies, it is unlikely the plans will be implemented, or any future community processes will be effective.

Another aspect of integrity that a number of participants mentioned, both in the interviews, and at the meeting that the researcher observed, was trust that the government would use their input and implement the plans the group developed. This was discussed by the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1992b) as a key component of a consensus process: “Government must be committed to responding to the outcome of the process...parties to the process must be reasonably satisfied from the outset that their agreement has a reasonable prospect of being implemented...”.

“There seem to be real concerns about integrity, concerns that in other areas the report was amended as it went up the line. Some expressed what looked like shock that this was even a possibility. Many voiced a mistrust of government, particularly Victoria, as opposed to the local ministry officials, who seemed to be very well regarded. As one participant stated, ‘If some decisions are made for us, how much input do we really have?’”

– Author’s Personal Notes, October 28, 1995

## **FACILITATOR/NEUTRAL CHAIR**

There was quite a variation between processes in the application of the role of facilitator. In some processes, independent facilitators were retained. Others used a chair from the community appointed by the table participants. Some used a chair from within

government, either the Ministry of Forests or Environment, or in one case, one of each. Some consensus land use planning processes which had used an internal chair also brought in an independent facilitator or mediator during more difficult stages of the process.

This research was fortunate to be able to compare a number of different applications. It was found that there is no one best way, but it was evident from the results of both the interviews and the quantitative ratings that the chair or facilitator of a consensus land use planning process is paramount in importance to its success. It was evident that problems with many other indicators can be mitigated by a strong facilitator, for example the indicators of 'interpersonal dynamic', 'relationships', 'integrity', 'openness', and even 'size' and 'time'.

Perhaps surprisingly, in some processes participants stated a preference to the internal government chair over an independent facilitator. In one process the chair also sat at the table as the representative of the Ministry of Forests, but this was considered a conflict and hampered the ability of the individual to act as a neutral chair. It was evident that whether the facilitator is internal or external to the organization they should be trained in facilitation skills and need to have the trust and acceptance of all stakeholders at the table. This supported recommendations by the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991b) which said that "facilitators must be seen as being neutral, be acceptable to the parties involved, and be able to assist parties in finding a common ground". This may seem to be an impossible task where stakeholder groups are so polarized. However, in one case both the 'greens' and 'browns' at the table reported that the facilitator was biased to the other side; this was probably evidence of a neutral facilitator!

It was interesting that, unlike the majority of participants, a good number of the government organizers did not believe that the role of facilitator was important and made the point that how the group operates is more critical. Perhaps this was just modesty, given that these were the very people that other participants credited with contributing greatly to the success of their process.

Facilitating a consensus process is not like chairing a meeting, therefore the term 'facilitator' is favored in this report, even though some planning processes referred to them as 'chairs'. In one process, which was not considered to be a successful one, the chair attempted to manage the sessions using *Roberts Rules of Order*. Given that consensus is a process where all voices should be heard, where people attempt to understand others feelings and values, this parliamentary procedure, not surprisingly, was not very effective. As reported in the results in Chapter 6, the facilitator needs to be firm, in control, and manage the process, however he/she should not take the role of 'chair'. Facilitating a group process means displaying outstanding listening and empathy skills and being able to draw out feelings and values from the participants; these aspects are more critical than making sure people speak in turn.

The point was also made that facilitators in consensus land use planning processes need to have an understanding of land use planning. In some processes, lawyers were used who had been trained as mediators, but who had little knowledge of the local community or of the resource management issues being discussed. Although the BCRTEE (1991a) recommendations stated that facilitators should focus on process rather than substance, it seemed evident in this research that they should also be knowledgeable about the substantive issues in order to achieve the trust and respect of the participants. The BCRTEE report on *Reaching Agreement*, Volume 2 (1991b) did acknowledge this, stating, "while it is advantageous that the facilitator have some understanding of the technical and policy context involved in the issue, the facilitator's primary role is not to provide expert technical advice but to assist the parties in seeking mutually acceptable solutions".

A solution may be to use internal government planners to facilitate the processes, but to provide them with training in group facilitation skills. If there are more resources available, an independent facilitator paired with the government chair would be even preferable.

## STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION

Strategic communication factor did not rank highly in the quantitative results, yet rated second highest in the qualitative interviews by number of responses. It refers to a planned effort to keep the wider community and stakeholder groups informed of progress at the planning table. Many respondents said it is not critical to the success of a process, with an average response of 7.9 out of 10, yet a number pointed out that it could destroy a process if there was no 'buy-in' from a wider audience. In the interviews it became clear from both managers and participants that the actual round table process was where direct negotiations and discussions took place, yet the land use plan would not have been developed or accepted if extensive consultations had not taken place with other groups throughout the consensus talks.

In one successful LRMP process, participants were pre-screened and required to commit to ongoing communication and consultation with the group they represented. According to the manager, if this was not taking place adequately, ministry officials would meet with the group to make sure that their concerns were being addressed in the table talks. It was not sufficient, according to the manager, to assume that if no complaints were heard that the group was satisfied, nor, if their representative was not attending meetings, that the group was not interested, or not concerned. This illustrated that communication with the wider public was the responsibility of the entire planning team, not just the 'constituency representative'.

Communication was another factor which was deemed to be more important by other stakeholders than it was by the government representatives. When questioned, one government organizer stated that it is important, but that government isn't doing it well enough. Yet he went on to say that they are unaware of how to do it better. All meetings are advertised, yet he would often hear later that the ad was not seen. As one stakeholder noted, "The public isn't sitting there waiting; you have to keep trying." There is much literature on consensus planning and especially negotiation (as reviewed in Dorcey and

Riek, 1987). Such studies discuss in detail the strategies and dynamics at the actual decision-making table, yet there is very little written on the associated, and very important step of how to keep the wider public informed and involved. As the one manager who referred to the failed Meech Lake accord pointed out, no amount of negotiating can convince the wider public to accept a plan if they haven't been adequately informed of it, and especially if they feel their views have been ignored by the representatives at the negotiating table.

It became evident that in the successful consensus-based land use planning processes studied in this research, a great deal of attention had been paid to communication with stakeholder groups and the community, yet it was like an innate ability. One of the managers of such a process rated this indicator quite low, and did not realize what a good job he had done on it. When this was pointed out, he answered, "Well it's just obvious". Although it may be innate or obvious to some, to others it is simply not part of their field of reference, and so it gets ignored. This can be fatal. As stated by Fazio and Gilbert (1986) in their book *Public Relations and Communications for Natural Resource Managers*, "If you fail to plan [to communicate], plan to fail". They go on to say that although planning for good public relations is difficult because there is no proven right way, they recommend a systematic approach, pointing out that public relations is not an ancillary function, but a key part of management decision-making. They illustrate this in a flow chart, Figure 8.1.

Some respondents, in answering this question, discussed how communication should be carried out, and referred to the relative success of various communication tools, such as open houses, newsletters, radio and newspaper, and meetings. They concurred with many authors on communication, that personal methods are the most successful. It is evident that managers and participants in consensus processes would be wise to develop a strategic communication plan. Specific recommendations appear in Chapter 9.

## Public Relations As a Function In Management Decisions

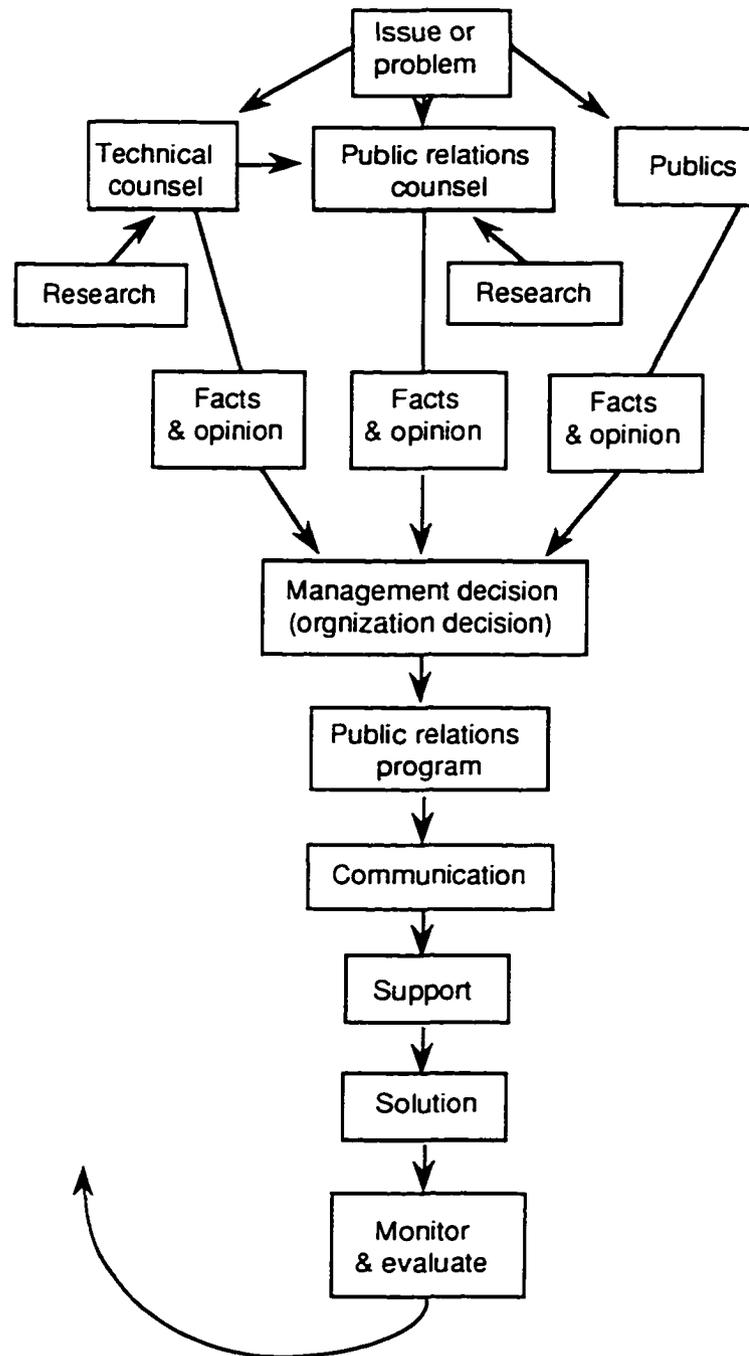


Figure 8.1

## EXPLICIT OBJECTIVES

As pointed out by even the earliest writers on public involvement, citizens need to be made aware of their objectives and mandate in a planning process. Wildavsky (1979) said that, "In order for citizens to participate in the operation of policy, they would have to understand what is in it for them, recognize the differences between small and large changes (so as to know whether and how much participation was worthwhile), and be involved continuously so that they could learn from experience."

From government documentation, Ness (1992a) stated, "The public's role and the limitations on process results must be clear at the outset; problems arise when expectations are not met, even if the expectations are unrealistic". The Ministry of Forests and LRMP models followed these premises, however the CORE model seemed to follow the guiding principles set out by the Canadian Round Tables (1993) which stated that the parties should design the consensus process.

This report has already discussed the confusion of participants in consensus-based land use planning processes about their role vis-a-vis concepts of 'success' and 'consensus'. Beyond these goal definitions, many participants reported that the process would have run more smoothly and effectively if objectives and particularly, boundaries, had been provided at the outset. Earlier processes, such as CORE, were developed so that participants would have full control of all decisions, including boundaries, but the tight time-frames made this difficult. The lesson which evolved for managers was to provide boundaries and clear mandates for the table at the beginning of the process, then to be flexible on the content within those boundaries. Perhaps when applied to large scale land use planning, self-design does not apply as a guiding principle.

"[Participant with experience in multiple processes, who had been a teacher] drew the analogy of a classroom. He said that the LRMP was run like a teacher who is flexible, yet still has control. 'This is the course; here is your outline, now how would you like to proceed?', while CORE, he said, was like a teacher who walks in and says, 'What would you like to learn?'"

– Author's Personal Notes, August 29, 1995.

One manager pointed out that in addition to developing broad objectives for the process, it was valuable for each session to have clear objectives in order to manage time effectively. This was the responsibility of the table, under direction of the facilitator.

## COMMITMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

“What makes someone devote weekends, evenings and many days and frustration for 2 years out of their lives to be involved in these processes? Look at [two individuals, from different stakeholder groups] who have done it for 10-20 years in this area. [One] said it was a true desire to make a difference and see things done better. Yet, others - are they truly devoted to doing things a better way, or just making sure their own self interest is covered? Is this something I can ferret out?”

– Author’s Personal Notes, August 29, 1995

Although many respondents defined commitment as day-to-day activities: attending meetings, doing their homework, reporting back to their constituency, another view discussed a different kind of commitment required for success. “Goodwill, cooperation, communication and a strong commitment to reaching a decision are required for a successful consensus process” (Integrated Resource Planning Committee, 1993). An interesting pattern of responses, with most from the government organizers and the recreation and tourism group defined commitment as a belief in consensus and a desire to come to a decision. They pointed out that some participants were there more to defend or to block, rather than to build a plan or a solution. Commitment, by these respondents, was viewed as the willingness to take responsibility and focus on action, suggesting solutions rather than simply raising problems.

The B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991b) pointed out that, “parties must perceive that they will be better off seeking solutions collaboratively rather than pursuing individual courses of action...in other words, all parties must support the consensus process”. This was supported by the findings in this research.

“What appeared to me, in talking to those who seemed most committed, is a belief in a new way of doing things - a way based on trust, rather than adversarial roles...but is this possible? Maybe it's that the parties need to have a new paradigm. It's pretty easy to figure out who is 'old school'. It is not going to work with them because they see power as a finite resource as discussed in the *Celestine Prophecy*. But what about those who espouse this stuff verbally, yet have their hidden agendas? I have learned that even nice guys LIE. Is it possible to actually get away from this? Yes, I believe it is. When someone will actually put their own needs aside for the greater goal. Like in the movie I saw tonight: 'The needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few, or one.' - Mr. Spock, Star Trek II.”

– Author's Personal Notes, August 29, 1995

## TRAINING

Training is a critical evaluation indicator which seemed to be much more highly valued by those who had taken it, and in particular those who had experienced effective training. Training was also suggested to enhance consensus processes by the Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a), and by the Canadian Round Tables (1993).

Some consensus-based land use planning processes examined in this study provided training or at least some orientation to consensus planning, however, training did not appear to be extensive in any of the processes in this study. Some participants had taken additional training outside of the process. What was provided was usually optional, and some, according to participants, consisted only of a leader reading definitions. It was not, therefore, surprising that a number of participants did not rate training highly as a success indicator.

As a professional trainer, I believe that when conducted effectively, training can reduce the time considerably and assist a process in running much more smoothly. It can also help balance power, 'leveling the playing field' if all participants have the same training. In addition, it can assist in the building of trust and relationships when participants are involved together in simulations prior to the 'real' issues coming to the table, as was shown in Dolin and Susskind (1992) and Jackson, Mitchell and Schultz (1994). Training was also recommended by the B.C. Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy (1991a) which said that the investment in providing training for every

consensus process may seem to be “disproportionately large at the outset, but the long term rewards can be significant”.

Although some respondents spoke highly of the training they received, it was evident that some training had not been very effectively delivered. It would seem to be highly desirable for consensus land use planning processes to have access to standard training modules, administered by approved trainers, or, as suggested by one participant, by the process facilitator.

The recommendations from this study for training would include the following:

- 1) An orientation which would familiarize all participants with government land use planning terms and procedures, as well as what is expected of them as participants in a consensus process. This would naturally take place at the very beginning of the process.
- 2) Experiential workshops in communication, particularly listening skills; consensus; and interest-based negotiation. These should also take place at the beginning, but might also be interspersed later in the process. As participants stated, these concepts can be explained easily, but what is important is exercises to build the skills, not just to impart knowledge.
- 3) Workshops, field trips, resource materials and guest speakers, as needed in other topics such as the technical aspects of resource management. These would be to build knowledge, as opposed to skill development.

These recommendations were pre-empted in September, 1996 by the discovery that the Ministry of Forests had already developed a number of excellent training resources, but for a number of reasons, not many processes had availed themselves of them. Training modules, including instructor guides with lesson plans and exercises have been developed in the following topic areas: Orientation; Public Participation, including consensus and interest-based negotiation techniques; Project Management; First Nations; and Scenario Development and Resource Analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks had also developed similar orientation materials for their own staff who were to become involved in LRMP processes, and some LRMP process managers in the regions had hired independent consultants also to develop similar materials. It is unfortunate that the training modules developed by the Ministry of Forests were not used by many processes. It is hoped that with continued rationalizing of responsibilities between the ministries involved in these land use planning processes, particularly in light of the government's tightening budget restrictions, the value of training, and of inter- and intra-ministry coordination and communication will be realized. This refers the discussion to the critical indicator of 'government support', below.

In addition to the participant training, there is evidence of need for training of process managers, particularly in facilitation skills. In some cases, particularly in CORE, professionals were hired for the entire planning process. In some LRMP's, professionals were brought in but only for critical points in the process. In LRUP's there was no budget for hiring professional facilitators. Given the government's fiscal situation, it is likely that less outside consultants will be used in the future. If this is the case, it is imperative that the managers who are assigned to run these processes not only be the right kind of manager, as discussed in 'Management Style' in Chapter 7, but have training in facilitating skills. Group facilitation, particularly in a conflict situation, is difficult and definitely not an innate skill. The government would not save money in the long run by economizing in this area.

## **GOVERNMENT SUPPORT**

As mentioned in Chapter 6, government support was first discussed in the context of participant 'funding', but some later respondents interpreted it as government budget. In retrospect, it was unfortunate that it had not been posed from the outset of the study as a separate question, because it does appear to be a critical indicator, as determined by both Wilson *et al.* (1996) and Penrose (1996).

The B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991b) called ‘government commitment’ a key component of a consensus process, stating that “government must be committed to responding to the outcome of the process in a timely fashion. Parties to the process must be reasonably satisfied from the outset that their agreement has a reasonable prospect of being implemented...”. This relates also to the indicator of ‘integrity’, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Maser (1996) stated that leadership support means the responsibility to “create an environment within which people can develop relationships”, including:

- 1) respect for one another
- 2) understanding and accepting that what people believe precedes policy and practice
- 3) agreement on the rights of participation in and access to the planning process
- 4) understanding that most people work as volunteers and need personal convenants, not legal contracts
- 5) understanding that relationships count more than structure because people, not structures, build trust.

Penrose defined government support as demonstrated leadership and commitment by establishing clear objectives, allocating sufficient resources, and acting upon consensus recommendations. He also included as indicators, legislation to support shared decision-making processes and the public’s right to participate, policy support and the coordination of shared decision-making process with related initiatives. Penrose also called for sufficient resources including participant training, funding and information.

In this study, government support has been interpreted as demonstrated support for consensus decision-making at the district and regional level, sufficient budget and staff resources as well as training and resources as necessary for participants.

## **STAKEHOLDER IDENTIFICATION**

As early as 1991 the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991a) pointed out that “Identifying the participants is such a crucial stage that a significant portion of time and resources must be invested in it.” The report went on to

describe two parts of stakeholder identification: identifying the interests, then identifying the appropriate representatives of those interests.

Although 'early identification of stakeholders' was a strong success factor cited in the literature on public involvement, the most successful processes studied in this research actually kept the door open for new stakeholders to appear at any time. As related to the indicator 'size', discussed below, there was no limit on the number or type of stakeholders which were allowed to take part. This contrasted with the CORE Vancouver Island process in which the organizers had specified not only the number of seats at the table, but which 'sectors' would be represented. Behind the table, each sector had additional resource people, but there were only so many who were official table representatives.

One might think that such a systematic approach would be preferable, but results in this study showed that openness of table membership seemed to correlate with success, as defined in this research. This may suggest evidence that in land use planning and resource management decision-making systems which are flexible and adaptable are more effective.

"What still puzzles me is the process they use to determine who sits at the table. In [3 successful processes] they all left it wide open. The managers were confident that the table would be self-selecting, once people saw what was involved. Although participants found it a bit frustrating to have new players appear after decisions had been made, it also seemed that it created more buy-in. No one could say they hadn't had a chance."

– Author's Personal Notes, October 28, 1995

In the CORE processes, some participants complained of bias regarding the number of representatives certain sectors had at the table, but in the open processes, managers made it clear that if it was run as a true consensus process, it wouldn't matter how many people spoke for an interest, it was not a majority vote anyway. They reported that this proved to be true, that certain sectors had large numbers of people at early meetings, but as the process progressed, numbers dwindled until there was one or two speaking for each interest.

The more successful processes made it clear at the outset that it was *interests* that were being represented, not sectors, as in the CORE processes, and tried to avoid the stance of participants negotiating on behalf of a sector, or 'fighting a corner'. This is further discussed under the indicator 'representative of constituency' below.

In terms of the process used to find stakeholders, strategic communication again becomes very important. The community must be informed of the process and how it will affect them. An open public meeting will set the stage for interests to emerge. In one area, it was advertised as a series of open houses where the issues were divided into packages, with the opportunity for the public to add other issues as they arose. At the first meeting over 100 people attended. These were divided and run through a mock meeting to give everyone a chance to see what a consensus land use planning process would involve. The number dropped at the next meetings; people said things like, "Well, if Joe's here, I know my interests are being represented. As long as I'm kept informed along the way, I'm happy with what's going on." Again, strategic communication becomes critical in keeping those stakeholders who choose not to be directly involved, informed of the progress, and allows them to communicate back should issues arise which concern them.

Although some of the processes studied allowed new stakeholders to join at any time, it was with the proviso that new table members take the responsibility to review the progress to that point and not slow down the progress of the group by revisiting issues that had already been decided upon, unless they had critical new information to add, and were prepared to suggest solutions.

Traditionally in British Columbia, forest and land use planning took place only with the input of industry, who had a comfortable relationship with government. Now, other stakeholders and interests are included, but some are still marginalized in these processes. Some women reported feeling overwhelmed by the male dominated dynamics of the process, which relates to the next indicator discussed, the 'interpersonal dynamic'. First Nations people have not been involved, out of concern that these land use planning

processes would undermine their outstanding land claims and treaty negotiations. There was also concern that some interests, by their nature, have not been involved, for example, rural and back country people who might bring new perspectives to the planning table. According to the Quakers' application of consensus planning, 'everyone has a piece of the truth', meaning that each individual has something to contribute to the overall plan and they should be encouraged to do so.

### **INTERPERSONAL DYNAMIC, INCLUDING OPERATING PRINCIPLES**

"I wondered why so few women were involved. Consensus seems like a natural thing; I thought they'd be good at it and would want to be involved. But after talking to the female participants, all strong willed women, I was not so surprised. It sounds like many women would be too intimidated to be involved. What's happened here? It's like this group of men co-opted a traditionally female way of operating and turned it into an exercise of intimidation and power. No wonder they're not working very well."

– Author's Personal Notes, January 15, 1996

There seemed to be a wide variation between the land use planning processes represented in this study regarding the interpersonal dynamic which emerged at the table. Not only is the dynamic somewhat important to the eventual outcome of a process, but if it discourages certain people from attending, it introduces a particular kind of bias, as illustrated above. Participants in some processes reported rude, aggressive behaviour at the sessions, and many spoke of the need for respect and trust.

In the more successful processes, specific rules of conduct or 'operating principles' were developed. This was consistent with the BCRTEE (1991a) guidelines which stated, "Rules of operation, or protocols, should be established by the parties", and the (1991b) 'Key components', which stated, "The objectives of the process, its format, and the rules and procedures by which it will operate must be agreed to by all participants as well as the governing authority". Although some respondents in this study believed that controlling the dynamic was the job of the facilitator, others pointed out that if such principles are

developed and accepted by the whole table, then they can be and are enforced by everyone, as needed. In one process, several participants recalled the phrase, 'hard on issues, soft on people' which they were often reminded of if the dynamic became heated and personal.

In responding to this question, a number of participants once again suggested that training in consensus and communication would also assist the table dynamic.

Related to the interpersonal dynamic at the table was the next indicator, 'relationships', which referred to the building of trust and respect through activities ancillary to the actual consensus planning process.

## **RELATIONSHIPS**

Some individuals believed that the building of relationships was a very important part of a consensus land use planning process, while others were adamant that it made no difference whether or not people liked one another. If we consider the definition of success in this research, as "the ongoing relationship in the community which will enable implementation and further planning processes", then it would seem that activities which help build relationships, understanding, and trust would in fact be beneficial. Some managers and participants reported success in building relationships during coffee break discussions, at after-table bar sessions, and even through more formal Christmas parties and barbecues.

"I'll never forget the back-to-the-land environmentalist who told me that during a coffee break he got to talking with a forestry worker and they discovered a mutual interest in wood working. The forest worker told him about a supply of wood he could use. He was very surprised that they had anything in common, that if it weren't for this process he would probably never talk to a logger. He looked thoughtful and then said, 'I guess that's what this is all about.'"

– Author's Personal Notes, October 4, 1995

## **LOCAL PARTICIPANTS**

"I was informed, 'we don't take to city people around here'. (That was when I started introducing myself as being from Northern Alberta, studying at UVic)".

– Author's Personal Notes, October 16, 1995

Respondents were divided on the question of whether participants should be local. This appeared to relate somewhat to differences in individuals' sense of place. Some respondents considered 'local' as including only those residents of a specific municipality, while others felt a strong sense of community as a region, such as the Cariboo. Some made the point that Crown land belongs to everyone in the province, therefore we are all local in that sense.

Perhaps not surprisingly, those who were not living in the area felt most strongly that it was not necessary to restrict participation to local community members. A large majority felt that if not locally residing, participants should at least have some local knowledge and interest. Many were critical of the CORE processes which imported professional negotiators from urban areas, as opposed to the particular interest or sector being represented locally. It appeared that the greatest concern was not about individuals who might reside in a neighboring region, but mainly toward people from Vancouver and Victoria. This dichotomy was discussed by Reed (1995):

“Tensions also arise over the *means* by which policy is formulated and implemented, as well as the *focus of accountability*. Proponents of strong central control over environmental decision-making believe that environmental resources are too important to be managed by those at the local level who may lack management skills or the necessary ethic to protect the resources over the long term. Since environmental effects of resource development do not respect local boundaries, consistent regulation across broad geographic regions is viewed as necessary to ensure a minimum standard of environmental quality. A strong position for central control, however, may lead to protracted conflict if local communities seek to shift both the substance of resource-related decision-making and the focus of accountability to ensure that local economic priorities are met.”

Perhaps the ideal mix for this type of planning would include local knowledge and interests with technical and planning expertise, whether that originates locally or not. In one area, participants brought in academics and other resource people as guest speakers on specific issues. Government resource people are also there to provide a provincial perspective. What should probably be avoided are situations where, for example, national organizations sent representatives or even professional negotiators who then essentially pre-empted local

interests at the table, while pushing a separate agenda. These did not seem to be appreciated even by the people they were ostensibly representing.

### **FUNDING, INCLUDING MINISTRY SUPPORT**

Although some processes, notably CORE, provided specific funding for sectors, most participants did not agree that they should be paid anything other than a reimbursement of expenses for their participation. It is not clear what level of funding Darling (1991) referred to when he concluded that without financial assistance volunteer participants are constrained from effective and sustained involvement. This was not demonstrated in this research, where in some processes volunteers were committed and involved for up to four years, totally at their own expense. Some of them spoke of this as proof of their commitment to the cause, as opposed to industry and government people who are paid by their employers to be involved. Wilson's *et al.* (1996) report stated a need for more participant funding, however she also reported that in CORE Vancouver Island no sector discontinued its involvement due to insufficient funding. In addition, the spirit of consensus planning would not be characterized by the participant in this study who stated that with more funding their group could have hired a better negotiator.

On the other hand, if government is committed to shared decision-making, it has to support it, both internally and externally. Government supervisors should not expect their employees to suddenly add participation in consensus processes to an already busy job.

They should also acknowledge that citizens are donating their time and expertise to government planning efforts. This does not have to mean a large expenditure. In one LRUP where participants paid even their own travel costs, long distance telephone, and in some cases photocopying and advertising, they were willing to do so, but would have been so pleased if they had just received some acknowledgment for their efforts. At the completion of one successful process the government presented all participants with a framed print and a note of appreciation for their assistance. This type of acknowledgment was conspicuously missing in other processes. Certainly this type of gesture would not be

a critical factor in the success or failure of a process, however, it would go a long way toward increasing trust and goodwill of the government agency and any future planning processes or their implementation.

“She talked at length about there being no closure, no wrap up, gifts, thank you’s etc. She and [another woman] both spoke emotionally about the end of the process. She said there was a sense of disbelief, like a death or a loss. Maybe the agencies need to recognize some of these feelings and deal with them. These processes become an important part of people’s lives. A number of them said it affected their families and marriages. Some gesture at the end would make a difference.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, October 27, 1995

## OPENNESS

Like the factor ‘interpersonal dynamic’, many comments regarding this indicator referred to trust and the need to be honest, with no hidden agendas. Other comments questioned whether this was practicable. Openness did seem to be possible and present in at least one of the successful processes. Perhaps people become more open as the process unfolds and as individuals get to know one another and find some common understanding. It is either a byproduct or precursor of communication, therefore may be enhanced with effective training in communication, listening, and consensus, as previously recommended.

A number of comments about openness also related to ‘solid information’, as some participants saw it related to the availability of information, for example, “Information from the process needs to be open. Everyone should have access, and they should say where it came from”.

## CLEAR POLICY GUIDELINES

The indicator of clear policy guidelines was also first mentioned in the CORE Vancouver Island survey results, and in Wilson’s *et al.* (1996) study which stated, “Inadequate policy guidance plagued the work of the regional table”. In this study it was necessary to determine how participants interpreted this factor. Most had similar definitions, and specified the lack of policy direction from such initiatives as the *Protected*

*Area Strategy* or the *Forest Practices Code*, both which were being developed concurrently with many of the land use planning processes represented in this study. Although the lack of detail in proposed legislation was frustrating to some participants, others saw this as an opportunity to shape policy and did so.

Other policies, or rather government procedures, which were unclear to participants (this becoming evident at the LRMP meeting I attended), included the Cabinet approval process. It would be very simple to explain this to participants at an orientation to the process, right at the outset. It also relates to objectives, as participants near the end of a process were questioning their role vis-a-vis that of managers in Victoria and that of Cabinet. Government managers and participants should realize that this is a very confusing process for those unfamiliar with government.

## **PRESCREEN PARTICIPANTS**

Prescreening participants was first suggested in the Vancouver Island CORE survey results. Once again, it was not clear what the respondent meant, so definition as well as reaction and rating were sought in this study. It was strongly felt by a majority of respondents that there should be no attempt to control membership at the table by the organizers. On the other hand, many participants did agree that prescreening as a way of ensuring commitment was a positive thing. Many comments referred to the need for training, rather than prescreening.

During the course of this study, I came across an advertisement for BC Parks which was looking for representatives to sit on a provincial park advisory committee. Any individual who was interested was given a copy of the terms of reference, meeting requirements, composition of the group, and selection criteria. The organizers wanted people with specific expertise, such as human and natural history, resource conservation and management, outdoor recreation, environmental law, planning and research, etc. Interested parties were asked to submit a resume. One participant believed this type of prescreening would be a good idea for consensus land use planning processes as well.

## TIME

The majority of participants favoured a set time frame for consensus planning processes, even though this is a departure from the intention of consensus as exercised by the Quakers. Given that public funds are at stake, and given the evidence reported of one side or the other intentionally slowing the process in order to either divert the opponents' attention while logging proceeded, or to divert government and industry's attention in order to prevent logging, a set time frame is probably desirable. This supported Dorsey and Riek's (1987) conclusion in their study of negotiation processes in environmental disputes, that lack of clear deadlines could prolong processes or inhibit settlement. It would also support one of the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy's (1991b) 'key components' of a consensus process, "Time limits: there must be clear and reasonable time limits for reaching a conclusion and reporting on outcomes; otherwise, the process could be used as a stalling tactic by parties who perceive "no decision" as a positive outcome. On the other hand, the process must be flexible enough to allow for delays if it is clear that the process is leading to a consensus".

For consensus-based land use planning two years seems to be the most popular time frame, thought to be realistic by both managers and participants of these types of processes, as long as objectives and boundaries are set prior. As reported, many CORE processes took up most of their time frames deciding on process issues and boundaries and ran out of time on the substantive issues. This should be avoided.

Although a two year time frame may be established, it should be somewhat flexible – a guideline, rather than a deadline, with a work plan developed at the beginning with critical points flagged on a calendar. At no time should time deadlines be used as a way to force agreement, as this would reduce the trust participants have in the integrity of the process.

## MANAGEMENT STYLE

The indicator of management style was met with great interest by the author, because it was unanticipated, yet became so very evident in discussions with various managers.

“I finally met with [one manager, whom I’d had a hard time reaching][He was]...very closed and even somewhat defensive. I don’t know what he thought I’d be after ...The image of the whole organization, except for the main receptionist, is one of elitism and distance. Offices are opulent for government, for example, the whole top floor of brand new building, lots of marble, etc. They definitely did not project the kind of management attitude experienced with [a regional manager who had been interviewed, saying:] “I work for you.” I really think this kind of thing is going to be even more significant in my study.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, September 21, 1995

Consensus, communication, community involvement, sharing ideas, and devolution of power are all new concepts to a bureaucracy which was formed less than 100 years ago, and based on a militaristic model. Many managers are not comfortable delegating authority, particularly to the community. They were trained during a time when the organization was characterized by hierarchy and clear lines of authority. Today these lines are blurring, yet the managers are not being trained in alternative methods; they are simply expected to adapt.

Some managers are naturally adaptable, such as the regional manager who had read the latest management books, adopted their philosophies, and encouraged his managers to do the same, even if their creative methods might be frowned upon by ‘Victoria’, meaning the centre of power. However, others find a shift to this kind of management more difficult; as one participant described, “1960’s people can’t buy into a 1990’s concept...there is a lack of knowledge, experience, training... a dinosaur mentality with tremendous power.”

It was shown in the responses to questions about management style that to be successful in consensus planning and in leading such a process, managers must possess

these traits: a belief in the value of public involvement; a high degree of self esteem; the ability to set aside own biases; the ability to provide strong direction, but not be dictatorial; honesty and openness; a willingness to listen and superior active listening skills; flexibility; creativity; willingness to take risks.

“I can’t help judging these managers by their response to me, for example, their willingness to share information, to speculate, to honestly want to help make these processes better. Maybe that’s not as much bias on my part as an indication of their management style. Also, I notice whether they ask me anything. I’m not sure what that says, but it seems to be somewhat significant, like when [one manager of an unsuccessful process] said the manager must be good listener, but he didn’t seem to be at all.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, September 21, 1995

Many of the managers who are now involved with LRMP’s, for example, were trained as scientists and foresters. For them to have the skills necessary to manage and facilitate consensus planning processes would be only by chance. As early as 1976, Sewell and O’Riordan pointed out that resource managers, generally schooled in the natural sciences, will require training because they lack the necessary skills in communication and group problem solving. Yet during the course of this writing the Government of British Columbia withdrew funding for the Employee Development Centre (formerly the Centre for Executive and Management Development), an internal agency which provided training in such skills as leadership, facilitation, creative problem solving, and communication. This is very unfortunate when government’s policies for the future call for these skills, yet there does not appear to be a demonstrated commitment to assisting its staff in acquiring them, which refers once again to the critical indicator of ‘Government Support’.

## **REPRESENTATIVE OF CONSTITUENCY**

“He showed me his membership list which was 200 strong. This was evidence to him that he had more legitimacy than other stakeholders who could not produce such a list. It seems to me like an old fashioned way to look at things, like who has the most votes, who is stronger, and has more backing, rather than being there to develop a plan and to try to get at all the issues.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, August 30, 1995

The charge that participants should be representative of a constituency was another factor for which participants were quite split in their reaction. Managers, particularly of successful processes, pointed out that these are participative, public processes, not representative democracy, therefore it is not necessary for participants to hold a mandate to represent a membership. As discussed under 'stakeholder identification', those processes which stressed representation and communication of *interests*, rather than sectors or a *constituency* seemed to run more smoothly, and with less participant concern of bias or unbalanced representation. This would tend to dispute the model chosen by CORE, and might suggest that the Canadian Round Tables (1993) Guiding Principle #8, that the parties are accountable to their constituencies... may not be broadly applicable when using consensus in land use planning.

#### **CONTINUITY OF PARTICIPANTS**

Related to 'commitment of participants', 'continuity' was also stated by some as an important factor. It was clear that some participants found it disruptive when some did not attend, or when alternates were not prepared. Continuity would likely be enhanced if the full measure of commitment was made clear to participants from the outset. In addition, companies and organizations which sponsor a representative should be made aware of the need for commitment and continuity.

#### **SIZE OF GROUP**

Perhaps surprisingly, size did not appear to be a factor in success of consensus-based land use planning processes examined in this study. This is consistent with findings reported by Estes (1984) about the Quaker experience. Some processes represented in this study ran successfully with 40 or more participants, while others which were limited to 12 had difficulties. In this study, the processes which were most successful did not limit size at all, but utilized strategies such as sub-committees to work on specific issues. Of those processes which were less successful, size was stated by participants as a factor, however

further investigation showed that other factors, such as management style and facilitator were probably more significant. Some participants believed that the smaller the group, the more likely consensus could be reached, which may be true, but in a land use plan organizers must be more concerned with wider public acceptance than with simply the agreement of process participants. Public acceptance was shown to be more likely, in the successful processes, where citizens were confident that all interests were represented.

(See further discussion of size under the headings of 'stakeholder identification' and 'representative of constituency').

## **OTHER INDICATORS**

Although other factors which were mentioned by some individuals may not have received much attention, some of them might be important for managers to consider when establishing consensus-based land use planning processes.

### **Plain Language**

The use of plain language is always a good practice when communicating with a diverse group. Government managers can sometimes get caught up in 'bureaucratese', and should use strategic communication in making their message clear to all stakeholders who might be unaware of government jargon and procedures.

### **First Nations Participation**

First Nations participation should continue to be sought. Once again, a strategic communication approach should be used, matching the appropriate communication method to the audience. One process manager expressed his frustration with the absence of the First Nations, explaining that he had sent out several letters, then received the response from the chief that they had not been invited. This is a good example of needing to understand the audience. Perhaps a personal meeting and invitation would have been more successful in attracting the participation of this group.

### **Meeting Facility**

One criterion which was mentioned by participants as somewhat important was the facility in which meetings are held. In addition to comfort, the most important factor is that the venue be seen as neutral and equally accessible to all participants. In one process, citizen participants complained that when meetings were held at the Ministry of Forests office the forest industry representatives acted right at home by walking behind the counter and helping themselves to coffee, making the others feel like outsiders.

### **Dispute Resolution**

Individuals in some processes which experienced difficulties stated a need for a specific mechanism for dispute resolution. There were apparently instances where the table hit a stalemate which neither the facilitator nor manager could resolve. There was a need for a procedure, whether it meant mediation or arbitration by some higher authority. This reflected the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy's (1991b) 'key component' of a "Fallback...alternatives for making necessary decisions if an agreement is not reached" and Ness's (1992a) recommendation that "alternate methods of reaching a decision must be set out at the beginning of the process to resolve situations where consensus breaks down".

### **Power**

Two participants, both female, raised the issue of power as a separate criterion. One spoke of a power imbalance at the table, evident by industry representatives feeling more 'at home' in the Ministry office, for example. The other raised the idea of power held by the consensus table members. She was concerned that decisions were being made by a small group which might be affecting the livelihood of others without even realizing it.

In addition, 'power' was stated in 5 comments as a reservation about consensus planning, in response to the question about participants' general assessment about consensus. None of these comments came from Government or Industry respondents;

rather the issue of power was recognized by a Citizen Action representative, three comments by Environmental representatives, and one by a Recreation participant. Organizers should be aware of the perception of power imbalance in consensus processes; this may be particularly significant in land use planning. Where industry has traditionally enjoyed a relationship with government, particularly in the Ministry of Forests, other stakeholders may feel alienated.

It is noteworthy that concerns about power came mainly from participants in a CORE process and an LRUP, neither of which were considered to be 'successful' processes. In the processes about which participants responded favorably, power was not a stated concern, therefore it may be related to other indicators, such as integrity, government support, and management style. This latter point was illustrated by comments about the power held by the district forest manager in community level processes. This should be alleviated as more LRMP's proceed, which are managed by an interagency management committee.

The indicator of 'solid information' may also be related to power. Respondents from some unsuccessful processes reported that government and industry had withheld vital information, which came to light only after they resorted to using Freedom of Information legislation to unearth it. This is obviously an issue of integrity; organizers should ensure that all stakeholders have access to all information.

## SUMMARY

This chapter has provided further discussion and implications of the objective results presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The need for a commonly accepted definition of success in consensus land use planning processes was discussed. The concepts of ongoing relationships for implementation, future planning, and sustainable community development were proposed. There is also a need for a commonly accepted definition of consensus, and in order to

contribute to success as described above, consensus should refer to a process, rather to an end agreement.

In assessing the use of consensus in land use planning in British Columbia, participants and managers were generally in favour of it and cited consensus as a vision for future land use planning in the province. Reservations about consensus planning were not related as much to the concept, but to its application, problems that will hopefully be mitigated by ongoing research and reporting on successful implementation. In the application of consensus land use planning in British Columbia, the most appropriate geographic scale appears to be the sub-regional, or LRMP scale.

In addition to these general questions about consensus in land use planning, each evaluation indicator was discussed. Patterns of responses were identified and ideas were generated as to the application of each of these in an evaluation framework. Integrity, for example, relates to the proposed definition of success as enabling future processes and an ongoing relationship between stakeholder groups, and between stakeholders and the government agency. A facilitator, or neutral chair was shown to be invaluable, although it was not necessary that the individual be independent: many successful chairs were from within government, but need to be trained, and need to be seen as value-neutral. Besides the chair, management philosophy and style of the organizers were also shown to correlate with successful processes. Managers with integrity, open to sharing power and information, and flexibility are probably more successful in managing a consensus process.

Communication, both with stakeholder groups and with the wider community, was shown to be extremely important, even though it did not rate highly in the quantitative ratings. This discrepancy was explained. The need for clear objectives, boundaries, and policy guidelines was confirmed by this study.

Successful participant commitment, although defined by most respondents more simply, was found to encompass an attitude of hope, a belief in consensus, and a desire to come to a decision. Participant continuity was less important, but was also raised by

respondents as a potential success factor. Training, including an orientation to consensus land use planning processes, experiential workshops in consensus, interest-based negotiation and communication and listening skills, as well as field trips, resource materials and guest speakers, was determined to be a very useful tool for assisting the process and for strengthening participant commitment. The provision of training, as well as appropriate budget and resources were indicated as critical elements of government support. In addition to government reimbursing participants for their expenses, it was proposed that it also concretely acknowledge participants for their assistance.

A puzzle for some organizers of consensus processes appears to be how to determine who should be involved, and how large the group should be. This study showed that the more successful consensus-based land use planning processes took a very flexible approach to membership, not limiting size, and stressing the need for 'interests', rather than 'sectors' to be represented. Representing a specific constituency, therefore, was not important. While some respondents believed that participants should be prescreened, most defined prescreening as self-selection – letting people decide their level of involvement after an orientation to what commitment would involve. An examination of the importance of 'local' stakeholders reflected participants' sense of place, with some defining the province as 'local', while others defining 'local' as the specific municipality. The ideal mix was determined to include local knowledge and interests with technical planning and expertise, whether or not that originates locally.

The interpersonal dynamic appeared to be related to the types of stakeholders at the table, the facilitator, the presence of operating principles, and possibly to the purposeful building of relationships through informal means. Openness, relating to willingness to share information, and avoidance of hidden agendas was also discussed as a factor.

Other indicators discussed included the use of plain language, First Nations participation, the meeting facility, a mechanism for dispute resolution, and power, which appears to be related to integrity, management style, government support, and information.

## CHAPTER 9

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS: CONSENSUS IN LAND USE PLANNING

#### SUMMARY

This study has been an exploration of consensus-type public involvement in land use planning and resource management, from the perspective of participants and managers in a number of processes in British Columbia. The general goal of this research was to address the question, what makes consensus work in resource management decision-making? Its purpose was to identify success factors for employing the consensus decision-making model specifically in land use planning; to examine the models incepted by the Government of British Columbia during the period 1992-1995; and to investigate the application and effectiveness of the models as actually employed in integrated resource planning in British Columbia. The specific objective was to develop a general diagnostic framework for evaluation, based on indicators and success factors:

- 1) cited in the literature on public involvement in planning,
- 2) cited by the stakeholder participants in the processes, and
- 3) compared with those of government officials who design and manage those processes.

First, relevant literature was reviewed to develop a conceptual framework. This research was grounded in concepts of resource management and decision-making, with further exploration of normative processes and managerialism; a discussion of the emergence, evolution, typologies, success factors, and contemporary implementation of public involvement in resources decision-making; and then further exploration of one of those contemporary mechanisms, consensus. Finally, the theory on program evaluation, then the research implications and opportunities to enhance the existing knowledge and literature on public involvement processes were investigated.

The study is an exploratory one, following the basic premises of Applied Geography, specifically Environmentalism. It is pragmatic, humanistic, and post-modern, employing multiple methods, including document analysis, semi-structured interviews, some quantitative analysis, and participant observation. The following research questions were addressed:

1. What are the current planning structures for Crown land in British Columbia and how is public involvement meant to function in these structures?
2. At which levels of land use planning in British Columbia is consensus decision-making being employed as a public involvement mechanism?
3. What indicators of success are cited by managers and how do these compare with those cited by the various stakeholder participants and with the literature?
4. What is a suitable evaluation framework for consensus (shared decision-making) processes? What criteria are used to evaluate them?
5. What is the relative importance assigned to the various indicators cited, and how might this evaluation assist future planning processes of this type?
6. Is there a specific geographic scale for which consensus decision-making is most appropriate in land use planning?

Chapter 4 presented the Government of British Columbia's normative models of land use planning, public involvement, and adoption of consensus. These were described through the results of the interviews with government managers and government document review, answering questions 1 and 2 above. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 presented the results of participant interviews and addressed questions 3, 5, and 6. Chapter 8 provided further discussion and implications regarding the evaluation criteria and the general questions posed to participants.

This chapter represents the synthesis of all the information generated in this study. An evaluation framework is presented, answering Question 4, above. This is followed by recommendations and further considerations provided for managers, practitioners and

participants who might be involved in future consensus-based public involvement processes. Theoretical models are also proposed to assist them, and to assist other academics in interpreting the implications of contemporary resource management practices. Conclusions, methodological lessons, and future research directions are presented in Chapter 10.

### DIAGNOSTIC FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATION

The relevant literature on program evaluation was explored in Chapter 2, while actual evaluation studies conducted by or for government were presented in Chapter 4. Several points are worth restating here. Although governments are facing increasing pressure to be 'accountable to their publics', there has either been little formal evaluation of programs or processes or, according to Wildavsky (1979), there is a multitude of evaluations of governmental programs which are seldom used to improve them. He charged specifically that evaluation must include far more than investigating whether a program reached its intended objectives. A parallel in this study would be those participants who, when asked the meaning of 'success' in a consensus process, answered that it was a completed plan. Wildavsky's point would be that to evaluate such a process would be to look at more than whether a plan had been completed.

Some evaluation studies of land use planning processes undertaken in British Columbia have been what Miles (1981) termed 'illuminative evaluation' where the study is goal free, concerned primarily with description and understanding rather than measurement and prediction. Cooperman's (1995) analysis report of the Kamloops LRMP was one such evaluation. It is a descriptive study of the history and evaluation of the planning process and includes an analysis of its recommendations. Fraser's (1994) mediator's report on the CORE Kootenay-Boundary process was another, providing identification of a number of shortcomings in the process and lessons for future processes.

Miles also described 'summative' evaluation, conducted at the end of a program or process, as compared with 'formative' evaluation, where decisions are made during the program or process as to what improvements can be made. Summative evaluations can be very useful, especially when results can be extrapolated and used by other programs or in this case, processes. As stated by one participant in answer to the question on training, "We need sharing of information and advice from people who have been through these processes". Two summative evaluation studies, conducted concurrently with this research and very recently completed, include Wilson's *et al.* (1996) evaluation of the CORE Vancouver Island process, and Penrose's (1996) study of the Cariboo-Chilcotin CORE process.

Fraser *et al.* (1996) designed a diagnostic and design tool which might be described as a formative evaluation of LRMP processes in general. They also stated that their framework could be used as a design template, but cautioned that it should not be prescriptive. Their point can be interpreted that planning must be creative and that there is no one template for designing an effective planning process. However, from my interviews with managers and participants, it was clear that assistance is needed in process design. From this research, therefore, I recommend an earlier step in evaluation, before even formative processes, that which I term '*Prescriptive*'.

Rather than a template, which Fraser *et al.* cautioned against, 'prescriptive' evaluation is an analysis of the plans and preconditions which should be objectively considered in order to understand the institutional strengths and weaknesses and to make adjustments or adaptations which would enhance potential success of the process before it begins. This 'before the fact' evaluation is not without precedent. Cost-benefit studies have long been used as an effort to appraise the value of projects before they are undertaken, so as to select the best alternative use of the resources at hand. Similarly, one could and should evaluate the preconditions, the 'value of inputs' perhaps, which might enhance or detract from consensus decision-making, and to consider alternatives to

optimize efficiency. Although Wildavsky (1979) did not specifically describe what I term 'prescriptive evaluation', he did make a broad statement recommending that evaluation take place not only after a program is finished, but before it is begun and during its entire life, and in doing so program evaluation and prescriptive policy analysis become one and the same.

## **PROPOSED FRAMEWORK**

The framework presented on the pages following (Figure 9.1) can be used in developing a consensus public involvement process, or could be used formatively to determine where improvements might be necessary, or even as a tool to assist summative evaluation.

It should first be used in prescriptive evaluation, to assess the necessary inputs for a successful process, and will serve as a guide to which factors are related. It will also show where a factor is absent which others might be enhanced to compensate. Where certain critical indicators result in a 'STOP', specific recommendations and further considerations follow.

### **Using the Framework**

The evaluation framework lists each evaluation indicator tested in this study, in order of 'importance' as correlated by qualitative and quantitative analysis of interview results. Beside each indicator are critical questions which should be answered when evaluating a consensus land use process, or when developing a new process. The right hand column directs the evaluator to the factors and indicators which are related to the one in question, those which might support or enhance success if the indicator in question is absent. In certain cases, the absence of certain indicators cannot be remedied by other factors; specific recommendations regarding those questions follow.

## EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

Indicator	Questions	Action, If No
1. Solid Information	• Is the information credible, complete?	STOP; see Recommendations
	• Is information available to all stakeholders?	Go to Integrity
	• Are participants comfortable with volume of information?	Rationalize and improve
	• Is there adequate information for participants to make decisions?	STOP; see Recommendations
2. Integrity	• Is there a history of trust and cooperation between the agency and the community?	Go to Facilitator; Relationships
	• Are the managers trusted, neutral?	Go to Management Style; Facilitator
	• Is there an intent to accept and implement the plan as developed by the community?	STOP; see Recommendations
3. Facilitator	• Is there a neutral, skilled facilitator?	Go to Management Style; Training; Government Support
4. Strategic Communication	• Is there a plan for stakeholder and wider public communication?	STOP; see Recommendations
5. Explicit Objectives	• Are participants clear on their objectives, mandate, and boundaries of the process?	Go to Training; Government Support

6. Commitment of Participants	• Are participants prepared to communicate, to share ideas?	Go to Training; Openness
	• Are participants willing to attend; do the work?	Go to Training; Stakeholder ID
	• Do participants believe in the process?	STOP; see Recommendations
7. Government Support	• Is there a sufficient budget to see the process to completion, including staff, training, expenses, external communication, etc.	STOP; see Recommendations
	• Is there commitment to implementation?	Go to Integrity
8. Training	• Is there training available in consensus decision making, orientation, communication?	Go to Government Support
9. Stakeholder Identification	• Have all potential stakeholders been found?	Go to Strategic Communication
	• Are all issues on the table?	Go to Openness
10. Interpersonal Dynamic	• Are there accepted operating procedures?	Go to Training; Facilitator
	• Is the process respectful of all individuals?	Develop operating procedures; go to Facilitator
11. Relationships	• Are there opportunities for participants to get to know each other personally, to build trust?	Go to Interpersonal Dynamic; Training
12. Local Participants	• Are participants from the local community or do they have local knowledge and interest?	Go to Relationships; Commitment
	• Are all interests represented?	Go to Stakeholder ID

13. Funding	• Are participants reimbursed for travel, expenses?	Go to Government Support
	• Is there acknowledgement of the assistance of the public?	Go to Government Support
14. Openness	• Are participants open and honest at the table?	Go to Commitment; Training; Interpersonal
15. Clear Policy	• Are government policies affecting this plan clear and available to participants?	Go to Training; Government Support
16. Prescreening	• Are participants aware of their commitment?	Go to Commitment; Training
	• Are the right participants involved?	Go to Stakeholder ID; Strategic Communication
17. Time	• Is the time frame realistic?	Go to Government Support; Integrity
18. Management Style	• Do the managers believe in public involvement?	Go to Integrity
	• Are they willing to share power?	Go to Integrity
	• Are managers good communicators, listeners?	Go to Training
19. Representative	• Are interests, rather than sectors represented?	Go to Stakeholder ID
20. Continuity	• Are participants prepared to attend, to participate until finished?	Go to Commitment
	• Are there alternates to the table participants?	Go to Stakeholder ID

21. Meeting Facility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the facility a neutral location, comfortable, and accessible to participants?</li> </ul>	Find a new facility
22. Dispute Mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there a mechanism in place to solve impasses?</li> </ul>	Go to Management Style; Facilitator; Inter-personal Dynamic; Government Support
23. Scale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the land area large enough to enable multiple zones and trade-offs to accommodate interests?</li> </ul>	STOP; see Recommendations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is it small enough that participants have local knowledge and interest?</li> </ul>	Go to Local Participants

Figure 9.1

## **FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

In the evaluation framework in Figure 9.1 it is evident that some indicators are closely related to one another and where one is deficient, in some cases another can compensate. This research has shown, however, that there are some 'critical' indicators which must be applied effectively, or overall success of the process could be severely hampered. These include Information, Integrity, Communication, Participant Commitment, Government Support, and Scale. In order to effectively adopt a consensus model in land use planning, the following recommendations related to each of these factors should be considered.

### **INFORMATION**

It is clear that credible, relevant information must be readily available to all parties. If the consensus planning process is approached as a resource management decision-making process, the group should first define the problem and goals, then should agree on what information is needed in order to develop viable options. As stated by the BCRTEE (1991a), all participants have the responsibility to bring relevant information, but the government, or organizing body also has a responsibility to provide information which is needed by the 'decision-makers', in this case the consensus participants.

### **INTEGRITY**

“It appears that the environmentalists and the recreationists get to play ping pong at the CORE table while the big boys talk in the back room and make decisions directly with government.”

– comment by a participant, (Roseland, 1993)

The process must be credible and seen as legitimate by participants. These may actually be different things, as stated by one participant: “It is not only important that the process have integrity, but that participants view it as having integrity”. The point can be made that managers need to deal with perceptions, rather than realities, and undertake clear

communication and, where necessary, training to inform participants about the process government will use to approve and implement the plan once completed. They need to work to allay fears that the process has been one of window dressing and real decisions will come from somewhere else. The action signpost described under Communication, below, needs to be used too, however. Before communicating such a message, it must be factual.

Participants must also have faith that the outcomes will be useful. If the level of consensus-based public involvement is chosen in developing a land use plan, participants quite appropriately have an expectation that the plan they produce will be implemented. As pointed out by one skeptic, if the government does not intend to accept and implement the plan which has been developed and agreed upon by all stakeholders, then it is not shared decision-making, but simply shared recommendation, and participants would be more hesitant to devote the time and commitment needed for consensus to a mere recommendation.

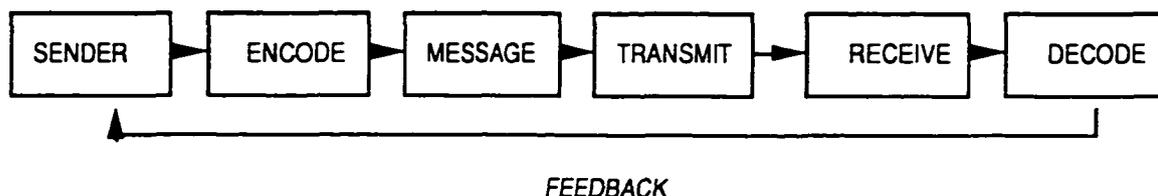
Penrose (1996) described this indicator under Government Support for the Process, and stated, "There must be the political will to see a process through, and political and bureaucratic support for a process and its results." In the results of this study, integrity also related to management style. Perhaps this relates to Penrose's description of bureaucratic support for the process and its results. Unless the managers of such processes are open, honest and believe in the value of public involvement, integrity of the process will be in question.

## **COMMUNICATION**

Although consensus is seen in this research as a contemporary application of public involvement, the essence of consensus-type processes, as of public involvement generally, is simply formalized communication. According to Fazio and Gilbert (1986) 90% of all resource management is communication – managing the people, rather than the resource.

Yet we often rely on explanations from some other science to assist in these activities. The entire decision-making process in resource management, involving the public, may be explained as a series or a network of communication processes, as depicted below:

**TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATION MODEL**



Hodgetts and Altman (1979:295)

Figure 9.2

As discussed in Chapter 2, a number of experts have pointed out that planned, deliberate communication with wider audiences is critical to the success of a public involvement program, yet it is a factor that is often forgotten or neglected until after problems are realized, as evidenced by its low rating as a success factor in this research.

As introduced in Chapter 2, among writers who have referred to the importance of strategic communication in public involvement, but not specifically in consensus process, included Connor (1990) who suggested developing an educational strategy, including an information plan for each public. Brethour (1992) recommended using a personalized approach, while McGuire (1992), stated that “A large number of contacts with small groups is preferred. Constant contact with the media is essential.” Creighton (1992) likened public communication to information provisions for decision-makers. He said, “If decision-makers sense they’re not getting the whole picture, or that staff is setting them up to a predetermined outcome, they’ll soon get new sources of information;...the public is at

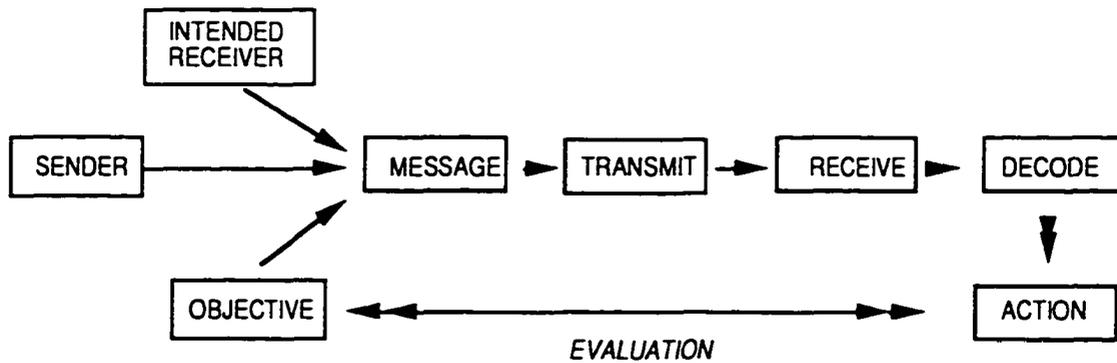
least as smart!” This point relates also to the critical indicator of ‘integrity’. As McQuaid-Cook (1992) pointed out, by presenting accurate understandable information from the outset of a project such as a land use plan, perhaps conflict can be avoided. Some people often think of consensus planning processes as conflict resolution, but perhaps what McQuaid-Cook is saying is that if the process becomes part of a strategic communication plan, it may not need to reach the conflict stage.

More recently, and specific to consensus planning, Wilson’s (1996) recommendations called for ‘better communication’, including encouragement and support for good sector-constituency communication, as well as improving communication to the public generally, on the work of the group directly involved in the consensus process. She suggested offering workshops and resources to enhance constituents’ communication.

Most evaluations of consensus planning, or other public involvement suggest in their recommendations, ‘better communication’, yet it is never very clear how that is to be implemented. As evidenced in this study, communication is often seen as something which happens by chance. Communication is always occurring, whether or not the organization is aware of it (Garnett, 1992). Therefore, proactively planning what message is sent, and to support a specific objective makes much more sense than ad hoc activities. There is no prescriptive formula for good communication, however with planning, as in the model below (Figure 9.3), it can be more effective.

Note the difference between this and the Traditional Communication Model, in Figure 9.2. The emphasis here is on the pre-planning stage of analyzing the objective of the communication, and analyzing one’s audience, the intended receiver of the message. When these steps are complete, the message and method of transmission naturally follow from them.

### STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION MODEL



(Jackson, 1991)

Figure 9.3

This model was first developed by the author as part of a public sector management course. Its components are explained below:

#### 1) Objective

As in the public involvement model, the first step is to determine the objective of the communication, in action terms. Is it to create awareness, interest, educate, to counteract misinformation, or is it a call to action? This may seem obvious, but when the time is taken to consider the real objective, it is sometimes not so easy to determine, “what do we want the audience to do as a result of this communication? It should be focused on the receiver, or audience, rather than from the perspective of the sender.

#### 2) Audience identification and analysis

Like the stakeholder analysis in the public involvement model, the next step is to identify and analyze the intended audience of the communication. The manager should ask, “Who needs to know, in order to attain the objective above? Who else would want to know?” The second question is vital in avoiding later accusations that some stakeholders

were ignored. In the analysis portion, each audience group's positions, feelings and interests, as well as preferred method of communication and opinion leaders should be considered.

### *3) Message*

In planning the message, the following four criteria must be considered:

Identification - the audience must identify with the message, therefore, it should appeal to their interests, not those of the sender.

Trust - the message will only be accepted by the audience if they trust the sender. Where this trust is questionable, the use of opinion leaders can be beneficial. This is where a proactive media relations campaign can become invaluable. Where the public may not have trust in a government agency sending a communication, they tend to have more trust in what they hear or read in the news.

Action - the message will only be accepted if it is consistent with the actions of the sender. This relates to the popular axiom, "Actions speak louder than words". It is important that any communication be grounded in reality or the organization will lose trust. This item is related to the critical indicator of integrity.

Clarity - the use of language must be of the type and level that the audience is comfortable with. The sender needs to ensure that the message that is decoded is the same as what was encoded. Image as well as language should be considered here. Government advertisements and communiqués so often rely on bureaucratic formats as well as language, which often send a very different message than what the managers intend.

### *4) Transmit*

How a message is sent can determine its effectiveness as much as what is said. It has long been determined, and shown in this study, that personal communication methods are more effective than written, or non personal tools. Yet governments have a tendency to rely on written communications, which are impersonal and do not allow for any two-way feedback.

People notice and retain what they are involved in, first of all, so effective communication will provide some mechanism where people 'experience' the message. Evidence of this in this study came in the form of field trips for participants to see areas in question, training exercises, and open houses which contained demonstrations. Secondly, people retain verbal messages better than those delivered in written form. Stakeholders who delivered speeches and presentations to community groups were more successful in getting their message across than those who relied on newsletters.

Written communications such as newsletters, posters, advertisements can also be effective, but they should not be used alone, rather as part of an overall strategy or campaign to achieve the objective. Written communications and advertising work best when they support verbal, personal and experiential methods.

This strategic communication model can be used at every stage of the planning process. For example, it is evident that to be successful, consensus as a planning process does not replace other forms of public involvement, but must work in close conjunction with them.

When developed as an overall strategy by the consensus table, this allows some control or at least proactivity with the communication. Some groups in this study complained that individuals would say one thing at the table and then report their true position in the media later. Rather than allowing individual stakeholder groups to capitalize on strategic communication in a fractious way, it was found to be preferable to have a coordinated effort.

While the attention given to the actual table process and its indicators is valuable, to be truly successful, the manager must see it as only part of a wider picture of public involvement and communication, and approach it proactively.

## PARTICIPANT COMMITMENT

“Everyone will agree with a principle...Everyone will agree that options for future generation should not be foregone. It’s when you start talking about wood that you look around the table and you find that the previously friendly faces now all have green eyeshades on and a stack of poker chips in front of them.”

– Walker, 1993

In addition to the commitment of the government, described above, this study has shown that participants too must be committed to consensus, and not use the processes as a public forum for their personal agendas. This study has interpreted commitment as the belief in the process and willingness to come to a decision. This is supported by Travers (1993) who said, “Fundamentally there are all kinds of possibilities out there if we would open our eyes and get out of our self interest.” Travers’ model (Figure 9.4) is presented as a matrix of different individuals in how they resolve conflict. As pointed out in Chapter 2, ‘conflict resolution’ is a term this study has attempted to avoid, as consensus is seen as a form of public involvement in planning, rather than as a mechanism of mediation or resolution of conflict, although there are some who would disagree. Travers’ model, however, is provided here as a valuable addition for participants of consensus planning to determine if they are, in fact, committed to creative problem solving.

Travers’ point is that those who are unwilling to see all sides of an issue represent only their own self interest, and are therefore not effective as planners. Those who are unwilling to face issues probably would not be involved in such processes. The most effective planners are those who approach the ‘big picture’, willing to face issues and willing to see all sides of an issue, in order to find new solutions to serve all interests, as opposed to negotiating positions, as described by Fisher and Ury (See Chapter 2).

### Conflict Resolution Matrix

<i>Willingness to See All Sides of An Issue</i>	YES	Placate	<b>Problem Solving</b>
	NO	Avoid	Win/Lose
		NO	YES
		<i>Willingness to Face the Issues</i>	

Figure 9.4

It would be impossible to force people to act out of a selfless interest, so if it is a criterion for success, is this kind of planning possible at all? In reviewing the results of this research, the conclusion might be drawn that if the other criteria are present, if there has been a relationship of trust developed in the community, and if the process is run properly, then the tendency for individuals will probably be greater to also share power. If the process is viewed as one of creative problem solving, rather than negotiation, it has a greater chance of success.

### GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

In addition to developing processes with no hidden agenda, the government must support such processes through human and financial resources. And it must maintain that support until completion and through implementation. This seems to be difficult for governments which plan according to a four year election cycle. The time horizon for effective resource planning has to be longer than this.

During the course of this study, the branch responsible for land and resource management planning was renamed and reorganized three times. CORE was established

and then disbanded. The Land Use Coordination Office was established, taking over previous functions of the Integrated Resource Planning Committee, which continues to operate. It became clear that there is a need for greater stability in order to produce sustainable land use plans. Constant reorganization, budget freezes, and changes in direction detract from the criteria which have been demonstrated as necessary for success, and increase the public's angst and mistrust of government.

Consensus type planning and decision-making is expensive and time consuming. It is too expensive, financially and politically, to do badly. Therefore the government needs to be committed, making shared decision-making a priority, or it should revert to traditional mechanisms. However, traditional mechanisms in British Columbia have not been very effective. Making it a priority means funding higher level strategic land use planning initiatives, rather than delaying them in favour of conflict ridden community level processes, as has transpired in some areas. It means providing necessary staff time, particularly from ministries who have not normally been involved in resource planning, but whose expertise is badly needed, such as Environment, Land and Parks. Making it a priority also means developing the information necessary to make solid integrated resource decisions for the sustainability of this province.

## **SCALE**

It was determined in this research that geographic scale is also an important consideration in the adoption of consensus as a public involvement technique in land use planning. The scale must be small enough that participants share some sense of community and are local in their concerns without becoming myopic in participating simply to protect individual turf. Although Sewell and O'Riordan (1976) pointed that participatory decision-making succeeds best at a small scale where community interest is high, it was found in this study that areas must also be large enough to enable zoning for various uses and values instead of becoming an all-or-nothing conflict one tract at a time. Sewell and O'Riordan

found that when problems are complex, geographical horizons are wide, and the degree of familiarity of any particular individual is low, only the most motivated citizens will sustain lengthy commitment to a negotiations process. The relationship between scale and participant commitment was not supported in this study. Although CORE processes were considered by many to be too large and the issues were very complex, participant commitment was not a problem. One wonders if this is evidence of a natural evolution in citizen commitment over 20 years since Sewell and O'Riordan's work.

In British Columbia it was evident that the LRMP scale, or strategic land use planning of areas of 15,000 to 25,000 km<sup>2</sup> has been most appropriate (See map, Figure 4.1). Boundaries have conformed "to geographic features, social and economic considerations and the administrative areas of those agencies responsible for implementing the plan" (Integrated Resource Planning Committee, 1993). Without more detailed study it is difficult to comment further, however, there was some evidence that boundaries should conform more to geographic considerations, rather than long standing administrative areas which may have been established independently of environmental and habitat values.

## SUMMARY

This chapter represents the synthesis of the results of this study through the development of an evaluation tool. This evaluation framework was presented as a 'prescriptive' diagnostic tool, and incorporated lessons learned about consensus planning from the government model and from the participant interviews.

It was shown that although some evaluation indicators are closely related to and can compensate for one another, others are more 'critical', and which must be present, and applied effectively. These include Information, Integrity, Communication, Commitment of Participants, Government Support, and Scale. Further considerations and specific recommendations related to each of these factors was presented, including a strategic

communication model which can be applied in any communication situation to assist planners in choosing the appropriate message and vehicle.

Strategic Communication means planning communication for a specific audience and objective. The best scale was deemed to be the sub-regional, or LRMP scale. Organizer integrity, honesty, willingness to share power, and commitment to implementation, although difficult to measure, were shown to be crucial to the success of any public involvement process. Government support must also be present, in the form of funding and resources necessary to see the process through to its completion and implementation. The critical level of participant commitment meant a belief in the process and a willingness to work within it, a 'problem solving' approach, described by Travers (1993) as willingness to face issues, combined with willingness to see all sides of an issue.

The following chapter presents conclusions, methodological lessons, and future research considerations.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to answer six broad research questions regarding the use of consensus as a public involvement technique in resource management and land use planning in British Columbia. It was found that the Government of B.C. has embraced consensus at three levels of land use planning (regional, sub-regional, and local), and that during the course of this study, these were happening concurrently, rather than as a normal hierarchy of planning. The regional processes developed by the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) followed the principles of alternative dispute resolution and environmental mediation, such as those recommended by the B.C. Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (1991b), and the Canadian Round Tables (1993), while the community level consensus-based land use planning processes developed by the Ministry of Forests and the sub-regional processes developed by the Integrated Resource Planning Committee were based on the principles of public involvement in resource management decision-making.

An important finding was that a number of the 'guiding principles' for consensus processes developed by the Canadian Round Tables (1993) (discussed in Chapter 2) were supported by this research. These included:

- **Inclusive not exclusive:** All parties with a significant interest in the issue should be involved in the consensus process.
- **Flexibility:** Flexibility should be designed into the process.
- **Equal Opportunity:** All parties must have equal access to relevant information and the opportunity to participate effectively throughout the process.
- **Respect for Diverse Interests:** Acceptance of the diverse values, interests, and knowledge of the parties involved in the consensus process is essential.
- **Time Limits:** Realistic deadlines are necessary throughout the process.

- **Implementation:** Commitment to implementation and effective monitoring are essential parts of any agreement.

The two guiding principles of the Canadian Round Tables which were not supported by this research in terms of land use planning in British Columbia were:

- **Self Design:** The parties design the consensus process.
- **Accountability:** The parties are accountable both to their constituencies, and to the process that they have agreed to establish.

The first point, the principle of self design, was attempted by the CORE processes, but was criticized by participants. The LRMP processes, on the other hand, were much more structured and this was seen as positive by participants. In this study, discussions about clear objectives included strong suggestions by participants that boundaries and process be established by managers before participants begin any kind of consensus planning. In a follow-up interview, even the former commissioner of CORE admitted that the level of self design which had been attempted was unrealistic, given the other principle of time limits.

The second point, relating to constituencies, was found to be untrue in the more successful consensus land use planning processes studied. The processes which were most successful focused on the representation of 'interests', rather than constituencies, and communication with the wider audience of stakeholders and the public was seen as the responsibility of the whole table and the organizers of the process. It is important to realize that the concept of a 'constituency' is a factor in representative democracy, a system which oversees any land use decision-making. These consensus land use processes are designed as participatory democracy, in which interested parties volunteer their time and expertise to assist government in defining objectives, options, and creative solutions in land use problems. Following the Quaker model of consensus decision-making, participants do not represent and defend a 'side', but rather come together as a group to uncover and address

all potential interests in a problem before designing creative solutions with the goal of satisfying all those interests.

At the outset of this study, there was little evidence of formal evaluation of these processes, and even in recent evaluation studies, there was no commonly adopted framework. This research attempted, through interviews with participants and organizers, to assess various evaluation indicators in order to determine what would enhance success of consensus processes in land use planning. By analyzing the relative importance assigned by participants and organizers to the various factors, 'critical' indicators were determined, and an evaluation framework was developed. The diagnostic framework, presented in Chapter 9, is meant to be a 'prescriptive' evaluation, a 'before the fact' check list of preconditions which will enhance success. It can also be used in formative evaluation to help determine what factors might need to be strengthened in an ongoing process. As a summative evaluation, it might provide specific information about why a process was successful or unsuccessful.

This research specifically addressed consensus as a public involvement technique in resource decision-making, however, the discussion would not be complete without a return to the wider topic of public involvement and where consensus should fit. This chapter reflects on consensus as a public involvement technique and discusses this research in the context of an emerging adaptive model for resource management decision-making. Methodological lessons gained from this research are presented, and suggestions for further research are posed.

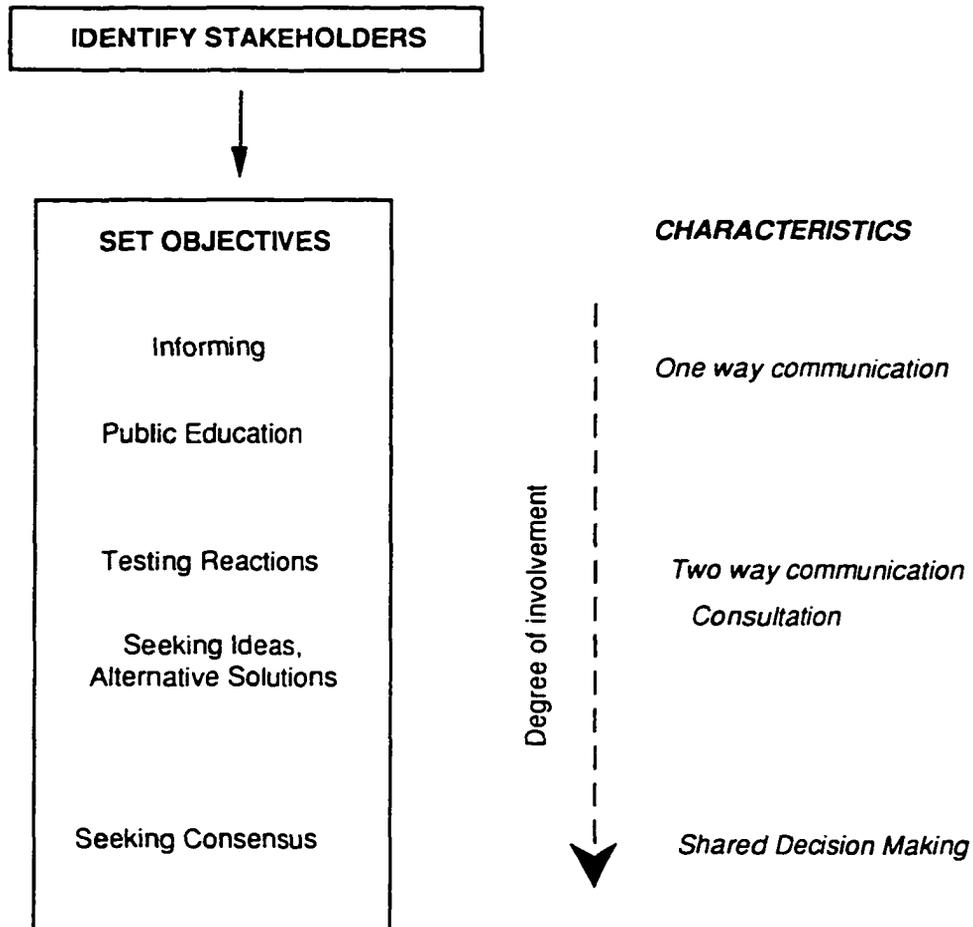
## **RETHINKING CONSENSUS IN PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT**

It is evident from this study that consensus is a popular form of planning by those who are involved and have already been committed to it. It is, however, expensive and time consuming (Dorcey *et al.*, 1994). Although the current Government of British

Columbia started out embracing the concept and financing it very broadly through CORE, they have now rationalized operations and delayed some processes. As a result, citizens are questioning government's future commitment to land use planning, and specifically consensus. Perhaps it was embraced more as a result of the politically damaging land use conflicts than as a vision for a future of shared decision-making and devolution of power. As stated by Darling (1993), "... a consensus set of decisions delivered by the key players in any land use dispute, delivered to government, is politically irresistible...". However, the experience of CORE might well have been an expensive political experiment, which didn't work. Does this mean that consensus planning has no value, in British Columbia or elsewhere?

Shared decision-making and the use of consensus are to some exciting new exercises in community control, but they are not appropriate for all types of planning, nor should they be seen as a replacement for other forms of public involvement. As described by one critic, to its followers in British Columbia in the early 1990's, consensus had become like a religion. Although Arnstein (1969) first delineated the different levels of citizen involvement (See Figure 2.1), she inferred that the prime objective should be to reach community control. Dorcey *et al.* (1994) were more realistic, pointing out that public involvement takes place over a spectrum from 'information' to 'ongoing citizen involvement'. The question for decision-makers is what form is most appropriate? When is consensus best used? The following model (Figure 10.1) illustrates different degrees of public involvement, including consensus (as a tool of shared decision-making) as the ultimate degree of involvement of citizens in planning.

## LEVELS OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT



Jackson (1995)

Figure 10.1

It is important for any agency which is planning to institute public involvement not to jump blindly into a consensus process, but rather analyze the situation for which they are seeking public involvement. Like the more generic strategic communication model presented in Figure 9.1, they must first identify the various stakeholders in the issue and

analyze them, according to the following questions. What is their level of knowledge of the issue? Their degree of commitment? Based on this analysis, objectives should be set for each stakeholder type. For some, who are uninformed of the issue, *Informing* and therefore a one-way communication process is entirely appropriate. For other stakeholders, who are aware of an issue, but remain ignorant of its technicalities or implications, a *Public education* plan is called for. Stakeholders who are more informed may be called upon for consultation, *testing reactions* to planners' ideas, or a higher degree, *seeking ideas* and alternative solutions.

The ultimate level of stakeholder involvement is shared decision-making, through the use of tools of consensus seeking, but is appropriate only for those stakeholders who are already informed and educated (about the issue) and are committed to such a process. It is also only appropriate where the decision-making authority is ready to delegate or share power with the community, or the process becomes one of consultation, rather than consensus, represented as a separate level in the framework above. These parameters must be made clear to both organizers and participants, otherwise shared decision-making is a misnomer, better described as 'shared recommendation' (in Roseland, 1993). Participants can easily see this as misrepresentation, causing them to question the integrity of a process and its organizers.

Even when the consensus level of involvement is chosen, as Dorcey *et al.* (1994) pointed out, while it is taking place, organizers must remember that the group involved is a very small representation of the community and to be truly effective, the other levels of public involvement should be running concurrently. Therefore, as the consensus process progresses, there will be other stakeholders who need to be constantly informed. Specific stakeholders need to be educated about options discussed, about agreements in principle and their ramifications; at some points their reactions must be sought and alternative ideas solicited. It is a dynamic model; each of these levels should be employed at various temporal stages of a planning process.

### *1) The Informing Stage*

Before any planning process begins, there is a need to inform the general population of the pending plan. Public involvement at this stage would be with the objectives of raising awareness and generating interest.

If properly addressed, this stage of public involvement could begin a process of honest, constructive relations between the community and the planning agency, but unfortunately that is more often not the case. Governments have a tendency to approach these objectives with two specific tools – the newspaper advertisement and the public meeting. Traditionally, the ads are barely noticeable and do not result in either widespread awareness or significant numbers of people attending public meetings, which negatively affects the entire plan from the outset. Officials believe that they have performed their duty to inform citizens of a pending plan, yet are often disappointed (or perhaps relieved) that there is no interest shown by the population. The effect later is often that citizens feel they were never informed and believe they were purposely excluded, harboring resentment and mistrust.

In a more effective approach, in addition to advertising (which should be noticeable, clear, readable, and free from bureaucratic jargon), specific stakeholder groups should be identified and communicated with directly, preferably personally, to generate interest. Successful public involvement processes spend a great deal of time researching potential stakeholders and communicating with them, before scheduling a public meeting.

The public meeting as a public involvement mechanism, either at this stage, or later, is notoriously overly and poorly used, according to both Connor (1990) and Dorsey (1994). Perhaps their ubiquitous format is based on legal public hearings where the proponents sit at the front facing rows of audience, with a table between. Audience members who want to speak stand at a microphone at the back of the room. According to Connor, such a format does nothing to alleviate any sense of alienation or mistrust citizens

may feel about the agency. Creativity is called for by managers of such processes in designing fora which are more conducive to an image of trust and communication.

### *2) Public Education Stage*

Ongoing public education of the issues needs to be planned, particularly where there are vocal opponents who are probably more adept at getting their message to, and swaying a silent majority. Once again, it has been shown that a personal approach is far more effectual and cost effective than advertising, which governments tend to rely upon. In ongoing public education which complements a consensus table, speeches and presentations to groups, articles written for trade publications or community newspapers, and radio and television talk shows are essentially free of charge and are very effective communication tools. Proactive media relations at this stage can also be very helpful in further raising awareness among the public and addressing concerns which may have been raised.

### *3) Testing Reactions Stage*

Once ideas are generated by a consensus table or draft decisions are ready for wider community consultation, again the traditional vehicle has been the public meeting. Connor and Dorsey both recommended alternatives such as less formal open houses, focus groups, surveys, telephone hot lines and various other tools. Once again, the recommendation is for managers to be creative and to choose a method which is appropriate for the audience and the objective. As shown in this research, planners should not rely totally on the consensus participants to communicate with 'constituents'; wider public acceptance is necessary and is the responsibility of the agency and all planning participants.

### *4) Generating Idea Stage*

This type of public involvement is more open-ended than that above. As opposed to subjecting citizens to a draft plan or decision and soliciting reactions, this stage starts with a clear slate and draws upon the expertise of stakeholders. Obviously, it would be appropriate only for those stakeholders who have already been informed and who have

some expertise in the issue. Connor used workshop tables at open houses to generate options and ideas. This format was used by a number of consensus land use planning processes in this study when they broke into subcommittees to work on specific issues and scenarios. Its application should perhaps be expanded to other stakeholders who may not have the commitment as a full consensus member, yet at critical points could be drawn upon for their expertise.

### 5) *Consensus*

This type of public involvement embodies shared decision-making, a devolution of power. This research has focused on this level of public involvement and the criteria necessary for its successful implementation. Where this level is adopted for land use planning, the evaluation framework in Chapter 9 should be applied and the concepts, ideas, and recommendations presented should also be considered. As illustrated in the evaluation framework in this study, when applying consensus in land use planning, as in other levels of public involvement, integrity of the process is critical, as is solid information, strategic communication, commitment of participants, government support, and the appropriate geographical scale. Other critical indicators determined in this study include the facilitator, explicit objectives, and training.

This study has attempted, not to promote the 'religion' of consensus, but to determine where it is best used in land use planning, and how to apply it effectively. When this research was first incepted, consensus was a very new application of higher level public involvement. I set out to analyze whether, like public involvement mechanisms through the 1970's and 1980's, consensus would run its course on Downs Issue Attention Cycle (Figure 2.3).

When this research began, British Columbia's approach to consensus decision-making appeared to be, according to Down's model, at the stage of 'euphoric enthusiasm'. During the course of this study it moved to 'realizing the cost of significant progress', evidenced by government disbanding CORE, and delaying scheduled LRMP's. With many

citizens and bureaucrats more cynical about the idea of shared decision-making, one wonders if we have moved now to the next stage, 'gradual decline of public interest'. However, conflict continues. The environment continues to be threatened and decisions must be made.

Consensus in land use decision-making should not be viewed as simply conflict resolution; it is planning, and a problem solving procedure. It is a contemporary application of the traditional sequence of the rational model of resource management decision-making (first discussed in Chapter 2), but with the equal involvement of citizens, where the procedure is:

- 1) Identify the issues
- 2) Organize the information
- 3) Establish the evaluation criteria
- 4) Develop options
- 5) Apply the evaluation criteria and rank the options, and
- 6) Select the best option

According to Travers (1993), to be effective, this sequence must be expanded to include these points:

- Develop a genuine vision
- Develop congruence between our purpose and our methods
- Put our money where our mouths are
- Be authentic

His recommendations reflect the recommendations of this research: that government and participants must be committed to this type of decision-making; that the process be carried out according to the evaluation criteria presented; that government support the initiatives to completion; and that they are conducted with integrity.

Perhaps the biggest challenge to making resource decisions today is that there is no template; this is adaptive management, in which the goal is 'resilience in the face of

surprise' (Lee, 1993). Adaptive management was also discussed by Mitchell (1995) as one of the necessary criteria for beating environmental conflict and uncertainty. It urges managers to be flexible, to approach problem solving in a manner that leaves options open, to accept uncertainty and surprise, and to be prepared to make mistakes and learn from experience. The Canadian Round Tables pointed out as early as 1993, the need for flexibility in consensus decision-making processes. Maser (1996) added, "the limitations inherent in the [traditional] problem solving approach are precisely its narrowness in scope, rigid focus on quantifiable outcomes, and the increasing attempt to eliminate risk, all symptoms of its growing institutionalization... the more you eliminate risk, the closer you come to eliminating...creative intervention."

Adaptive management means creative intervention – the ability to diagnose, assess the situation and develop an appropriate course of action. It is the basis for the evaluation framework, as well as the strategic communication and public involvement models developed as part of this study. It is hoped that these tools will be useful in the short run, to planners considering consensus decision-making, but also in the long run as a first step toward the development of a comprehensive adaptive model for resource decision-making.

## METHODOLOGICAL LESSONS

Throughout the course of this research, several lessons came to light that may be helpful for others undertaking a similar project. On reflection, first of all, one must answer what might have been improved or done differently.

Although I spent some months preparing for the interview phase of the research, even more planning could have been helpful. Where the pilot study provided a number of evaluation indicators to be tested, a further pilot with actual participants would have allowed further refining of the comprehensive list before the majority of interviews took

place. Instead, some adjustments were made during the course of the interviews, making it somewhat more difficult to analyze these later.

Given more time and resources I believe it would have also been beneficial to observe additional consensus processes in action, in various regions. I also would have liked to talk to more managers in different regions, to explore perspectives and styles of management further, which were introduced in this report. In addition, it might have been helpful to interview community representatives who were not involved in plan preparation, but who are affected by those plans. However, one must sometimes trade off breadth for depth, and leave some questions for subsequent research projects! (examples are discussed below).

What was validated in my method, I believe, was the use of a flexible format, particularly the on-site interviews. It became evident, as discussed in the Participant Interview Process in Chapter 3, that different subjects favoured different ways of expressing themselves. Some were most comfortable with systematic quantitative ratings, but more found it a difficult task and became more engaged when they could share stories, feelings, etc. I was gratified that I had chosen a semi-structured interview format, and not been so concerned with bias that I biased the responses by making them fit into little boxes. One respondent of a CORE process had shared with me that it had been frustrating for them to have been studied so much, yet said of some of the questionnaires, "They were asking the wrong questions". An interview approach allows more feedback and communication from the subjects, who are the people with the information, after all.

I found the interviews to be a rewarding experience, although it was exhausting, particularly on days when I completed three or more. I found the experience of careful, active listening to be taxing, and my thoughts and feelings were often so jumbled up after an interview, it was only through recording extensive personal notes could I get clear to approach the next one. From the respondents' perspective, many of them reported enjoying the interview experience; in some cases it even seemed to be like a kind of

therapy. As a student and teacher of communication, it was interesting for me to experience in this way how important the act of listening is, how it validates an individual's viewpoint, and makes them feel valued.

Being on-site was also, I believe, a tremendous advantage. I believe it was more interesting and natural for the subjects to have a two-hour chat at the local cafe, rather than respond to a lengthy written survey, for example. In addition to providing a more personal approach to research, being on-site also affords a researcher the opportunity to 'experience' as well as to interact verbally. I found British Columbia to be as varied in its 'culture' as it is in geography, and the impressions gained from the surroundings were sometimes as illuminating as the words, for example,

"It was one thing to hear the environmentalists talk about water quality all day, and quite another to come back tonight to bathe in water running brown from my tap."

– Author's Personal Notes, October 4, 1995

I would, however, also add a word of caution about on-site interviewing, particularly for female researchers working alone. Although it was very interesting to meet people in their homes, I preferred interviewing in offices or public places. Where the interviews took place at private homes I always left a list of my whereabouts for the day with someone. I was particularly appreciative of the bed-and-breakfast hostess who followed up and called me at each location. I was fortunate to be met with nothing but graciousness on my travels, however in these times, caution is in order.

## **RESEARCH AS A CREATIVE PROCESS**

It became evident to me that as I was studying creative processes, and was recommending creativity in management, that the research process itself is a creative process. Like the guidelines in this research, I realized that there is no ideal template, that formats need to be adaptive to the characteristics of that particular situation.

It struck me that in research methods, as in the public involvement processes discussed in this research, a strategic communication approach should be adopted. For, of course, survey research is a form of communication. First an objective for the research is set out, answering the question, “what do I need to find out?” Secondly, the audience, or in this case, the subjects, should be analyzed. Questions should be answered, such as their level of education, their preferred method of communication, their history with research, for example. Then, based on the objective and the ‘audience’, the best method for the research and for these subjects is chosen. It was through my pilot study that I discovered that CORE participants had already been subjected to a number of questionnaires and might not be willing to participate; I then decided to widen my net to include in this research, all three levels of consensus land use planning.

As in any communication, a personal approach allows more feedback but is more time consuming than a mass or written approach. Like a communication campaign, multiple methods can ensure that the desired message is received, however in this case the message is the information coming from respondents to the researcher.

Like creative management, which should be ‘ambidextrous’, multiple methods also mean the researcher can derive the most benefit from left brain linear thinking in combination with right brain creative thinking.

## **FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS**

Following an exploratory study such as this one, other topics needing more in-depth research emerge. Some of these, focusing on contemporary public involvement using consensus, are discussed below.

## COST-BENEFIT COMPARISONS

This study did not question the use of consensus in land and resource planning; rather its goal was to answer the question, ‘*if we are doing it, what would make us do it well?*’ Further research is needed into the cost-benefit comparisons and effectiveness of this type of planning. Although citizens will undoubtedly continue to demand involvement in decisions which affect them, is consensus the most effective way of involving them? This study has pointed out that it should not be seen as a panacea, that there are many levels of public involvement, and that the most appropriate for the objective and for the stakeholders at hand should be employed. Further research, however, needs to be conducted into the real and opportunity costs of planning by consensus vs. more traditional means. It has been suggested that the long run costs of not involving the public outweigh any direct costs of these lengthy processes, yet there has been no empirical evidence offered.

## IMPLEMENTATION

Now that this research into the *process* of consensus is complete, what remains is to evaluate the *effects* of utilizing these processes. A number of plans developed by consensus have now been completed; it would be of interest to study their implementation, with the objective of determining whether land use planning in British Columbia has been more effective since adopting consensus models of public involvement. Where my research determined success factors of consensus *processes*, the natural evolution would be research which asks whether a successful consensus process results in a more sustainable land use plan. Specifically, the following questions should be addressed:

- How are the land use plans which were developed by consensus being implemented? Is there citizen involvement? What form does it take?
- In areas where land use plans have been completed, how is the implementation being evaluated?

- What factors are necessary for successful implementation of land use plans?

### **ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES**

Because of the concern expressed by a number of individuals as to the Forest District boundaries used for LRMP, it would be of interest to investigate further the efficacy of these boundaries. How meaningful are they to the people involved? How relevant are they to the long term objectives of strategic land use planning?

### **POWER**

In addition to the descriptive studies suggested above, a critical analysis of power in public involvement and consensus land use planning would be of interest. By exploring structures of power in government, with industry, and between stakeholder groups, a theoretical framework for understanding such mechanisms could be developed. In-depth analysis of the participation and non-participation of marginalized groups, such as First Nations and women, would contribute to the theoretical model.

### **PARTICIPANTS**

Of great interest to me during the course of the participant interviews was a speculation on my part as to what motivates individuals to donate their time, energy, and expertise to consensus planning processes. Who are these stakeholders? How do they differ from non-participants in the same community? I believe a humanistic study would provide further insight into the growing phenomenon of community development.

“What has made it all worthwhile is remembering all the individuals I had the honour of meeting, and what stands out most was when the mother of 10 who had devoted so much time and effort looked straight into my eyes and said, “thank you for doing this work’.”

– Author’s Personal Notes, January 16, 1997

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**APPENDIX I**

(on University of Victoria letterhead)

September 20, 1995

To: Participants in the [ ] Process:

I am a Visiting Assistant Professor in the School of Public Administration, as well as a Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography at the University of Victoria; I am researching consensus-based land use planning. My research involves interviewing participants from regional, sub-regional and community level processes in order to determine some indicators for evaluation, and to develop guidelines for enhancing the success of these types of planning processes.

Because you have been a participant in such a process, your views and experiences are invaluable to this work and I hope you will consider my request for a personal interview. Please consider the fact that this research is totally independent of any specific organization or government agency. Its significance will be to the literature on public involvement and resource management, and its recommendations will be of use to governments and stakeholder groups in understanding the advantages and risks, as well as the factors which can influence the successful implementation of consensus type planing.

I will be in your area the week of [ ] and will call you to set up a specific meeting time. Please read the attached consent form, which is required for any human subjects research by the University of Victoria. If you have any questions or concerns, I may be reached at 721-8066.

Sincerely,

Laurie Jackson

## PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

**Study:** Evaluation Indicators for Consensus Resource Management Processes in British Columbia

**Researcher:** Laurie S. Jackson, B.Sc., M.Ed., ABD (Ph.D. Candidate), Department of Geography, University of Victoria

**Funding Agency:** Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Doctoral Fellowship

This consent form is designed to give you a basic idea of what the research project is about and what your participation will involve. Please take the time to read this form carefully. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please ask.

The purpose of my research is to understand more about consensus type land use planning processes in the Province of British Columbia. Because you have been a participant in such a process, your views are important to my goal of establishing some indicators for evaluating these types of processes, and for developing recommendations which will make them more successful in the future.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw at any time, or you may refuse to answer any question. In the case that you do not complete the entire interview, you will be asked whether your comments to that point may be used in the study. Your time commitment will be approximately one hour.

Anonymity and confidentiality will be strictly maintained during and after the research study. The identities of all participants, as well as interview notes, will be stored in a secure file cabinet in my office. I am interested in your views as an individual, and not as an official representative of any organization or group, therefore your participation will have no bearing on your employment or status in any organization. Your organization will not have access to any information collected in this study, only the final report if requested. Your name will never be used in any dissertation, report or other communication about the research. Interview notes will be taken by hand, not by any electronic means, and you may check their accuracy at any time during the interview.

I have read and understand the above and consent to participate in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

**APPENDIX II**

#

Participant name \_\_\_\_\_

Stakeholder \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Other info \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Consent Form? Y \_\_\_\_\_

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**Notes**

**APPENDIX III**

**SUCCESS FACTORS RATE SHEET SAMPLE**

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
<b>FACTOR</b>	<b>PARTICIP. #</b>																					
	Stake	GS	R	R	GO	GS	E	GO	I	C	R	I	E	I	I	GO	T	GS	GS	GO	GO	R
	Location	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	O	V	K	V	V	S	S
	Process	M	M	MJ	M	M	M	M	M	M	MC	MC	MJ	MC	M	MJ	C	M	M	C	U	U
	Gender												F				F					
Integrity	credibility, honesty of organizers	10	10	8	9	10	8	9	10	10	10	8	9	8	10	9	10	9	10	9	10	10
	Commitment of participants					8	9	9	10	9	8	9	9	10	10	9	10	9	8	9	10	10
	Openness	10	8	7	8	9	7	8	10	8	9	10	8	9	7	7			8	9	8	6
	Explicit objectives	10	8	7	8	9	6	6	10	8	9	10	6	9	8	8	10	8	7	9	9	10
	Early stakeholder id.	10	8	10	6	5	6	7	10	10	9	10	8	7	6	5	8	7	6	7	10	10
	Strategic communication	8	10	10	7	9	8	8	10	10	8	10	8	9	5	8	6		9	8	9	10
	Facilitator	9	8	8	9	9	10	7	8	8	10	9	8	7	10	8	10	7	8	9	9	10
	Solid information	5	9	6	6	10	10	5	7	10	7	10	9	8	6	9	10	8	7	8	8	10
	Clear policy guidelines	5	3	5	7	8	8	4	4	10	5	10	5	10	8	4		8	8	8	8	4
	Prescreening participants	6	1	0	4	9	5	7	0	5	5	0	7	2	0	5	8	2	4	7		10
	Training	3	10	8	7	7	3	7	8	7	10	8	9	6	6	8	10	10	6	8	9	4
	Critical Analysis/	0	6	4	3	5		5	5	5	6						9					
	Consensus	7	8	8	9	8		8	10	8	10						9					
	Negotiation	7	10	6	8	7		7	0	7	10						9					
	Conservation	0	5	2	7	3		6	8	3	0						5					
	Listening	7		10	9	8		8	8	7	9											
	Integrated RM	5		6	7	7		6	9	3	9						9					
	Neutral chair/process mgr.	8	10	9	9	10	7	9	10	9					10					9		
	Interpersonal dynamic	6	9	3	10	9	8	9	10	7	8	8	7		10	6			9	8	8	5

**APPENDIX IV**

**RAW DATA SAMPLE**

#	Name	Org	StakeType	Process	Area	Comments	Indicator/Question
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Commitment very important. It means attending all meetings, getting back to the group	Commitment of participants	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	People all feel it's a success; come to consensus; Not everyone gets what they want, but	Definition of success	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	More important to get all issues on the table	Early stake id	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Process coordinators were excellent: open, neutral, and allowed the group process	Facilitator	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Consensus is the only way to go; might not work though, if people have had a bad experience	Future of land use planning	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Extremely important to create principles on how to act as a group and build on as you go	Interpersonal dynamic	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	As people got to know each other, it went more smoothly	Interpersonal dynamic	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	A key was local people, as opposed to the outsiders involved in CORE	Local participants	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Only if it's an "are you willing" situation	Prescreening	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	You need to build trust, through knowing each others values. Almost as much got decided	Relationships	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Informal discussion goes a long way to understanding where other people are at.	Relationships	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	They all knew up front that each rep must report back to their groups, and to get info	Strategic communication	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	There was an agreement at the table that individuals would not deal with media outside	Strategic communication	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	The organizers made sure that the stakeholder group was communicated with, even if it	Strategic communication	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	The process could be speeded up. Time is a factor.	Time	
1	Min For	Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Could be useful if it's training in consensus or negotiations; the other stuff comes out in	Training	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	You don't need policy. What do you want to see, not how many trees. Let's define what	Clear policy	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Interest based bargaining; process must be driven on interests, rather than defense	Commitment of participants	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Participants must have credibility; their words have weight that they can deliver, focus on	Commitment of participants	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Sector must make sure replacements are brought up to speed. Can destroy a table.	Continuity	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Agreement around table, but also agreed to by the constituency groups. Don't have to	Definition of success	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Should also have First Nations participation	Definition of success	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Identify all interests early, not must be flexible for new ones to appear	Early stake id	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Need funding for some groups to get the best they need, but costs only, not wages	Funding	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Each participant need to have respect for others and the organization they represent	Interpersonal dynamic	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Local people carrying the ball is essential; they have ownership. Don't want to see people	Local participants	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Manager not "king of the hill" some managers just arn't conducive to this type of planning	Management style	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	You need guiding principles, but not set timelines for issues	Objectives	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Gov't shouldn't control who's at the table	Prescreening	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Prior relationships very necessary, you have to get to where you trust someone	Relationships	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Should also be fun; it gets intense, social events can cement relationships	Relationships	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Reporting back is extremely NB. Must show you have a constituency. Have to be able to	Strategic communication	
2	Wildlife F	Recreation	LRMP	1	Training in interest based negotiation would be beneficial	Training	
3	Fish Clut	Recreation	LRMP, L	1	See it through to the end. If you can't attend have someone attend who is up on the process	Commitment of participants	
3	Fish Clut	Recreation	LRMP, L	1	It's important to have the same people attending, or people who have done their homework	Continuity	
3	Fish Clut	Recreation	LRMP, L	1	Agreement on any subject at open meeting with stakeholders; everyone present and voice	Definition of success	

**APPENDIX V**

SOLID INFORMATION BY STAKEHOLDER						
#	NAME	ORG.	STAKE	PROCESS	LOC	COMMENT
9			Citizen Ac	LRMP	1	Info overload can make it useless. Needs to be condensed, without bias Tons of reading, how many pounds of info?
31			Citizen Ac	LRUP	2	Must be credible and acceptable to participants. Have an exercise to decide whether it is
6			Env	LRMP	1	Yes, need good ecological info; people need to understand this
12			Env	LRMP, LRUP	1	Stalled us at the start. They kept changing stuff. Uneven -no level field. Some had & some didn't
12			Env	LRMP, LRUP	1	Overwhelmed w. peripheral info. Quality more important than quantity
22			Env	LRUP	2	Still part of openness. Forest company had information they held back
23			Env	LRUP/LRMP/CC	2	Really important. Inventory is critical - they had & wouldn't provide. MinEnv. maps altered by MinFor - phony info
24			Env	LRUP	2	If you don't have solid data, then do research, or else don't make the decisions. Again, people w. expertise would bring more
27			Env	LRUP	2	Industry couldn't bring any information to support their position. "Trust us."
27			Env	LRUP	2	Major flaw is lack of information, or info with no credibility. Ministry obstructed it in a calculated way
44			Env	LRMP/LRUP	5	Concrete, real, correct, accurate. Base decisions on data and local knowledge - balance each other. Amount of data on big
48			Env	CORE	6	Lack of access to good biophysical info. stall on wildlife info - not enough resources in Fish and wildlife. Not enough time.
48			Env	CORE	6	Sick of info that comes out of a black box. Economic and social info is really really poor. Old fashioned, without analysis.
50			Env	LRMP	7	Tricky one. Interpretations can vary. Solid information would be where it comes from more than one source
40			First Natio	CORE	3	One problem with CORE is no one knows what the ongoing states will be. Too many unknowns to have it set forever. Don't
40			First Natio	CORE	3	Need a good common info base, or people are talking at cross purposes. Critical. Single most contentious issue. Because
4			Gov Org	LRUP	1	Great to have, but people focus on the numbers, rather than the interest behind it. It's a balancing act
4			Gov Org	LRUP	1	We need better info, but there is overkill; many people can't understand it. Focus on the interest & you don't need the level
7			Gov Org	LRMP	1	You can have information overload, not NB
19			Gov Org	CORE	8	Need refined information & analysis, like multiple account analysis
19			Gov Org	CORE	8	Not a major stumbling block if not all there. Can make decisions without, but may need more for implementation
15			Gov Org	LRMP/LRUP	9	Underestimated. Spend all their time in process & don't realize how NB info is. Need commitment to provide
15			Gov Org	LRMP/LRUP	9	Not paralysis by analysis - need it all up front. They're spending far more time in OK getting all info up front
20			Gov Org	LRUP	2	Can't have paralysis by analysis; some want to halt all activity until we know - stop train of social progress
20			Gov Org	LRUP	2	Should have the best available, but let's not stop everything until we get more. Go on & revise as info becomes available
20			Gov Org	LRUP	2	Gov't has to be committed to getting the info - provide resources
42			Gov Org	LRMP	10	Need a solid data base, but it's not critical. It's always one person's version of the truth. If that's recognized, then you can
42			Gov Org	LRMP	10	Draw on local knowledge, that will direct how hard info will be gathered. If we had perfect info, we wouldn't need the process
46			Gov Org.	LRMP/LRUP	9	It's never good enough. Some use that fact to stall or steer process. If there's an agreement that data is needed, then go
5			Gov Stake	LRMP	1	May not need the detail people think, for the broader context of strategic planning
18			Gov Stake	LRMP	8	Not the be-all & end-all, but fairly NB. Basic info that we're repeatedly asked for
18			Gov Stake	LRMP	8	Just one factor in the decision - hopefully it won't hold up the process
18			Gov Stake	LRMP	8	During CORE had to work through discrepancies between ministries - now it's better; timing issue, not scope
18			Gov Stake	LRMP	8	Need an appropriate mix of quantitative and qualitative
17			Gov Stake	LRMP	1	Must be credible. Need to be honest where it comes from. Draw map, not exact science, but worthwhile for the process

**APPENDIX VI**

**QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS SAMPLE**

FACTOR	PARTICIP.	S9	S31	S40	S47	S6	S12	S48	S50	S22	S23	S24	S27	S28	S44	S4	S7	S46	S15	S20	S19	S35	S42	S1	S5	
	Stake	C	C	CF	CJ	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GO	GS	GS	
	Location	K	S	WL	VH	K	K	KO	KX	S	S	S	S	S	VH	K	K	KX	O	S	V	V	VH	K	K	
	Process	M	U	C	M	M	MJ	C	M	U	U	U	U	U	MJ	M	M	MJ	MJ	U	C	C	M	M	M	
	Gender		F					F							F											
	CA	9	10	9	5	8	10																			
	EN	9	9	10	8	10	8	10	8	8																
	GO	9	7	9	10	9	9	8																		
	GS	8	9	9	8																					
	IN	10	10	9	10	5	10	10	7	10	10															
	RT	8	10	8	10	10	10	8	10	9																
Anova: Single-Factor		COMMITMENT BY STAKEHOLDER																								
Summary																										
	Groups	Count	Sum	Average	Variance																					
	CA	6	51	8.50	3.50																					
	EN	9	80	8.89	0.86																					
	GO	7	61	8.71	0.90																					
	GS	4	34	8.50	0.33																					
	IN	10	91	9.10	2.99																					
	RT	9	83	9.22	0.94																					
ANOVA																										
Source of Variation		SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit																			
Between Groups		3.1714286	5	0.63	0.38	0.86	2.46																			
Within Groups		65.273016	39	1.67																						
Total		68.444444	44																							

**APPENDIX VII**

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

### Community Level Planning

Defined as 'local planning' by the Ministry of Forests (1995): a variety of resource planning initiatives undertaken to develop integrated approaches to resource use and development. Typically they have employed the LRUP and have been undertaken to resolve potential land use conflicts in local areas smaller than LRMPs. Since 1996, the Ministry of Forests has termed this type of planning Landscape Level.

### Consensus

The process of developing a plan through the input and acceptance of diverse and even competing groups of people (Avery *et al.*, 1981). It does not, in the context of this research, refer to an *agreement*, but rather to a *process* of reaching agreement on a land use plan (further discussed in Chapter 2: section: 'Consensus').

### Higher Level Plans

Regional and sub-regional strategic land use plans, such as LRMP.

### Inter-agency Management Committee (IAMC)

A committee which manages LRMP at the regional level, they are composed of senior officials of all resource ministries in each of seven planning regions of the province. They determine LRMP boundaries, project priorities and funding, and are responsible for appointing the inter-agency planning teams.

### Inter-agency Planning Team (IPT)

Representatives of the government who sit on LRMP's. Open to any provincial government agency with a resource management mandate, federal government agency or regional district.

### Integrated Resource Management

Land management which identifies and considers resource values, in the context of social, economic, and environmental objectives (Ministry of Forests, 1995).

### Interests

All needs and values of a community necessary for a land use plan, as distinct from positions (predetermined solutions), and distinct from sectors (representation).

### Integrated Resource Planning Committee (IRPC)

Develops LRMP policy and procedures and coordinates interagency program implementation at the provincial level. It provides advice and support to all organizations involved in LRMP, providing an information sharing and coordinating function. The committee is made up of representatives in Victoria of resource ministries. The actual coordination of LRMP's with other planning initiatives is administered by LUCO.

### LRMP

Land and Resource Management Plans -- sub-regional strategic land use plans, also called "higher level plans" administered by Inter-agency Management Committees. The Ministry of Forests (1995) defines them as "an integrated sub-regional consensus-based process requiring public participation that produces a plan for review and approval by government. The plan establishes direction for land use and specifies broad resource management objectives and strategies".

### LRUP

Local Resource Use Plans -- community level land use plans, administered by the Ministry of Forests, under Section 4(c) of the *Ministry of Forests Act.*. Defined by the Ministry of Forests (1995) as a plan approved by the district manager for a portion of the provincial forest that provides area-specific resource management objectives for integrating resource use in the area. In 1996 these have gradually been replaced by what are termed, 'Landscape Level Plans'.

### LUCO

Land Use Coordination Office -- advises government on strategic direction and priorities. Assists the government in making plans and policy decisions and coordinates inter-agency planning activities province wide, and manages corporate resources.

### Objective

An aim, goal or end of action. Objectives and associated strategies contained in plans provide direction on land use and resource management for the plan area (Ministry of Forests, 1995).

### Public Involvement

Processes of including citizens or groups in the development of plans, or in any resource decision-making. It can include any number of activities of varying degrees of involvement or power, from public education to consultation to consensus decision-making.

### Regional Level Plan

Those forwarded by the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE).

### Resource Management

A complex decision-making process, involving inventory, assessment, goal formulation, policies, programs, legislation, administration and managerial strategies (Kruger & Mitchell, 1977).

### Stakeholder

A person or group with a significant interest in, or who may be directly affected by, a program or recommendation under consideration (Brown, 1996).

### Strategic Communication

Public communication which is a planned deliberate process, in order to achieve some organizational goals and objectives.

### Strategic Land Use Planning

Planning for large ecosystems, socioeconomic regions and sub-regions or similarly large land units. Also referred to as regional planning, resource land planning, or environmental planning (Brown, 1996). Planning at the regional, sub-regional, and in some cases, at the local level which results in land allocation and/or resource management direction (Ministry of Forests, 1995).

### Sub-regional Land Use Plan

Those developed through the Land and Resource Management Planning (LRMP) processes, administered by Inter-agency Management Committees. Now called Higher Level Plans.

**APPENDIX VIII**

## **NOTE TO USERS**

**Appendix VIII has not been filmed at the request of the author, but can be viewed at author's university library**

**UMI**