PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY FORESTS: THE ONTARIO COMMUNITY FOREST PILOT PROJECTS

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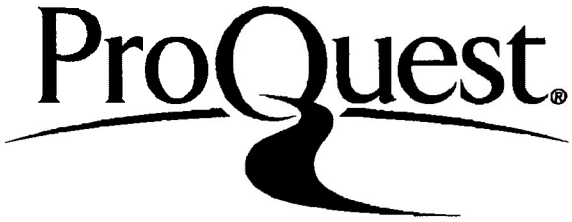

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to EdKevin Chege whose courage and love remains my inspiration. To you son I say, Bravo.

ABSTRACT

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Key words: community forests, public participation, decision-making, forest management.

Levels of public participation in the management of a community forest (CF) depend on the CF's goals and the subsequent decision-making structure that the community adopts. To evaluate the hypothesis that the Ontario community forest pilot projects (CFPPs) provide enhanced means for public participation, a comparative analysis was undertaken involving a detailed description of decision-making structures of the CFPPs and those of five additional contemporary forest management arrangements. The study methods involved: personal interviews with each CFPP's organizing body, the general public at each CFPP, and management personnel at the five cases; and a comprehensive compilation of decision-making structures of all cases based on their documentation. Results of the study indicate that the CFPPs have developed an elaborate public participation infrastructure that presents the public with more avenues for participation than any of the other cases included in the study. Recommendations are made on procedures of public participation in community forest decision-making as well as suggested criteria for evaluating what is successful public participation in a community forest.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Two major global phenomena have played a revolutionary role in changing the way people regard forest use. One is the escalation in global population growth, and the other is industrial development (Abrahamson, 1989). Over-exploitation of the earth's resources, ozone depletion, and climate change due to industrial pollution mean that future economic expansion is ecologically limited and, more importantly, that the very survival of humankind is at stake (WCED, 1987).

Natural resource use can no longer be left to politicians and government bureaucracies. Involving forest communities and the general public in forest policy formulation and implementation is crucial to achieving both sustainable forest practices and enhancing community economic development, first at the community (grass roots) level and second at the global level. Thus, community organization, values and participation will become increasingly important components of forest resource planning and management the world over (Lee *et al.*, 1990).

Government bureaucracies with jurisdiction to make forest decisions must develop means of soliciting public input in forestry issues and where necessary develop means for sharing and/or delegating forest management responsibility to interested communities. Community forestry is an approach that has been tested and practised in different parts of the globe as a means of providing local communities with either forest products and/or stronger involvement in forest management decision-making (Cernea, 1993). Community forests are designed to suit the needs of specific communities and therefore have varying tenure arrangements and decision-making structures.

I define a Community Forest (CF) as a tree-dominated ecosystem managed for multiple community values and benefits by the community (Duinker *et al.* 1994). Hence the practice of community forestry involves activities undertaken to meet community forestry goals, be it promotion of tree planting on farm land (as in agroforestry), marketing of forest products from such forests, or others.

Where public participation in decision-making is a community forest goal, for example, in community forests of developing nations, and in the Ontario Community Forest Initiative (CFI), forest professionals, bureaucracies, and academics need to embrace not only the technicalities of forest production but the social, economic, and political technicalities that influence public participation as well (Lee *et al.*, 1990).

The need to study the social-economic and political circumstances in which forestry activity is taking place is relatively new thinking in forestry circles (Lee *et al.*, 1990). Indeed, the failure of most community forests undertaken in developing countries and various other community development programs in developed countries has been attributed to project organizers ignoring the background against which participation or decision-making was taking place (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz, 1977; Lucas, 1978; Cernea, 1993).

To succeed, therefore, public participation in community development (CD) projects, such as the CFI, must be socially organized and involve an understanding of community dynamics (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz, 1977; Lee *et al.*, 1990; Cernea, 1993). Other important factors for public participation include: community sense of a need for action; economic and social incentives to participate; and, last but not least, availability of an accessible administrative approach between the community forest organising body and the rest of the community, that is, a suitable decision-making structure and communication linkages.

In Ontario most forests are on Crown land managed by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) and/or private forestry enterprises (Duinker *et al.*, 1994). The Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM) acknowledged that Canadian citizens desire to have more input in forest management decision-

making (CCFM, 1992). OMNR recognizes the community-forest approach as one of several forest management alternatives for improving public participation in forest decision-making (Duinker *et al.*, 1994). Public expectations for community forests (CFs) include promotion of community economic stability by opening opportunities for diversification of natural resource use, promoting small-scale community industry and increasing employment opportunities (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992; Town of Geraldton, 1993; Anonymous, Undated-A). Community forests enable forest communities to gain more satisfaction from natural resource use when they directly involve the public in forest decision-making (Harvey, 1993).

Having recognised the promises that CF holds, the OMNR initiated the five-year CFI under its Sustainable Forestry Program (SFP) (OMNR 1992a). The CFI was initiated to screen and evaluate alternative forest management arrangements to determine partnership mechanisms that would enhance sustainable forestry as well as promote public involvement in forest decision-making in Ontario (OMNR, 1992a). The forest management arrangements under scrutiny include the Agreement Forests program, Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA), Forest Management Agreements (FMAs) and four Community Forest Pilot Projects (CFPPs). The CFPPs will form the basis for Ontario's long-term CF strategy. The projects are located at Wikwemikong, Elk Lake, Geraldton and the 6/70 (Kapuskasing-centred) Area (OMNR, 1992a).

STUDY JUSTIFICATION

The success of CD projects (such as the CFPPs) is determined by the role the affected public chooses and is permitted to play (Dunster, 1991). According to Edwards and Jones (1976) and Lotz (1977), public participation in a CD project reflects the community's aspirations and expectations from the project. Further, it indicates the suitability of the CD's decision-making structures and the effectiveness of participation linkages. To choose the appropriate arrangements to meet the OMNR goal for the CFs, it is necessary first to examine the decision-making structures and participation procedures adopted by the alternative forest management arrangements under scrutiny. Since there is little experience with the CF approach in Ontario, research on the CFPPs' decision-making structures and procedures for public participation is timely and applicable in the development process of a community forestry policy.

HYPOTHESIS

My hypothesis is that the CFPPs of Northern Ontario facilitate improved and unique public participation in forest decision-making and management. Since a key purpose of the CFPPs is to facilitate increased public participation in forest

resource management, there should be evidence indicating such a facilitation after two years of project implementation.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this study was to determine if the CFPPs facilitate increased public participation in their own right as well as in comparison with contemporary forest management arrangements in Canada. The second aim of this study was to investigate factors that influence public participation in the CFPPs. The hypothesis is tested through the following objectives:

Objective 1

To identify the organizational and decision-making structures, and public participation procedures established by three CFPPs: Geraldton Community Forest (GCF), 6/70 Community Forest (6/70 CF) and Elk Lake Community Forest (ELCF).

Objective 2

To identify issues and concerns pertaining to public participation at each of the three CFPPs. This objective should indicate the paradigm change in decision-making structure and public participation procedures necessary, as the case may be, for improved public participation at the CFs.

Objective 3

To analyze how each CF's decision-making structures and public participation procedures facilitate improved public participation in forest decision-making compared to the status quo as well as the following contemporary forest management arrangements: (a) The AFA (Ontario); (b) North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF) (Vancouver Island, BC); (c) Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL) (Lower Fraser Valley, BC); (d) Lower and Upper Spanish River FMA (Ontario); and (e) Magpie Forest FMAs (Ontario). The first three cases represent CFs already established in Canada, while the FMAs represent the principal form of forest management arrangement in Ontario.

The aim of this comparison was to indicate the uniqueness and progress of Ontario's CFPPs in facilitating public participation. Secondly, the comparison was important because it included the forest management arrangements that OMNR is screening under the overall CF initiative.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

There were three possible findings and various conclusions for the third objective. If there were essentially no differences between the public participation programs of the new community forests and those of industrial forests, it might have been concluded from the study that:

1. Community forests were not the only, or even the best, approach for improving public participation in forest management in Ontario. However, they are viable for improving public participation in forest management for some communities.
2. Since public participation in forest management can be improved without using the community forest approach, perhaps the aim of community forests in Northern Ontario needs redefinition. The definition of community forests might focus on how they meet other needs of the community (e.g. economic diversification, job opportunities, etc.)

If the public participation programs of community forests did seem better than those of industrial forests, then the conclusion would be:

1. The community forest approach was better able than industrial forest management to involve the public satisfactorily.

If the public participation programs of community forests were not as "good" as those of the industrial forests examined, then the conclusion would be one of the following:

1. The community forest approach was relatively ineffective in improving public participation as tested in the pilot projects.
2. Though the community forest approach was in theory a viable approach to improving public participation, the pilot projects were not good tests for the theory since they failed to achieve this goal as a result of their design and/or implementation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

CONTEMPORARY RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN ONTARIO

Forest Management Units

The Province of Ontario covers a total land area of 106.9 million hectares of which 80.7 million is forest land as per the 1986 inventory (Forestry Canada, 1990). Crown forest lands are subdivided into Forest Management Units (FMUs) established by Order-in-Council pursuant to The Crown Timber Act. An FMU is defined as: "A forest estate organized for efficient administration and control, which is actively managed for the continuous commercial production of timber in accordance with a single management plan" (OMNR, 1987). There are three types of FMUs, differing in the form of timber licensing: Crown Management Units (CMU); Company Management Units; and FMAs. On CMUs, OMNR prepares the Timber Management Plans (TMPs) which it executes through its own staff or contracts with companies (OMNR, 1987).

Company Management Units are licensed to large forest-products companies. The companies prepare the TMPs, provide access and carry out the timber harvesting operations while OMNR carries out maintenance and regeneration activities (OMNR, 1987). FMA licenses make the license holder responsible for preparing the TMPs as well as carrying out all operational aspects of timber management on Crown land with the exception of protection operations (i.e. insect and disease control, and fire suppression). By 1985, 56% of the total area of Crown timber land was under FMAs. FMAs are the principal form of authorization for timber use and now cover about two-thirds of total licensed area (OMNR, 1987).

Although the above timber licenses grant forest-products companies responsibilities related to timber harvesting, the ultimate responsibility for management planning, regeneration and protection of Crown forests rests with OMNR. Other than the above major licensing types, small-scale timber businesses may operate through: District Cutting Licenses; Salvage Licenses; Third Party Licenses; or Timber Supply Agreements. The OMNR monitors all timber management programs in two ways: it monitors the companies' compliance with approved TMPs during and after implementation of operations; and it carries out regeneration surveys to gauge how effective the companies' silvicultural practices are in achieving planned targets (OMNR, 1987).

Timber Management Plans

The OMNR is responsible for all values of the forest including timber production (OMNR, 1987). Public use of forests and wildlife management are incorporated to some degree into forest management strategies. OMNR has developed guidelines to ensure that no one forest use is carried out at the expense of other forest values. Examples of such guidelines pertain to moose and fish habitats (OMNR, 1987).

In 1985, the OMNR proposed to amend The Crown Timber Act to provide an opportunity for all forest users to participate in forest management planning and monitoring. The amendment was precipitated by the Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management (CEATM) on Crown Lands in Ontario (OMNR, 1987). The CEATM would ensure that timber activities are "carried out in ways that will prevent, minimize or mitigate significant environmental effects" (OMNR, 1987). The amendment provided a standard TMP process (Appendix 1) that requires the public to be given four formal opportunities to contribute to the TMP. The four opportunities are:

1. Public *invitation to participate* in an imminent timber management planning exercise;
2. Public *review* of pre-draft TMP proposals at *information centres;*

3. Public *review* of the draft TMP; and

4. Public *inspection* of the approved TMP (OMNR, 1987).

CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY

The phrase "community forestry" is widely used to refer to different types of forest undertakings that benefit a community by providing forest products and/or services (Dunster, 1989). Because a community forest is designed to suit the needs of a specific community, community forests in different parts of the world have varying tenure arrangements, decision-making structures and degree of public involvement.

Community Forestry in Developing Nations

Most rural people in developing nations rely on fuelwood for energy needs such as cooking and heating (Challinor and Frondorf, 1991). Since governments of developing nations do not have the capability of supplying fuelwood to their populations, forest activities for fuelwood production are centred on self-help. One of the most widely promoted afforestation interventions by government and international agencies with self-help in mind is social forestry (Cernea, 1992).

Simply put, social forestry means "forestry by the people, for the people". Social forestry tries to influence people's behaviour toward tree growing by understanding the cultural, economic and political conditions under which tree planting decisions are made at the local and individual farmer level (Challinor and Frondorf, 1991). In developing countries, this means converting woodfuel gatherers into woodfuel cultivators. The concept of social forestry as a forestry strategy has its roots in India where it was introduced in early 1970s (Cernea, 1992). Massive afforestation of communal lands by involving large numbers of people was proposed as a promising strategy for social forestry. Naturally, the community was chosen as the basic unit of implementation and thus the term "community forestry" was coined (Cernea, 1992).

The term "community forestry" in social forestry can be derived from five of its ideal characteristics: it is practised on communal or state lands; the community plays the central role in planning and implementation; it is specific to a local community; it is designed to meet local community needs; and it has direct and quantifiable benefits (e.g. fuelwood) to that community. Most CFs in developing countries are small, labour intensive enterprises (Mallik and Rahman, 1994).

During the 1970-80s, many community forestry projects were funded under the umbrella of social forestry programs by bilateral donors like the World Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the Overseas

Development Agency (ODA) in many parts of Asia and Africa. Cernea (1992) reported that most of these projects failed to justify the investments made. Sen and Das (1987) related the poor performance of the community forestry projects due to lack of people's participation, the very foundation for self-help projects.

Cernea (1992) gave two reasons for the general failure of popular participation in "community forests". The first is related to the initial and invalid assumption that communities (settlements, villages) are homogeneous "units capable of undertaking collective or coordinated action in any and all respects" (Cernea, 1992). Project initiators assumed that communities would be effective actors for implementing community forestry. The second reason for failure was the absence of appropriate actors and social arrangements. Finances for CF projects were mainly directed to tree planting. According to Cernea (1992), donors failed to recognize the human and institutional processes necessary to put in place popular participation.

For community forestry (i.e., community woodlots) to succeed, the following have to be addressed (Cernea 1992):

1. Identification of kinds of natural resources that a given community can develop; creation of an awareness in the community of goals to be achieved, so the community can come to a consensus on work to be done and by whom.
2. Development of suitable social and institutional mechanisms for implementing community forestry through popular participation. There is a need to study and understand each community's social set-up. It is naive to assume that each and every community has the social set-up to work toward the same common goal.
3. Development of incentives for participation and clarity on distribution of benefits.

Due to the complex experiences with the community forestry approach, foresters and planners in developing nations are currently focusing on afforestation efforts by individuals (Cernea, 1992). The new concept in social forestry is agroforestry. Agroforestry promotes a farmer's self-sufficiency in forest products at the farm level.

Community Forestry in Europe

In European countries, many non-commercial forests managed by private owners for multiple outputs such as lumber, water quality, wildlife, fish and recreation may be referred to as community forests (Dunster 1991). In Finland and Sweden, 75% and 50% of forest land respectively is owned and managed by individuals (Swedish Trade Council, 1989; Kalland and Paetilae, 1993). Under the respective national forestry bodies and legislation that govern these forests, private landowners in these countries can not impose any restrictions on public non-timber forest use activities (Kalland and Paetilae, 1993).

By a universal right of access, everyone is free to wander in the forest for enjoyment and such activities as mushroom and berry picking. This freedom and a close interdependence of people and their forests has created a unique cultural awareness of forests in these countries (Dunster 1991). These forests can be called community forests because they provide local citizens with forest products (e.g., mushrooms and berries) and services (e.g., recreation). The term community forest in this case does not mean that the forest is owned or managed by a community.

Another form of community forests in Europe is the forest owned and managed by a city, municipality or parish (R. Pulkki, pers. comm., 1994). To illustrate, I

cite the example of the city of Hameenlinna in Finland. The city has forest lands of some 10,000 ha (Anonymous, undated-B). The city land is divided into water areas, farming areas, building areas, land areas of general use, and forest area. The forest area is managed for multiple purposes using zones including: (a) economic forest (timber production); (b) landscape forest (multiple use); (c) sports and recreation forest (near paths, etc.); and (d) special forest (e.g., education, conservation, nurseries). The city employs about 20-30 forest personnel including a professional forester and a forest technician.

Hameenlinna city makes money by selling timber and fishing licenses and by letting the public hunt small game and moose. The forest is economically self-sustaining. Monies accrued from the forest pay forest personnel wages and the rest goes to city coffers. Members of the Haamenlinna community benefit from their forest as individuals and as a community through services provided by the city.

Community Forestry in the United States

An early definition of community forestry in the United States (US) bears some similarities with the social forestry model. The USDA Forest Service (USDA Forest Service Undated b:2) defined a community forest as: "Lands owned and

operated for forestry or allied purposes by a village, city, town, school district... for the benefit of community or group enterprises such as schools, hospitals, churches...."

In the above definition, it is clear that a community forest is owned and operated by a given community for forest-related purposes. The definition differs from that of social forestry in two ways. First, the term "community" in the USDA Forest Service definition does not necessary mean a group of people in a geographic location; rather, the term "community" could mean groups of people with a commonality of interest. Second, by this definition the community forest does not necessarily rely on self-help.

Dunster (1989) noted that the USDA Forest Service researched the concept of community forestry in the early part of this century. However, there is little evidence of a follow-up to conclude on community forestry failures or successes in the US. The county forests of New England, Minnesota and Wisconsin are often referred to as community forests (Dunster 1989). County forests are usually forest lands that were returned to the state when private owners could not meet their tax obligations. According to Casey and Miller (1988), the notion of community forests in the US has been extended to embrace street and park trees.

Though the term "community forestry" is uncommon in the US forestry literature, interest in the economic performance of timber-dependent forest communities in the US has persisted since passage of the Sustained Yield Forest Management Act in 1944 (Schallau, 1989). By ensuring continuous supplies of timber, the Act aimed to promote stability of forest industries, employment, and forest communities. Current US literature indicates that concern for the relationship between forests and forest communities has evolved from that of primarily ensuring a continuous supply of timber to that of ensuring community stability. According to Lee *et al.* (1990), the sociology of natural resources needs to focus not only on the resources upon which forest communities depend, but also on community social and economic structures as well as the political structure of forest industries. The economic stability of forest-dependent communities involves a systematic effort of economic diversification, development of public and privately owned cooperative ventures, and government-aided economic development programs (Le Master and Beuter, 1989).

Community Forests in Canada

In Canada the most often referenced community forests are Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL) and the North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF), both of which are in British Columbia (Duinker *et al.*, 1994). These two forests are

managed by their respective municipalities for the benefit of the community and hence can be said to benefit the local residents. The forests are mainly managed for timber and more recently for recreation and educational purposes (Dunster, 1989). Day to day administration is undertaken by municipal foresters while key policy decisions are made by municipal boards.

The two BC community forests have different land tenure arrangements. The Municipality of Mission has a license that grants it sole timber harvest rights on the designated Crown land (Duinker *et al.*, 1991). Statutory authority to manage the MTFL comes from the British Columbia Forest Act (Dunster, 1989). The arrangement is very much like Ontario's FMAs. The Municipality of North Cowichan, however, owns the forest land. Management authority is vested in the municipality's Forest Reserve Management and the Forest Advisory Committee Establishment Bylaw (Dunster, 1989).

The basis for calling the two BC examples community forests is first their provision of benefits to the local municipalities and second that decision-making authority rests with the communities. The forests serve as recreational facilities and also build up municipal coffers (Dunster, 1989).

Other forest management arrangements commonly referred to as community forests in Canada are the county forests of southern Ontario (Dunster, 1989). In

most cases, county forests are managed by OMNR foresters. These forests do not necessarily benefit the local community. According to Dunster (1989), county forests might be referred to as community forests because they surround or are near a community.

Community Forestry in Ontario

Ontario's Sustainable Forestry Program

In recognition of a need for sustainable forestry and increased public responsibility towards resource use, Ontario began to develop a Sustainable Forestry Program (SFP) in 1991. The program aims "to improve the management of Ontario's forest and give citizens a stronger voice in forest policy development and decision-making" (OMNR, 1991a). Community Forestry is one of seven original initiatives of Ontario's SFP. The other six initiatives address: a comprehensive forest policy framework; silviculture; old growth ecosystems; private woodlands strategy; forest audit; and forest values and other economic issues (OMNR, 1991b).

Initial interest in community forestry in Ontario can be traced back to the Conservation Council of Ontario (CCO) in the mid 1980s (Dunster, 1989). At the same time, certain individuals in the Geraldton area were exploring the concept and in 1989 a Geraldton Community Forest Project Steering Committee was established with the assistance of the CCO (Dunster, 1989). Through funds from the Town of Geraldton and the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, a feasibility study was carried out (Dunster, 1989). Results of the study were used by proponents of Geraldton Community Forest (GCF) to lobby government for support for a community forest project.

The New Democratic Party (NDP) took over governance of Ontario in 1990 (Harvey, 1994). Since 1988, the NDP had in its own right proposed that local management of natural resources be promoted (Town of Geraldton, 1993). Once in power, the NDP embraced community forestry as one of its policy goals (Town of Geraldton, 1993).

The Community Forestry Initiative

The goal of the community forestry initiative (CFI) in Ontario is to devise a strategy that enhances the opportunities for local participative management of forests (OMNR, 1992b). Development of the strategy is taking place in three

overlapping phases. Phase one addresses development of four community forest pilot projects (CFPPs). Each of the four is based on a unique forest resource and social situation so as to gain wide practical experience with community involvement. Phase two involves a review of public input mechanisms in a variety of resource management arrangements in Ontario. Phase three is the compilation of results of the first two phases into a long-term community forestry strategy. The Ontario public will be consulted in phase three (Harvey and Hillier, 1994).

In August 1991, OMNR advertised through mass media that it would help fund four CFPPs and invited interested communities to apply (OMNR, 1992a). Announcing the successful pilot projects on 27 March 1992, the then Minister of Natural Resources the Hon. Bud Wildman said that the community forestry initiative "will ensure that locally established goals and aspirations for forests are met" (OMNR, 1992b). For the purpose of the initiative, the term community "refers to the broad range of governments, groups, and individuals with an interest in the local forest, including industry, labour, municipalities, aboriginal peoples, tourist outfitters, conservation and recreational groups" (OMNR, 1992b).

Principles Guiding the CFPP

In 1991, the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM) invited Canadians through a series of forums to express their aspirations for Canada's forests (CCFM, 1992). As a result of public awareness on environmental matters and increased use of forest resources for recreation, the need for public involvement in natural resource policy and management has become important (CCFM, 1992). The review and recommendations drawn from this forum resulted in a Canada Forest Accord and a National Forestry Strategy (NSF) to guide the future of Canada's forests (CCFM, 1992).

The Accord's goal is:

> "... to maintain and enhance the long-term health of our forest ecosystems, for the benefit of all living things both nationally and globally, while providing environmental, economic, social and cultural opportunities for the benefit of present and future generations." (CCFM, 1992).

The NFS developed nine strategic directions for sustainable forests to meet public needs (CCFM, 1992). Of interest to community forests is strategy Number Three which emphasizes four principles for Canadians' participation in forest management. The principles are that: the public is entitled to participate in forest decision-making; effective participation requires a well-defined procedure

and process; to be effective the public has to be aware of forest issues; and the public shares the responsibility for increasing its knowledge on forestry issues as well as for decisions it is involved in making (CCFM, 1992).

The following principles were further established by OMNR to govern CFPPs in Ontario (OMNR, 1992c). The CFs should:

- maintain or enhance sustainable forest ecosystems;
- promote the economic diversity and stability of the forest communities by providing employment, and proliferation of small-scale industries;
- promote community participation in decision-making and implementation of forest management; this will be possible through increased public authority and responsibility;
- enhance knowledge on forest potential for sustainable use so that the public makes wise demands on the forest;
- enable more effective forest management planning and execution of management plans;
- honour the legal, fiscal and cultural interest of the province as well as that of the First Nations.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Development signifies qualitative change to what currently exists, making things better than the status quo (Lotz, 1977). According to Lotz (1977), development per se had been taken to be a good thing for a long time, especially in the developed countries. However, Lotz (1977) noted that today people assess the justification of development projects by questioning who the projects benefit.

In the case of Community Development (CD), development is aimed at promoting the engaged community's wellbeing (Edwards and Jones, 1976). CD is:

> "... a process of helping community people to analyze their problems, to exercise as large a measure of autonomy as is possible and feasible, and to promote greater identification of the individual citizen and the individual organization with the community as a whole" (Lotz, 1977).

CD processes enable people to achieve goals and influence actions together, for what they consider to be the wellbeing of their community (Edwards and Jones, 1976).

Contemporary notions of CD date back to the 1930s and 1940s when the British government prepared its colonies for self-government (Lotz, 1977). According to Lotz (1977), the CD approach was aimed at helping native communities identify

their problems and then through self-help work together towards solutions. In the 1960s the approach of self-help was adopted in policies aimed at solving poverty problems in North American and European ghettoes and other depressed areas (Lotz, 1977).

The following are key principles and processes pertaining to CD projects (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz, 1977):

1. Formulates goals whose meaning is known/understood by the community involved. This involves first of all taking into consideration the community's social-cultural, demographic, and ecological features in goal setting and second involving the public in the goal setting process.
2. Involves the local community in project implementation by having project organizers that are representative of all those affected by the proposed action. Representation should be such that community people have no fears that the project organizers have a vested interest beyond that of the wellbeing of the whole community.
3. Develops procedures to achieve goals.
4. Keeps the community informed on project progress and is flexible enough to accommodate suggestions and reactions made by community members.

5. Transfers money and power from the centre to the local level.
6. Enables the community to build a stronger and more viable economic base.

Because CD addresses a specific situation of a specific community, there are various ways of implementing CD projects, for example through community economic development corporations (Dorsey and Ticoll, 1984). Though CD is a general term that means different things to different people, there is one unifying prerequisite that still holds for CDs no matter how they are organized and no matter what their goals are - citizen involvement (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz, 1977; Dorsey and Ticoll, 1984; Lee *et al.*, 1990; Whyte, 1991; and Cernea, 1993).

In the early 1980s, Employment and Immigration Canada in conjunction with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada carried out case studies on the processes of some CD projects in Canada (Anonymous, 1981). Observations from these studies indicated that the chances of achieving success in a CD endeavour increased with the extent to which the community was in control of project implementation (Anonymous, 1981). The importance of public participation to the CD process is capsulized in a statement by Edward and Jones (1976), that "widespread community involvement, or participation, in an action effort is an implied purpose in the use of the community development process...".

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Public Participation Theories

As social beings, humans have always had some inherent form of governance to guide individual, national and international relationships. The prevailing form of governance for most parts of the world is democracy. Democracy is the fulcrum of public participation (Gibson, 1975). According to Gibson (1975), the debate on the level and nature of public participation desirable for governance rests with two conflicting theories of democracy: representative democracy and participatory democracy.

Representative democracy, also known as elitist democracy, is based on the notion that human interactions are essentially self-centred, opposing, and typified by conflict (Gibson, 1975). Therefore to maintain stable governance, elected leaders are needed to make decisions on behalf of the general public. Democracy in this case happens when citizens are allowed to choose leaders freely from competing elites (Gibson, 1975).

Participatory democracy theory holds that democracy happens when decisions are made by the individuals who are directly affected (Parenteau, 1988). Proponents of this theory base their argument on the assumption that the human personality

is basically compatible with collective life (Gibson, 1975). They argue that genuine cooperation between humans is a quality that develops from experience in collective activity. An individual's participation experience builds not only one's practical capabilities, such as critical judgement, but also one's sense of self-confidence and political efficacy.

Much as this theory is idealistically appealing, there is no means to implement it because of two unresolved issues: who would make the decisions and be accountable in a participatory democracy, and who would ensure that everybody entitled to vote actually did (Elder, 1975)? Elder (1975) noted that a possible option for implementing participatory democracy would involve redrawing geographic boundaries to form small decision-making units followed by a change in constitutional power to delegate authority to such units. However, it may not be in the economic and/or political interest of a nation to fragment its population into such units. Due to such technicalities, representative democracy continues to prevail over participatory democracy (Gibson, 1975).

According to O'Riordan (1978), some participation activists and academicians still fail to realize that mass-scale citizen participation is idealistic, impractical and unnecessary in a representative democracy culture. When such expectations are not met, these people are likely to become demoralized and abandon the public involvement efforts all together.

Types and Forms of Participation

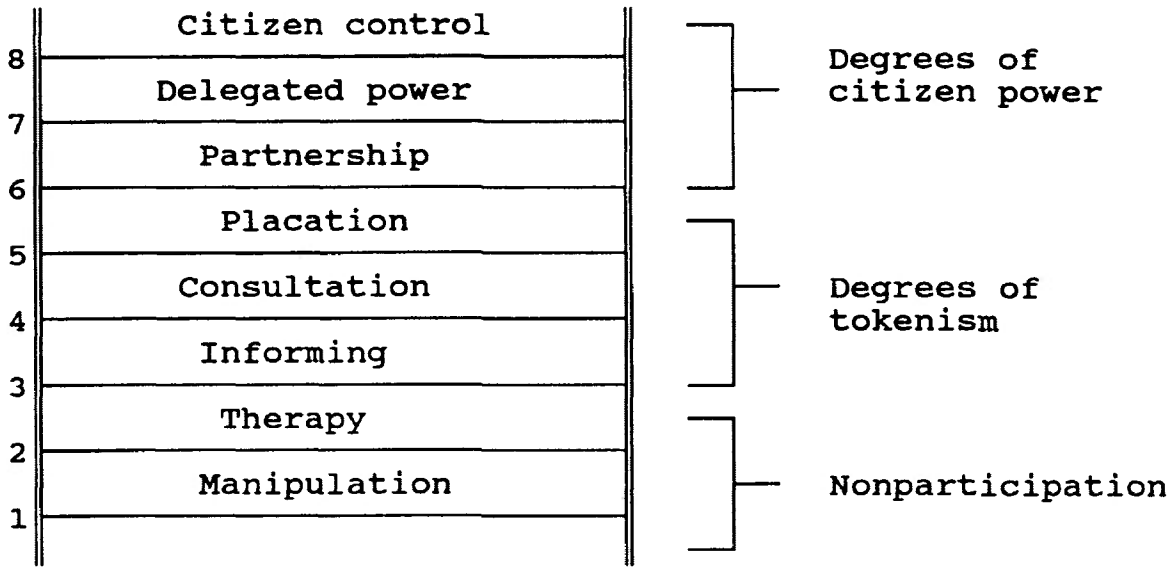
Due to the above philosophical debates on democracy and nature of human beings, it is not surprising that there is much academic debate on what public participation entails, what it is, and whether it is a means to an end or an end in itself. According to Connor (1978), there are as many models of public participation as there are writers on the subject. Models of public participation depict the nature of involvement desired from the public, e.g., participation for the purpose of consultation or participation for the purpose of self-determination (Parenteau, 1988). Each of the models can further be discussed in terms of their process, objectives, role of public, role of authority-bearing institution, required personnel and skills, etc. (Parenteau, 1988).

Most schools of thought on public participation correlate levels of public involvement with the decision-making power bestowed on the public. The most cited such correlation is Arnstein's "ladder" (Figure 1) (Arnstein, 1969). According to Arnstein (1969), public participation takes place when the public shares power in decision-making. The public has power in decision-making in the following cases: when the public can negotiate over the effects of a decision, e.g., partnerships; when the public has a majority of voting positions, e.g., in cases of

delegated power; and when the public has veto power, e.g., in community economic corporations. Arnstein's (1969) argument is based on the role the public plays in achievement of final decisions.

Other authors (e.g. Parenteau, 1988; Shannon, 1990) who are in agreement with Arnstein hold the view that for public participation to take place, the public has to share responsibility for the decisions made. Shannon (1990) reiterated that public responsibility is critical to participation because it demands a sincere contribution from the public. Public consultation and mere influencing of decisions do not constitute participation, because the final decision-makers can take or leave public advice (Parenteau, 1988).

The notion of public participation is not found in western literature alone. Indeed, nowhere has the "rhetoric for public participation been sloganeered to perfection" as found in literature on community economic development projects and social forestry projects of developing nations (Cernea, 1993). In these types of projects, public participation goes under different names such as community participation, people's participation, popular participation, and citizen involvement, among others (Cernea, 1993).



(Arnstein, 1969)

Figure 1. Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation.

Contemporary notions of community participation in developing countries combine elements of western community work and developing countries' development practices (Migley *et al.*, 1986). Migley *et al.* (1986) suggested that community participation can be tackled in two ways aimed at manipulating the mechanisms of the state. The first choice is through cooperation and consensus. This involves reforming the civil service such that local people become an integral

part of government decision-making. The second choice is conflict and confrontational action. This involves learning how to approach and pressurize bureaucrats and politicians.

Though public participation is not a new concept, it is resisted by those with decision-making power (Lotz, 1977). According to Lee *et al.* (1990), government bureaucracies function through rational decision-making. "Rational" is understood to mean action that serves to contribute directly to meeting an organization's goals. Involving the public thus interferes with and complicates such objectivist rational decision-making.

Other authors agree that formal bureaucratic systems resist power- sharing as a means of protecting their autonomy and survival. For example, Rayner (1990) studied public involvement in forest management by interviewing district forest managers in Ontario and British Columbia. In his findings, Rayner (1990) reported that in both provinces, foresters are reluctant to compromise with the public except in two circumstances. Foresters are more likely to compromise when an issue is out their control or when the foresters do not have adequate resources.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

According to Edwards and Jones (1976), public participation takes place in the context of other issues and cannot be considered in a vacuum. New decisions made through public participation have an impact on the status quo. They reorder previous decisions or at least reinstate previous decisions supported by reason (Edwards and Jones, 1976). Therefore public participation is not a simplistic look at methods of participation but rather it calls for a deeper look at the social and political background against which participation is taking place (Lotz 1977; Cernea 1993).

The importance of considering social factors when planning for public participation in community action can not be overemphasized. In developing countries, Cernea (1993) attributed the widespread failure of public participation in government programs and donor-assisted projects to the lack of methods for organizing participation. A similar observation is made of community development projects in developed countries. Lucas (1978) noted that some communities have failed to get what they wanted because they ignored the background against which participation or decision-making was taking place. Edwards and Jones (1976) and Lotz (1977) attributed limited success experienced

by most community development projects in North America to participants' lack of understanding of either community dynamics, or the community development process.

For public participation in community action to succeed, it is necessary that the participation procedure be socially organized (Cernea, 1993). Understanding community dynamics is a pre-requisite for developing such procedures (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz 1977; Lee *et al.*, 1990; Cernea 1993). Because sociology of public participation is a relatively new field in forestry research and because I constantly make theoretical assumptions throughout the discussion of this study based on sociological notions, it is necessary that I discuss the following issues in some detail: community dynamics (the community, community social-cultural structure, interactions between community subsystems, community normative structure); community political and economic structure (power structure, dependency and fatalism, political culture); public motivation to participate in a community action; and lastly, a suggested social methodology for public participation.

Community Dynamics

The Community

According to a review by Hillery (1955) there are three principal approaches to the sociological definition of the term community. One definition is community as a locality within well-defined boundaries. Another definition involves the inter-relationships between peoples living in the same geographic area. The third definition is based on a shared identity between people who are not necessary living in the same geographic area, also known as community of "interests" (Lee *et al.*, 1990).

The character of a community is complex and involves description of its: demographic features, e.g., size, composition and mobility of its population; ecological features, e.g., patterns of population distribution, community life cycles; relative degree of modernization/urbanization; and social-cultural structure, among others (Edwards and Jones, 1976).

Community Social-Cultural Structure

Community social-cultural structure consists of interrelationships and interactions between three units: the individual; formal and informal groups; and the family, economic, education, religious, government, and social welfare subsystems (Edwards and Jones, 1976).

Formal and Informal Groups

Social groups within a community unite people of common interests (Edwards and Jones, 1976). Informal groups, such as peer groups, are characterised by strong bonds of loyalty. These groups are therefore important influences on public participation since individual members of a group may not take part in an activity if the activity goes against group interests (Edwards and Jones, 1976). Indeed, formal groups, such as trade unions, that have an established organizational structure can be used for informing the community about a development project. Given the influence that groups have on individuals' values, one can presume that addressing the interests of social groups in a community, or gaining the support of such groups for a development project, would result in better public participation in the project activities.

Community Subsystems

The family unit is arguably the most important influence on an individual's behaviour, because the family into which one is born usually determines one's religion, social class, etc. In his studies of how families responded to new innovations, Irelan (1966) found that families at lower economic power were less likely to accept change compared to those at higher levels. This is because poor families tend to have a fatalistic attitude and base their values on the present rather than the future.

The government subsystem is responsible for maintaining law and order and provides services that benefit the whole community (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Edwards and Jones (1976), the government subsystem is an important factor in shaping a community's political and social culture. Even in cases where the government is not directly involved in a community development project, it still has an indirect influence on public participation because its response to public desires influences a community's sense of efficacy (Edwards and Jones, 1976).

The economic subsystem constitutes the means by which community members produce, distribute, and consume goods and services (Edwards and Jones, 1976). Community economic status shapes a community's social class stratification,

political power, and social service such as education, among other factors, that directly influence public participation.

Social class

Social class stratification in a community has implications for public participation in community action because each social class has a distinct subculture that influences the interests of its members (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Edwards and Jones (1976) differences between social class socialization, needs, exposure to education, mass media, etc., creates the norms and values observed by each class. Participative or non-participative cultures can therefore be traced along a community's socialization and deprivation patterns since participation differs between social and economic inequalities (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Gidengil, 1990).

Scope of participation is not evenly distributed in a population (Sadler, 1978). As a general rule, people in the upper social classes tend to exercise greater influence in a community's economic and political decision-making structures, while lower class families tend to be more passive and reluctant to take part in decision-making (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Kasperson and Breitbart (1974), groups in the periphery of society are more likely to be non-

participants because they feel powerless to influence decisions. Gidengil (1990) made a similar observation for communities that are economically independent compared to those that are economically dependent.

Community Normative Structure

Of importance to CD and the CFPPs is how norms and values affect public reaction to change. The CFPP communities have at one point been single-industry towns based on the either mining (Geraldton) or logging business (6/70 Communities and Elk Lake) (Harvey, 1993). According to Lucas (1978), single-industry towns have social characteristics, such as observability and conformity, that greatly influence community response to development and public participation activities.

Conformity

Lucas (1971) described characteristics of single-industry towns that influence public participation. Accordingly, single-industry towns are dominated by primary relationships between community members, that is, family, friends and work mates. Thus the individual is obliged to stick with the ideas of these close

relations - conformity. If social polarization over issues threatens to occur, "... it is broken by the interactions required for daily living and playing" (Lucas 1971). Those who choose to differ end up leaving the town, thus creating a homogeneous community in terms of attitudes and beliefs.

Conformity hinders initiation of new ideas because individuals wait to see whether anybody else in the community supports a new idea (Lucas, 1971). For example, in the case of the CFPP communities, individuals would want to be sure who else was supporting the idea, who would be affected by it, and how, before individuals committed their support. According to Lucas (1971) individuals in single-industry towns are careful not to undertake any activity that would threaten their economic and social security in case the activity is rejected by the community. This is because in single-industry towns, there is high degree of observability, high levels of common knowledge and normative expectations, and a higher level of reciprocal knowledge about all aspects of each individual's life among community members (Lucas, 1971; Edwards and Jones, 1976).

Lucas (1971) went on to explain that single-industry towns tend 'to crystallize dominant assumptions into a cultural common sense'. Due to isolation and lack of exposure to change over many years, residents of single-industry towns develop a high degree of normative conformity (Lucas, 1971; and Edwards and Jones, 1976). Lucas (1971) concluded that homogeneity in social relations leads these

communities to prefer informal and private means of solving problems to public and formal methods.

Observability

Since primary relationships are characteristic of single-industry towns, it means that in those communities everybody knows everybody (Lucas, 1971). When something happens in these towns, it becomes common knowledge. This is called observability. Due to observability, different "classes" in a community respond differently to new initiatives (Lucas, 1971). According to Lucas (1971), people with "total roles", for example, doctors, clergy, and teachers, are more observable. They have a lot to lose if negatively sanctioned by the community. They are therefore more likely to conform to old ways of doing things.

The other two "classes" of people in single-industry towns are the "socially vulnerable" and the "socially invulnerable". The former have jobs and positions in the community. They are less likely to risk their positions by supporting a new concept if they are not sure about it (Lucas, 1971).

People in the latter "class" have little to lose even if they were to be negatively sanctioned by the community and are therefore more apt to support a new

initiatives, in the hope that it will enhance their position. However, according to Lucas (1971), this "class" has the least clout in influencing the status quo.

The degree to which community members adhere to norms and values differs with the community's relative isolation, size, etc. (Edwards and Jones, 1976). From a demographic standpoint, the larger the community the more heterogenous its composition and therefore the more likely that there will not be agreement on what community actions should be taken. Further, the more dispersed a community the more likely that its norms and values are divergent (Edward and Jones, 1976). Edwards and Jones (1976) noted that in nucleated types of communities, it is easier to contact people.

Community Political and Economic Structure

Community Power Structure

According to Bella (1984), understanding the distribution of power in a community is important to development of public participation procedures in community development action because it answers some key questions: are the power structures endemic to the community appropriate for the community action or should other structures be developed; are community power leaders involved

in the community development action; and how does power leaders' involvement or the lack of it affect the success of the community action and public participation in particular?

Power hierarchy differs from community to community (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Edwards and Jones (1976), there are two main patterns of power distribution: the pyramidal and the pluralistic models. In the pyramidal/centralized model, a small number of people from the top economic stratum control decision-making on all major community issues (Hunter, 1953). This group of people makes decisions informally and then makes the decision known to policy executors. This model is characteristic of small communities with a narrow economic base (Clark, 1971). In contrast, persons who influence community decision-making in the pluralistic/decentralised model differ with each event such that there is no decision-making monopoly in the community (Hawley and Wirt, 1968).

Dependency and Fatalism

Another important characteristic of single-industry towns is fatalism which is a result of dependency on outside influences (Lucas, 1971; Gidengil, 1990). Dependency theory is about the stratification of capitalistic societies into

"societies that influence" and "societies that are influenced or controlled" (Gidengil, 1990). According to Gidengil (1990), dependency occurs between "centres" of development (regions that have economic influence over other areas) and "peripheries" of development (regions that are economically influenced by the "centres"). Dependency occurs at both the international and national levels. International dependency is exemplified by the existence of developed versus developing countries. At the national level, dependency often occurs between the rural and urban areas.

Dependency and its relation to fatalism were addressed by Gidengil (1990). In her case study of Canada and its peripheral regions, Gidengil (1990) argued that peripheral regions (such as Northern Ontario) experience a lack of autonomy. According to Gidengil (1990), lack of autonomy has a negative influence on political efficacy. Societies that lack a sense of autonomy also have a low sense of political efficacy. Political efficacy is a person's/community's feeling of political competence. Political efficacy can be analyzed at two levels. The first level is a person's, or a community's feelings of political competence.

The second is trust in the responsiveness of the political and bureaucratic system. Whereas the former is influenced by an individual's level of education, the latter is influenced by "political memory" (Gidengil, 1990). Being located in a "vulnerable periphery", a community is likely to have feelings of political

deficiencies. Political deficiency means not having faith in one's capability to influence the political system which is then manifested in a fatalistic attitude (Lucas, 1971). According to Lucas (1971), fatalism is characterised by a lack of interest in improving one's situation because of preconceptions of failure.

Fatalism is stronger where decisions that affect a community are made from outside it (Edwards and Jones, 1976). Though the community may know the branch of government that decides certain things, it cannot pin down the source of authority and power, so that hostility is directed to an "impersonal and undefined they" (Lucas, 1971). The community has no intense fighting spirit but rather adopts the attitude "if you cannot beat them, join them." To my understanding then, it is reasonable to expect dependant and fatalistic communities to be suspicious of changes initiated by outsiders, especially those initiated by the government.

Political Culture

Further to the explanation of how community political and economic structures influence public participation is the notion of political culture. Kasperson and Breibart (1974) reiterated that public participation or the lack of it is related to a community's traditional political culture, and social-economic order. According

to Kasperson and Breibart (1974), political culture is the customary way of doing business by leaders involved in the process of transforming societal wishes into political action. It is the balance between the public and the elite (politicians, bureaucrats, etc.) (Lucas, 1978). According to Lucas (1978), the elite make decisions on behalf of the public while the public monitors new decisions and how the decisions are implemented. Sewell and O'Riordan (1976) defined political culture as: "(that which) establish(es) roles, rules and social norms that frame all policy-making activities and permit(s) peaceful resolution of conflict". We can therefore assume that the political culture of a nation affects the direction and effectiveness of public participation both at the national and local levels.

According to Bella (1984), Canadians are generally exposed to a spectator political culture as opposed to a participatory political culture. Bella (1984) explained that Canadian spectator culture evolved from previous traditions where: children were not supposed to question parents and authorities, such as teachers; the education system emphasized learning of facts rather than solving problems; and the political, social, religious and economic institutions discouraged participation in decision-making.

Public Motivation in Community Action

Motivation to participate in a community effort comes about through three values (Weissman, 1970; Coleman, 1971). According to Coleman (1971), one is motivated to participate in community action if one identifies with other community members to the extent that one believes that their fate is one's own fate and vice versa. Due to the strong loyalty bond, the individual is obliged to participate in any activity that the community undertakes.

The second motivating factor is one's belief that one will face some consequences by participating or not participating. Thus an individual chooses to participates in self interest. Weissman (1970) extends the third public motivation beyond individual self interest to an individual's interest in the wellbeing of the community. Identifying the values commonly held by the community can therefore indicate the type of project needed, the participation model appropriate, and the means to motivate people towards participation.

The following factors are important in motivating public participation: (a) a community action will thwart loss of physical property and/or is believed to result in net benefit; again, it depends on whether an individual's values are for personal or general community gain; (b) a perceived family need is achievable

through the community action and/or if the activity increases opportunities for the children; (c) there is a sense of crisis; and (d) there is an animator, or leader (Bella, 1984).

Public participation in collective community action depends too upon leadership (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Dorsey and Ticoll (1984), unless organizers are able to motivate public participation in a community-based project, it cannot succeed. According to Edwards and Jones (1976), effective leadership involves democratic procedures and the leader's consideration of ideas, wishes, and feelings of persons who are affected by decisions made.

Community development projects are controversial endeavours because they change the existing power structures (Lotz 1977). Fear that a status-quo favoured item, such as locus of decision-making power, will change if community action is taken may convince community power holders not to participate in a community development project (Edwards and Jones, 1976; Lotz, 1977). For effective leadership to occur in community action, leaders must interpret their legal duty to pursue public participation to mean participation beyond tokenism (Lucas, 1978; Sewell and O'Riordan, 1976).

SOCIAL METHOD FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ACTION

Cernea (1993) argued that public participation has extraordinary importance in programs initiated and financed by the state for two reasons. First, governments have a great potential of initiating programs that do not address the immediate needs of the public. Second, government projects become less effective and more costly if they are not supported by the public. Cernea (1993) explained further that though the term "public participation" is used for most development projects, the problems of "participation" or "non-participation" generally occur in government-induced development rather than in community-initiated projects.

Since participation depends on social arrangements, political relations, economic incentives and administrative approaches, Cernea (1993) urged that participation must be socially organized. According to Cernea (1993), one method of doing so is through social sciences that involve codifying existing social experiences, sociological theoretical knowledge, and empirical findings into sets of procedures for organizing human activities in order to achieve defined goals. Cernea (1993) suggested the following elements for social method:

1. Identification of the *social actors* who will carry out the project.
2. Conceptualization of the program's *goals and principles*, in line with the social-economic interests of the social actors.

3. Establishment of adequate *linkage systems and forms of cooperation* between government agencies and the social actors.
4. Establishment of *information and communication patterns.* Effective public participation requires an active and well-informed public. "If full information is not available on issues under consideration, opportunities and even rights to participate become meaningless" (Lucas, 1978). "To have information is to have power" (Draper, 1978).
5. Establishment of *procedures for joint decision-making;* for example: public participation rights and duties provided by law, the political and administrative discretionary powers provided to the leaders, public organization to access the participation mechanisms in place as well as the resources necessary for participation, allocation of financial resources and incentives, etc.
6. Mobilization through the *structures endogenous to the group* of social actors themselves.

(Adapted from Cernea (1993) with some additions)

If done honestly, CD process can be an inexpensive and effective way of handling change and encouraging development in a democratic and efficient manner (Edwards and Jones, 1976). CD helps people to assess costs and benefits of their undertakings. It makes people participants rather than victims of plans to help them (Lotz, 1977). Failure to achieve the goals of community action weakens the

esprit de corps and can reinforce feelings of apathy, fatalism and low political efficacy (Edwards and Jones, 1976). According to Edwards and Jones (1976), success or failure of a community action increases or decreases the community's future ability to work cohesively since community action is closely related to community social interactions. The benefits of developing a working relationship between community members is therefore as important as the material benefits of community development activity (Edwards and Jones 1976).

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

INTERVIEWS

In January 1993, I informed each of the three CFPP projects (Geraldton Community Forest, 6/70 Community Forest and Elk Lake Community Forest) about my study and requested their collaboration. I visited each project in June 1993 to find out its organizational structure for project implementation and public participation. During this visit I interviewed the CFPP managers and the organizing committee members. To allow for flexibility, the interviews were informal and dwelt on structure and function of the organizing body, project linkages to OMNR and the forest-products industry, and the preliminary public participation activities that had been undertaken. Persons interviewed were determined by availability (Table 1). Fourteen interviews were conducted, lasting some 30-60 minutes each.

In October 1993, I requested each project to grant me a second interview with the same persons interviewed in June 1993, and first interviews with other committee members and some members of the public. Members of the public were interviewed to determine public reaction to the community forest concept and the participation activities undertaken by their respective CF project. Each project office contacted interested members of the community and selected interviewees on the basis of availability. Interviews were held in November 1993 based on a semi-structured format (Fowler, 1988) (Appendix II). The questions were sent out to the interviewees prior to the interview. Thirty-one interviews were conducted (Table 2). Fifteen interviewees were directly involved with the community forest project while the other sixteen were members of the public not directly involved with the project. Ten of these interviewees had also been interviewed in June 1993. Interview sessions lasted 30-60 minutes.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Objective 1

The first objective of this study was to identify the organizational structure, decision-making structures and procedures for public participation adopted by three CFPPs. These structures and procedures are presented as figures and

tables in Chapter 5 based on the June 1993 interviews, the CFPP's implementation plans, and OMNR documentation on the projects.

Objective 2

The second objective was to identify public participation issues and concerns as perceived by members of the CFPP communities. Identification of the above issues and concerns was based on the forty-five personal interviews conducted at the three community forests and is presented in a summarised format in Chapter 5. Analysis and discussion of how these issues and concerns affect the CFPPs is founded on public participation and community development notions cited in Chapter 2.

Objective 3

The third objective of this study was to carry out a comparative analysis of how the decision-making structure and public participation procedures adopted by the CFPP improved participation compared to: (a) the status quo: Crown Management Units (CMUs) and Forest Management Agreements (FMAs); (b) three contemporary forest management arrangements that have been referred to

as Community Forests in Canada: the Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA) in Ontario, Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL) and the North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF); and (c) two Forest Management Agreements (FMAs) in Ontario: the Magpie Forest and the Upper and Lower Spanish River FMAs.

Information on the above five cases' organization structures, decision-making structures and public participation procedures was based on telephone interviews, personal interviews and documents from each case. Documents studied are referenced whenever they appear in the text, while a detailed Timber Management Planning Process is presented in Appendix I. The following persons were interviewed in reference to the above cases: the Forest Management Superintendent for E.B. Eddy Forest Products Ltd; the Economic Development Manager for the Corporation of the Township of Michipicoten, also a member of the Magpie Co-management Committee; the Chair, Magpie Co-management Advisory Committee; the Director of Forest Management for MTFL; and the NCMF forester.

Discussion of the study results was based on qualitative analysis. As such the reader should bear in mind that these results and conclusions were susceptible to bias in a number of ways: interviewees' viewpoints, my interpretation of interviewee viewpoints, and my interpretation of study documents. This means that the results are somewhat subjective. Further, because selection of

interviewees was not random but depended on their availability, the views expressed in this thesis may not necessarily represent the general views held by members of the CFPP communities.

Quantification of public participation at the CFPP by carrying out a detailed survey was undesirable for the following three reasons:

1. At the time of the study, the pilot projects were still in progress so survey results would have been inconclusive.
2. At the time of the study, the projects were in the first and second year of implementation and therefore the CFPP organizers were still on a learning curve. According to Edwards and Jones (1976), action personnel in an ongoing community development project may respond with feelings of resentment and insecurity to project evaluation research or other research that evaluates their efforts. With this in mind I felt that a public survey would have undermined the CFPP organizers' efforts.
3. The main objective of the study was to understand how the CFPP decision-making structure and public participation procedure facilitate increased public involvement in forest decision-making as well as investigate factors that may influence public participation. These objectives did not require a quantitative analysis. It was possible to meet the above objectives since the CFPPs' management and participation infrastructure were laid out

during the first two years of project implementation. The foundation laid for public participation during these two years was the basis for this study.

Table 1. Persons interviewed at the CFPPs in June 1993.

Project Offices Held and Relation to CF
Geraldton Community Forest
Mayor of The Corporation of the Township of Geraldton/Co-Chairman GCF
OMNR's Geraldton area Forest Officer/OMNR official representative
GCF advisor
6/70 Community Forest
6/70 CF Manager
6/70 CF Assistant Manager
Forest Management Supervisor for Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company, Ltd/Chairman 6/70 CF Board of Directors (BOD)
6/70 CF BOD trapping interest representative
6/70 CF BOD alternative representative for snowmobiling interest
6/70 CF BOD anglers and hunters interest representative
Elk Lake Community Forest
The Reeve of The Township of James (Elk Lake)/Chairman ELCF
ELCF consultants
ELCF environmental interest representative
ELCF labour representative

Table 2. Persons interviewed in November 1993.

Project Offices held and relation to CF
Geraldton Community Forest
Chief Administrative Officer, for The Corporation of the Township of Geraldton/Town of Geraldton official representative to GCF
Town of Geraldton councillor/GCF co-chair
GCF manager
Kimberly Clark area Chief Forester/Kimberly Clark representative to GCF
Member of Public - working for Canada Employment Centre
Member of Public - working for a real estate firm
Member of Public - Area Manager, TransCanada Pipelines
Member of Public - Editor, Time star (local newspaper)
Member of Public - working for local insurance company
6/70 Community Forest
6/70 CF Manager
6/70 CF Assistant Manager
Chairman 6/70 CF Board of Directors (BOD)
6/70 CF BOD trapping interest representative
6/70 CF BOD alternative representative for snowmobiling interest
6/70 Cf BOD anglers and hunters interest representative
Public member - OMNR's Area Biologist
Public member - Local Forest Consultant
Public member - President Remi Lake Cottagers Association
Public member - President Rufus Lake Cottagers Association
Public member - President Smoothrock Cottagers Association
Public member - President Kapuskasing Snowrovers Association
Elk Lake Community Forest
ELCF consultant
ELCF environmental interest representative
ELCF Elk Lake Planning Mill labour representative
ELCF local business interest representative
Public member - Principal Elk Lake Public School
Public member - Proprietor Lost Lake Camp
Public member - Proprietor Tourist Operator
Public member - Proprietor Lakeview Motel and Restaurant

CHAPTER 4

AREA OF STUDY

GERALDTON COMMUNITY FOREST

Social and Economic Background

The Geraldton Community Forest (GCF; for location see Appendix III) is composed of seven townships of Northern Ontario of which the Township of Geraldton is the largest and originated from gold mining in the 1930s (Town of Geraldton, 1993). Since the gold mine closures in 1969, Geraldton has experienced little economic growth and a slow out migration. At the time of the study the population of Geraldton was estimated at 3035 people (Harvey, 1994). The local economy is currently dominated by forest, tourism and service sectors. There is a decline in forest industry employment due to forest mechanization and poor market conditions (Harvey, 1994). Kimberly-Clark Forest Products Inc. (KC) and the Ontario government are the major employers (Town of Geraldton, 1993).

Forest Resources

GCF is located within the boreal forest and is dominated by spruce, pine, fir, aspen, and birch species (Latin names for tree species are in Appendix IV) (Harvey, 1994). Most of the valuable and accessible timber on the earmarked GCF land was harvested between 1940 and 1970. Though about 48% of GCF's productive forest was suitable for intensive management, project proponents speculated that to achieve economies of scale the project would have to expand its landbase (Town of Geraldton, 1993).

Table 3. Classification of GCF's earmarked landbase.

Human Use/Natural Feature	Area	
	Area(ha)	% of Total
Residential, Commercial	1,571	2.3
Roads, Utilities and Pipeline	722	1.1
Productive Forest	48,985	75.0
Peat and Treed	2,468	3.8
Peat and Treeless	1,929	3.0
Brush and Alder	1,493	2.3
Water Bodies	8,190	12.5
Total	65,352	100.0

(The Corporation of the Town of Geraldton, 1991)

GCF is home to a variety of wildlife such as moose and black bear. Game is an important source of income and food for the local people. About an eighth of GCF area is water that provides habitat to many fish species of northern Ontario. The GCF area totals 65,352 hectares in a variety of land types (Table 3)

Land Tenure

GCF land was under a Company Management Unit licensed to KC. As the prime licensee, KC was responsible for both planning and timber management operations on the management unit.

Goal and Objectives

Geraldton Community Forest's goal is:

> "to develop an economically sustainable community through community management of natural resources, utilizing sustainable ecosystem approaches and environmentally sound practices" (The Corporation of the Town of Geraldton, 1991).

The project's objective is to contribute to the viability and self-sufficiency of the Geraldton community by: (a) demonstrating and evaluating the viability of

intensive forest management; (b) identifying forest-resource-based economic diversification opportunities; and (c) creating employment opportunities (Town of Geraldton, 1993).

Management and Administration

GCF became incorporated in February 1994. The project held its first annual general meeting on 27 April 1994. At this meeting the public elected a Board of Directors (BOD). The board is comprised of ten members including four *ex-officio* members dedicated as follows: two seats to the Town of Geraldton, one to OMNR, and one to KC. The board is responsible for setting policy and determining the guidelines under which the Corporation operates. Prior to the annual meeting, the GCF project was under the management of an interim BOD appointed by the Town of Geraldton in 1991.

After incorporation, all public members residing within the GCF area automatically became members of the corporation. GCF Inc. grants three classes of membership: A; B; and C. Class A is anyone of legal voting age within the seven townships. This class is eligible to vote and be elected to the BOD. Class B includes business entities that make major financial contributions to the

corporation. Class C is composed of honorary members. Members of classes B and C can vote but are not eligible to stand for election to the board. The corporation by-laws stipulate that general elections be conducted annually during the annual general meeting.

Day-to-day running of the GCF is the responsibility of a hired project manager assisted by a program development officer and a forest technician. Secretarial and clerical assistance were provided by the Town of Geraldton or is done by part-time employees.

Forest Resource Management Strategy

The following activities were proposed for improving forest management at the GCF:

- Organizational: establishment of GCF as a legal corporate entity.
- Mineral resources development: inventory of non-peat and non-metallic resources and identification of their development potential.
- Timber management: practice intensive forest management to produce high quality timber and increase tree growth.
- Peat resources development: inventory of peat deposits.

- Forest biomass utilization: inventory of GCF's flora and identification of their potential use.
- Wildlife resources protection: inventory of wildlife habitat and populations and where necessary implementation of a habitat protection program.
- Aquatic resources protection and development: inventory of water bodies, improvement of wildlife habitat, and identification of wild rice and aquaculture potential.

6/70 COMMUNITY FOREST

Social and Economic Background

The 6/70 Community Forest is comprised of six municipalities located in a 70-mile (113-km) stretch along Highway 11 corridor in North Eastern Ontario (Appendix III) (6/70 AEDC, 1991). The project area covers sixteen whole or part townships within the Kapuskasing Crown Management Unit (KCMU) and the Cochrane Crown Management Unit (CCMU) (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992). The population for the six communities totals about 16,000 people (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

The six communities originated from the construction of the transcontinental railway. Initially, logging in the 6/70 area forests supplied timber for construction of the railway. By the time of the study, the forest-products industry was still the main source of employment. Spruce Falls Power & Paper Company, Ltd. at Kapuskasing and Malette Inc. at Smooth Rock Falls are the major employers. The two companies employ some 2,500 people. There are several small mills and timber-supply companies in the area. Other sources of employment are related to: the retail and service businesses that cater to the forest products industries; the Northern Clonal Centre at Moonbeam; and General Motors of Canada Ltd. (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

The 6/70 communities are enthusiastic about recreation activities (D. Haldane, 6/70 CF manager, pers comm., 1993). The communities rely on the forest for cottaging, snowmobiling, cross-country skiing, fishing and hunting. There is a diverse range of wildlife species within the community forest area, some of which are moose, beaver, wolf, and bear. Several lakes and rivers in the CF have some potential for fishery development. Some patented land in the 6/70 CF is used for farming, but a substantial portion land lies idle (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

About 90% of the 332,929 ha of the 6/70 CF is forested (Table 4). The productive forest is 252,119 ha (about 76% of total land base) and is mainly of the spruce working group (73% of productive forest). The poplar working group

accounts for 21% of the productive forest. The rest of the productive forest is jack pine, balsam fir, and white birch working groups. Over 60% of each of the working groups is in the mature to over-mature age classes (81-100 years) (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

Land Tenure

Approximately 261,000 ha of the total 299,00 ha of 6/70 CF is under CMUs. The remaining 38,000 ha are patent lands. Timber on Crown lands is allocated to Order-in-Council and District Cutting Licensees (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

Table 4. Forest Resources on 6/70 CF.

Land Type	Area (ha)
Productive Forest Land	238,000
Non-Productive Forest Land	32,900
Non-Forested Land	18,500
Water	9,600
Total	299,000

(Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

Goal and Objectives

The goal of the 6/70 Community Forest Project is:

> "... to create long-term sustainable economic diversification of the 6/70 communities through the wise use of both timber and non-timber resources" (6/70 AEDC, 1991).

6/70's objectives to achieve the above goal are:

- to increase local involvement in resource decision-making and achieve greater authority over the use of forest resources;
- to increase the opportunities to sustain a stable local economy;
- to develop a close linkage between the resources and the development agencies representing the 6/70 area; and
- to increase private and non-profit sector involvement in the forest to the extent that the forest would sustain extractive and non-extractive resources activities in perpetuity (after 6/70 AEDC, 1991).

Management and Administration

As a key proponent of the project, the 6/70 Area Economic Diversification Committee (AEDC) supervises the 6/70 CF and is responsible for the project finances. The AEDC nominated 13 citizens to form a Board of Management (BOM) representing a range of forest resource use interests. The board meets at least once a month and makes its decisions by consensus. All decisions made by the board are subject to approval by 6/70 AEDC. Board membership is renewable annually with a maximum term of three consecutive years. The board represents the following interests: (a) anglers and hunting; (b) trappers; (C) 6/70 AEDC; (d) labour; (e) forest industry; (f) naturalists; (g) cottagers; (h) agriculture; (i) education (j) forest products industry; and (k) OMNR liaison.

Day-to-day administration of the 6/70 CF is carried out by a manager and assistant manager appointed by 6/70 AEDC. The project intends to make its progress report available to the public at the end of each fiscal year.

Forest Resource Management Strategy

The proposed forest resource management projects for 6/70 include:

- Improvement of forest access road network within the CF.
- Creation of a resource data base to enable effective planning.
- Improvement of fish stock in area lakes and public education on fish habitat management, and conservation techniques.
- Seeking solutions to wildlife management issues. Of great public interest is moose hunting regulations.

ELK LAKE COMMUNITY FOREST

Social and Economic Background

Elk Lake Community Forest (ELCF) is located in the northeastern part of Ontario (Appendix III) (Anonymous, undated - A). ELCF's land comprises the Elk Lake Crown Management Unit (ELCMU) consisting of 44 entire and 9 partial townships in the Territorial District of Timiskaming. The ELCMU area is 470,044 ha (Anonymous, Undated - A). The three communities involved in ELCF are Elk Lake (officially known as The Corporation of the Township of

James), Gowganda, and the Improvement District of Matachewan. Their populations are about 570, 250 and 200 people respectively. The three communities are single-industry settlements based on forest resources (Anonymous, undated - A).

About 540 people are directly employed by five major logging operators in the area: Elk Lake Planing Mill Ltd., Normick Perron Inc., Grant Forest Products Corp., Rexwood Products Ltd., and Rousson Forest Products Ltd. Commercial tourism is an important economic activity with about 25 tourist establishments. The communities' recreation activities are closely linked to the forest. They include fishing, snowmobiling and hunting. Large and small game found in ELCMU forests contribute to monetary and subsistence needs of local people. Wildlife and fisheries are also important for commercial tourism (Anonymous, undated - A).

Forest Resources

Most of the ELMU is productive boreal forest of which over 60% is between 41 and 80 years old (Table 5). The rest of the forest is mainly a transition forest between the Great Lakes-St Lawrence Forest Region and Boreal Forest Region. The transition forest is made up of poorly stocked stands of white birch and

upland spruce. ELCF land includes portions of the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Wilderness Park and the Gray-Makobe Waterway Park (Anonymous, undated - A).

Table 5. Forest Resources on Elk Lake Crown Management Unit.

Land Type	Area	
	(ha)	(%)
Water	40,191	8.6
Non-Forest Land	3,863	0.8
Non-Productive Forest Land	49,580	10.5
Productive Forest Land	376,400	80.1
Total	470,044	100.0

(Anonymous, undated - A).

Land Tenure

The ELCF landbase is under multiple jurisdiction (Table 6). Twenty percent of ELCF's productive forest is under a no-timber-operations restriction placed by OMNR's Temagami Administrative District (TAD) for the years 1991-1996

(Anonymous, undated - A). The restriction is part of TAD's Comprehensive Planning Program (CPP) aimed at improving the status of its forest. Three quatres of the ELCF lie within the Teme-Augama Anishmabai (TAA) homeland boundaries and is registered in a land caution since 1973. As a result of these claims, several land development opportunities, such as mining activities, are suspended (Anonymous, undated - A).

Table 6. Land Ownership on Elk Lake Crown Management Unit's Productive Forest.

Tenure	Area	
	(ha)	(%)
Crown	335,367	94.4
Patent	164	0.0
Provincial Park	17,900	4.8
Indian Reserve	2,969	0.8
Total	376,400	100.0

(Anonymous, undated - A).

Goals and Objectives

As stated in ELCF project plan, the mission of the project is:

"To promote the continued economic viability of local communities

> that depend on the area for their livelihood through the implementation of Sustainable Forestry practices." (Anonymous, undated - A).

The project has five principal objectives to meet this goal. The first objective is to secure administrative and decision-making authority at the local level. Proponents of ELCF feel that some authority has to be delegated to the project to enable it to demonstrate competence in resource management. The project plan proposed three strategies for the 5-year project period that would ensure that it had some level of authority. The strategies are:

- Secure an interim local authority agreement with OMNR. The agreement would provide a bilateral process in which the ELCF can examine, consult and make effective recommendations to the OMNR.
- Resolve overlapping jurisdiction over part of ELCF's land.
- Participate in the Treaty of Co-Existence negotiations between the Province of Ontario and the TAA since the outcome of those negotiations would affect the project area directly.

The second objective is to accelerate the development of sustainable forestry by the following strategies:

- Promote effective resource-use conflict resolution.
- Increase public awareness, knowledge and participation in forest management activities.
- Improve the resource data base for the ELCF area.

The third objective is to develop and maintain a good working relationship with the local OMNR. The forth and fifth objectives are to promote more intensive silvicultural practices and encourage research and development (Anonymous, undated - A).

Management and Administration

Elk Lake Community Forest is governed by a partnership committee that represents a range of forest user interests and forest stakeholder groups. Committee members are either elected by stakeholders or nominated by ELCF management. Interest groups represented by the committee include: (a) business, (b) commercial tourism, (c) education, (d) environment, (e) forest industry, (f) labour, (g) mining industry, (h) recreation, (i) community of Elk Lake, and (j) Teme-Augama Anishnabai First Nation (Anonymous, undated - A).

The committee functions as a Committee to Council for the Township of James. The committee makes its decisions by a majority rule principle. The Town Council ratifies all committee decisions before implementation. The project proposes that an annual report and financial statement be submitted to OMNR.

ALGONQUIN PROVINCIAL PARK

The Algonquin Provincial Park (APP) was established in 1893 through an Algonquin Provincial Park Act (OMNR, 1992d). The park has a landbase of about 768,451 hectares zoned into three management areas: protection of key watersheds, recreation, and timber management. Timber-management in the APP is managed through an FMA-like agreement signed between the Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA) and OMNR. AFA is a crown corporation formed in 1975. AFA's forest management obligations were defined by a 1985 Forest Management Undertaking Agreement (FMUA) signed with OMNR to suit OMNR's broad objectives for forest management in the province and AFA's objectives.

AFA's central objective is to provide a continuous supply of timber to the forest industry of the region through environmentally sound management that take into account other park uses and values (OMNR, 1992d). As the sole timber licensee

in the park, the AFA is responsible for silvicultural activities and road maintenance within the park. Funding for the FMUA activities comes from retained stumpage, i.e, Crown dues that would otherwise be paid to the Province for wood cut in the Park, supplementary funding allocated by OMNR, and surpluses retained over the years (OMNR, 1992d).

UPPER AND LOWER SPANISH RIVER FMAS

In 1980, E.B. Eddy Forest Products Ltd. (E.B. Eddy) signed Forest Management Agreements with OMNR for the Upper and Lower Spanish River Forest Management Units. Under the agreements, the FMA holder is responsible for ensuring that these forests are "harvested and regenerated to produce successive crops of timber on a sustained yield basis" (OMNR, 1991b).

MAGPIE FOREST FMA

The Magpie Forest is located North of Wawa in the territorial districts of Algoma and Sudbury in the province of Ontario (OMNR, 1991c). The forest is a 387,000 ha of Crown land surrounding the Town of Dubreuilville (Anonymous, Undated - C).

Dubreuil Forest Products Ltd. has been the FMA holder for Magpie Forest since 1984 (OMNR, 1991c). Magpie Forest is managed solely by the Dubreuil Forest Products Ltd, the FMA holder.

MISSION TREE FARM LICENSE

The Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL) land base is about 9,000 hectares situated in the Lower Fraser Valley, British Columbia (BC) (Dunster, 1989). The municipality of Mission and the British Columbia Ministry of Forests signed a Tree Farm License (TFL) in 1958 (Kim Allan, MTFL Director of Forest Management, pers. comm., 1993). The agreement grants the municipality responsibility for all phases of forest management and a right to harvest a certain amount of timber annually on the MTFL land (Anonymous, Undated-D). The forest is managed primarily for timber. The forest is also utilised for recreation and educational purposes (Duinker *et al.*, 1991). The BC Tree Farm Licenses are similar to Ontario's FMAs. Policy and management decisions for the MTFL are made by Municipality of Mission Council (Kim Allan, MTFL Director of Forest Management, pers. comm., 1993).

NORTH COWICHAN MUNICIPAL FOREST

The North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF) on Vancouver Island is comprised of about 5,000 ha owned and controlled by the Municipality of North Cowichan (Dunster, 1991). The forest is managed for timber production with increasing interest in educational as well as recreational purposes (Duinker *et al.*, 1991). Timber operations cover the cost of operations and administration. Extra revenue boost the Municipal coffers.

The North Cowichan Municipal Council is responsible for setting policy and making major decisions for management of the NCMF. In 1981, the council formed a Forest Advisory Committee comprised of the mayor, two councillors, and three volunteer foresters from the region. The committee meets quarterly and serves as a working group that advises the Council on forest policy and management issues. The volunteer foresters are also responsible for annual audit of the NCMF. Day to day management of the NCMF is undertaken by a hired professional forester (Darrell Frank, NCMF forester, pers. comm., 1994).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

OBJECTIVE 1: CFPP DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCEDURES

Organization and Decision-making Structure

Each of the three community forest's organizational structures were made up of three key players (Figures 2-4): the CF proponent (Town of Geraldton for GCF Inc, 6/70 Area Economic Development Committee (AEDC) for 6/70 CF, and Township of James (Elk Lake) for ELCF); an organizing body, referred to as a Board of Directors (BOD) at GCF, Board of Management (BOM) at 6/70 CF, and Partnership Committee at ELCF; and a management team comprised of a manager or consultants aided by secretarial and field staff.

Following the allocation of funds to the CFs, the proposing body of each CF hired a manager or consultant whose first priority was to set up an organizing body that represented stakeholders and forest-user interests. Stakeholder groups

nominated and/or elected their representatives to the organizing body. Where such groups did not exist, nominations were carried out by the CFPPs' proponents and members of the partially formed committees.

After the organizing bodies were formed, OMNR and the CF proponents still retained key decision-making roles at the CFs (Tables 7-9). For example, the proposing bodies were responsible for project funds and ratified committee decisions. At both ELCF and GCF, the Town's Mayor and Reeve respectively were the Chairpersons of the organizing bodies. Like all other Ontario forest management arrangements, OMNR retained the final decision-making power.

The organizational structures of 6/70 CF and ELCF remained as described above since the inception of the project. The GCF project operated in a similar manner as the others until February 1994 when the project became incorporated and thus became known as the GCF Inc. Incorporation meant that GCF's BOD would be elected by the general public and not necessarily represent specific stakeholder interests. As a corporation, the project has the legal capacity for borrowing and lending monies as it wishes.

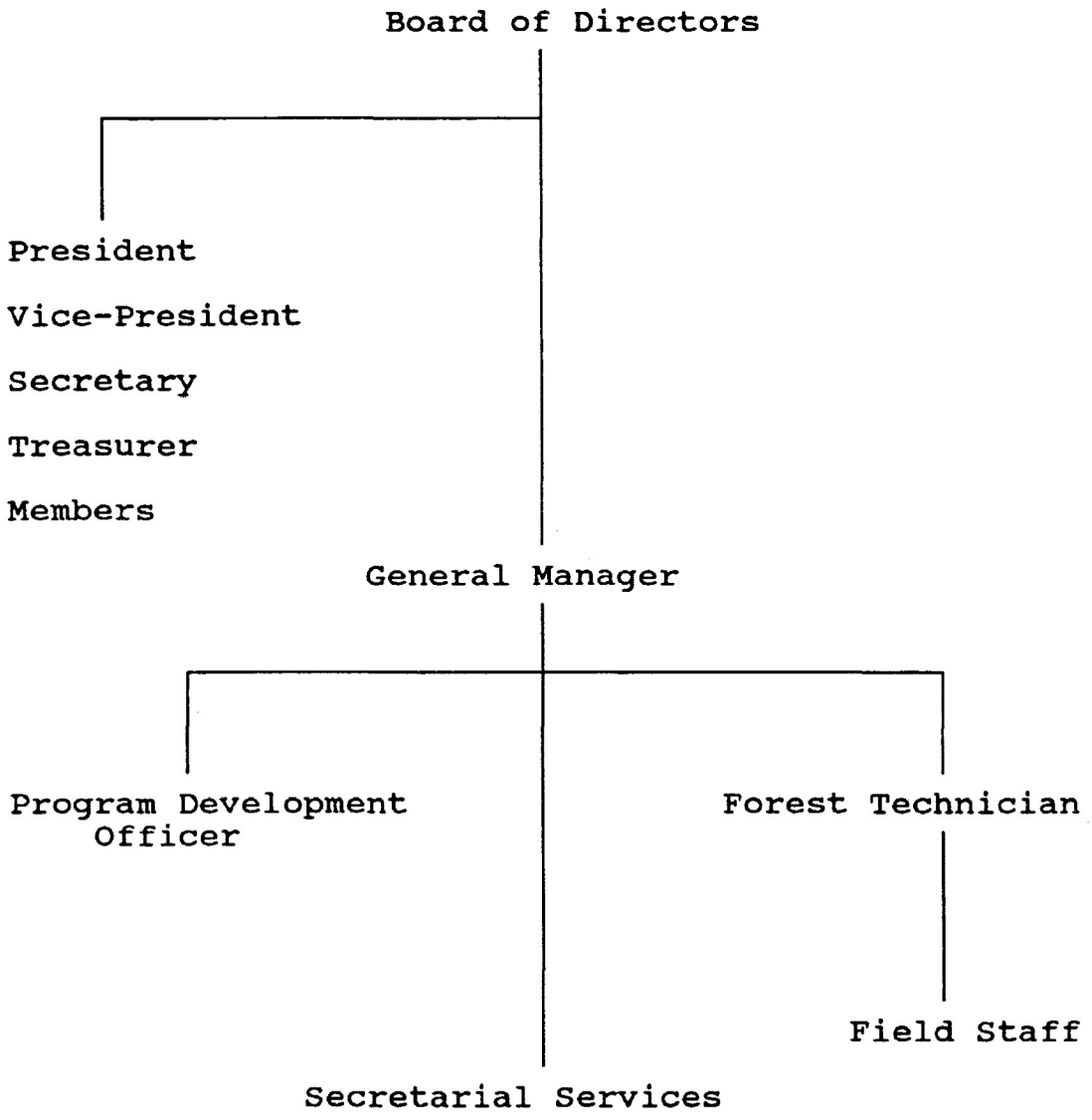


Figure 2. Geraldton Community Forest organizational structure.

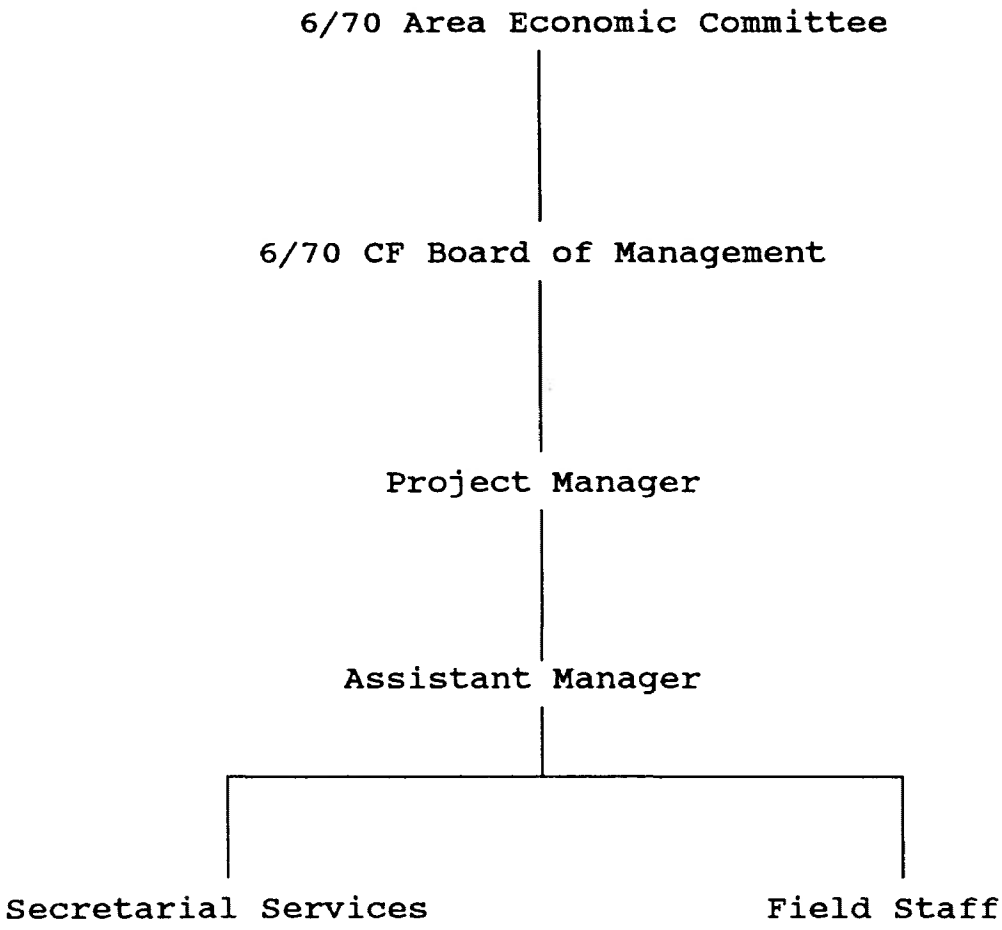


Figure 3. 6/70 Community Forest organizational structure.

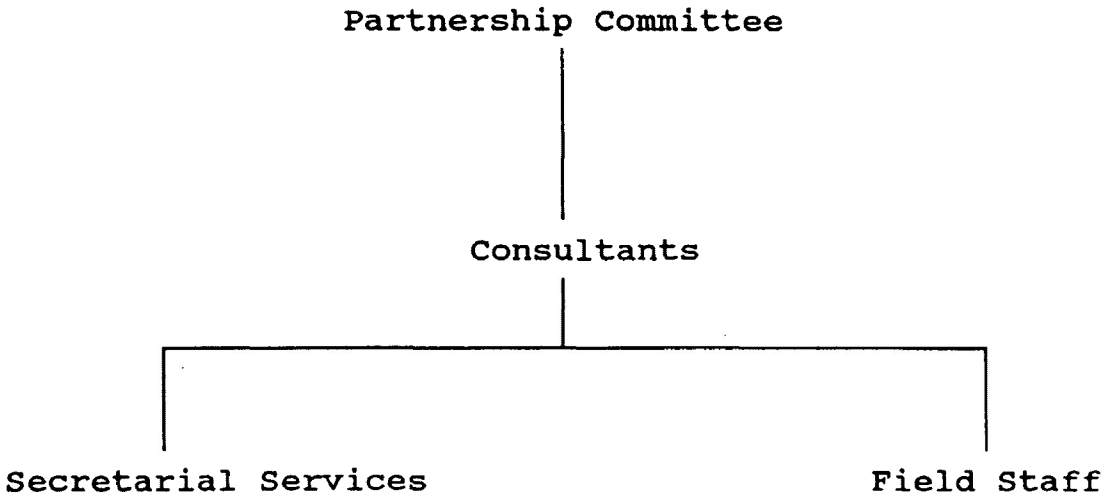


Figure 4. Elk Lake Community Forest organizational structure.

Table 7. Decision-making roles at Geraldton Community Forest.

Implementation Plan	Decision-Makers	Project Implementation
Approves implementation plan.	OMNR	Offers technical advice, monitors project progress through reviews and audits. Gives input to maintain the province's interests.
Forwards Implementation plan to OMNR.	Board of Directors	Responsible for planning and implementation of operating plan. Approves GCF's budgets and operating procedures. Addresses any public concerns.
Drafts implementation plan.	Project management	Day to day decisions of project management. Responsible for overall operation the project. Informs and advises the Board.
Participates in drafting the implementation plan through OMNR's TMP process and GCF's Public Information Centres.	Public	Gives input concerning project implementation through the TMP process. Votes on issues raised at GCF Inc Annual Meeting.

Table 8. Decision-making roles at 6/70 CF.

Implementation Plan	Decision-Makers	Project Implementation
Approves implementation plan.	OMNR	Technical advice and monitors projects progress through reviews and audits. Gives input to maintain the province's interests.
Forwards plan to OMNR.	6/70 AEDC	Responsible for finances. Approves implementation activities passed by the Board of Management.
Responsible for drafting the implementation plan. Forwards plan to 6/70 AEDC.	Board of Management	Responsible for implementation of operating plan. Approves budgets and operating procedures. Addresses any public concerns. Represents the 6/70 communities.
Organizes drafting of the implementation plan.	Project Manager	Makes day-to-day decisions on project management. Informs and advises the Board. Responsible for over-all project operation.
Participates in drafting of the implementation plan through the TMP process and Public Information Centres organized by the project.	Public	Gives input into project implementation whenever concerns arise. This is done through the TMP process and board representatives.

Table 9. Decision-making roles at Elk Lake Community Forest.

Implementation Plan.	Decision-Makers	Project Implementation
Approves implementation plan.	OMNR	Gives technical advice and monitors project progress through reviews and audits. Gives input to maintain provincial interests.
Forwards the implementation plan to OMNR.	Partnership Committee	Responsible for over-all project operation.
Drafts the implementation plan.	Consultants	Makes day-to-day decisions on project management. Informs and advises the partnership committee.
Participates in drafting the implementation plan through the TMP process and Public Information Centres organized by the project.	Public	Gives input into project implementation through the TMP process and Committee representatives.

Public Participation Procedures

Public participation activities at each CFPP began in 1992 when the project proponents made contact with various forest stakeholder and user groups asking them to nominate or elect their representatives to the CF organizing body. The organizing bodies' first priority was to develop project implementation plans to be approved by the proponents and then forwarded to OMNR in March 1993 for final approval prior to implementation. OMNR approved the project plans in the spring of 1993.

During the period of plan preparation (1992-1993) and the second year of project implementation (1993-1994), each of the CFPPs developed a public participation and communication strategy (Figure 5) involving three key areas: establishing and setting into function a public representative body (the CFs organizing body); creating public awareness and support for the projects; and creating the means by which the public would become active in project activities, that is, through procedures for election of public representatives to the organizing body and local small-scale projects (details of each project's activities are presented below).

Geraldton Community Forest

The GCF's first year activities (Table 10) mainly focused on: raising public awareness of the project; soliciting public ideas on how the project would offer increased economic opportunities to the community; and development of the implementation plan by the forest consultant. Geraldton's strategy involved: a series of evening public meetings; weekly newspaper articles related to community forests; and one public meeting to review the implementation plan. In addition the above activities, the project proposed to do the following: participate in community events, e.g. trade show and sportsmen's show; develop a demonstration forest adjacent to Hwy 11; and establish a local facility for forestry educational purposes.

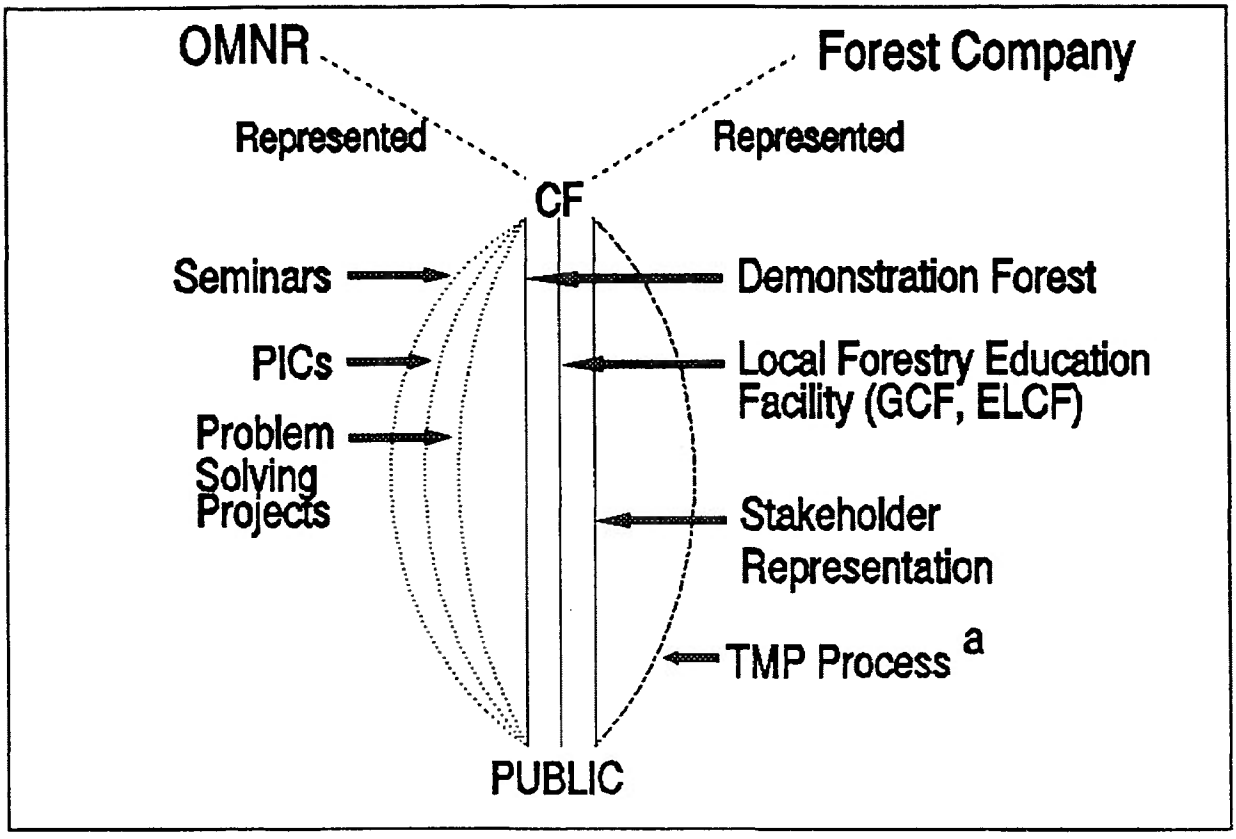


Figure 5. Public participation in decision-making linkages established by the Community Forest Pilot Projects.

(a) OMNR involved the 6/70 CF in the TMP process for the Kapuskasing Crown Management Unit. The CF liaised between OMNR and the public.

Table 10. Public participation activities at Geraldton Community Forest, July 1992 - April 1993.

ACTIVITY	DATE	PURPOSE/TOPIC
Public meeting	7 July 1992	Discussion of economic opportunities for the GCF.
Newspaper cut-out questionnaire	15 July 1992	Soliciting feedback on the July 7 public meeting.
Public meeting	22 July 1992	Continuation of economic opportunities discussion.
Newspaper article	9 September 1992	Title: The birth of community forestry.
Newspaper article	16 September 1992	Title: What is Geraldton's Community Forest?
Public meeting	24 September 1992	Employment implications of GCF. Guest speakers.
Newspaper article	30 September 1992	Title: The waters of the community forest.
Public meeting	8 October 1992	Economic development of Wetland resources in GCF.
Newspaper article	14 October 1992	Title: Bogs and Swamps - undeveloped resources.
Newspaper article	28 October 1992	Title: Old Growth Forests - Protect or Cut?
Public notice	4 November 1992	Public invited to help identify valuable sites for GCF protection.
Newspaper article	4 November 1992	Title: Energy from our Forests: Should we cut it?
Newspaper article	11 November 1992	Title: Forest communities elsewhere.
Public Review Meeting	11 February 1992	Public review of the draft GCF implementation plan.
Informal meeting with the Thunderbird friendship center	28 April 1992	Discussion with the Native Community.

In the second year of project implementation, GCF made two major achievements. The first was creation of a few temporary job opportunities. Through funding from the Regional Industrial Training Committee (RITC), the community forest hosted two courses on pre-commercial thinning. Trainees involved local people recommended by Employment Canada and representatives from 6/70 and Elk Lake Community Forests. GCF employed the local trainees to perform silvicultural contracts secured from OMNR and Kimberly Clark Forest Products Inc. (KC). These job opportunities, although few, helped create public awareness and interest in the project.

The second achievement of the GCF was its incorporation in February 1994. GCF Inc. held a well attended (about 120 people) inaugural annual general meeting in April 1994, which I was privileged to attend. Members of Geraldton community elected a new BOD that replaced the interim BOD that had served the project since its inception.

During my visits to GCF in spring and autumn 1993, I conducted twelve interviews with the following people: GCF's consultant; GCF's manager; four members of the interim BOD; the mayor of Geraldton; and general members of the public not directly involved with the project. The majority of the interviewees felt that there had been poor public attendance and input during GCF's public participation activities (A detailed account of the interviewee responses to

questions posed at each CF is given in Appendix V). According to the project organizers, public turnout at these meetings was about 12-15 people. Most of the attenders were representatives of government bureaucracies in the area. Active participation was mainly dominated by the CF's organizers and the invited guest speakers.

The most well-attended activity at Geraldton was the Public Information Centre (PIC) held on 11 February 1993 to discuss the implementation plan. The plan was due for handing over to OMNR in the next month. Organization and facilitation of the meeting was conducted by GCF's organizing body in conjunction with Sara Costa, a York University environmental studies graduate student.

According to interviewees, though the PIC meeting was well organized, public input was limited by two factors: the three-hour session for public discussion of the implementation plan was too short; and perhaps more important, the public was not well prepared for the discussion because the implementation plan was not available to people prior to the meeting. Costa (1993) gave a detailed account of public concerns regarding the PIC and the project as a whole as discussed by attenders of the PIC meeting.

During my visits, interviewees were divided on whether public participation in GCF could be said to be successful or not. Interviewees based their criteria for successful participation on: (a) past experiences with public participation in community action; (b) past experiences with public participation in the TMPP's open houses; and (c) achievements of the GCF by the time of the interviews.

Those who felt that public participation was successful argued that:

- GCF had received higher public turnout to its meetings compared to public attendance of the TMPP's open house meetings;
- the fact that some people attended GCF meetings meant that GCF had successfully informed people about the project. Information was considered to be the cornerstone of initiating public participation in a community action;
- the project had trained a few local people on silvicultural activities such as thinning and employed some of them for pre-commercial thinning activities.

Those who felt that public participation was unsuccessful urgued that:

- GCF activities had received poor public attendance and enthusiasm compared to previous community-initiated projects. For example, the

Geraldton community had extended the town's hospital and built a community ice-skating rink through spontaneous and concerted public effort.

6/70 Community Forest

After project funding was secured, proponents of the 6/70 CF hired a project manager whose first priorities were to engage an organizing body for the project and develop a project implementation plan. The 6/70 CF implementation plan was forwarded to and approved by OMNR in 1993. The plan was written by the project manager with consultation from the organizing body. A summary of activities undertaken at 6/70 does not indicate whether there were any meetings held specifically to solicit public input into the plan.

The implementation plan did, however, specify the project's priorities in setting the public participation and communication network. Since most of the elected members of the organizing body did not have a forest management background, the first priority for the project was to raise board members' awareness of forest management issues through a series of education packages (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992). This would ensure that members were in a position to make informed decisions. The second priority was to develop a communication network between board members and the stakeholder groups they represented.

This was important because the project encompassed six communities scattered along a 70-mile stretch of Highway 11. The following activities were scheduled with the aim of creating public awareness and support for the project:

- public meetings, seminars and mass media advertisements;
- notification letters to regional clubs letting them know who represented their interest at the organizing body;
- establishment of a sub-committee to the organizing body whose responsibility was to develop an extensive and effective communication network between the project and its target audiences; and
- development of suitable communication strategy between board members and the stakeholder groups represented.

The public participation activities at the 6/70 CF between October 1992 and September 1993 (Table 11) indicate that 6/70 CF's public participation approach involved creating public awareness of the project mainly through the initiation of a diverse number of locally applied projects.

All the people I interviewed agreed that there was poor public attendance and low public input during 6/70 CF's participation activities. Public turnout at each event averaged about 12 people. Only one public participation activity was unanimously mentioned by interviewees to have been successful in terms of

public turnout - the walleye fish seminar held on 13 May 1993. This meeting was attended by about 40 people. The seminar's success was attributed to the fact that fishing is a most important recreation activity of the 6/70 communities.

Despite the low public turnout to the CF's activities, interviewees felt that the following activities undertaken by the project had succeeded in creating public awareness of the project:

- creation of a BOM representing stakeholder interests. The BOM was a link between the interested public, the project, and the OMNR;
- initiation of local small-scale projects, for example, restocking of popular fishing lakes;
- dissemination of information regarding land use issues. Interviewees thought that the CF was more approachable than the OMNR; and
- initiation of conflict resolution process for long-standing road-access conflicts between the cottage interests and the forest-products industry.

Table 11. Public Participation Activities at 6/70 Community Forest, October 1992 - September 1993.

ACTIVITY	DATE	PURPOSE/TOPIC
Public Wild Rice Seminar	29 October 1992	Exploring economic diversification possibilities in the 6/70 CF.
Public Information Centre: OMNR's Open House.	8 March 1993	Public review of TMP proposals for the Kapuskasing Crown Management Unit.
Wildlife Seminar	11 March 1993	Inform public on wildlife management in the 6/70 area.
Forest Values Survey	Spring-Fall 1993	Gather information on public recreation use and values for KCF area.
Sport and Trade Show	31 April-2 May 1993	Inform the public on the CF's goals and objectives.
Walleye Seminar	May 13 1993	Inform public on Walleye fish culture and lake habitat management.
Fish Derby Survey	Spring and Summer 1993	Determine public views on impact of fish derbies.
Walleye Culture Project	Spring and Summer 1993	Production of Walleye fingerlings for stocking Remi lake.
Walleye Transfer	28 August 1993	Transfer adult Walleye from kapuskasing river to Guilfoyle lake.
Private Land Survey	Summer and Fall 1993	To determine public intentions with abandoned agricultural land within the CF's area.
Forestry Field Day	11 September 1993	Forest site preparation and tree planting techniques on former agricultural lands.

Elk Lake Community Forest

Following the project's funding, proponents of ELCF hired a private forestry consulting firm whose first priorities were to establish the project's organizing body and to draw up a project implementation plan. Key stakeholder groups and volunteers were invited to represent forest user interests of the ELCF area. An implementation plan was drawn up by the consultants with the input of the newly formed organizing body. Public input was solicited in a PIC before the plan was forwarded to OMNR for approval. During plan development, the project made press releases informing the public about project goals and objectives as well as inviting the public to take part in the project's volunteer tree planting exercise (Table 12).

The following strategies were suggested in the implementation plan to encourage effective public participation in project activities:

- publicize the CF's objectives through PICs;
- respond promptly to public feedback so as to maintain an ongoing and active public participation;
- periodically monitor levels of public input so as to continuously adjust the project's education strategy as necessary;

- regularly publish updates on project progress in a newsletter or through the mass media;
- organize field trips aimed at promoting integrated resource management; and
- develop a sustainable forestry education package for students, with the co-operation of the Elk Lake Public School.

Other activities also generated project awareness within the community. ELCF developed a project logo with the motto: "Forest Partners, Caring and Sharing" and then produced a brochure on the pilot project and distributed it as a flier in the local newspapers. In winter 1993, the project was involved in planning for a four-credit forestry course at the local high school (Timiskaming District Secondary School). During the course students were involved in developing a public forest-tour education package. Four such tours were undertaken highlighting key aspects of resource management and sustainable forestry. In June 1993, the CF chairman and Reeve of the Town of James highlighted the goals, objectives, and progress of the ELCF project on a Timmins T.V. program, "Our Town". The project produced tee-shirts bearing the project logo and motto, and these were sold by local tourism operators to their clients as souvenirs.

Two conflict resolution training seminars were hosted by ELCF on 20-22 August 1993, and 21-23 January 1994 (Tufford *et al.*, 1994). The seminars were attended

by a total of sixty people from: ELCF's organizing body, representatives from GCF and 6/70 CF, the local OMNR personnel, Temagami District Comprehensive Planning Council, among others. The project sponsored one local person to attend a Pre-Commercial Thinning Course hosted by GCF in summer 1993. Then in fall 1993, ELCF offered six positions for an on-the-job-training silvicultural course conducted by the Geraldton trainee.

Most of the people I interviewed at ELCF agreed that there was good public attendance of most public participation activities undertaken by ELCF. However, there was little public input and contribution during discussions of the project's implementation plan. The most successfully attended activities were the two voluntary tree-planting exercises held in the summers of 1992 and 1993. The exercises attracted about 300 people who planted some 95,000 seedlings on ELCF's earmarked forest land.

Table 12. Public Participation Activities at Elk Lake Community Forest, May 1992 - Fall 1993.

ACTIVITY	DATE	PURPOSE/TOPIC
Public tree planting exercise	23-24 May 1992	Community tree planting on ELCF.
Press release/progress report	23 October 1992	Inform public on goals and objectives of the ELCF as well as the interests represented in the ELCF.
Press release/progress report	4 February 1993	Inform public of the ELCF approved projects for 1992-1993 period.
Public Information Centre	9 February 1993	Inform public on ELCF background. Seek public input into ELCF's goals and initiatives.
Public tree planting exercise	29 May 1993	Community tree planting on ELCF.
Creel census	Summer 1993	Census and public interview on Creel. Done in conjunction with Environmental Youth Corps.
Purple loose strife seminar	9 August 1993	Share information on this weed. Presented by Ontario Federation of anglers and Hunters.
Public Information Centre	4 November 1993	Discussion and to create awareness of tourism concerns for the ELCF area. Guest speakers from Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters (NOTO) and OMNR's Northern science and Technology (NEST).
Pre-Commercial Thinning Training Course	Fall 1993	Prepare ELCF's temporarily employed manpower for thinning operations. Held in Geraldton and Elk Lake. Seven locals employed.
Barren land survey	Fall 1993	Survey of Barren lands. Four local people employed.

OBJECTIVE 2: CFPP PUBLIC PARTICIPATION ISSUES AND CONCERNS PUBLIC

Interviewees at the three community forests raised various issues and concerns regarding the pilot projects which they felt had affected public response and participation in the projects' activities. These issues/concerns are classified below into three groups: (a) related to the community forestry concept and/or specific circumstances of each community forest; (b) related to public motivation to participate and/or social aspects of each community forest; and (c) related to the communication network between each community forest and members of its community.

Geraldton Community Forest

The Community Forestry Concept and GCF

Some members of the community felt sceptical about GCF because:

- The project's role and mandate in forest management were unclear to them. They feared that the project would not only duplicate OMNR's work, but that it would also jeopardize bush workers' jobs.
- GCF would not become economically sustainable and would probably

increase taxpayers' burden because the project's landbase was too small to satisfy economies of scale and in addition the project's forest landbase had little harvestable timber.

Public Motivation to Participate/Social Aspects of Geraldton

The public was not motivated to participate in GCF activities because of the following reasons:

- The community forest was a non-issue.
- There were no tangible benefits offered by GCF to stimulate individuals' interests.
- There was fear of getting too involved in a project whose future was uncertain beyond the trial stage.
- Though GCF was a community project, it was a venture initiated for the political interests of OMNR and the Geraldton municipal leaders.
- The Geraldton community was complacent and apathetic as a result of many years of no growth and continued out-migration.
- People were not comfortable participating in big and formal groups because the community had a high level of observability.

Communication between GCF and Geraldton Public

A majority of people outside Geraldton town had not heard of the project. Though the GCF's activities were advertised in the local newspaper, the Time Star, the activities took place in Geraldton town.

6/70 Community Forest

The Community Forest Concept and 6/70 CF

The motive and role of 6/70 CF were uncertain because of the following:

- Most of the recreational opportunity in the 6/70 area is outside the 6/70 CF landbase. This makes the 6/70 CF less significant to individual interests because recreation is the most important forest use at the individual level.
- Though 6/70 CF's landbase is large, its productive forest is largely inaccessible and therefore the project cannot be economically self-sustaining.
- The boundaries and jurisdiction of the 6/70 CF are not clear since OMNR still has authority and jurisdiction over most of the 6/70 CF areas.

- Due to the decision-making role played by OMNR and 6/70 AEDC, the autonomy of the project in terms of public interest is illusory.

Public Motivation to Participate/Social Aspects of 6/70 Community

Lack of public motivation to participate in 6/70 CF activities was attributed to the following attitudes and beliefs commonly held by the 6/70 communities:

- People are disillusioned about OMNR interest in public participation in forest decision-making. They do not believe that they can have the political efficacy to influence forest decision-making and management through the project because in the past the government had given them similar avenues, only to ignore public input. Because of these past experiences, people do not trust that community forestry is seeking to improve public participation.
- Lack of incentives to participate because of a stigma attached to the project's trial status. Those with this view dismiss the project. Secondly, there are no 'hot land issues' in the 6/70 CF area. Public interest in a topic happens when people feel there is a real issue. In the case of community forestry, there is no collective public response because the public did not find CF to be an issue.

- Decision-making and forest management is the responsibility of politicians and managers who are paid to do so.
- There are conflicting interests held by members of the six communities. Some communities feel they are not as privileged by the CF as are others.
- The language of communication interfered with deliberations of the initial public meetings held by 6/70 CF, because some people insisted that the meetings be held in French while others either preferred English or could not understand French.
- Old rivalry between stakeholder groups resulted in some groups boycotting initial 6/70 CF meetings where rivals were represented. The rival groups in this case were the tourist interest and the hunters and anglers.

Communication Between 6/70 CF and 6/70 Communities

The establishment of communication infrastructure between the 6/70 CF and the 6/70 communities was hindered because:

- There is no one media to address all the six communities which are widely dispersed in the project area. Therefore, few people knew about the project outside the project headquarters town of Kapuskasing.

- People are reserved because they do not know enough about the project to be genuinely interested and involved in its activities. The project advertises specific activities but does not inform the public about the concept of community forestry. Therefore, most people who have heard about the project do not understand what the project is about. Some think it is an extension of OMNR or Spruce Falls Pulp and Paper mill. Secondly, people associate the project with timber harvesting because that is all they know in connection with forestry. The term 'community forestry' is misleading to people who have been involved with timber harvesting as the sole concern for forest management.

Elk Lake Community Forest

Community Forest Concept and ELCF

The ELCF communities cited the following reasons for their uncertainty about the CF concept:

- There is apathy for long-term projects. People want to see results before they commit their time and interest to a community project.

- ELFC management felt that its greatest challenge is to convince people that the project is a holistic concept concerned with intergrated forest management rather than just logging.
- Though most people know about the project, some fear it will jeopardize jobs with forest companies and increase taxpayers' burden if it duplicates OMNR's work.
- Though the ELCF has a large enough landbase to support itself, it has no authority to make revenue.
- Community forestry was initiated through a top-down approach. It takes time for people to get interested and involved in a new activity initiated from outside.
- According to ELCF's management, two issues created a hindrance during development of the implementation plan. First, the public was skeptical towards the project because the project lacked authority to make decisions without being sanctioned by the OMNR. Secondly, there was uncertainty about the project's future mandate.
- Jurisdiction over the ELCF landbase has been controversial for a long time. There is overlapping jurisdiction between Temagami Comprehensive Planning Council, OMNR, Teme-Augama-Anisnabai First Nation, and the ELCF. The project's land base was under two OMNR operating districts. One of the districts (Temagami) was in a different OMNR region.

- People fear that some committee members may be in a position to unduly influence project decisions to their own advantage. OMNR was preferable in this regard because it was a neutral body to all stakeholder interests.

Public Motivation to Participate/Social Aspects of ELCF Communities

Though ELCF recorded large public turnout to its activities, three reasons were given for those who did not support the project:

- The fact that the project is in the pilot stage makes some people shy away from it.
- People do not see how the project will benefit them as individuals.
- Some people are disillusioned about government motives and hold the view that the project is basically set up for the government to save money by letting other people shoulder the responsibility of resource management.

Communication between ELCF and the Public

ELCF experienced the following communication hindrances during the initiation of the project:

- There was little initiative forthcoming from the public in terms of suggestions during the PIC and in response to questionnaires distributed at the PICs.
- During the first ELCF public meetings, the public was divided on the language of communication.
- Most ELCF committee members lived or worked in Elk Lake. Interviewees from Elk Lake agreed that the majority of people in that community knew about the project's existence. However, interviewees living outside Elk Lake felt that members of their communities did not know about the project.
- The level of information available on the role and future of the project was inadequate. Therefore, there was divided public perception of community forestry and the ELCF project. Some thought that ELCF would replace OMNR but continue to operate in the same way as OMNR. Others believed that the project would become an advisory body to OMNR. Both roles were viewed negatively.

DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCEDURES OF AFA, MTFL, NCMF, MAGPIE FOREST AND LOWER/UPPER SPANISH RIVER FMAS

The Community Forest Arrangements: AFA, MTFL, and NCMF

Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA)

Organizational and Decision-making Structures

Timber management in the APP is the responsibility of the Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA). AFA's organizational structure (Figure 6) involves two key players: a BOD and a forest management team. Decision-making for the APP involved the AFA and the OMNR (Table 13). The AFA management team develops a TMP through the OMNR's stipulated TMP process (Appendix I) which requires public consultation. The TMP is ratified by the BOD which then forwards it to OMNR for final approval.

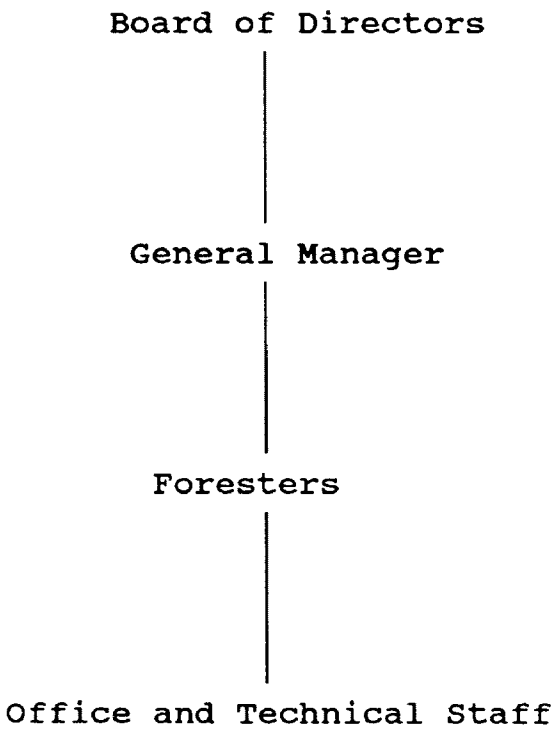


Figure 6. Algonquin Forestry Authority's organizational structure.

Table 13. Decision-making roles for timber management in Algonquin Provincial Park.

TMP Development	Decision-Makers	TMP Implementation
Gives technical advice, co-hosts public open houses with the AFA. Approves the TMP.	OMNR	Monitors implementation of the TMP through five-year period reviews.
Responsible for developing the TMP. Forwards TMP to OMNR for approval.	Board of Directors	Responsible for overall obligations of the AFA, hires technical staff for forest management activities in the park.
Drafts the TMP.	Foresters	Responsible for day-to-day forest management activities in the park.
Participated in development of the TMP by voicing ideas at the Open Houses.	Public	Raises concerns about park management activities through the TMP process, and other avenues provided by OMNR such as the Environmental Assessment process.

Public Participation

Public participation in timber management decision-making concerning the APP is solely made through the provisions of the TMP process (Figure 7). However, the AFA organizes public awareness tours involving schools and other interested groups in the surrounding communities.

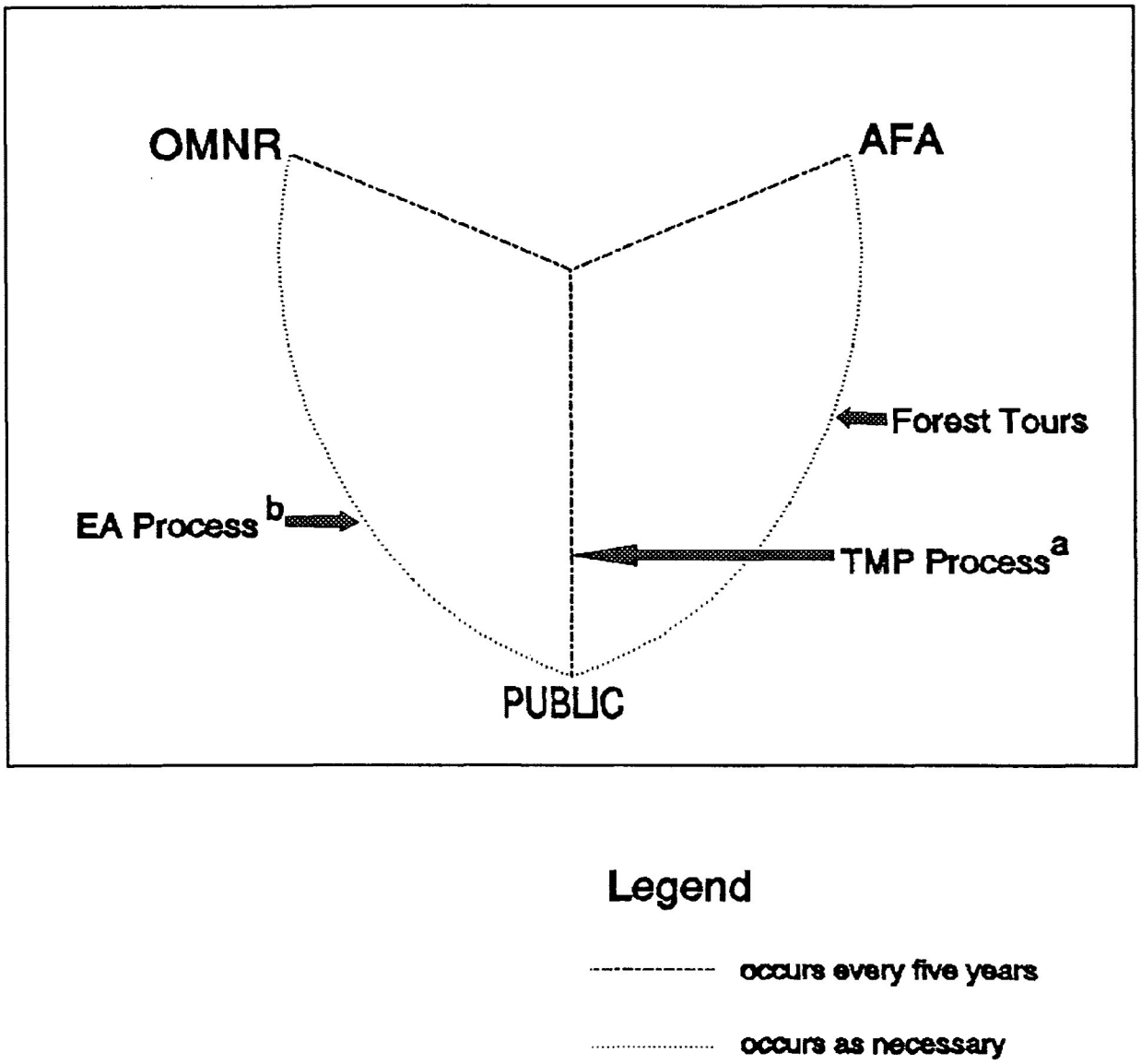


Figure 7. Public participation in timber management decision-making linkages at the Algonquin Provincial Park (APP).

(a) OMNR and the Algonquin Forestry Authority develop the TMP for the APP. As required by the Crown Timber Act, and the Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management on Crown land (CEATM), the TMP process involves soliciting public input for each TMP.

(b) Through provisions made by the CEATM, the public can also seek to change forest management activities on Crown land by requesting OMNR to carry out an Environmental Assessment.

Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL)

Organizational and Decision-making Structures

Forest policy and management decision-making is the responsibility of Mission's Council and the BC Ministry of Forests. Day-to-day management is the responsibility a hired forester.

Public Participation

Public involvement in decision-making and management of MTFL is through formal public representation by the municipal councillors who make policy and management decisions for the forest. The management of MTFL also welcomes discussions with forest user groups concerned with its forest practices or with forest accessibility. For example, MTFL has held discussions with citizens concerned with the location of hiking trails (Kim Allan, MTFL Director of Forest Management, pers. comm., 1993).

North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF)

Organizational and Decision-making Structures

Forest policy and management is the sole responsibility of the Corporation of the Municipality of North Cowichan. Day-to-day decisions are made by the municipal forester.

Public Participation

The NCMF is part of the Cowichan Valley demonstration forest initiative of the BC Ministry of Forests in the Duncan area (CDNC, 1984). As part of this program, the NCMF enhances public understanding and appreciation of the forest resource by conducting forest tours and tree planting activities involving local schools and interested public. Public input in the management of the NCMF is achieved through consultation activities of the elected Municipal councillors who are part of the NCNF Forest Advisory Committee. The municipality also hosts public open houses and hires a consultant to make recommendations to the council based on public input (Darrell Frank, NCMF forester, pers. comm., 1994).

Forest Management Agreements (FMAs): Lower and Upper Spanish River (E.B. EDDY) and Magpie Forest Agreements

Organizational and Decision-making Structures

The E.B. Eddy and Dubreuil Forest-Products Companies are the FMA holders for the Lower and Upper Spanish River and Magpie Forests, respectively. These forest companies share decision-making and management responsibility for areas under their jurisdiction with OMNR (Tables 14-15). Operation of an FMA's forest activities is guided by a five-year TMP developed by the FMA holder, which is approved and monitored during implementation by OMNR. Public input into the two FMAs' TMPs is solicited during the TMP process and through advice from locally based forestry advisory committees.

Table 14. Decision-making roles at the Lower and Upper Spanish River FMAs.

TMP Development	Decision-Makers	TMP Implementation
Gives technical advice and co-hosts Open Houses with E. B. Eddy Forest Products LTD, the FMA holder.	OMNR	Monitors implementation of the TMP plan through five-year reviews.
Develops the TMP for area under its jurisdiction and forwards the plan to OMNR for approval. Seeks the advice of the E.B. Eddy Forest Advisory Committee.	FMA holder	Responsible for the overall management of the FMA area in accordance with the approved TMP.
Participates in development of the TMP by voicing ideas at Open Houses.	Public	Raises concerns about the FMA management activities through the TMP process and other avenues provided by the OMNR such as the Environmental Assessment process.

The FMAs' decision-making structure is similar to that of the CFPPs' in that the two arrangements involve three key players: the organizing bodies (a forest-products company and stakeholder committees, respectively); OMNR; and the public. In both cases OMNR is the final decision-maker. The main difference between the two decision-making structures lies in the nature of their organizing bodies. The CFPPs' organizing body is comprised of local individuals, while FMAs' organizing body comprises company shareholders who are not necessarily locally based.

Table 15. Decision-making roles at Magpie Forest FMA.

TMP Development	Decision-Makers	TMP Implementation
Gives technical advice and co-hosts Open Houses with Dubreuil Forest Products Ltd, the FMA holder. Seeks the advice of the Magpie Forest Co-Management Committee.	OMNR	Monitors implementation of the TMP through five-year reviews.
Develops the TMP for the area under its jurisdiction and forwards the TMP to OMNR for approval.	FMA holder	Responsible for the overall management of the FMA in accordance with approved TMP.
Participates in development of the TMP by voicing ideas at Open Houses.	Public	Raises their concerns about the FMA management activities through the TMP process and other avenues provided by the OMNR such as the Environmental Assessment process.

Public Participation Procedures

Upper and Lower Spanish River FMAs

As an FMA holder, E.B. Eddy provides the concerned public with four opportunities to participate in the formulation of TMPs, as required under the TMP process. The process involves two public open houses hosted by both Eddy

and the OMNR. Eddy's foresters, however, felt that the TMP process, by itself, was not an adequate method for effective discussion of public concerns and how these concerns could be incorporated into the company's forest policy (Anonymous, 1993a).

As a result of these feelings, the company created its own Forest Advisory Committee (FAC) in 1992. In 1993, the company resolved that the promotion of public awareness of forest management issues would become part of its forest policy (Anonymous, 1993b). The following are public awareness and involvement initiatives that E.B. Eddy has undertaken: (a) summer tour programs for interested parties; (b) participation in community activities, such as the Career Days Fair and the Sportsmen shows; during these activities the company hosts speeches, video shows on forest management, and distributes tree seedlings; and (c) special mill tours for mill workers' families (Figure 8). The company believes that its public image could be greatly enhanced through employee influence (Craig Boddy, E.B. Eddy Forest Management Superintendent, pers. comm., 1993).

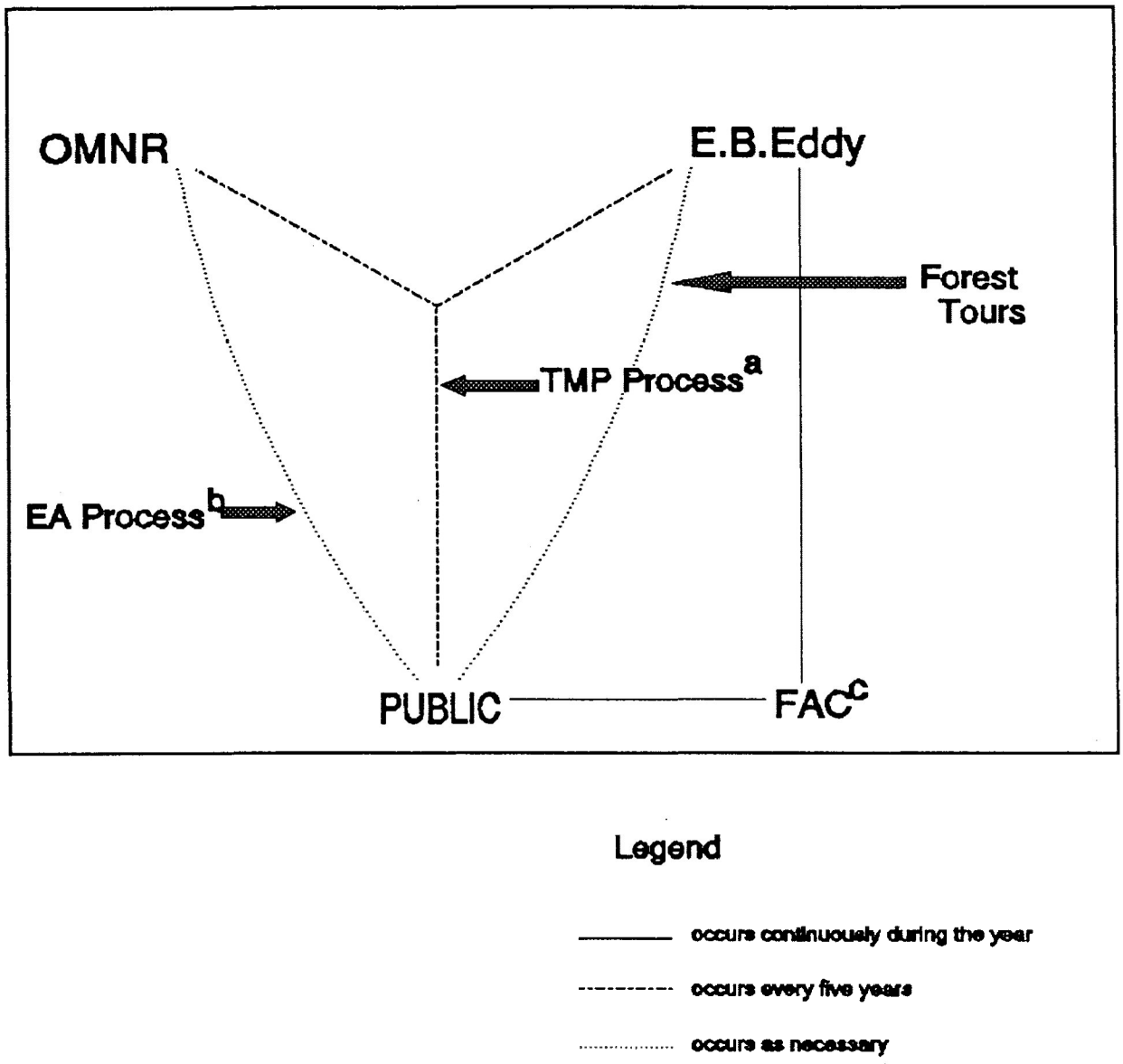


Figure 8. Public participation in forest decision-making linkages at the Upper and Lower Spanish River FMAs.

(a) OMNR and E.B. Eddy co-host Open Houses to solicit public input into the TMP as required by the Crown Timber Act.

(b) Through provisions made by the CEATM, the public may require OMNR to assess the impact of forest activities on the environment.

(c) E.B. Eddy's Forest Advisory Committee is comprised of major stakeholder interests on the company's FMA area.

E.B. Eddy's Forest Advisory Committee

The company selected FAC members from: candidates nominated by the sixteen invited special interest groups and organizations from communities within the FMA areas - 17 members; applications made by local individuals in response to the company's press advertisement - 3 members; and two company representatives. The FAC is co-chaired by one of the company's representatives and a member elected by the committee. Initiation and formulation of rules and procedures for committee operation were facilitated by hired professional consultants (Anonymous, 1993a). As volunteers, committee members are not entitled to any remuneration from the company for their input (Anonymous, 1993a). However the company reimburses out-of-pocket and travel expenses (Craig Boddy, Forest Management Superintendent, pers. comm., 1993).

The E.B. Eddy FAC is a problem-solving and advisory mechanism for E.B. Eddy (Anonymous, 1993a). The purpose of the committee is to provide information and opinion to the company on the 1995-2000 TMPs, the TMP process for the FMA area, and how the company's forest management practices may affect other resource uses in the FMA area. The committee is free to advise the company on any other forestry aspects (Anonymous, 1993a). The company seeks both the personal opinions of the FAC members as well as the views and policies of the associations that the members represent (Anonymous, 1993a). The FAC makes

an annual report on its activities and accomplishments to the company. Committee decisions are made by consensus, but in cases where consensus is not reached, a majority vote is taken (Craig Boddy, Forest Management Superintendent, pers. comm., 1993). E.B. Eddy then decides on the appropriate action to take given the FAC recommendations.

Magpie Forest FMA

As in other FMAs, the company presents the public with an opportunity to participate in the development of its five-year TMP as a requirement of TMP process (Figure 9). Due to recurrent and highly conflicting forest user interests in the Magpie Forest, the OMNR initiated the Magpie Forest Co-management Committee (MFCMC) in 1991 as a means of dealing with stakeholder concerns (Brian Brown, Magpie Co-Management Committee member, pers. comm., 1993).

Magpie Forest Co-Management Committee

In 1991, OMNR advertised committee positions through the mass media, and then hired an independent consultant to interview and hire applicants (Higgelke and Duinker, 1993).

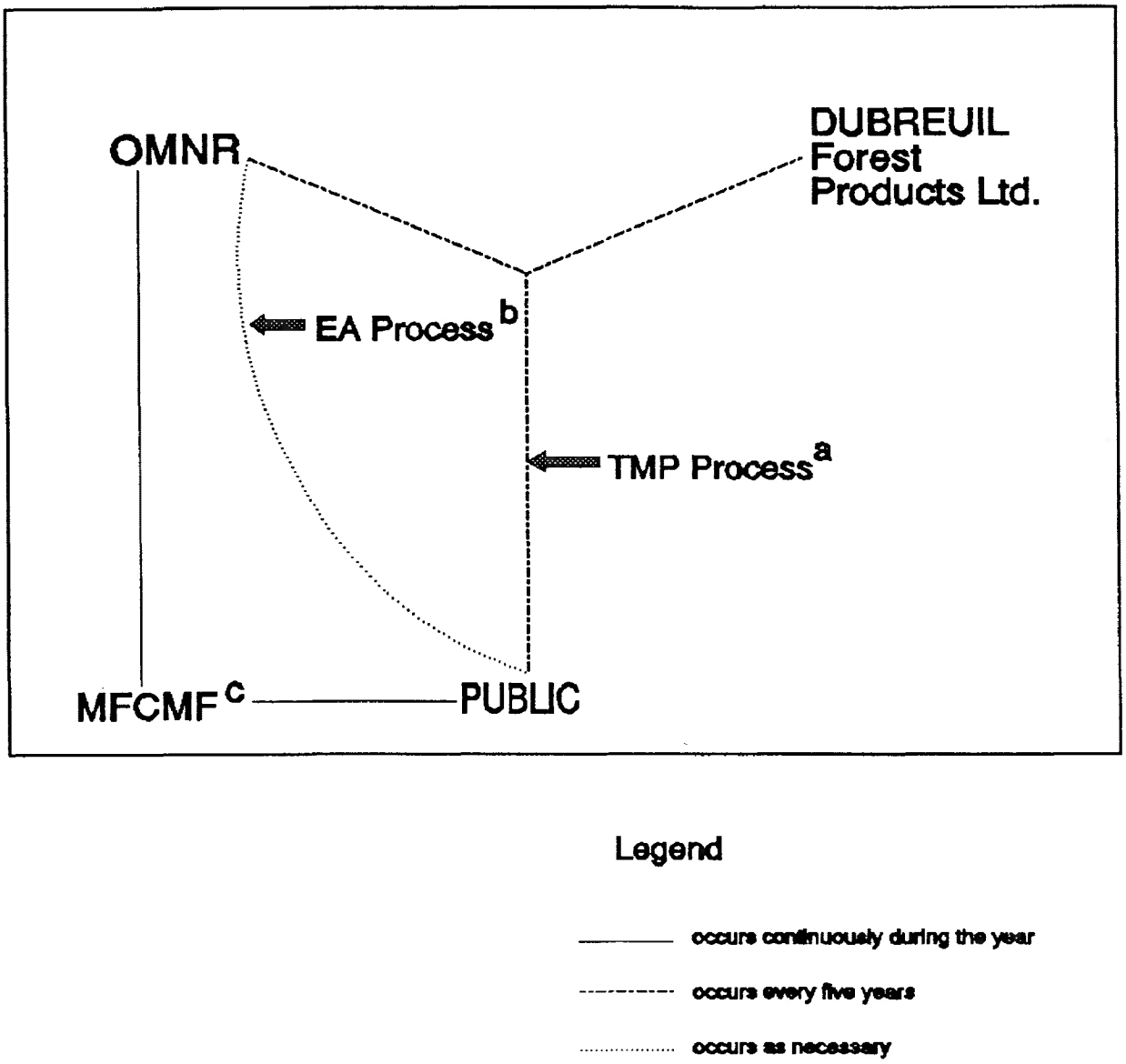


Figure 9. Public participation in forest decision-making linkages at Magpie Forest FMA.

(a) OMNR and Dubreuil Forest Company Ltd co-host Open Houses to solicit public input into the TMP for Magpie Forest.

(b) Through provisions made by the CEATM, the public may require OMNR to assess the impact of forest activities on the environment.

(c) The Magpie Co-Management Committee (MFCMC), comprised of local stakeholders, advises OMNR during the TMP development.

Membership is voluntary, with no remunerations (Brian Brown, Magpie Co-Management Committee member, pers. comm., 1993). Members of the Committee represent stakeholder interests rather than stakeholder groups. As such their contribution of ideas and values is based on personal experience without necessarily soliciting public/other stakeholder opinion (Brian Brown, Magpie Co-Management Committee member, pers. comm., 1993).

With the help of a professional facilitator, the MFCMC decided on the following statement of purpose: "to sustain and enhance the social, economic and environmental value of the area" and to "assess, solicit public input, plan, advocate and initiate projects to strengthen the ability of the Ministry of Natural Resources to meet management objectives" (Anonymous, 1991). The Committee set public involvement as one of its goals. It would achieve this goal by providing stakeholders with a forum where they could voice their concerns, access and share information, and be assured of prompt action on their concerns (Anonymous, 1991).

MFCMC members meet monthly and make decisions by consensus. The decisions are then presented to OMNR's planning team as concerns and recommendations (Suzanne Dube, Magpie Co-Management Committee Chairperson, pers. comm., 1993). The OMNR planning team then decides how best to deal with these recommendations (Brian Brown, Magpie Co-Management

Committee member, pers. comm., 1993). According to Brown (Pers. Comm; 1993), the Committee feels it has the flexibility to seek dialogue with the Minister of Natural Resources if it gets into a stalemate with the local OMNR. This flexibility, and the fact that the Committee drafted its own mission statement, makes the committee more of a forest stakeholder's bargaining/lobbyist group than an OMNR advisory committee per se.

According to Higgelke and Duinker (1993), the following factors predispose the MFCMC to succeed in resolving disputes in the Magpie Forest:

1. initiation of the committee was carried out by an independent consultant;
2. MFCMC developed its own mission statement;
3. MFCMC was empowered with funds by OMNR and had access to OMNR's human resources and database; and
4. the local OMNR office made a commitment to treat MFCMC's recommendations with the same regard as that of OMNR's planning team.

SUMMARY OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCEDURES

Figures 5 and 7-9 show the public participation linkages of the CFPPs, the AFA, Lower and Upper Spanish River and Magpie Forest FMAs. These public

participation linkages fall into three groups: (a) formal participation through public representation; (b) information/awareness activities; and (c) consultation practices.

Formal Participation

Formal public participation in forest decision-making for the eight cases studied is established as follows:

1. A local BOD elected by and from the general public at GCF.
2. An organizing body comprised of representatives of local key stakeholder and forest user interests nominated and/or elected by each of the groups represented at 6/70 and Elk Lake CFs. Where key interests are not formally organized, the CF's proponents nominated representatives from the general public or invited volunteers.
3. A BOD comprised of local community members at the AFA.
4. An FAC representing local key local stakeholder and forest user interests at the Lower and Upper Spanish River FMAs. The FAC is selected by E.B. Eddy Forest Products Ltd.

5. A Co-Management Committee representing local key stakeholder and forest user interests at Magpie Forest FMA. The Committee was initiated by OMNR.
6. Municipal councillors elected by the general public at both MTFL and NCMF.

Forest Information/Awareness Activities

Public awareness and information about forestry issues is carried out through the following activities:

1. Forest tours, participation in local sports and trade shows, forest-related articles in the local news media, conflict resolution seminars, problem-solving seminars on local forest issues and locally based small-scale projects, silviculture training workshops, and development of demonstration forests and forest training centres to cater for local needs for the CFPPs.
2. Forest tours occasionally organized by the AFA at the APP.
3. Forest tours organized by E.B. Eddy at the Lower and Upper Spanish River FMA.

4. Advertisement of forest-related activities undertaken by the MFCMC at Magpie Forest FMA.
5. Public forest tours at NCMF.

Consultation Processes

Public consultation processess for cases studied are as follows:

1. PICs and workshops at the CFPPs.
2. The TMP process at the APP.
3. The TMP process and FAC at Upper and Lower Spanish River FMAs.
4. The TMP Process and the MFCMC at Magpie Forest FMA.
5. Open Houses at NCMF.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

OBJECTIVE 1: CFPP DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES AND PARTICIPATION PROCEDURES

Public participation in forest management for community development implies that community members be involved in making the decisions that affect the forests' utilization (e.g. on policy formulation, goal setting, and distribution of accrued benefits). The possibility of providing opportunity for public participation depends on the distribution of decision-making power which can be evaluated by: identifying the institutions with decision-making jurisdiction (land-base, tenure and property rights); by describing the decision-making structure of the community forest and determining the locus of decision-making power; and describing the procedures for public participation in decision-making that are in place and analyzing how these procedures distribute the decision-making power to involve the public. These issues are discussed below under six prerequisites for effective public participation in decision-making.

Public Participation Prerequisites

The following are six of what I consider to be key prerequisites for public participation in decision-making. Though these prerequisites are discussed with reference to the community forests, they are widely applicable to other forestry activities where public participation is desirable. Also discussed is how these prerequisites were addressed by the CFPPs, either through recommendations specified by the CFs' implementation plans, the decision-making structures the CFs had established, or forest management requirements stipulated by OMNR.

Tenure, Property Rights and Land Base

The CF entity must have legal jurisdiction to make forest management decisions for an economically viable forest landbase. The terms of the jurisdiction would specify the CF's tenure and property rights for that forest landbase.

Forest land earmarked for the three CFPPs was under either Crown Management Units (CMUs) or Company Management Units on which OMNR has sole responsibility and jurisdiction for decision-making. The three CFs therefore have no legal decision-making jurisdiction over their earmarked landbase during the pilot project stage. Lack of decision-making jurisdiction for the CFPPs has

created doubts and speculation about the projects' future among the people I interviewed at the three community forests.

Though the CFPPs have no tenure rights, they have a legitimate responsibility as pilot projects to develop a suitable decision-making structure based on OMNR's objective to enhance public participation in forest decision-making. Both GCF and ELCF acknowledged in their implementation plans that the projects needed to have legally established jurisdiction to be successful beyond the pilot project stage.

There were landbase concerns at all three community forests. Though one of GCF's objectives is to examine the feasibility of intensive forest management on a small forest area, according to the Town of Geraldton (1993), the landbase earmarked for the GCF (about 65,000 ha) is too small to achieve economies of scale. Over thirty years of intensive silviculture would be required on the GCF landbase before economies of scale in timber harvests are achievable (J. Harrison, chief forester K.C., pers. comm., 1993). Members of the Geraldton community that I interviewed declared a personal reluctance to support the GCF because they did not consider the project's landbase adequate to support its cost of operation. They felt that the project would further raise the community tax burden.

Though the 6/70 CF's landbase is fairly large, and has a fair amount of harvestable timber, the timber is located in areas that are not economically accessible (P. Greenaway, assistant manager 6/70 CF, pers. comm., 1993). According to the interviewees, the 6/70 CF land base had few recreational opportunities to offer the 6/70 communities. Forest recreation ranked second to job creation in individuals' forestry interests at 6/70 communities. As such the 6/70 CF's landbase potential did not particulary motivate public interest in the project.

The ELCF had a different and more complex landbase problem, that of multiple jurisdiction. The landbase earmarked for the ELCF had been entangled in an ownership debate between the Crown and the Teme-Augama Anashnabai (TAA) First Nations since the last century (Anonymous, Undated - A).

All the interviewees who were aware of landbase problems at their respective CFs were cynical about the CF projects' success. According to Edwards and Jones (1976) and Lotz (1971), public motivation to participate in a community project depended on whether the public believed that the project was both feasible on a short-term basis and also economically sustainable in the long run. Based on this assumption, landbase issues at the CFPP need to be addressed so as to alleviate the negative implications they have on public motivation to participation in the CF projects.

Public Rights to Participate

The CF must grant interested community members the right to participate in forest management decision-making for that CF. Public participation in forest decision-making for all Ontario Forest Management Units (FMUs) is legally required by a 1985 amendment to The Crown Timber Act which provided a standard Timber Management Plan (TMP) process (OMNR, 1987). The TMP process requires that the public be given four formal opportunities to contribute to the development of TMPs (OMNR, 1987). TMPs are the basic plans by which each FMU is managed. The CFPPs were not involved in developing TMPs because they lacked the enabling tenurial jurisdiction. However, once they acquire this right, they will be legally required to provide the public with the above opportunities for participation.

Each of the CFPPs proposed in their implementation plans that the CFs present the public with an opportunity to elect accountable and responsible representatives to the CF's decision-making body (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992; Town of Geraldton, 1993; Anonymous, Undated-A). The implementation plan for 6/70 CF required that its BOD members establish communication linkages with the stakeholder groups they represented (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992). At GCF the requirement for public participation was legalized when the project

became incorporated in February 1994. According to GCF Inc. by-laws, all members of Geraldton community have the right to vote during the corporation's annual general meeting (Town of Geraldton, 1993).

Distribution of Decision-Making Power

Decision-making, be it at a government level or at a forest-management level, is a political process. Election of accountable public representatives at the CF decision-making body must therefore occur. The representatives' mandate is to make final decisions on behalf of the public. Public election of representatives is technically a form of public participation in decision-making (Gibson, 1975). As such my expectation for public participation in the Ontario CFPPs involved some form of public representation in the CFs' decision-making structures. As in all political processes, I would also expect some type of communication and solicitation linkages between the representatives and the represented. I would also expect the public to retain formal decision-making power by continuously and freely electing their representatives at the CF decision-making bodies on a specified time basis.

It is important that the elected decision-making body functions effectively as such. Credibility of the decision-making body depends first on the bargaining power it has in relation to such powers held by other institutions in the respective

decision-making hierarchy, and second that that power is evenly distributed within the decision-making body itself (Arnstein, 1969).

The CFPP's decision-making hierarchy involved three institutions: the OMNR; the CF proponents (Town of Geraldton, 6/70 AEDC, and Township of James); and the CF's organizing bodies (comprised of various local stakeholder groups), in that order. Based on the above assumptions regarding the distribution of decision-making power, the effectiveness of the CFs' organizing bodies (the public representatives) depends on two factors. First, the three institutions involved in the CF decision-making structures need equal bargaining power so that none is able to coerce the other. If the public body has no bargaining power, then its true role is advisory rather than decision-making.

The CFPPs will acquire real bargaining power once their tenure rights are established. Second, there needs to be an even distribution of decision-making power and knowledge base of relevant forest issues within the CF organizing body itself. Two of the three CFPPs had prominent community leaders sitting on or chairing the CF organizing body. The distribution of decision-making power within the CF decision-making structures needs further discussion so as to appreciate community power-holders' influence on public participation at the CFs.

According to Bella (1984), understanding the power structure in a community is important for community development (CD) projects, such as the CFPPs, because it answers the question of how community power leaders' involvement, or lack of it, affects the chances of a CD project being successful. According to Hunter (1958), small communities with a narrow economic base, such as the CFPP's, are likely to have a pyramidal power structure. This structure is characterised by a small group of people controlling decision-making on all major community issues.

Given the political and social clout that power leaders in a pyramidal power structure hold, one can expect their presence at the CF organizing body to evoke feelings of intimidation within other members, especially if the members are new in the political arena. During my visits to the CFPP, some interviewees indicated that having local leaders sitting at the organizing body had indeed caused some of the public representatives to feel intimidated. However, during the first year of project implementation, the organizing bodies at both Elk Lake and 6/70 CFs made special efforts to educate all board members on forest issues in an effort to equalize bargaining power within the organizing body.

The link between the community power holders and the CFs can either be negative or positive depending on each community's circumstances. For example, according to some interviewees at Geraldton, the close link between GCF and community power leaders had marred the image of CF from that of an

autonomous CD project to that of a politically motivated project. If that is the case, then the momentum of public support and participation in GCF depends on the community leaders' popularity: if the leaders are popular, then the effect is positive, and vice versa.

The present decision-making structure of the three CFPPs present four instances in which pseudo-participation can occur. The first involves OMNR and the community forest entity. If the OMNR resists power redistribution such that the CF entity does not have full or shared decision-making jurisdiction, or if the CF entity has jurisdiction but lacks bargaining power and OMNR is able to coerce decisions, a situation of pseudo-participation occurs.

According to Arnstein (1969), giving the public an opportunity to participate in decision-making requires that the public have some level of decision-making power. Three forest management arrangements that would give the CF jurisdiction are: shared decision-making power with OMNR as in forest partnerships; delegated decision-making power as in Ontario's Forest Management Agreements; and full community control as in the case of the North Cowichan Community Forest in BC.

Irrespective of the agreements that the OMNR enters with the CFs, if the CFs do not have decision-making power, the OMNR will satisfy only the political goal of

giving the community some forest land where it can 'participate' in decision-making. According to Arnstein (1969), an arrangement that lacks decision-making power is nothing more than a means of manipulating the public to think that it is taking part in forest management decision-making. Arnstein (1969) referred to this state of affairs as group therapy, that only "lets the public participate in participation".

The second way in which pseudo-participation can occur at the CFs is if the CF organizing body does not have bargaining power with the CF proponents. The organizing body is elected by the public or stakeholder and forest-user interests to make decisions on their behalf. The CFPP proponents are the community power-holders who ratify the CF organizing bodies' decisions before the decisions are forwarded to OMNR for approval.

Third, pseudo-participation can occur as a result of the CF organizing bodies' internal composition. An example is when some members of the organizing body have more bargaining power than the others. This can occur if there is uneven distribution of pertinent information concerning alternative solutions to the CF's concerns, or if some members are community power-holders whose presence hinders independent contributions from other members.

Pseudo-participation can also occur at the board level in cases where the board is comprised of "the traditional power elite" and a few hand-picked members of the community to represent the public. Arnstein (1969) referred to this arrangement as placation since the "public representatives" on the board can be manipulated and easily outvoted by the "traditional power elite", that is, the community power leaders.

In electing members of the organizing body, the CFPPs made efforts to have members elected by key stakeholder groups. However in some cases, such groups did not have an organized infrastructure and therefore representatives were nominated by the CF proponents and the partially formed committees. This process presents a situation wherein the public does not in the true sense elect its representatives. In Geraldton, this problem was solved when the project became incorporated so that all the members of the Geraldton community elect their representatives at the GCF Inc. annual general meeting.

Communication Linkages

Communication linkages between the CF decision-making body and the public must be established for the purpose of sharing information and consultation. According to Arnstein (1969), informing the public can be the most important

step towards legitimate public participation. First the public should be informed of its rights and responsibilities to participate. Second the facts surrounding forestry issues under consideration should be made available to both the representatives and the public prior to and during the decision-making process. Failure to provide information to the interested public makes public rights to participate meaningless (Lucas 1978).

Communication linkages present the forth way in which pseudo-participation can occur in the CFPP projects. Here, the community may have an inadequate political-social-economic infrastructure and knowledge base to enable the election of accountable representatives (Arnstein, 1969). My study on the CFPPs' procedures for public participation indicates that each CF had established a variety of communication linkages between the organizing body and the public (Figure 5). However, as mentioned earlier, some stakeholder interests lacked the communication infrastructure for all interested members to participate in election of representatives. This problem was most evident at the 6/70 CF, which is comprised of six communities each having different stakeholder groups. This problem can be solved by stakeholder group consolidation. For example, the trapping interest stakeholder group at 6/70 solved the problem of multiple clubs by forming a coalition that would enable it to act as one group with regard to its interest in the 6/70 CF.

Public Control on Decision-Making Power

Regular public election of representatives to the decision-making body must take place. Theoretically this enables the public to retain control of the decision-making power (Elder, 1975). In order that the public retains decision-making power, the CFPPs recommended that the public elect representatives to the CF decision-making body annually (with the exception of the initial three-year pilot stage). By the second year of project implementation, each of the three CFs had established a public representative body comprised of various local stakeholder groups.

Public Appeal on Decisions

Last but not least, the public must be able to monitor and appeal the result of its participation. This requires that final decisions be explained with reasons to those who participated in the consultation process even when there are no disparities (Duinker *et al.*, 1994). Explaining the logic behind decisions is the cornerstone in building trust between representatives and the represented.

The importance of building trust between decision-makers and the public needs further discussion. According to Edwards and Jones (1976), public trust in the

decision-making process of a community action, such as a CFPP, is fundamental to successful public participation. A community that lacks trust in the community action decision-making process experiences political deficiency (Lucas, 1971). Such communities, according to Gidengil (1990), display a fatalistic attitude characterised by non-participation in decision-making due to preconceived failure.

There was one example during the initiation of the projects which illustrated how lack of public trust in the decision-making process can deter public participation in decision-making. A questionnaire at the first introductory meeting of 6/70 CF to the hunter and angler groups asked respondents to state their main concerns for the project's success. The responses to this questionnaire indicated that the project would have problems convincing the public that the project aimed at promoting public participation in decision-making. The reason given for this prediction was that there was pervasive public mistrust of the government, especially the OMNR (Desrosiers and Haldane, 1992).

Both the CFPPs and OMNR planned to have a joint formal review of the projects scheduled for March 1995 in which the effectiveness of procedures for public participation adopted by each CFPP would be assessed (Harvey, 1993). The public will be consulted during this process to find out how their input was integrated into the CFPPs decisions. In addition to this review process, the

CEATM provides that the public may require OMNR to assess the impact of forest activities on the environment through an environmental assessment process. This however provides the public with an appeal process when decisions have already been implemented.

OBJECTIVE 2: CFPP PUBLIC PARTICIPATION ISSUES AND CONCERNS

So far I have discussed the formal decision-making structure established by the CFPP and power distribution issues that need to be addressed. Public participation, however, is not a simplistic look at method and structure of decision-making (Edwards and Jones, 1986; Cernea, 1993). Because participation takes place within the context of community social and political status quo, it is necessary to discuss public reaction to the CFPPs. The discussion will indicate specific issues that the CFPPs have to address (as far as the public is concerned) in order to enhance participation in the projects.

Though I did not carry out a detailed and systematic survey within the three communities due to time and budget restrictions, I did hold 51 interviews involving members of the CF organizing committees and the general public. Results of these interviews indicate that, with the exception of one or two instances, there was a problem of low public turn-out to public participation

activities undertaken by both Geraldton and 6/70 CFs (average 12-15 people, mainly comprised of individuals representing other government institutions). Secondly, the results indicate that the three CFPPs experienced poor public input during their consultation activities. The reasons given for the above problems fall under the following three categories.

Reasons Related to the Community Forest Concept and/or Specific Circumstances of Each CFPP

Interviewees felt uncertain about the CFs because; (a) the CFPP had no legitimate authority and jurisdiction over the earmarked CF forest land; (b) the CF enterprise was economically unsustainable for several years even if government funding was to be retained; in this regard, interviewees were apprehensive that the CF would further raise the already high community tax burden; (c) the CF status beyond the pilot stage was uncertain and depended on OMNR's evaluation; some interviewees had not participated in the project because they dismissed it as "just a trial"; and (d) interviewees were confused by the concept of public participation beyond consultation since they were accustomed to a monopoly on forest decision-making by the Crown and private forest-products enterprises.

Based on the above concerns, the CFs need to discuss with the interested public the following questions:

1. What is OMNR's motive in promoting community forests?
2. What kind of tenure can facilitate dual stewardship between OMNR and the forest communities?
3. How will the CFs sustain themselves economically? Can the government afford to fund the CFs up-keep and for how long?

Reasons Related to Communication Linkages between the CFs and the Public

During the first two years of project formulation and implementation, the establishment of communication linkages between the CF organizing bodies and the public was hindered by: (a) the geographic dispersion of CFPP communities; (b) lack of organized communication within some stakeholder and forest user interests; and (c) a top-down initiation of the CFPP projects. The latter needs some explanation.

The CFPP was not a typical grass-roots initiative in all the three projects. The idea of CFs was conceived and built up by a few people from the Geraldton community in the late 1980s (Dunster, 1989). In 1991, OMNR invited forest

communities in Northern Ontario to apply for a community forest project. The public was generally not involved in formulating the initial proposals that the respective CF proponents submitted to OMNR. As such, few people in the CFPP communities had prior understanding of or support for the project. According to Lotz (1977) and Edwards and Jones (1976), a community-oriented project has better chances of success if it involves the public at all stages of project development, that is, project formulation, goal setting, planning and implementation.

Each of the three CFPPs made attempts to have public input in formulating the implementation plan. Success in soliciting public input was low due to the following: (a) low public turn-out to the CF meetings and activities; (b) low public input by those who did attend the CF meetings and activities; (c) in GCF's case the implementation plan was not available to the public prior to its discussion; (d) in some cases the time allocated for discussion was inadequate (e.g. approximately three hours for a one-time discussion of the implementation plan); and (e) the community representatives were still familiarizing themselves with the CF concept and forest management issues during the development of the plan. According to interviewees, the last item above meant that at times members of the CF organizing body were not in a position to address all the issues posed by people attending at the public information centres.

Based on the above issues, the CFs need to address the following:

1. What level of public participation can realistically be expected for the CFs?
2. What organizational and communication linkages are sustainable over a long period of time to ensure continued public interest and participation in the project?
3. Can the CF organizational structure be representative of key stakeholder interests in all the communities?

Reasons Related to Public Motivation to Participate

According to interviewees, the CFPPs did not motivate individuals to participate because of the long-term nature of the projects and also because proceeds from the CFs were targeted to benefit the community rather than individuals. Secondly, there were no forestry-related community crises for the CFs to address.

According to Weissman (1970), motivation to participate in a community effort depends on whether: (a) the individual expects to achieve a net gain from participating in the activity; (b) the individual foresees any consequences from

participation, or the lack of it; (c) the activity addresses a current community crisis; and (d) an individual's loyalty to the community is strong enough such that community benefit is as welcome as individual benefit.

Based on these premises, a CFPP can motivate participation by demonstrating the following:

1. How the CF intends to make financial gain and how gains will be distributed to benefit the whole community.
2. Why sustainable forestry is important at the global, national, local and individual level, and how the project intends to promote sustainable forestry.
3. How the community forest enhances the public's role in forest decision-making compared to the status quo, and why it is important to have public input in the community forest.

Motivation to participate is also influenced by a community's political memory which constitutes the community's political culture (Kasperson and Breibart, 1974). For example, interviewees at the CFPPs repeatedly expressed a sense of helplessness by reciting previous incidents where the government had sought their participation. However, according to interviewees, even after the public had declared its views, when decisions were finally made, it was not obvious that

public input had indeed been considered. As one person put it, "if the government has not listened to us for so many years, why should it now?" This statement is loaded with a low sense of political efficacy, and a fatalistic attitude.

According to Lucus (1971), communities that are apathetic and fatalistic (not wanting to make changes due to preconceived failure) are likely to be suspicious of changes initiated by the government to the extent of resisting those changes. Changing the apathetic attitudes of the CFPP communities will take a long time and involves actions beyond the CFPPs. However, the CFs can build public trust by consistently and persistently putting into effect the six prerequisites for effective public participation in decision-making already discussed. The projects must also provide the public with evidence of how public input is integrated into final project decisions.

OBJECTIVE 3: THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH: A COMPARISON OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION APPROACHES BETWEEN THE CFPPS AND CONTEMPORARY FOREST MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS

There were four categories of possible findings in comparing the public participation decision-making programs of the new community forests to those of the status quo, those of CFs, and those of contemporary Forest Management Agreements. The categories are: (a) that there were essentially no differences

between the CFPP program and those of the above arrangements; (b) that the CFPP programs were better than the status quo or vice versa; (c) that the CFPP programs were better than those of contemporary CFs or vice versa; and (d) that the CFPP programs were better than contemporary Forest Management Agreements or vice versa.

Status Quo: CMUs and FMAs

Timber management activities on all FMUs in Ontario are addressed in TMPs drawn up by OMNR in CMUs or by shared responsibility between OMNR and forest enterprises in FMAs. The Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management (CEATM) of the specifies a consistent planning process for all TMPs - the TMP process (Appendix I). Since the CFPPs' earmarked landbase was either on CMUs or Company Management Units, public participation in forest decision-making prior to the projects was provided solely through the TMP process (Figure 10).

During the first year of project implementation, each of the three CF proponents established local organizing bodies representing stakeholder and forest-user interests. Members of the organizing bodies became links between the CFs and the public. In the second year the organizing body carried out various public

information and consultation activities (Tables 13-15). In addition, the three CFPPs undertook various problem-solving activities such as conflict resolution seminars involving stakeholder groups, OMNR, and forest companies.

Based on the above observations, the CFPPs had increased public participation opportunities in forest decision-making in their respective communities compared to the status quo.

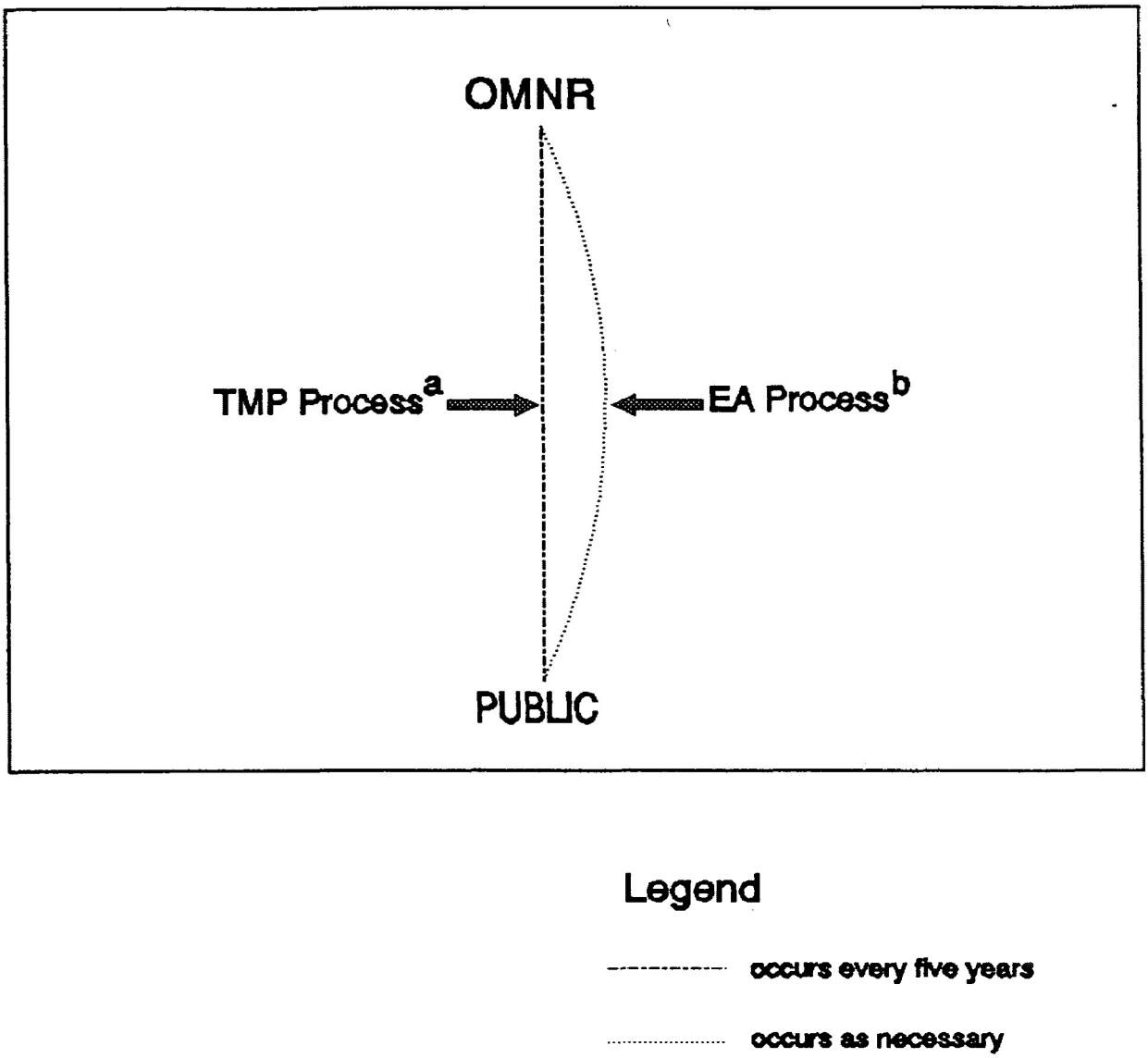


Figure 10. Public participation in forest decision-making linkages at Crown Management Units.

(a) OMNR solicits public imput into the TMPs for CMUs.

(b) Through provisions made by the CEATM, the public may require OMNR to assess the impact of forest activities on the environment.

Compare Figures 5 and 10 which depict the public participation linkages established at the CFPP and those of the status quo, respectively. In addition to the above communication initiatives, the CFs would have to perform public consultation exercises stipulated and recommended by The Crown Timber Act, once they acquired tenurial jurisdiction.

Community Forest Arrangements: AFA, MTFL and NCMF

Algonquin Forest Authority (AFA)

The AFA organizational and decision-making structure is similar to that of the CFPPs because: in both cases a BOM (or BOD) is elected from the respective forest communities; like the CFs, the AFA's management team is independent of OMNR; and in both cases, OMNR is the final decision-maker (Tables 7-10).

Public consultation on forest decisions by the BOD at the AFA is carried out solely through the TMP process. AFA conducts some public information activities such as school forest tours. This observation indicates that the CFPP conducted more information, consultation and problem-solving activities than is done by the AFA.

North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF) and Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL)

Decision-making for the two B.C. community forests studied here is undertaken by their respective municipal power holders. The Ontario CFPPs provide more opportunities for public participation compared to either MTFL or NCMF. Unlike forest arrangements of Ontario, these BC. forests are not legally bound to conduct public consultation in making forest decisions. Further, the goals of the BC. CFs is primarily timber management whereas that of the CFPP is primarily community development and enhancement of public participation.

The AFA, MTFL, NCMF and the CFPPs are all equally referred to as CFs because their forest products and/or services benefit the local communities. There is no agreement among scholars and practitioners on the level of public participation that should apply to all community forests the world over. Rather, the decision-making structure and level of public participation desirable for a CF is to be determined as a key management goal for each CF. Technically, by the standards of representative democracy theory, all five CFs can be said to practice public participation in decision-making because local citizens elect each CF's decision-makers (even at MTFL and NCMF, the councillors are publicly elected).

Forest Management Agreements (FMAs): Lower and Upper Spanish River (E.B. EDDY) and Magpie Forest Agreements

In the E.B. Eddy and Magpie Forest cases, public participation in forest decision-making was by two consultation processes: through provisions of the TMP process, and by engaging forest advisory bodies. Furthermore each FMA undertook numerous public information, consultation, and problem-solving activities (Figures 8-9). Unlike community forests, the FMA decision-making structure does not necessarily involve local community members.

To conclude whether the FMA arrangements equal the CFPPs in providing avenues for public participation in decision-making, we look back to the CFPP objective. OMNR's goal for the CFPPs was to ".... facilitate the empowerment of a broad coalition of community interests with resource management and decision-making and program delivery responsibilities" (Harvey, 1993). Clearly the level of public participation desirable for the CFPPs was decision-making rather than consultation. As such, forest management arrangements that do not give the forest community decision-making jurisdiction cannot meet the implied level of public involvement desirable for the CFPPs.

However, it is noteworthy that both Magpie and Upper/Lower Spanish River demonstrated FMA arrangements need not be exclusive of public information, consultation and problem solving activities beyond the TMPP. Indeed, if

participation were to be judged by the number of public involvement activities, the two FMAs would be at par with the CFPPs. A partnership arrangement such as the FMA where the community shares jurisdiction with OMNR would facilitate the level of public involvement desired for the CFPP (Figure 11).

WHAT IS A SUCCESSFUL PROCEDURE FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING FOR A COMMUNITY FOREST?

Based on the goal of the CFPPs and the six prerequisites for public participation in decision-making discussed earlier, a public participation process can be said to be successful when it:

1. identifies clearly who will be affected by decisions, and raises their willingness/eagerness to participate;
2. plays a meaningful role in determining the goals and mechanisms of participation;
3. ensures that the full range of perspectives on forest use and management issues are brought into all discussions and debates prior to decision-making;
4. ensures that all sensible alternatives for forest use and management are properly assessed by or before all interest citizens;

5. gives all interested citizens a basic understanding and awareness of the community forest and informs them of decisions made and their basis;
6. increases the proportion of the citizenry genuinely interested in forest management;
7. gives all interested citizens the quality and quantity of input and involvement that they want; it therefore raises citizen's contentment and happiness with the use and management of local forests;
8. gives citizens a sense of community;
9. enhances achievement of forest sustainability in concert with resource-use and community sustainability;
10. improves and guarantees a proper balance in forest use and management between local and provincial interests;
11. assures decisions-makers have majority of citizens' support and understanding in declaring directions for the community forest;
12. monitors achievement of its objectives; for a meaningful assessment of public participation, the reality must weighted against expectations.

Though the above criteria were developed with the CFPPs in mind, they apply to any forest arrangements that require public participation.

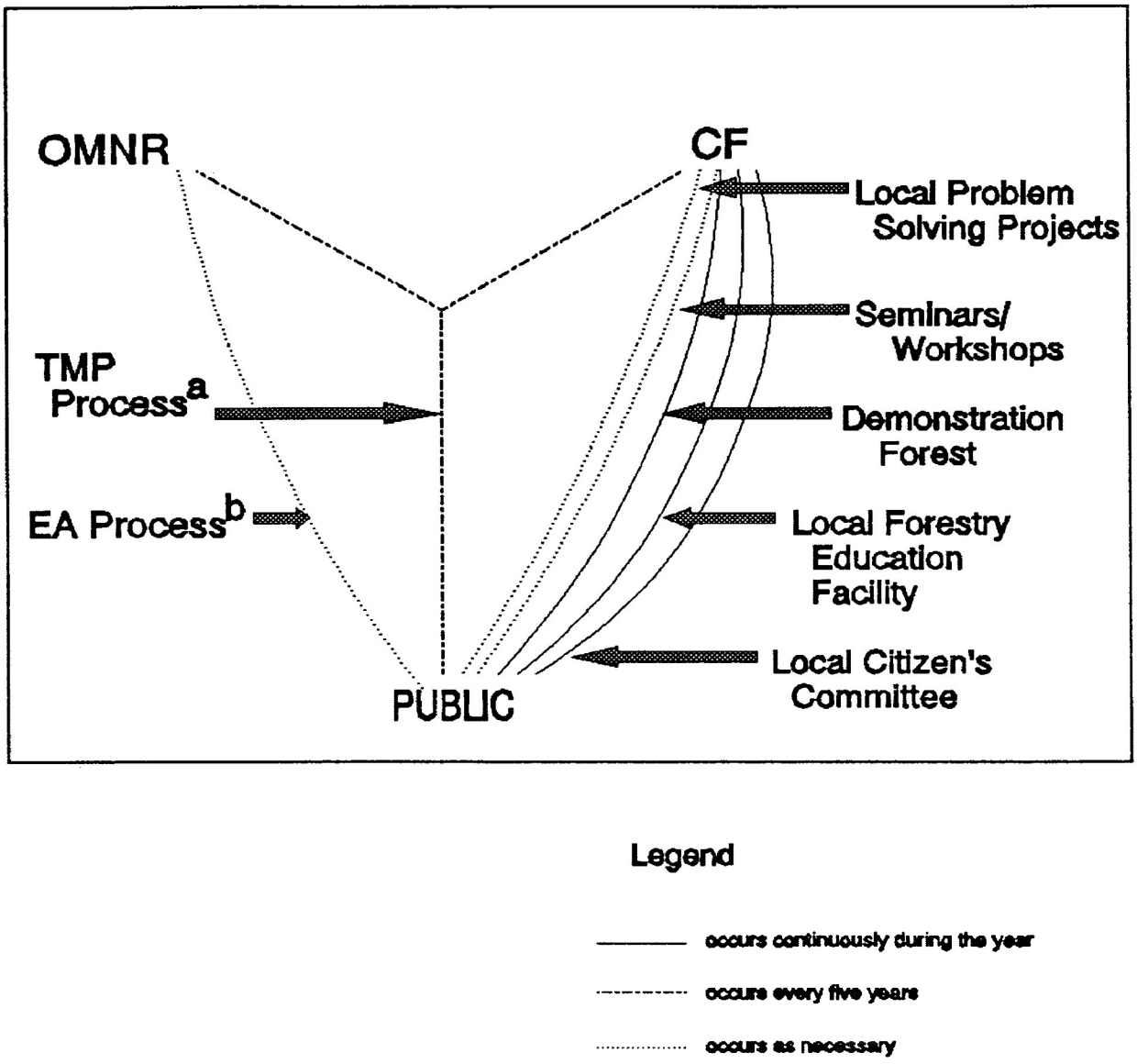


Figure 11. Public participation linkages for the community forests in an FMA-like forest management arrangement.

(a) As an FMA-holder, the community forest shares the responsibility of developing the TMP with the OMNR.

(b) Through provisions made by the CEATM, the public may require OMNR to assess the impact of forest activities on the environment.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Forest policy development and implementation involves making choices among alternatives - decision-making. The need for community and public participation in making these decisions has become increasingly important with the increase of natural resource depletion the world over. The Ontario Sustainable Forestry Program initiated CFs to provide forest communities with a means of participating in forest decision-making as well as enhancing the communities' economic development. This study has examined the strategies adopted by the CFPPs to enhance public participation.

Public participation in a community forest requires that the following be addressed:

1. Development of community forest goals and principles that are based on the community's economic and social interests.
2. Establishment of legal jurisdiction for the community to assume decision-making power specifying: land-base; tenure and ownership rights; and specific forms of cooperation with government forestry agencies.
3. Establishment of information and consultation linkages between the community forest managing body and the rest of the community.
4. Establishment of a decision-making structure that ensures joint decision-making between the managing body and the public. This includes: public participation rights and duties; public organization, mobilization, and motivation to access the participation process in place; public election of representatives to the CF organizing body; and finally, a means by which the public monitors the results of its participation.

My hypothesis was that the CFPPs facilitate improved and unique public participation in forest decision-making and that after two years of project implementation, there should be evidence of such facilitation. My observations and analysis of the CFPP decision-making structures show that the CFPPs had initiated an elaborate public participation avenue in the last two years, more than any other forest management arrangement included in the study. The CFPP public participation approach involved: decision-making through a local representative organizing body; information and consultation through endemic

communication linkages within stakeholder groups, news media, and seminars, among others; problem-solving activities such as conflict resolution seminars, re-stocking fish in popular community fishing lakes, and volunteer tree planting on CF earmarked landbase, and others.

Though the CFPPs are a unique forest management arrangement in view of these achievements, as well as being the first Ontario forest management arrangements to have public participation as a major goal, effective participation was hindered by two major factors: (a) public was not involved in all stages of project development, thus contributing to the observed lack of public motivation to participate in the CF activities; and (b) the projects lacked legal jurisdiction to make decisions on an economically viable land base. I therefore revise my hypothesis to read: The CFPPs of Northern Ontario have initiated activities oriented towards improving public participation in forest management decision-making more than other contemporary forest management arrangements in Ontario.

ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED

The following issues have to be addressed so as to enhance public participation in the projects:

Public Participation in the CFPPs Decision-Making Process

The CFPPs goal to increase public participation opportunities in forest management decision-making needs to be revisited with respect to two aspects: cost-effectiveness and project development process. CFs in developing countries are community self-help tree planting efforts to meet basic local needs. CFs in developed countries (e.g. in Canada, the North Cowichan Municipal Forest (NCMF), Mission Tree Farm License (MTFL), the CFPPs etc.) involve the delegation/sharing of forest management authority to/between a community by/and the institution bearing the decision-making jurisdiction for an existing forest. Public participation is crucial to the success of labour intensive CF efforts of developing countries, but not necessary so for the capital intensive CFs of developed countries.

Garnering public participation in development projects is an added administrative cost. Ideally, the initiation of such projects is justified when the expected net benefits exceed the expected cost of execution. The people that I interviewed at the CFPP communities required that first the CFPP should be cost-effective so as not to increase the tax payers burden and second that the CFPP should not increase the level of bureaucracy in forest management decision-making. The CFPP therefore need to further explore: (a) the advantages of having the established CFPPs municipalities manage the CFs as opposed to setting up new

administrative structures, (b) the advantages of adopting and/or improving on the endemic public participation in forest management decision-making infrastructures, such as, the Timber Management Plan (TMP) and Environmental Assessment (EA) processes, Advisory Committees, etc., as opposed to setting up new communication infrastructures.

The CFPPs experienced a problem of poor public turnout and contribution during public participation activities. Interviewees commonly linked this problem to the public's lack of understanding on the community forests concept because they were not involved in all stages of project development. In developing countries, Cernea (1993) attributed the failure of donor initiated CFs to similar reasons. In both developing and developed countries the above problems can be avoided in future forestry projects that require public participation by initially involving the public during project formulation and goal setting rather than soliciting public input during the drafting of the implementation plan or worse during project implementation.

Decision-making Jurisdiction

The CFPP goal to enhance community participation in decision-making, as opposed simply to consultation, requires that a suitable tenurial arrangement be

established between the CFs and Province of Ontario. Though the CFPPs have an earmarked landbase, the projects lack tenurial rights to perform any major forest management undertakings. It is not uncommon for pilot projects to lack tenure rights; however, this situation at the CFPPs raised public doubt and speculation about the CFs' future status beyond the pilot stage, thereby hindering considerable public support for the projects. Tenure and ownership rights must also indicate the CF's bargaining power in relation to the OMNR.

Landbase

Interviewees at each of the three CFs considered their community forest to have landbase problems that prevented the forests from being economically sustainable, let alone being a means of enhancing community development.

GCF's landbase has little harvestable timber and will therefore require many years of government funding before it can become economically self-sustaining. Interviewees felt that even with government funding and intensive forest management activities, GCF's landbase was still too small to achieve economies of scale.

6/70 CF landbase problems are related to timber accessibility and provision of recreational facilities. Though the 6/70 CF has a fair amount of harvestable timber, the timber is not easily accessible and would be uneconomical to harvest. Secondly, the 6/70 landbase has few recreational opportunities to offer a community that is highly dependant on the forest for recreation.

At both GCF and 6/70, interviewees were concerned that the CF projects would further raise the already high community tax burden if landbase issues were not addressed before project graduation from the pilot stage - a situation that would deter public support.

ELCF presented a more complex problem of land ownership. Because the ELCF's earmarked landbase has been (and continues to be) entangled in an ownership debate between the Crown and the TAA for over a century, interviewees were anxious about how the ELCF would get jurisdiction and how long it would take for the CF to become operational.

Interviewees at the three projects believed that the above-mentioned public doubt about the CFPP's economic sustainability had considerably interfered with public support and participation in the projects' activities. In order that a project motivates public support and participation, the public must be convinced that the project is both feasible and sustainable. Only when there is legally based

jurisdiction for decision-making for an economically viable landbase can the CFs be in a genuine position to grant their communities strong opportunity to participate in forest decision-making.

Political Efficacy

The three community forests are located in communities that have a low sense of political efficacy manifested in interviewees' apathetic and fatalistic attitudes toward changes initiated by the government forestry agencies. Apathy and fatalism are entrenched social characteristics that present a serious hindrance to public participation in any given community action (Edwards and Jones, 1986). Though it will take more than the CFs to change the communities' political culture, the community forest challenge is to maintain a decision-making structure that enhances trust between itself and the public by seriously taking into account the public's contribution. Gaining public trust that the project's motive is to enhance public participation and community development will garner continued public support. Each CF needs to develop a decision-making process that clearly indicates how the public can monitor and evaluate the results of participation.

FURTHER RESEARCH

I recommend that first further research be carried out using social science research methods, such as, triangulation to confirm the results of this thesis. Such research will be particularly useful in getting a representative sample of public concerns regarding the community forests concept. Second, there is a need to ascertain the role forest communities are willing and are practically able to play in forest management decision-making before a community forest strategy for Ontario is reached.

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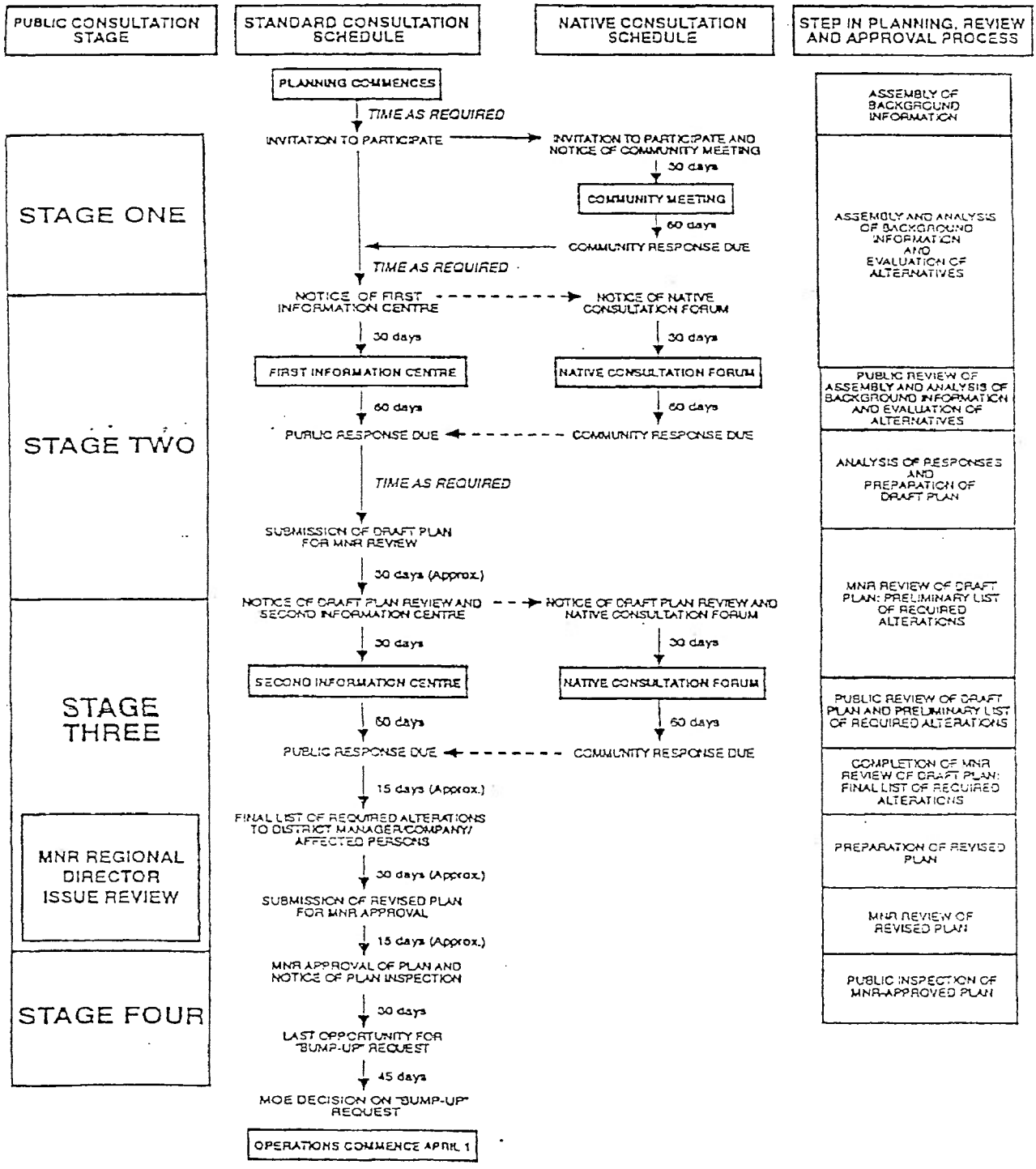
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE TIMBER MANAGEMENT PLANNING PROCESS

(Source: Environmental Assessment Board. 1994. Reasons for Decision and Decision: Class Environmental Assessment by the Ministry of Natural Resources for Timber Management on Crown Lands in Ontario. Environmental Assessment Board, Toronto , Ontario. 561pp.)

SCHEDULE: TIMBER MANAGEMENT PLAN PRODUCTION, REVIEW AND APPROVAL



APPENDIX II

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE NOVEMBER 1993 INTERVIEWS AT THE CFPP

Questionnaire for the CFPP organisers

1. What public information/participation activities have you been involved with?

2. Comment on the public attendance to these CF activities (Numbers where possible)

3. Comment on the public enthusiasm and contribution at these activities

4. How much informed would you say the public in your community is about your CF pilot project?

5. What has been the greatest challenge in getting the public informed about CF?

6. What do you consider to be the most effective public information and involvement program(s) that have been carried out by your CF?

7. What other methods do you think would be successful?

8. How would you describe the publics reaction to CF?

9. Does the public have concerns regarding their effectiveness/impact in making CF decisions?

10. Do you think community forestry as is has the capacity to enhance opportunities for local participative management in forestry?

11. Where possible give your views on how the following issues affect local participative management in forestry:

    (a) Resources available to CF?
    (b) Authority given to the CF committee by OMNR?
    (c) Community cohesiveness?
    (d) Community moral and spirit?
    (e) Present forest management guidelines?

16. From your experience with CF so far what issues do you feel will make or break CF ?

17. From your experience with CF so far what issues do you think need to be readdressed for CF to succeed?

Questions for Members of the CFPP Communities

1. Have you heard about CF?

2. How did you hear about it?

3. Have been actively involved in CF activities? If not would you want to be and in what ways?

4. What is your reaction to CF activities you attended.

5. Are you excited about the prospects of CF? Why?

6. What are CFs advantages?

7. What are CFs disadvantages?

8. Generally how well informed and interested is the community in CF?

9. What advice do you have for CF organizers about their public information and participation programs?

10. How would you characterize the community in terms of cohesiveness, community spirit and morale?

11. What special problems or opportunities are there for CF to address in your community?

12. What attributes of CF do you think will keep the community interested in CF?

13. Do you consider the structure of CF management (representativeness of committee) to be an important issue for CF success? Why?

14. Do you consider public involvement in CF decision-making to be a prerequisite to the CF's success?

15. Do you consider CF's economic viability and self-sustainability to be an issue of importance to CF success?

16. Do you consider CF land tenure to be an important issue for CF to success?

17. What level of authority (total, partnership, delegated) should OMNR grant the CF? Why?

APPENDIX III

LOCATION OF GERALDTON, 6/70 AND ELK LAKE COMMUNITY FORESTS IN ONTARIO


HUDSON BAY
MANITOBA
James Bay
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
Moose R.
Lake Nipigon
GERALDTON
KAPUSKASING
Cochrane
THUNDER BAY
U.S.A.
Kirkland Lake
LAKE SUPERIOR
ELK LAKE
Sudbury
North
Georgian Bay
LAKE HURON
LAKE MICHIGAN
Toronto
LAKE ONTARIO
U.S.A.
LAKE ERIE
Miles
0 100 200
0 100 200 300
Kilometres

APPENDIX IV

COMMON AND LATIN NAMES FOR GENERA AND SPECIES NAMED IN TEXT

Common Name	Latin Name
Spruce	*Picea* spp.
Pine	*Pinus* spp.
Fir	*Abies* spp.
Aspen	*Populus* spp.
Birch	*Betula* spp.
Jack Pine	*Pinus banksiana* Lamb.
Balsam Fir	*Abies balsamea* (L.) Mill.
White Birch	*Betula papyrifera* Marsh.
Moose	*Alces alces* L.
Black Bear	*Ursus americanus* Pallas
Beaver	*Castor canadensis* Kuhl
Wolf	*Canis lupus* L.

APPENDIX V

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES AT THE CFPP

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM CFPP ORGANIZERS

Geraldton, 7 respondents
Kapuskasing, 6 respondents
Elk lake, 6 respondents

1. Public attendance to Community Forest activities

Geraldton (2 respondents)
*Generally there was poor attendance at activities with an average of 12-15 people.
*The public review meeting (Workshop) had the best turnout of about 40-50 people.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)
*There was poor turnout to most CF activities.

Elk lake (6 respondents)
*There has been good public attendance at most CF activities.

2. Public enthusiasm at the CF activities

Geraldton (1 respondent)
*There was a lot of interest and participation at the Public Information Centre (PIC) conducted as a workshop.

Kapuskasing (3 respondents)
*Those who attended CF activities were enthusiastic.

Elk Lake (3 respondents)
*One person felt that there was good public input at the PIC.
*Two people (the consultants) felt there was little public input at the PIC.
*There was enthusiasm at the sportsmen's show and the Purple Loosestrife seminar.

3. How well informed is the public on CF?

Geraldton (6 respondents)

*All the respondents agreed that there is a general awareness of the CF project at Geraldton. There is little awareness in the other towns of the CF, i.e. Nakina and Longlac.

*Two people gave 40-50% as the population percentage at Geraldton that knows the project exists.

Kapuskasing (4 respondents)

*All respondents agreed that all the six communities are not well informed about the project.

Elk Lake (4 respondents) with a mixed response

*People have had an opportunity to hear about CF in the town of James but not so in the other towns, i.e. Gowganda and Matachewan.

*The percentage of the population in the town of James that knows the project exists was given as 25, 50, and 70%.

4. What are the challenges of informing the public about CF?

Geraldton (5 respondents)

*To get a laid-back community to be interested in any project or community activity.

*To make the project tangible in the eyes of the public. This would generate their interest and involvement.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)

*The fact that there are no big land issues in the area makes it difficult for CF to impress people on what it aims to achieve.

*The management has not focused or put enough effort in informing the people about the project.

*Getting people to understand the CF project as being different from the 6/70 Area Economic Committee.

*Communicating in French.

Elk Lake (4 respondents)

*Since CF is in its formative stage, it is difficult to tell people for sure what it can/will do for them as individuals as well as for the whole community.

5. What has been the most successful public information and participation activity?

Geraldton (2 respondents)

*The Public Review meeting was the most successful both in turnout and level of public participation. This success is attributed to the fact that many participants were personally invited. During the meeting participants were split into small groups. This improved their participation level because people felt less intimidated. 19 participants responded to the public invitation.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)

*The walleye seminar and the sportsmen's show were the most successful.

Elk Lake (5 respondents)

There was no agreement on the most successful event. The following were mentioned to be most successful:

*The tree planting exercise.
*The few job opportunities the CF has offered to community people.
*The PIC and other meetings, e.g., the seminars.

6. Suggested methods of increasing public involvement

Geraldton (3 respondents)

*Continuous articles and updates through the mass media.
*Creation of job opportunities.
*A demonstration forest within the vicinity of the community.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)

*Regular CF feature in the mass media.
*Involving schools.

Elk Lake (6 respondents)

*A demonstration forest.
*Hiring a public relations person to develop a communication network.

7. What is the public's reaction to CF?

Geraldton (4 respondents)

*Initially there was suspicion about the CF motives' especially by people who work in the forest for forest companies. However, the creation of a few jobs and training opportunities has enhanced the CF

image, and created awareness and popularity with some people who are interested in forest jobs.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)

*Generally people do not yet know what the project really is and therefore it is not possible to say what their reaction is.

Elk Lake (6 respondents)

*One person felt it is not possible to say how people have responded to CF because people are not sure what CF can or will became, i.e., it is too early to say.

*Two people mentioned that there has been a negative response to CF at one time or other by people who view it as an advisory committee to OMNR. Others feels it will just duplicate OMNR's work with no real difference in the way they both function.

*Two people felt that there has been good response from the public because of the jobs CF has created. Some hope that CF will be an easy source of forest resource use information.

*There is some apathy towards the project due it's long-term nature before results can be felt.

8. Does the public have concerns regarding their effectiveness/impact in making CF decisions?

Geraldton (No respondents)

*Lack of a response could have been due to wording of the sentence. The most probable reason, however, could be that the respondents are not sure of how the public will participate in decision-making and therefore chose not to debate the issue. The public was not adequately involved in drafting the implementation plan.

Kapuskasing (5 respondents)

*Since the public is not aware that it is supposed to make decisions in CF, it is not possible to say whether the public has any concerns in this matter.

Elk Lake (3 respondents)

*CF has to prove that it needs the public's involvement in the decision-making process.

9. Do you think community forestry as is has the capacity to enhance opportunities for local participative management in forestry?

Geraldton (1 respondent)

*It has the opportunity of enhancing forest management and the environment. This will be achieved by creating environmental awareness and a hands-on exposure to better management options.

Kapuskasing (5 respondents)

*It will have the opportunity to enhance local participation when it manages to involve the public in decision-making.
*It can help coordinate resource use in the Kapuskasing area since there is no organization that plays that role.

Elk Lake (6 respondents)

*The CF has opportunity to enhance participative forestry if it can sensitise the public on forest resource issues. This way the public can make educated decisions. However, the first step is to improve public participation methods.

*The CF is limited in meeting the goal of participative management because it has no authority in its pilot stage. This makes people shy away from being too involved because the project is shrouded by uncertainty.

10. How do you feel about the resources available to CF currently? How they might affect opportunities for local participative management of the forest?

Geraldton (2 respondents)

*So far, funding and manpower in the CF have not hindered public participation opportunities.

Kapuskasing (4 respondents)

*Two people felt there is enough money at the moment to enable public involvement.
*One person felt there was not enough money especially to be put into the development of small projects.
*Two doubted the current board's capabilities.
*One felt that the board was doing very well.
*Three felt there was lack of commitment by most board members.

Elk Lake (4 respondents)
*All respondents agreed that funds are not a problem.

11. How do you feel about the authority given to the committee? How might it affect opportunities for local participative management of the forest?

Geraldton (No respondent)

Kapuskasing (5 respondents)
*The board does not have authority but since the project is in the learning curve, it is better this way. The board should prove that it can use authority well by using what it has before being given full authority.

Elk Lake (6 respondents)
*Two people felt that CF has no authority. This deters concrete planning for CF and fogs the role of the committee.
*One person felt that CF has authority.
*Other sentiments that were expressed are that CF should not be an advisory committee to OMNR, it should bear some authority. However it should not totally divorce itself from OMNR. OMNR should continue to handle the silvicultural practices in the CF units.

12. What is the community's cohesiveness? How might it affect opportunity for local participative management of the forest?

Geraldton (No respondents)

Kapuskasing (5 respondents)
*Most respondents agree that no cohesiveness has been shown for CF by the six communities so far.

Elk Lake (3 respondents)
*Town of James and Matachewan are cohesive while Gowganda is split by differences of interest.

13. What is the community morale and spirit? How might it affect opportunity for local participative management of the forest?

Geraldton (1 respondent)
*There is apathy towards everything.

*The few jobs CF has created have enhanced spirit for CF by some people.

Kapuskasing (5 respondents)
*Most respondents agreed that community morale and spirit have not been developed for the CF in the six municipalities.

Elk Lake (3 respondents)
*All respondents felt that majority of people have high morale in town of James.

14. How do you feel the current forest management guidelines will affect the opportunity for local participative management of the forest?

Geraldton (1 respondent)

*The fact that CF has to operate under the same guidelines as any other forest operation has been a problem. This is a problem because CF is a pilot project trying to do things differently.

Kapuskasing (4 respondents)
*Currently the guidelines do not interfere with the running of the project.
*Guidelines are not explicit enough and therefore leave alot of room for conflict between OMNR and the public as well as between different stakeholders.

Elk Lake (2 respondents)
*One person felt there are too many restrictions on public's use of forest resources. (The answer does not say how this can affect the public's role in participative management). The other respondent was not sure of the question.

15. What issues will break or make CF from experiences so far?

Geraldton (5 respondents)
*The project must resolve and convince people that it can be economically self-sustaining.
*Even after the first five years of the pilot project, the government will have to continue funding the project until the project figures how it will sustain itself.
*Land tenure must be resolved. It depends on patent mine owners and Kimberly Clark.

*The project must become tangible to the community by creating job opportunities and having a demonstration forest.
*The project should be incorporated so that elections can be held. That way the elected members will be accountable to the public.

Kapuskasing (6 respondents)
*It must generate revenue to support itself.
*It must get people to know more about it.
*The board must function as a united body. The role and success of the board in playing its role will influence the projects success.
*By getting support of all the six communities and getting them united towards CF.
*If it can address and promote recreation activities for the community.

Elk Lake (5 respondents)
*The project must acquire some delegated authority to enable it to generate revenue to sustain itself.
*First Nations support is necessary for success of the project.

16. What issues do you think should be reconsidered for CF to succeed?

Geraldton (2 respondents)
*Project sustainability will need to be reconsidered. It was proposed that through intensive management the project would sustain itself. This seems impossible given its land base and state of the forest.
*Resolving the uncertainties about the project's funding, land tenure and continuity will help remove superficiality from the project. As it is, the project is regarded to be a high risk venture and as such, few people would be willing to invest their time and money in it.

Kapuskasing (4 respondents)
*Acquiring a land base that has the capacity to generate revenue to support the project.
*Acquiring a land base with clear boundaries and jurisdiction.
*Resolving the role and authority of the board so that it has a clear mandate.
*The implementation plan should have addressed the means of public information more clearly.

*The implementation plan should have given great emphasis on how access roads would be developed in the region since roads are the hottest issue.

Elk Lake (3 respondents)
*Two people felt it is too early to respond to this question.
*The jurisdiction on CF land should have been sorted out prior to the launching of the project.

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES FROM COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Geraldton, 5 respondents
Kapuskasing, 6 respondents
Elk Lake, 5 respondents

1. How they heard about Community Forestry in respective area

Geraldton
*Newspaper and officially through employers, and through contact with CF organisers.

Kapuskasing
*Five people through OMNR related activities.
*One person through contact with CF organisers.

Elk Lake
*News media and direct contact with CF organisers.

2. Their attendance of CF activities

Geraldton
*Two had not attended any CF organised activities.
*Three had attended at least one CF organised activity.

Kapuskasing
*Five had not attended any CF organised activities.
*One had attended.

Elk Lake
*One had not attended any CF organised activity.
*Four had attended at least one CF organised activity.

3. Their reaction to CF activities that they attended

Geraldton

*Meetings were well advertised, organised and presented and were interesting.
*There was poor public attendance and little public input to CF activities.
*Most of those who attended did so in their official capacity or were there in the interest of the OMNR.
*Workshop set-up was most successful in generating public involvement.

Kapuskasing

*Poor public attendance in terms of numbers.
*Those who turned up were enthusiastic and interested in activity.

Elk Lake

*Meetings were informative but there was little public input.

4. Their reaction to the concept of CF and its prospects in their community

Geraldton

*Two people felt that the concept was good on condition that it increased job opportunities.
*Two people were not excited about CF because they had strong doubts on their CF's economic viability.

Kapuskasing

*Three people were excited about the concept with the hope that it will improve people's knowledge on natural resources as well as give them more say in natural resource management.
*Two people had mixed feelings because they feared that CF would alter the role of OMNR, and carry out the ideas of a few vocal people.

Elk Lake

*Generally all interviewees had a positive reaction to CF on condition that it will truly give people a chance to make natural resource decisions.

5. Advantages that they expect from having a CF

Geraldton

*Four people did not address the question.
*One person's view was for CF to develop small forest businesses that have been ignored by the big companies.

Kapuskasing

*Main theme was that CF will improve natural resource management, give people a chance to decide how they want to use forest resources, especially for recreation.

Elk Lake

*The theme of the answers was based on CF giving people more say in natural resource issues.

6. Disadvantages of having a CF or the current CF project

Geraldton

*Four people did not address the question.
*One person doubted whether CF will be able to carry out big operations given its small land base. If it doesn't carry out big operations, how will it sustain itself?

Kapuskasing

*Since it is a new project there is uncertainty on whether it will function better or worse than the OMNR, and also whether it will only end up overlapping with OMNR's work.
*Since it is a new process, the committee's lack of experience may contribute to its failure.
*It may increase the level of bureaucracy and therefore delay the process of decision-making.

Elk Lake

*CF may increase the taxpayers' burden.
*Due to its current set-up, it may favour some people or interests depending on who sits on the committee.
*It may fail to make any noticeable or favourable impact on forest resource use given its current restrictions.

7. Their impression on level of public information and interest in CF

Geraldton

*Every one has had the opportunity to hear about the project.
*Though many people have heard the term CF, the reaction and level of interest varies. Some feel that it is not a publics project. Others see no possible individual gains from the project.

Kapuskasing

*Four people felt that CF is not well known and that even the few who have heard of it do not know its nuts and bolts.
*Two people felt that though people have been given the opportunity to hear about it, it is only the core group of people directly involved that are interested in it.

Elk Lake

*All the respondents from the town of James felt that people are well informed.
*All the respondents who do not live in the town of James felt that people are not well informed about CF.

8. How can the level of awareness be improved

Geraldton

*Regular updates through the newspaper.

Kapuskasing

*Persistence in informing the public through the mass media.
*More public activities.
*Involve all the municipalities.

Elk Lake

*Regular updates in the newspaper and more public meetings.

9. Nature of the community

Geraldton

*There is a general state of apathy for most activities because the town is laid back.

*To get a project going through public involvement, the project must have evolved from the people. For example, this was the case in the town's hospital extension but not so for the CF.

Kapuskasing

*There is unity when there is an issue threatening the whole community, e.g., this was demonstrated when the community bought the Spruce Falls mill, thus saving it from closure. This saved many people's jobs and the town's livelihood.

Elk Lake

*The town of James has great community spirit.
*There are differences of interest in Gowganda and Matachewan.

10. Prospective issues that CF can help address in the respective regions

Geraldton

*Creation of jobs.
*Promotion of small business enterprises.
*Promotion of tourism and winter sports.
*Improve First Nations and Non First Nations co-existence.
*Tap First Nations knowledge on natural resource use.

Kapuskasing

*Improve tourism and recreational opportunities.
*Be a stepping stone to OMNR.
*Job creation.

Elk Lake

*Promote and protect small business, e.g., the tourism interest.
*Localize natural resource decision-making, e.g, localize the TMP planning.

11. How can CF hold the public's interest

Geraldton

*If it can do things differently so as to have a positive economic impact on the community.
*If it can improve community morale.

Kapuskasing

*Improving recreation facilities and opportunities for the whole community.

*Creation of small projects.
*Develop and maintain good communication with the public to let people know CF's success.

Elk Lake
*Creation of jobs.
*Taking care of all user-group interests.
*Keeping people informed.

12. Some comments on self-sustainability and economic viability of CF

Geraldton
*CF should be self-sustainable and not an extra burden to taxpayers.
*Two people related CF's acceptability to how well it can be economically self-sustaining.

Kapuskasing
*Generally the issue of where the money will come from did sound to be of the interviewees' concern.
*Two people expressed the view that CF should support itself by getting stumpage on wood harvested in the CF area.
*The CF's success was linked more to the performance of the committee as well as to continuous public involvement.

Elk Lake
*Generally CF can sustain itself on the current land base if it can get the authority to do so.
*CF should not increase taxpayers burden.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Geraldton
*All interviewees are employed by private business, corporations or government.
*Generally people have heard about CF in Geraldton.
*The communities' laid back nature is a strong deterrent to CF's success.
*For a project to succeed and have people's hearts in it, it must have an impact on their day-to-day lives and improve the welfare of the community at large.

Kapuskasing

*Four of the interviewees were presidents of local associations (three for cottaging interest and one snow-roving interest); two have been involved with OMNR.
*Five out of six of the interviewees had not attended any CF activity.

Elk Lake

*Four of the interviewees are businessmen in the tourism industry, while one is a school principal.
*The interviewees were well-informed and opinionated on the prospects of CF.
*The CF's role is seen as giving the public more say on how forest resources are utilized by the local people.