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MODIFYING THE IMPACT OF RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT:
EXTERNALITIES AND PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN PARKS CANADA

by

Robert B. Gougeon

August, 1985

A thesis presented to the School of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Geography



Robert B. Gougeon, Ottawa, Canada, 1986

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ABSTRACT

The concept of externalities generated by public facilities and the practice of public involvement, a means of addressing these externalities, are examined and subsequently described in light of Parks Canada's experience. It is assumed that effective public involvement translates into effective handling of externalities. It is proposed, based on Parks Canada's institutionalized public involvement in its planning framework for national parks and on several specific park planning cases, in particular that for the Management Plan of Batoche National Historic Site, that Parks Canada is addressing externalities fairly effectively.

RÉSUMÉ

Le concept des facteurs externes engendrés par les installations publiques et la participation publique, de même qu'un moyen de les traiter, sont examinés et décrits en fonction des activités de Parcs Canada. On part du principe que la participation efficace du public se traduit par une intégration efficace des facteurs externes. On conclut, en se fondant sur les activités de participation publique organisées par Parcs Canada dans le cadre de la planification des parcs nationaux et sur l'examen de plusieurs cas précis, surtout le plan de gestion du lieu historique national de Batoche, que Parcs Canada traite les facteurs externes de façon assez efficace.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Public facilities produce spill-over effects on third parties or non-consumers of facilities. These spill-over effects are called externalities and arise when a contract between two parties has some effect on a third party that is excluded from a decision-determining role in the group whose consent is necessary for the transaction to occur. Agency institutionalized public involvement offers a means of addressing externalities in decision-making.

This thesis describes a public agency's efforts, namely those of Parks Canada, to incorporate through institutionalized public involvement, externality considerations in its decision-making and consequently its planning relative to the establishment and operations of its primary public facilities, namely national parks and set of public facilities, namely its system of national parks.

The principal contract causing externalities is Parks Canada's delivery of its mandate to protect significant examples of Canada's cultural and natural heritage for all times and to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this heritage. This mandate is achieved for the most part by the establishment and operation of a system of national parks of cultural and natural themes. The locational dimension of the delivery of Parks Canada's dual and often contradictory mandate produces a wide range of spill-over effects on a wide range of non-consumers that by definition incorporates the global biosphere.

Chapter 2 of the thesis reviews public facility location literature which develops the nebulous concept of externalities and which proposes

public involvement as a means to address externalities and its inherent locational conflict in decision-making. Chapter 3 reviews mainstream public involvement literature and focuses on the public involvement theory, processes and practice. Chapter 4 introduces Parks Canada the agency and its institutionalized public involvement framework supported by a brief description of several public involvement cases related to the establishment, planning and operations of national parks. Chapter 5 provides an in-depth description of a specific public involvement program, namely that conducted for the development of the Batoche National Historic Site management plan which is a long-term blueprint for the development and operations of a national park. Chapter 6 summarized the thesis by reviewing key findings.

The thesis proposes that effective public involvement in an agency's planning and decision-making translates into effective handling of externalities. It is concluded, based on Parks Canada's institutionalized public involvement in its planning and decision-making framework for national parks and on several case studies in park planning, in particular the case involving the planning of Batoche National Historic Site, that Parks Canada's public involvement is fairly effective. It is inferred therefore, that Parks Canada is addressing externalities fairly effectively.

It is hoped that by reinforcing and pursuing the public involvement dimensions of public facility location theory that a better understanding of decision-making regarding public facilities will be generated consequently resulting in better decision-making in an area that generates numerous spill-over effects, sometimes dramatic, on individuals who are not the principal consumers of the facilities.

2. PUBLIC FACILITY LOCATION ANALYSIS AND EXTERNALITIES:

THE NEED FOR PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Emergence of Public Facility Location Theory

The separate treatment of public facility location theory from private facility location theory formally came to age with Teitz (1968). Teitz recognized as a consequence of the public dimension, that public facility location theory should not only be concerned with locational efficiency but also with the distributive impacts of the facility system and the influence of the political dimension on public decisions. Teitz uses a simple static model aimed at consumption-maximization of a zero-priced good supplied from a given spatial distribution of service facilities. His objective was both to map out the terrain for further study and to respond to the peculiar demands of a theory dealing with public systems. Teitz concedes that his model does not consider political variables, and that he is more concerned with an efficiency approach although the former plays a very important role.

Teitz's paper provided a great deal of stimulus for subsequent research. It included an attempt to improve Teitz's model by making the construct a more tractable mathematical programming framework. This modelling improvement allowed for the inclusion of a more specific incorporation of the location variable, a wider range of social welfare surrogates as objective functions and the addition of a hierarchical organization in the facility set. Examples of the development of this approach are: Rojeski and ReVelle (1970), ReVelle and Swain (1970),

Austin et al. (1970), ReVelle et al. (1970), Calvo and Marks (1973), McGrew and Monroe (1975), Wagner and Falkson (1975), and Papageorgiou (1978). For example, in the case of high-level noxious facilities such as high-level nuclear waste facilities, models were developed based on physical location criteria such as seismic stability, hydrological variability, geological composition of soils and isolation from urban centres (Ford et al., 1979; Cohon et al., 1979; Keeney, 1980).

Dear (1978) generalizes that although many of these authors were aware of the political aspects of public decisions, their analytical formulations almost entirely focused upon the substantive aspects of the location problem, which is mainly concerned with the characteristics of demand and supply in the provision of public goods and facilities. These writings seemed to be an adaptation or offshoot of a locational model approach coined location-allocation systems/problems that surfaced in the early 1960's. It involved the applied and operational aspects of the pure location theory, which is mostly private sector oriented and dealt with location-allocation problems in mathematical form with computer solution. Lea (1973) claims that the literature on this combinatorial problem resulted in much of the research being directed toward devising new or slightly variant computational schemes of algorithms and has led to a large and increasing number of articles solely applying old techniques to new problems.

Conflict Strategies and Externalities

In reaction to the programming approaches, a more comprehensive approach to public facility location also surfaced in the early 1970's

with the introduction of such factors as locational conflict and conflict strategies, both usually responding to externalities created by the facility.

Much of the literature on urban conflict and public facility location conflict claim that most, if not all of the conflict caused by the NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard) syndrome is generated by externalities (Pushchak and Burton, 1983; Farkas, 1981; O'Hare, 1977). The term is dealt with loosely as being synonymous with spillover effects, neighbourhood effects, third party effects, free-rider costs and benefits, unanticipated effects and most broadly speaking as indirect costs. Externalities arise when a contract between two persons will have some effect on a third person. An externality will exist whenever at least one person who is affected by a transaction is excluded from a decision-determining role in the group whose consent is necessary for the transaction to occur. An externality may be an "actual physical cost or benefit" of a facility but applied to a third party who is not a consumer of the good or service. In general, there are two groups of externalities: negative externalities usually associated with noxious or controversial facilities and positive externalities, often associated with salutary or non-noxious facilities. In most cases, both kinds of externalities occur with either type of facility, and one kind of externality usually outweighs the other.

Aside from paradigms derived from distinctly Marxist tradition of class struggles (Harvey, 1973; Harvey, 1978; Newton, 1978), much of the literature tackles the problem by looking at externalities and conflict in terms of conflict strategies. Conflict strategies involve strategies

of decision-makers and that of the "opposition", be it negative or supportive.

In a follow-up article to Austin, Smith and Wolpert (1970), Mumphrey, Seley and Wolpert (1971) introduce the concept of facility package which implies that the measurement of the total cost of locating a controversial public facility should not only include minimal physical cost but opposition cost. Opposition cost in turn should be the sum of short-run political placation cost, which usually responds to powerful group opposition, and long-run welfare distribution cost, which accounts for possible future opposition of the most impacted groups to similar projects. The welfare distribution concept implies that the process should ignore existing power bases and should grant the most powers to those most disadvantaged, most impacted by negative externalities resulting from the locational decision. The basis of the argument is that traditional least-cost solutions to the problem of locating public facilities with significant spatial externalities tend to be costly in the long run when decision-makers fail to anticipate opposition and look beyond immediate power struggles and the predictable results of their present actions. The authors admit that they do not present a fully operational model as it would require resolution of difficult conceptual and measurement problems which unfortunately they do not identify or describe.

A critical point raised in this literature is the identification of the groups to be placated by decision-makers. Concessions to whom is the problem raised by Austin, Smith and Wolpert (1970), Mumphrey, Seley and Wolpert (1971) and Wolpert, Mumphrey and Seley (1972). Are the

neighborhood or outsider power groups (usually commercial) to be placated in the short run or are the most impacted, usually low-income groups to be placated in the long-run? Identification with supporters of a project, such as business interest groups who claim representation of a community, can also be an attractive strategy to decision-makers.

Seley and Wolpert (1974) illustrate a successful application of purposeful ambiguity by decision-makers for the construction of an interstate highway through a mostly black residential and commercial neighbourhood of Nashville, Tennessee. Strategies of applying misinformation, vagueness, secrecy and unfounded promises succeeded to a point that community opposition never had a real chance to make a dent in the project. A gaming construct is inherent in such strategies since the use of purposeful ambiguity is determined by the ability of the impacted group(s) to act and by the resources of the decision-makers. Those resources are formidable and should not be discounted in conflicts. Publicity (propaganda), time, goodwill, expertise, tactics of co-opting community leaders are some of the many resources available to decision-makers.

Because of the conflict that can be generated by externalities it is generalized that decision-makers locate public facilities in areas of least resistance. Pushchak and Burton (1983, p. 69) describe the process in the case of low-level nuclear waste facilities as follows:

"The conventional process usually produces a set of candidate sites using technical siting criteria with one site selected by formal or informal siting methods (benefit-cost analysis is the formal method usually employed). The chosen site is moved through the political process by log-rolling - the trading of political decisions; by consensus formation - with political factions shifting support between candidate sites until consensus is established; or by coercion - the preemptive

siting of facilities as an exercise of central political power.⁶ In Canada, compensation has been paid only after a facility has been built, and then only to those who have shown specific and material damages and have met other eligibility conditions...throughout the siting process decision-makers attempt to endure the opposition that has been generated."

The victims of these locational costs are usually and likely from low-income neighbourhoods with low levels of participation or political acuity. Wolpert (1976) argues that in the multiple site case, a regressive, inequitable siting occurs, resulting in a clustering of multiple facilities in one location. In order to avoid or reduce conflict, a location is chosen where populations are less able, economically, or politically, to oppose it.

In the cases of salutary facilities, the locational problem for decision-makers becomes one of denying competing sites rather than finding areas of least resistance (Reynolds and Honey, 1970).

In the late 70's, Michael Dear and co-authors approach with renewed determination the comprehensive model of public facility location. Starting in 1977, their articles focus on locational conflict resulting from externalities (Dear, 1977a,b,c; Dear, Fincher and Currie, 1977; Dear and Long, 1978; Dear, Taylor and Hall, 1980).

Dear (1978) strongly argues in the comprehensive model tradition that the procedural component of public location (political and administrative procedures) must be taken into account by decision-makers who, according to Dear, tend to only look at substantive components (optimal cost arrived at by supply and demand). Community opposition to a set of facilities or a facility itself, because of its externality producing activities, can force deletion of certain facilities from a set, thus producing a serious distortion in the optimal spatial pattern or produce modifications to the facility. Opposition takes on the form

of an indirect, unanticipated externality-induced outcome. Dear identifies three different kinds of strategies: those of the decision-makers to avoid conflict; those used by the impacted groups during a conflict, and the ensuing reactive strategies of decision-makers.

Examples presented of decision-makers' strategies are: a low profile approach aimed at coercing the community into resignation; the fly-by-night strategy; and the risk aversion path of least resistance where concessions are made.

According to Dear (1978), the low profile approach of educating or coercing a community can take on the form of government initiated formal participation where citizen participation is institutionalized in the planning process. The approach can easily be strongly biased toward decision-makers. Dear's comprehensive approach in this article is normative and does not offer a way of measuring the conflict and its effect.

Among their most valuable resources, decision-makers usually have time, especially relative to their opposition. As demonstrated by a case study in Dear and Long (1978), community opposition can lose its initial momentum and its consolidation can be defused if the situation is prolonged. Community fatigue sets in.

Impacted groups strategies literature seems, in part, to be derived from economic theory on exit and voice, e.g. Hirschman (1970). Dear and Long (1978) present a heuristic model of community strategies composed of five variables or options: exit (leave district), voice (community-initiated legal action), resignation (apathy), illegal action (violence, threats) and formal participation (government initiated). Dear and Long

admit that though the model they present seems fully testable, the methodological problems (e.g. of sampling the exit groups) are considerable. There is also concern expressed over the dichotomy between individual and group actions in the strategic model and the extent to which the model can be legitimately utilized in a wider conflict context.

Exit is portrayed as a very weak strategy. It would almost take mass exit for it to be noticed by decision-makers. The exit message might not be clear because of in-migration. Exit is also not viable for low-income groups who generally are not very mobile in the sense of improving their situation.

In the literature, voice is almost always presented as the best course of action. Dear and Long (1978) say that voice can be expressed by formal community action such as a petition, a lobby of elected representatives, media use and the formation of local resident groups to present a united front. Voice does however require resources such as effort, money, implicit opportunity and time. Time can defuse opposition. Voice is usually not effectively used by low-income communities.

Within the search for a comprehensive approach to public facility locations, Dear also attempts with mixed success to define, identify and measure externalities. In 1977 articles by Dear, two main groups of externality fields are presented (Dear, 1977a,b,c). The first group includes user associated externalities which, in turn, are broken down into personal user externalities (i.e. stigma associated with living in public housing) and exogenous user externality (i.e., benefits of

multiple choices offered by living in an urban environment). The second broad-field involves neighbourhood associated externalities. Nonuser perception of these externalities determines the extent and intensity of neighbourhood antagonism toward a particular facility or service. In Dear (1979), a third externality field is identified -- the jurisdictional. Related spillovers arise because the impact of government decision-making is often difficult to confine within its own jurisdictional boundaries. According to Dear, much of what goes on in a city, particularly in a political arena, can be interpreted as an attempt to organize the distribution of externality effects to gain income advantage.

Problem of Measuring Externalities

Measurement or the operationalization of locational conflict is by far the weakest aspect of the material reviewed. It seems to be the missing link in the normative and descriptive approaches presented by the various authors. There are two interrelated components to the problem. The first involves the identification and measurement of the externality and the second the measurement of the conflict generated by the externalities. The latter has already been dealt with in this section and was shown to be limited to a normative and descriptive effort.

In the late 1970's, Dear and co-authors attempt to measure externalities in two ways. The first one involves the possibility of identifying an externality through the perception of neighbouring communities. Dear, Fincher and Currie (1977) attempt to accomplish this

by proposing the use of 1) Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) which identifies the attributes by which the external effects are perceived by the observer, and 2) semantic-differential technique which measures the respondents rating of a facility with respect to those designated attributes. The technique is subsequently not applied and appears to be extremely complex and very resource consuming. Dear, Taylor and Hall (1980) use an attitudinal survey to show that community health facilities generate externality fields that included such effects as fear of negative impacts. However, it was found that the spatial extent of this externality effect seemed only concentrated near the facility. It was also concluded that opposition to such facilities may be limited to a vociferous minority.

Dear also attempts to measure externalities by pricing their effect. In Boeckh, Dear and Taylor (1980) an attempt was made at measuring the effect a mental facility(ies) had on property value in order to substantiate community fear of such a facility. It was found that there was no significant effect on price of housing in surrounding neighbourhoods and that the distance from the facility, the facility type and the number of facilities had no significant effect on prices. This suggests some fundamental problems with the concept of externality. Were they not looking at a noxious enough facility? Is it a question of the degree of noxiousness? Even if they had found a significant change in property value, could it not be the result of other factors not associated with the facility? How are positive externalities coalesced with negative externalities?

An interesting approach to measuring externalities and therefore dealing with the NIMBY problem is suggested by Pushchak and Burton (1983). It involves prior compensation through negotiation before the siting decision is made. The authors claim that there is evidence to suggest prior compensation for risk is a cost-effective means of making a siting decision in cases where there are multiple candidate sites for the hazardous facility. The authors also argue that prior compensation can increase cost-effectiveness of compensation schemes by exerting downward pressure on monetary and non-monetary demands through competition among candidate sites. Several difficult prerequisites must be met however: the facility safety and health hazards are perceived to be at a minimum; the local community must have a significant level of control in negotiations and the local negotiating body must legitimately represent the interests of the community.

"The authors' proviso that there must be certain prerequisites is chilling comfort. Is the nuclear industry reduced to buying peace?" (Hamre, 1984, memo)

Can equity and opposition be bought? Can this concept be extended beyond the siting of nuclear waste facilities?

Conclusion: The Need for Public Involvement

A comprehensive approach or theory to public facility location and its application remain a struggle for future research and study. There is little doubt however that public facilities create externalities or spill-over effects on non-consumers of the facility. The application of this concept to national parks is valid given the locational dimension of these facilities pursuant to a mandate of conservation and recreation. The effected non-consumers of a park are numerous.

The principal consumer of a park, the park visitor, can also be an impacted non-consumer by residing in a community affected by the externalities of a park such as local direct and indirect employment and problems and benefits caused by tourists. The protection or conservation dimension of a park can make visitors non-consumers of areas of the park and thus impact on visitor experience by limiting access and services. Conservationists act on behalf of the environment, which is, in a manner of speaking, a third party impacted by visitor use of the park. Expropriation is probably the most acute example of a park induced externality. The spill-over effects of parks can represent economic benefits for some people and loss of livelihood for others.

A public facility set, in this case a system of national parks, not only produces externalities but also often concentrates and increases them because of a tendency to cloister public facilities. Public facilities tend to cloister where there is least potential for community resistance which is usually the case of poorer neighbourhoods. This distorts the socially equitable distribution of noxious facilities and their negative spill-over effects. Similarly, national parks have a tendency to be established on federal lands instead of on provincial lands which involve protracted and costly negotiations. The federal lands path of least resistance explains in part the cloistering of national parks in the Rocky Mountains and in the north. Both are cases of pre-provincehood control by the federal government over natural resources. The result is a distorted system of national parks and an increased level of externalities. In the case of the Rockies there are intense spill-over economic benefits and high-visitation problems. In the case of the north, spill-over effects can include fewer new parks

and less maintenance and upgrading of existing parks in the south because limited resources available to Parks Canada are channeled north to parks virtually inaccessible to most Canadians. Northern parks can also have the nebulous spill-over effect of giving southerners a good feeling from the knowledge of the existence of vast tracks of pristine wilderness for all times or the negative feeling from knowing that their tax dollars are being used to set aside from mainstream economic activity potentially rich renewable and non-renewable resources. The northern clustering of parks also concentrates negative and positive spill-over effects on northerners including Indian and Inuit peoples. How is the fragile northern economy strongly based on the land and its fragile physical environment effected by national parks?

Invariably all Canadians are affected non-consumers of parks by virtue of their externality producing locational dimensions. Non-consumers include a myriad of environmental, recreational and tourist associations, native and cultural groups, political entities at local, provincial and federal levels, property owners, farmers, fishermen, hunters and even the international community. Public involvement offers these non-consumers a means of incorporating and of possibly internalizing externalities in the decision-making of national parks. Good public involvement, it can be argued, leads to a better treatment of externalities and thus to better decision-making.

The next chapter of the thesis reviews the main themes of public involvement theory, process and practice in order to determine what is considered as good public involvement. It is no coincidence that public

involvement evolved almost simultaneously with public facility location analysis. Both government agencies and the public struggle with externalities and public involvement has grown out of this struggle as a means, although very imperfect, of addressing externalities.

Public facility location analysis and ensuing concepts provide yet another perspective on the rationale and processes of public involvement, even in natural resources management. Although focused on an urban environment, the locational literature deals with some of the fundamental principles of public involvement and attempts to solve some of the major problems raised in the "pure" involvement literature described in chapter 2. The connection with the latter is based, in part, on the premise that decision-making usually has a locational dimension and that public involvement is an essential ingredient in determining long-term costs, such as opposition costs. Participation perceived as a conflict strategy from both an agency and community perspective surfaces in the locational literature. The concept of externalities, third party effects of a decision, is introduced in the locational theory whereby public involvement is a means by which the agency can identify and possibly absorb negative impacts caused by externalities. The NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) syndrome and its public involvement dimension pervade the locational theory. A distinction is made between the siting of noxious, low-level noxious and salutary public facilities. Options to public involvement are also presented. Location theory contributes to the understanding of broader mechanisms underlying mainstream institutionalized and citizen activated public involvement.

3. PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT - CONCEPT AND PROCESSES

Introduction

The previous chapter identified public involvement as a means of addressing externalities generated by public facilities. This chapter will attempt to convey a comprehensive understanding of the complex issue of public involvement, especially as it relates to natural resources management. Public involvement literature is prolific, varied, often confusing and, at times, contradictory. However, consensus can be deciphered on key issues, approaches and problems. This common ground of agreement on public involvement will be highlighted. This chapter is, in a sense, an annotated bibliography operationalized and organized so as to render a broad subject matter manageable and useful. It will provide the empirical and normative framework required to describe and analyze Parks Canada's public involvement efforts which in effect, address externalities created by its public facilities, namely national parks.

This chapter provides a definition of public involvement; traces its theoretical origins in democratic theory; identifies the scope of public involvement and its rationale; deals with the dilemma of representativeness, that is, with the concern often expressed about who participates; describes the prominent public involvement typologies and models that have led to institutionalized public involvement within an open planning framework; discusses the application of some of the most common public involvement techniques; and identifies areas in which most public involvement programs fail, namely the analysis and evaluation of

public input and the evaluation of public involvement programs. The chapter concludes with major observations on what constitutes good public involvement according to the literature. If public involvement is a means of addressing externalities, then good public involvement is essential to effectively address externalities.

A Practice in Search of a Definition and Theory

Both a definition and especially a general theory of public involvement have eluded the consensus of practitioners and remain unresolved despite of the intensive amount of resources devoted to public involvement applications and analysis. Symptomatic of this failure is a literature that tends to be either descriptive or prescriptive and usually lacking in empirical application. Even the terminology of public involvement is unclear.

"The term public participation - and its numerous surrogates, such as citizen participation, public involvement, community participation, citizen involvement, and citizen action - has assumed a wide variety of possible meanings in recent years. To anyone attempting to survey the scene, it seems as though the meaning and use of the term has broadened almost in direct proportion to the number of cases that has occurred." (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, p. 5)

For the purposes of this thesis, public involvement and public participation and other surrogates are used synonymously.

Definitions of public involvement, as with its surrogates, are numerous, in fact prolific. Each author, who bothers to define the term being used, tends to mould the definition to suit the purpose of the work at hand. Burton and Wildgoose (1977, p. 5) present two extremes of the definition of public involvement.

"At one extreme, public participation has come to mean any activity undertaken by groups of citizens which are not part of the formal government structure of our society... At the other extreme, public participation is defined more narrowly as: "a component of the democratic system which permits non-elected members of the community to exercise some control over decision-making which goes beyond elections." (Bureau of Municipal Research, "Citizen Participation in Metro Toronto: Climate for Cooperation?", Civic Affairs Bulletin, January 1975)

The latter, more narrow extreme, is preferred by the writers as it emphasizes: decision-making that is normally carried out within the public sector; the involvement of non-elected and non-appointed members of the community; and a degree of control over decision-making by these non-elected and non-appointed members of the community, which goes beyond voting in elections. Heberlein (1976) also favours a more narrow approach defining public involvement as the kind of involvement managed by the agency, that is, involvement in the execution of a specific project or policy, rather than the kind of issues dealt with by the legislature.

Arnstein's (1969) landmark article involving a typology of levels of participation radically defines participation in a vein of social reform and redistribution of wealth. It is aimed at the social and class inequities in the United States, especially in an urban environment. It is a tool for the have-nots to obtain justice, a share of the pie. The Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers (1974), an institution responsible for promoting the Man and Resources Conference Programme, endorses Arnstein's power sharing definition of public involvement in decision-making.

The preferred approach of Burton and Wildgoose (1977) to a definition of public involvement or participation is more representative

of the literature and of the general understanding of the concept. It is this understanding that prevails in this thesis.

The lack of consensus and the relative confusion surrounding the usage of the concept of public involvement are rooted, in part, in an age-old battle between the two fundamental schools of political thought of participatory and representative democracy.

Classical participatory democracy embodies the teachings of Aristotle and the philosophy of Rousseau and the normative theory put forward by Mill (1910). More recently, advocacy for participatory democracy can be found in Bonello and Roussopoulos (1971), Thayer (1972), R.B. Gibson (1975), and very convincingly in Pateman (1972). Pateman establishes a strong case against the contemporary representative or "pluralist" theories of democratic society and as Sewell (1979, p. 20) concludes in his annotation of her work: "Pateman's critique is the nemesis of pluralist theory." Klosterman (1985) also exposes deficiencies of the pluralist argument.

Representative democracy is embodied in the pluralist theory, and is coined as contemporary democratic theory or the "dominant theory" of democracy. It argues that decision-making and planning are the result of the political bargaining process between competing groups in the political arena. The pluralist argument can be found in Berleson (1954), Schumpeter (1956), Dahl (1956), Lindblom (1959), Sartori (1962), Eckstein (1966), and Wildavsky (1973). Contemporary democratic theory is based on empirical observations of the practical functioning of democracy whereas decisions affecting the masses are made by an elite power group who has the interests of society at heart. Government and

planning rely on existing political bargaining processes between formal and informal groups. Rejai (1967, p. 21) re-emphasizes the benefits derived from the emergence of pluralist theory, chief among them being that "democratic theory has been improved in that it is now more faithfully descriptive of actual political conditions." Parry (1972) provides a critique of the theory and philosophy of political participation by critically examining the expectation that participation will develop through local government or through direct community action. Parry's volume of papers arising from a seminar at the University of Manchester has the unifying theme that there is a contrast between reality and aspiration in political participation. Kelso (1978) synthesizes recent empirical studies to establish a normative defence of pluralism as a theory of democracy.

Somewhere between the two theories of democracy can likely be found the theoretical framework which explains public involvement. Cook and Morgan (1971) explored this middle ground when they claimed that although democracy can be increased through participation, participatory democracy remains largely an ideology, not a panacea. It would seem that public participation ensures that the reality of representative democracy is made more responsible and responsive in that it helps the governing elites to inject into their decisions, public attitudes, preferences and concerns. Olsen (1978) concludes that public participation acts as a bridge between participatory and representative democracy because it allows the public opportunities to have continuing interaction and dialogue with politicians and others making decisions affecting their lives.

Rationale for Public Involvement

There are many reasons given for the advent of public involvement. They range in scope from democratic idealism and power sharing to trying to determine public preferences on an issue so as to identify externalities and therefore possibly avoid costly opposition and reduce negative impacts. This section provides some of the rationale given for the phenomenon of public involvement. Also, general areas requiring public involvement and issues normally excluded from public involvement are discussed.

Willeke (1974a) identifies public participation as a synthesis of concepts taken from communication theory, sociology and social psychology, and political science. Similarly public involvement advocates are grouped by Wengert (1976) according to perceptions of participation as policy, as strategy, as communication, as social therapy and as conflict resolution. Participation as policy is advocated because increasing participation is simply a matter of sound and desirable policy to be implemented in as many ways as possible whereby participation is a goal to be sought and a right to be involved in decisions that affect you. The strategy advocates perceive participation as a manoeuvre to accomplish objectives. Participation as communication implies more participation in order to improve information inputs and administrative decisions. Participation as social therapy is associated, according to Wengert, with the so-called "War on Poverty". The perception of participation as conflict resolution is seen as a way to reduce tensions and conflicts. It is assumed that sharing points of view increases understanding and weakens

a tendency towards dogmatic assertions and reduces personal biases and mistrust.

Sewell and O'Riordan (1976) identify two factors underlying pressures for public participation - a process they equate to power sharing. This position is also strongly held by Arnstein (1969), the Canadian Council of Resource and Environmental Ministers (1974) and Wolpert (1976). One factor given is the failure of past plans or policies to identify correctly the desire of the public. Projects have either failed to deliver the intended benefits or have caused unpredicted economic, social or environmental consequences. They cite as examples the Spadina Highway in Toronto, the Churchill-Nelson diversion scheme in Manitoba and the Bennett Dam on the Peace River in British Columbia. The second related factor proposed by Sewell and O'Riordan involves the ethic that in a democratic society, individuals have a right to be informed and consulted, and to express views on matters which affect them personally such as large resource development schemes like highways, airports, and other noxious public facilities.

Heberlein (1976) claims that as trust in decision-makers erodes, the demand for participation tends to increase. Spiegel (1969) refers to a citizen threshold of tolerance. Heberlein identifies two factors in natural resources decisions which reduce the level of trust and lead to an increased demand for public participation. The first factor relates to the variety of potentially conflicting uses of a natural resource. In this context, almost any decision will leave some group feeling that the organization did not respond to its needs. The second factor relates to the rapid change in public values associated with the

environmental crises. This has created new nontraditional interest groups with little trust in the administration and which have not yet been integrated into the pluralistic process.

Olsen (1976) groups the reasons for public participation demand in park planning under three major headings: social change, unresponsiveness of government and the United States example of a strong tradition of public involvement. Social change relates to higher education levels, advances in communication technology, especially the media, increased mobility and awareness of the public, increased affluence and leisure time, an environmental awareness revolution, the redefinition and questioning of the goal of growth for parks, and finally, the effects of rapid changes in society which have created a need for social interaction and a sense of belonging which can partially be satisfied by getting involved. Stinson (1971) exposes public involvement as a counter measure to technological growth. Olsen (1976) also claims that government cannot be responsive to individuals, communities and cultures without their direct input, given the political process and bureaucracy which are now involved directly in people's lives.

Prisco (1975a), Pross (1975), Weik (1979) and Waddell (1981) similarly describe the emergence of the public participation movement as being a result of: 1) the recognition that social choice decisions were no longer being made in institutional legislative environments but in less accountable administrative and planning environments, and of 2) the growing gap between jurisdictional boundaries and social choice decisions, especially those concerning resources. A recent study by the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council recommends among other measures

greater public participation to bridge a gap between the diversity of public views and the ability of the federal government to reflect both this diversity and essential national priorities.

"This gap is the result of various causes, including the size of the country, the existence of different levels of political responsibility for policy-making, the lack of information on environmental questions available to the citizenry, and the extreme variety of messages originating from the public. Also contributing to this problem is the lack of a nationwide network of representative associations which can readily assess or coordinate the wide range of public attitudes about environmental affairs." (Garigue, 1978)

Lucas (1976, p. 74) cites from an environmental impact task force report four reasons for public participation:

- "1. Affected persons likely to be unrepresented in environmental assessment and decision processes are provided an opportunity to present their views;
2. Members of the public may provide useful additional information to the decision-maker, especially when values are involved that cannot be easily quantified;
3. Accountability of political and administrative decision-makers is likely to be reinforced if the process is open to public view. Openness puts pressure on administration to follow the required procedure in all cases.
4. Public confidence in the reviewers and decision-makers is enhanced, since citizens can clearly see in every case that all issues have been fully and carefully considered."

According to Lucas, the last two reasons suggest that one of the chief values of public participation is that it provides a means for scrutinizing environmental decisions.

T. O'Riordan (1976) claims public involvement helps to make a decision environment - a set of rules, roles and procedures which guide behavior and shape expectations which can be established only under certain conditions. His conditions are: 'that society is willing to give its support to a policy to allocate power and determine social

values; that there is legitimization for exerting power and executing decisions (support and reaffirmation in the validity of its measures through elections, referenda, public hearings, etc.); and that there is political consensus among all actors, including the public, over the mechanism through which objectives can be attained.

To the United States National Park Service (1978), public involvement is specifically intended to solve problems. The agency relates public involvement to its role of providing goods and services and to the best long-term interest of the American people.

The United States Forest Service (1973, p. 13) identifies the needs for public involvement more broadly as follows:

"Public participation is not an end in itself, but a means to better decisions, primarily, through improved understanding of the relative values the public places on alternative uses of the National Forests.

We hope that increasing public participation in decision-making will reduce ex facto confrontations. But more than that is at issue. Public involvement provides a forum whereby citizens can assist effectively in setting goals for management of their lands. And with a more accurate assessment of public desires, professional managers can better achieve these goals."

Objectives of public involvement, stated and perceived, reveal much about its rationale. A citizen participation handbook, designed for planners and managers by the Institute for Participatory Planning (1978), approaches public participation pragmatically and gives fifteen objectives of a citizen participation program aimed at responsibility, responsiveness and effectiveness.

"The CP OBJECTIVES having to do with RESPONSIBILITY are:

1. ESTABLISH THE LEGITIMACY OF YOUR AGENCY
2. MAINTAIN THE LEGITIMACY OF YOUR AGENCY
3. ESTABLISH THE LEGITIMACY OF YOUR PROCESS
4. MAINTAIN THE LEGITIMACY OF YOUR PROCESS

5. ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN THE LEGITIMACY OF ALL MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS AND EARLIER DECISIONS.

The CP OBJECTIVES bearing on RESPONSIVENESS are:

6. GET TO KNOW ALL OF THE POTENTIAL AFFECTED INTERESTS
7. LEARN TO SEE THE PROJECT THROUGH THEIR EYES
8. IDENTIFY PROBLEMS
9. GENERATE SOLUTIONS
10. ARTICULATE AND CLARIFY THE KEY ISSUES.

The following CP OBJECTIVES bear on your EFFECTIVENESS:

11. NURTURE AND PROTECT YOUR CREDIBILITY
12. HAVE ALL INFO THAT YOU NEED TO COMMUNICATE TO THE VARIOUS INTERESTS RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD BY THEM
13. RECEIVE AND UNDERSTAND ALL INFO THAT THE VARIOUS INTERESTS NEED TO COMMUNICATE TO YOU
14. SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS
15. MEDIATE BETWEEN POLARIZED INTERESTS." (Institute for Participatory Planning, 1978, p. iv.1)

The United States Forest Service lists six appropriate public-involvement objectives:

- "1. Make better resource-management decisions that will win better public acceptance.
2. Educate the public about the issue, the alternatives and the tradeoffs.
3. Determine the degree of public support for and interest in various management alternatives.
4. Identify additional management alternatives.
5. Develop a good working relationship with the public that will carry over to future issues.
6. Get additional resource-management information (particularly for unusual, specialized resource situations.)" (Hendee et al., 1973, p. 18)

Heberlein (1975) outlines four different functions institutionalized public involvement can serve, namely, 1) informational, 2) interactive, 3) assurance and 4) ritualistic-legalistic. Heberlein presents a workable table of adequacy measures for the various forms of public involvement in serving the four functions and in attaining public involvement representativeness.

In their analysis of the Canadian public participation experience, Burton and Wildgoose (1977) identified seven objectives and grouped 96 cases studied according to these objectives.

"In only 18 cases was the objective to provide facilities and/or services through significant direct public involvement. In 28 cases, many of them adversary, the objective of the participation was specifically to influence policy. In two-thirds of the cases, the objective was to generate information; and in almost half of these this was the sole objective. Clearly, much more detailed analysis must be made before jumping to conclusions. Preliminary observation, however, seems to suggest that many Canadian cases of public participation have not progressed beyond the stage of seeking information to identify alternatives which will then be evaluated and determined by those who make up the formal power structure." (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, pp. 17-18)

Perception of public involvement objectives are as important, if not more so, than stated objectives. The U.S. Forest Service performed a simple survey of their staff to see what they thought were the objectives of public involvement. To educate the public about the issue, to obtain additional resource-management information and to identify additional management alternatives were most often chosen as objectives. It is interesting to note that most officers rejected the objective that public involvement was to develop support for Forest Service plans. When asked to estimate the extent to which each of the checklist objectives was achieved, the response was more consistent:

"The three objectives which the officers reported they most nearly achieved were "make better resource management decisions that will have better public acceptance" (55%), "determine the degree of public support for and interest in various management alternatives" (55%), and "develop a good working relationship with the public that will carry over to future issues" (53%)." (Hendee et al., 1973, p. 17)

These findings concerning objectives conform to the findings of Burton and Wildgoose. The majority of the cases involved the central objective of seeking information to identify alternatives that will then be evaluated and decided upon by the deciding agency.

Sewell and Phillips' (1979) review of some 28 cases in Canada found major differences in the perception of public participation goals among three groups isolated, namely agency personnel, citizen group representatives and private citizens, and independent observers. With a few exceptions, agency representatives appear to regard public involvement as little more than a means of providing an indication of the public's perceptions of problem and preferences for potential solutions. Citizen group representatives have a much broader set of objectives. These included a means to reduce the power of planners and bureaucrats, to ensure influence on the design and implementation of plans and regulations by those affected, and to ensure that minority rights are taken into account. These groups also saw therapeutic and education value in participation. It was found that independent observers emphasized pragmatic goals such as the improvement of the efficiency of the planning and policy-making processes.

The demand for public participation can also be explained in relation to the "NOT IN MY BACK YARD" (NIMBY) syndrome associated with noxious or hazardous facilities. NIMBY, local entrenched opposition using means such as protest, political opposition, legal and even militant action, has on many occasions caused delays, escalated costs and cancelled projects. The Toronto region, for example, has the legacy of the much publicized Spadina Expressway project, the Pickering Airport project and the Darlington Nuclear Generating Station, where opposition was sustained and vigorous.

One of the reasons often overlooked for the demand for public participation is not only a question of wanting to be involved to ensure

minimization of negative inputs so often assigned to public facilities but also one of maximizing positive impacts either in association with a noxious facility or with a non-noxious or salutary facility. In the former case, an example would be an expressway that benefits an outlying satellite community at the expense of communities through which it passes. A salutary facility, such as passive park or greenbelt will in fact increase the value of property adjacent to such a facility. A school located one block away is an attractive real estate asset but something to be avoided adjacent to a residential property. Reynolds and Honey (1978) claim that in cases of salutary facilities, the locational problem for decision-makers becomes one of denying competing sites rather than finding areas of least resistance. In such cases, public involvement becomes a means of getting a piece of the pie.

As an appropriate ending to this section and in order to provide a realistic perspective on public participation it is important to point out some of the general criticism and support that abounds in the literature.

The literature does not lack in explicit coverage of the benefits of public participation. Borton et al. (1970) professes a basis for public participation that includes confidence and trust in the planning process, common perceptions of problems, and involvement of participants in planning activities. Lee (1971) claims public participation is beneficial because it generates commitment, widens the range of alternatives tested and the support for the final proposal, and is educational for all involved. Connor (1972a) sees it as an effective method of reducing and preventing conflict and results in planners being

more sensitive to their operating environment. The United States Forest Service (1973) states it is a valuable aid to land management planning and a conflict minimizing or preventing mechanism in policy formulation and decision-making. Tinkham (1974) claims participation is important in goal setting, definition of values, aesthetic considerations, evaluations of alternatives, definition of needs and provision of pertinent historic data. Brinch (1975) calls for a well informed public, ready and capable of making informal communication at the right time. Kure (1979) and Shor (1977) generalize and state that public participation, ideally, should aid the operation of democratic systems and contribute to sound decision-making by affording individuals and groups equal, direct communications with government as well as with other groups and industry, exposing the broadest range of concerns and providing opportunities for information exchange. Priscoli (1977) equates public involvement with social impact analysis as it helps planners to identify perceived losses and gains of affected parties. Taking into account some of the representativeness weaknesses of public involvement, Priscoli (1978) claims it nonetheless provides a measure of government effectiveness; can provide planners with insight into perceptions of cost/benefit of government projects; and is a way of mobilizing a regionally affected constituency which cuts across state, local and international jurisdictional boundaries.

Public involvement, it would seem, is financially sound.

"McIntosh (1977) notes that costs for public participation, including those associated with physical and financial access, while substantial, are frequently accompanied by otherwise unknown financial benefits, including public education, better decision-making, and public acceptance of projects (Estrin, 1977, p.87; Aron, 1979, p.429 and 480, Sadler, 1979, p.10 & 11." (Waddell, 1981, p. 14).

"There has been criticism of participatory decision-making on the ground that it delays reaching decisions, that its costs outweigh its benefits and that it introduces irrelevant or unreliable information to the discussion. We, however, say with confidence that the advantages of participation far outweigh these criticisms." (Lysyk et al., 1978, p. 51)

Smith (1979) hails public involvement as a reassertion of the human spirit. On the other hand, public involvement literature has been criticized by Burke (1968) as a principal source of conflict and confusion, by Wengert (1976) as a practice in search of a theory, and by Rosenbaum (1976) as rampant positivism. Estrin (1979), O'Riordan and O'Riordan (1979) and Waddell (1981) criticized public involvement, especially public hearings, for usually occurring with the public in a position of weakness, since government and industry possess superior resources, including informational, technical, and financial.

More specifically, the Haussman (1975) study of a public involvement program in the Thames River Basin, Ontario, found that public participation did not resolve the existence of a great deal of disagreement over certain issues, both between and within occupational groups, and that satisfying public expectations presents complex management problems. In a report on the Ottawa River Conference held in 1970, Pollution Probe (1970) emphasizes that the difficulty of obtaining a consensus on environmental problems increases rapidly as the number of interests begin to expand, and that, at the same time, traditional positions become increasingly entrenched. Wengert (1976) believes that when there is a clear diversity of interests, public participation will likely create confrontation and polarization.

In an analysis of ten cases in which public groups have responded to perceived threats, Caldwell, et al. (1976) conclude that public

involvement is an adversarial process, often requiring resolution through the courts, and that government organizations, not the private sector, are often the single worst enemy of the environment. Priscoli's (1975b) study of perceptions regarding problem solving in water resources planning questions the contention that citizen involvement enhances the flow of effective communications. His findings indicate that although information may be transferred, a better understanding is not usually generated; that citizens and planners often have opposing views of their interaction, and that the simultaneous creation of alienation due to high expectations and ineffective communication is possible. A similar finding was made by Mitchell (1971) in a case study of some behavioural aspects of water pollution and decision-making in southwestern Ontario. The findings suggest that significant differences exist in perceptions of professional decision-makers and the lay public regarding both the nature of the pollution problem and the public role in the managerial process.

Axworthy (1975) and Heberlein (1976) probably say it best as to whether citizen involvement has a place in today's decision-making.

"Instead, it is frequently a frustrating process yielding minimum rewards. Despite this deficiency, its role is essential, adding a new dimension of awareness to the legislative arena." (Sewell, 1979, p. 65: review of Axworthy)

"Public involvement will not make the decision for the manager. If anything, the competing and conflicting desires illuminated by citizen involvement are likely to make decisions even more difficult." (Heberlein, 1976, p. 197)

Scope of Public Involvement

In terms of public involvement scope, that is when and where it should occur, Heberlein (1976, p. 198) claims that there is little

demand for public involvement with regard to all matters that affect the public.

"In fact, there is usually very little such demand. As Reidel pointed out, "There is no widespread clamor for an expanded public role in fixing standards for the licensing of surgeons or plumbers, even though these matters touch the lives of most people at one time or another."

Burch Jr. (1976) puts into proper perspective the difference between public involvement in ecological and conservation issues and public involvement in an urban setting, a critical difference in light of the case being analysed in this thesis. Ecological issues it would seem are not first in the minds of the masses.

"Further, it would seem that in democratic societies ecological issues are not of central concern to the masses⁶ and have even lower priority among their leaders." For example, Delbert Miller's study⁷ of the visible decisionmakers in megalopolis found that their interest in environmental matters was low, far below matters such as poverty, transportation, and crime and did not significantly increase even after increased media attention to environmental issues.⁸ (Burch Jr., 1976, pp. 43-44)

According to this author conservation groups do not have the fire of a social movement such as the labor, prohibition or Civil Rights movements.

Burch Jr. (1976) also argues that four resource decision areas (population, territory, food and energy) are closed to wider participation. These areas are the final and essential prerogative of the State and of the private sector.

In Canada, as elsewhere, the legal case for public participation is the true measure of when and where public involvement may occur.

"Regulatory and management decisions by public resource and environmental agencies require a basis in law. This legal authority may be found in constitutional documents, in legislation, in judge-made law, or in convention based on

unwritten constitutional doctrine. Since the scope of consultation by such agencies is an element of the decision-making process, rights of members of the public to participate in agency decisions, if these rights are to be enforced, must have an explicit legal foundation." (Lucas, 1976, p. 73)

Lucas's (1976) selective review of Canadian federal and provincial environmental legislation and a comprehensive review of case law leads him to conclude that citizens' rights to participate in decisions by resource and environmental management agencies are not extensive.

"There is also evidence that agencies with discretion to permit opportunities for public participation are generally either not doing so effectively or not doing so at all. In particular, participation has been extremely limited at the important issue formulation stage of agency decision processes. There are also few rights or opportunities to participate in implementation and enforcement of agency decisions." (Lucas, 1976, p. 102)

According to Lucas, the effectiveness of public participation through litigation, legal action through the courts, is severely limited by: the narrow and technical *locus standi* accorded to litigants in Canadian courts (to get into court the plaintiff must establish that he is a person aggrieved in the sense that he has suffered special or peculiar damage beyond that suffered in common with the rest of the public); the lack of access to information; restrictive formal procedures; narrow technical scope of review; substantial costs and cautious and conservative Canadian judges who protest legislating. Yet, as will be shown in the section on public involvement mechanisms, litigation is favoured by several authors.

Legislating the right to public participation, not just the discretionary opportunity granted by the bureaucracy, is recommended by many authors reviewed. In his case study of a campers' association battle against an expansion of trailer park and brief analysis of other

cases, Wilkinson (1976) concludes that legislation should be reviewed in order to eliminate obstacles, open channels, and generally enhance opportunities for participation. The 1973 Man and Resources Conference strongly recommended legislated public involvement in the Canadian environmental decision-making process.

Similarly, The Ontario Select Committee on the Ontario Municipal Board (1972) called for amendments to appropriate statutes that would require all municipalities to involve the public in local decision-making before councils decide on issues involving planning or capital expenditures.

Problems of Representativeness: Who Participates?

The question of who participates in public involvement programs raises commonly expressed concerns and problems associated with public identification, public motivation and the central issue of public representation. Who should participate? How is participation solicited? Who actually participates, and more importantly, are those participating representative of the public at large? This section synthesizes the literature found on these questions of participation representativeness, especially as they relate to resource management.

According to the literature presented in this section, a vast majority of Canadian society does not participate in public involvement programs. Are most Canadians therefore entirely excluded from the planning and decision-making processes supported by public involvement? Does the general lack of participation of the public at large and active involvement of a privileged minority mean that public involvement

programs are not worthwhile and, if anything, mislead decision-makers in their quest of the public interest?

Who participates? There is widespread belief that public meetings are unrepresentative of the general population in terms of demographic characteristics. Jackson and Shade (1973) found that those who participated in public meetings tended to have higher incomes and more education. Wagar and Folkman (1974) argue that we hear more strongly the views of those people who make an effort to be heard rather than a balanced cross-section, and Glass (1972) claims that, given these trends, opinion surveys are the only means of providing reliable information on citizens' attitudes, evaluations and needs. According to Gentry and Heberlein (1984, p. 175), at a symposium on Citizen Participation Evaluation held in Washington, D.C., in February 1980, both researchers and government citizen participation specialists seemed resigned to the idea that citizen participation is "just an extension of interest group politics and that meetings cannot be representative." Gentry and Heberlein's analysis of three cases found that each study showed some differences in demographic characteristics between the meeting participants and the general population sample.

"The characteristics that differed were not the same in each study. In two of the three field tests, meeting participants had more education. There were no differences in age across the three studies, whereas income, marital status, and sex differences were found in one case each." (Gentry and Heberlein, 1984, p. 180)

A social-economic profile of conservation group memberships also reveals a divergence from that of the public at large. Burch Jr. (1976) convincingly argues that neither of the two main theoretical perspectives on social power, namely elitist or pluralist, seem to adequately account for the power of conservation groups.

Burch argues that, based on recent studies, conservation issues might be better described as cutting across a variety of power centres, none of which is centrally interested nor centrally opposed to conservation issues.

Burch describes three factors which make participation in natural resource decision an activity for the select few who accept the established rules. The first is that conservation issues and their supporters are part of the existing system of authority because they cut across the central concerns of various local, military and corporate power structures. Secondly, this tradition is joined by the emerging class of youthful, salaried, college educated persons which provide "cadres mostly likely to join voluntary associations, to understand the rules of the game which guide government agencies, to speak the same language as the public bureaucrats, to have higher expectations about government performance, and to attach greater importance to life style than to level of living issues" (Burch Jr., 1976, pp. 46-47). Thirdly, according to Burch, the trend in North American life to remove resource and aesthetic issues from the market and placing them under legislative controls has created a new professional cadre of planners and social and biological science entrepreneurs, who develop a stake in encouraging certain forms of conservation so as to discover new resource problems and create new constituencies to stabilize their professional position. Burch Jr. (1976) pragmatically claims that the predominant participation of middle class persons in conservation issues is a fact of life, rather than a matter of moral concern and he sees conservation, like most social reform such as free schooling, free parks and fair housing, as the property and vision of the middle class, not the masses.

Olsen's (1976) literature review on public participation also indicates an exclusiveness of participants. He cites Cantu (1973), who provides a variety of reasons why the disadvantaged, minority groups and inner city dwellers have not been actively involved in park development in the past. Like Burch, Olsen also refers to the research of Harry et al. (1971) on conservation groups in the United States, which shows that organized conservationists tend to be of the upper middle social class. Relating these trends to Canada, Elder (1975) "argues that many of the park-related issues which appear to be of widespread concern to the general public focus in reality on 'relative trivia', that is "the enjoyment of remote wilderness areas by middle class North Americans who can afford to go there" (Olsen, 1976, p. 11). National parks, because of either their remoteness or expensive restaurants and motels and expensive recreational activities such as skiing, camping, canoeing and wind-surfing, as well as historic parks, because of their academic and cultural appeal, tend to cater to and therefore interest the middle and higher income brackets.

No matter what the agency does or how hard it tries to solicit public involvement, the percentage of the total population that participates is almost always very small. O'Riordan (1971a) divides the public into four groups, namely, the unaware, the unaffected, the fatalists and the active participants. According to Olsen, it is unlikely that the first three groups will be reached by an extensive participation program. As for active participants, O'Riordan identifies two general types of public action groups, namely, 1) expressive groups, those who are motivated to become involved due to a desire to protect

their own narrow interest, e.g. business associations and wilderness clubs, and 2) instrumental groups which have a broader interest in environmental quality as a whole, e.g. conservation organizations and anti-pollution groups.

Concerning non-governmental environmental agencies, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council describes a bleak organizational picture, especially at a national level.

"Hundreds of groups interested in environmental matters exist in Canada, ranging from local Chambers of Commerce to professional associations. While recognizing that each of these groups has a legitimate interest in the protection of the environment, Council has taken as the starting point of its evaluation the activities of those groups which have the furthering of environmental quality as the basic reason for their existence. This reduced the number of groups to be considered and demonstrated that few of them are involved in the overall development of environmental policy. The great majority of environmental groups are local associations focusing on a single project, whose action is limited to the municipal or at the most the provincial level of government. There are therefore few well-structured national associations with a permanent staff and a capacity to speak for a significant segment of the Canadian population in the shaping of a national policy." (Garigue, 1978, p. 25)

The Council identifies the most significant weaknesses of environmental groups as follows:

- i) an absence of permanent staff, weakening competence or knowledge as well as the level of activities;
- ii) an absence of contact between associations limiting the range of collaboration;
- iii) difficulties in obtaining relevant information or services for documentation of problems faced by membership;
- iv) unreasonable reliance on energy, time and funds volunteered by their most dedicated members;
- v) difficulty in developing activities in fields which are dominated by controversial or even purely economic interests, where solutions demand protracted research." (Garigue, 1978, p. 25)

This section, which has looked at who participates, will now deal with the issue of who should participate, and how to identify and

motivate them. In their analysis of the International Joint Commission Roseau River public participation program, Ho and Quinn (1976) stress the problem of determining who should participate, which in this case is compounded by the difficulties of incorporating public interests because of the international jurisdictional constraints. In a pollution related public involvement study, O'Riordan (1971b) exposes the problem of soliciting public involvement, especially when dealing with very complex and mundane issues. In this case, which involved domestic sewage discharge in the Okanagan region, an opinion survey revealed that many residents were pessimistic about the efficacy of their opinions on the issue. This negative perception probably contributed to a lack of involvement in this and many similar cases.

Many solutions are put forward in conjunction with the identification of the who should participate dilemma. Vindasius (1974) emphasizes the agency identification of local leadership. Similarly, the United States Army Corps of Engineers (1976a) stresses the agency identification of publics, staff and influential members of the community. Wiebe (1975) suggests the development of a social profile which ascertains the identity of various publics, their motivation and the techniques suitable for each group. The groups sought should include the innovators and opinion makers. Wiebe remarks that the achievement of meaningful public involvement requires senior agency support. The emphasis on involving leaders, i.e. influential community members, is itself a serious problem in public involvement as this approach has certainly contributed to the privileged participants trend.

Willeke (1974b) prescribes that the identification of publics requires the delimitation of location, interests, social and demographic characteristics, and the formulation of techniques on how an agency may communicate with them. Willeke categorizes three groups of identification techniques 1) self-identification achieved through petition, appeal, public hearings, election, suit protest and publicity; 2) staff identification involving the analysis of associations, and geographic, demographic, historic and comparative identification, and, 3) third party identification, achieved by asking individuals and groups to identify groups and individuals they feel should be involved.

Other solutions to such public participation problems as identification and involvement level usually call for more funding, disclosure of pertinent information and encouragement of interest groups (Axworthy, 1975). Schoop and Hirten (1971) suggest that the release of non-technical, layman level information helps to diversify and increase involvement.

A normative approach termed "positive solicitation" by Heberlein (1975) is suggested by Kloman (1974), who identifies the following groups to be contacted:

1. technical and professional experts who might be involved in a planning project of a given area (planners, managers, consultants, professional organizations, etc.);
2. the educated elite who might possess some sophistication on the proposed planning project (universities, research agencies, specialized government departments, etc.);
3. the general public or some representative sampling thereof (visitors - all seasons, local and regional residents, disadvantaged groups, cross-section of ages, etc.);
4. public interest groups which serve as channels for public opinion (conservation/preservation groups, historical, archaeological societies, etc.);
5. special interest groups (local taxpayers, wilderness groups, tourist associations, developers, etc.);

6. the key decision-making leadership in public and private sectors (elected officials at all levels; administrators, community leaders, etc.)." (cited in Olsen, 1976, pp. 67-88)

The Citizen Participation Handbook's (1978) sixth objective is to get to know all of the potentially affected interests including those directly and indirectly impacted; real and perceived. An interest is defined by the Handbook as "an individual, a group of individuals, a corporation, an institution, - or any other entity that shares a single, internally consistent value system relative to the issue at hand" (Institute for Participatory Planning, 1978, p. iv-8).

Of particular interest and relevance to Parks Canada is the section of the United States National Park Service Guidelines on Public Involvement that deals with the identification of publics and the public interest.

"Individual park units will maintain a card file of local citizens, groups, and officials who have personally, or by virtue of their office, taken an interest in the resource and its management. Care should be taken to restrict the content and uses to be made of the name and address file in compliance with provisions of the Rights to Privacy Act of 1974 and other applicable legislation and policy. The identification of publics must not be derived only from such records, but also from an anticipation of potentially interested citizens based on the possible content of the future plan. General notification intended to stimulate and discover otherwise unknown publics must supplement these records." (U.S.N.P.S., 1978, Chapter 2, p. 9)

A chart for identifying publics is presented in the U.S. Guidelines. The table lists the many possible interests and attempts to relate them to the proposal in terms of either being directly or indirectly affected and beneficially or adversely affected by the problems and solutions. The list of interests includes: property owners, users, concessionaires, environmentalists, conservationists,

advisory groups, sportsmen's groups, recreation groups, professional groups, businessmen, news media, industrialists, educational institutions, farm organizations, labor unions, elected officials, civic groups, federal government agencies, state government agencies, local government agencies and others such as park, regional and other agency staff.

J. O'Riordan's (1976) study of a seemingly successful public involvement program of the Okanagan basin study is not only interesting because of the public participation techniques used but also because of the attempt to integrate valley opinion through citizen task forces consisting of four types of citizens. The citizen types include: "1) Organized public interest group representatives; 2) Unorganized public - concerned citizens; 3) Special interest groups - native people, technical people; 4) Local politicians" (O'Riordan, 1976, p. 184). The specific interests groups represented included: regional districts, irrigation districts, students, service organizations, agriculturalists, conservationists, chambers of commerce, industrialists, unions, motels and tourist associations, professional groups, and religious institutions. Although by the end of the study more than 1500 people were on the mailing list, an estimated 15,000 people watched or listened to the seminars via television and radio, and more than 200 presentations were made at the seminars, only a small fraction of the population effectively participated through the citizen task forces.

"It became obvious during the course of the study that effective citizen participation (defined as continuous interaction between citizens and study personnel) could only be achieved by a small fraction of the valley community. The challenge was to ensure that this group (task force) represented as broad a cross-section of community interests as

possible. In fact, only about 75 citizens of the valley population of 115,000 sat on the first round of task forces. This total was reduced to 25 for Task Force Seven and further reduced to seven for the preparation of the final report that was supposed to represent valley-wide preferences." (O'Riordan, 1976, p. 192)

It was found that feedback techniques such as open debate of the final report were helpful in that they supported the representative character of the results.

Another important representative check was made during the Okanagan program. A random survey of a broad cross-section of the community was done to assess if the views expressed (some 600 written and oral statements) during the information orientation meetings held at the beginning of the program represented the opinions at large. In most respects the survey results backed up the opinions expressed at these meetings, and showed that a large majority of residents belonged to one or more community interest groups.

More recently, a study which applied sample survey techniques to three public participation programs found that the opinions expressed at the hearings, meetings, and workshops were representative of the general public opinion.

"Perhaps the most surprising finding was that for the twenty-seven policy items examined, the meeting participants had opinions similar to the sample of the general population...The findings from these three studies indicate that public meetings may be a useful and valid tool for capturing a reasonably accurate picture of public opinion on a variety of issues. Although meeting participants may differ on some demographic characteristics, their opinions do not seriously mislead the planner who is attempting to ascertain the prevailing opinion among the general public." (Guntry and Heberlein, 1984, pp. 180-181)

It would be erroneous without further study to relate the results of public involvement programs' public input to the opinions of the

public at large. As was the case of the Okanagan program, the programs cited above were likely well managed programs involving good information dispersal and retrieval, and an analysis and evaluation system that promoted a well-informed and well-represented public on clearly defined issues.

Concerning the representativeness dilemma, Heberlein (1976) remarks that given the pluralistic processes at the legislative level, decisions are not made independently of the public will. He also claims that decision-makers, as members of society, have some feeling for public opinion. Olsen (1976, p. 150), in references to the work of Curran (1971) states that "some writers claim that the overall structure of a bureaucracy is more representative than the public usually found at public meetings, and that such a resource should be tapped at an early stage in the planning process."

Perhaps Priscoli (1978) sums up well the representative problem of public involvement when he generalizes that no one public involvement program can claim to have represented the people and that planners should not allow a public involvement program exclusive sovereignty over their interpretation of the public will. Priscoli claims public involvement does not substitute for the representative political process but complements it. To this author, public involvement provides a measure of government effectiveness.

One of the literature voids related to the question of who participates is that it tends not to identify who should participate beyond lists of groups or persons of influence. This is a conclusion put forward by Wengert's (1971, p. 62) analysis of public participation in water resource planning.

"In water planning more emphasis has been placed on listening to the public, or providing an opportunity for persons or groups with influence to express themselves. Perhaps more adequate would be the identification of those affected by plans and proposals, to solicit their views."

The answers to the initial question in this section of who participates reveal many fundamentally inherent flaws to public involvement programs. A small segment of society, usually middle class and higher, with either selfish or altruistic reasons, participates in resource management related public involvement programs. A well managed program seemingly can overcome unrepresentativeness and can deliver general public opinion. As a rule however, as Wengert (1976) remarks, public participation should be seen as narrowly constrained to the classic statement of elite theory which is the "iron rule of oligarchy," formulated by the French sociologist Robert Michels. In this light, Wengert concludes that "There is no substitute for a policy which seeks the public interest" (Wengert, 1976, p. 39). It can be contended, however, that a well managed public involvement program seeks the public interest.

Public Participation Models and Programs

This section presents the literature on the prominent models and typologies of public involvement and promotes the concept of public involvement programs.

The usual starting point for any research in public involvement is Sherry R. Arnstein's 1969 article "A Ladder of Citizen Participation". Arnstein develops a typology of eight progressive levels of participation. They are: 1) manipulation and 2) therapy described as

levels of non-participation because the real objective is to enable powerholders to educate or cure the participants; 3) informing, 4) consultation and 5) placation identified as varying degrees of tokenism because citizens lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded, as the power to decide remains the right of the powerholders; 6) partnership, 7) delegated power and finally 8) citizen control which are described as degrees of citizen power - "have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power." Arnstein equates citizen control with have-not citizens' control. According to the author, citizen control is the only way to attain effective citizen participation. Arnstein's model prescribes an ideal goal while providing a spectrum of public involvement categories in order to better understand the real world. Sewell (1979) states that much of the literature that has since appeared disputes Arnstein's view of effective public involvement.

Spiegel and Mittenthal (1968) offer a similar typology whereas a refinement of Arnstein's typology is found in the proceedings of the 1973 Man and Resources Conference. The typology relies on five progressive public involvement steps entitled models, namely: 1) the information model where an authority makes a decision and informs the public about it; 2) the persuasion model where an authority makes a decision then persuades the public to accept it; 3) the consultation model where an authority defines the problem, presents it to the public, invites comments and suggestions and then makes a decision; 4) the partnership model where an authority prescribes the limits and, within these limits, citizens share and may even assume the decision-making

responsibility and; 5) the citizen control model where citizens have full rights to participate in and assume the responsibility for decisions (The Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers, 1974, p. 14). The working groups at the conference reported that there was no correct or preferred model for citizen participation; however, they strongly voiced the opinion that a minimum acceptable model would fall within the consultative category. The citizen control model was not supported at the conference. Participants felt that current structures of political, bureaucratic and citizen groups are not compatible with this model.

Farrell et al. (1976) provide one of the most elaborate and useful reviews of models of citizen participation whereby the different types of involvement, persuasion through to self-determinism are discussed in terms of: process, objectives, the roles of citizens and the authority, personnel, skills, resource requirements, duration, risk and consequences. As will be discussed further in the section on program evaluation, the authors actually present a framework for public involvement program evaluation.

Downs (1972) contributes towards the understanding of public involvement a five stage cycle which he calls "issue attention cycle." To illustrate this concept he uses the issue of ecology. He suggests a bleak picture of the American public and administration concerning potential status quo destabilizing issues such as those associated with ecological problems. His conclusions include: the great capacity of the American public to become bored with an issue, and the desire of most citizens and the government not to confront the need for major

social changes in the U.S. The five cycles are: 1) the pre-problem stage where a problem has not caught the public attention; 2) the alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm stage; 3) the realization of the cost of significant progress stage; 4) the gradual decline of intense public interest stage; and finally; 5) 'the post problem stage' where the problem remains in limbo until it is drawn back into an issue or falls out of the potential political agenda. For these reasons, Downs claims that no major environmental programs are likely to receive long-sustained public attention or support.

Of critical and central importance to this thesis are models which illustrate the degree and timing of public involvement within the planning process that supports decision-making. The open planning model is usually referred to in the literature and used by most resource management agencies when planning a major development or when formulating a position or policy of importance. The open planning model integrates public involvement, usually in the form of a program, whereby some form of public involvement occurs at formal benchmark events or milestones of the planning process. In the literature, three such benchmarks requiring public input remain constant, namely and sequentially: 1) plan initiation, 2) alternative plans or decision options, and 3) draft plan or course of action. Within an open decision-making model, formal institutionalized public involvement accounts for the word "open" within the term and is an integral part of planning and decision-making. Planning in this regard differs from decision-making in that the activities leading up to a decision or final course of action is considered planning although decisions are taken at

every step of the planning process. Within the open planning model that supports decision-making, public input resulting from public involvement programs is but one, albeit important, consideration for decision or policy-makers, depending on the case. The open planning model falls within Arnstein's informing, consultation and placation levels of his participation model and within the consultation level of the 1978 Man and Resources Conference typology on public involvement.

Wilkinson (1976), who identifies three functional categories of participation, namely, education/information, review/reaction and interaction/dialogue argues that the concept of open planning would seem to involve these important elements. According to Wilkinson, open planning involves: 1) program or plan initiation, 2) review by government bodies, interest groups and the general public; 3) presentation and explanation of detailed plans to all concerned parties; 4) public participation on detailed plans; 5) incorporation of comments and revision of plans; 6) interim report of alternatives; 7) report submitted to government and public for review and detailed discussion; and 8) final review and authorization by responsible agency. The latter stage involves refusal or acceptance. A similar but more simplistic open planning model was proposed at the 1973 Man and Resources Conference (The Canadian Council of Resource and Environmental Ministers, 1974, p. 15).

The United States National Park Services illustrates in its public involvement guidelines an open planning model that provides for three levels of public involvement programs and corresponding applicable techniques. A low level program is designed for actions or plans

involving local interests but little controversy. A moderate level public involvement program is considered appropriate for local to regional interests and moderate controversy. A high level program is appropriate when complex, controversial issues are involved and when the range of public interests is widespread.

"For high level public involvement programs, public involvement tools are used at frequent intervals to insure the public has an opportunity to contribute to the emerging plan. Frequent and systematic public involvement opportunities encourage members of the public to keep pace with the evolution of the plan." (U.S.N.P.S., 1978, Chapter 2, page 15)

Similar open planning variations involving alternatives that attempt to legitimize the planning process and institutionalize public involvement are found in: Bishop (1970), who calls for citizen participation in establishing the planning procedures and approaches to be used; McMeiken and Laureckas (1972), who state that the public participation function should be in a prominent position in management organizations; Connor (1972a, 1972b, 1974a, 1976, 1978a and 1978b), who progressively elaborates the open planning approach and incorporates a social impact assessment; D'Amore (1977), who applies to the Saint John Human Development Project a systems approach to public involvement that consists of a "total concept" of four phases: awareness, issue identification, goal formulation, and organizational design; Sargent Jr. (1972), who describes the planning approach used by the Army Corps of Engineers as "fishbowl planning" and which more recently proposes and trains for a four-stage planning process for water resources planning that integrates public involvement and consists of problem identification, formulation of alternatives, impact assessment and evaluation (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1976b).

Almost all of the literature dealing with public involvement stresses early involvement by the public. The U.S. Highway Research Board (1970) states early community involvement in the decision process is imperative. Sargent Jr. (1972) attributes the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' success with its planning approach to early public involvement. Dean (1973) identifies four important required elements of participation programs as follows: begin early in the planning process; provide opportunity for continuing involvement; ensure that citizen views and ideas result in some perceivable change; provide sufficient information, including information about the decision-making process, and plan and monitor opportunities for citizen participation. Wengert (1974) pinpoints early involvement in the process at the stage before formulation and operation, but after basic policy and program decisions have been made. Tinkham (1974) advocates that every agency planner should develop a rapport with the public at an early stage so that socially unacceptable or unfeasible plans can be discarded early. According to Tinkham, public participation is most important at the goal-setting and alternative choice stages. Ho and Quinn (1976) conclude in a study of a flooding problem and of the management strategies employed, that there exists a need for greater preliminary dissemination of information to the public prior to planner-public contact.

Much of the public involvement literature is agency oriented, as opposed to public oriented, that is, it involves institutionalized public-participation programs within the open planning model. Usually such programs lead to a cooperative type of participation as opposed to

an adversary type of participation that is likely to be public initiated.

Connor (1974a) provides a handbook for citizens and government officials to aid in the preparation of a public participation program suitable for their issues and situations. The author presents a co-operative or open planning model program carried out by a progressive agency and a non-cooperative or adversary program where citizen organizations are active despite government discouragement.

As Burton and Wildgoose (1977) point out in their analysis of 96 Canadian public participation cases, 57 were of a cooperative type, 27 of an adversary type and 11, mixed. The latter category refers to situations that may have been initially cooperative or adversary, but that evolved substantially into the other. No real conclusion can be drawn for these statistics except these guarded comments.

"Somewhat contrary to the writers' expectations, the numbers of adversary and mixed cases are relatively high. It was thought, initially (sic), that the relatively high numbers of adversary cases might reflect the evolution of public participation during the past decade or so. That is, it was thought that the wave of citizen activism that characterized the middle and late 1960's would have generated a large number of adversary situations; but that cases from the early 1970's would reflect more cooperative ventures. There does appear to be some substance to this thought, but the evidence is by no means wholly convincing. There are several significant cases of adversary situations from recent years. Everything being considered, however, it is most significant to note that the ratio of cooperative to adversary cases is 2-to-1." (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, p. 16-17)

Only eleven of the cases analysed by Burton and Wildgoose dealt with environmental planning/management issues. Of these, ten are categorized cooperative and one mixed, being cooperative and adversary. Of the five cases dealing with parks and recreation issues, three are

designated cooperative, one as adversary and one as mixed, being initially adversary, then becoming cooperative. Almost all of the sixteen cases referred to involved information generation and identification of alternatives. After recommending Elder (1975) and citing Lowenthal (1972), Burton and Wildgoose (1977), point out that the role of public participation in the arena of environmental management appears to be increasingly integrated through policy and legislation in government decision-making.

Szablowski's (1971) conclusions concerning the future of public involvement in the administration of the province of Ontario reveal reasons why public involvement will likely not increase much beyond the status quo of institutionalized participation within the open planning model, which is limited to informing and consulting.

"Firstly, traditional attitudes and beliefs in the legislative process--"supremacy," federalism, administrative secrecy, and the neutrality of the bureaucratic sector--all stand in the way of developing a public participation theory. Secondly, the mainstream political culture does not stress equality of legitimate access to public decisional units. It requires a low intensity of participatory political commitment, consistent with the tenets of electoral politics. Thirdly, access to the decisional units of the executive/bureaucratic system continues to be governed by the process of legitimation subject to the prevailing structural and orientational conformism. And, finally, the main thrust of the Ontario government is organizational engineering. This cannot result in increased public participation if its principal objectives are efficiency, effectiveness and productivity and if its ethos is confined to procedural and technological values." (Sewell, 1979, p. 60)

It can probably be assumed, although subject to further research, that these traditional and structural restraints of the executive and bureaucracy of Ontario apply to the other provinces and to the federal government. Institutionalized open planning probably incorporates realistic optimum public involvement.

Public Involvement Techniques

Within institutionalized public involvement programs and citizen activated public involvement, numerous techniques for public involvement are available both to agencies and to the public. Much has been written about the pros and cons and the when and how of the techniques. They range from informal contacts to formal hearings and litigation, from information bulletins to elaborate media campaigns.

Normally, involvement techniques are components of a public involvement program which, in turn, is integrated into a planning and decision-making process. The order, frequency, magnitude and scale of the techniques are determined by the objectives of the process, by the level or importance of the development envisaged and by the inherent complexity and controversy. Ideally, the objectives involve an optimum decision concerning a project or policy direction as opposed to simple approval of a proposal. How much public involvement to invite is inter-related with the objectives of the exercise. For example, Parks Canada has a policy to seek local, regional and national input on park management plans. The techniques used should be efficient and effective where program goals are concerned.

A mix of public involvement mechanisms is usually advocated in the literature (U.S. National Park Service, 1978; Tinkham, 1974; Priscoli, 1975a).

The range of possible public involvement techniques includes among others: votes and referenda, public hearings, ballot boxes, public mass meetings, open meetings, working meetings, task forces, the Delphi technique, forums, advisory groups, surveys, an ombudsman, gaming and

role-playing, "drop-ins", expert panelling, telecommunications-media, participant observation, direct mail, cooptation and placation, informal contact, and ad hoc committees. These are usually agency options, where the agency controls. Beyond participating in these programs, the public has an array of involvement techniques including: petitions, lobbying, exit, and more direct confrontation such as sit-ins, use of media, threats, illegal actions (sabotage) and litigation.

The Burton and Wildgoose (1977) analysis of Canadian cases found that the vast majority of cases employed more than one technique:

"The most persistent technique employed in public participation in Canada has been the public meeting - large and small. (It proved impossible in analysis to distinguish between the two kinds). Nearly two-thirds of the cases made use of public meetings. Also important has been the use of advisory groups/task forces, technical advice, workshops and telecommunications, including newsletter, newspapers, radio, television and film. The vast majority of cases, of course employed more than one technique. What may be called the more esoteric techniques - participant observation, role playing and gaming, and expert panelling - have remained almost totally unused. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the number of adversary cases noted earlier, there has been relatively little use of petitions, direct confrontation and litigation (although a form of legal instrument - public hearings - has been employed in 9 instances). The versatile, but costly and time-consuming technique of surveys has been used a total of 13 times. The referendum plebiscite has occurred on only three occasions. In sum, it seems that public participation in Canada is still in the relatively unsophisticated state exemplified by public meetings." (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, p. 19-20)

Brinch (1975) differentiates between public information techniques and public response techniques. Similarly, Wiebe (1975) identifies two categories or phases for public involvement: namely, public information and public participation. A dichotomy to the techniques does surface in the literature for providing information to the public and for obtaining information in terms of data and preferences.

Literature offering some analysis of numerous participation techniques is prolific. Yukubousky (1973) discusses fifty public participation program techniques and Hendee, et al. (1973) describe eleven common techniques. Burton and Wildgoose (1977) provide several definitions of techniques and describe their pros and cons. The Institute for Participatory Planning (1978) extensively describes numerous techniques as part of a course for agency participation managers. The U.S. National Park Service (1978) gives staff guidelines for technique application. This agency groups its techniques under the headings of day-to-day activities of an on-going nature and benchmark events in association with the planning process. Wengert (1974) provides an analysis of various participations. Vindasius (1974) provides techniques in handy tabular form according to scope, specificity, degree of two-way communication, level of public activity and agency staff time requirements. Morgenstern (1976) describes different approaches and their related techniques including traditional political approaches such as votes and referendums, community-based approaches such as citizen advisory committees, user need survey approaches such as surveys, simulations and gaming and the usage of outside expert resources such as expert panelling. Olsen (1976) proposes some fifty-seven techniques to Parks Canada for its planning process. Priscoli (1975a) also presents an evaluation of methods other than public hearings. Connor (1974a and 1978c) provides an excellent overview of techniques within the framework of public involvement models previously discussed.

Appendix 1 provides a review of the most common techniques. What surfaces in the review of techniques is criticism of formal public

hearings and support for a mix of involvement techniques, usually within an open planning framework, making use of the vast communication opportunities of the media. It is important to build and reach a well-informed public capable of representing and presenting the public interest.

Analysis and Evaluation of Public Input

The analysis and evaluation of public inputs, two distinct and critical components of public involvement programs, are weak areas of the literature reviewed. How do you effectively and efficiently analyze and interpret the information overload often produced by public involvement?

The U.S. National Forest Service has probably made the most comprehensive contribution and concerted effort toward the development and implementation of a systematic approach to public input analysis and evaluation. Both are considered by the Service as separate processes of involvement. The process of analysis "summarizes and displays the nature, content, and extent of input received. Analysis is objective, delivering information from citizen to decision-makers without any judgement as to its value or worth", whereas the evaluation process is described as subjective and involves the process in which "input is interpreted and weighed by decisionmakers" (Clark and Stankey, 1976, p. 214). Appendix 2 outlines U.S. National Forest Services approach which was also covered extensively by Olsen (1976).

Evaluation of Public Involvement Programs

Methods and types of evaluation, evaluation models, efficiency, effectiveness, effort, effectiveness criteria, goal achievement, operational or impact evaluation, equity, benefit/costs, and conflict resolution are some of the many terms found in the literature that deals with the evaluation of public involvement. Appendix 3 provides a review of this literature which proposes evaluation frameworks of varying sophistication. What is important to retain is that some public involvement program evaluation be undertaken by agencies in order to improve this method of addressing externalities.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the major themes, concerns and components, of the vast and diverse literature on public involvement. An attempt to address externalities permeates the literature. The issues raised are complex and often confusing, and pose more questions and problems than provide answers and solutions. Public involvement is a relatively new phenomenon lacking a universally acceptable theory. Public involvement is demanding and difficult to understand, and even more so to undertake. Yet, in spite of all its deficiencies it is argued that public involvement is necessary and worthwhile.

The benefits of public involvement, however, only outweigh the costs if there is effective and efficient public involvement. Without effective and efficient public involvement, the current experimentation, which is often clumsy, ill-conceived and subject to abandonment, will lead to further criticism and to a failure of this only available means of significant participatory democracy.

As implied by Lucas (1978), public involvement challenges the status quo of the Canadian polity encompassing a pluralistic decision-making process of elite interaction and of lobbying for resources. It must succeed against a sometimes apathetic silent majority lacking an entrenched tradition of activist-participation, against a legislative tradition of supremacy and ultimate authority as principally expressed by the executive made up of cabinet, the inner-cabinet and the mandarins, and against a bureaucracy which cherishes a tradition of vast discretionary powers to interpret and exercise the legislative and executive will.

Lucas (1978) identifies five prerequisites to effective public participation, namely, 1) a degree of citizen activism, 2) the existence of citizen group organizations, 3) a legal foundation providing rights and duties for public involvement, 4) political and administrative discretionary powers which favor public involvement and, 5) access to information and resources, which is essential to the existence of an active and well-informed public. Concerning the relevance of these basic conditions for effective public involvement, Lucas writes:

"Effective public participation is not likely to occur in the absence of the five factors discussed. However, some of the factors are more important than others. Clearly, for anything at all to happen, some basic level of public education, information and citizen activism is required. But to be effective, there must also be a positive policy response from the decision-making agency in the exercise of its discretionary powers.

Legal rights and correlative duties on agencies to permit participation may assist in moving towards the ideal. But such rights are not a complete solution. Discretion will still remain in the interpretation by the agency of its duty to consult or initiate participation. Thus, if attitudes that

favor participation are not developed among decision-makers, even legal duties may be carried out in a restrictive and token manner." (Lucas, 1978, p. 53)

Lucas concludes, as he claims with others, that a general theory of participation is inappropriate, since participation depends on the type of issue, the decision-maker and the locale, and should therefore be tailored to each decision-making area. This contextual tailoring should not preclude however the universal application of some of the common findings put forward in this chapter.

An effective and efficient public involvement program requires well-informed parties, not only on the issues at stake but on the objectives and role of public involvement, and on its limitations. Institutionalized public involvement must clearly state its consultative nature and its role in decision-making. The open planning approach favours effective public involvement if the whole of the program is well conducted with good information input, output, analysis and evaluation. This means effective use of the various public involvement techniques and of the media. The literature demonstrated that a good public involvement program usually means good representation of the general public. A good program will result in savings in the long run. Towards all of these ends, some form of public involvement program evaluation is mandatory.

Since public involvement provides the principal means for both the agency and the public to address externalities it is imperative that it be done in an efficient and effective way.

The next chapters describe Parks Canada's public involvement effort which in effect describes its efforts to address externalities.

4. PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN PARKS CANADA

Introduction

Institutionalized public involvement operates within parameters set by the legal, fiscal, structural and procedural aspects of the agency. Public involvement does not operate in a vacuum. It is but one, albeit important, consideration of decision-making. This chapter describes public involvement in Parks Canada by situating it in the general decision-making process which guides the establishment, development and operations of Canada's national parks.

The first section of the chapter introduces Parks Canada and describes how it operates. The second section describes the park planning process as it is the principal vehicle for meaningful public involvement in Canada's national parks and sites. The third section gives an overview of Parks Canada's public involvement effort. The fourth section focuses on public involvement in the planning process. The final section of the chapter reviews a number of cases of public involvement in the planning process.

It should be noted that in this and subsequent chapters, much of the language or terminology used is that of Parks Canada, the agency, the bureaucracy. Inconsistencies in the usage of the terminology in the various documents referenced were numerous and confusing, however every effort was taken to reduce this bureaucratese to a working minimum. Explanation of the terminology is also provided where appropriate. It should also be noted that structural reorganizations are prolific and almost continuous in government agencies. Parks Canada was no exception

during the formulation of this thesis. Also noteworthy is the fact that procedures and processes are readily subject to review and change. The Park planning processes of Parks Canada, for example, are currently undergoing an elaborate review that will likely be completed sometime in 1985.

Parks Canada - Operational Framework

Parks Canada, known as the Parks Canada Program, is one of six services that make up Canada's Department of the Environment.¹ The primary objective of the Department is "to preserve and enhance the quality of the environment for the benefit of present and future generations" (Environment Canada, 1982a, p. 1-2). Parks Canada's objective is:

"To protect for all times those places which are significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage and also to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this heritage in ways which leave it unimpaired for future generations." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 11)²

In 1981-82 the DOE total budget outlay was \$626,912,000 whereas Parks Canada's share was \$261,964,000 (Environment Canada, 1983a, p. 58). The Main Estimates figures of 1982-83 for the Department were \$706,222,000 with 11,625 person-years, Parks Canada accounting for \$263,281,000 and 5,058 person-years of this total, broken down as follows (Environment Canada, 1982a, pp. 1-9 and 7-3):³

	<u>\$(000)</u>	<u>Person-Years</u>
National Parks	146,183	2,615
National Historic Parks and Sites	53,484	1,216
Agreement for Recreation and Conservation (Canals)	39,200	717
Administration	<u>24,200</u>	<u>510</u>
Program totals	263,281	5,058

Parks Canada administers some 13,000,000 hectares (Environment Canada, 1982a, p. 7-1) of land protected as 31 National Parks, 83 National Historic Parks and Sites, nine Heritage Canals and four Co-operative Heritage Areas (Environment Canada, 1984a, p. 1).⁴ These operations attracted over 25 million visits in 1981-82 (Environment Canada, 1983a, p. 32).

Parks Canada is highly decentralized, both in terms of resources and decision-making. It is a three-tiered organization: national, regional and field. Approximately 10% of the staff is in program headquarters, 15% in regional offices and 75% in parks, sites and canals (Environment Canada, 1982a, p. 7-1). The five regional offices are:

REGION	LOCATION	RESPONSIBILITY
Atlantic	Halifax	Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick
Quebec	Quebec	Quebec
Ontario	Cornwall	Ontario
Prairie	Winnipeg	Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory
Western	Calgary	Alberta, British Columbia

Program headquarters (Hull, Québec) is responsible for broad policy formulation, program coordination, systems planning and long-range research. The regional offices, which are organized into planning and operations divisions, are responsible for site implementation and development, day-to-day direction of parks, sites and canals, specific applied research, operational planning and direction (Environment Canada, 1981a).

The regional director's responsibilities are central to understanding the level of management decentralization in Parks Canada. This person is responsible for the overall operations of the parks, sites,

canals and Agreements for Recreation and Conservation within the region. The director is the principal spokesman for Parks Canada in each region and reports directly to the Assistant Deputy Minister (A.D.M.) of Parks Canada. The regional directors sit with the Parks Canada headquarters directors on the Program Management Committee (P.M.C.). Headed by the A.D.M., the P.M.C. meets a few times a year and deals with policy matters and important operational issues.⁵

There seems to be a general consensus that program headquarters perform an advisory and monitoring function for the A.D.M., and responds to central agencies such as the Treasury Board Secretariat and to the political arena of government. The bureaucratic action, the real bureaucratic power appears to be in P.M.C. and more specifically, flows between the A.D.M. and the regional directors.

At the field level, each park, site or canal is managed by a superintendent who, in turn, works closely with the section heads of maintenance, interpretation, visitor services, warden services and administration. Park operations are essentially grouped into four functions, namely, 1) Resource Protection and Management, 2) Information, Interpretation and Visitor Services, 3) Maintenance, and 4) Park Management. Being the Parks Canada's spokesman at field level, the superintendent figures prominently in public relations with communities in and around the park. The superintendent reports directly to the regional director; however, communications of a staff and sometimes line nature exist with the regional assistant directors of Operations and of Planning and Development.⁶ Overall, the regional office and the field work closely together; however, the regional director is the authority on all operations, planning and development in the region.

Parks Canada is by no means autonomous. The Parks Canada program is a service or program within Environment Canada.⁷ The A.D.M. reports to the Deputy Minister of Environment Canada, who reports to the Minister, and the Minister in turn, reports to Cabinet and Parliament. This simple reporting model is in practice a complex myriad of management, policy and budgetary processes that are in a continuous flux.

This section has provided a cursory presentation of the management and decision framework of Parks Canada. It provided, in part, the general political, bureaucratic and financial background needed to better understand the broader environment in which public involvement operates.

Planning Process for Parks

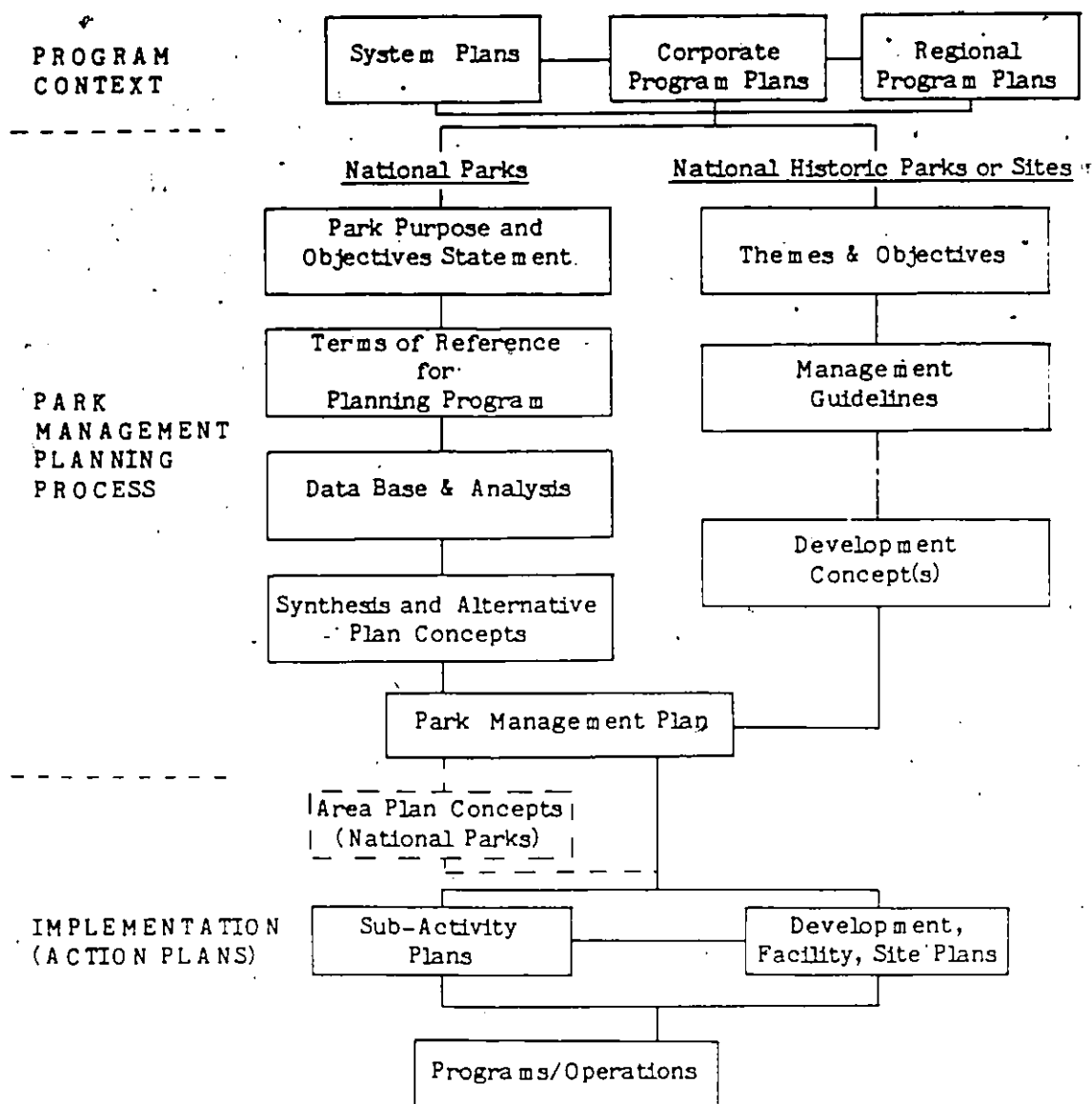
In the case of Parks Canada, park establishment, planning, development and management is ultimately achieved through the implementation of a park management plan. Each Parks Canada field operation has, or will have, a management plan, which is an approved public document that outlines in general terms the *raison d'être* and resources of the park or site and its proposed development and operations for ten to fifteen years.

Implementation and updating included, a management plan is the principal output of Parks Canada's institutionalized planning process for its parks and sites. It is the means of implementing Parks Canada's policies in the field within its regional context.

Figure 1 presents the planning process for both National Parks and National Historic Parks and Sites, which conceptually involves three

FIGURE 1

PLANNING PROCESS FOR NATIONAL PARKS AND NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES



Adapted from: 1) Parks Canada, National Historic Parks & Sites Branch, A Planning Framework for National Historic Parks and Sites, PRM-40-1, Volume 3, Part 3, Section 3.21, File C-3730-133 (Hull, Quebec: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, January 12, 1979; 2) Parks Canada, National Parks Branch, Community and Cooperative Activities Division, National Parks Management Planning Process Manual (Hull, Quebec: Community and Cooperative Activities Division, 1982); 3) Parks Canada, ARC Branch, Planning Division, Planning Processes in Parks Canada: An ARC Discussion Paper (Hull, Quebec: Planning Division, Document No. 10798, June, 1980).

broad phases, namely, Program Context, Park Management Planning Process and Implementation. Although there are fewer steps shown for National Historic Parks and Sites in the Park Management Planning Process, this difference is more conceptual than real. National Historic Parks and Sites management planning framework described in Indian and Northern Affairs (1979a) is currently being revised in line with the more recently developed National Parks planning framework (Environment Canada, 1982c). It is for this reason, and others relating to the understanding of the role of public involvement in Parks Canada, that the thesis examines the management planning process of both National Parks and National Historic Parks and Sites, although the principal case study of Batoche belongs to the latter activity.

Program Context is the title given to the first broad phase of the planning process and it consists of three levels of input labelled Corporate, Program Plans, System Plans and Regional Plans.

Corporate Program Plans involve what was covered in the previous section, that is senior level input from Parks Canada, Environment Canada and the federal government. In its simplest form, it involves resource allocation and the setting of priorities as influenced by legal (legislation and policy), fiscal (availability of funds) and political (government priorities) considerations.

Regional Program Plans establish priorities and direction for each region within the broader requirements of corporate plans.

System Plans incorporate planning for a system of parks and sites representative of Canada's cultural and natural heritage.

"System planning is required, in part, so that corporate program decisions may be made and priorities established on a national basis . . . System planning will provide a definitive statement of national parks purpose within the national context, a first level of resource information to be used in park management planning, and a summary of conditions for management planning (e.g. negotiated commitments), socio-economic studies and profiles of regions in which parks exist and assessments of potential impacts and local regions." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 12)

In the case of National Parks, system planning means a systematic program directed at establishing national park areas in each of the 48 natural regions of Canada, of which there are 39 terrestrial (land theme) and 9 marine identified. Revised and reprinted several times, the Indian and Northern Affairs (1972a) "National Parks System Planning Manual" and the Indian and Northern Affairs (1976a) "Natural Areas of Canadian Significance" are the backbone documents guiding this objective which, in practice, is the ideal first level selection step for establishing new parks. There is currently a National Parks and National Marine Parks System Planning Process Manual in an advanced draft form. It defines System Planning as follows:

"System planning - the process whereby natural areas of interest for national parks and marine parks are identified, potential parks are selected, and new parks are established. This includes defining marine and terrestrial regions and the resources and processes representative of, or distinctive within visually and scientifically defined natural regions. The selection of potential park areas, development of park concepts including boundary options, draft guidelines for the protection and use of proposed park areas, interim park purpose and objectives and a preliminary land acquisition strategy are prepared prior to the development of a final park agreement setting out the terms and conditions for establishment of the new park." (Environment Canada, 1984d, p. 12)

The proposed manual identifies eight system planning process steps, namely and sequentially: 1) area identification, 2) selection of potential park, 3) public park feasibility assessment, 4) development of new park proposal, 5) negotiation and approval of park agreement, 6) land assembly and boundary survey, 7) preparation of interim management guidelines, and 8) inclusion of park in National Parks Act. The manual, however, qualifies these general process steps for the establishment of most parks.

Establishing new parks is a long term process. As outlined in this manual, the systems planning process follows a logical sequence based on a cautious approach and given favourable political, social, and economic conditions steps in the process could be combined or omitted, or time frames could be reduced." (Environment Canada, 1984d, p. 2)

In the case of National Historic Parks and Sites, system planning is not as well documented as that of National Parks, however the Parks Canada Policy provides some guidance. It relies on a system of historic parks and sites which can underline the association at different historic locations, of periods and themes and will take into account: the degree of historic resources currently protected or threatened; the geographic balance of national historic parks throughout Canada; a balance of historic themes; activities and capabilities of other public and private agencies responsible for preserving aspects of Canada's historic heritage; and international criteria for the protection of historic resources.

There are stringent selection criteria for potential National Historic Parks such as: the place must possess integrity and include the original site and significant authentic historic resources. It is noteworthy, as cited below, that cost of development is a selection criterion incorporated in policy.



"vi) it will be possible to protect the historic resources including their authentic environment within the lands available and at an acceptable cost." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 28)

The actual identification of persons, places and events of national historic significance for the purposes of a National Historic Park or Site is based on the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. This 17 member advisory body to the Minister was created in 1919 by Order-in-Council and obtained a statutory base in 1953 under the Historic Sites and Monuments Act. The Board receives written submissions from the public (and Parks Canada) concerning persons, places and events which might qualify as being of national historic significance. There is a close working relationship with Parks Canada, as it performs a quasi-secretarial role for the Board. The current Director of National Historic Parks and Sites Branch is also Secretary of the Board. Parks Canada also undertakes much of the research of the Board.

"1.3. Parks Canada will undertake detailed research into historic significance of persons, places and events to assist the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 28)

Park Management Planning Process is the label attached to the next broad phase of the planning process. First, the National Parks management planning process, and second, the National Historic Parks and Sites management planning process will be briefly described.

The National Parks Management Planning Process involves several steps leading to the Park Management Plan, namely, the development of the Park Purpose and Objectives Statement, of the Terms of Reference for Planning Program, of the Data Base and Analysis, and of the Synthesis and Alternative Plan Concepts.

The Park Purpose and Objectives Statement is a public document which gives: the physical, legal, social, economic and operational description of the park; the thematic purposes of the park within the system; and the long-term objectives of the park.

The Terms of Reference for Planning Program is a document approved by the regional director that spells out who, where, what, when and how the planning program to develop and produce the Management Plan will be carried out. Financial guidelines for possible development are given. Also, the terms of reference document identifies the planning project manager, the composition of the planning team and its responsibilities and authorities.

6 The development of Data Base and Analysis involves the compilation of existing information and the obtention of needed information to complete a sound data base and analysis.

"The data base can be categorized under broad topics such as legislation and policies, national and regional relationships, regional socio-economic information, park resources and public uses, wants and needs. Within the content of such topics, information is required on natural and cultural resources, resource sensitivities, socio-economic characteristics of use and users, recreation capabilities, interpretive potentials, land use relationships, policies and park operations, and the results of public consultations." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 19)

Synthesis and Alternative Plan Concepts development require the combination and summarization of the data and analysis into a synthesis. Using the synthesis, alternative plan concepts are developed. They outline the protection of park resources, visitor use, and the type and character of public and private facilities necessary to support and administer activities. A plan concept is then selected and shaped into a Park Management Plan. It represents the many decisions made by management during the planning process. The national park management

planning process "will be completed in a maximum period of 6 calendar years, with about 3-5 years allowed for resource inventory and analysis, and two years for planning with one year overlap" (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 27).

For National Historic Parks and Sites, the management planning process steps are also identified according to their products, which are: the Themes and Objectives, the Management Guidelines, the Development Concepts and the Park Management Plan.

The Themes and Objectives of a National Historic Park and Site provide the historical rationale and the national context and identify the objectives for the conservation of historical resources and the interpretation of the themes. The Themes and Objectives is equivalent to the National Parks' Parks Purpose and Objective Statement.

The Management Guidelines statement provides the direction and guidance for the selection and implementation of the planning program. The scope and content is very similar to the Terms of Reference for Planning Program of National Parks.

The Development Concept stage's purpose is to recommend one park or site development concept through the evaluation of a range of feasible alternative concepts.

Finally, the Park Management Plan is formulated, based on the development concept selected.

The final broad phase of the planning process for National Parks and National Historic Parks and Sites involves the implementation of the park management plan.⁸ Before the final output of on-the-ground program delivery, capital development and day to day operations in the park, there are several planning steps which refine the general strategies and proposals of the management plan. These micro level

plans include sub-activity plans such as those relating to visitor services and interpretation. These are prepared concurrently with plans involving capital development such as development, site and facility plans. These involve products such as pre-design briefs, site or area development plans, engineering and architecture plans, specifications and cost estimates. Although detailed in nature, these micro level plans should not be underestimated in terms of impact on the park, as they, probably more than the management plan, determine the physical outcome of a park or site.

Both National Parks and National Historic Parks and Sites planning processes have alternative approaches to the management planning process.

In the case of National Parks, the alternative approach involves the development of Interim Management Guidelines. These are developed where parks do not have an immediate prospect of a park management plan. Interim Management Guidelines are based on clearly defined objectives and are essentially restrictive regarding development pressures and objectives.

"Interim management guidelines are operational in character and do not require a systematic synthesis and formulation of alternatives based on an evenly developed data base. They should be produced relatively quickly (one calendar year or less) and it should be the responsibility of the superintendent to produce them in consultation with resource management specialists." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 41)

The National Historic Parks and Sites planning document (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979a, pp. 23-27) outlines three alternative approaches to the planning process:

- Alternative I
1. Themes and Objectives
 2. Management Guidelines

- 3. Development Concepts
 - 4. Management Plan
 - 5. Action Plans (Implementation)
- Alternative II
- 1. Themes and Objectives
 - 2. Management Guidelines
 - 3. Interim Plans
 - 4. Action Plans (Implementation)
 - 5. Management Plan (future)
 - 6. Action Plans (future) (Implementation)
- Alternative III
- 1. Themes and Objectives
 - 2. Management Guidelines
 - 3. Development Summary
 - 4. Action Plans (Implementation)

Alternative I, described earlier, shows the steps which should ideally be followed. Alternative II is implemented when it is not feasible to produce a full Management Plan; for example, there may be insufficient lead time or information to prepare a Management Plan. Alternative III occurs in the event that a Park or Site has been incrementally developed to the point where little or no option is left for the work remaining to be done.

"In such an event there is little point in undertaking the preparation of either a Management Plan or an Interim Plan. However, there is still the need to ensure that the content within which the final stages should take place is fully understood" (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979a, p. 23)

It is Parks Canada's policy to have a management plan for each of its field operations. At present, National Parks have 11 approved Park

Management Plans, two Interim Management Plans and four Provisional Master Plans, which are older versions of Interim Management Plans. It is estimated that, by the Summer/Fall of 1985, 23 Park Management Plans will have been produced, and that the remaining six parks in the system will be operating under Interim Management Plans.⁹

Unfortunately, an updated Management Plan status report is not available for National Historic Parks and Sites. However, this activity is functioning under similar pressure to have management plans or at least interim plans for all field locations by 1985, which is Parks Canada's Centennial - an indication of the importance attributed to management plans.¹⁰

Public Involvement in Parks Canada - Overview

Parks Canada, as a government agency, has a relatively long tradition of public involvement, both formal and informal, in its policy and decision-making, its planning and development and in its operations. For the most part, this is explained by Parks Canada's field level economic, social and political connection with communities in and around parks and sites, the support and opposition of heritage and recreational interest groups and by the multitude of jurisdictions, especially federal and provincial, involved in cultural and natural resources and in recreation. In order to expand the system of parks in the early 1970's, to undertake important capital developments and to generally serve a better educated and environmentally aware public, Parks Canada began some 15 years ago to institutionalize public involvement. Today, some form of public involvement occurs in each broad phase of the planning process.

There are currently four major institutionalized public involvement opportunities in Parks Canada, namely at the departmental policy development level, at the regulatory level, at the park establishment level and at the park management plan development level. The latter is the focus of the thesis.

The first level of public involvement now occurs at the Departmental level. Environment Canada launched, with the release in 1981 of its Policy for Public Consultation and Information Availability, a program to meet with the public on a regular basis in order to discuss environmental issues and concerns, including programs, policies and regulations at headquarters and in the regions. These meetings are principally intended to cover the Program Context of the planning process, that is, the Corporate Program Plan, the Regional Program Plan and to some extent, System Plans. These public meetings also invariably deal with the implementation aspect of the planning process.

"The Public Consultation and Information Availability Policy will seek continuing discussions and a spirit of openness between officials and the public, with the public contributing at the earliest possible stages toward development of programs, policies and regulations. This dialogue will be encouraged through a framework for convening regular public meetings. The policy should complement and be complemented by other formal or informal channels of communication, as well as specific public consultation policies and activities within the services. It is not a substitute for channels of communication to the Minister." (Environment Canada, 1981b, brochure)¹¹

An important component of the Policy for Public Consultation and Information Availability is that the Department will reimburse 100 percent of the direct transportation costs incurred by an interest group or professional association in sending one representative to a designated meeting.

To qualify, a public interest group or professional association must satisfy the following requirements:

- "1. Be a non-profit organization with an interest in the policies and program of Environment Canada.
2. Indicate a financial need and be willing to make available a financial statement and budget, if requested.
3. Indicate the reasons for wishing to attend a designated meeting for which financial assistance is being requested.
4. Participate at the designated meeting." (Environment Canada, 1981b, brochure)

The first Headquarters Annual Public Consultation Meeting was held September 21-23, 1982. The agenda was as follows: plenary sessions on the Environment Canada Strategic Plan and concurrent discussion sessions on acid rain; National Parks planning; weather, climate and man; Canadian water issues; hazardous wastes; forest management and renewal, world conservation strategy; other issues (Environment Canada, 1982d, pp. 3-4).¹²

"Industrialists, academics, environmentalists, private citizens and representatives of several public interest groups came to Ottawa in large numbers last September to discuss Environment Canada's policies and programs." (Environment Canada, 1982e, pp. 3-4)

More than half of the over 100 groups who attended represented environmental and wildlife conservation interests. Six Universities sent participants. The industrial sector included participants from DOMTAR, Abitibi Price, CIL, Honda Motor Corporation and SUNCOR. Professional groups included the Mining Association of Canada, the Tourism Industry Association, the Consumers' Association of Canada and the Canadian Medical Association. Three native peoples' organizations also participated.

There were 22 non-governmental participants at the National Parks Planning sessions. Some of the recommendations made were that: Parks Canada be given more representation in the senior management of the

Department; and that public consultation on the establishment of new national parks be national, not just local (Environment Canada, 1982f, p. 6).

Follow-up to the meeting included an interim draft report which was distributed at the close of the meeting, a more detailed report mailed in December, 1982, to all participants and a formal reply to recommendations, mailed to participants by mid-January, 1983.

Environment Canada's regional public consultation meetings were concurrently held during September and October, 1982. One-day meetings were held in 19 cities across Canada, covering topics which ranged from the DOE Strategic Plan to more regional concerns such as recycling and forest management in British-Columbia and the environmental impacts of offshore development in the Atlantic Regions. The meetings were well attended and numerous briefs were tabled by various groups. The meetings were prolific in terms of recommendations: for example, 111 recommendations came out of the four Atlantic provincial meetings.

Another round of meetings was held in the Spring of 1983. More than 200 people attended the second annual headquarters meeting held in Ottawa on May 4-5. The Strategic Plan was again tackled and workshops covered acid rain, parks and tourism, forestry, water, wildlife habitat, nuclear energy and lead in gasoline (Environment Canada, 1983b). The 1983 regional meetings were held during October and November in Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton and Yellowknife.

It would be premature to determine the impact of these public involvement meetings. However, it would seem, given the number of groups participating at these meetings and the extensive resources being used by the Department, that this public involvement program is meaningful. Further study is needed to confirm this assumption.

At the Parks Canada Program level, public involvement is extensive and touches most significant activities of the Program. Broad statements on the requirement for public involvement are numerous.

There is even statutory guidance, albeit very weak and subject to wide discretionary application, encouraging public involvement. In an Act to amend the National Parks Act, Chapter 11 of the Statutes of Canada, 1974, Section 10, which deals with the establishment of several National Parks reference is made to public hearings:

"(3) The Minister shall, at such time or times as he considers appropriate in the development of National Parks in the areas described in subsection (1), hold public hearings in relation to the plans for the development of those Parks." (Canada, 1978, p. 13)

The Parks Canada Policy contains many references to public involvement. This document statement, approved by the Minister in September, 1979, was itself subject to extensive public involvement. In fact, the approved version was the eleventh attempt at the document first drafted January, 1976, and originating in 1961-62. In March, 1976, a discussion seminar on draft #2, attended by a cross-section of outside experts, was held at Carleton University. Draft #8 was distributed in April, 1978, to 300 interest groups and individuals, followed in November of that year by seminars open to the public in Winnipeg, Toronto, Vancouver, Halifax, Calgary, Québec and Ottawa/Hull. Subsequent to the approval and distribution of the policy, the document entitled "Response to Public Comments on the Parks Canada Policy" was given wide distribution in October, 1979 (Environment Canada, 1979a).

According to the Parks Canada Policy, public participation is a program policy.

"Parks Canada will provide opportunities for public participation at national, regional and local levels, in the development of policies and plans." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 13)

According to the Policy, public views will be sought on major issues such as national policies, new park establishment, park management plans and large new development proposals. The public participation mechanism used varies depending on the situation.

"Therefore opportunities for public participation will be provided in a variety of ways: public information, meetings, workshops, questionnaires, interviews, public hearings, seminars, publications, or advisory committees." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 13)

The Policy lists fundamental principles for public participation:

"For public participation to be effective, certain principles are fundamental:

- public discussion prior to final decisions;
- clear and accurate information;
- indication of areas requiring decisions and relevant policies, legislation and agreements;
- adequate notice and time for public review;
- careful consideration of public input;
- information on the nature of comments received and on Parks Canada's response to participants." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 13)

According to the Parks Canada Policy, each major activity, such as National Parks, National Historic Parks and Sites and Heritage Canals, is guided by policy statements requiring public participation in conjunction with the establishment and the planning of parks, sites and canals. The Policy gives the following explanation for the reasoning behind Parks Canada's support for public involvement:

"Public participation presents numerous advantages. It allows people interested in heritage issues to meet and exchange information and points of view. Citizens' ideas and comments can provide valuable input to the policy making and planning process. Public input becomes an integral part of this process and results in better decisions. Through such participation, there can be a better understanding of the objectives of Parks Canada and increased public support essential for heritage protection." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 13)

Public Involvement in the Planning Process

The National Parks planning process, has a fairly consistent general approach to public involvement. The minimum number of participation points at which opportunities should be accorded at the System Plan stage, the Parks Purpose and Objectives Statement, the Synthesis and Alternative Plan Concepts and the Park Management Plan.

"This is an indication of minimal commitment but "publics" could be involved in all product steps illustrated in the national park planning process diagram. The extent, manner and responsibility for public involvement will be specified in the terms of reference." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 38)

The National Parks Management Planning Process Manual states the public input requirement in its elaboration of each step of the planning process as follows:

For the System Plans stage:

"A form of public consultation must be provided at the system planning stage so that national, regional and local considerations are accounted for." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 13)

Elaborate public involvement programs have occurred in recent years in the establishment of new national parks. These have virtually occurred, however, in a vacuum of guidelines, functioning on an ad hoc basis under regional responsibility. The proposed National Parks and National Marine Parks System Planning Process Manual (Environment Canada, 1984d) referred to earlier, not only identifies in detail the sequence of steps in establishing a new park, but also offers a comprehensive treatment of institutionalized public involvement in support of the planning process. The timing, the intensity, the publics and the kind or nature of public involvement are clearly identified. It is unlikely that the document will survive approval without the deletion

of this treatment of public involvement. The final and approved System Planning Process Manual is expected to limit public involvement to general statements. This is also the case of the second draft of revised National Parks Management Planning Process Manual (Environment Canada, 1984e). It is currently believed that specific guidance for public involvement will be provided elsewhere, as yet undetermined, than in the two planning manuals under revision.

For the Parks Purpose and Objectives Statement (Management Planning Process):

"Public participation is required during formulation of a park purpose and objectives statement." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 15)

The Terms of Reference of the Management Planning Program are to specify and identify the level and type of public involvement. The Data Base and Analysis is to provide information on the results of public consultation, which by this stage would have occurred at the Systems Planning level and during the preparation of the Park Purpose and Objectives statement. In the preparation of the Synthesis and Alternative Plan Concepts, public wants are to be summarized in the synthesis. The only mention of public participation in the Manual's elaboration of Management Plans is that the plan must identify and address the concerns of those segments of the public who will be affected by, or will affect, the management of the park. The National Parks Management Planning Manual does not elaborate on the timing or mechanism of public participation.

In practice, the key public input occurs in the selection of the alternative plan concept which will form the basis of a Management Plan, which, in turn, is to be subjected to public review. In contradiction to the open planning model approach, there is rarely an official draft management plan submitted for public review. As will be shown later meaningful public input usually stops at the alternative concept stage, from which an approved final management plan is developed and distributed. The Management Plan is usually accompanied by a Management Plan Summary document and by a Management Plan Public Consultation Summary document.

It is noteworthy that there is a Management Plan Review and amendment process and relevant general directions proclaiming the need for public participation.

"Public participation will occur:

- i) if an amendment is being considered for an approved management plan;
- ii) if in the opinion of the director of the region, public involvement would be desirable in a plan revision." (Environment Canada, 1982c, p. 76)

In the case of National Historic Parks and Sites, the public involvement component of the management planning process is basically the same as for National Parks. Indian and Northern Affairs (1979a), the planning framework document for National Historic Parks and Sites, however, is not as explicit as to the role and benchmarks of public involvement.¹³ The document, which is a directive instead of a manual, has a total of eleven weak and obscure references to public involvement. In most cases, it requires the documents produced for each planning stage to consider public views, attitudes and expectations identified

through the public participation process, which is not elaborated in this directive or elsewhere.

In this planning directive, there is no mention of public participation at the first stage of the management planning process, that is, in the preparation of the Themes and Objectives document. The next stage, entitled Management Guidelines, identifies the level and the type of public involvement considered appropriate and considers "influences exterior to the site, such as development pressures in the vicinity, perceived relationship in the region, political sensitivities of the project" (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979a, p. 6). The Development Concepts phase must document and consider public views identified through the public participation process and take into account public attitudes and expectations regarding development and alternative concepts. Alternative concepts are not always presented to the public.

Implementation of public involvement in Parks Canada is handled for the most part by the public participation coordinators of the regions. Each region has a public participation coordinator, who, in the case of the management planning process, works closely with the planning team, which is headed by a project manager. Individual parks are represented by superintendents on the planning team. The superintendents actively participate in most of the public involvement activities of their park.

Program headquarters is for the most part not involved in public involvement unless there is a politically sensitive dimension which attracts the Minister's attention, or an issue which takes on significant national importance. There is little if no coordination of public involvement at a national level, nor national standards beyond

those already mentioned, which for all intents and purposes are meaningless. Public participation, as a Parks Canada activity, is a completely decentralized function inconsistently and differently implemented by the regions. Input gathering, dissemination, analysis and evaluation, and program evaluation are entirely handled at the regional level, where public participation coordinators have varying authority and responsibility, especially with regards to planners. According to a second draft (November 1984) of a revised National Parks Management Planning Process Manual, the responsibility for the public participation program rests with the regional Public Participation Coordinator and the responsibility for integrating results of the public participation program within the planning program is that of the Planning Team Leader, designated for the park management plan in question (Environment Canada, 1984e, pp. 31-32).

SELECTED CASES OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN

PARK PLANNING - OVERVIEW

Master Plans - Emergence of Public Involvement in Park Planning

Developed in 1968, a public hearing policy was instituted in 1970 on the provisional master plans for national parks, the predecessor to current management plans. They were not however public hearings as formally defined, but rather large formal public meetings.

"The intent of the Hearing Programme was, generally, to solicit public opinion and involvement in the planning and development of national parks. The public was advised through press, radio and television that a hearing was to be held. Sixty days prior to a scheduled hearing, information kits explaining the park proposal were made available at various locations to the public. At the hearing, the public were invited to give short verbal submissions of their position, or written statements relating to the proposed plan. A summary of all comments received was then prepared by the Branch and

sent to all participants, after which Parks Canada issued a document outlining their reaction and comments on the information provided by the public." (Olsen, 1976, p. 142)

From April, 1970, to February, 1974, the Public Hearing Programme involving National Park provisional master plans was implemented. The first hearing was held April 1, 1970, to review the plan for Kejimikujik National Park in Nova-Scotia. The provisional master plan was presented by the Chairman as a concept with the intention that the process of consultation and dialogue would shape the final master plan (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1970a,b,c). Hearings followed at Cape Breton Highlands National Park in Nova-Scotia (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1970d,e,f; 1971a), Fundy National Park in New-Brunswick. (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1970g,h; 1971b), Forillon National Park (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1971c; 1973a) and La Mauricie National Park (Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 1972) in Québec, and Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1970i; 1971d,e; 1973b; 1975a),

Between April 16-26, 1971, the then National and Historic Parks Branch held public hearings in Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver on the provisional master plans of the four contiguous Rocky Mountain Parks, namely, Banff, Jasper, Kootenay and Yoho National Parks (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1969; 1971f,g,h). The Banff National Park provisional master plan's inclusion of a massive visitor services centre proposal at Lake Louise incorporating an all-season mountain village sparked such controversy and public pressure that a separate public hearing was held from March 9 to 11, 1972, in Calgary to specifically deal with the March 25, 1970, Memorandum of Intent signed between the Crown and Village Lake Louise Ltd. Subsequent to the hearing's

discussion and review of more than 2,500 briefs submitted, the Minister announced on July 12, 1972, in Calgary, the government's decision not to approve the Lake Louise project. Similar controversy surrounded a proposed major expansion of downhill ski facilities at Sunshine Village, Banff National Park (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1972b, 1973c, 1974a, 1975b, 1976b, 1978a; Environment Canada, 1982g,h; Rouse, 1972; O'Brien, 1973; Herrero, 1979; Sloan, 1979; Touché, 1979; White, 1979).

The Lake Louise project rejection made it clear that Parks Canada's approach to public consultation had to be reshaped. Lake Louise was more a case of failure of the public consultation to resolve opposing views. Public consultation had created confrontation which led to polarization rather than problem solving. It was also a case of public input at the decision making level and not at the planning or policy making level.

Overall, the Public Hearing Programme experiment is described as follows:

"Generally speaking, these programs failed to gain public support for the plans presented. In fact, public opposition was so strong that plans presented to the hearings were not formally adopted.

These results probably reflect many factors. The subjects of the hearings were invariably prepared plans presented in published form. Such materials were likely construed as evidence that the agency had already decided on the plans. There was little opportunity for the ordinary citizen to participate." (Houle, 1978, p. 41)

Early in 1974, Indian and Northern Affairs (1974b) proposed policy guidelines to improve the public consultation process with the objective of structuring a public participation process that responded to changing public concepts of involvement while ensuring the integrity of the Parks Canada decision-making process. The proposed policy set the ground rules for the public participation approach that survives to this day.

Public involvement was decentralized to the regions and parks and institutionalized in key phases of the ongoing management process that would now require alternative concepts to be presented to the public.

This latter strategy would give the public choices hopefully mitigating opposition and polarization over issues. Decentralization of the process was designed to have public participation tailored to suit individual park and regional situations. This decentralization explains the current lack of national standards for public participation noted earlier.

Since 1974, there have been numerous public consultation exercises in conjunction with the master planning process or more recently, management planning process. One of the first tests of the new approach was that of the provisional master plan for Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba. The program, which began late in 1974, ended in February, 1977, with the officially approved plan (Indian and Northern Affairs: 1974c, 1975c, 1975 & 1976, 1976c, 1977a,b; Davidson, 1979; Kariel, 1979; MacFarlane, 1979). The stages of the process were as follows:

"Public participation was to help establish the data base and identify the issues to be resolved through planning in the first stage, Information Exchange. The next step, Concept Review, would involve an analysis of the expanded data base and preparation of alternative plan concepts by Parks Canada. Participants in turn were to provide evaluation of the alternatives. The results from this second stage would be evaluated and organized into a set of best plan proposals by the agency. These too would be evaluated by citizen participants and the agency alike in the third stage, Plan Evaluation, prior to the preparation and approval of the final park plan by Parks Canada." (Houle, 1978, p. 43)

The techniques of the Riding Mountain National Park Master Planning public participation included: media announcements in daily newspapers

across Canada, regional radio and television interviews, citizen participation by way of written submissions or attendance at public meetings, mailing lists spanning national and regional interests, information packages, formal information meetings and all day informal drop-ins in various locations, and public feedback sessions involving presentation of briefs and statements by individuals and organized groups. Houle (1978) remarks that large formal meetings dominated the process, and since all public meeting sessions were held in the region, regional participation predominated. The end result was an approved plan, produced close to schedule, which received a good measure of public input and support. According to Houle (1978), some 3,200 information packages were distributed in the first stage, approximately 2,400 people attended the Information Exchange meetings, and approximately 800 attended the Concept Review. The mailing list for the program grew from an initial 300 to 2,200. A questionnaire survey distributed at the end of the program produced 288 responses (18 per cent return) with over 90 per cent ranking the best plan proposals as good to excellent (Houle, 1978, p. 48).

Point Pelee National Park Management Plan

With the approval in 1978 of the Management Planning Process for National Parks, public involvement along the lines of the approach taken in Riding Mountain National Park became policy. There are often variances to the model, especially in recent years. This sometimes depends on the initial existence of a provisional master plan or on the complexity and controversy of envisaged developments.

In 1977, Parks Canada initiated a review of the 1972 Master Plan of Point Pelee National Park in order to develop a management plan (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978b; Environment Canada, 1981c, 1982i,j). The development of the management plan was undertaken in four phases and contained three opportunities for public involvement. Public input was obtained during the first three phases of the planning process.

"The four phase process included:

- the preparation of background materials (Phase I);
- the formulation of alternative Park plans (Phase II);
- the preparation of the Draft Management Plan (Phase III); and
- the preparation of this Management Plan (Phase IV)." (Environment Canada, 1982i, p. 109)

During phase I two open houses were held and meetings were held with provincial and national interest groups and with the Point Pelee National Park Advisory Committee.

"The preliminary stage of public consultation was designed to:

- inform the public that a Management Plan was being developed;
- provide the public with an opportunity to examine the technical information that had been completed on the Park resources and uses; and
- to identify the public's ideas, comments, and concerns with regard to the future use and development of the Park." (Environment Canada, 1982i, p. 109)

Phase I concluded in October 1978 with the issuance to interested members of the public of a framework paper developed with the comments obtained from the public in 1977, technical data and Parks Canada's review of the 1972 Master Plan (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978b). The framework paper discussed issues and problems to be addressed in the plan and outlined a general approach for the resolution. It was the basis for the development of alternatives.

Phase II, which lasted about two years, involved the development and submission to the public of alternative park plans. Parks Canada and a consulting firm developed four preliminary development concepts that were evaluated and narrowed down to one general concept considered most feasible and desirable (Landplan Collaborative Ltd., 1979). Based on this one concept, three possible park plans were developed and summarized into a document. It was presented to the public late in 1978.

"A comment sheet, and information handout illustrating the proposals, was produced and circulated to those on our mailing list and to all other interested parties. Four open houses were held in December 1978 in Leamington, the Park, Windsor and Toronto. All interested parties were encouraged to forward their comments to Parks Canada. Over 90 responses with 350 comments were received. A record of these comments and a summary with Parks Canada responses for Phase II are available in separate documents." (Environment Canada, 1982i, p. 111)

Phase III was initiated with the analysis and evaluation of the three park plans and the public comments received. This resulted in the identification of the most desirable plan, which was documented as the Draft Management Plan. In 1982, the Draft Management Plan was circulated to the public for final review and comments (Environment Canada, 1981c). The public provided more than 30 different comments which were considered in preparing the final Management Plan. A separate document summarized the public's comments on the draft plan and Parks Canada's response.

During phase IV, the phase III public comments were taken into account in the final revision and editing of the Management Plan that obtained the Minister's approval in 1982. Parks Canada also produced as a separate document a summary of the three phases of the public consultation program and Parks Canada's response. A section of the report entitled Highlights of Public Comments lists some 30 specific public comments under the following categories: protection of park

resources, interpretation, recreation activities, visitor circulation, support and visitor facilities and parking and roads. The 30 comments are claimed to be a summary of those received during the three phase review. The table also provides a Parks Canada response in terms of "YES" or "NO" to the incorporation of the specific comments in the management plan. Moreover, there are, in many cases, specific comments made by Parks Canada alongside the public comments (Environment Canada, 1982h, p. 129).

St. Lawrence Islands National Park Management Plan

The as yet incomplete St. Lawrence Islands National Park management planning process is an example of the significant influence public involvement, initially in the form of opposition followed by consultation, can have on an original proposal.¹⁴ In 1975, proposals to expand the Park from 3 square miles to 30 square miles received unfavourable publicity and very strong opposition, especially from local land and cottage owners of this prestigious recreational area. A park management plan will likely soon be released incorporating numerous capital development schemes and equally significant, the extension of the park to only 3.6 square miles, on a "willing buyer-willing seller" basis only. The history of this case is worthwhile exploring in more detail as it provides insight into the nature of public involvement, especially the use of citizen committees, in the management planning process.

In response to the opposition to the 1975 proposal, the Minister formed a citizens' committee, the St. Lawrence Islands National Park Advisory Committee (SLINPAC), to advise him on the future of the park.

Subsequent to a public consultation program, the Advisory Committee released a report in 1978 which recommended that the park expand to only two to five square miles and not to the initially proposed 30 square miles; Parks Canada coordinate its plans with the province of Ontario (the St. Lawrence Park Commission), as part of an overall concept involving a Thousand Islands Heritage Area which would stress interpretation as a primary function and a close relationship between preservation, education and recreation (St. Lawrence Islands National Park Advisory Committee, 1978). Most of the recommendations were accepted by Parks Canada and the government of Ontario.

In response to the SLINPAC report, an on-going advisory committee, the Thousand Islands Heritage Advisory Committee, was set up to help Parks Canada and the St. Lawrence Parks Commission implement the Thousand Islands Heritage Area. In July, 1981, the Committee completed the Thousand Islands Heritage Area Concept, which stressed the coordinated development and management of the area's heritage resources (Thousand Islands Heritage Area Advisory Committee, 1981). The preparation of a management plan for the St. Lawrence Islands National Park which would incorporate appropriate elements of the Heritage Area Concept thereafter became Parks Canada's means to implement the federal commitment in the concept.

"The concept was completed in July 1981 and contains commitments from government agencies and the private sector for the coordinated development and management of the area's heritage resources. Parks Canada and the Ontario St. Lawrence Parks Commission will play a lead role in implementing the concept. The Parks Commission will coordinate provincial involvement, and Parks Canada will implement federal commitments in the concept through the development of a management plan for St. Lawrence Islands National Park. This management plan will involve the newly formed St. Lawrence Islands Advisory Committee." (Environment Canada, 1982k, p. 3)

In June, 1982, the new citizens' committee entitled the St. Lawrence Islands Advisory Committee (SLIAC) was set up, basically from the membership of the previous citizens' committee.¹⁵ SLIAC's role is to obtain public input on the management planning process and to advise the Superintendent on the preparation and implementation of the park management plan and on public concerns (Environment Canada, 1982i). The citizens' committee is but one of three formal public involvement mechanisms being used in the management planning process of the park, the other two being the issuance of Newsletters and the holding of Open Houses by Parks Canada. It is noteworthy that although the advisory committee's meetings are open to the public, they are not formal public hearings, as the committee considers park management issues referred to it by Parks Canada.

The management planning process for the St. Lawrence Islands National Park involved four main steps subject to some form of formal public review. The public consultation strategy initially proposed is illustrated by Figure 2 (Environment Canada, 1982m).

It is interesting to note that: Newsletter No. 1, actually dated August, 1982, provided the Park Purpose and Objectives Statement of the Parks and did not solicit the public's view of what it should be; Newsletter No. 2, actually dated January, 1983, provided the issues and Ministerial commitments, whereby soliciting comments within this framework; Newsletter No. 3, actually dated July, 1983, presented Parks Canada's preferred concept and no other alternatives as initially intended. The submission of one concept instead of the usual three alternatives is not uncommon practice, even though there is no allowance for it in the existing Management Planning Process Manual. Provision

**FIGURE 2. ST. LAWRENCE ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK MANAGEMENT
PLANNING PROCESS**

Management Planning Process Steps	Form of Public Involvement
1. Define the Purpose and Objectives of the Park (Park Purpose and Objectives Statement)	- Newsletter No. 1, July, 1982
2. Collect information and identify park concerns (Data Base & Analysis)	- Newsletter No. 2, September, 1982
3. Develop alternative concepts for the Park (Synthesis and Alternative Plan Concepts) - actually one concept.	- Newsletter No. 3, April, 1983 - Open Houses (in Park, Toronto, Ottawa and Kingston) June, July & August 1983 - Newsletter No. 4 (feedback on comments received) November, 1983
4. Develop a Park Management Plan based on the most suitable concept.	- Advisory Committee review of final draft Management Plan, March, 1984 - Newsletter No. 5 (highlights of draft Management Plan) April, 1984

Source: Parks Canada, Ontario Region, Public Consultation Division,
Public Consultation Strategy - St. Lawrence Islands National Park
Management Plan, May, 1982.

for a preferred concept is however made in the proposed revised manual where "in some cases it may be concluded that there are no alternatives and one specific concept will be produced" (Environment Canada, 1984e, pp. 18-19). This was likely the case for the St. Lawrence Island National Park Management Plan, given the earlier refinement of scope and choice and the size of park. A one-concept approach could however be stressed as an exception and require clear and public justification. At the time of writing, a fourth newsletter highlighting a draft of the management plan had been circulated, a summary of public comments produced and, in August, 1984, a management plan was submitted for Ministerial approval which, as of October, 1984, had not yet been obtained.

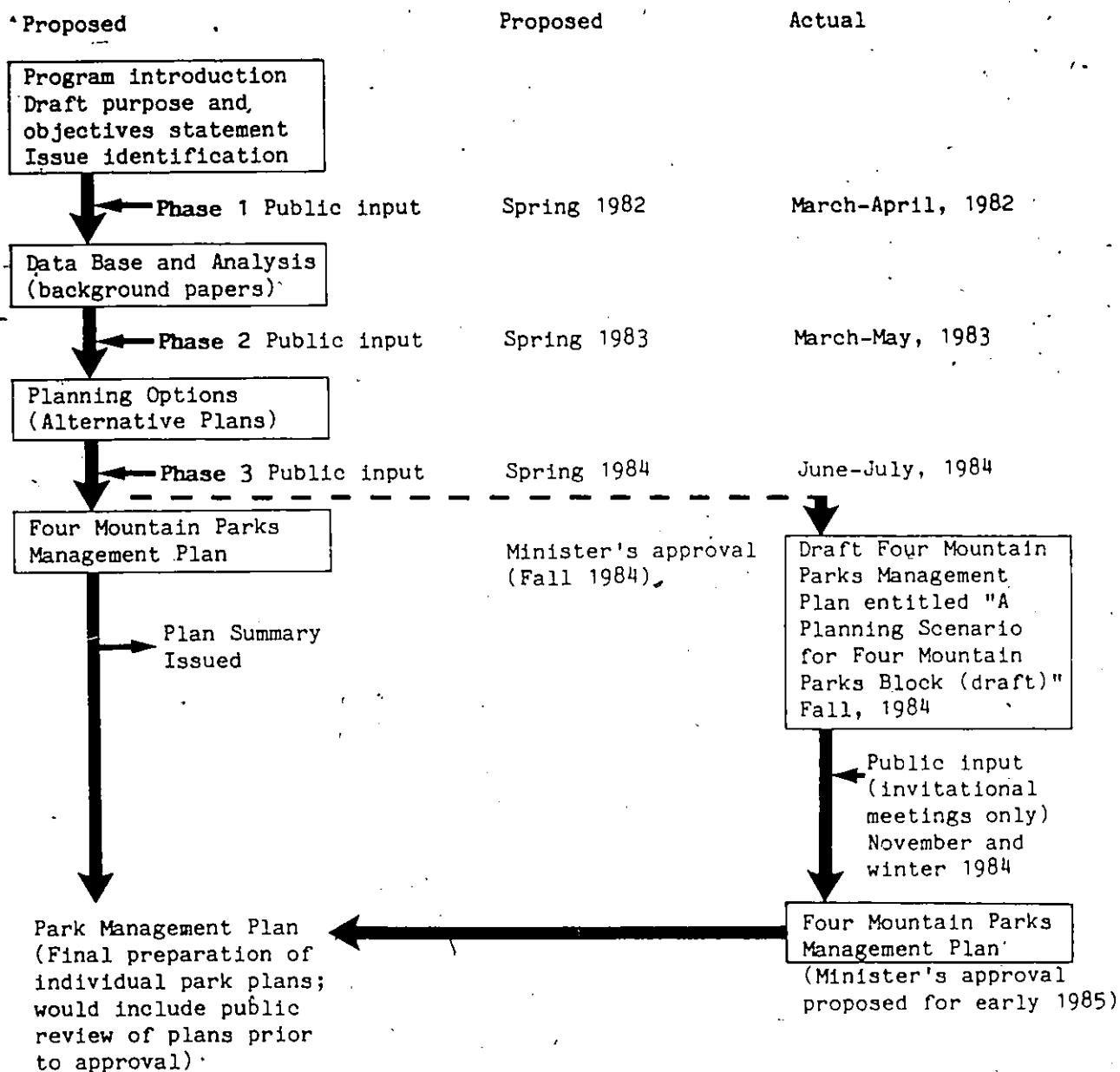
Four Mountain Parks Block Management Plan

Probably the most elaborate (some 4 years), expensive (some \$1.1 million) and controversial management planning process and public involvement program is that of the Four Mountain Parks Block Management Plan which, at time of writing, December, 1984, is incomplete and subject to controversy. Covering Banff, Jasper, Yoho and Kootenay National Parks, the block management plan, which will "contain general statements of direction, will set the framework within which individual park management plans will then be developed" (Environment Canada, 1984f, p. 2). It is a renewed attempt (the previous one, in the early 70's, ended up with the Lake Louise controversy) to map out the general future development of the area. From the outset, it should be pointed out that these parks epitomize the duality of Parks Canada's mandate, namely conservation and recreation, and that both are represented by

exceptionally strong and influential groups, inherently polarized. This problem is further complicated by the existence in the area of the two national park towns or townsites of Banff and Jasper where there is a permanent population, year round services and extensive municipal infrastructure. A brief description of the planning program and a few comments will be made here. However, the Four Mountain Park Block Management Plan Program merits further study and serious evaluation, as it embraces, probably more than any other planning exercise concluded or proposed, most of the strengths, weaknesses and problems associated with Parks Canada's management planning and institutionalized public involvement. It will and should certainly be the subject of much academic activity and, hopefully, internal evaluation. Figure 3 illustrates a schematic interpretation of the process proposed and of the process which actually occurred to date.

The planning program began in 1981 and led to meetings of the first phase of the public participation program which were held in the spring of 1982 to introduce the planning program to the public, identify issues of concern, and obtain feedback on the draft Purpose and Objectives Statement (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. 6). Public input on this stage involved public meetings, an extensive mailing list, letters and telephone calls. A document called a Public Input Chart surfaced subsequently and provided a lengthy list of questions and concerns or suggestions made by the public and corresponding responses by Parks Canada, all grouped under several headings (Environment Canada, 1982n, pp. 1-2). The document does not analyze or summarize, or indicate changes to the draft Purpose and Objectives Statement. It created an awareness of issues and of Parks Canada's way of thinking and general positions on these issues.

FIGURE 3. PROPOSED AND ACTUAL PLANNING PROCESS FOR THE FOUR MOUNTAIN PARKS PLANNING PROGRAM



Partially adapted from: Parks Canada, Western Region, A Planning Scenario for the Four Mountain Parks Block (draft), Calgary, Alberta: November, 1984, p. 1; Parks Canada, Western Region, "Participation Newsletter - Four Mountain Parks Management Planning Program", October, 1983, p. 1.

Phase II meetings of the participation program, held in the spring of 1983, were preceded by background papers, sent on request, aimed at outlining the current status and implications of various planning issues.

"Scheduled, public meetings were held in Calgary, Red Deer, Edmonton, Hinton, Jasper, Banff, Field, Golden and Radium during March, 1983. These meetings were organized into two sessions: open house sessions which gave everyone a chance to browse through the information and displays, and small discussion groups which brought people together to analyze and explore specific topics such as resource protection, backcountry management and recreation.

Additional meetings, which were requested by specific groups of interested people, were held in Victoria, Vancouver, Castlegar, Cranbrook, Edmonton, Calgary and Jasper...

There was also an awareness program run by staff in the four parks this summer. The main purpose of this program was to make park visitors more aware of the Four Mountain Parks Management Planning Program, and to provide opportunities for these visitors to let Parks Canada know how they felt about the parks." (Environment Canada, 1983c, pp. 1-2)

Nearly 1,000 people participated in Phase II meetings and between 100 and 150 written submissions were mailed to Parks Canada (Environment Canada, 1983d, p. 1). The feedback product of this public input was a Newsletter containing summary paragraphs dealing with 9 broad planning areas, namely: the planning programs, resource protection, backcountry management, recreation, communication, frontcountry accommodations, the role of towns and visitor service centres, transportation and others (Environment Canada, 1983c). A Public Input Summary Document, basically a newsletter, was also produced (Environment Canada, 1983e). It included the above summary paragraphs as well as the specific comments and suggestions generated by the public. This summary of public comments suggested no position by Parks Canada and analysis was limited to general statements such as: "there was strong support for..., most who commented felt that... the suggestion repeated most frequently...

many of those who commented..." (Environment Canada, 1983e, pp. 3-6). No response by Parks Canada was made, as in the case of the Public Input Chart of the first phase.

Phase III of the program, which occurred in the summer of 1984, became the most critical and controversial, involving the public review of three options. These were based on the comments received in the previous two phases and input from other government agencies that could be considered within the context of Parks Canada's policy.

"Each option was applied to the seven frontcountry (bar-accessible) and four backcountry areas that made up the four parks. These options, while consistent with policy, differ with respect to the number and type of visitor facilities development, the visitor capacity of the parks and the degree of mitigation of resource impacts required." (Environment Canada, 1984g, pp. 1-2)

Each option was based on a central concept or theme incorporating varying levels of facility development and use. Option A, described as "Limited Response to Demand", was the low-growth choice emphasizing resource protection of the parks, and called for only in-fill development of new hotel and motel rooms in Banff and Jasper. Option B, described as "Accommodate Increased Demand", would allow for expansion of existing facilities, but few new ones.

"Option B represents most closely the existing management approach. Trade-offs between resource protection, use and development would continue to be made. Accommodating more use and development in areas where these activities currently occur would be favoured as long as it was environmentally acceptable." (Environment Canada, 1984h, Planning Options, p. 5)

Option C, entitled "Accommodate Increased Demand", would involve promoting the parks as national and international tourist destinations and allowing large-scale expansion and construction of new facilities.

"To help achieve this, the existing facility infrastructure would be expanded and new facilities provided. While development would continue to occur in an environmentally sensitive

manner, a higher degree of resource impact may occur in association with this option. Active resource management may be required in response to these impacts." (Environment Canada, 1984h, Planning Options, p. 5)

The public participation program involved mailing 2,500 of the elaborate option packages to select groups and individuals. Each package contained 12 editorial polished and high quality documents that provided an overview and addressed key planning areas of the parks.¹⁶ Each of the latter documents contained an options matrix¹⁷ defining the consequences of the options. The feedback mechanism consisted of a mail-back questionnaire for each planning area, which basically asked to select an option and make general comments. A postage pre-paid pre-addressed envelope was also provided.

The public participation program also included open houses held in June, 1984, in Edmonton, Jasper, Field, Calgary, Invermere, Banff, Victoria and Vancouver and, as with the other phases of the planning process, an advertising campaign involving local radio and newspapers. The open houses attracted almost 1,500 persons, and 3,060 response forms were received by the end of August, 1984 (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. 6).

Parks Canada's position seemed obvious: the middle-road, status quo compromise of Option B. Public preference also seemed predictable and the whole planning process and public involvement appeared orchestrated for a final selection of Option B, with some variations to accommodate extreme and powerful pressures towards either of the other two Options.

However things did not happen as could be expected. A polarization of response developed, the majority towards Option A, while Option C supporters, the pro-development types, who apparently had not actively participated before, expressed their interests.

The June public hearings made it apparent that participants favoured Option A. Criticism of the program mounted. Accusations of environmentalist takeover and unrepresentativeness of real public opinion surfaced in the media (Calgary Herald, June 23, 1984; Globe and Mail, Oct. 19, 1984 and Nov. 24, 1984).

Before the deadline for receiving public comments, initially July 27 and later extended to August 30, 1984, the Parks Canada Steering Committee for the planning program met in Jasper, July 17-19, 1984, to discuss the options and develop an initial block scenario which favoured Options B and C. This meeting outraged environmentalists, who claimed public input was not being considered.

"Before the deadline for receiving public comment, senior park planners met in Jasper and produced a draft document entitled Plan Scenario for the Four Mountain Park Block, which described itself as "largely consistent with the concepts outlined in Options B and C of the planning package.

Although only 300 to 400 of the 3,380 public responses had been received, Mr. Pike said the draft document has since been changed and "increased emphasis has been placed on our resource protection mandate. We have (made) and will continue to make, changes to the suggested direction based on public input." (Globe and Mail, Nov. 24, 1984, p. unknown)

In the final analysis of the 3,060 responses received prior to September 4, 1984, 49% selected Option A, 33%, Option B and 16%, Option C (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. 8).

By October, 1984, Parks Canada announced a new round of public meetings by invitation only (also called advisory, closed-door or invitational meetings) to be held in Calgary and Ottawa in December, 1984. The meetings would discuss the revised version of the planning scenario for the parks, in fact a draft management plan for the four mountain parks.

"A "block plan" scenario has been drawn from the options reviewed and commented on by the general public, government agencies and special interest groups during the summer. It will be the focus of invitational meetings to be called by Parks Canada late in November.

"The meetings to be held in Calgary and Ottawa, are intended to bring together people from a broad spectrum of interests to discuss and advise on how well the block plan fits the expectations of Canadians and to recommend on any need for adjustments", the director said...

He noted that concern has been raised publicly over a preliminary draft of the block plan developed by Parks Canada officials while the public consultations were still in progress in July. "The contention is that the plan does not conform to the general direction indicated by those who responded through questionnaires handed out at open house meetings in Alberta and British Columbia, and through individual briefs."

Kun said that "advice also came to the planning team from meetings with senior provincial and federal government officials as well as meetings with special interest groups". Kun said he believes the planning team has done a good job of reflecting the total input in the current version of the plan." (Environment Canada, 1984f, pp. 1-2)¹⁷

The released draft document and its companion document (Environment Canada, 1984i) call for a "block direction" combining elements of all the Options despite the public input which strongly favoured low-growth.

"Viewed collectively, the block direction statements, which contain elements from each of the three planning options, are an assertion of Parks Canada's continued commitment to the preservation and protection of the natural environment of the parks and to their effective management within the parks regional setting." (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. i)

On the one hand, according to the Scenario document, over 95% of the parks' lands would be designated and managed as Zone II Wilderness lands. Snowmobiling would be prohibited and park airfields closed. The total area devoted to visitor accommodation in the frontcountry, other than campgrounds, would not be increased. On the other hand, development of existing services and facilities within presently established boundaries would be allowed in order to accommodate increase in use and expand the range of appropriate park opportunities.

"An increase in the supply of visitor accommodation would occur through the development of new hotels and motels in the town of Banff and Jasper, the expansion of existing outlying commercial accommodation operations, to the capacity of existing leasehold areas (which would set definable limits), the expansion of existing campgrounds, the establishment of several new campgrounds and minor expansion of the system of hostels. A modest increase in the number of backcountry trail shelters, alpine huts and, on a pilot basis, commercial lodges would occur. New facilities would be situated in discrete and environmentally appropriate areas, and their use would occur under controlled circumstances. Existing shelters, huts and lodges would be upgraded and, where appropriate, expanded." (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. 11)

It is noteworthy that the selected scenario draft document situates the role of public involvement in the decision-making process.

"It should be noted that, while public consultation plays an important role in Parks Canada's decision-making framework, it is only one of four major factors taken into consideration. The other three parameters include:

- i) Legislation and policy (the National Parks Act, Parks Canada Policy);
- ii) Natural resources (the flora, fauna, landscapes) that make up the parks; and
- iii) National and regional relationships (the existing land uses in the parks, travel and visitation patterns and the role of the parks in the national park system).

All these factors, plus Parks Canada's own responsibility and experience as a land managing agency contribute to the final decision and recommendations that constitute a park management plan, or in this case, a draft plan scenario." (Environment Canada, 1984g, p. 6)

A very recent article in Maclean's magazine sheds some light on what transpired, how the public input was regarded and the status of the program:

"As for the survey results, coordinator Pike declared: "We are not engaged in a voting process. We do not plan by vote". But Pike rejected environmentalists' charges that Parks Canada misled them - and other Canadians - by ignoring their suggestions for wilderness conservation. He admitted that officials agreed on a policy last July before studying all the submissions on the future of the Rocky Mountain parks, but he added that his officials had sampled a wide range of public opinion. Declared Pike: "We were under a deadline that said we had to have a document on the minister's desk by the end of September. Calling an election changed that."

The transfer of power from the Liberals to the Conservatives and complaints about Parks Canada's latest attempt to shape the future of mountain wilderness have given the environmentalists a second chance to influence planning. The new Tory Environment minister, Suzanne Blais-Grenier will announce the extent of development permitted in the parks by early next year, but her officials say they plan to meet with environmentalists, academics, business people and interested individuals in Ottawa, Calgary and Vancouver until early December before presenting their recommendations. Neither side expects easy discussions. As Pike said: "What should a park be? There is no easy answer." (Legge, 1984, p. unknown)

Irrespective of the final outcome, the Four Mountain Parks management planning program raises many questions that can only partially be answered here without further research into what transpired, including the role of internal political pressure to meet deadlines and of the other influences or pressures which occurred outside of the mainstream public involvement program. Even with an optimum planning and public involvement program, it is unlikely that all interested parties would have been satisfied with the results. However, some of the current controversy could have been mitigated, if not avoided, because it seems to mostly focus on procedural matters. Basically, the rules of the game were not spelled-out from the beginning, and some basic rules were not respected. The role of public involvement in decision-making was apparently only clearly defined towards the end of the process. The drafting of a final plan, before public input deadlines on options, was an obvious faux-pas, possibly created by unrealistic deadlines. This was an infringement on even the most passive form of public involvement in the decision-making process. Changing the rules in midstream, as is the case with the current invitational review of an unpopular draft plan, undermines credibility in the process, although it shows flexibility. However, it can also be

perceived as a mechanism to gain public support for an unpopular plan, to identify small compromises, and to legitimize, at least in appearance, a final plan which contradicts the public opinion obtained during the planning process.

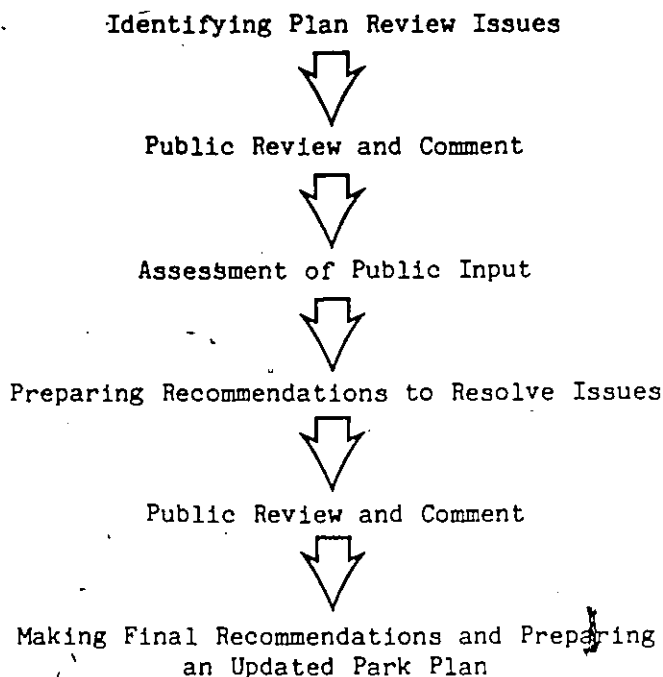
It is difficult to understand why a draft management plan public review was not initially built into the process, given the complexities of the issues and the divergent publics interested. This would have allowed for open refinement at the most critical point of the planning process.

It is difficult to understand why Option A was developed, given the subsequent decision to contradict public opinion. It can be deduced that this was not a viable option. Only viable options, in this case, Options B and C, should be formulated and presented to the public. In this way, public energies would be spent on viable or feasible options and the public would be more positively active or at least perceived more active in decision-making. It can be assumed that pro-development forces strongly influenced the process after the development of options. If this was the case, it should have occurred in the formative stage of the options. All publics, major actors and major influences should be involved as early as possible in the planning process.

Riding Mountain National Park Management Plan Review

A final example of National Parks management planning public involvement is the Riding Mountain National Park Plan "review program" of the master plan approved in 1977. The plan review process is illustrated by Figure 4.

FIGURE 4. PLAN REVIEW PROCESS - RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK



Source: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, Plan Review Program Newsletter no. 1 (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Supply and Services Canada, 1984), p. 2.

The process for Riding Mountain National Park is described as follows:

- "(1) Parks Canada staff prepared a list of possible changes to the management plan based on concerns raised by the public and park staff since 1977.
- (2) This list is presented to the public through this newsletter and opinion is requested. As well, the public is asked to identify other issues which they would like examined.
- (3) Public reaction is analyzed and summarized for each issue raised.

- (4) Each issue is reviewed considering public input, and specific recommendations are made.
- (5) These recommendations are again presented to the public for assessment in newsletter form and comments are solicited.
- (6) A final recommendation is formulated on each issue and a revised management plan is prepared and submitted to the Minister for approval. It is anticipated that this process will be completed by early 1985." (Environment Canada, 1984j, p. 27)

The main purpose for raising this case is twofold, 1) to describe the plan review process, and 2) to bring to light an interesting approach to public involvement adopted in Riding Mountain. A contract was let to the public in 1983 for a public consultation co-ordinator to assist Parks Canada in carrying out the public participation program.

"This individual will serve a role in providing information to the public, serving as a catalyst to encourage public participation and carrying out administrative and professional tasks related to the public involvement program. This individual will serve in a role that is independent from the actual plan review process, thereby ensuring that the public input is treated in an objective fashion. The public participation co-ordinator will report to a committee composed of the park superintendent and the Chief, External Liaison, in Prairie Regional Office. Day-to-day direction will be provided by the park superintendent in recognition of the co-ordinator's location in the park." (Environment Canada, 1983f, p. 28)

John Whitaker, a known conservationist from a community near the park, was awarded the contract. Although a form of cooptation, such an approach to public involvement should be encouraged and merits, in this case, a thorough evaluation from both the agency and public points of view.

Les Forges du Saint-Maurice National Historic Park Management Plan

The site of les Forges du Saint-Maurice located immediately north of Trois-Rivières was acquired by the federal government in 1973. Three years of research produced in 1976 a provisional master plan incorpo-

rating three development options which supported a development concept responding to the themes and objectives of the park (Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 1978). Published in 1979, the draft management plan entitled "National Historic Park, Les Forges du Saint-Maurice development concept" described the three development options, namely:

- 1) an open exposure of the vestiges, 2) the restitution of historical structures and landscapes, and 3) the creation of symbolic structures within the historical landscape (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979b).

The proposed development concept represented the implementation of Option 3. It called for a four-tiered development involving: the stabilization of the most significant or best preserved vestiges on the site; the addition of a symbolic structure on top of these privileged vestiges; the preservation of other excavated vestiges with suitable on-site interpretation; and the redevelopment of the historical landscapes (Environnement Canada, 1981d). Option 3 was essentially the most ambitious and innovative.

Between February 12 and March 29, 1979, Parks Canada held a total of eight public hearings in the Trois-Rivières region. The aims of the public consultation was to gain support for the option and concept favoured by Parks Canada. Some fifteen groups or organizations were invited and eleven accepted, namely: le Conseil municipal de la ville de Trois-Rivières; l'Association touristique du coeur du Québec; la Chambre de Commerce de Trois-Rivières; la Conférence administrative (région 04); le Conseil des monuments et sites du Québec (chapitre de Trois-Rivières); le Conseil régional de la culture (Mauricie/Bois-Francs); la Société de conservation et d'animation du patrimoine; la Société d'histoire régionale de Trois-Rivières; l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières; l'Union régionale des Caisses populaires Desjardins; le

comité de citoyens du village de Saint-Michel-des-Forges (Environnement Canada, 1979). These groups embodied interests in cultural heritage and in economic benefits.

It is interesting to note that option 2 initially received overwhelming spontaneous support. Option 2 involved the reconstruction of the village in a fashion similar to the Upper Canada Village approach, while option 3 involved futuristic, innovative and symbolic structures on top of the original foundations. It is noteworthy that many of the economic interest groups favoured a mix of options 2 and 3, whereas the Société de conservation et d'animation du patrimoine de Trois-Rivières supported option 3 and the Société d'histoire régionale de Trois-Rivières strongly supported option 2. The economic interest groups seemed fairly flexible, as long as the selected option ensured local contracts and jobs and stimulated tourism.

The end product, the Management Plan, was a certain mix of options 2 and 3, with option 3 predominating the site, a compromise that strongly favoured Parks Canada's position or development concept and which could be accepted by those concerned (Environment Canada, 1981).

The Trois-Rivières meetings seemed dominated by design by Parks Canada and interest groups and associations. The general public, although represented by the interest groups, did not have an active voice in the planning process of Les Forges.

Fort Malden National Historic Park Management Plan

Fort Malden National Historic Park Management Plan was approved in 1983. Established in 1796 near the mouth of the Detroit River, today the 'Fort' is located in the Town of Amherstburg, in southwestern

Ontario. Established as a National Park in 1940, its 1983 setting is comprised of restored barracks and the remains of earthworks. They tell the story of this once important military post. The management planning process of the site was as follows:

"The planning process at Fort Malden began with the preparation of themes and objectives in accordance with the established Planning Framework for Historic Parks and Sites (Appendix A). The themes and objectives provide the historical rationale and national context for development of the Park so that its resources will be conserved, commemorated and interpreted in an appropriate manner. Following from the themes and objectives, a proposal for a Management Plan was publicly discussed through Parks Canada's public consultation program (Appendix B). Comments received at that time are reflected in this document, the Management Plan for Fort Malden National Historic Park." (Environment Canada, 1983g, p. 1)

The Fort Malden Management Plan consists of a two-phased implementation involving improvements to visitor services, structures and interpretation within existing boundaries, and providing for some limited expansion of the park boundary. The public consultation program was as follows: informal meetings with identified interest groups and officials of the Amherstburg community, such as the Town Council, Planning Board, Historical Society and adjacent property owners; preparation of the planning proposals summary entitled "Fort Malden National Historic Park - Proposal for a Management Plan"; presentation of the summary to key representatives of the Amherstburg community and all the adjacent property owners in personal meeting with Park staff; a public open house to all members of the public; meetings between the Superintendent and representatives of the Town Council and the Amherstburg Historical Society. The management plan claims:

"All comments received on the Proposals For a Management Plan were considered in the final preparation of this Management Plan." (Environment Canada, 1983g, p. 32)

The Fort Malden Management plan provides a property acquisition policy which could not possibly be rejected by potentially affected property owners.

"Property would only be acquired under the following circumstances:

1. Private properties necessary to embrace the remaining earthworks should be acquired if and when they are offered for sale by the owner.
 2. Properties would only be purchased at the time they are offered if funds are available and if the purchase price is fair and reasonable.
 3. Any municipal properties indicated as desirable for acquisition (road allowances) would only be pursued with the support and approval of the Amherstburg Town Council."
- (Environment Canada, 1983g, p. 36)

Fort Chambly National Historic Park Management Plan

The Fort Chambly National Historic Park public consultation program held during the month of July, 1979, on the draft management plan that outlined the proposed development of the fort produced appreciable changes to the proposal. Six changes are outlined in a separate section of the Report on the Public Consultation Program. Some are as follows:

"In accordance with the wishes of the population of the Richelieu-South Shore area and the planning of the interpretation program, an exhibition hall will be dedicated to the interaction between the military presence at Chambly and the development and popularity of the region. The restoration concept for the fort (replication of the historic volumetry of the 1750s will be applied to the whole of the fortified work. However, the south wing will be "faithfully" reconstructed in regards to the inside architectural treatment, so as to create a proper historical atmosphere." (Environment Canada, 1979b, p. 7)

A total of five public meetings were held between July 17 and 24, 1979, and of the 30 groups invited in the Richelieu-South Shore area, several groups participated, including seven municipal councils, seven

historical societies, four media groups, the regional tourist association and the "population of Chambly" (Environment Canada, 1979b, pp. 7-8).

Sir George-Etienne Cartier National Historic Park Management Plan

The Development Concept of the Sir George-Etienne Cartier National Historic Park, located on Notre-Dame Street in Montreal, called for the rehabilitation of the exterior volume and interior spaces of the "east house", while the "west house" would be restored to its state at the time Cartier and his family occupied it, between 1862 and 1871 (Environment Canada, 1982o, p. 13).²⁸ In response to the quasi unanimous opinions expressed during the public meetings and in the written briefs and letters, Parks Canada changed a part of the initial project, notably the architectural design of the residence.

"However, with rare unanimity, the public and the groups consulted expressed strong reservations about the proposed concept, bringing up some objections on matters of principle and situating the problem of architectural intervention in a primarily Old Montreal perspective." (Environment Canada, 1983h, p. 43)

What this means is that the architectural concept proposed for the exterior of the Cartier residence will be redefined along the lines of preservation/rehabilitation of the present form of the building. The restoration of the west wing to its state at the time Cartier occupied it will not occur. This represents a very significant divergence from an initial proposal.

Proposed Bruce Peninsula National Park

Introduction

One of the most successful and effective public involvement programs undertaken by Parks Canada is the elaborate local public consultation effort to determine support for the feasibility of establishing a new national park on the Bruce Peninsula in Ontario. Noting that the effort is but the first phase of public involvement on the proposed park, it is an achievement deserving much more than a descriptive mention in a section of a thesis. This phase of public involvement on the Bruce proposal lasted about two years and resulted in 1) a well-informed and exceptionally well-represented public generally supporting, under certain conditions, the establishment of a park, and 2) with the federal government and the province of Ontario in a position to confidently negotiate with local public support (with conditions) the establishment of a national park on the Bruce Peninsula. The success of the Bruce proposal shadows Parks Canada's perceived, if not real, failures in conjunction with the establishment of Kouchibouguac National Park in the early 1970's.

Much of the content of this section is derived from Environment Canada (1983i), entitled "Bruce Peninsula National Park Proposal, Summary of the Public Consultation Programme, Phase I - Local Review, December 1981-June 1983," which was in large part based on the comprehensive report, Councils of St. Edmunds and Lindsay Townships (1982), entitled "Findings of the Joint Committee of Councils in St. Edmunds and Lindsay Townships Regarding Local Public Opinion on the Proposed National Park. This reliance on one document is justified by its quality, organization and apparent objectivity.

Background

As a consequence to two contracted studies completed early in 1981, the northern Bruce Peninsula was identified and selected by Parks Canada as a "Natural Area of Canadian Significance (NACS), representative of the West St. Lawrence natural Region because of the natural features typical of southwestern Ontario, and because it exhibits "such outstanding beauty as the Escarpment cliffs along the Georgian Bay shoreline and its associated plant communities, excellent opportunities for outdoor recreation, and a rich cultural heritage" (Lemon and MacFeeters, 1983, p. 3).

"By the late 1970's several NACS throughout the West St. Lawrence Lowlands natural region had been identified. Although the areas all contained representative features, many of them were not suitable sites for parks because of existing urban development and other incompatible land uses. The choice was narrowed to either the Bruce Peninsula site or the western portion of Manitoulin Island including Cockburn Island. In the end, the present study area on the Bruce was determined to be the site with the greatest feasibility to become a national park because of its proximity to major population centres, its year round accessibility, and the fact that 45% of the land was already publicly owned." (Lemon and MacFeeters, 1983, p. 4).

Public Consultation Program

In September 1981, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources approved Parks Canada's request to conduct a public examination of the feasibility of establishing a national park on the Bruce Peninsula. In October, 1981, agency officials met individually with the Reeves of St. Edmunds and Lindsay Townships respectively and the Warden of Bruce County to discuss the basis of the park proposal. The park study area, some 57,000 acres of land, is within the boundaries of these corporate bodies.

On December 2, 1981, the Minister of the Environment issued a press release to all newspapers in Ontario, announcing the proposed establishment of an appointed ministerial advisory committee (Environment Canada, 1981e). It would function as a locally based consultative committee and would seek public views on the proposed park. He also stressed that land acquisition would be done only on the basis of voluntary sale. On December 15, 1981, Parks Canada opened a storefront information office in Tobermory, a town on the tip of the Bruce, and by December 31, 1981, mailed to each ratepayer in St. Edmunds and Lindsay Townships an information package of the study area.¹⁹

Following meetings and discussions with local area residents, Parks Canada agreed to delay the appointment of a ministerial advisory committee to allow the Townships of St. Edmunds and Lindsay an opportunity to determine the views of local residents concerning the proposal.

"A Joint Township National Park Study Committee was appointed by St. Edmunds and Lindsay Township Councils. Of the nine committee members, five represented St. Edmunds and four represented Lindsay. The initial meeting was held on January 21, 1982...During their 9 months of existence, the study Committee met 17 times to discuss a wide range of topics." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 3)²⁰

From February to August, 1982, the Study Committee held 10 information open houses attracting some 1225 people and responded to hundreds of written enquiries, including 700 comment sheets it received subsequent to their dissemination and availability throughout the public consultation program. During its existence, the Study Committee was responsible for most of the mail-outs during the public consultation program. These included 5 major mail-outs to about 3500 persons each.

"The mailing list was developed from or included ratepayer listings, local interest groups, letters received by Parks Canada and the Park Study Committee, elected officials and national and provincial conservation interest groups. The mailing list comprised about 3500, the majority of whom were from the local area." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 8)

The mailings included Committee newsletters, 13 Parks Canada Fact Sheets,²¹ a map of the study area, a University of Guelph study, Kruspe and Hiltz (1982)²² and the results of the Committee's work, including the Township Council's recommendation and conditions of Park establishment. The Study Committee also engaged the Institute of Environmental Research to undertake a public opinion survey which was distributed to all eligible voters, 4,200 persons, in Lindsay and St. Edmunds Townships.²³ The Committee also distributed a survey on behalf of People Opposed to the Park Proposal (P.O.P.P.).²⁴ P.O.P.P. was formed in July, 1982. It organized a formal public meeting that attracted about 300 people.

"A group of citizens with common feelings formed P.O.P.P. - People Opposed to the Park Proposal. The prime objective of P.O.P.P. was to oppose the proposal by making their objections and the reasons behind them as widely known as possible. P.O.P.P. held public meetings and mailed out a questionnaire (see Study Committee Report for details and examples). Their most loudly voiced objection related to feelings that the Study Committee had not completed adequate research and therefore could not offer correct information to help residents form an opinion on the proposal." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 4)

Opposition to the proposal took on the form of a petition for a vote on the park, a petition calling for an outright NO to the park proposal, a P.O.P.P. survey, placard-carrying demonstrators, and a hardcore opposition of hunters who remained constant throughout the public meetings. The opposition is mainly explained by local residents' deep distrust of government. The Minister of the Environment wrote to the two township reeves in April, 1982, to reassure them of his position

on the issue of expropriation, and other issues and to make the following comment about distrust.

"The final issue involves a general thread of concern which seems to run through all of the others and that is a sense of "distrust". There is probably little that I can say in a few lines which would substantially alter that and I can only suggest that we be judged by our actions. I have said that we want the views of the people of the Bruce to guide our actions with respect to the establishment of a park. I have directed that these views be obtained through an open, all cards on the table, public consultation process." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. Appendix 3, p. 3)²⁵

Opposition was also fed by a genuine fear of the park's impact on rural lifestyle, a fear of the unknown, and by concern of more direct negative impact on hunting, trapping and commercial fishing. Fear of increased vandalism and of decreased privacy were also behind the opposition. On November 8, 1982, municipal elections were held in the two townships. In Lindsay, the Reeve and Council were replaced by people with anti-park sentiments and the election returned basically a pro-park Council in St. Edmunds Township" (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 5).²⁶

By October, 1982, when the Study Committee made its report to Council, 50,625 personal contacts were made on the park proposal. The table cited below provides a breakdown on the nature of the contacts (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 10).

Total Personal Contacts

Public Open Houses (13)	1,525
Mailings (including the Institute of Environmental Research)	42,900
Parks Canada Storefront Visitors	1,900
General Enquiries (Parks Canada)	2,000
Presentations (41 presentations by Parks Canada to various groups)	2,300
personal contacts	50,625

Contact by outside interest groups during the consultation was also extensive and, with the exception of hunting and fishing associations, generally favourable to the proposal. The groups included municipal and city councils, conservation and naturalist groups, trail groups, hunting and fishing associations, a commercial fisheries association, sport diving groups, an artist association, a campground association and a property owners association.

"Although their views were of interest to the Committee, they were not reflected in the Committee's final report if they resided outside of the Townships." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 17)

The media coverage of the Bruce proposal was extensive. From December, 1981, to the Spring of 1983, there were 304 newspaper, magazine and journal articles of direct relevance to the proposal. Extensive radio coverage by CFOS, Owen Sound, was provided, including two radio open line programs. Television coverage by the primary viewing station for the Peninsula provided news coverage of the proposal and included visits to several open houses by news crews (Environment Canada, 1983i, pp. 11-12).

Public opinion

The comment sheets made available throughout the consultation program were used by the Study Committee to help determine public opinion in percentages and identify issues. Of the 750 comment sheets received by the Committee, 58.5% were in favour of the park and 28.1% opposed. Property Owners, who accounted for 631 of the comment sheets, registered 55.5% support (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 13).

Of the 246 letters received by Parks Canada from all parts of Ontario, 68.0% favoured the park (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 14).

The public opinion survey by the Institute of Environmental Research received an incredible 64% response rate. Of those who responded, 37.2% opposed the park, 33.6% were in favour and 23.5% were conditionally in favour (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 15).

The P.O.P.P. survey received 1005 views, with 58% opposed and 42% in favour of the park proposal (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 20).

Opposition to the proposal was generally expressed in the terms cited earlier in this section. Support came with the belief that a national park would preserve the area and provide local economic and tourism benefits.

Final Outcome of the Consultation Program

On October 7, 1982, the Study Committee recommended to a joint meeting of the two local township councils that they approved the park proposal subject to certain conditions being met.

On October 12/13, 1982, the Councils of Lindsay and St. Edmunds Townships wrote to John Roberts indicating the general conditional support.²⁷

"The conditions were printed in a newsletter format and distributed to ratepayers in the Townships and to outside individuals and interest groups who had expressed an interest in the proposal on the Parks Canada Bruce Peninsula mailing list." (Environment Canada, 1983i, p. 5)

On December 15, 1982, the Minister of the Environment wrote to the Minister of the provincial Ministry of Natural Resources, asking to begin federal/provincial negotiations leading to a federal/provincial

agreement to establish a national park and, on June 9, 1983, received a favourable response.

At the time of writing, April, 1985; it is known that a \$90,000 Parks Canada socio-economic study of the proposed park, yet to be finalized, has been undertaken by a consultant. The study focuses on the differences between two 5 to 10 years projected scenarios, one including a national park and the other, without a national park. It would also seem that the Councils' conditions for the establishment of a park have never been given an official response and that government financial restraint programs may preclude for several years the establishment of a national park on the Bruce Peninsula.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 4

1. The Department of the Environment officially came into being on June 11, 1971, following proclamation of the Government Organization Act, 1970. On June 5, 1979, Parks Canada was moved from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to become part of Environment Canada (Public Service Re-arrangement and Transfer of Duties Act, June, 1979, and July, 1979, and Order-in-Council PC-1979-1617).

The six services of Environment Canada are: the Environmental Protection Service, the Atmospheric Environment Service, the Canadian Forestry Service, the Environmental Conservation Service, Parks Canada, and Finance, Personnel and Administration.

The Department of the Environment is also known by the short form Environment Canada and by the abbreviated form DOE. For reasons of expediency DOE is often used in this paper.

2. This objective is derived from the National Parks Act, R.S., cN.-13 amended by 1974, c.11. The two sections of pertinence to the program objectives are:

- 1) "The National Parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, subject to this Act and the Regulations, and the National Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." R.S., C. 189, S. 4.

- 2) "The Governor in Council may set apart any land the title to which is vested in Her Majesty, as a National Historic Park to: (a) commemorate an historic event of national importance, or (b) preserve any historic landmark or any object of historic, prehistoric or scientific interest of national importance, and may from time to time make any changes in the areas so set apart that he may consider expedient." R.S., C. 189, S. 10.

The Parks Canada objective is achieved:

- by operating and maintaining the current system of National Parks, National Historic Parks and Sites and Heritage Canals;
- by commemorating with plaques and monuments, persons, places and events of national historic significance;
- by entering into cost-sharing agreements with other levels of government and private organizations to acquire and restore structures of national historic significance;
- by acquiring and establishing new parks to provide a more complete representation of Canada's significant natural and cultural resources;

- by acting in conjunction with other agencies to establish co-operative heritage areas which protect and present significant natural and cultural resources; and
- by developing policies and approaches which will foster the protection of the Canadian Heritage Rivers Systems, Heritage Buildings, and Canadian Landmarks." (Environment Canada, 1984a, Appendix B, p. 1)

Parks Canada's objective for National Parks is:

"To protect for all time representative natural areas of Canadian significance in a system of national parks, and to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this natural heritage so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 38)

Parks Canada's objective for National Historic Parks is:

"To protect for all time historic resources at places associated with persons, places and events of national historic significance in a system of national historic parks, and to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this historical heritage so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 28)

Parks Canada's objective for National Historic Sites is:

"To encourage public understanding of Canada's historical heritage by commemorating persons, places and events of national historic significance with plaques, monuments or by other means funded by cost-sharing agreements." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 22)

Parks Canada's objective for Heritage Canals is:

"To encourage public understanding and enjoyment of Canada's natural and cultural heritage by protecting for all time the heritage resources of certain federally operated canals and by operating these canals for recreational use." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 50)

Parks Canada's objective for Agreements for Recreation and Conservation is:

"To protect significant natural and cultural resources within certain heritage areas and to encourage public use, understanding and recreational enjoyment of such areas by acting in conjunction with other governments, organizations and individuals through agreements for recreation and conservation." (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 54)

3. The 1984-85 budget figures are available as follows (Environment Canada, 1984a, Appendix B, p. 5):

Resources By Planning Element (1984-85)

	<u>Million \$</u>	<u>Person-Years</u>
Operation of National and Historic Parks and Canals	\$224.0	3,578
Development of the National and Historic Parks System	53.5	617
Program Management Services	38.8	695
	<u>\$316.3</u>	<u>4,890</u>

The "planning elements" breakdown represents a means of classifying how Parks Canada's mandate is met, namely: 1) the establishment and development of parks which takes place over a finite period and 2) the operation of a park which is ongoing. The so-called third planning element of Program Management Services is common to the other two planning elements. The structure of the Parks Canada Planning Element is as follows (Environment Canada, 1984a, Appendix B, p. 3):

<u>I Operation of National and Historic Parks and Canals</u>	<u>II Development of the National and Historic Parks Systems</u>	<u>III Program Management Services</u>
1. Resource Protection and Management	1. Legislation and Policy	1. Executive Management
2. Information, Interpretation and Visitor Services	2. Research and Planning	2. Administration
3. Maintenance of Park Facilities	3. Acquisition, Conservation and Development of Nationally Significant Heritage Places	3. Engineering and Architectural Services
4. Townsite Services (Banff & Jasper)		
5. Parks Management		
6. National Battlefields Commission		

4. Concerning the 31 National Parks, the following elaboration I obtained Aug. 29/84 from Mr. Gerry Dore of Legislation and Policy Division, National Parks Branch, is noted:

"There are currently 31 natural parks administered by Parks Canada. Twenty-two of these have formally been established under the National Parks Act. There are three national park reserves in the north (Kluane, Nahanni and Auquittuq) and authority to establish these reserves as full national parks is contained in the

National Parks Act once a settlement of any rights, titles or interests in and to the lands has been achieved with aboriginal peoples. There are also three proposed national parks (Pacific Rim, Pukaskwa and Gros Morne) for which there is authority to establish as full national parks under the National Parks Act once land acquisitions and boundary descriptions have been completed. Authority in the Act is currently being sought to establish, by proclamation, Grasslands National Park in Saskatchewan. The last two of the natural parks were recently established by legislation separate of the National Parks Act. The legislation had the effect of amending the National Parks Act and, as a result, the Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve and the Northern Yukon National Park were established. Details for the latter are provided in the Aug. 13 memorandum to P.M.C. (Program Management Committee)"

Of the 83 National Historic Parks and Sites, there are 36 National Historic Parks ranging in size from the Fortress of Louisbourg complex to a single building unit such as the Riel House in Winnipeg and 26 major National Historic Sites, physically distinguishable from National Historic Parks in most cases either by being in a less complete state of development or by being open to the public only part of the year. The remainder consists of sites which Parks Canada has made a commitment to acquire and develop, or which have been acquired and await development or completion of development (Environment Canada, 1984b)..

Cooperative Heritage Area is a generic term applied to areas with significant cultural and natural significance established through agreements for recreation and conservation with other governments, organizations and individuals. The four agreements referred to are: the Red River Heritage Area; the Alexander Mackenzie Heritage Trail, the Canada-Ontario-Rideau-Trent-Severn Agreement, and the Qu'Appelle Valley Agreement (Environment Canada, 1984c).

5. The Parks Canada Management Committee comprises the A.D.M., the Director General of Program Management, the 5 Regional Directors and the Headquarters Directors of National Parks, National Historic Parks and Sites, Program Planning and Evaluation, Engineering and Architecture, Finance and Information Services. At the director level, there is also a Program Policy Advisor.
6. Line and staff refers to the reporting nature of the position. A line function involves a direct reporting linkage in a hierarchy, whereas a staff function describes an advisory role.

7. There is, for example, the Management Committee of Environment Canada, which is the senior executive and policy-making body of the Department. It determines goals and priorities of the Department and deals with allocating resources. Chaired by the Deputy Minister, this Committee includes seven ADM's, five DOE regional director generals, the director general of Information and the Science Advisor.
8. In the case of National Parks, there is also an optional step in the planning process, immediately following the issuance of a management plan, known as Area Plan Concept. This is a micro-management plan which deals with one specific area of a park that warrants particular attention. This was the case of the Slims River Valley in Kluane National Park because of the nature of the development proposed for this environmentally sensitive area.
9. The remaining six National Parks that will likely be operating under Interim Management Plans are: Kouchibouguac, Fundy, Georgian Bay Islands, Grasslands, Nahanni and Pacific Rim.
10. According to Environment Canada (1982c) it is a Parks Canada program objective to complete a management plan for each National Park for 1985.
11. The policy also requires the services of the Department concerned with regulatory activities to obtain public comment on significant Regulations proposed. The procedure is to seek comment on three common principles: the reason why a Regulation is being considered; the alternative regulatory option; the rationale for the selection of a particular option. In May, 1983, the Division responsible for Regulations in National Parks released an internal document entitled: "Public Consultation Procedures to be Used in the Development and Revision of Regulations Made Under the National Parks Act". The document acknowledges a variety of techniques to be used depending on the complexity of the Regulation (for example, public meetings, correspondence by letter or by telephone). "At the very minimum, public comment on proposed new regulations or changes to regulation will be requested in Part I of the Canada Gazette." According to the document, this policy on Regulation originates from recommendations made in 1980 by the Standing Joint Committee on Regulations and Other Statutory Instruments, which found procedures currently in use in the development of subordinate legislation in Canada deficient in the area of public involvement at the developmental stages.

12. The agenda of this meeting was based on a response from the public to an invitation issued in the Spring 1982 issue of the departmental information bulletin (Environment Update) to participate in the setting of the agenda and format for the meeting.
13. The planning directive is in fact extremely confusing, even for the most seasoned bureaucrat, because of its organization. The 27 page, side-by-side bilingual document has a total of 122 sections. The sections are a compilation of headings, sections, subsections, sub-subsections etc ... using a numerical and alphabetical system, both in the upper and lower case, and in the arabic and roman numerical systems. The directive is, according to my 9 years as a civil servant, the epitome of bureaucratic mumble.
- 14.. St. Lawrence Islands National Park is Canada's smallest national park at 3 square miles. It is located on the St. Lawrence river, between Kingston and Brockville. The Park consists of 16 islands, parts of 5 other islands, a mainland base and numerous rocky shoals.
15. The Committee is made up of representatives from the Thousand Islands Association, the Thousand Islands Area Residents Association, the Township of Front of Leeds and Landsdowne, the Township of Front of Escott, the Township of Front of Yonge, the Gananoque Chamber of Commerce, the Eastern Ontario Travel Association, the Thousand Islands Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists and the National and Provincial Parks Association.
16. The documents were high quality newsletters containing photographs, graphs and maps entitled and numbered as follows: (all dated June, 1984 having the Parks Canada heading and a Four Mountain Parks Logo.)
 1. "Planning Option - An Overview - Four Mountain Parks - Jasper, Banff, Kootenay, Yoho".
 2. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Yellowhead Corridor".
 3. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Jasper Townsite Region".
 4. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Icefield Parkway".
 5. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Lake Louise-Bow Valley Parkway".
 6. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Banff Townsite Region".
 7. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Kootenay National Park".
 8. "Frontcountry Planning Options: Yoho National Park".
 9. "Backcountry Planning Options: Jasper National Park".
 10. "Backcountry Planning Options: Banff National Park".
 11. "Backcountry Planning Options: Kootenay National Park".
 12. "Backcountry Planning Options: Yoho National Park".

17. The preliminary list contained 26 names representing various interests covering pro-development and conservationist factions, including the Sierra Club, Chambers of Commerce and Tourism Canada.

Four Alberta conservation groups, the Alberta Wildlife Association, the Calgary-Banff chapter of the National Provincial Parks Association of Canada, the Sierra Club's Alberta group and the Bow Valley Naturalists joined under the banner of Parks for Tomorrow, a national coalition of conservation groups, and boycotted the Calgary invitational meetings, while some national conservation groups boycotted meetings in Ottawa. On the other hand, the Tourism Industry Association of Alberta presented a brief at the Calgary meeting requesting a freeze on the Management Plan because it "failed to adequately consider the very important role tourism plays in the parks".

Information on the above paragraphs were taken from newspaper articles, probably Calgary, circulated at work, for which there was no date, etc... The titles however are: "Albertans boycott meeting over parks" and "Tourism groups urge park development".

18. Sir George-Etienne Cartier, lawyer, politician and Prime Minister of United Canada, was a principal Father of Confederation.

19. The information package included the press release, a map of the Study Area and the booklet Environment Canada (1981f). The booklet answers 16 questions covering issues such as the purpose of a national park, land acquisition, the national park establishment process and opportunities for involvement including a contact name and toll free line number to "talk about the project".

20. Basic travel expenses of members of the Committee were billed to the two Councils who, in turn, sent the invoices to Parks Canada. Parks Canada's financial assistance to the Committee, which included reimbursement of mailing costs, was deliberately "arms length" in order to stand-up to public scrutiny and to maintain the objective credibility of the Committee.

21. The 13 fact sheets explaining Parks Canada policy were mailed in two batches, that is, six in May, 1982, and seven in June, 1982. Titles of these one page fact sheets were: Public Consultation; Employment; Management Plans/Buffering; Boundaries; Hunting, Trapping, Lumbering, Mining and Fishing; Land Acquisition & Access to Private Lands; Process of Establishing a National Park; What is a National Park; Benefits of a National Park; Resource Management; Municipal Grants; National Park Fees; Roads and Access.

22. This independent study, undertaken in January, 1982, by a group of students from the University of Guelph under the supervision of Professor Stewart G. Hiltz, was submitted in April, 1982, to the local National Park Study Committee. It attempted to deal with economic, land related and miscellaneous issues related to the proposed park. The study often quoted Parks Canada Policy pertaining to these issues. It's attempt to ascertain the park's impact on the local economy (agriculture, forestry, mining, cottages, fishing and hunting) is not very professional or scientific. Statements like "the benefits derived from the park would offset any loss incurred" are common throughout the report but not well substantiated. A convincing argument for the national park is put forward in a section which crudely outlines a comparison of alternative future possibilities for the area.
23. The Councils/Study Committee paid for this survey and sent the bill, some \$14,000, to Parks Canada, according to a prior agreement between the parties. At the request of the Councils/Study Committee, Parks Canada provided technical advice in establishing the terms of reference for the survey contract. Parks Canada's assistance to the Study Committee was also at the latter's request (e.g. help respond to the 700 comments returned to the Committee). Although the Study Committee had initially intended to conduct some study of public opinion, the survey was probably prompted by a 600 name petition, put together in June, 1982, calling for a secret ballot-type vote on the park proposal.
24. The P.O.P.P. survey was apparently of questionable scientific value, drawn-up by P.O.P.P. membership and interpreted by P.O.P.P. leadership. The Council did not assign much credibility to the findings of the survey.
25. This appendix is a copy of a letter dated April 7, 1982, from John Roberts, Minister of the Environment, to the Reeve of St. Edmunds Township and the Reeve of Lindsay Township.
26. Subsequent to the election, Lindsay Township did not officially withdraw from the proposal, but reserved judgement on the proposal until after the completion of a socio-economic study and upon completion of federal/provincial negotiations.
27. The Study Committee recommendations, which constituted the Councils' conditions, cover 22 issues ranging from private property to employment policy. The conditions reinforce the local distrust for government, any government.

5. BATOCHÉ NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE MANAGEMENT PLAN PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

The previous chapter provided a cursory description of ad hoc examples of public involvement in the planning process of Parks Canada within an historical and present day context. The chapter focused on processes and facts and offered little analysis. An almost journalistic style was favoured in order to provide some comparative background and general overview of the evolution and application of both planning, especially for management plans, and of public involvement in national parks and national historic parks and sites.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a more exhaustive description of one case in management planning, namely that of the recently completed program of Batoché National Historic Site. The section focus on the impact and role of public involvement in the

management planning process of Batoché was chosen because unlike most historic park and site cases, it conforms to the classic open planning model and management planning process prescribed by Parks Canada's guidelines. Batoché was also selected because of first-hand knowledge of the site and issues acquired during a year spent in the Parks Canada Prairie Regional Office.

Historical Significance of Batoché

Batoché National Historic Site is a relatively unknown place to most Canadians living east of Manitoba and a relatively well known and

sometimes emotionally important place to many Canadians living in the Prairie provinces. Batoche is a shrine to the Metis of Canada who, in conjunction with the history of the Prairies, are described as follows:

"The Metis people in the Northwest were descendents of French-Canadian voyageurs and Cree and Saulteaux women who had married à la façon du pays in the mid-eighteenth century." (Environment Canada, 1983j, 2 p. leaflet)

"Marriage of fur traders with Indians had mingled the blood of Cree and Chippewa with that of French-Canadian and Scot and created a new society, neither Indian nor White, yet sharing traits of both. Around the trading posts the halfbreeds grew up to learn the skills and follow the occupation of their fathers while preserving their associations with their mothers' tribes. They became buffalo hunters, freighters and boatmen, finding livelihood without compromising their freedom and independence." (Environment Canada, 1981g, p. 1)

The history of Batoche is tied into the tragic history of the Metis that began in Manitoba. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Metis had settled in the Red River valley, in their customary long narrow river lots that created cohesive communities and social solidarity. When the Hudson's Bay Company sold the West to the Canadian Government in 1869, the latter did not recognize this Metis land tenure and proceeded to survey this land into sections of 640 acres for homesteading and sale. In desperation, the Metis, under the leadership of enigmatic Louis Riel, a Metis schoolteacher, undertook a coup d'État and formed a provisional government. This persuaded the Canadian Government to create the province of Manitoba in 1870 and recognize the Metis land claims by setting aside 1,400,000 acres for their eventual occupation. For many reasons, including new social and economic circumstances imposed on them, the Metis did not take advantage of the land grant and drifted West, while Riel had been banished from Canada for some bloodshed during the uprising.

The Metis developed a Red River counterpart on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River. It is here that the village of Batoche grew out of a ferry crossing built by Xavier Letendre, where the Carlton Trail, a main trade route between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton, met the South Saskatchewan.

"Part of a larger district known as the St-Laurent Settlement, Batoche contained farms laid out in river lots, according to Metis custom. The Metis were involved in freighting, trading, cattle raising and some farming. By 1885 the community numbered about 500.

Batoche maintained a traditional sense of identity well after the turn of the century, but inevitably the village lost its commercial basis and by 1915 only one store remained." (Environment Canada, 1983j)

Within fifteen years, Metis land tenure was once again threatened by westward expansion, and despite many peaceful grievances, the Canadian Government, once again proved to be inflexible and remote. Riel was brought back to lead the Metis and a handful of Indians in an armed rebellion intended to repeat the previous strategic success obtained earlier in Manitoba. This was not to be the case, as initial bloodshed drove the East to passion and to swift military solutions.

"Five significant confrontations marked the 1885 insurrection, with the North-West Field Force involved in four: Fish Creek, Cut Knife Hill, Batoche and Frenchman's Butte. Duck Lake was a skirmish between the Metis and the North-West Mounted Police, while at Frog Lake, Big Bear's Cree Indians attacked the local white population." (Environment Canada, 1983j)

The battle at Batoche, which involved 800 Canadian Forces, 100 Metis and a handful of Indians, marked the end of the Metis Rebellion and of Louis Riel and the Metis as a separate nation and way of life.

"Canadian soldiers, under the leadership of General Middleton, arrived on May 9, 1885 and laid siege to Batoche. After a four-day battle, the outnumbered Metis were defeated and their leader, Louis Riel, surrendered. This encounter marked the end of effective Metis involvement in the Northwest Rebellion. Later, as a result of unfavourable market conditions and changes in transportation patterns in Western Canada, Batoche also lost its position of economic primacy. Railroads

supplanted trails and ferry crossings as the principal means of overland transport. A new agricultural economy and increased immigration ultimately displaced the Metis." (Environment Canada, 1982p, p. 2)

Site Location and Description

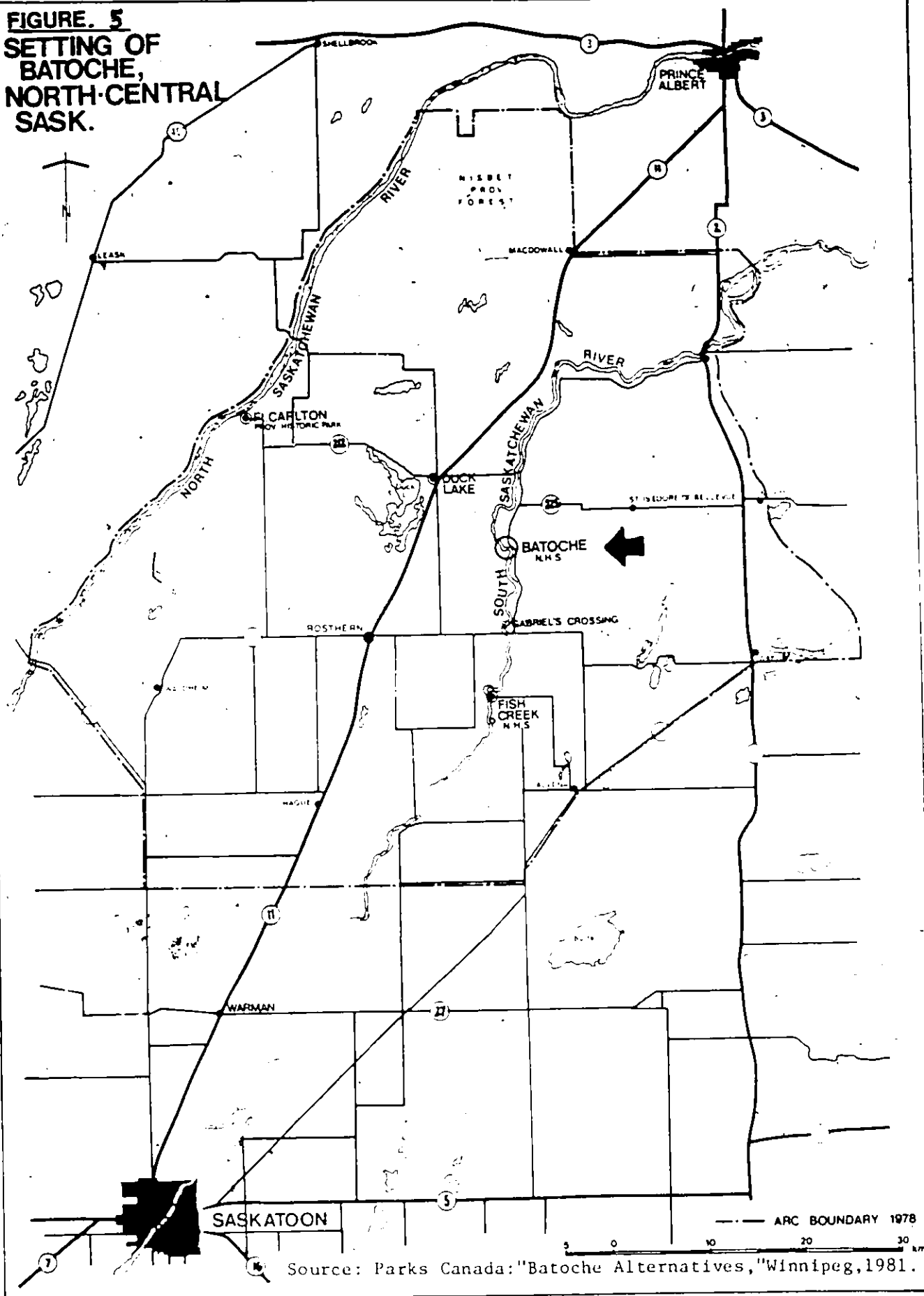
Batoche National Historic Site is located in North-Central Saskatchewan, about 85 km northeast of Saskatoon, and 80 km southwest of Prince Albert, and is most of the way accessible via two excellent provincial highways. Locally, there is a good to fair highway that actually traverses the eastern portion of the site. Figure 5 situates Batoche.

It is a relatively undeveloped, and unpretentious quiet place comprising some 2,700 acres (1,080 hectares), physically and scenically divided by the South Saskatchewan River. This silt laden meandering river has gorged the land surface to impressive depths. The river is flanked by unstable gullies and marked by numerous eddies. The site's horizon is dominated by grazing and haying fields and by wooded strips of land.

Figure 6 provides an overview of the major historic interpretive units of Batoche and helps to situate their pre-1985 development which is restricted to two areas on the eastern side of the river, namely the zareba-scenic vista area at the southern entrance of the site, and the church-rectory sector near the middle of the site.

The zareba-scenic vista area comprises a stopping vista offering a remarkable view of the river, a run-down wooden homestead building known as the Caron farmstead, and the earthworks of the zareba. Located near the zareba (a partially ploughed-under pentagonal military feature called Middleton's Trenches) the vista has a small parking facility and

FIGURE 5
SETTING OF
BATOCHÉ,
NORTH-CENTRAL
SASK.



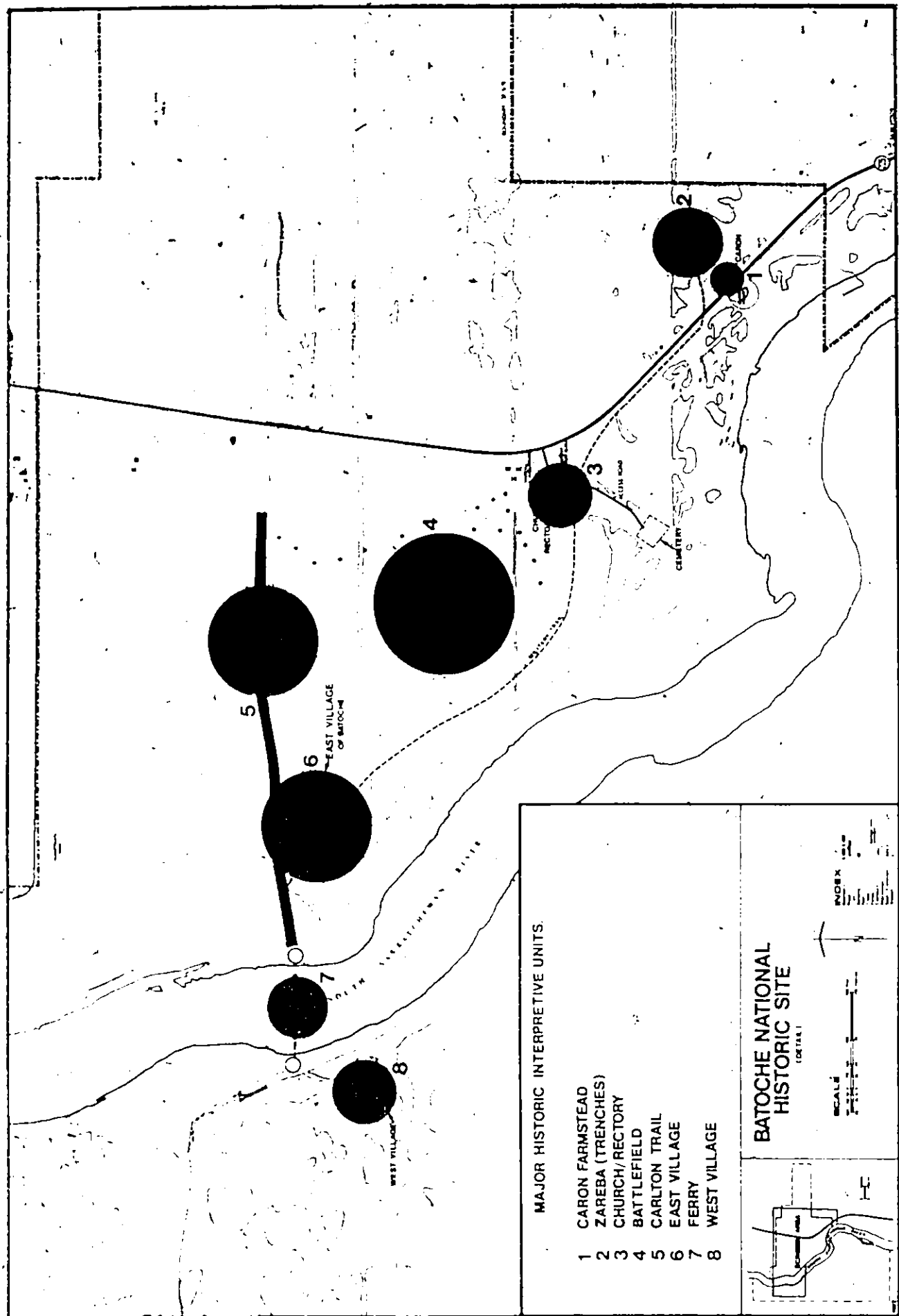


Figure 6. An overview of the major historic interpretive units at Batoche. Source: Parks Canada (June, 1982). Batoche National

a small outdoor orientation exhibit made up of a few display panels mounted on concrete construction.

The second developed area, the church-rectory sector, is dominated by a typical one hundred year old rural white wooden church with steeple of Red River frame construction, a similarly constructed rectory poorly performing as a museum, a rudimentary wooden administration building and maintenance structures of dubious 1950 vintage and a similarly awkward church-schoolhouse used for masses, which doubles as a vendor of Metis crafts and souvenirs and junk snacks during the visitor season. The 28,000 visitors a year are also serviced by a small parking lot adjacent to the church and by two earth-pit toilets and a small picnic area. The nearby parish historic cemetery is still in use and is popular with visitors, as Gabriel Dumont, Louis Riel's military strategist and leader, is buried there along with six Metis who died in the battle.

In the northwest section of the east portion of the site, some two km from the church, there remains a few foundations and cellars of the former village of Batoche. It once spread over the two banks of the river, along the Carlton trail, and was linked by a ferry. The village was at the confluence of the east-west Carlton Trail, which once served as the major land route between Upper Fort Garry (Winnipeg) and Fort Edmonton, the end of the historic north-south Humboldt Trail. Extant portions of both trails, especially the Carlton, are on the site. The West Village of Batoche is only accessible by an indirect low grade farm access road. There is no permitted public use of this area.

The rifle pits are the most abundant remaining testimonies of the 1885 battle. The Canadian (Middleton) pits are concentrated along the river banks near the vista. Numerous Metis pits still exist on the west

side. However, where the battle occurred, between the church and the village, only two pits have survived the plow that also eliminated the once numerous enforested areas where the pits were located. The battlefield appears today as nothing more than an open field marked by riverlot boundaries.

Site Evolution - Land Acquisition and In-holdings

Deliberations of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada regarding Batoche date back to 1920, with the first action being the placing of a plaque on the site in 1925. However, it was not until 1952 that Batoche was officially declared a National Historic Site, although the Middleton trenches were so declared in 1950. In 1955, the initial land assembly for the site started with the purchase of the rectory and of Middleton's trenches. These holdings, however, created a series of independent interpretive satellites rather than an integrated site. Between 1967 and 1976, properties were purchased in earnest, including the church in 1970, all properties north of the Caron farm on the east side, lands on the west side of the river and lands along the banks of the river. The amount of land acquired surpassed original intentions because local farmers, concerned about access problems and economic agricultural viability of partial lots isolated from the main road grid intersecting the site, would only sell full river lots.

Existing in-holdings on the site are not considered to be a problem. An informal cooperative agreement to be eventually formalized between Parks Canada and the Roman Catholic Church covers the interpretive use of the cemetery. The Parish of Batoche owns the

cemetery and has a legal access easement to it. The Rural Municipality of Saint Laurent owns road allowances, which it has indicated would be transferred to Parks Canada. In addition to these legal in-holdings, there is a 50 acre (24 hectare) parcel of Parks Canada land in the northeast corner of the site, devoid of historical resources and sufficiently distant from the historical areas, that will be leased to the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan for the purpose of holding its annual Heritage Days Celebration and possibly building a cultural centre (Environment Canada, 1982q, pp. 8-18; 20-22).

Site Administration and Operations

Batoche is operated on a seasonal basis with a current staff allocation of only 4.52 person-years devoted to seasonal interpretive programs and year round site security and maintenance. The site is administered out of Battleford National Historic Park by the Area Superintendent responsible for the National Historic Parks and Sites of Northern Saskatchewan. The person-years of Batoche are also responsible for administration and maintenance of Fish Creek, a National Historic Site located 24 km south of Batoche (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 28).

Pre-Management Planning Plans and Concepts

The Management Planning Process for Batoche National Historic Site initiated in 1979 was pre-dated and, to some extent, pre-determined by earlier plans, agreements and studies, some involving public participation.

The first hint of public involvement in Batoche surfaces in the Management Plan, which refers to a public meeting held on January 16, 1969, to discuss the park expansion, and notes that it was supported by a majority of local residents and landowners (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 16). Yet, the Batoche Management Guidelines, dated Oct. 26, 1979, state in a section identifying considerations and recommendations of level of public involvement:

"Earlier planning efforts apparently identified a boundary for the park, leading some local landowners to believe that a substantial portion of their former properties would be returned. The meeting during which the proposed boundary was identified for local farmers will undoubtedly be remembered and the subject resurrected... Finally, as indicated above there are the local resident farmers who have expressed a desire to have their earlier farm lands returned and who were promised the right of first refusal in the event of alienation." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 16...p. 18)

In 1972, an internal task force report on Batoche was produced as part of a nation-wide assessment of National Historic Sites and Parks. The Task Force, a multi-disciplinary team, proposed a number of development projects, some of which have survived the Management Plan. In 1973, a Provincial Master Plan for Batoche was produced. It is described as a carbon copy of the Task Force report. In 1975, a major report entitled the Dyck Report surfaced as a result of public concern expressed in the early 1970's, when suspicion was widespread among local people that Parks Canada and the province of Saskatchewan were preparing to develop their historic sites and tourism attractions in an uncoordinated manner (Dyck, 1975).

"A large public forum was convened in Duck Lake in 1973 to discuss the alleged situation. Many spokesmen, including provincial politicians, alluded to the need for an overall approach to the region, which eventually came to be known as the Saskatchewan Rivers Heritage Area." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 40)

The Dyck Report, named after the consultant who was commissioned by the Federal and Provincial Governments in 1973, called for a cooperative undertaking which would adopt a thematic approach to the integrated heritage resources of the region, emphasizing the fur trade at Fort Carlton, the social and economic aspects of the Metis settlement at Batoche and the military aspects of Fish Creek and Batoche. Dyck also proposed the construction of an Orientation Centre covering all of the region's historical attractions and the creation of a Heritage Authority basically controlled by local officials, but with Federal Government members. The latter was to supervise development in the area and operate the Orientation Centre. Parks Canada supported all but the recommendation of the Heritage Authority.

"Such a concept, Parks Canada concluded, would violate the National Parks Act and the Historic Sites and Monuments Act which place the Minister of the Environment in charge of the administration of national historic parks and sites." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 41)

Parks Canada made the above position clear during public meetings convened to discuss the Report in 1976.

"Eventually a Task Force appointed to evaluate Dyck's recommendation also concluded that this mechanism was unworkable and advised the Province of Saskatchewan against it. The Proposal was, therefore, rejected." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 42)

In 1977, another federal-provincial study, building on the earlier two, concluded in a 1978 report that an Area for Recreation and Conservation Agreement (ARC) designation was viable for the area (Robinson et al., 1978), "and should be related to coordination of development, to the protection of significant resources outside of Batoche and Fort Carlton, to the stimulation of the regional economy in the complex and to the provision of a year-round Orientation Centre" (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 7).¹

This recommendation for ARC to be the principal vehicle for comprehensive regional integration of Batoche has yet to materialize.

In 1979, the status was described as follows:

"Further studies have been deferred at Saskatchewan's request for lack of finances and to allow the planning of individual sites to catch up with the regional planning studies." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 7)

By 1982, the status improved:

"The Province is proposing to expand and improve Fort Carlton, both parties are discussing the merits of a tourism orientation centre for the region and Parks Canada, under ARC, is contemplating the development of sites directly relevant to Batoche, such as Fish Creek, the Pilon house (1888 Metis household) and Gabriel Dumont's homestead and ferry crossing. While, at the time of writing (June, 1982), there is no guarantee that these projects will be approved, it is clear that the prospects are good, not only for thematic integration, but for a potential expansion of thematic coverage to include other sites directly compatible with Batoche." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 129)²

Pre-Management Planning Public Involvement

Aside from a meeting convened in July, 1975, with representatives of the Duck Lake and District Board, the Board of Trade, a local pressure group pushing for heritage developments in the Batoche Area, meetings associated with the above-cited regional integration studies and numerous interviews and site tours the Parks Canada historian and archeologist for Batoche have conducted with the press in Saskatchewan, no site-specific public reviews had been undertaken.

"Thus, while site-specific reviews of planning matters have not been the subject of public involvement, issues such as Batoche's role in the region and its research and planning programme have been discussed with the Province and the public. A fair conclusion, therefore, would be that at least a moderate degree of public involvement, primarily through the dispensing of information, has occurred." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 15)

Management Planning Program

Introduction

Figure 7 illustrates the six stage management planning process for Batoche. It incorporates a two-phase formal public involvement program covering the Themes and Objectives stage and the Plan Alternatives Stage. The completion of the process, an approved management plan, was set for late summer 1981 when the process was initiated in 1979 as a very high Regional priority. The year 1985, which is Parks Canada's centennial and the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Batoche and the execution of Louis Riel, was the driving force for getting the plan approval in time to allow for the completion of significant developments.

"In addition, it is a departmental initiative to utilize this site as a showpiece for the historic sites programme for Parks Canada's hundredth anniversary. As 1985 is also the centennial of the engagement at Batoche, it is anticipated that a very broad audience will attend the commemorative ceremonies planned for that year... Therefore, it will be important not only to finalize the format of the celebrations but to ensure that there are sufficient developments in place to indicate the sincerity of Parks Canada's interest in Batoche." (Environment Canada, 1979c, pp. 1-2)

"i) The team must take account of the requirement to show a development presence at Batoche by 1985, at least to the extent of having a significant portion of the historic resources stabilized or restored by that date." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 11)

Management Guidelines and Terms of Reference

Two internal documents on Batoche that shed considerable light on the initial thinking and planning at work in its management planning process are the Batoche Management Guidelines and Terms of Reference.

FIGURE 7.

**BATOCHE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
MANAGEMENT PLANNING PROCESS**

STAGE IN PROCESS	PARKS CANADA'S USE OF PUBLIC INPUT
1 Themes- & Objectives	(Discussion of proposed approach and recording of suggested concerns/ideals)
2 Background Information	(Document will be tabled at Plan Alternatives stage for discussion and confirmation)
3 Plan Alternatives	(Full public discussion and recording of alternative(s) preferred by public)
4 Draft Management Plan	(Will officially acknowledge public's opinions and will demonstrate how it influenced draft plan)
5 Ottawa Review	(Will inform Ottawa of public's concerns/support for Draft Plan)
6 Approved Management Plan	(List of Public's suggestions/concerns will be appended to Plan)

Source: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, Planning Division, Batoche Alternatives (Winnipeg, Manitoba, February, 1981), p. 2.

"The October 26, 1979 Management Guidelines have been approved for Batoche. The Guidelines represent a broad assessment of the objectives of the plan and the resources and timing to carry them out. The Terms of Reference will expand this skeletal outline and attempt to be more definitive about the relative responsibilities of the team members." (Environment Canada, 1979d, p. 1)

The Batoche Management Guidelines deal extensively with public involvement, describing the degree to which public involvement had previously occurred, the degree to which the public can influence particular planning issues, the degree to which people's private property is affected, the anticipated level of public interest in Batoche, and the limited available person-years in the Prairie regional office and park for the planning exercise. Key actors identified include the Metis Association of Saskatchewan, provincial and local governments, the Board of Trade of the town of Duck Lake, the One Arrow Indian Reserve, which is adjacent to the site, and local farmers. General interest was also anticipated from the francophone population of Western Canada, represented by the St. Boniface Historical Society located in Winnipeg and the Society's counterparts in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Although there seems to be no real controversy surrounding the development of the site, a cautious open approach is favoured.

"It is true that many of the resource treatments for the Church, etc. will be resolved more by policy and internal deliberations than by public debate.

Nevertheless, in such areas as road improvements, coordination of developments and protection of the environs of Batoche, the goodwill of the Province and local municipalities and individuals will be essential.

Thus, while there are no specific areas that demand public involvement, prudence dictates that without it, provincial, municipal and local cooperation will not come to fruition: without this support many of the planning proposals will not be capable of implementation." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 16)

Based on all of the circumstances and considerations so far outlined in this section, the Management Guidelines conclude:

"Therefore, it is recommended:

That a medium level of public involvement be undertaken for Batoche that would include public consultation and involvement at pivotal stages in the development of the plan, but would not involve the public at all stages, such as for Kluane National Park Management Plan." (Environment Canada, 1979c, pp. 19-20)

The pivotal stages of the process outlined in the Guidelines are:

1) the Themes and Objectives stage, where Parks Canada proposes dual themes for Batoche and outlines appropriate development and interpretation; and 2) the Alternatives stage, where the approved Themes and Objectives are translated into specific alternative courses of action. Concerning these two stages, the Guidelines propose a truly active public involvement, reaching beyond information distribution.

"Should public concerns so dictate, the objectives may have to be rewritten, some may be deleted and some added... Here again the public should be involved as a necessary input into selection of the preferred alternative. It is anticipated that discussion of the alternatives will occur at open houses in larger Saskatchewan cities such as Saskatoon and Prince Albert and at smaller more directly involved towns such as Duck Lake and Rosthern. Drop-in centres and small informal gatherings at the park are also foreseen." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 20)

The Guidelines make it clear that public input will be accounted for through two newsletters, the first reporting on what the public said and how this information was utilized or rejected during the planning program, and the second documenting the results of that input in the approved plans. The Terms of Reference document also stresses the importance of public involvement.

"At the two pivotal steps in the planning process, at the Themes and Objectives and Plan Alternative stages, the public will be canvassed for their views and reactions to the planning products. It is imperative that the public's views be considered by the team during the plan. Analysis and summary of public views will be provided to the planning team by Public Participation." (Environment Canada, 1979d, p. 16)

In order to meet the 1985 deadline for significant development, the Management Guidelines justify the initiation of the Church restoration and the conservation and acquisition of furnishing artifacts independently of the management plan.

"The major problem in deferring all development work until the completion of the management plan is the unlikelihood of completing even a significant number of developments by 1985. Thus, certain projects have been identified which will be carried out during or just after the planning process." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 13)

Within the same deadline context, the Management Guidelines make provision for an additional step in the planning process, entitled "Development Priorities Document", which would be produced and approved subsequent to a selection of a Plan Alternative and a detailed analysis of public input. The document was to be approved by April, 1981. It was to:

- i) establish an area plan concept which will integrate individual projects and provide refined area development data for the Management Plan at a very general level.
- ii) identify high priority projects which are considered "firm enough" to initiate design.
- iii) establish terms of reference for such design so that they may be commenced in consonance with the remainder of the management planning process." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 24)

Of the \$140,000 total budget proposed for the management planning process over the three fiscal years covering 1979 to 1982, which includes \$75,000 for various technical studies, a proposed \$30,000 was tabled by the Guidelines for the public involvement effort described as follows:

"Public Participation (the unit) has identified a requirement for a minimum of four months for the two major review stages to prepare for the session, conduct them and have the input synthesized and incorporated into the plan." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 23)

For the Batoche planning, the public participation unit, was limited to one responsible officer who, with the assistance of members of the planning team, namely the Area Superintendent and the Chairman, would provide the analysis and summary of public view to the planning team. It is noteworthy that the six member core planning team did not have among its ranks the public participation officer, and that the Chairman, the Chief of the Planning Division, had extensive authority and responsibilities for the planning tasks, almost amounting to a one person effort. The subservient role of the Public Involvement unit, seemingly limited to administrative tasks, is again hinted at in the Terms of Reference section describing the presentation of alternatives to the public:

"This stage will entail summarizing the alternative document, simplifying phraseology to ensure public comprehension and designing explanatory graphics which offer an overview of the fundamental differences in the alternatives. At least two members of the core planning team will be represented at the public sessions, including the chairman of the planning team. The planning team will be responsible for the content of all documents tabled before the public." (Environment Canada, 1979d, p. 19).

Although before a management-planning process is initiated there is supposed to be an open mind to development, the budgetary planning exercises, especially covering the longer-run (up to 5 years), provide a good indication of agency intentions. The Management Guidelines section dealing with the fiscal parameters for the Batoche development program reveals the extent of the development anticipated by referring to costs associated to the construction of an administration centre, a visitor

reception centre and an internal road system. It also recommends the following:

"ii) That the fiscal parameter for the Batoche development, at least for the next five year period, be established at between 2 and 5 million dollars." (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. 27)

The fiscal parameters of any management planning process incorporating major developments are probably the single most important influence on the final input, although it has been argued that public support for significant development can be used to justify increased spending allotments.³

Themes and Objectives - Phase 1 of Public Involvement

The Themes and Objectives of Batoche were approved by senior management September 14, 1979, and put forward for public review in March, 1980. Batoche was to have two major themes of equal importance.

"Two major themes, springing from the Board recommendations, can be identified for Batoche. Both are of equal importance. These are:

1. The North-West Rebellion of 1885; and
2. 'Metis Settlement in the Batoche District.' (Environment Canada, 1979c, p. Appendix A, p. 2)

In conjunction with the major themes, two sub-themes are respectively identified, namely 1) Amerindians in the North-West Rebellion, and 2) Amerindians: Interaction with the Metis. The objectives of Batoche emphasize its importance in the National Historic Parks and Sites system and spell out intentions regarding interpretation, visitor services, historic resource protection, natural resource management, land holdings, site operation and regional integration. Significant development permeates the objectives, but in an obtuse way. The stage is set for significant development by 1985.

"The tasks of interpretation, therefore, will be to provide facilities for visitors to be introduced to the site, to present the various themes and resources, and to evoke the atmosphere of Batoche around 1865-1900, when it was a major Metis settlement and an important battleground." (Environment Canada, 1980a, p. 5)

"Although Batoche is not far from Saskatoon and Prince Albert, it is still relatively isolated in terms of services for visitors, especially restaurants or cafes... Finally, to enable visitors to move around this site which occupies some 1,093 hectares (2,700 acres), some type of access system such as trails or mini-buses will have to be considered." (Environment Canada, 1980a, p. 6)

"Some (resources) will be left undisturbed. Some may be rebuilt if necessary to the visitor's understanding of the themes. The task for the management planning alternatives, therefore, will be to prepare a logical mixture of resource treatments and modern additions to the site." (Environment Canada, 1980a, p. 6)

"A site as large as Batoche will require some permanent facilities for site administration and for those staff members employed in the interpretive programs for visitors, the maintenance of buildings such as the church, rectory and the other site resources." (Environment Canada, 1980a, p. 7)

A low profile public involvement concentrating on local Metis residents or other local residents of the region is proposed and initiated for the Themes and Objectives. A newsletter booklet entitled "Batoche National Historic Site - Help Write its Future", stating in simple terms the themes and objectives, was developed to support the information-oriented program.

The back cover of the publication doubles as a prepaid, pre-addressed response sheet. It requests to be put on the mailing list and invites comments on the themes to be presented at Batoche and comments to be considered in the preparation of development options for Batoche.

"Literature was mailed out in accordance with a comprehensive mailing list, briefing sessions were provided for television stations in Saskatoon and Prince Albert and radio interviews were also conducted in various Saskatchewan centres. A drop-in centre was arranged at the current site administration building and a slide presentation was provided in the historic Church on the afternoons and evenings of March 3 and 4, 1980.

The intent at the Themes and Objectives stage was to present the material in an informal manner and to concentrate on the local and regional audience. Not only was this design rooted in past precedent, it was also premised on the notion that expansion of any public participation programme should be based on demonstrated need." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 62)

The two day open houses were attended by roughly 100 people, which included groups representing the local, regional, and provincial Metis Association, local residents, including people from the surrounding towns of Fish Creek, Hoey, Duck Lake and Rosthern and a few attendants from Saskatoon and Prince Albert. A total of 136 written submissions were received by Parks Canada (Environment Canada, 1980b, p. 1). Although a presentation was made to the 90th Winnipeg Rifles in Winnipeg and a brief outline of the Themes and Objectives was given on television in Saskatoon and Prince Albert and on radio in Winnipeg, the interest in Batoche was predominantly local.

In August, 1980, Parks Canada released the follow-up document to the public involvement program, entitled "Batoche National Historic Site Comments on the Themes and Objectives". The format is simple.

"In this report, the comments have been grouped by subject area and according to Parks Canada's response. In those cases where we felt that a further explanation of Parks Canada's response was required, you will find it indicated in italics following the relevant comment." (Environment Canada, 1980b, p. 1)

On the whole, the public response strongly supported the Themes and Objectives put forward and Parks Canada's probable approach to development. Many of the comments merely reiterated or put into concrete developmental terms what was written in the Themes and Objectives.

Parks Canada did however reject some public commentary.

- "1. The need to accord one theme a higher priority than another.
 2. The need to interpret more native (ie. Indian) history at Batoche.
 3. The need to provide a serviced campground or commercial accommodation at Batoche.
 4. The need to provide archival facilities at Batoche."
- (Environment Canada, 1982q, pp. 64-65)

The first phase of the public involvement program and of the management planning process was successful in avoiding conflict and in providing Parks Canada a secure base to develop broad ranging plan alternatives that would likely be limited or suppressed not by the public, but by the availability of money.

The Alternatives - Phase 2 of Public Involvement

During 1980, an elaborate data collection and analysis process was undertaken in order to determine in feasible and concrete terms what could and should be done at Batoche (Environment Canada, 1982q, pp. 64-130).⁴ By October 21, 1980, a draft of the Batoche Alternatives emerged (Environment Canada, 1980c). It was finalized in February, 1981, with the elimination of a fourth alternative calling for extreme development similar to Upper Canada Village and Fort William Historic Park (Environment Canada, 1981h).

From January to March, 1981, Parks Canada went to the public with the three alternatives described as 1) Alternative A - "The Time and Money are Limited", 2) Alternative B - "The Moderate Site Preservation, Restoration and Redevelopment Plan", and 3) Alternative C - "The Restoration, Reconstruction and Major Site Redevelopment Plan".

Alternative A, illustrated by Figure 8, was considered to meet the minimum requirements of the Themes and Objectives, where visitors would obtain most of their understanding of Batoche through the use of modern

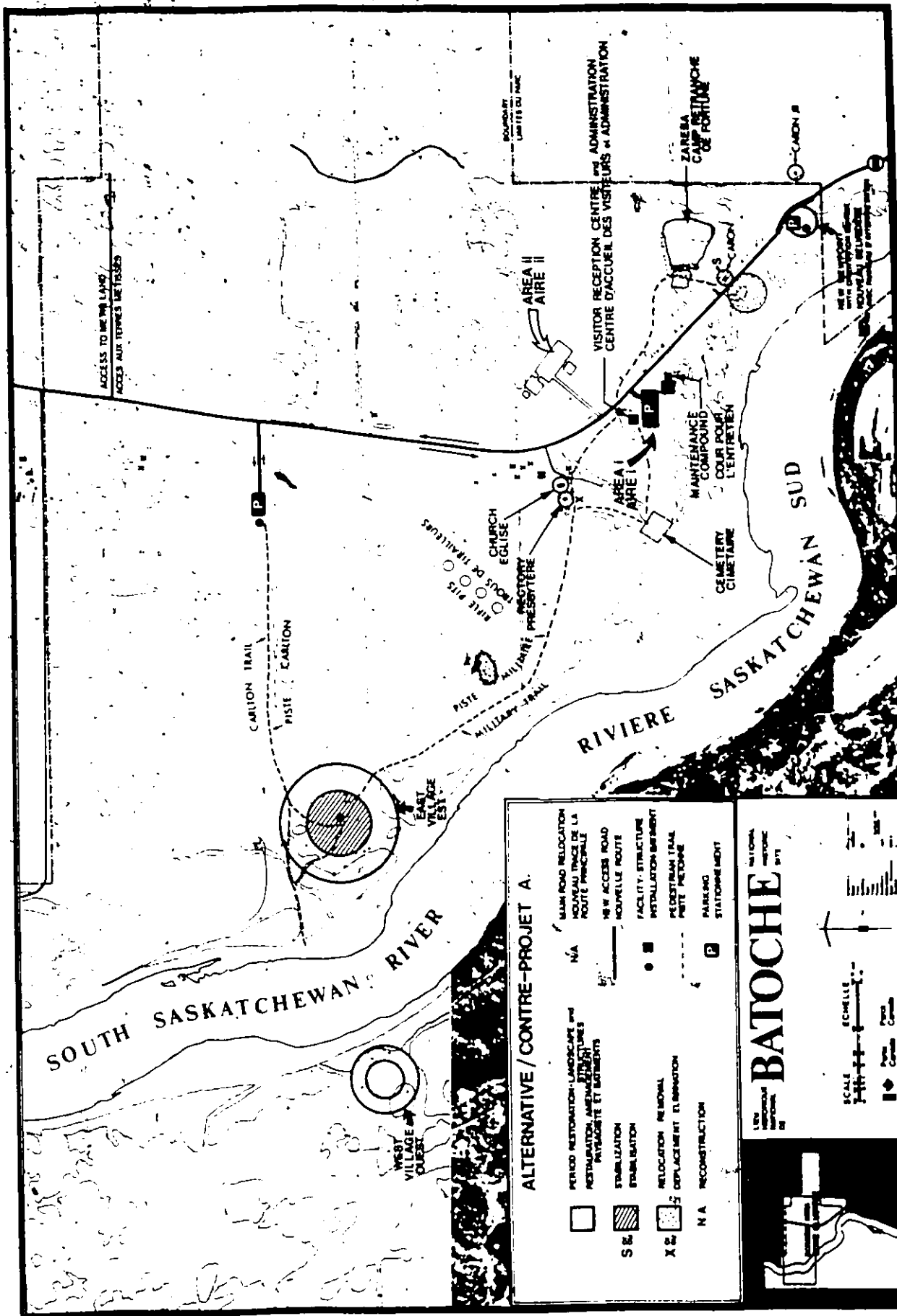


Figure 8. Alternative A, Batoche National Historic Site Source: Parks Canada, Prairie Region (Jan. 1981). Batoche Planning Program, p. 9.

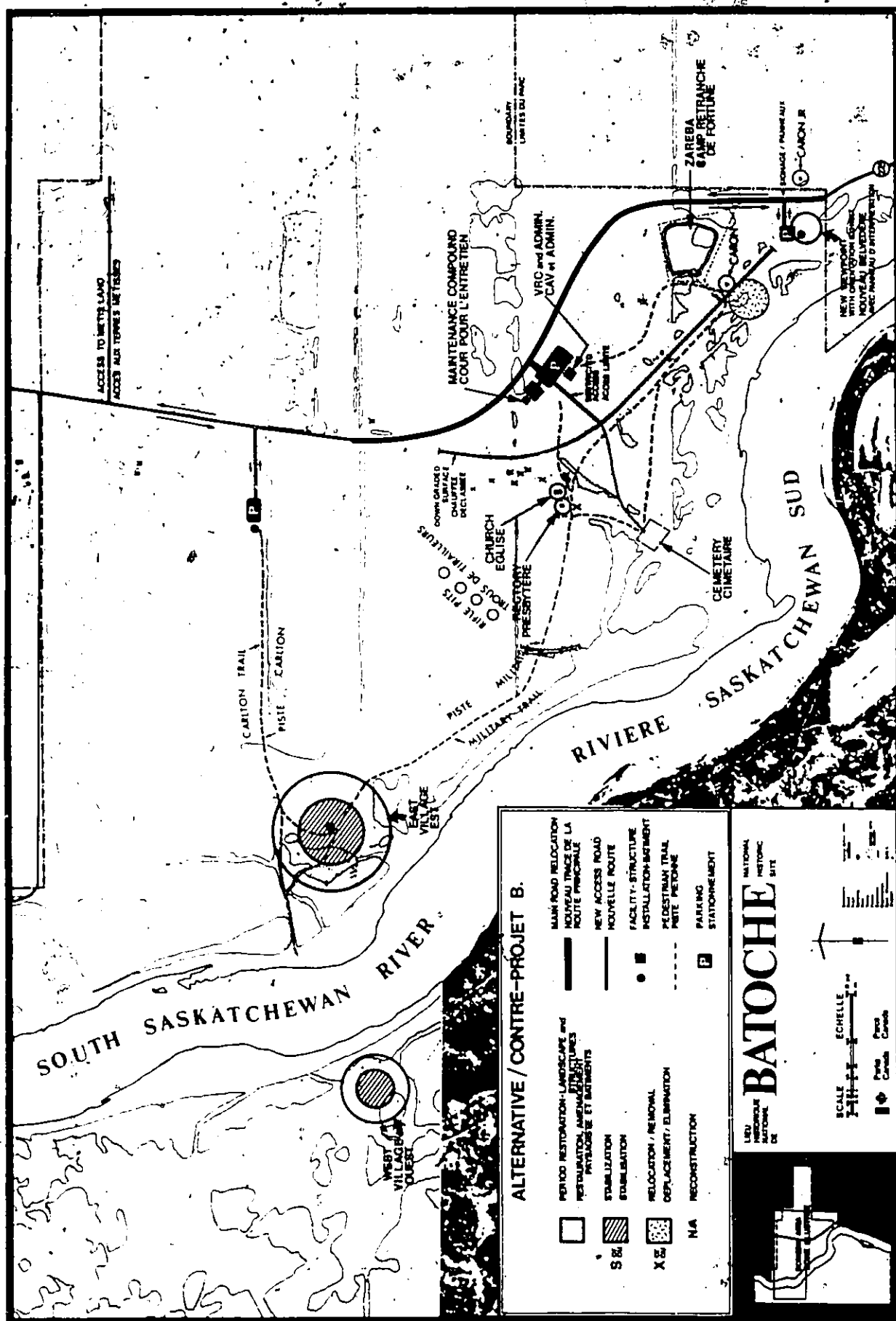


Figure 9. Alternative B, Batoche National Historic Site

Source: Parks Canada, Prairie Region (Jan.1981). Batoche Planning Program, p.10.



media rather than by historic treatments. Alternative B, illustrated by Figure 9, attempted to preserve much of what remains, to return to period the standing structures at Batoche and to provide for a moderate degree of landscape restoration, while providing for significant improvements to modern amenities such as a new Visitor/Interpretation Centre (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 140). Alternative C, illustrated by Figure 10, "presumed that in order to represent and interpret properly the themes of Batoche, a chronologically faithful three dimensional representation of the principal resources was necessary" (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 140). "Although not brought out in the public involvement mail-in questionnaire on the alternatives (Environment Canada, 1981i), a definite and key weakness of the document, the costs estimated for the alternatives are only found in the bulky Batoche Alternatives document, which likely had limited public distribution. Alternative A was estimated to cost \$3,738,000 to develop and \$200,000 a year to operate, with 9.32 person-years. Alternative B development was estimated at \$5,219,000, with an operational cost of \$250,000 a year, using 12.6 person-years. Alternative C would cost \$6,911,000 to implement and \$380,000 annually to operate, with 19.78 person-years (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. Appendix A. p. 1-3 and Appendix B).

The Batoche Management Guidelines and the follow-up document on the public comments regarding the Alternatives stage provide a good picture of how the alternatives phase of the program was conducted.

The thrust of the public involvement program included public meetings at Batoche (March 2, 1981 - 69 persons attended), Rosthern

(March 3 - 20 attended), Duck Lake (March 4 - 44 attended), Prince Albert (March 5 - 20 attended), Saskatoon (March 10 - 85 attended), Edmonton (March 11 - 28 attended), Regina (March 12 - 20 attended) and Winnipeg (March 17 - 52 attended), for a total attendance of 336 people (Environment Canada, 1981j).⁵

In addition to these public meetings, a presentation of the Plan Alternatives was made January 23, 1981, to two landowners directly affected. A discussion of the alternatives was held January 24, 1981, with officials of the Saskatchewan Departments of Tourism and Renewable Resources, of Culture and Youth and of Highways. An informal meeting was held in Winnipeg with regional representatives of the Association of Metis and Non-status Indians on February 7, 1981, and another one with the Rural Municipality of St. Louis on March 2, 1981 (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 141).

The input analysis was done by hand, whereas the methodology used for evaluating the public input was fairly elaborate but crude, and emerged as presented over the next few pages, in different ways and in different documents.

"The Methods utilized to arrive at a preferred plan and a preferred series of plan sub-components were:

- A comparative table of key groups (Table 9): this table summarized the preference of the key groups and what they signified for the Plan Alternatives.
- A detailed analysis of public commentary on each sub-facet of Plan alternatives (as contained in the public participation booklet, Development of the Management Plan for Batoche - Parks Canada's response to Public Comment on the Plan Alternatives). Wherever possible, the many ideas and suggestions of the public were incorporated or a rationale was offered for their rejection. In this way, certain desirable portions of the alternatives could be selected, while other less satisfying aspects could be rejected." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 142)

Out of the several hundred Batoche Planning Program mail-back questionnaires mailed, only 76 written responses were received.⁶ This document was based on sub-facets of the three plan alternatives. Of these written responses, "9% favoured Alternative "A" overall, 40% liked Alternative "B", and 51% liked Alternative "C" (Environment Canada, 1981j, p. 6).

These statistics are dealt with in the initial public comment booklet released in August, 1981 (Environment Canada, 1981j). Subsequent to the completion of the Management Plan, Parks Canada released the booklet entitled "Development of the Management Plan for Batoche, Parks Canada's response to Public Comments on the Plan Alternatives", as described in the above citation (Environment Canada, 1982r). The sub-facets of the three alternatives are organized according to three categories put forward as questions, namely: 1) What would be relocated or removed?, 2) What would remain the same?, and 3) What would be new? This organization is maintained through the three public involvement booklets which dealt with the solicitation of public involvement, the public comments and Parks Canada's response.

In the Management Plan, a public involvement evaluation approach entitled the "Preference for Alternatives by Groups" emerges. It mainly deals with the oral input from the public, mostly obtained during the March meetings. Seven key groups are identified namely: 1) the Metis Association of Saskatchewan, composed of local, regional and provincial chapters; 2) the local people in the Batoche area; 3) the rural municipality of St. Louis (meeting held March 2, 1981, with the Reeve and five councillors, 4) the Saskatchewan Regional Centres of Prince

Albert, Saskatoon and Regina; 5) the provincial government of Saskatchewan, 6) attendants at public meetings in Edmonton and Winnipeg, and 7) the respondents to the public participation literature. The analysis of results by groups is summarized as follows:

"In capsule form, the results of the public meetings demonstrated that "C" had a respectable local following; a very high degree of support from regional centres, inter-provincial centres and the Saskatchewan Provincial Government and a high overall appeal to the people who took the time to read and complete the public participation literature. "B" had a reasonably respectable local reception, a relatively low degree of appeal in regional centres and with the provincial government and a considerable appeal to those who responded to our literature. "A" appeared to be the least favoured of the alternatives by a considerable degree." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 149)

The significant anomaly in preference was that expressed by the Metis Association for Plan "A" and "B".

"Views of the various Metis groups varied. Comments ranged from total opposition to any changes to the site from one former resident of Batoche, to apparent support for Alternative "C". Therefore it is difficult to arrive at a definite overall conclusion as to which Plan Alternative the Association actually preferred. However, the position announced in The New Breed by Tim Lowe, an official for the Association, would tend to lead one to believe that the Association preferred portions of "A" and "B" rather than "C". (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 143)

It is interesting to cite the Management Plan's description of this group's importance.

"This group is pivotal to a successful program as previous lack of credibility has led to a pronounced distrust of Parks Canada." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 148)

An evaluation of public involvement contained in the Management Plan initially appeared in a pre-management plan document entitled "Batoche National Historic Site Public Reaction to the Plan Alternatives' Technical Analysis and Suggested Implication for the

Management Plan", internal document drafted twice, the first time for the Planning Team to review (Environment Canada, 1981k) and the second time for the Regional Directorate review (Environment Canada, 1981l).

It criticizes the number/percentage approach that is avoided in the public involvement evaluation found in the Management Plan.

"In evaluating and incorporating public commentary, it is tempting, but misleading, to use only sheer numbers as an indication of the preferred course of action at Batoche. Such an approval overlooks the fact that even if statistical validity could be achieved, measuring local vs. regional opinion would still be judgemental and subjective. Further, it is a plain fact that organized groups can tend to dominate public meetings, that some people are both more vocal and articulate than others and some others use the forum of a public meeting to espouse causes of peripheral relevance to the meeting." (Environment Canada, 1981l, pp. 1-2)

To balance the intuitive impressions and statistical reality, the approach adopted incorporated three techniques already discussed to some degree since they survived fairly intact in public involvement reporting contained in the Management Plan document and the Parks Canada's response to public comments on the Plan Alternatives document. The techniques were 1) an intuitive overview of the various meetings and written responses which represents a general assessment of many of the principal concerns and comments, 2) a comparative matrix of key groups preferences and, 3) a detailed analysis of public commentary of each sub-facet of the Alternatives, as outlined in the initial alternatives mail-back booklet.

The intuitive overview of the various meetings does not however readily surface in documents made public subsequently. Much of it is devoted to the wisdom of the public involvement program, especially in the early stages of the management planning process.

"Once again the wisdom of tabling the Themes and Objectives with the public, and particularly with local people around Batoche, was fully demonstrated. There were obvious reasons, particularly with Metis groups, where the Alternatives could well have been challenged fundamentally. As it was Parks Canada was able to re-assure several groups that, for example, the Metis Associations had indeed been consulted on the ground rules for the Alternatives in March, 1980 and had expressed satisfaction with our approach." (Environment Canada, 19811, pp. 3-4)

"Earlier scheduled meetings with the Metis Association, with landowners affected by the Plan proposals and with the local Rural Municipality helped avoid ugly and unnecessary confrontations during the planning meetings." (Environment Canada, 19811, p. 6)

Other stated facets of the public involvement program that facilitated the smooth management planning process for Batoche included: the provision of bilingual presentations for the local Batoche audience who did not necessarily understand planning jargon, particularly when presented in English; meetings with the media arranged well in advance, allowing for flexibility in scheduling; and meetings held with the Province of Saskatchewan well in advance of public meetings, to discuss proposals and gain provincial leave to publicly discuss the issue of the road relocation, a provincial matter in this case.

The intuitive overview noted that the proposed thematic dualism of the site, the key and central component of the entire management planning process proposed for Batoche, received strong and almost universal endorsement during the Themes and Objectives stage of public involvement. It was also expressed by the public, in the Alternatives stage, that a development profile was desirable for 1985, but that a massive short-term development was not desirable and that Batoche should be considered a long-term project. In effect, the Management Plan took on a phased approach, partially for financial reasons, and partially because of this public concern identified solely by public involvement.

The comparative matrix of key public preferences for the three alternatives survived intact in the Management Plan with the exception of a crude and subjective weighing system designed to balance local cultural views with regional, provincial and inter-provincial perspectives.

Finally, the detailed analysis of public commentary of each sub-facet of the Alternatives survived fairly intact in "Parks Canada's Response to Public Comment on the Plan Alternatives".

As noted earlier, the Management Guidelines made provision for an additional step in the planning process, entitled "Development Priorities Document", which was to be produced and approved by April, 1981, subsequent to the selection of a Plan Alternative and to detailed analysis of public input, in order to proceed with the design of firm enough projects and to meet the 1985 development deadlines (Environment Canada, 1981m). In fact, the document was approved in June, 1981, before Regional selection of an overall plan and before a full analysis of the public input. The Management planning process was already several months behind schedule and Regional selection of an overall plan was not anticipated till October, 1981.

"It is clear that in November 1979 the size of the response, the complexity of required analyses and day to day logistics of putting together a public participation package in both languages were underestimated." (Environment Canada, 1981m, p. 2)⁷

There was no apparent concern over the anomaly of this step since the development projects were common to all three alternatives. Several criteria were put forward to ensure that proceeding with the designs was not premature, that is, before the public analysis was complete and the

Management Plan prepared and approved. The criteria were also intended to ensure that the projects were maintained at a conceptual level so as not to interfere with Area Development Planning, a stage which comes after the Management Plan and is part of its implementation (Environment Canada, 1981m, p. 8).⁸ The projects included: 1) commencement of the physical restoration work of the church, 2) commencement of the Area Development Planning once an alternative is selected, 3) period restoration of the parish rectory, 4) co-operative cosmetic restoration of the parish cemetery, 5) period restoration of the landscape in the church-rectory area, 6) new visitor reception centre, maintenance and administrative complex, 7) relocation of Provincial Highway through Batoche.

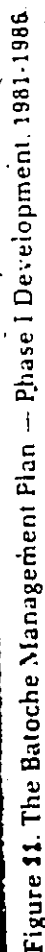
This additional step in the management planning process is stressed by the document as an anomaly developed solely to meet the exigencies of the Batoche development schedule. It worked because of the knowledge, expertise and many talents of the Planning Team Chairman who was not only involved in the public involvement program, but also wrote most of the documents of the Batoche Management Planning Process. It worked because there was nothing really controversial about what was being planned at Batoche, that is, all three alternatives would not be rejected. It worked because of early public involvement in the management planning process and because of a well-conducted overall public involvement program. It worked because the general trend of the public response to the Plan Alternatives was known when the "Development Priorities Document" was written. Under any other circumstances, such a preemption would likely have been a mockery of public involvement and a

source of embarrassment if not a waste of time and money in the final analysis.

The Management Plan

Subsequent to several drafts produced over several months during 1982, the Management Plan for Batoche was finally approved by the Assistant Deputy Minister in the Fall of 1982, and the Management Plan Summary, dated June, 1982, by the Minister of the Environment (Environment Canada, 1982p). The Management Plan is based on Alternative C and calls for two phases of development over ten years, namely Phase 1, 1981-1986 and Phase 2, 1986-91. Figures 11 and 12 illustrate the proposal.

Phase 1 calls for: the relocation of Highway 225; the construction of the Visitor Reception - Administration - Maintenance complex; the period restoration of the church, rectory and cemetery; the stabilization of the East Village, Zareba, Caron Homestead and portions of the West Village; the construction of access roads and parking for the East Village, the Carlton Trail and the Visitor Reception Centre; the construction of an access road to the Metis land holding, and the removal of the several modern structures, including the church schoolhouse, the current administrative and maintenance buildings, as well as some reconstruction of rifle pits. Phase II calls for: period restoration of the East Village, including reconstruction of several structures; period reconstruction of the Caron Homestead; landscape restoration of the general battlefield, including the Carlton trail, which encompasses much of the East side of the Site, and construction of washrooms and a picnic area in the East Village.



Although the Management Plan identifies twelve major points arising out of the public involvement program that were accepted by Parks Canada, it is difficult to isolate any as being solely the result of public involvement, that is, not already identified in Alternative C or already considered internally. Public concern about avoiding massive quick development was accepted, however the phased approach probably had more to do with limited financial resources.

Between Alternative "C" and the management plan there are a few minor differences. The road relocation runs slightly further east in the Management Plan. This refinement and the deletion of other access roads which appear in the Alternatives were the result of driving safety considerations put forward by the province of Saskatchewan. The highway alignments presented in the Alternatives were always put forward to the public as rough pre-finalization alignments. Washrooms and picnic facilities near the village also surfaced in the Management Plan possibly partially in response to public comments concerning such amenities.

It is worthwhile noting that the corridors of the highway relocation and technical analysis of the viability of full period reconstruction of several of the Village buildings did not occur until after the public involvement program.

"These studies had not been undertaken earlier because Parks Canada wanted confirmation first, through the public involvement program, that the concepts of full period reconstruction and of road relocation were acceptable to the public." (Environment Canada, 1982q, p. 152)

Public involvement not only supported Alternative C but endorsed, refined and expanded much of the rationale behind Alternative C and the

Management Plan. Had public involvement not occurred at Batoche or had public sentiment not been incorporated in the Batoche decision-making, the Northwest Rebellion would likely have been the dominant, if not the only theme for Batoche and something similar to Alternative A or B would have been developed. The omission of the Metis settlement theme would have totally alienated the Metis. The dual equal themes for Batoche, although substantiated historically, was never put before the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, probably because of the time constraint to develop Batoche. Yet, Parks Canada's calculated and professionally substantiated dual theme approach probably defused a potentially volatile situation and obtained Metis support at the critical Themes and Objectives step that set the stage for the development of Batoche.

Moreover, had public involvement not occurred or had not been considered, it is likely that reconstruction would not have been entertained by Parks Canada. It can be deducted from the Parks Canada policy on reconstruction that it is a last resort, and should not be undertaken unless no alternative action can create public understanding (Environment Canada, 1982b, p. 30). Anticipating public feelings about the issue of reconstruction at Batoche and the actual public support given to reconstruction overcame this policy barrier that is adhered to by those who fear creating a Disneyland setting. For some professional purists, the Fortress of Louisbourg, a massive and very expensive reconstruction, was such a mistake, even though it is the jewel of the Historic Parks system and popular with visitors.

It can be generally argued that Alternative C was not only selected as a result of public support but also proposed, in part, in anticipation of public concerns and potential controversy. Parks Canada, in the case of Batoche, had no favoured or preferred option, and if it did, it was likely Alternative B. Public involvement was truly a key deciding factor in the conception and subsequent adoption of Alternative C. Public involvement determined the dual theme approach, the most ambitious alternative and was consequently instrumental in the adoption of a phased development of the site.

Implementation of the Management Plan

The implementation of the Management Plan started before its approval, through the initiation of the design of certain projects identified in the Development Priorities Document and through the initiation of the Area Development Plan, which would incorporate the latter and all development projects.

The Metis Association, a key group considered in the management planning process, required special consideration in the plan's implementation, and not just from the point of view of jobs, either in the construction or operation of the site. It should be noted that in a manner of speaking, the Metis, as principally represented by the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, favoured Alternative A or B and not C. They also expressed concern over not having input in a draft Management Plan, public involvement step rarely used by Parks Canada in its management planning process.

In order to further accommodate this critically important group, Parks Canada integrated Metis involvement in the management plan implementation. The management plan is only a statement of intent, and where significant development is proposed, a blueprint to guide decisions. It can often be argued that the interpretation of the management plan as well as time, changing circumstances, changing key actors, and the availability of funds can produce a physical outcome substantially different from that initially intended. Usually, some form of citizen committees such as advisory committees provide continuous public involvement in park activities of a developmental or operational nature. In the case of Batoche, a novel approach was adopted to deal with unique circumstances.

The Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, although only one of several Metis groups contacted across the West and North concerning Batoche, is the chief representative of the Metis of Saskatchewan. A local Development Board, headed by the Association's West Central Area Office (Prince Albert) and by three elected representatives of each of the Batoche Local, Duck Lake Local and St. Louis Local, was established. The objectives of the Board was to express and represent local Metis views of Parks Canada development at Batoche, including the determination of economic opportunities such as employment. Parks Canada contracted the Local Development Board to hire a person to be liaison officer between the Board and Parks Canada and to collect and disseminate information relative to Batoche.

The true test of the influence of the management plan public involvement for Batoche will come over the next ten years. Will this public involvement have addressed all of the externalities of the site? Will new externalities arise because of changing conditions or old ones resurface because they were not initially addressed properly or because they were simply ignored through implementation and interpretation of the management plan?

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 5

1. According to the Management Guidelines, for the Batoche Management Planning process the "ARC Branch and the Province of Saskatchewan held some meetings with influential groups in the region in 1977-78 to discuss the Terms of the Feasibility Study and Concept Plan" (p. 15 of Management Guidelines).
2. At time of writing, January, 1985, the ARC proposal is relatively dormant because of a relatively new government in Saskatchewan and general government financial restraint. The direction underlying the ARC approach seems limited to regional integration through discrete and separate development of provincial and federal sites in the region without duplicating thematic efforts.
3. During one of many discussions with the Chairman of the Planning team, this was mentioned as a hopeful result of the public involvement program for Batoche when it was initiated.
4. In order to keep the public informed and interested during this period of internal analysis, a one page bulletin entitled "Planning Update" was released December, 1980, to tell the public involved to dates of the forthcoming events.
5. There was also a Radio Canada interview with influential local residents of the Batoche local area.
6. A copy of the mailing list was obtained. It includes individuals, native organizations, newspapers, town clerks, universities, libraries, military regiments, provincial government departments, local social clubs, Parks Canada senior staff, television and radio stations, other federal government departments, and politicians. The vast majority on the mailing list are in the Prairie provinces.

Underestimating the time required to complete a management planning process and to undertake a public involvement program is a common malaise that currently threatens the modified open planning model and the public involvement approach used to date by Parks Canada. The solution actively being sought is cutting down the logical stages in the planning process and reducing or making optional public involvement stages. Unfortunately, a better initial estimation of time, and more efficient and effective operations of both the management planning program and public involvement have seemingly not been entertained as the obvious solution to the problem.

8.

The Area Development Plan, as defined by the Development Priorities Document, connects that Management Plan into a physical dimension, by outlining the area that will be physically disturbed and restored, by pinpointing the locations and dimensions of parking, access visitor use, maintenance and administrative facilities and by including definitive construction schedule to carry out these projects.. It is a crucial link between the Management Plan and individual designs.

6. CONCLUSION

Public facilities generate externalities. Institutionalized public involvement, especially at a planning stage of decision-making leading to developments, is a means, albeit somewhat indirect and intangible, of addressing these externalities. It can be argued that public involvement in public facility planning constitutes an effort by all parties to mitigate negative externalities and to maximize positive externalities. It can be also assumed that effective public involvement is an effective means of addressing externalities.

This thesis described public facility location literature that focused on externalities and related locational conflict. This literature proposed public involvement as a means of addressing externalities.

The thesis then described public involvement literature, which is for the most part separate from public facility location theory, in order to establish what constitutes effective public involvement and, therefore, what constitutes a means of effectively dealing with externalities.

Effective public involvement seems to be best achieved when it is institutionalized within an open planning model. The key criteria for effective public involvement are: the early involvement by the public in an open planning process; the application of a mix of proven techniques to build an informed and representative public and to obtain their input; the use of proven input analysis and evaluation techniques; and the integration of some form of evaluation of public involvement programs.

The literature described public involvement as imperfect and difficult. Yet, public involvement is worthwhile for the many reasons described in this thesis, both in terms of broader democratic principles and in practical terms ranging from better decision-making to satisfying ritualistic-legalistic functions. However, unless the programs underlying public involvement are properly undertaken, public involvement is constrained, as it will not meet all of the general functions that it serves. Public involvement will not necessarily provide consensus on an issue, but that is not its sole purpose. Its primary goal is to achieve better decision-making. It is not a matter of vote counting but a method of identifying public preference and the social costs of decisions, a means of dealing with negative and positive externalities. Public involvement fails when it is ill-understood and ill-implemented. It is essential that it be efficient and effective. This requires not only an understanding, but also a commitment to public involvement, a commitment of time, money and trained personnel. Public involvement has inherent weaknesses that do not need to be aggravated or supplemented by a casual commitment.

The thesis then described Parks Canada's public involvement effort. First, it was situated within the agency's planning and decision-making framework. Then, several cases of Parks Canada public involvement programs were presented, one in greater detail, to provide a general understanding of the principal operations of the agency's public involvement effort, to some extent within an historical context. Although some analysis was given during this description, additional analysis in light of public involvement literature and hence the thesis

proposal relating to effective handling of externalities, is given in this conclusion.

In light of the public involvement literature's prescribed general criteria for effective public involvement outlined earlier, it is concluded that Parks Canada's public involvement is fairly effective. This cautious statement is justified because of a few shortcomings and inconsistencies already described, and these caution signals are elaborated upon in the following discussion. *

It was found that public involvement in Parks Canada is substantial and is an integral component of the agency's planning, decision and operational framework. Since the early 1970's, public involvement in Parks Canada has evolved, partly through trial and error, successes and failures, and through the theoretical and practical knowledge gained from elsewhere, especially in the United States. Public involvement is not insular. It works alongside other processes that are also evolving. For example, the Parks Canada Policy and the establishment of a management planning process are recent initiatives. The historical context of Parks Canada's public involvement is one of evolution that challenges a static approach to the subject matter.

Four institutionalized opportunities for public involvement in Parks Canada were described, namely at the departmental policy development level, at the regulatory level, at the park establishment level and at the park management plan development level.

A brief description was given of Environment Canada's public involvement annual meetings initiated in 1982, principally with interest groups of both conservation/environmental and development.

orientations, to discuss broad issues. It was concluded that a determination of the impact of these meetings' recommendations would be premature and a subject for further research. Public involvement regarding regulations, an important aspect of Parks Canada's activities, was not examined closely, being a very recent requirement that appears to be more informative in nature rather than consultative. Here again is another possible area of further study as regulations cover areas such as the setting of park user fees and specific visitor activities.

It was revealed that the principal document proclaiming and requiring the need for public involvement is the Parks Canada Policy. The document's development was in itself subjected to public input. The policy deals with public involvement in very general terms and requires consultation in the establishment of parks and the development of park management plans, which are the principal opportunities for meaningful public involvement in Parks Canada and the foci of this thesis. Although the Parks Canada Policy carries the Minister's approval and is adhered to by the bureaucracy, it has no legislative sanction and is open to broad interpretation.

The thesis then described the planning framework of parks, which includes park establishment and management. The documents guiding these activities adhere to the open planning concept similar to that described earlier in the public involvement literature. It involves benchmark activities and products requiring institutionalized public involvement. The intent of these documents would equate to a consultative level of public involvement according to the models put forward in the public involvement literature. Again, it was revealed that the public

involvement direction in this area is very general and open to broad interpretation. It can be argued, however, that this responds to the flexibility required by a decentralized agency such as Parks Canada. The interpretation of the general direction is a regional responsibility carried out by public participation officers and planners in cooperation with the parks. Unlike most Parks Canada activities, there is no central or national body for public involvement. The thesis expressed concern with the general direction and apparent lack of national coordination with regard to public involvement.

The thesis then described several cases of public involvement programs supporting the development of national parks and national historic parks and sites management plans and one case involving a new park proposal.

The public hearings program for national park master plans in the early 1970's constituted Parks Canada's initiation to public involvement. Operated by staff from Ottawa, the hearings proved to be a difficult initiation culminating in the Village Lake Louise controversy and failure to gain approval of a proposal. The hearings program failed because public input was sought in the final stages of the planning process. These relatively formal hearings constituted an information/persuasion level of public involvement. It should be noted to Parks Canada's credit that it did reverse its position regarding Village Lake Louise in reaction to public pressure and solicited public input.

Subsequent to the public hearings program, Parks Canada adapted the open planning model to the development of park master plans that evolved

into park management plans by the late 1970's. Public involvement operations were also decentralized to the newly formed regional offices that emerged with the decentralization of the agency during the decade. Public involvement techniques were refined and formal hearings were abandoned. Parks Canada applies a mixture of public involvement techniques in keeping with those prescribed by the literature reviewed. Public involvement program consultants and academic expertise are being used in some cases. A very promising trend of supporting local communities in conducting public involvement programs is also emerging.

Several recent public involvement programs are then described. A general adherence to the prescribed open planning framework emerges, but with some notable inconsistencies. Although these inconsistencies may be explained or justified in most cases, they principally involved fewer planning stages incorporating public involvement milestones. For example, in some cases, the public was approached only once at a late stage with one proposal. Also there are cases where few publics were approached. Another example, would be cases where public input was not sought on a draft management plan.

These inconsistencies give the appearance that Parks Canada fluctuates, in theoretical terms outlined previously, from the persuasion information model of citizen participation to the citizen partnership model. An example of the former is the management plan process of Les Forges du Saint-Maurice, whereas the Bruce Peninsula national park proposal is an example of the latter. Most of the cases reviewed, however, seem to fall in the middle ground of the participation continuum, that is, the consultative model. Even within

the consultative model of public involvement a ranking surfaces. The management planning programs for Fort Chambly National Historic Park, Sir George Etienne Cartier National Historic Park and Fort Malden National Historic Park would rank low, St. Lawrence Islands National Park would rank medium and Point Pelee National Park, Batoche National Historic Site and the plan review for Riding Mountain National Park would rank high. It is too early to expose the Four Mountain Parks management planning program to this subjective ranking. However, early indications do not favour a good ranking. Although, the thesis did not cover any recent cases of public involvement programs in Parks Canada's Atlantic Region, it is known that the region has a strong consultative tradition.

Parks Canada seems inconsistent with regards to the public involvement input analysis and evaluation prescribed by the literature. Although not covered in detail by the thesis research, only a few public involvement programs used sophisticated and objective input analysis techniques that are readily available. Most programs examined, applied an intuitive manual analysis of information combined with seemingly clumsy and inconsistent evaluation techniques. The programs reviewed also did not incorporate formal on-going or post facto public involvement program evaluation. According to the literature, the conduct of some form of evaluation is imperative to ensure efficient and effective public involvement.

In spite of the above criticism, Parks Canada's public involvement is supported by broad policy commitment and formidable resources, including dedicated and well-intentioned staff. In addition, in all

cases reviewed it was demonstrated that public involvement had a clear impact on the final management plan.

This thesis has provided the background required to appreciate the resource management framework of Parks Canada and the nature of its public involvement. It has given examples of public involvement in the policy-making, planning and even in decision-making. Public involvement in Parks Canada is strong and has, on occasion, not only altered proposals, but even reversed them. The experience sampled shows, for the most part, a level of compromise when faced with opposition. Irrespective of Parks Canada's motives for public participation programs; the results demonstrate a willingness to listen and change, sometimes significantly. Although very time-consuming and costly, public participation has led to management plan approvals covering ten to fifteen years of proposed development and operations, subject to reviews and modifications. Involving the public early in the planning process has proven successful when compared to the difficulties caused by late involvement in the provisional master plans public hearing program of the early 1970's. The success of recently approved park management plans lies for the most part in the future because public involvement has probably mitigated or eliminated costly problems which would have likely surfaced later. An approved management plan with public support is not an end in itself. The likely successful implementation of these plans will justify Parks Canada's efforts to involve the public in its activities.

Even when faced with failure such as the initial St. Lawrence Island National Park proposal to expropriate, Parks Canada responded

with a compromise or new proposal that will prove to be even more in the interest of Parks Canada and the broader national interest. The Four Mountain Parks planning exercise, an apparent example of a planning and public involvement program failure, is as yet incomplete and will likely produce a management plan incorporating compromises, a good product given the circumstances, and a superior product than that which would have been produced had there been no public involvement.

The Bruce Peninsula National Park proposal relied solely on public involvement in order to proceed with the establishment of a park. The Batoche public involvement program, the principal case study of this thesis, was shown to have had a major influence on the proposed development of that site.

A future of probable greater non-governmental involvement in government and its facilities such as parks will demand a full commitment to efficiency and effectiveness. However, little coordinated effort would be needed to accomplish this goal since it is close at hand, thanks to Parks Canada's efforts thus far. The inconsistencies found can likely be overcome by greater national public involvement direction in a park planning framework that strongly adheres to open planning and that incorporates procedures supporting solid public input analysis and evaluation and program evaluation. The challenge will be to ensure sufficient flexibility to respond to regional and local needs and to different conditions. However, spelling out the general rules, understanding them, adhering to them and enhancing them as needed, will assist Parks Canada's partnership with the public in ensuring better decision-making concerning Canada's natural and cultural heritage.

This partnership will not be fully achieved without difficulties and opposition, strengthened by ever increasing government fiscal restraints that attack processes that could be perceived as inefficient and ineffective. Public involvement is a time-consuming, costly, sometimes obstructionist and controversy-creating activity that challenges the bureaucratic status quo entrenched in professionalism and administration. Equally important, if not more so, public involvement challenges the political status quo which is entrenched in the supremacy of representative democracy and oriented towards quick and short-term solutions.

It is therefore concluded that Parks Canada is addressing externalities generated by its public facilities, principally parks, through its institutionalized public involvement, principally in its planning process for parks. It is also concluded that Parks Canada's public involvement is fairly effective, and certainly substantial in a financial and human resources allocation sense. It is therefore deduced that Parks Canada is addressing externalities fairly effectively.

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APPENDIX 1

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT TECHNIQUES

One of the most written about technique and most criticized is the formal public hearing. This is the form of public involvement that most people associate with public participation yet according to much of the literature it should be avoided where possible. The U.S. National Park Service defines hearings as a formal meeting with formal procedures convened by an independent hearing officer and in their case, recorded by a contracted stenographic officer. Burton and Wildgoose (1977) define public hearings as a special, legal, focused mechanism for public participation in policy making, often used by legislative bodies and their advisors, and usually focusing on narrowly and legally restricted topics. Weick (1979) claims hearings constitute the public phase of the assessment process and act as a lens through which government decision-makers perceive public and expert reaction to specific projects or proposals. According to Le Dain (1973), hearings contribute to the identification and discussion of issues but cannot necessarily be safely used as an instrument to tranquilize public opinion.

Heberlein (1976) provides one of the most elaborate and critical analysis of public hearings, which he describes as a kneejerk reaction to a demand for public involvement and as a traditional, ubiquitous and ill-understood institution of American society. According to the author, public hearings have four distinct functions: 1) an information function to tell the public about a program; 2) a cooptative function designed to involve citizens in order to prevent anticipated

obstructionism; 3) a ritualistic function where required by law or administrative code, and 4) an interactive function when the agency tries to discover what the people want and to respond to these wants. In describing these functions, Heberlein holds a very negative view of both the agency and the workings of public hearings.

Citing Fox and Wible (1973), Heberlein claims the most serious problem with public hearings is that the views presented are those of well identified members of interest groups and therefore are likely to be unrepresentative of the range of individuals who are affected by the issues. Other related weaknesses presented by Heberlein include: competing demands on an individual's time and role requirements affect attendance, especially during work hours; representatives of an interest group are likely to be more knowledgeable about the project than the public; hearings are too formal for the lay public. Burton and Wildgoose (1977) state that because of their legal structure, hearings elicit limited participation, usually from professionals and experts. Grima and Dufournaud's (1976) and Grima and Wilson's (1977) analysis of verbal behaviour at International Joint Commission public hearings identifies three groups of participants, namely, government, private individuals and private associations, and reveals significant variations in the quantity and quality of submissions. It was found that government groups present their views more frequently and submit higher quality reports. They suggest that the lack of resources of most small groups is a major constraint to their participation in public hearings. The U.S. National Park Service shares this concern when stating that public hearings intimidate the general public and foster participation

by organized interests. Waddell (1981, p. 14-15) criticizes public hearings as follows:

"Hornback (1977) suggests that public hearings do not facilitate effective policy development and public participation because they usually occur towards the end of the planning effort, after the policy decisions have been made; they are generally adversarial in nature, which precludes effective consultation, problem solving or consensus formation; proceedings tend to be ritualized, legalistic and formal in nature, which intimidates rather than encourages public participation; and, they only serve a purpose so long as project planning and decisions are not contingent on the attainment of objectives identified through the hearings... There is a real danger of expensive, protracted hearings and inefficient use of people's time and energy, resulting in strong reaction against public hearings (O'Riordan and O'Riordan, 1979)... Pross (1975) characterizes public hearings as being superficial, while Weick (undated) notes that public hearings are susceptible to manipulation by various participants, with the public possessing the least influence of all. Cruikshank (undated) sees public hearings as a rationalization for commitments already made to a project. O'Riordan and O'Riordan (1979) note that those projects supported by strong political commitments and powerful private interests generally receive approval regardless of public input."

On a more positive note, Ho and Quinn (1976) state that public hearings are viewed as an effective mechanism for two-way communication if background information on proposed plans is released sufficiently in advance. Burton and Wildgoose (1977) concede that they afford the advantage of dealing strictly with the issue at hand, and the U.S. National Park Service (1978) does reluctantly mention they satisfy legal requirements. The Institute for Participatory Planning (1978) states public hearings have two main purposes: first, they ensure a minimal legal requirement, and second, they establish a permanent legal record. However, the Institute argues that ideally, public hearings should hold no surprise for anyone and should be a formal ratification of the agreement or disagreement that the agency and potentially affected

interests have worked out informally. Concerning advocates of public hearings Waddell (1981, p. 15) writes:

"Schuck (1977) and Burton (1977) observed that public hearings are effective for consultation and the exchange and questioning of a broad range of opinions and information. The public nature of hearings provides credibility to the results as well as to the participants (Le Dain, 1973; Weick, undated) and increases public acceptance of the outcome (McIntosh, 1977). Paglin and Shor (1977) and Stabler and Olfert (1980) noted that governments have generally recognized the legitimacy and value of public hearings in policy formation, although this recognition does not preclude misuse of public hearings. "This misuse of hearings is potentially the case with all participants."

In order to alleviate many of the drawbacks of public hearings, Waddell calls for less formal hearings and for the provision by government of greater financial assistance and information access. Funding is a key element to improving hearings. Intervenor funding for public hearings is surfacing in Canada and is increasing in the United States. Even while advocating for more intervenor funding, Aron (1979, p. 484) concludes, after citing some of the common public hearing criticism:

"These observations suggest that broader opportunities to participate should be made available earlier in the decision-making process at a time when questions are being explored, issues are being defined, and decisions - many of which may never reach the hearing stage are more susceptible to outside influence."

Moreover, the Institute for Participatory Planning argues that public hearings are a very poor technique for obtaining citizen input because they can promote conflict, confrontation and polarization; they overwhelm lay people with technical information and intimidate many people because of their formality. Brinch (1975) classifies hearings as a public information technique as opposed to a public participation

technique. Similarly, Sinclair (1977) claims they fit into a representative theory of democracy rather than a participatory theory. Sinclair argues that, although hearings are easy for agencies to use and can reach a large audience, there are fundamental problems in publicizing hearings across a broad spectrum of interests. Estrin (1975) portrays hearings as a ritual of the public participation process, and suggests they may be evolving into an institutional means of circumventing democratic mechanisms and of achieving ends without opposition.

Before moving on to a brief selective review of the literature on other participatory techniques, mention should be made of the most basic and traditional techniques of votes and referendums. According to Burton and Wildgoose (1977), although votes and referendums are most useful in determining general issue consensus, they are costly and can deal only with specific and clearly understood issues.

Aside from criticizing public hearings, the literature on techniques favors attitude surveys, workshops and mail-in ballots. It is very interesting to note some of the disagreements and contradictions that can be found among the authors.

Surveys, for example, are praised and criticized, depending on the author and research done. The U.S. Highway Research Board (1970) stresses the use of attitude surveys, involving sampling and interviewing to measure community values and viewpoints. O'Riordan (1971a) confirmed, through a public opinion survey, that rate payers' groups were representative of local opinion in the issue of water quality. Only 13 of the Canadian participation cases analysed by Burton

and Wildgoose (1977) used sample surveys. The authors claim surveys are good for getting public values, attitudes and opinions; however the technique is not used to generate new ideas. They caution that surveys can be time-consuming and costly, and that the public is a passive participant. Connor (1975), as an alternative to expensive, time-consuming and unpopular (formal interviewing) sample surveys, suggests the review of weekly and daily newspapers' content, and of pertinent government files, informal interviews with participants, contacts with other sources and meetings with local residents. Although this provides more qualitative data than quantitative, the author contends that these methods provide a continuous, flexible and unobtrusive information flow to the study. Participants' observation is often raised as an alternative to surveys as it provides a useful source of information gathering especially in the earliest stages of decision-making. Its major shortcoming is the opportunity for observer biases. Heberlein (1976) attacks public opinion surveys, claiming they are expensive and scientifically difficult to conduct and interpret. He also stresses that individuals surveyed can be poorly informed, especially when dealing with hypothetical questions about hypothetical futures.

Workshops are a popular technique which encourages a more active participation if properly conducted. Burton and Wildgoose (1977, p. 13) state they "are best suited for the evaluation of alternatives, the designation of impact locations, and the identification of reactions to proposals on behalf of the community." Burton's et al. (1970) found that workshops were successful in improving the understanding of attitudes and objectives between the agency planners and local

representatives. Connor (1974b) makes practical suggestions applicable to workshops, such as evaluating the necessity, purpose, sponsorship, attendance, atmosphere, space and agenda, so as to improve productivity and satisfaction. Connor (1977) furthers his practical suggestions on the conduct of public meetings and claims they should be managed rather than just allowed to happen or left to local organizers. He finds that small group sessions are particularly useful and claims that the stage at which the public meeting is held relative to the decision influences the degree of confrontation. The U.S. National Park Service (1978) proposes self-guided workshops where park staff provides only an introduction and orientation, and guided workshops that create an opportunity for public judgement "to crystallize and become more consistent." In his analysis of workshops, Heberlein (1976) expresses the common concern of lack of representativeness and suggests two strategies to minimize this problem. He proposes a concerted effort to locate and involve opinion leaders of the local community. Heberlein also suggests forming a workshop group based on a random selection from the jury rolls or from voter registration lists, thus combining the advantages of the survey.

The mail-in ballot is often used in the planning program involving alternatives as a way of determining the final decision (Connor, 1976). In a program involving broad regional development, The Ottawa Carleton Regional Planning Committee (1972) used a newspaper format publication that included a mail-in questionnaire which asked the public to rank regional goals and to answer questions about specific issues. Filinson (1974) describes the use of a mail-in newspaper ballot to determine

public preferences among alternative site locations being considered for the proposed Highway 447 that now links Montreal and Ottawa. The ballot resulted in the selection of a route that was not the least costly and that was substantially different from the original plan. Filinson believes that the problem with this method is the lack of information the public obtains on the pros and cons upon which to base a sound decision. This important flaw applies to most public opinion polls.

Role playing and gaming or game simulation is a virtually untried novel technique that, according to Burton and Wildgoose (1977), can give the participants substantial technical information so that they can be more effective in evaluating basic policy decisions for themselves. The authors claim that "as such this can lead to a heightened understanding on behalf of both parties as to the potential impacts of a decision and bring into focus issues of contention" (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, p. 13). Only one Canadian case is reported by the authors to have used this technique. It involved graduate students of the University of Toronto who, under a funded program, provided technical assistance to citizens' organizations in the City of Toronto on planning and development issues (Urban Research Bulletin, 1974, p. 3). Le Cavalier and Le Cavalier (1974-75) hypothetically apply the concept to the birth and growth of a city and suggest "that gaming may lead to new solutions to old problems by removing many of people's inhibitions and by allowing experimentation impossible in real life" (Sewell, 1979, p. 73).

The use of the media, such as telecommunications techniques, is, according to much of the literature, an integral part of a public involvement campaign and includes television, radio, brochures,

newspapers and advertisements. These techniques are effective in announcing benchmark events such as meetings, and in generating attendance and participation. Burton and Wildgoose (1977, p. 13) claim "they are best suited for evaluation of impacts, as a sounding board for public reaction, and as data generators, especially when a specific choice is involved." Brinch (1975) provides an excellent overview of the pros and cons such as costs associated with various media techniques, and stresses that the audience usually determines the technique.

The elaborate public involvement program in the Okanagan basin extensively and successfully used numerous public media facilities as part of a public information program developed to supplement the task forces which only allowed a small fraction of the Okanagan community to participate. More specifically, the public information program was designed "to educate the general public on major study findings, to secure as much response as possible and to ensure that the task force recommendations did in fact reflect the preferences of a majority of residents" (J. O'Riordan, 1976, p. 188). Media facilities combined to present a multimedia seminar on major issues in the study.

"An estimated 10,000 people turned in to the television portion of each seminar, and over 5,000 people listened to the entire radio program. As many more probably listened to portions of the presentations, these seminars accomplished more than any other mechanism to inform the general public on study progress." (O'Riordan, 1976, p. 189)

Advisory groups and task forces are techniques used extensively in public involvement programs. The Okanagan basin program had much success with the latter. They usually are composed of community opinion leaders and thus entail the problem of representativeness. However,

combined with measures to offset this problem, advisory groups and task forces allow substantive direct involvement by the public. Burton and Wildgoose (1977) stated advisory groups best serve as sounding boards.

The U.S. National Park Service has formally established national, regional and park advisory committees with established advisory roles in management plans. The Service also has an instrument that they refer to as ad hoc committees, which are temporary committees that address specific issues and recommend solutions. The U.S. Federal Advisory Committee Act allows, under some circumstances, for local citizens who choose to represent their interests to form a group and strike a working relationship with the planning team or park staff for the duration of a planning effort (U.S.N.P.S., 1978, p. Chapter 3, page 5).

The literature on public involvement also delivers much guidance and information on citizen initiated public involvement techniques. Nowlan and Nowlan (1970), in a case study of the Spadina Expressway in Toronto, conclude that the most effective mechanism for stopping a project is strong opposition. Chant's (ed.) (1970) Pollution Probe book provides a How to Do It kit that stresses achievement of community through group action, communication, education, and citizen power through petitions, information, funding and services, attracting attention, approaching government and litigation. Chant strongly argues that the power of group action is the key to motivating government. Ley (1974), however, in an analysis of two case studies, illustrates how the processes of co-optation and idolatry have persistently lessened the impact of citizen participation. He demonstrates how citizen energies

are largely expended in maintaining the group or in confronting potential allies on internal disputes.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (1972) advocates lobbying, influence to obtain funds, effective communication to tell the story and the establishment of a good rapport with press and broadcast media. The Metro Toronto Transportation Plan Review (1974) handbook is a guide for the public. An entire section deals with the usage of communication resources such as press releases, conferences, letters to the editor, television, radio, cable T.V., and media access through prints, leaflets, slides, films, video and audio techniques. Davis et al. (1975) provide a practical guide on how citizens can and should become involved in resource decision-making. A variation of confrontation strategies available to the public is cited in Olsen (1976) and includes Connor (1974a) and (1972b), who outlines in detail a strategy of intervention; Alinsky (1972a), who outlines a radical strategy of intervention, and Mitchell and Stallings (1970) Sierra Club handbook for environmental activists. Stinson (1975) provides an annotated bibliography of Canadian cases in citizen action. Wood (1976) describes effective use of threat in a case concerning salmon spawning grounds competing with water demand in Victoria, B.C. A gaming interaction based on a strategy of educating the general public and using the media to gain support brought enough pressure by community conservation groups on decision-makers to reverse a decision. Roman (1977) calls for advocacy training to allow public participants' direct intervention in formal tribunals.

Mediation is yet another public involvement technique. According to Amy (1983), mediation is not public participation but cloutful people's participation whereby only people that have some impact on the situation are involved. He defines mediation as "a process in which representatives of environmental groups, business groups and government agencies sit down together with a neutral mediator to negotiate a binding resolution to a particular environmental dispute." Amy discourages mediation because of forms of bias and co-optation at work against environmentalists, namely:

- "(1) the possibility that the congenial atmosphere created by mediators serves to disarm and co-opt environmentalists;
- (2) the possibility that superior political and economic resources create imbalances of power that allow pro-development interests to extract unfair concessions from environmentalists at the bargaining table; and
- (3) the possibility that the mediation process tends to redefine environmental issues in a way that favors pro-development interests." (Amy, 1983, p. 3)

Only a few of the myriad of public involvement techniques and concerns were covered briefly in this appendix.

APPENDIX 2

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF PUBLIC INPUT

Analysis of Public Input:

A landmark public involvement study was initiated by the Forest Service in 1972 (Hendee et al., 1973). The study developed a conceptual framework that identified five discrete and highly interdependent processes basic to any public involvement effort, namely and sequentially: 1) the issue definition process, 2) the collection process, 3) the analysis process, 4) the evaluation process, and 5) the decision-implementation process. It was found that analysis of public input presented the most serious obstacle to the agency's public involvement effort and that the interdependence of the processes meant that the way in which one is conducted could dramatically affect the other.

"For example, the ability of decisionmakers to evaluate data obtained will be greatly affected by the way issues are defined, the collection techniques used to tap public sentiment, and the analysis system used to describe and array public input. Similarly, successful implementation of decisions into programs which win public understanding and support will largely depend on the decisionmakers' ability to explain how all factors are considered." (Clark and Stankey, 1976, p. 214)

Warning against intuitive analysis, considered "dangerous" because it is subject to the biases of the analyst, the 1973 report, which surfaced from the study, proposed nine desirable criteria that were later augmented to ten:

- "1) The method should summarize the extent, content and nature of public input in relation to the decisionmakers' questions.
- 11) It must be objective.

- iii) It must be visible and traceable.
- iv) It must be reliable, in that the opinions expressed are recorded the same way by different analysts.
- v) It should provide for uniform application among different administrative units.
- vi) It should be flexible, to accommodate different conditions.
- vii) It should have the capacity to handle large quantities of input, to store and retrieve input, and to assimilate continuing input.
- viii) It should summarize the balance of opinions expressed and describe variations in each opinion.
- ix) It should provide other descriptive and qualitative information about the content and nature of input.
- x) It should facilitate environmental analysis leading to preparation of final environmental impact statements by identifying all significant information and arguments for and against the proposed actions." (Clark and Stankey, 1976, p. 215)

The above criteria are supported by six broad principles that any analysis system should meet:

- "1. Analysis is separate from evaluation.
- 2. Decision-making questions guide analysis.
- 3. All input is relevant and must be processed.
- 4. Analysis must be systematic, objective, visible and traceable.
- 5. Identity of the input must be maintained.
- 6. Analysis must be a continuing process." (Clark and Stankey, 1976, p. 215-216)

The 1972 study by the Forest Service found many different techniques being used to analyze public input and classified the methods used as 1) intuitive, 2) simple tabulation, 3) content summary, 4) content analysis, and 5) codinvolve. According to the study's report:

- 1) **Intuitive analysis** is based on listening to comments or on reading all the written input. The Forest Service claims this technique is dangerous because it promotes biases, generalizes the majority view and does not ensure that all input is used. Feelings are inadequate without objective back-up.

2) **Simple tabulation** is described as a method of analysis whereby input is tabulated into several categories based on the opinions expressed, such as for or against an alternative. It does not cope with the complexity of public input and does not describe input according to many important dimensions.

3) **Content summary** captures the substance of comments by listing each relevant comment, but no tabulation is made of the number of persons expressing or endorsing opinions or suggestions.

4) **Content analysis** summarizes opinions and suggestions according to the number of persons expressing them and to other variables, such as reasons supporting the opinions, where they came from, who responded, forms of input, etc. It can be used with a computer when large quantities of input must be handled.

5) **Codinvolve**, the technique developed and highly recommended by the Forest Services, is a flexible content analysis system specifically designed to analyze public input and subsequently to store, retrieve, and summarize data as needed.

"The Codinvolve process provides for quantitative (coded) summaries of the opinions expressed (how many opinions for or against certain issues), and qualitative descriptions of reasons given to support opinions. The system utilizes key-sort cards and needle-sort methods to handle moderate amounts of input. These methods and/or computers can be used to deal with large quantities of input or very complex issues and opinions." (Hendee et al., 1973, p. 93)

According to the Forest Service, by 1976, Codinvolve had been used in over 30 studies to analyze more than 50,000 public inputs. Clark and Stankey (1976) claim that although learning and using Codinvolve requires an investment of time and money on the part of managers, technicians, and coders, in most cases, using the system involves a

rather minor expenditure in relation to the total investment in any land use planning study, and that the potential benefits in quality land management seem well worth the cost. Olsen (1976) recommended that Parks Canada seriously consider the application of Codinvolve to public participation programs in National Parks.

According to Stewart (1979, p. 39), Parks Canada Prairie Region Office examined extant systems such as Codinvolve but found them to have limitations for the kind of work the agency had in mind.

"They summarized reactions almost in the fashion of vote-counting. Parks Canada also wished to acknowledge the public role in idea-generation so required a more flexible and comprehensive system. In addition, it was recognized that new questions and issues might arise during the course of the planning program, and a system was needed which could scan old documents for new ideas."

The INFOTHEQUE computer text retrieval system was adopted by the Region to apparently overcome the weaknesses of Codinvolve. Stewart describes the provisions of the preferred system as follows:

1. a list of keywords, together with the number of times they were used, and a guide to the relevant submissions. This helps to identify major areas of concern.
2. easily read copies of submissions, considerably reducing time required to decipher handwritten notes.
3. bookkeeping information such as the total number of submissions received, a breakdown by type (letter, brief, etc.) geographic source, and organization versus individual. This is of assistance in evaluating the program.
4. a continually updated mailing list, available in type or on gummed address labels.
5. most importantly, a copy of all submissions containing a particular keyword, or two or more specific keywords. This is a great assistance to the analyst, since it eliminates the need to search through large numbers of documents to find a few which relate to the topic of interest. It is this feature, which selects relevant materials which permits a single analyst to study and understand a vast amount of information." (Stewart, 1979, p. 40)

The benefits put forward by Stewart include the savings associated with shifted analysis costs towards clerical, secretarial and computer time; the time saving associated with condensing the professional overview; and the overviewer's concentration on the content of submissions rather than on the mechanics of the process.

Certainly both forms of content analysis, INFOTHEQUE and Codinvolve, merit further study. It would seem that a marriage of both systems, which would provide numbers and content analysis should be sought in order to best support public input evaluation.

Evaluation of Public Input:

Codinvolve and INFOTHEQUE are not designed to categorize the quality of information. Judgements about the importance of information is not a function of input analysis whereas issues such as the quality of the input, the relative weights to be assigned to various forms of input, representativeness, and vote counting are matters of evaluation.

The U.S. Forest Service (1975) defines the purpose of evaluation:

"Evaluation is the subjective interpretation of the importance of various kinds of public input and the integration of that with other factors in reaching a decision. Note that there are two parts to evaluation - determining the relative importance of different kinds of public input; and determining the importance of public input in relation to other decisionmaking factors such as cost, social and economic impact, resource capability and environmental protection."

The Forest Service found that the main problem with input evaluation was with the inconsistent importance placed on various kinds of public input. There is a tendency to place more importance on specific, written comments and less importance on general comments, petitions,

form letters and coupons. More specifically, the Service tended: 1) to assign maximum weight to specific input and minimum weight to general input, 2) to discount "predictable" inputs from people or clientele with purportedly known viewpoints, 3) to place greater weight on local input than on non-local input, and 4) to give more weight to primary inputs, inputs such as oral comments and personal letters, which are generated principally by independent actions of citizens, than to secondary inputs such as petitions, form letters and coupons, which are the result of group influences. In response to the above findings, the Forest Service (1973, p. 122 to 140) report proposed the following general direction.

Concerning general input:

"General statements, although more difficult to apply to specific issues and areas, are useful indicators of public values and deserve serious consideration, just as do more specific, detailed inputs."

Concerning "predictable inputs":

"We believe that regardless of the source of input, it still is an expression of public value and, therefore it must be considered formally."

Concerning the local and non-local input:

"It is particularly important that input from both local and non-local public be formally and visibly related to decisions so that subsequent administrative and judicial review can (when necessary) give direction on this aspect of the specific decision in question."

Concerning secondary inputs:

"It is important to look for and consider the influences that led to the submission of secondary input. It is also important to remember these same influences genuinely affect public sentiment on most important issues. We agree primary input is more important in measuring the intensity of public feeling and must be given more weight than secondary input. But the latter must not be discounted entirely."

Concerning input evaluation in general, the Forest Service report proposes the following general guidelines:

1) "That weighing cannot be avoided and that in no way can or should formulas guide the weighing of public input. But in the evaluation stage, whenever a line officer makes a decision he is implicitly placing varying degrees of importance on all input he has; there is no way to escape this kind of weighing.... The point is that any time a decision is made, varying degrees of importance are implicitly or explicitly assigned to all available input."

2) "The assumptions which determine how public input will be evaluated must be made clear within the Forest Service and to the public."

3) "Concerning possible confusion about how public input has been related to other factors in the decision... it is absolutely necessary that line officers clearly specify the importance they attach to public input as well as to such other factors as legal, fiscal, and political constraints, resource capability, environment, etc."

4) "The report strongly calls for full disclosure of recommendations or decisions as they are developed, complete with justification at all levels of the Forest Service, which are, District and Forest, Region and Washington Office.... Indeed, without full disclosure at all levels, the entire public - involvement effort might just as well focus entirely at the final decisionmaking level, as that is the only place where the entire process would be visible and open to challenge."

5) "We suggest that the Forest Service adopt an official position of seeking the greatest amount and most diverse public input with as much detail and supporting data as possible on every issue taken to the public. But lack of reasons, detail and supporting data must not preclude consideration of input. All input, whether specific or general, is a legitimate expression of values and must be formally related to the issue."

6) In conjunction with the issue of vote counting, a function of Codinvolve, the authors clarify that the purpose of counting is to determine objectively how all the various publics and affected interests feel about the issue and why they feel as they do. They claim that the balance of opinion should be supplemented with the qualitative aspects of public opinion.

"Public input does not dictate the decision. It is proper and useful to determine the balance of opinion, questioning organizations as well as individuals. But the search is not for an "either/or" solution dictated by votes. The goal is an approximate measure of public opinion and values that can be weighed against other decisionmaking factors."

7) "Determining the balance of opinion is only the first step in evaluating public input. Examination of both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of public input is critical in determining the best decision."

8) Concerning multiple responses from the same person, the report claims that concern over such multiple input is overstated because such incidents occur infrequently.

9) "A consistent and defensible policy and process need to be implemented throughout the organization and communicated to the public. The public deserves consistent logical and defensible answers to their questions about what will be done with their input."

APPENDIX 3

EVALUATION OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT PROGRAMS

In an analysis of four public evaluation frameworks recently put forward, Sewell and Phillips (1979, p. 355) conclude:

"Undoubtedly, there has been a gradual improvement in the sophistication of frameworks proposed for the evaluation of public participation programmes. As yet, however, there is no universally applicable or generally accepted model. Even the most sophisticated of the present frameworks have serious deficiencies."

The authors identify and prescribe four major evaluation needs that must be dealt with in the immediate future, namely: 1) the need for independent evaluation, 2) the need for evaluation as an ongoing process, 3) the need to broaden the basis for evaluation beyond agency goals, 4) the need to resolve legitimate concerns such as whether public views were considered, and if they were, how such views influenced the final outcome. The authors do not propose an alternative evaluation framework but do offer the following rhetoric:

"Whatever guidelines are eventually adopted for the future of public participation, they must allow for the introduction of new kinds of issues, new types of public, and new sets of procedures. Without such flexibility, public participation will have lost its most important characteristic, the right to challenge the existing order." (Sewell and Phillips, 1979, p. 258)

The U.S. Forest Service (1973) report discusses evaluation of programs in terms of Service performance in public involvement. The usage and limitations of "good" public involvement indicators are simplistically presented. The indicators include volume of input, abatement of polarity, degree of representation, revelation of new information and level of decision modification and acceptance.

Concerning the evaluation of the effectiveness of public involvement methods, the report relates them to the nature of the issue and to local conditions.

One of the earliest analytical frameworks proposed for systematically and objectively evaluating public involvement programs was designed by the Ministry of Culture and Recreation of the province of Ontario. The framework was developed by T.K. Eger and J.T. Johnston, who adapted it from Tripodi, Felin, and Epstein (1971). It was published as a report in 1974, and revised and reprinted in 1976; defining evaluation as follows:

"Evaluation is the systematic gathering of data to provide information about the achievement of programme requisites and goals relative to efforts, effectiveness and efficiency. The facts of evaluation may be obtained through a variety of relatively systematic techniques, and they are incorporated into some designated system of values for making decisions about social problems." (Multicultural Development Branch, 1976, p. 23)

This comprehensive evaluation expresses effort as total input, effectiveness as total output and efficiency of the cost benefit ratio, and attempts to combine the three most commonly known approaches to evaluation, namely, a goal approach based upon the relative achievements of concrete definable objectives, a system approach based upon the extensive use of indicators, and a perception approach, based upon the perception of the participants.

In the model, indicators for effort, effectiveness and efficiency are specified and illustrated in tabular form. Techniques are categorized according to their degree of participation, whereby their probability of success is assessed in terms of the degree of community interest. Effectiveness indicators attempt to measure accessibility,

credibility, comprehensiveness, impartiality, flexibility, accountability, integration, maximum contact, training and experience, and organization structure. It is a fairly simple, straight-forward and seemingly workable approach; unfortunately, it is a prescriptive report for which examples of case applications were not given or found elsewhere in the literature review.

Olsen (1976) proposes an evaluation framework for Parks Canada that is derived in part from the Ontario report. Olsen proposes that the first step in evaluation is to bring the public and Parks Canada together as co-participants on an evaluation team so that the evaluation is not biased in favour of either parties. Olsen concedes however that it is unlikely that a high level of interest in evaluation will be present in the general public and that it would probably attract, at best, community leaders, elected officials and possibly experts. Olsen follows fairly closely the Ontario model but his application of it to Parks Canada is purely hypothetical. He does however classify the Ontario indicators for evaluating program effectiveness as "short term" and introduces indicators for long term evaluation of effectiveness. This latter category is intended to note the extent to which individual learning and self-development occur as a result of the public participation process and the changes that resulted because of it. Press (1979, p. 57) criticizes Olsen's approach:

"Olsen's criteria are divided into two types: long-term and short-term measures. Most of the long-term measures, except "change of outcome," are extremely difficult to measure due to their intangibility. Many of his listed short-term effects deal with process. They need more specific definition for further use. A few, such as "credibility" and "impartiality," measure attitude changes. They must be subjectively assessed

by participants. Only "integration," which refers to integrating public involvement results into the decision-making process, is an outcome which can be measured objectively."

Press, who seems to equate public involvement program evaluation with involvement effectiveness analysis, criticizes previous attempts for failing to apply effectiveness measures to actual examples. Press observes that there is much disagreement over what constitutes an effective public involvement program and cites a U.S. Forest Service report as follows:

"A major block to deriving generally accepted public involvement measures is the lack of agreement on what constitutes effective public involvement. One school focuses on decision outcomes. If the decisions being made by the agency have improved as a result of public involvement, the process is presumed to be effective. Another school prefers to examine improvement in the decisionmaking process independent of the decision itself. Others focus on the sociopolitical consequences (e.g. reductions of conflict and/or court litigations, attitudes and satisfactions of the participating parties, etc.), regardless of the strength of decision outcome." (U.S. Forest Service, 1977, p. 69)

Press observes that some theories focus criteria on both processes and outcomes while others measure effectiveness by comparing resulting conditions to the pre stated public involvement objectives. He cites the U.S. Forest Service "Inform and Involve Handbook" as an example of the former approach. Press concludes that most measures of effectiveness seem to have some major inconsistencies or are hard to apply. Three major problems associated with most proposed methodologies are identified, namely: 1) the complex nature of public involvement makes the use of objective measures questionable; 2) if subjective measures are used, there is a need to determine if the people evaluating effectiveness are representative of the most directly affected by a particular decision, and 3) people's opinions can be easily influenced

by propaganda campaigns. Press concludes that although none of these problems are totally insurmountable, it is perhaps enough to recognize them in any endeavor to measure effectiveness and live with it.

Press favours an analysis approach which delineates public involvement variables into two categories: inputs and outputs. Inputs consist of variables that affect the collection of comments and include such variables as provision of information to the public, opportunities for public involvement, and representation of all affected parties. Output, on the other hand, includes those variables which indicate changes resulting from the public involvement process, such as decision changes and changes in the attitudes and the understanding of the process. Press's report attempts to assess the effectiveness of the public involvement effort of the Great Bear Wilderness Study (Montana) by utilizing output effectiveness measures.

"These include changes in planning decisions, people's attitudes and understanding of these decisions and those managers involved in developing them. These changes are then examined to determine their effects on the quality of the study or plan in which citizens participated. Effectiveness is subjectively assessed by both participating managers and citizens." (Press, 1979, p. 67)

The effectiveness variables are measured by using questionnaires and interviews. Press makes several major recommendations and conclusions. His major recommendations call for: better tailoring of public involvement information dissemination and comment collection techniques to the needs of individual citizen groups; more Forest Service flexibility to changes in demand for public involvement; greater manager and public awareness of how public involvement is used, and greater sensitivity to who is and is not participating. The regular use of summary

documents, newsletter, and continued use of public involvement effectiveness assessments are also recommended.

Press also devotes a section to describing limitations and benefits of his effectiveness assessment. His conclusion reads as follows:

"Although there are obviously many complications in measuring public involvement effectiveness, some kind of measurement is essential for determining where public involvement is at and in suggesting its future direction. Using the Great Bear as an example, strengths and weaknesses in current public involvement processes were identified. Future public involvement research and programs can build upon the strengths and knowledge and try to deal with the weaknesses. This would help make public involvement a better process. It would better allow decisions, which incorporate public participation, to be better accepted and supported." (Press, 1979, p. 123)

Sewell (1978) and Sewell and Phillips (1979), probably best describe the range and progressive development of mainstream evaluation models put forward in recent years. These include the formal evaluation frameworks of Vindasius (1975), Glasser et al. (1975), Farrell et al. (1976), Hampton (1977), Homenuck et al. (1979).

The Vindasius (1975) approach, which is simple, quick and relatively inexpensive, focuses on the attainment of agency goals or objectives set for the public participation program.

"It is biased toward the view of the agency as to what are (or should be) the objectives of public involvement. The Vindasius model focuses upon techniques used in the programme and offers little guidance as to how effective these are when compared with other options. The satisfaction derived by the citizenry from the involvement process is not an important consideration of this model and its usefulness is limited." (Sewell and Phillips, 1979, p. 339)

Glaser et al. (1975) offer a simple means of assessing the effectiveness of various techniques for involving the public. Sewell criticizes:

"Two sets of criteria are used in assessing the techniques, communication characteristics, and their capability to deal with six education and participation objectives...

The method, however, has a number of deficiencies. It is descriptive rather than analytical and depends heavily on subjective judgement. It does not help determine who will participate or benefit, or what personal satisfaction may be gained from the employment of the technique." (Sewell, 1978, p. 210-211).

Farrell et al. (1976) present a somewhat more sophisticated model that identifies seven different levels of involvement, ranging from persuasion to self-determination, in order to achieve three agency objectives; namely, 1) to enhance public acceptance of planning decisions, 2) to provide a source of data for planning activities, and 3) to educate the public so that they will acquire the skills that can be used to deal with planning problems in their own communities.

"The success of a programme is evaluated in relation to the type of involvement employed. Evaluation is based on the "outcomes" (the extent to which programme techniques were successfully implemented) and "attitudes" (the degree to which attitudes of those involved were positively or negatively affected)." (Sewell and Phillips, 1979, p. 342)

Although the approach exposes the hierarchy of levels of involvement and uses a wide range of success criteria, its weaknesses discourage usage of the framework.

"But it does have some weaknesses. One is that it seems to be oriented mainly towards agency satisfaction, and sheds little light on the values derived by the citizens themselves. Another difficulty is that it requires really large amounts of information, time and resources, which, in some cases may be beyond the capabilities of those requiring the assessment." (Sewell and Phillips, 1979, p. 342)

Hampton (1977) submits a more sophisticated model than either Vindasius or Glacier. He perceives the purpose of public participation as being not only to improve the planning process but also to increase

the citizens' power in the decisions that are being made, and sees the satisfaction of citizens as being at least as important as those of the agency or the planner. Under each program objective, namely, 1) information dispersal, 2) information gathering, and 3) attainment of interaction between planners and the public, the techniques are assessed according to the nature of the information they generate and the type of public involved, that is, whether they are a major or a minor elite.

"The focus is upon the determination of what kind of participation takes place for whom. The Hampton framework has many attractive features. It takes specific account of the fact that different segments of the public seek different goals, and that their motivation for and satisfactions derived from involvement also vary. While its basic aim, to indicate the extent to which satisfactions of the consumer have been improved, has merit, the method has a weakness in its lack of concern for the costs of providing such satisfactions. As a consequence, it is difficult to determine how much should be spent on a given technique or on a program of public involvement." (Sewell, 1978, p. 214)

Homenuck's et al. (1979) model is the most complex found in the literature. Even the authors state that their objectives are not intended to outline a means of evaluation that can be easily adopted by an agency interested in evaluating its latest participatory effort but is rather a framework for evaluating public participation programs:

"The aim is to discover to what extent the public participation program achieved the objectives expected of it, and to identify ways in which the process might be improved." (Homenuck et al., 1978, p. 104)

Although intended to be of use to planners in public agencies, the authors contend that their evaluative framework could be adjusted to be of use to community groups. They submit that evaluation should have a strong objective component; that planning effort and overall goals of

the agency are two public participation objectives which are considered and which require separate evaluation; that participation in the planning effort involves the evaluation of functions and processes which are each assigned five basic dimensions; that each dimension has quantitative and qualitative measures upon which the evaluation is made, and that participation and agency goals involve measuring criteria against agency goals such as resources used within a budget. Sewell comments on the Homenuck framework as follows:

"Certainly it is very comprehensive. It is concerned not only with the output of the process but also the process itself. It is also sensitive to the need to examine the cost-effectiveness of public participation programs. Nevertheless, it does have some deficiencies. If all the elements identified in the model were to be taken into account, the data requirements would be enormous, and costs undoubtedly would be considerable. No suggestions are offered as to which of the elements are the most critical. Like the other models, evaluations in the Homenuck framework rest substantially on subjective judgement. In addition, the focus is on the gains derived by the agency from public participation and little emphasis is placed on the values accruing to the public itself." (Sewell, 1978, p. 215)

Sewell's conclusions concerning the state of the art in evaluation is positive. He believes that with the growing sophistication of frameworks, models of universal applicability are at hand. However, he believes that cost-effectiveness, as expressed by the determination of an optional level of participation, remains to be resolved. Also, he contends that evaluation must be a built-in ongoing process and not a final step in the public participation program. Sewell proposes that evaluations be undertaken by expert independent observers, and that they look beyond agency goals, such as consumer satisfaction with the process and the product.

"Ideally, an evaluation should be able to indicate to an agency how well its money has been spent and should be able to show citizens groups what social gains have resulted from a public participation program. The frameworks developed so far tend to focus on one or other of these objectives. Models are now required to take both into account." (Sewell, 1978, p. 221)

Sewell and Phillips' (1979) review of some 22 public involvement case studies in Canada reveals two important conclusions. Firstly, there is little or no formal evaluation of public participation programs, and secondly, there are major differences in the perceptions of different groups involved in the public participation process as to the objectives of that process and the criteria that should be used in appraising performance. Three groups were isolated: agency personnel, citizens groups representatives, and private citizens and independent observers. Concerning evaluation criteria, agency representatives measured success in terms of an acceptable plan produced within a given deadline or in terms of improvement in the agency's image. Citizen groups measured success in terms of preventing or modifying a proposed course of action or in terms of the attainment of a broader recognition of the group or the public at large in the decision-making process. Independent observers were mostly concerned with the output of the process in terms of meeting program objectives, representativeness and the accuracy of information gathered.

Wolfe (1979) attacks the trend towards sophisticated evaluations, claiming that some proposed schemes would involve a process more elaborate than the program they are designed to evaluate, that most do not address the question of specific measures and that the majority have been designed from an agency perspective. She advocates, despite

numerous acknowledged deficiencies, evaluation based on the objectives of the participation program, which, if well managed, can go a considerable way to fulfilling community objectives as well. The key seems to lie in making sure that citizen input will contribute to decision-making. Wolfe measures in two case studies, the satisfaction of planners, council and citizens according to various objectives.

Morgenstern et al. (1979) focus on the contextual problems of evaluation and the methodological problems. The former refers to the administrative and political context such as the problem of separating evaluation from program administration and operation, and the latter refers to problems such as the lack of defined goals and the unavailability of traditional evaluation approaches relying on control groups. To overcome the contextual problem, the authors suggest clarification of the evaluator's mandate, which is defined by the purpose, product and style of evaluation. They suggest that the traditional purpose of evaluation, the demonstration of the worth of a product or program be substituted by a purpose of learning what happened in order to improve it. The product of evaluation, according to the authors, can be viewed as an assessment of program impacts (end results), coined impact evaluation, or as an assessment of program operations, coined operational evaluation. The latter, which looks at the dynamics of its programs's operation allows for the identification and repetition of successful technique strategies. The style of evaluation describes the authority the evaluator has to recommend changes. The authors introduce a concept of learning evaluations. In order to overcome the methodological problems, the authors propose the acceptance of the following:

"- the necessity of an assessment of program evaluability prior to undertaking the study. At this stage, questions concerning the evaluator's mandate are answered and a decision is made on whether or not the desired evaluation product can be delivered

- a willingness to engage in evaluation when program goals can not be established

- a willingness to generate and use innovative and intuitive measures of program success." (Morgenstern et al., 1979, p. 3)

The paper provides a highly normative step-by-step guide for internal or external evaluators of public participation programs. The authors conclude that in order for evaluations to be acceptable and utilized in decision-making circles, they "must be believable, defensible, rigorous and credible."

Evaluations of public participation programs are necessary. Frameworks, although not universally accepted and severely challenged by deficiencies, do exist, ranging from simple to highly sophisticated approaches. What matters most at this stage of public involvement development is not how the evaluation should be done but that some evaluation be undertaken, no matter how subjective, in order to improve existing programs and to educate all parties, especially the "agency", about what public involvement is and is not.

"It seems that, to this time at least, evaluation of the participation experience has been, at best, an afterthought and, at worst, a cause of no concern." (Burton and Wildgoose, 1977, p. 20).