

Public Involvement in Business Planning:
The Mistik Experience

by

Carmen Louise Dybwad

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Planning

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1999

© Carmen L. Dybwad 1999



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-51192-8

Canada

Borrower's Page

The University of Waterloo requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date.

Abstract

Public Involvement in Business Planning: The Mistik Experience

There has been a great tendency within academia, indeed within society as a whole, to compartmentalize disciplines into areas of specialized isolation. Hence, we tend to deal with social issues in isolation from environmental issues, in isolation from economic issues. As a result of this artificial separation we seem to resign ourselves to the inevitability that because of these conflicting, irreconcilable differences, social, environmental and economic issues will remain isolated. This does not mean that the linkages between the spheres are not recognized, on the contrary, the complexity of the relationship is recognized, what is missing is a mechanism to deal with it. It may, however, be possible to bring together the disparate goals and objectives of economy, society and environment through the act of planning. While not perfect, a participatory planning process at least provides a forum through which the various groups, perspectives and interests can try and set a course for development that recognizes, and takes into consideration, conflicting goals.

The great hurdle to this is for private business interests to see the inclusion of non-traditional participants (the public and interest groups) as being in the best interests of the corporation. This discussion will seek to outline under what conditions businesses are most likely to engage in participatory management practices and how public policy and public decision-making can help create these conditions.

Acknowledgements

There are many people to thank for their support and friendship. I would like to thank the students and staff of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo who made my stay in Southern Ontario a very happy and memorable experience. The University of Waterloo was very generous in its support, for this I am very grateful.

I truly appreciate all my family and friends in Saskatchewan and elsewhere who encouraged and assisted me during the last five years. I would be remiss if I did not give a special thank you to Annette Wright who carefully, patiently and tactfully made suggestions for improvement to this thesis.

I very much appreciate the input and effort of my committee members. Thank you for sharing your wisdom and insights with me. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Pierre Filion, for his advice. Without his gentle encouragement I would have given up long ago. Thanks as well to Carol Acton, Rachel and Mark.

I want to extend a special thanks to the folks at Mistik Management, as well as the other forestry companies, and individuals who were both generous and patient with this "researcher" from the south.

Finally, and isn't it fitting to leave the best until the last, I want to thank my family for their continued love and support. Ted and Annie, had it not been for you I know I could not have done this.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Literature Review	10
Organizational Theory	10
Community Economic Development	21
Planning Theory	24
Summary	34
Chapter Two: Methodology	37
Problem Statement	37
Purpose of the Study	38
Hypothesis, Major Research Questions and Sub-Questions	39
Research Design	40
Rationale for Qualitative Design	42
Case Study	44
Case Study Selection	45
Data Collection	46
Data Analysis	51
Significance of the Study	53
Limitation of the Study	54
Thesis Structure	55
Chapter Three: Background on the Saskatchewan Forestry Sector	57
Legislative Framework	57
The Forestry Companies	61
Summary	71

Chapter Four:	Public Involvement in Weyerhaeuser, L&M and Saskfor MacMillan	73
	Weyerhaeuser	74
	L&M Wood Products	85
	Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership	92
	Summary	100
Chapter Five:	Mistik's Planning Process	101
	The planning Process: Getting Started	102
	Defining Who the Public Is	106
	The Public Consultation Process	108
	The Framework for Shared Decision-Making	117
	Incorporating Public Input into the Plan	123
	The Final Document	129
	Evaluating Public Participation	130
Chapter Six:	The Participants' Perspectives	136
	The Community	137
	The Company	144
	The Regulators	157
	Conclusion	159
Chapter Seven:	Discussion and Analysis	168
	Business Motivations	171
	Philosophical Motivations	182
	Model of the Process	191
	Conclusions	206
Chapter Eight:	Implications	209
	Public Policy	218
	The Public as Stakeholders	223
	Organizations	226
	Does the Model Predict Success?	230
	Suggestions for Future Research	231
Appendix One:	List of Interviewees	233
Appendix Two:	Interview Questions	235
Appendix Three:	Project Specific Guidelines	237
Appendix Four:	Detailed Evaluation Criteria	266
Bibliography		272

List of Tables

Table 3.1	Demographic and linguistic characteristics of several representative communities	71
Table 4.1	Group and meeting participant weights for major evaluation criteria and subcriteria	90
Table 5.1	Community meetings and interviews	111
Table 5.2	Representation at the Elders gathering	112
Table 5.3	Relative importance of forest benefits to Elders	114
Table 5.4	Summary of issues raised by the publics	124
Table 5.5	Overall evaluation of forest management alternatives	127
Table 5.6	Evaluation of participation processes	132
Table 6.1a	Summary of community interview responses Beauval	161
Table 6.1b	Summary of community interview responses Green Lake	162
Table 6.1c	Summary of community interview responses Divide	163
Table 6.2a	Summary of employee interview responses On the topics of: conflict resolution; Jobs/economy; planning/consultation, And company/community relations	164
Table 6.2b	Summary of employee interview responses On the topics of: philosophy; markets; Leadership, and environment/ecosystems	166

List of Illustrations

Figure 3.1	Saskatchewan vegetation zones	58
Figure 3.2	Organizational structure of forest industries and lands associated with the NorSask FMLA	62
Figure 3.3	The timber supply areas of the NorSask forest	64
Figure 3.4	The L&M FMLA in relation to the NorSask FMLA	67
Figure 3.5	Proposed FMLA for the Pasquia-Porcupine forest	70
Figure 7.1	Mistik's projected market share	175
Figure 7.2	Business strategy options	197
Figure 7.3	Organization structure and processes	199
Figure 7.4	Organization culture and values	201
Figure 7.5	The alignment of strategy, structures, processes and values	204
Figure 8.2	The model	213

INTRODUCTION

In a 1995 resource management journal¹ Wiens lamented the increasing use of the term "stakeholder", contending the term was an abomination, or at least an insult, to the integrity of the English language. I found this article of interest for two reasons. First, as I was profoundly interested in the value of including stakeholders, specifically the public, in decision-making activities, I was immediately drawn to the title of the article, "Stakeholders Misrepresented". Secondly, upon reaching the end of the article, I was greatly amused to note that the author was my next door neighbour². In his article, Wiens reasoned that because a stakeholder was in fact someone who held the "stakes" during a wager, by definition they would be a disinterested party in the activity at hand. Maintaining his devotion to this original definition, Wiens suggested that "stakeholder" was a term only properly applied to someone seeking to rid the world of vampires. However, Wiens' stands somewhat alone in his adherence to the traditional meaning of stakeholder. The widely recognized, more contemporary definition of the word is provided by Freeman, who asserts "a stakeholder in an organization is (by definition) any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (1984:46).

I am prepared to side with popular convention and employ Freeman's definition of stakeholder. So, rather than being a "disinterested" party, in this paper a stakeholder is an individual, or a group, with an interest or

¹ The piece "Stakeholders Misrepresented" was written by L. H. Wiens and appeared in *Water News*, Canadian Water Resources Association, 1995, 14(2):3.7.

² I was even more surprised to see the piece again when it was included in Bruce Mitchell (1997) *Resource and Environment Management* (Longman:Edinburgh Gate) p 162.

claim in an organization. As such, stakeholders can be categorized into one of two groups: they are either inside stakeholders (shareholders, employees) or outside stakeholders (Jones, 1995). Members of the latter group include the local community, the general public, an organization's suppliers and the government.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Wiens' article was that it was clearly predicated on the increasing importance of involving stakeholders in planning. Consequently, the questions I had with respect to involving stakeholders in planning processes would likely become increasingly important. My interest in stakeholders developed during my involvement in two large-scale public consultation processes. The first initiative was a provincial government public inquiry process³, the other an information gathering activity⁴ used by a power utility to provide guidance on future operational issues. My involvement in these activities sparked my interest in public involvement processes and the manner in which organizations include outside stakeholders, in this case the public, in decision-making. In particular I was curious as to the motivations that precipitate and ultimately dictate the nature of involvement processes given that involving the public, or other outside stakeholders, in organizational decision-making is not a routine undertaking.

I noted the term "stakeholder" appearing with increasing frequency in both business and academic settings, which indicated a general acceptance of the existence of this group within the context of normal, everyday discourse.

³ I served as the secretary to the Rafferty-Alameda Board of Inquiry. This Board was convened by Ministerial order as part of the environmental review process for the construction of two dams in south-eastern Saskatchewan.

⁴ In 1990 the Saskatchewan Power Corporation convened a panel of experts to solicit input from Saskatchewan citizens and businesses regarding both the demand and supply management options available to the corporation to meet the province's future electricity needs. I served as secretary to the panel.

The existence and role of stakeholders has also been accepted and incorporated into management theory texts (Donaldson and Preston 1995).

Recognizing that the general category of "stakeholders" exists in the environment of an organization is only part of the argument. What is important is how, in the real world of organizations, specific stakeholders are recognized. While theory⁵ suggests that stakeholders, those who have an interest, can be identified, how does this occur in practice? Therefore, one question that this research will address is, **on what basis, or by what characteristics, does an organization identify its outside stakeholders?** And, while the identification of outside stakeholders in general is an interesting line of inquiry, this research is principally concerned with the identification of the public⁶ as an outside stakeholder.

Aside from the moral or ethical imperatives, the body of literature documenting the business benefits derived from including the public in organizational decision-making is scant (Donaldson and Preston 1995). The argument for including or even considering the public, and its interests, is largely normative⁷ in nature (Caroll, 1989; Marcus 1993). It would seem then that an organization that engages the public in a participatory activity

⁵ Mitchell, Agle and Woods (1997) assert that the degree to which an organization identifies the existence and importance of a stakeholder group is dependant upon a series of critical attributes.

⁶ The use of the term "public" with respect to activities that are considered private in nature may be a bit confusing in that, unlike governments, private organizations generally define their "publics" of interest by the nature of their respective business relationship (customers, suppliers, competitors). For the purposes of this paper the term public is employed as a generic term to define those individuals or groups within the organizational environment that do not have a traditional business relationship with the organization (i.e. they are not suppliers or regulating agencies), they may have an interest, or stake, in the organization's operations. Hence public, within the parameters of this discussion may include groups such as: communities, special interest groups such as environmental organizations, non-affiliated businesses, ethnic groups and so on. The term public will be further refined later in this paper according to the definition employed by each of the organizations involved in this research.

⁷ Within stakeholder theory, normative models concern themselves primarily with how decisions should be made. Therefore, a normative model is an ideal model, one in that articulates how an individual feels a decision should be made.

would be doing so purely for reasons of social responsibility. As Plunkett and Fournier (1991) point out, this would seem unlikely since organizations do not elect to use bottom up participatory management for the sake of employees, they do so for the sake of the business. This same argument could likely be applied to public participation. So, by extension, organizations would not elect to use participatory management for the sake of stakeholders, they would do so for the sake of the business. In fact, Cooke and Morgan (1998) and Svendsen (1998) have recently found evidence to suggest that firms do recognize the impact that the quality of their employees and suppliers has on their long-term interests. It would seem then that a similar argument is plausible with respect to the impact that quality of the relationship between a firm and the public could have on an organization's long-term prospects. If the choice to include the public in business planning and decision making is not made solely on the basis of social responsibility, then it must be made for business reasons. There are organizations that do use public participation in decision-making activities. Why do these organizations opt to do so? What benefits, from a business perspective, do they see in engaging in this type of strategy? **What organizational and contextual factors will cause an organization to choose to recognize the public as a stakeholder?**

The question as to what role stakeholders should play in decision-making is still open to debate, especially for those "outside stakeholders", in particular the public. As Donaldson and Preston (1995) point out, organizational theory recognizes the existence of stakeholders but stops short of knowing what to do with them, or specifically, how to manage the relationship between the organization and its public stakeholders. As there is no practical understanding of the role of the stakeholders, once the

decision is made that stakeholder concerns should be considered, how is this operationalized? The debate with respect to the relationship between an organization and the public has most often occurred under the rubric of "social responsibility". Friedman's (1970) seminal article on the social responsibility of business unleashed an ongoing debate (Poff and Waluchow, 1991). However, when the discussion moves into the realm of management processes and how organizations view their relationship to society, the focus shifts toward stakeholders. As Clarkson has stated, organizations and their managers "manage relationships with their stakeholders and not with society" (1995:100). It is widely accepted that as Parston (1997:346) states, "traditional approaches to management and organization are not helping to strike an acceptable balance" between business and society⁸. It is hoped that this research will shed light on the following question: **If the public is recognized by an organization as a stakeholder, what organizational structures or processes can be put in place, or set up, in order for the organization to effectively manage this stakeholder relationship?** One possible answer lies in the adoption of public participation processes by private business organizations.

The last two decades have witnessed an "explosion" of public participation processes (Creighton 1983). These processes, when conducted by the public sector, idealized public participation as an extension of democracy, a "conceptualization of the ideal citizen as a participant in the public realm of politics" (Shannon 1990:230). But what of public participation or involvement in the decision-making of private organizations?

⁸ Mainstream authors such as Peter Drucker (1993), Charles Handy (1997) and James Moore (1996) assert that the capitalist system will have to evolve in order to adapt to changes within the business environment, and predict that one of these fundamental changes is a rethinking of the relationship between business and society. If this is the case, then businesses will need to develop new management practices to reflect this new reality.

Despite the lack of literature in this field there are companies that do engage the public in participatory activities. These organizations must derive some benefit in doing so. This research seeks to answer the question **What motivates a private organization to include the public in a decision-making activity? And, what influences the nature and character of the participation process?**

In order to answer these questions, this research employs a case study approach to examine public involvement in private sector decision-making and planning. The goal of the research is to develop a model to explain why a private firm would select a participatory or inclusionary approach in formulating a long term business plan.

The data required to develop the model explaining the factors influencing the firm's decision to employ an inclusionary planning process was collected by examining the planning activities of four firms operating in the same geographic and political jurisdiction and engaged in the same business⁹. The four firms all developed public participation processes within a similar set of environmental conditions and within a reasonably common time frame. The differences between the cases can, it is postulated, be attributed to the firms' individual characteristics. This provides an opportunity to examine the similarities and differences between approaches. It also provides the foundation from which to explain the factors that contributed to one firm's development of a more inclusionary planning process.

Chapter One includes a review of the literature germane to the study of public involvement in both the public and private sectors. This Chapter also

⁹ The four firms either have, or are seeking, licences to operate in the forestry industry in the province of Saskatchewan.

presents the questions to be addressed by the research and how they relate to gaps in the current literature.

Chapter Two outlines the methodology used to guide this research. It discusses the choice of a case study as the most appropriate method to guide an inquiry into the planning processes employed by each of the four forestry companies operating in Northern Saskatchewan. This study investigates how the respective forestry companies involved outside stakeholders and their reasoning for doing so. The study provides a comprehensive overview of the time during which the companies developed their plans. As a result, any impact that the planning process may have had on company/public relations post-process are not germane to this study. Also, because the focus of the study is the companies' activities, the characteristics of the various stakeholder groups pre, during and post- planning process, are only briefly investigated.

Chapter Three includes a background sketch of the political, social and natural context within which the case study companies operate. In addition to providing a general framework for the study area, this chapter discusses the reasons for selecting these companies as the focal point of the study.

Chapters Four and Five offer a detailed account of the planning processes employed by each of the four case study companies. The processes and approaches used by each of the companies indicate the degree to which each of the companies used outside stakeholders, i.e. the public, in their respective planning processes. Preliminary analysis suggested that Mistik, one of the case study firms, has the most innovative participation process and as such is worthy of further, more detailed analysis.

This further analysis is presented in Chapter Six. In this chapter, participants in the Mistik planning process representing the company, community and government officials provide a detailed account of the firm's planning process and their respective roles.

Chapter Seven provides an analysis of the organizational and contextual factors that influenced Mistik's choice of public participation as an integral part of the organization's planning process. On the basis of this analysis, a model is developed that explains the company's choice within the context of the organization's business strategy and culture. Given that the study is principally interested in the conditions that lead a company to include the public in a planning or decision-making process, this chapter does not attempt to assess the success of the firm in achieving any of the objectives it had set upon entering into the process.

Chapter Eight identifies the lessons learned from this research. These include implications for public policy and organizational planning/decision-making. Specifically, it seeks to address the question **how can public policy influence or facilitate the adoption of public participation processes by private business organizations?** And, **what organizational characteristics are compatible with adopting and effectively implementing such practices?** The great hurdle to the implementation of participatory management may rest in the capacity of private business interests to acknowledge the inclusion of non-traditional participants (the public and interest groups) as being in the best interests of the corporation. This discussion will seek to outline under what conditions businesses are most likely to engage in participatory management practices and how public policy and public decision-making can help create these conditions.

Chapter Eight concludes this thesis by identifying possible areas for future research.

CHAPTER ONE LITERATURE REVIEW

Organizational Theory

Organizational theory examines how organizations function. The theory explores how an organization's operations affect, and are affected by, the larger environment in which they operate (Jones 1995). Organizational theory, like economic theory, is a broad field of study comprised of different components that can be viewed or characterized in a number of ways. Organizational theory can be examined in evolutionary terms, moving from one school to the next (Perrow 1973; Shafritz and Ott 1996). Each school had developed associated models to explain how organizations operated (Hall 1972). Alternatively, organizational theory has been viewed in terms of metaphors or images (Morgan 1986) or cornerstones (Hodge and Anthony 1984). Organizational theory can also be cast in terms of the way an organization functions: by its structure (rules and systems); its culture (values) and how it designs processes (Jones 1995).

Based on these definitions, organizational theory acknowledges that organizations operate within an environment, which is intrinsic to the operation and success of an organization. Theory points to elements of the organizational environment that pose threats to the organization and must be taken into consideration or managed (Pfeffer 1982). As Lorsch and Lawrence (1970) discovered, the better the match, or consistency, between the

organization's structure and culture and the demands of the organization's environment, the more successful the organization¹.

Organizational theory recognizes the existence of an environment within which organizations operate. It also acknowledges that the degree of harmony between an organization's structures and culture and the external environment can have an impact on the organization's success. But, what constitutes an organization's environment?

Organizational theory recognizes the existence of various participants (Salanik and Pfeffer 1977), constituencies (Connolly, Colon and Deutsh 1980) or stakeholders (Mitroff 1983) with an interest, claim or stake in how well an organization performs (Jones 1995)². Since the 1960s, numerous authors in a variety of fields have explored the "stakeholder" concept³. The widely accepted contemporary definition of a stakeholder is Freeman's which is, "a stakeholder in an organization is any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (1984:46). The recognition of stakeholder interests is now a fundamental element of introductory management texts (Donaldson and Preston 1995) and an accepted term found in the Oxford Dictionary of Economics⁴.

¹ Building upon the discussion of contingency theory, Burrell and Morgan (1979) extend the "good fit" theory of Lorsch and Lawrence to organizational subunits or subsystems.

² Most recently, discussions with respect to stakeholders have included living entities (flora and fauna) from the natural environment (Starik 1995).

³ For an extensive chronology of the discussion surrounding the question of who constitutes a stakeholder see Mitchell et al (1997:858).

⁴ The definition states that stakeholders are "anybody with some form of interest in a business". As well as shareholders, this includes directors, managers, other employees, customers, subcontractors and even the general public in cases where the firm's activities impact on the environment (Black 1997:442).

Two categories of stakeholders fall under this broad definition (Jones 1995)⁵: "inside" stakeholders (shareholders, managers, employees) and "outside" stakeholders (suppliers, customers, the government and the public⁶). What are these interests? Jones (1995:22) summarizes these interests in the following way. Shareholders have an interest in dividends and stock values. Managers' interest lie in salaries, status and power, and employees' interests are in wages, stable employment and bonuses. The interests of inside stakeholders are clearly tied to the economic performance of the organization. By comparison, outside interests are much more diverse. In the case of customers their interest lies in the value of the goods produced in relation to the price paid. Governments are concerned with the organization's activities as they relate to competition and adherence to regulations. The public is deemed to hold an interest, or stake, in an organization by virtue of their activities generating revenue, taxes and employment and often a sense of local or national pride. As such, the public does have a stake in the success of a business organization in that the success of the organization can affect the economic well being of the public (Beauchamp 1993).

Clearly, organizational theory identifies the existence of stakeholders within the corporate environment. This does not, however, shed any light on how organizations identify their own stakeholders. Stakeholders may be recognized on the basis of member attributes including power (Pfeffer 1981) and legitimacy (Suchman 1995). Mitchell et al (1997) theorize that the degree to which an organization recognizes the existence and importance of a

⁵ For the purposes of this study the categories of "inside" and "outside" stakeholders will be employed. Other categories of stakeholders often cited in the literature include that of "primary" and "secondary" stakeholders (Clarkson 1995, Svendsen 1998) or "expectant", "dominant", "dependant" or even "dangerous" stakeholders (Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997).

stakeholder group is dependent upon the group's power, legitimacy and urgency⁷. The pressure for an organization to find ways to effectively manage stakeholders flows from the degree to which the group possesses the above three "critical attributes" (Mitchell et al 1997:879). The model developed by Mitchell, Agle and Woods provides a framework that is open to empirical enquiry. In fact, one important question that arises from the work of Mitchell, Agle and Wood is:

Do the inferences made by the Mitchell, Agle and Wood's model with respect to stakeholders being recognized on the basis of their power, legitimacy and urgency, hold when examining real stakeholder/manager relationships?

Donaldson and Preston (1995:67) in outlining their central theses of stakeholder theory, suggest that "stakeholders are persons or groups with legitimate interests in procedural and/or substantive aspects of corporate activity. Stakeholders are identified by **their** interests in the corporation, whether the corporation has any corresponding functional interest in **them**" (emphasis in the original). If the organization has no functional, or perceived functional, interest in its stakeholders then it could be said that it has no interest in their well being insofar as this has no bearing on organizational health. In fact, stakeholders' well being was contingent upon the continued well being of the organization but only insofar as the corporation generated profits to its shareholders. This is reflected in Friedman's (1970) argument that the only social responsibility incumbent on a business is to make profits.

⁶ Some lists of stakeholders use the term 'community' as opposed to 'public' (Preston 1990). The identification of community as a stakeholder is particularly useful when the public of interest to an organization can be clearly identified with a specific geographic area.

⁷ Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997:867) define urgency as being synonymous with "compelling", "driving" and "imperative".

The idea of corporate social responsibility, popularized almost 30 years ago, has generated a significant level of debate both among scholars and the general public (Sethi 1995). The principal challenges to the tenet that business' social responsibility is to make profits originate with those who view such responsibilities as extending beyond immediate balance sheet considerations and narrow definitions of cost (Mullian 1986). Corporate social responsibility does not imply that the basic responsibility of a business is to not make a profit, but rather that profit maximization and social responsibility are not mutually exclusive (Werhane 1980). Rather, social responsibilities are part of a continuum of private company responsibilities, the primary one being to make a profit (Carroll 1979).

For some, the arguments with respect to whether businesses should be socially responsible have been eclipsed by investigations regarding how organizations have put into practice their social responsibilities and then how the effectiveness of such programs can be measured (Shaw 1988). This has resulted in a variety of models (Swanson 1995) and frameworks (Clarkson 1995); all designed to measure corporate social performance. This would seem to indicate that the argument as to the efficacy of social responsibility has been largely won. However, this is only true to a point. Clarkson (1995) found that managers understand and recognize the link between stakeholder issues and larger social issues and responsibilities. They do not, during the course of conducting business, "think or act in terms of the concepts of corporate social responsibilities and responsiveness"⁸(1995:98). The exception to this seems to be in areas where there is a high level of government legislation and hence a risk of legal sanction if an organization acts in a socially irresponsible manner (Maxwell

and Mason 1976). In fact, the existence of legislation is the measure used by Clarkson (1995) to test whether an issue is a social issue (legislation and/or regulations are present) or a stakeholder issue (legislation and/or regulations are absent).

The routine non-incorporation of social responsibility in organizational decision-making may be due to fact that discussions surrounding stakeholder theory have been, and continue to be, largely normative⁹ (Donaldson and Preston 1995)¹⁰. This is not to imply that normative discussions are not important, clearly they are because they provide a foundation, or the core, underlying stakeholder literature (Donaldson and Preston 1995). What it does say is that in and of themselves, ethical arguments do not provide a link between actions (acting ethically) and outcomes (organizational profitability and stability). Such links between actions and outcomes are provided by instrumental theory¹¹ (Jones 1995).

The often unspoken implication of this line of inquiry is that stakeholders should in some way participate in the organization. For shareholders and managers, this participation is explicit in standard management texts. It is the traditional role of managers to make decisions that they feel will

⁸ Fredrick (1994) differentiates between social responsibility, which is moral, and social responsiveness, which is amoral. Fredrick believes there is an apparent transition in the literature from the former to the latter. However, for the purposes of this paper, the term social responsibility will be used.

⁹ Donaldson and Preston (1995:71) apply the term normative, as it relates to stakeholder theory, to instances when "the theory is used to interpret the function of the corporation, including the identification of moral or philosophical guidelines for the operation and management of corporations". Thus, normative theory concerns itself with the moral decorum of the organization and addresses questions of things ought to be.

¹⁰ For example, summaries of the literature generated by Friedman (1970) article are contained in business ethics texts. As well, the titles of works focusing on stakeholders are in ethics publications or have the word ethics in the title. These include A.B. Carroll (1989) *Business and Society: Ethics and Stakeholder Management* (Cincinnati:South Western) and A.A. Marcus (1993) *Business and Society: Ethics, Government and the World Economy* (Homewood:Irwin).

¹¹ In stakeholder theory, instrumental inquiries seek to establish "a framework for examining the connections, in any between the practice of stakeholder management and the achievement of various corporate performance goals", for example, profitability and stability (Donaldson and Preston (1995:67).

increase shareholder wealth, and in so doing the health of the organization is secured. While not challenging this objective, stakeholders have expressed a desire to be included in organizational decision-making. Perhaps the best example of this is the growth of participatory management as it applies of employees.

To recognize that an organization has stakeholders does not, in and of itself, say anything with respect to how an organization is managed or how it will operate. It does not address functionally how stakeholder interests are managed and how these interests then participate in their organizations. Nor does it provide a necessary framework to assess how socially responsible an organization is, or how it manages its relationships with stakeholders. It does not address any of these fundamental questions that arise from the normative discussions. If there are individuals or groups that have an interest in the operation of an organization, that is stakeholders, what does this imply? The recognition that such groups exist raises other questions with respect to the relationship between an organization and its stakeholders. It is important to explore the avenues existing that permit stakeholders to influence an organization through the internalization of these other interests into the organization's decision-making processes.

One way to ensure that stakeholder interests are considered in the management of an organization is to allow stakeholders to participate in organizational decision-making¹². That is, to have participatory management.

¹² This thesis focuses on public participation as one possible approach including public stakeholders in the decision-making processes of an organization. This is not the only possible vehicle for involvement, for example, in Denmark a number of companies involve stakeholders when the organizations conduct ethical accounting audits of their operations. (Peter Pruzan, (1997) "The Ethical Dimensions of Banking:Sbn Bank, Denmark" in Simon Zadek, Peter Pruzan and Richard Evans (eds.) *Building Corporate Accountability: Emerging Practices in Social and Ethical Accounting, Auditing and Reporting* (Earthscan Publications:London).

The area of study that has sought to explore this "operationalizing" of stakeholder theory in terms of moving the idea of stakeholders from the mere recognition of a group that exists into the realm where the organization and the stakeholders interact. The integration of stakeholder interests into organizational decision-making is found in the area of participatory management. Participatory management literature, coming as it does out of the normative discussions generated by questions of "responsibility", is, to quote Plunkett and Fournier (1991:3) "missionary in nature" in that it extols the virtues of inclusion without describing how it is to be done, or how in fact it will contribute to the fundamental objectives of the organization.

Although many employee, or worker, participation schemes have been instituted at the national level in many different countries (Tsignaou 1991), these are not of primary interest here. More germane to this paper are activities undertaken at the organizational level. In this context employee participation is defined by a wide range of activities from the creation of consultation committees to profit sharing and share ownership schemes to job enrichment and enlargement (Warner 1984). Of the various methods or techniques for employee participation, perhaps the best known is that of total quality management (TQM) which created its own "movement" (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 1996).

There are numbers of reasons why participatory management has occurred. In a positive light, it has been adopted to 1) increase organizational effectiveness by allowing employees to share in the organization's success and 2) recognize the changing requirements of an increasingly well educated workforce (Plunkett and Fournier 1991). This is consistent with observations that participation in decision-making is most useful if it

takes advantage of a range of expertise and if it is employed to promote the participant's agreement with the decision (Beach 1997). Hence, organizations that adopted participatory activities did so because employees had a valuable contribution to make in terms of their expertise and knowledge and would have a positive effect on the work environment which would lead to higher productivity and quality of decisions taken (Richer 1991; O'Dell 1987). On a national scale, it has been proposed that having "more inclusive stakeholder-based systems" such as Japan and Germany practice "has allowed their firms to operate in a more stable long-term environment" (Cooke and Morgan 1998:36). When viewed in this light, it is evident that organizations have a functional interest in the well being of employees. In a more adversarial light, employee participation arose as a result of workers' pressing for greater workplace democracy - equating if you will, political democracy with industrial democracy (Wilson 1974) as a way of eliminating or alleviating their sense of alienation (Tsiganou 1991). In this case, the impetus was risk avoidance in the form of reducing work stoppages or actions (Anton 1980).

Again, the form of the participation is not as important as the recognition that it takes place, although not necessarily easily nor without pain (Kanter 1983). It is perhaps an indicator of the popularity of the concept that participation is so often referred to as a panacea for organizational ills that it is adopted in name but not in philosophy. Indeed, Argyis' (1998) contends that in spite of all the attention paid to it, empowerment is an illusion, in part because most managers still prefer "command and control" to participatory processes. This has resulted in the failure of many participatory activities because they have been applied as an overlay on values inconsistent with a participatory approach and are as a result ineffective (King 1995). Many participatory activities have been seen as

manipulative rather than empowering (Blumberg 1968; Rus 1972) or viewed as just another management fashion (Abrahamson 1996).

In her study on innovation and entrepreneurship, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983) found that innovating organizations achieved much of their success through employee participation. Similarly, Kotter and Heskett (1992) in a case study of high performance organizations found that managers considered stakeholder interests in decision-making. Robert Waterman believes that "corporate cultures that tend to put three constituencies - shareholders, customers and employees - on the same plane, as opposed to putting shareholders first, are perversely the ones that do the best for shareholders" (in Micklethwaite and Wooldridge 1996:183). Substantiating this assertion is a body of recent research indicating that companies that enjoy a collaborative relationship with stakeholders are more profitable (Svendsen 1998). This adds credibility to Plunkett and Fournier's (1991) assertion that participatory management is a business strategy decision because it is seen to be in the best interest of the organization, not necessarily for the employees sake.

If including employees in decision-making has benefits for the organization from a business strategy perspective, what of other stakeholders, specifically the public? In the case of employees it has been demonstrated that participation by stakeholders can benefit the organization, especially when reciprocity is involved. So, participation by employees increases productivity, which in turns increases profitability to the benefit of both the organization and the employees. Does the same basic principle work for other stakeholders as well? The first question posed looks at characteristics of the stakeholders, in other words do they have power, legitimacy and urgency. The next question focuses on the organization and

looks at what factors make it receptive to recognizing these stakeholder traits. That is:

What organizational and contextual factors will cause an organization to recognize the public as a stakeholder?

In the literature, participation, insofar as it pertains to private organizations, refers primarily to employee participation¹³. There is some reference to participation activities that include suppliers, customers and the community (Wiesbrod and Janoff 1995) but for the most part this is a very small area of study. It seems that the idea of including the public in organizational decision-making is a relatively new, under explored concept¹⁴. This, in spite of the fact that Creighton's (1981)¹⁵ definition of public involvement clearly includes corporate as well as public entities. Even within the literature, the area where corporate social responsibility interfaces with the public is categorized under "community relations" and include communication on matters such as "local hiring, business opportunities, emergency response procedures and plant closings" (Clarkson 1995:117). Perhaps part of this is because organizational theory has not fully addressed the functional interests that organizations have in the well being of the social or public environment in which they operate. There is a certain sense that business organizations overlook their need for a healthy social environment in much the same way that they fail to realize that they need a healthy natural environment (Gladwin, Kennelly and Krause 1995).

¹³ This is clear when Wagner defines participation as "a process wherein influence is shared among individuals who are otherwise hierarchical unequals, and that participatory practices thus balance the involvement of managers and their subordinates in information-processing, decision-making or problem solving activities". J.A. Wagner (1994) Participation's Effects on Performance and Satisfaction: A Reconsideration of Research Evidence in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 19:312-330).

¹⁴ The exception is in the area of resource management where arguments are made for the inclusion of stakeholders, including the community and wider public, in helping to design a private firm's corporate environmental policies and environmental objectives (Eckel, Fisher and Russell 1992).

Community Economic Development

Community economic development literature provides an insight into the benefits for an organization of including the public, defined as community, in its decision-making activities. The definition of community, for the purposes of public participation, can include a wide range of individuals. Christenson and Robinson define community as:

(1) people (2) within a geographically bounded area (3) involved in social interaction and (4) with one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place they live (in Douglas 1994:3).

This definition does not preclude the definition of geographically bounded from being applied to an area the size of a municipality, or a province. Given the accommodating scope of the term "community" it serves as an equivalent to "public" for purposes of this discussion. However, it should be noted that "community" stands within its own right as a recognized stakeholder (Preston 1990).

There is no doubt that business is important to community. A weak economic structure within a community can create an unhealthy environment that in turn will cause a deterioration of the social structure (Paul 1987). Clearly, as noted above, the public or community has a stake in the health of its business organizations. However, it is also true that community is important to business. It is important because it, and its attendant public entities, provide to business the labour for its operations, markets for its products, infrastructure for its operations, education, social and health

¹⁵ Creighton defines public involvement as "a process, or processes, by which interested and affected individuals, agencies and government entities are consulted in included in the decision-making of a government agency or

services that are important to maintaining a productive work force, and creating a healthy environment in which to function (Beck 1995). There is no question that a weak social structure detracts from the success of a business (Barnet 1975). In short, business organizations are themselves stakeholders in communities and benefit from their own participation in community development activities (Loizides 1996). This rationale for selecting the public as a stakeholder rests upon the recognition of mutual power-dependence relationships between the business organization and the community (Mitchell et al 1997; Nasi 1995).

While an organization may have a functional interest in the health of a community in terms of the services, if one considers the production of a healthy work force a service, there is another benefit that the public or community can provide. As is the case with employees, the public can provide insights and expertise to an organization that can prove to be a valuable resource (Spellman 1986).

This does not imply that organizational theory does not recognize that business organizations operate within a larger environment, quite clearly they do. The focus of strategic management is expressly aimed at the corporate environment, including strengths, weakness, threats and opportunities and actively seeks ways to control these dynamics (Jones 1995; Freeman 1984). What is not explicit is the impact of stakeholder activity on performance. However, Welford and Gouldson (1993) recognize that stakeholder pressures will influence firms to change their corporate strategies. Ultimately, and this is particularly true with respect to environmental performance, this will enhance the competitive advantage of the firm (Collins 1998).

corporate entity (1981:3).

If we go back to the list outlining the interests¹⁶ that stakeholders had in an organization, it is clear that shareholder and employee interests ultimately revolve around the organization's continuing profitability and stability. A closer look at the public's interests indicates that it too benefits from the organization's continued health. However, when the interests generated by the debate on social responsibility (reduced negative externalities) are added to the list it is evident that the public's interest is not just that a firm operate profitably, but that it do so in a responsible manner.

What avenue does the public have to participate in decision-making, especially when the scope of its concerns is so wide. The public is not, nor should it necessarily be, privy to the day to day decisions that employees are. What mechanism exists to include the public in decisions and at what level is their inclusion appropriate? This leads to the third question of interest:

If the public is recognized by an organization as a stakeholder, what organizational structures or processes can be implemented so that the organization can effectively manage this stakeholder relationship?

It would seem that the appropriate level of involvement would be where the public can have influence over the parameters generating options and a voice in the final decision-making: at the long term planning stage.

¹⁶ As noted earlier in this paper, some of these stakeholder interests include: dividends, stock values and economic performance; salaries, status and power; stable employment; the value of goods produced; adherence to regulations; taxes paid and national pride.

Public involvement in planning is not a new concept. Indeed, much of the theoretical groundwork for public participation can be found in planning theory. It is to this literature that we now turn.

Planning Theory

The involvement of the public in decision-making is founded on the presumption that there is a role for the public in planning processes. At this juncture, the foundation for such a belief will be explored by examining the evolution of planning theory. The review will focus on the public sector, and connect developments from this context to similar developments in organizational theory.

What provides the foundation for including the public in planning processes? What is planning and on what basis does the public have a role to play? Leaving aside the considerable angst incurred by Mintzberg (1994) in his attempt to define what planning is, it is sufficient to say that it is: future thinking, control, decision-making, integrative and formalizing (Mintzberg 1994:15). Planning is all of these things, and because it is, no one description is sufficient. If it were so easily defined the wide range of literature devoted to its definition would not exist. However, that is not particularly instructive and for the purposes of the paper, planning is synonymous with decision-making or the process thereof¹⁷.

Planning is the process of decision-making, it looks to the future (Ackoff 1970) in an attempt to find a goal towards which to take aim. It seeks to

¹⁷ Others including Sayles (1964) and Dror (1971) share this definition of planning.

control circumstances, or at least guide them (Ozbekhan 1969) to influence outcomes to achieve our goals.

Decision-making is fundamental not just to planning, but to organizational theory too, and as such provides a bridge between both disciplines. Compendiums of "classics" in organizational theory (Shafritz and Ott 1996) and planning theory (Friedmann 1987; Akoff 1970) each recognize the works of Simon (1960), Cyert and March (1963), March and Simon (1958), Lindblom (1959) and Allison (1971) as contributors to the development of their disciplines. It is not, therefore, surprising to find decision-making models evolving along similar paths as organization and planning theory.

Models of decision-making originally conceived of the activity in purely rational, objective terms. Rational decision-making models portrayed the process as very clean and simple. Clearly there was no uncertainty to a process that 1) identified the problem or issue to be addressed, 2) generated alternative options for solving the problem and then 3) selected the best option and implemented it (Jones 1995:459). Theorists however soon recognized that the real world practice of decision-making was far less clean and far less certain than the rational model portrayed it to be.

Simon (1947, 1957) pointed out the shortcomings of the rational model based on the cognitive limitations of decision-makers which it was thought could be compensated for, or overcome, by proper structuring of the organization (March and Simon 1958). However, as Allison (1971) demonstrated, decision-making processes do not necessarily mimic organizational structure.

Academics have advanced various models of decision-making, each of which seeks to describe or understand the decision-making process as it actually

takes place within organizations. These include the Carnegie Model (Larked and Sprout 1984), the Incrementalist Model (Lindblom 1959), the Unstructured Model (Mintzberg 1976) the Garbage Can Model (Cohen, March and Olsen 1972) and the Image Model (Beach 1997). However, just as important as the structure of the decision-making process is the composition of the group involved in making the decisions. Organizational theory is, as noted above, beginning to move the boundaries of decision-making out to include non-traditional groups. Planning theory, which shares many of the same intellectual foundations as organizational theory, has explored more fully the inclusion of diverse interests in decision-making. In light of this, it is instructive to look at planning theory in terms of participatory practices.

Planning theory has not always been amenable to the inclusion of interests other than those entrusted with the responsibility for planning i.e. the planners. Growing out of the scientific management school, where there was in Frederick Taylor's estimation "one right way of solving problems", planning was an elitist's, or expert's, activity (Shafritz and Ott 1966). Where it was once sufficient for planners to be guided by vision, it was now becoming necessary to augment vision with the tools of social research in order to provide them with the requisite objective knowledge (Goldberg 1985).

Planning from the 1920s on had taken its first tentative steps towards scientific decision-making (Weaver, Jessop and Das 1985), steps that once taken would lead to the planner becoming a bureaucratic and conservative expert (Dyckman 1961). Substantial rationality, which still required the use of value judgments, was supplanted by the rational comprehensive model that subsequently become synonymous with planning (Weaver, Jessop and Das

1985). The prominence of the technocrat as planner was secure. Insofar as these planners were concerned, questions of values were no longer of importance - any problems were matters that could be addressed by the application of the proper technical solutions (Davidoff 1965). In this respect, it was seen as important, if not vital, that "planning authorities need to recruit people with first-class intellectual qualities and first-class educational attainments (Meyerson 1956:138).

There was no doubt that planning should attract the most talented individuals to become planning experts. The role of the public in the planning process was made clear by Stein:

The planner cannot discover the needs of the people by asking them what kind of home or community they want to live in, they cannot know beyond their experience. However, with their assistance - but not their guidance - he must discover their requirements (emphasis in the original, in Kendrick 1987:136).

It is clear from the above that the planner is the expert, members of the public are not.

Planning's sphere of influence continued to evolve as governments, national and regional, "adopted forms of planning in the postwar era in order to achieve vital objectives" (Grant 1994:11) of both social and economic varieties. It should be noted that the attainment of objectives was not just a preoccupation of planning theory as organizational theory shared the same interest. It was also in this post-war period that Drucker (1954) popularized the idea of management by objectives.

In either case, the application of scientific methods by experts was widespread and successful - prosperity and growth abounded, "optimism was

everywhere" (Faludi 1973:116). Whether this success was due to the appropriateness of the tools, or the growth fueled by postwar spending on consumer goods, capital stock and government is debatable. It may have been, as Writhe and Webber (1973) suggest, that because the problems planners were addressing were tame, not "wicked", they were solvable with technical fixes.

The 1960s, the great decade of social movements (e.g. feminism, environmentalism and race awareness) signaled the beginning of the end of the blind faith in expert-driven solutions to problems. Planners, at least within the public sector, had to come face to face with the consequences of earlier decisions and strategies. The populace was demanding a greater voice in decision-making, and public institutions had to deal with this demand. Hence in the 1960s and 1970s there was a shift in planning theory¹⁸. It was being recognized that the public was not just an object to be acted upon but a stakeholder in the planning process. Davidoff, with whom advocacy planning is synonymous, stated that:

The prospect for future planning is that of a practice which openly invites political and societal values to be examined and debated. Acceptance of the position means rejection of prescriptions for planning which would have the planner act solely as technician (1965:227).

Public participation (still highly touted as an ideal in the planning process) surfaced during this period (Arnstein 1969) as did radical planning (Goodman 1971). Planning may still have been rational comprehensive, but rational began to become more pluralist, more accepting of different values

¹⁸ The influence of "real world" activities is as important to the development of planning theory as it is to that of organizational theory. As Shafritz and Ott (1996:2) state, "theories about organizations do not develop in a vacuum. They reflect what is going on in the world – including the existing culture. In order to truly understand organizational theory as it exists today, one must appreciate the historical contexts through which it developed and the cultural milieus during and in which important contributions were made to its body of knowledge".

and points of view (Goldberg 1985). In fact, Innes (1996) argues that stakeholder participation in consensus building provides a true model of comprehensive planning.

It was as if the floodgates had opened. Planners were compelled to face up to, and reflect upon, the problems and limitations of planning on a number of fronts (Forrester 1969; Hall 1980). The doubt cast on the ability of planners to determine what future generations would want, coupled with the unexpected problems that can result from errors or oversights in the planning process - errors that are often only realized once the damage has been done - had forced planners to doubt the very premises of control and prediction (Holling and Goldberg 1971). New theories began to emerge, theories that reflected this doubt.

Within the planning literature articles began to appear with the words "chaos" (Cartwright 1991), "turbulence" (Morely and Schachar 1986), and "ecology" (Emery and Trist 1973) in the titles. The concept of "holistic" planning began to supersede that of "rational" planning. Planning now included integrated resource (Mitchell 1990) and ecosystem (Holling and Goldberg 1971) approaches that favour not just participatory decision-making processes but also the inclusion of criteria and perspectives not traditionally considered. These include the environmental impact of decisions that had generally been considered as external to the decision-making process and not taken into consideration in standard cost-benefit analysis (Starik 1995).

Advocacy planning (Davidoff 1965), radical planning (Goldman 1971) and participatory planning (Arenstein 1969) all challenged the conventional wisdom of planning as scientific. These theories held planning to be, by

necessity, political (Forester 1989). Such theories are representative of what is referred to as the transactive approach to planning (Friedmann 1987; Hudson 1979). The transactive approach to planning is less focused on the planner as expert and more concerned with the interaction of the planners with those affected. A very important aspect of the transactive approach is the mutual learning that occurs when planners and the public engage in a planning exercise (Friedmann 1987:402). At its heart is a participatory theory that, in essence, decentralizes the decision-making process by virtue of the inclusion of the public. There are those who suggest that participatory planning is very closely aligned with participatory democracy (Cantanese 1974). However, it can represent a challenge or dilemma for existing democratic structures (O'Riordan 1977) just as, noted above, employee participation can create a challenge for organizational decision-making structures.

Although participation in planning has been embraced by some jurisdictions for a number of years it is not clear that it is well understood, nor is it beyond cynicism (Berman 1997). Nor, it should be added, is the public's desire for participatory planning and its use firmly entrenched even within public planning processes (Connor 1996; Sewell and Coppock 1977).

Building on the advances in planning theory outlined above, some of the most recent advances in planning can be found in the areas of resource management. It is in this area that there seems the clearest opinion that stakeholder participation is the most needed in order to facilitate the transition from traditional to sustainable resource management¹⁹. This is

¹⁹ "Key aspects of sustainable development include empowerment of local people, self-reliance and social justice. One means to achieve these aspects is to move away from traditional forms of environmental and resource management, which are dominated by professional experts in the government and private sector, and towards approaches which combine the experience, knowledge and understanding of various groups and people. The

particularly true when making the land use decisions where different, or competing, classes of land use are involved (Fisher and Krutilla 1974). Indeed, as noted above, the concept of planning as integration has already been identified. The fact that this has surfaced as a possible definition of planning is instructive. This may be because the need to undertake integrative planning is more readily apparent due to the obvious conflicts that arise when competing interests are compelled to make "complex trade-off decisions" (Born and Sonzogni 1995:177). Public participation has been used in decision-making activities in a variety of environmentally based activities including waste management (MacLaren 1995), water management in the Great Lakes (Grima 1983), and forestry (Shannon 1990; Rivlin 1993) to cite but a few examples. In the area of resource management the use of a resource for one activity can easily preclude, or least severely restrict, its use for another purpose²⁰. When such values come head to head the need to integrate perspectives and values becomes a pivotal act in order to address issues of conflict and uncertainty (Mitchell 1995).

In his review of integrated resource management literature, Margerum (1995) found there to be four common elements or themes which researchers had devoted a great deal of attention to: holism, interconnection, goal-orientation and conflict reduction. Furthermore, he found that interaction between stakeholders is the "key operational aspect" of such planning activities (Margerum 1995:49).

While public participation may not be cited specifically in all integrated resource management literature, notions of co-ordination (Burton 1991;

words partnerships and stakeholders are often used to characterize an approach that includes both organized interest groups and the general public in resource and environmental planning" (Mitchell 1997:155).

²⁰ For example, the use of forest resources for logging will restrict its use for recreational, meditative, spiritual or sporting purposes.

Gilbert 1988; Salwasser 1991; Born and Sonzogni 1995), co-operation (Slocombe 1993; Grumbine 1991) and joint decision-making (Walther 1987) all convey a sense of public participation in spirit, if not name. Within the resource management literature there is an increasing body of work devoted to the principles of co-management²¹. Co-management is defined in terms of a community's expression of self-reliance assisted by government attempts, as Pinkerton (1989:4) describes them, to "solve difficult management and public policy problems". Later Pinkerton (1993:37) describes co-management as "genuine power sharing" between government and local communities. The fundamental characteristic of co-management has, as Berkes (1991) suggests, between power sharing between governments and community²². However, it is possible to extend the concept to suggest that co-management is an arrangement between a power holder, which may be a party other than a government, and community stakeholders that promotes increased participation in resource management.

The literature on co-management includes work specific to either one sector, or to resource management that cuts across sectors. In the first category are co-management arrangements for fisheries (Pinkerton 1989), wildlife (Gauthier 1995) and forestry (Shannon 1990). While the second category includes management arrangements for watersheds (Lee 1992) and multiple party, multiple objective, land use (Walther 1987).

Although co-management may be desirable in terms of its potential, some of it idealized, to decentralize power and reduce conflict where multiple land/resource objectives exist (Mitchell 1997) it is recognized that it is

²¹ The term co-management is short for cooperative management.

²² For example, a review of Resource Access Negotiation Program carried out in 1993 by the federal government Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, found that out of a total 77 projects funded by the program, 17 were resource co-management projects.

not a panacea. And that several authors (Reed 1995; Pinkerton 1996) have identified pitfalls and shortcomings associated with co-management activities.

Clearly, in the realm of resource management, where the imperatives of holism and interconnectedness are fundamental, public participation in planning is more of a necessity than a luxury when it comes to translating theory into practice (Margerum 1997). Still, the focus on integrated resource management still originates in the public perspective in that it is usually a public entity, by virtue of resource ownership, which is responsible for the planning exercise.

One final note on public participation in planning. Process, is only one of the two fundamental elements which will determine the effectiveness of public participation, it must be coupled with the other element, the philosophy of the agent directing the process (Creighton 1981). The philosophy may best be described as the attitude or sincerity behind the organization's inclusion of the public in decision-making processes. Is the organization sincere in its desire to solicit and include the public's opinions and knowledge, or does it cynically undertake a participatory process in name only so as to give the impression of participation although no real participation took place? As Mintzberg points out "some organizations take advantage of these demands[for public involvement], turning them around to use planning as a tool, not because anyone necessarily believes in the value of the process per se but because influential outsiders do" (1994:214). Such insincere participatory planning exercises usually resemble what Benveniste (1972) calls "trivial planning". While providing little, or no, opportunity for real participation, the provision of a forum (usually an open house) allows the proponent to say

that the public was provided with an opportunity to provide input into a decision. The optics of such a public relations game is often used as a defense when the public is critical of the final decision taken. As Franklin points out, "of course they [the organization] can say they have consulted ... [but] the purpose was primarily to avoid trouble rather than to do the right thing" (1996:11).

Summary

The literature on employee participation indicates that organizations were motivated to include employees in decision-making for a number of reasons ranging from the recognition that the quality of the workforce and its expectations had changed such that organization would benefit from the knowledge employees had to contribute, to the desire to reduce workplace tension and to avoid conflict. It is also evident in the literature that organizations recognized the benefits that employee participation could bring in terms of increased productivity and the impact that would have on organizational profitability and stability.

The literature on planning indicates a parallel development with respect to public participation in public sector and resource management planning activities. This literature may prove instructive with respect to how organizations can get beyond the normative arguments with respect to the social responsibility of business organizations to consider the impacts of their actions on the public and to provide more operational methods to more actively include these interests in organizational decision-making.

Schot and Fisher (1993:373) have stated that "public pressures have been among the most important driving forces for change in [organizational] behaviour". As awareness grows with respect to the impacts that organizational decisions have on members of the public it is likely that, as was the case in the public sector, the public will increasingly exhibit the "critical attributes" necessary to make organizations take notice of them as stakeholders.

As noted above, the organizational theory literature has not yet begun to address the implications that this will have. As such, it is the purpose of this thesis to address a number of the more fundamental questions that arise with respect to the increasing role of the public as a stakeholder in private business organizations. These are:

- 1) Is there any evidence that the inferences²³ made by Mitchell et al (1997) with respect to stakeholder identification and salience hold when real stakeholder/organizational relationships are examined?
- 2) What organizational and contextual factors will cause an organization to recognize the public as a stakeholder?
- 3) Once the public is recognized as a stakeholder what organizational structures and processes can be implemented in order for the organization to effectively manage this stakeholder relationship?

It is hoped that by looking into the activities of organizations that have included outside stakeholders, notably the public, in organizational decision-making some light will be shed on the motivations that such business organizations had for including the public in decision-making. It is anticipated that this will suggest what benefits organizations expect to realize as a result of this activity. Awareness of these factors may be important not only to organizational or management theorists in developing

²³ Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) theory of stakeholder identification proposed that stakeholders possess, in varying degrees and combinations, three critical attributes: power, legitimacy and urgency. They then predicted

new management tools but also for public policy makers. This will provide the foundation necessary for future research to present evidence linking the participation of outside stakeholders in organizational decision-making and the attainment of organizational goals of profitability and sustainability.

stakeholder salience – the degree to which, and under what conditions, managers recognize stakeholders – on the basis of these attributes.

CHAPTER TWO METHODOLOGY

Problem Statement

There is a well documented trend in the increasing conflict and tension resulting from competing uses of resources, or from differing visions of their worth and management (Bari 1994). This, coupled with a growing distrust of both expert's abilities and motives, has fostered a reassessment of planning processes. In addition to the uncertainty associated with conflict, resource management also occurs within the often-complex world of government policy where the regulatory environment dictates the method of planning. Uncertainty and regulatory requirements add another dimensions to the decision-making process.

Increasingly, resource companies find themselves compelled by a number of imperatives to include the public in planning processes. These imperatives, intended to make better decisions regarding resource management, can be divided into two groups, overarching and specific. The overarching imperatives are those faced by all companies, regardless of their size, ownership structure, and market base. As an example, the regulatory requirements of a specific political jurisdiction may require all resource companies to follow certain processes. Specific imperatives are company specific and may be found in the operating philosophy of a company, its relationship with the community in which it resides, or in its market position.

These imperatives, overarching and specific, may create an impetus for business planning to become more inclusionary. However, it remains to be seen as to what impact inclusionary decision-making has on the resource management plans which result from participatory planning processes. The underlying belief states that participatory planning yields benefits both to the company and the stakeholders who share joint interest with the company. But the inclusion of the public in resource management planning at the bequest of a regulatory authority (and in fact taking over a function of the regulatory authority) is new territory. It is important to assess whether this process yields any benefits to any of the parties (government, the business or the public) involved.

Purpose of the Study

This study collected relevant information on the planning processes of the major forestry companies in Saskatchewan. This information will be used to describe public involvement in the development of the companies' forest management plans. It will also help the researcher to understand the main factors that contributed to the respective company's choices of participation vehicles and the decisions involved in developing the relevant planning processes. The information will provide the basis to draw conclusions regarding the factors influencing public participation processes.

The study is not action-research in that the researcher was not involved in developing the public involvement processes used by any of the case study subjects. Rather, the study describes the planning processes undertaken by resource companies and seeks to identify and explain the factors that

influenced these processes. In this sense, it describes and explains the unfolding of a process within a specific context. The researcher collected data on the planning processes from a number of sources and participants directly involved. The researcher was not a participant, but rather an observer. The study did not influence the processes, it documented them.

This study examines the forces that compel organizations to integrate public participation in planning processes. In addition, the paper explores what factors, at the organizational level, shape such processes and assess whether public participation, in the ideal sense¹, was achieved. This is important because, as will be demonstrated, all of the organizations studied included activities that involved the public. However, did these activities constitute participation in any real sense? This question is central to this thesis.

The study employs a case study design, resulting in an inductively developed theory of public involvement in resource planning based upon research guided by two major research questions: 1) What are the major imperatives that compel resource businesses to involve the public in planning processes? And 2) what factors internal to the organization are important in ensuring that effective public participation processes are adopted?

Hypothesis, Major Research Questions and Sub-Questions

¹ The attributes of an ideal public participation process will be identified and developed later in this paper, however it may be useful at this point to provide an overview. Indicators of a successful or ideal process include: full and active stakeholder representation; stakeholders agree to the decision-making process; the concerns of the proponent and the stakeholders are understood; there is trust between the parties; decisions are improved by public participation; and decisions are transparent and accepted by the stakeholders (Schweitzer, Carnes and Peele 1999).

The guiding hypothesis (Miles and Huberman 1984) of this research is that resource based companies face a number of imperatives, from the overarching to the specific, that compel them to involve the public, as a stakeholder, in corporate planning activities. It states that these processes will vary in nature depending on the nature of the imperatives faced by the companies and by the nature of the companies themselves.

The major, or grand tour (Werner and Schoepfle 1987) questions which this research seeks to shed light upon are:

1. What are the major imperatives that compel a resource business to involve the public in planning processes?
2. What factors contribute to an organization selecting public participation as a management process?

Other related sub-questions are:

3. Where does the pressure for stakeholder participation come from and how does an organization recognize its stakeholders?
4. How do organizations react to the pressure to involve stakeholders and why?
5. Does the nature of the company or the nature of the imperative influence the nature of the process?

Research Design

Various definitions of "research design" have been advanced. Among them is the proposition that research design is a "blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data" (Phillips 1971:93). Hakim (1987) carries on the building analogy by equating the design stage with the architect's role in building a house: methods, she contends are the builder's

responsibility. In a more academic vein, research design has been described as a "plan and structure for investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions" (Kerlinger 1986:279).

Research design forms the basis for selecting the sources of data needed to address the research question and to provide a blueprint or plan for study (Emory and Cooper 1991). Often the first choice with respect to developing a research design is to determine whether the study will be quantitative or qualitative in nature. This stark choice with respect to determining research design is often made, as Creswell (1994:173) suggests, for purely "pragmatic" reasons such as "the extensive time required to use both paradigms adequately, the expertise needed by the researcher, or the desire to limit the scope of the study". However, beyond these there is nothing that precludes the researcher from using a combined quantitative/qualitative research design. Indeed, as Green et al. (1989) suggests there are good reasons for combining both methods².

In choosing a method(s) the researcher is guided by the nature of the question he/she is seeking to address (Jaeger 1988). In this case the researcher is not starting with a testable hypothesis with known variables. Rather, the study is attempting to shed light upon why an organization acted as it did within a certain setting as opposed to attempting to establish how it might of acted given a hypothetical situation. The study is trying to determine what factors are important in determining the actual activities of the organization. Given the nature of the questions posed the researcher has decided to employ a qualitative research methodology.

² These include: triangulation; complimentary of facets of a phenomenon; emergence of fresh perspectives; and increased breadth of study (Creswell 1994:175).

Rationale for Qualitative Design

The nature and focus of the research questions for the proposed study are consistent with a qualitative research design strategy (Creswell 1994). Recognizing the nature of the paradigm and underlying assumptions is important in choosing a methodology in that the research design should be in harmony with the nature of the inquiry (Guba and Lincoln 1988). The choice of a research design should then be based on a number of factors including the nature of the phenomena to be described; the maturity of the concept; constraints of the setting; and the researcher's ability and agenda (Morse and Field 1995).

For the purposes of this qualitative study, theory is generated from the systematic examination of data for patterns and relationships obtained from the research (Morse and Field 1995; Creswell 1994; Glasser and Strauss 1967). Conversely, quantitative studies are deductive in nature and the goal of the research is to test, rather than to develop theory (Creswell 1994:87). This study generates theory, it differs from a study in which deductions are derived from theory and are then subject to confirmation or rejection (Curry 1992). Morse and Field describe the differing relationships between quantitative research, qualitative research and theory in the following manner:

Quantitative researchers establish a theory identifying all constructs, concepts and hypotheses while preparing the proposal and before beginning data collection. These concepts are operationalized so that the hypothesis may be tested. Concerned with rigor and replication, the researcher ensures that the measurement instruments are reliable and valid (1995:11). [T]he

qualitative approach to understanding, explaining and developing theory is inductive. This means that hypothesis and theories emerge from the data set while the data collection is in progress and after data analysis has commenced (1995:10).

The study focuses on planning processes, more specifically, on the factors that influence public involvement in such processes. The types of variables that will be considered during the study are highly subjective and not easily quantifiable, for example corporate philosophy. The variables are also highly dependent upon context. The beliefs, attitudes and feelings of participants are important elements shaping the patterns and behaviors that emerge from the research (Hakim 1987). Because these factors are context specific, the phenomenon, in this case public involvement in planning, is better suited to a qualitative study. This does not imply that quantitative data play no role in the study, rarely are studies strictly limited to either quantitative or qualitative paradigms (Creswell 1994:4), but rather that it is secondary to the qualitative information.

Finally, given the small number of individuals involved in the organizational decision-making process, it is possible to conduct individual interviews. The use of individual interviews provides a "richness" of contextual data that would otherwise elude the researcher. Had the number of individuals involved been larger this may have provided an opportunity to collect quantitative information using a questionnaire or survey.

The constraints of the setting within which the study is being conducted should be recognized in choosing the research design. Specifically, the ability of the study participants to provide information in a format consistent with the study's methods should be considered (Morse and Field 1995). In other words the study has to recognize any limitations to communication, due to language or culture (O'Hair et al. 1995), that may

jeopardize the use of some tools. Given that the research area for this study is in northern Saskatchewan where both literacy and culture are issues of concern quantifiable questionnaires or surveys would not be appropriate tools.

Case Study

There are a number of different qualitative strategies or approaches that can be used including, ethnographies (Wallen and Fraenkel 1991), phenomenology (Omery 1983), grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and case studies (Merriam 1988; Yin 1989). Each approach is distinct and as such provides a different perspective on the phenomenon being studied (Morse and Field 1995). Hence the choice of strategy or approach should be in keeping with the research questions posed and the disciplinary field within which the research is positioned. On this basis alone a case study approach would be warranted given that it is frequently used in social science and business research³, as opposed, for example, to ethnography which is more commonly used in anthropology (Yin 1989; Creswell 1994).

The research employs a case study strategy that allows the researcher to explore the questions of "how" an organization incorporates participation into its decision-making, "why" it would choose to do so in the first place and "what" characteristics of the organization are important factors in making this decision. It also provides the researchers with a practical foundation on which to develop a model for "how", and under what circumstances, public involvement processes can be employed in

³ Case studies are a useful research tool in business because they provide insight into actual events, problems and decision-making gained from experience (Curry 1992). Case studies are often employed as a pedagogical method in business schools.

organizational decision-making and planning. When research questions conform to "how" and "why" types a case study approach is usually appropriate (Yin 1989). This is because these types of questions are indicative of an exploratory type of study the purpose of which is to investigate a process and to identify factors important to the process (Marshall and Rossman 1989). By investigating these questions within the context of contemporary organizations and their environments (such that the impacts and influences of complex, real events are preserved) the discussion is based in reality rather than theory (Yin 1989). As this research takes the form of a case study, and hence is an account of a particular event (Curry 1992), maintaining this integrity with respect to context or natural setting is important (Hakim 1987).

Case Study Selection

In order to explore the research questions, a case study was selected to examine a private firm which had undertaken some form of public involvement in its planning or decision-making processes.

The case study chosen focuses on the four companies comprising the entire forestry sector in Saskatchewan. All four of these forestry companies were required, within approximately three years of each other, to prepare twenty-year forest management plans in order to obtain operating licences from the Saskatchewan government. Furthermore, the government stipulated, in the Project Specific Guidelines, that each company had to involve the public in the development of these plans. This provided an ideal opportunity to study how these companies approached public participation and to explore the factors influencing their respective processes. As well, because the

government stipulated the use of public involvement but did not dictate a method to conduct consultations, the opportunity existed to develop an evaluation model against which to test the public involvement process adopted by each of the companies.

Aside from the common regulatory and resource environment in which these companies operate, there are other aspects of this case that make it attractive. For example, these companies operate within the same geographic region (the boreal forest of northern Saskatchewan) and in communities with similar demographic characteristics. This restricts the number of exogenous variables that need to be considered in analyzing the respective planning processes. In this way, the participation processes are not grounded in different cultural or demographic realities. Nor is one company subject to a different regulatory environment or to different market conditions. All the companies produce wood products from the same resource base. Different processes of public participation are due to differences found within the respective organizations and are not due to significantly different external forces.

Data Collection

Data required for this study was collected using a number of different techniques and sources in order to find a convergence of the information among them which provides a means of verifying and obtaining accurate information (Creswell 1994; Gormley 1987). The two principal sources were personal interviews and document (public and private) review. Although some direct observation of process was undertaken this was not a major source of information. In keeping with principles of qualitative research, in all

cases the participants and documents were purposefully, not randomly, selected (Creswell 1994).

Interviews

This research explores the public involvement processes of four forestry companies in Saskatchewan. The public participation was undertaken as a condition of their operating licence in the province.

Initially the researcher sought to interview individuals directly involved in the respective corporation's planning process. The individuals with first hand knowledge of the companies' participation processes include employees of the forestry companies, employees of the regulatory agency (Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management) and members of the participating public. However, given the nature of the interview approaches, which used a snowball technique, other individuals having an interest, or a role, in the participation processes surfaced during the initial review stage. At the conclusion of the fieldwork, interviews had been conducted with employees (contract and full-time) in each of the forestry companies, participants (general public and interest group representatives), and government officials from various departments.

Interviews conducted by the researcher, including dates and location, are listed in Appendix One. Individuals employed by the forestry companies are identified by occupation, as are those affiliated with other organizations⁴. Members of the public involved in the participation processes as individuals, or those who did not wish to be identifiable within the context

⁴ NorSask Ltd., Weyerhaeuser Canada, SaskFor MacMillan Limited Partnership and L&M LTD.

of the study are identified in general terms to respect their requests for anonymity⁶. In total 40 individuals were interviewed. Of these 40, 14 were employees of the forestry companies⁷, five were representatives of Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management, 20 were members of local communities⁵ and one was a representative of a provincial environmental group. Interviews with each of the forestry employees were, at a minimum, one-half day in duration. Other interviews were between two to three hours in length. Not included in these numbers are other individuals with whom the researcher conducted informal discussions.

The interviews used an unstructured format (Fontana and Frey 1994) which provides enough background to allow for semi-structured interview questions to be asked at a later date (Morse and Field 1995). In the interviews, the participants were encouraged to relate their own perceptions and experiences with respect to public participation in forest management planning. This gave the participants control over the interview by not leading them or asking them to make response choices that did not coincide with their experiences (Davis 1992). Although the interviews were unstructured, the researcher had a list of topics and associated "loosely worded" questions (see Appendix Two) to be covered during the interviews. Periodically during lulls in the interview the researcher would scan these questions to see how many had been addressed. If a specific topic had not been touched upon the researcher would ask a "what do you think?" type of question in hope of spurring conversation in a certain direction.

⁵ For example: employees of Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management, or large environmental groups.

⁶ As per agreement with the Office of Human Research.

⁷ Full-time employees of Mistik, Weyerhaeuser and SaskFor MacMillan were interviewed. A part-time employee of L&M was interviewed.

Interview notes were made by the researcher during each of the interviews and were then transcribed. In order to avoid unease about being "recorded" interviews were not taped⁹.

In addition to interviews conducted personally, the researcher had access to interview data collected by another research team working concurrently in the area (Beckely and Korber - University of Alberta). It was agreed upon at the outset of the study that because both teams would be interested in interviewing some of the same people that the information obtained would be exchanged. This reduced inconvenience and confusion for interviewees. These researchers interviewed interested parties involved in Mistik's co-management board process in the communities of Beauval, Waterhen and Green Lake. Of particular interest to this researcher's study were the communities of Beauval and Green Lake because they straddle the forest licence areas for Mistik and Weyerhaeuser. These respondents were then in a position to provide useful insight into the difference between the participation process of Mistik and that of Weyerhaeuser.

The bulk of the interviews were conducted with Mistik because it is the company of principal interest to this study. Conversely, L&M, because of its relatively small size, was not researched in the same depth.

Observation

⁸ The interviewees came from three communities, Beauval, Green Lake and the Divide Forest. Beauval and Green Lake are on the border of the NorSask and Weyerhaeuser forest management areas.

⁹ The use of transcribed, as opposed to tape-recorded, documentation is an acceptable method of documenting interviews. "[I]nformation may be obtained in verbal form and therefore has to be recorded by the interviewer. Sometimes it may be acceptable to use a small tape recorder for this purpose. However, many persons feel inhibited knowing that they are being recorded. In addition, recording is not generally a reliable means of communicating figures whose meaning is affected by the way they are laid out as much as by the numbers themselves" (Curry 1992:135).

On occasion, the researcher was able to act as an observer, although not a participant observer (Morse and Field 1995; Jorgenson 1989), at planning workshops held by a forestry company. At no time was there any confusion with respect to the researcher's role, in other words although the observer conversed with participants during breaks or other social periods there was no misconception about the observer being a participant (Babbie 1992). This provided the researcher with exposure to how the public and the companies interacted in a real planning session, giving increased texture to their perceptions of such interactions.

Document Review

In addition to the information obtained through interviews, the researcher reviewed a substantial number of documents, public and private, which directly related to the planning processes being studied. Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management (SERM), the department that oversees the planning and environmental assessment processes for the province, stores all documents and correspondence (formal and informal) received or generated by the department or any government official, pertaining to the licensing process for the forestry companies in Saskatchewan. Following normal protocol, the files were vetted for sensitive, non-public information before the researcher was given access to them. As a result, all information obtained was considered to be in the public domain. These files were a rich source of information and insight.

In addition to the public documents, the companies provided the researcher with information that had been distributed or produced during the course of the planning process. Any private information provided by the companies was volunteered.

Other documents reviewed included newspaper articles, transcripts of radio and TV interviews and stories and other government information relevant to the study. In addition to the primary sources noted above, secondary data, in the form of published statistical information, are also presented in this study.

Data Analysis

The first step in the data analysis was to review the stories told by the interviewees. In order to understand the planning processes for each of the forestry companies, it was necessary to first reconstruct these processes, incorporating the narratives from the interviews with the documented chronology of events to tell the stories of how the processes began and what activities took place along the way. It was only after the stories were completed that it became possible to move to the formal analysis. When confronted with the large quantity of information gathered through the interviews and other data gathering stages, the process of data analysis can seem quite over whelming (Patton 1980). How does one make sense of this plethora of information? The dominant strategy used in analyzing the data obtained from the interviews conducted for this research was one of "categorization". In order to make sense of the data, a content analysis of each of the interviews was conducted and the responses were grouped into "like" categories or themes (Morse and Field 1995; Creswell 1994). Following Tesch's (1990) steps, the researcher reviewed the transcripts of the interviews and developed clusters of responses¹⁰.

¹⁰ These clustered responses are summarized in tabular form at the end of Chapter Six.

By comparing the planning processes of the four companies it was possible to map their respective decisions. In so doing it became possible to see where there were similarities and differences, enhanced with participant's observations and descriptions, and to document emerging patterns. Once this took place, it was possible to review information already obtained or to go back and seek further clarification from participants in order to construct explanations for the existence of these similarities and differences. This simultaneous data collection and interpretation is consistent with qualitative research (Creswell 1994). This is because, as Curry points out, "it is the nature of case study analysis that the main events and reasons emerge as the detail is accumulated" (1992:126). However, the details may not emerge in a sequential manner. As well, relevant information may be obtained "unexpectedly" (Curry 1992). This new information may then require the researcher to re-interpret the findings to date and may, as a result, necessitate further data collection.

While information on the respective planning processes of each of the companies is important, the primary focus of this study is on the public participation activities of Mistik Management¹¹. This is because Mistik was the first company to undertake the development of a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan under the requirements of the Environmental Assessment Act. It was also the first company to submit such a plan for approval. Because of this, those other forestry companies did not influence Mistik's choice of activities or processes. In other words, Mistik did not have either the benefit or disadvantage of observing another company's process.

¹¹ Mistik is responsible for managing the NorSask forest on behalf of NorSask Ltd. The relationship between Mistik and NorSask will be more fully discussed in subsequent chapters.

Moreover, quite apart from the fact that Mistik was the "guinea pig" for a regulatory process, and long before the company had submitted its Plan for approval, Mistik was being perceived as a trailblazer for other reasons. Specifically, it was Mistik's novel approach to public involvement that was generating attention. This uniqueness drew the researcher to Mistik and, upon closer examination, ultimately provided the central focus for this study.

Significance of the Study

A study of how organizations extend the boundaries of the corporation to involve the public in planning processes and whether those process are truly participatory in nature is important for a number of reasons. First, it fills a gap in the scholarly literature on strategic planning, demonstrating how involving the public can reduce some of the risks and uncertainty businesses face. It also begins to explore the overlapping spheres of influence that exist when private companies undertake roles and responsibilities traditionally seen as the purview of governments or other public entities.

This study contributes to planning practice by making planners in both public and private organizations aware of the factors that influence public involvement processes. This, in addition to establishing a framework for evaluating public participation processes to establish their validity, will place practitioners in a position to design more effective processes.

If the trend of government down loading responsibly for resource management to private organizations continues, there needs to be a clear set of

guidelines or policies regarding the organization's ability to comply. This study will assist in this regard by providing a framework for government policy in monitoring public participation processes.

Limitations of the Study

In general, by their very nature, all case studies are limited, by the bounds of time and place (Curry 1992). The contextual parameters of every case study are specific and therefore, as noted above, do not generate theories that are "re-creatable" or testable although they do provide valuable insights. The following paragraph indicates some of the specific limitations of this particular study are as follows.

The potential scope of the study is quite broad. This results from the nature of an investigation into the incorporation of the public into corporate planning processes. In order to narrow this potentially vast and unwieldy field to something manageable, this study will confine itself to resource based corporations. Specifically, the case study focuses on forestry companies operating under government licence within the province of Saskatchewan.

By limiting the study to this industry a number of factors can be held constant, for example, the regulatory regime under which the companies operate, the type of resource they harvest, the ecological and demographic systems within which they function. While this is an advantage, it does limit the study to companies that were given no other option than to engage in a public involvement process. Because of this, the study may not be

generalizable to companies where public participation initiatives were pursued strictly due to pressures internal to the organization.

Despite the fact that the companies did not have any choice with respect to choosing to involve, or not involve, the public, it is possible to identify differing levels of enthusiasm in the manner in which they carried out this required activity. Identifying the differing levels of involvement and the different methods or techniques of public involvement will help achieve this objective.

Finally, the study area is located in northern Saskatchewan where many of the residents are of aboriginal descent. This cultural context may create the need for different participation processes that may not be applicable to other areas of the province where the dominant culture is of European descent.

Thesis Structure

This thesis details public involvement in forest management planning in Saskatchewan. Chapter Three introduces the players in the Saskatchewan forestry sector and discusses the regulatory environment of the province as it pertains to forestry. In addition, it provides a sketch of the history of the forestry sector.

Chapter Four provides an account of the planning processes employed by Weyerhaeuser, L&M and Saskfor MacMillan to develop their Twenty-year Forest Management Plans. Chapter Five offers a detailed account of Mistik Management's planning process, with particular attention to public

involvement. Both of the preceding chapters outline the history of the processes in each of the four companies, the sequence of events and the major players involved. Chapter Six summarizes the results of the interview process with respect to Mistik.

Chapter Seven evaluates, against the model for communication developed in Chapter One, the participation processes in terms of their respective approach to public involvement. Following the analysis of the respective processes, Chapter Eight proceeds to outline what lessons can be learned from the experiences of each of the companies with special emphasis on how these lessons may be applied to management practices in organizations and to the formation of public policy.

CHAPTER THREE BACKGROUND ON THE SASKATCHEWAN FORESTRY SECTOR

The Legislative Framework

Approximately 55% of Saskatchewan's land area is comprised of boreal¹ and coniferous forest (Figure 3.1). This represents just a small portion of a forest which, stretching across Russia, Scandinavia, and northern North America, makes up a quarter of the world's forests. In Saskatchewan this "band of forest" includes hardwood and softwood species, most notably: aspen, jack pine, white and black spruce (Weyerhaeuser 1997b: 13). This forestry resource represents a significant component of the Saskatchewan economy. Forestry products directly (i.e. excluding spin off effects) accounted for \$44,000,000 in a total export base of \$799,400,000 in 1996². Clearly, the government and the people of Saskatchewan have an interest in the management of this resource.

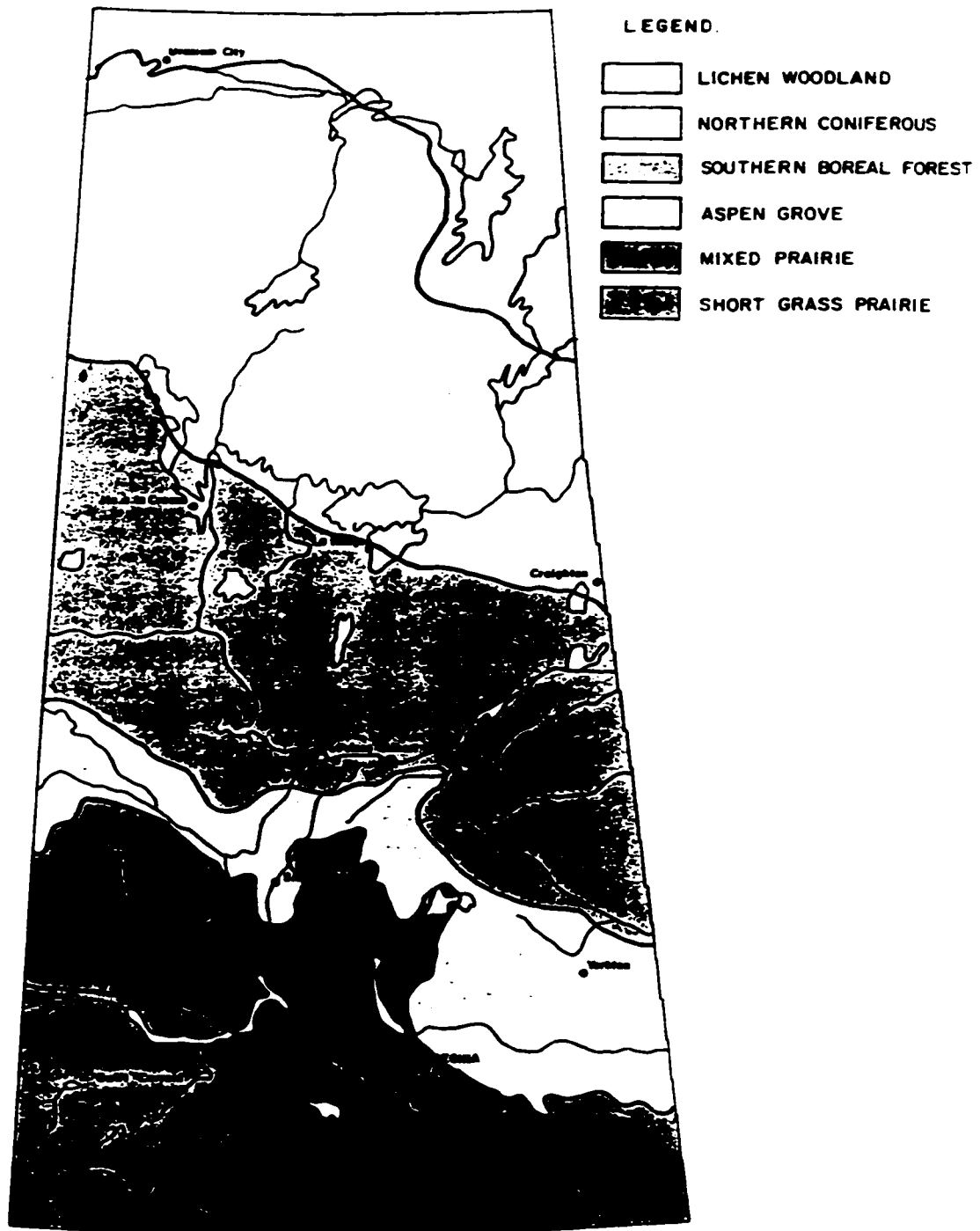
While there are numerous provincial acts and regulations governing forestry operations in Saskatchewan³, this study focuses on the requirements of the Forest Management Licence Agreement and on *The Forest Act* and regulations

¹ Saskatchewan's industrial forest activities take place primarily in the boreal forest zone.

² Government of Saskatchewan Monthly Statistical Review, August 1997, Volume 22, Number 9.

³ The acts, regulations and guidelines relevant to forestry operations in Saskatchewan include the following: *The Forest Management Licence Agreement*; *The Forest Act* and regulations; *The Crown Minerals Act* and regulations; *The Provincial Lands Act* and regulations; *The Heritage Property Act* and regulations; *The Fisheries Act* and regulations; *The Prairie and Forest Fire Act*; *Integrated Forest/Wildlife Management Parameters* (1993); *Guidelines for Protection of Fish Habitat During Forest Operations* (1985); *Guidelines for Environmental Protection During Road Construction* (1993); *Guidelines for Environmental Protection During Development and Restoration of Sand and Gravel Pits*.

Figure 3.1 Saskatchewan Vegetation Zones



Source: Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Renewable Resources, *Forest Conservation in Saskatchewan* (1975:2)

The Government of Saskatchewan requires each holder of a Forest Management Licence Agreement (FMLA) to produce a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan. These plans indicate how the licence holder intends to maintain the forest's long-run sustainable yield. The FMLA gives a commercial user harvesting rights for a 20-year period and with those rights also comes the responsibility to manage the resource. After five years there is a review of the company's performance with a subsequent five-year licence extension period if performance is acceptable. At the end of this ten-year period, the company is required to produce another Twenty-year Forest Management Plan.

In addition to the formal five and ten year reviews, the licence agreement requires the company to submit, before December 1, an Annual Operating Plan. The Annual Operating Plan performs two functions. It reports on the preceding year's operations, and specifies, in detail, the next operating year's harvesting sites and methods. In Saskatchewan, all companies holding Forest Management Licence Agreements must adhere to this process.

Currently there are four forest management licence areas in Saskatchewan, three of which host existing licence holders (NorSask, Weyerhaeuser and L & M). Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership has applied for the fourth licence. If granted Saskfor MacMillan would conduct its operations in the Pasquia-Porcupine forest area. Each of these licence holders, or potential holders, has either recently completed, or is in the process of completing, a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan for its respective licence area.

The government, subsequent to the last submission by these companies, has determined that Twenty-year Forest Management Plans are developments⁴ as defined by *The Environmental Assessment Act* and hence are subject to environmental review. This represents a fundamental change in the planning process for each of the licence holders in that now each company must prepare and submit an Environmental Impact Statement in conjunction with their management plan. Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management⁵ (SERM) issued each company a set of Project Specific Guidelines⁶ directing the development of their Environmental Impact Statements. Although the actual Guidelines vary slightly between companies they are consistent with respect to two important issues. The first is that the companies must use an Integrated Resource Management approach to developing their respective plans and second, in order to fulfill the first requirement, the companies must involve the public in the planning process.

It is the latter process that is the focus of this study. As an introduction to the detailed summaries of each company's planning activities in the development of their 20-year management plans, this chapter provides some background on each of the forestry companies utilized in the case study and the characteristics of their licence areas.

⁴ Under the terms of *The Environmental Assessment Act*, a development is: any project, operation or activity or any alteration or expansion of any project, operation or activity which is likely to:

- have an effect on any unique, rare or endangered feature of the environment;
- substantially use any provincial resource and in so doing pre-empt the use, or potential use, of that resource for any other purposes;
- cause the emission of any pollutants or create byproducts, residual or waste products which require handling and disposal in a manner that is not regulated by another Act or regulation;
- cause widespread public concern because of the potential environmental changes involve a new technology that is concerned with resource use and that may induce significant environmental change;
- or have a significant impact on the environment or necessitate a further development which is likely to have a significant impact on the environment.

⁵ Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management is the provincial government department responsible for administering *The Environmental Assessment Act*.

⁶ As an example of these guidelines, a copy of the Project Specific Guidelines issued to NorSask Forest Products Inc. is provided in Appendix 3.

The Forestry Companies

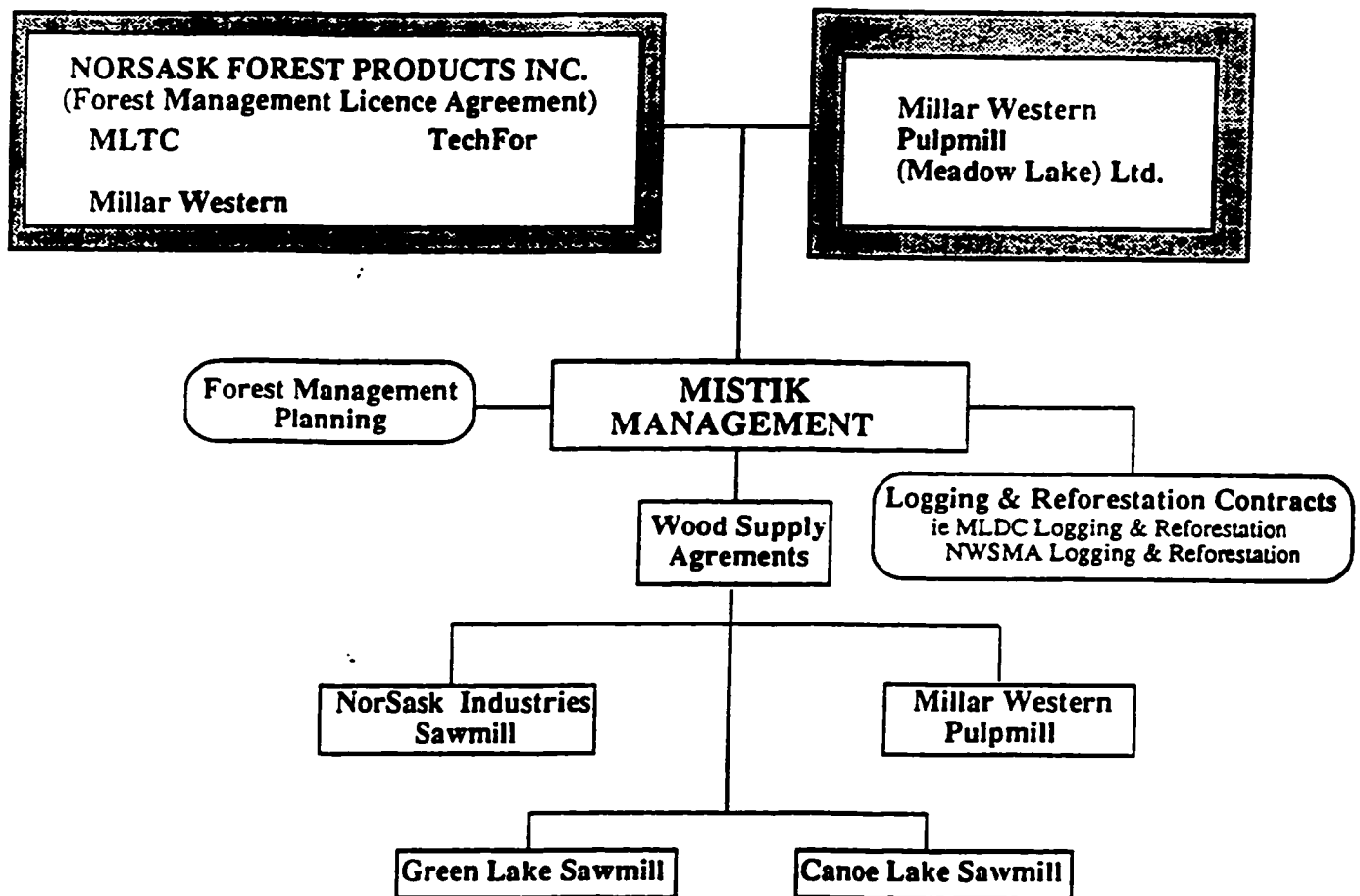
NorSask Forest Products (Mistik Management)

A sawmill has operated in Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan since 1964. In 1988, an employee group (TechFor) and the Meadow Lake District Chiefs purchased the then Meadow Lake Sawmill. As a result of this purchase, NorSask Forest Products (NorSask) was born. NorSask immediately began the process of securing the rights to harvest timber in the northwestern portion of the province and applied for a Forest Management Licence Agreement (FMLA). This licence was ultimately granted in 1988.

NorSask is currently jointly owned by its employees (40%), the Meadow Lake Tribal Council⁷ (40%) and Millar Western Pulp Ltd. (20%). Millar Western plays an important role in the management of the NorSask FMLA in that although NorSask is the licence holder, the companies share the timber resources of the area. NorSask uses the harvested softwood while Millar uses the hardwood. In order to manage this common resource, Millar and NorSask created Mistik Management Ltd. Therefore, as illustrated in Figure 3.2, both the pulp and saw mills at Meadow Lake are partners in Mistik Management, a company whose mission is to "care for the land and serve the people" (Mistik 1996a:i). As indicated in Figure 3.2, Mistik Management is responsible for conducting the forest management planning on behalf of NorSask and Millar Western. Therefore, although the forest management licence is granted to NorSask, further references to the planning process will refer to Mistik as the proponent.

Figure 3.2 Organizational Structure of Forest Industries
And Lands Associated with the NorSask FMLA

**ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF FOREST INDUSTRIES AND LANDS
ASSOCIATED WITH THE NORSASK FOREST PRODUCTS INC. FMLA**



Source: *The NorSask Forest Management Project* (1995) Vol VII (Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan).

⁷ The Meadow Lake Tribal Council is an umbrella organization, which delivers services and administers programs

NorSask is very much a "community" enterprise with 80% of its ownership residing in the geographic boundaries of the licence area. It is also a company whose owners are representative of the demography of the region. Millar Western, a family-owned business, also has a long history in this part of Saskatchewan. This business started in 1906 with a homestead and blacksmith shop in North Battleford, which eventually evolved into Millar Western. Presently, Millar Western has forest product, construction and chemical operations in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

The NorSask Forest covers approximately 3.3 million hectares of the crown boreal forest in the northwestern portion of Saskatchewan (Mistik 1996a:i). Of this total area, 1.5 million hectares, the Turnor Lake Reserve Timber Supply Area, is set aside leaving 1.8 million hectares of forest for potential harvest (Mistik 1995 Vol I:3). The timber supply areas of the NorSask Forest are shown in Figure 3.3.

The forestry industry in this area of Saskatchewan employs approximately 430 individuals. This includes 240 jobs in harvesting operations and 190 jobs in commercial production and marketing (Mistik News Vol 1, No 1). This number does not include any seasonal job opportunities (i.e. silviculture) or spin-off employment in service or support industries. In total, the activities of the forestry industry in the NorSask Forest are estimated to provide close to \$300 million in annual revenues to the provincial economy (Mistik 1995 Vol IX). Other non-timber activities (i.e. hunting, tourism) in the NorSask Forest are estimated to generate \$36 million in annual revenues (Mistik 1995 Vol VI).

on behalf of Northwestern Saskatchewan's nine First Nations.

The demographics of the northwestern region of the province are characteristic of most of northern Saskatchewan. The area has a relatively sparse population, comprised of diverse ethnic origins and including a large aboriginal population. Of the communities in the area, Meadow Lake, with a population of 4,318⁸, is the largest and most diverse with 655 residents indicating a single ethnic origin of aboriginal descent⁹. The next largest community is La Loche with a population of 1,691, 1,145 residents who identify themselves as being solely of aboriginal decent. In total, two thirds of the population of the NorSask Forest is of aboriginal decent (Mistik 1995 Vol I).

The employment picture in this part of Saskatchewan is grim, especially for the northern most communities where unemployment rates can run as high as 40%. For example, LaLoche has an unemployment rate (both sexes) of 33.3%, in nearby Jans Bay the rate is 44.4%. Even Meadow Lake, which is further south and has a higher non-aboriginal population, has an unemployment rate of 12.9%.

Weyerhaeuser Canada Limited

Weyerhaeuser Canada Ltd. is a subsidiary of Weyerhaeuser Company of Tacoma, Washington, one of North America's largest forest product companies. It is the second largest forest products company in Western Canada. Weyerhaeuser has operations in three provinces: British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. The company produces a range of pulp, paper, lumber and other

⁸ All demographic information quoted in this Chapter, unless otherwise indicated, is based on information from the 1991 Census and was obtained from Statistics Canada – Cat. No. 95-366). This includes information on community population, ethnic origins, language and unemployment rates.

⁹ In this area of Saskatchewan the two dominant aboriginal groups are Cree and Dene. In addition to those who identify with the Dene and Cree there is a large Metis community. Metis individuals are generally identified as aboriginal but of having multiple ethnic origin.

products for both domestic and international markets (Weyerhaeuser Overview Document). Weyerhaeuser began operations in Saskatchewan in 1986 when it purchased the Prince Albert Pulp mill and Big River sawmill from the Government of Saskatchewan. Upon acquisition of the Prince Albert Pulp Mill, Weyerhaeuser committed to building a new fine paper mill, the construction of which was completed in 1988.

To provide Weyerhaeuser with access to a secure long-term source of wood fibre for the above mills, the Government of Saskatchewan granted the company a FMLA for an area of public forest in the north-central portion of the province. The FMLA, as shown in Figure 3.3, is comprised of 5 million hectares or 14% of Saskatchewan's portion of the world's boreal forest. Of this total area, 3.4 million acres is considered as the Core, or main timber supply area. The balance, 1.6 million acres, is divided into two Reserve Timber Supply areas which are intended for use only in the case of future expansion or catastrophic losses to the Core area supply (Weyerhaeuser 1997b:14). The management of Weyerhaeuser's licence area is handled by Timberlands, a subsidiary of Weyerhaeuser.

The forestry and manufacturing operations of Weyerhaeuser in the Prince Albert/Big River areas provide 2095 full-time and seasonal jobs. Of these, 1,268 are in the Prince Albert area, 441 in Big River, 182 in First Nations communities and 204 in other parts of the FMLA (Weyerhaeuser 1997b:i).

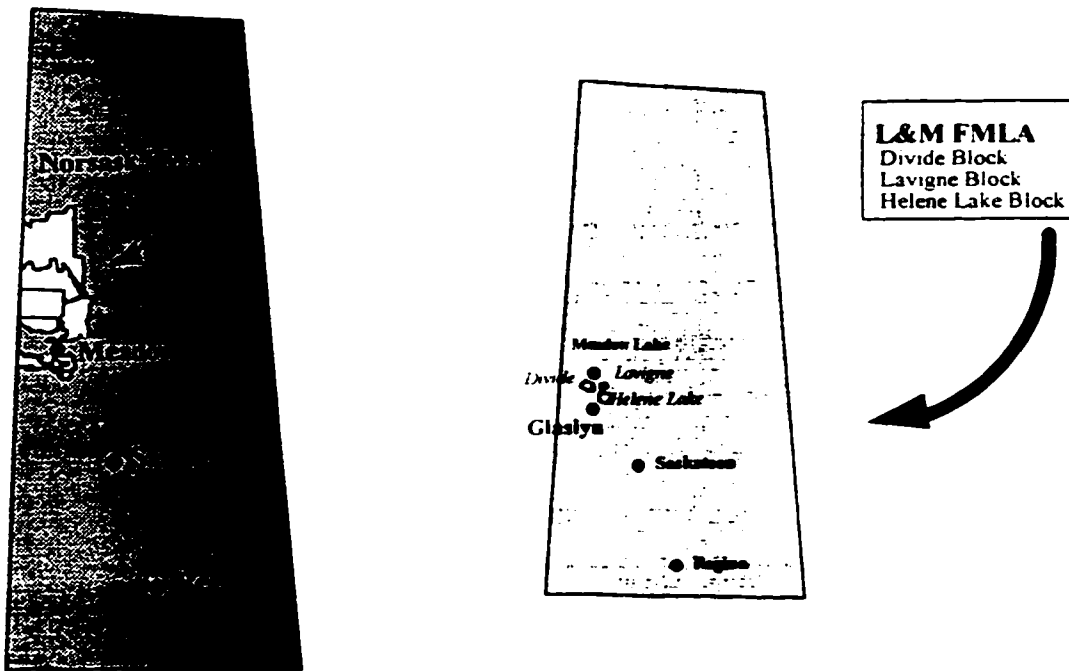
The demographics for the Weyerhaeuser FMLA are also representative of those found across northern Saskatchewan. Big River, a community in the southern portion of the FMLA, has a population of 809, 25 whom identify themselves as being of aboriginal descent. LaRonge, which lies further north, has a population of 2,578, 840 of aboriginal origin. Montreal Lake has population

of 450, 440 residents being aboriginal. In Montreal Lake the unemployment rate is 45.8%, a rate that is consistent with that found in aboriginal communities in the NorSask FMLA.

L&M Wood Products Limited

L&M Wood Products Ltd. is the smallest industrial forestry company in Saskatchewan to hold a Forest Management Licence Agreement. Located in Glaslyn, in the west central part of Saskatchewan, L&M holds the FMLA for a 70,000-hectare portion of the Divide Forest.

Figure 3.4 The L&M FMLA in Relation to the NorSask FMLA



Sources: *The NorSask Forest Management Project (1995) Vol II (Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan)* and *The L&M Forest Management Project (1998) Vol I (Glaslyn, Saskatchewan)*.

L&M's FMLA is enveloped by that of NorSask's FMLA as seen in Figure 3.4. Of the 70,000 hectars of L&M's FMLA, approximately 56,000 hectars is considered to be productive forestland (L&M 1997 Exec. Summary).

Although L&M is a privately held company, it runs a community mill that provides jobs for 50 area residents. As well, reforestation activities provide another 15 seasonal jobs (L&M 1997:4-1). While this activity is important to the immediate community, the company's relative size makes L&M a very minor player in the forestry sector. As well, because of the FMLA's small geographic area, the population identifying with the L&M FMLA is also very small. The largest settlements are Glaslyn with a population of 435, and the Thunderchild Reserve, with population of 460.

Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership

The Pasquia-Porcupine area in the northeastern part of Saskatchewan is the only area that currently does not have an existing Forest Management Licence Agreement for the harvesting of wood fibre resources. However, a proposal to grant such a licence to Saskfor MacMillan Ltd. Partnership (Saskfor) is presently under consideration by the government. The fact that an existing licence does not exist does not mean that forestry operations are not taking place in this area. In fact, quite the opposite is true.

The history of logging in the Pasquia-Porcupine Forest begins in 1903 with the construction of a sawmill on Red Deer Lake by the Red Deer Lumber Company (Saskfor 1996). Large scale development of the area's forest resources continued through the succeeding decades with rapid development taking place in the 1960s and 1970s (SERM 1994). At that time, the biggest

companies in the area were MacMillan Bloedel and the Saskatchewan Forest Products Corporation, which was a provincial Crown Corporation.

MacMillan Bloedel has, since 1964, operated a waferboard facility in Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan under the terms of an FMLA signed in 1968. That licence agreement expired in June of 1994 (SERM 1994:12). Saskatchewan Forest Products Corporation (SFPC) has been operating a plywood plant in Hudson Bay and a sawmill in Carrot River since 1975. In both cases the wood supply for each of these facilities was obtained through annual permits (SERM 1994:12).

In May 1995, MacMillan Bloedel and Saskatchewan Forest Products Corporation amalgamated to form Saskfor MacMillan Products Limited Partnership (Saskfor 1995). This makes Saskfor the only company in which the Government of Saskatchewan has an equal ownership interest¹⁰. This new company employs, at the three facilities cited above, approximately 375 people on a full time basis (Saskfor 1995).

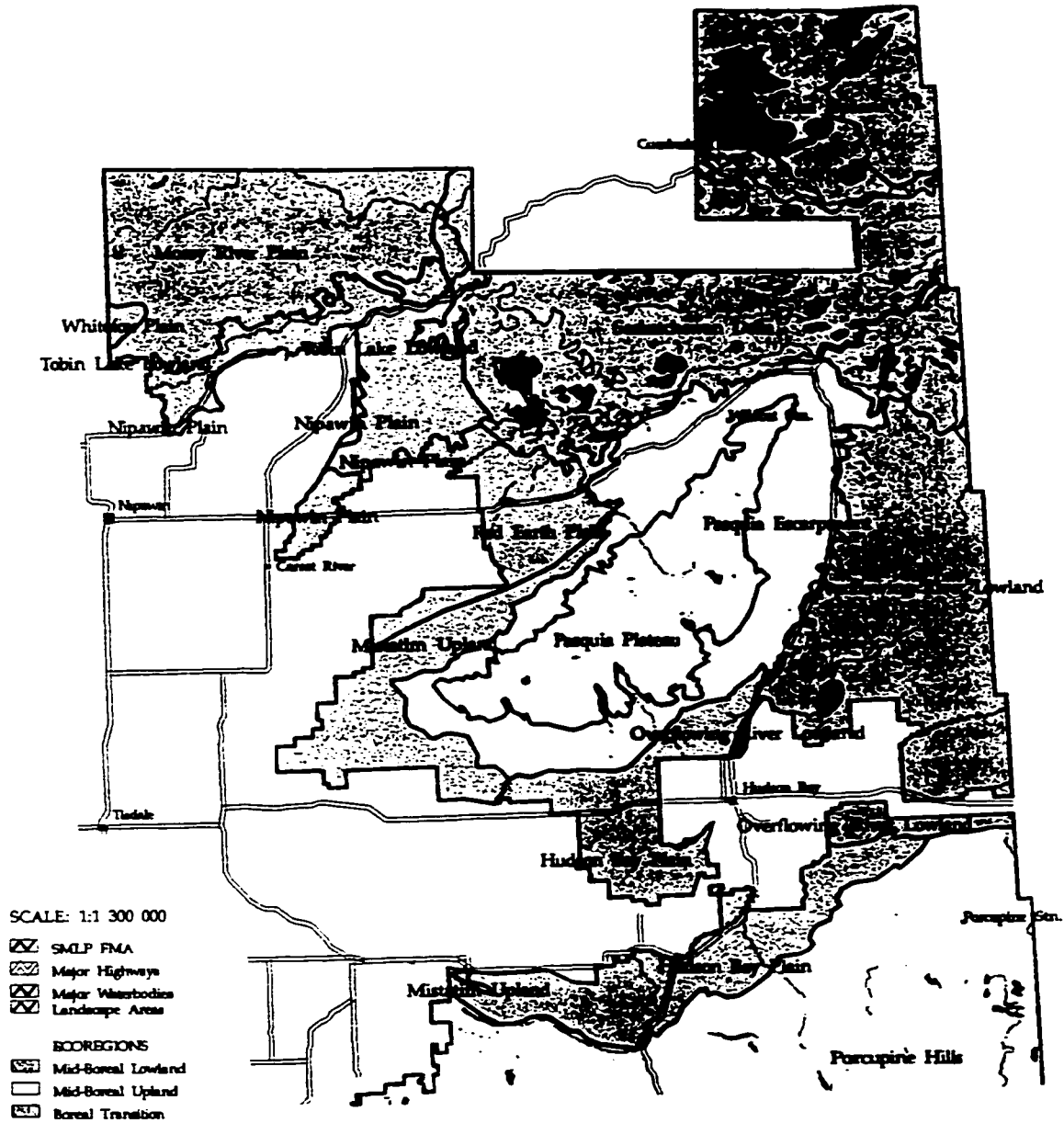
It is this partnership, Saskfor MacMillan, which is currently seeking a FMLA for the Pasquia-Porcupine Forest as illustrated in Figure 3.5. The area in question covers about 19,879 square kilometers of boreal forest (SERM 1994:3), and includes both the Hudson Bay and Cumberland House Supply Areas.

Aside from L & M, Saskfor has the smallest population base within its proposed FMLA. The largest centre is Hudson Bay, which has a population of 1,868 in the town itself and another 1,889 in the rural municipality. As with the other FMLAs there are a number of First Nations communities in the

¹⁰ Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership is a 50/50 partnership between the Crown Investments Corporation (CIC) and MacMillan Bloedel Limited. CIC has an interest, 49 per cent. in the Meadow Lake Pulp Limited Partnership with Millar Western holding the remaining 51 per cent.

area, most notably the Red Earth and Shoal Lake reserves and the community of Cumberland House.

Figure 3.5 Proposed FMLA for the Pasquia-Porcupine Forest



Source: The Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership Forest Management Plan (Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan).

Summary

Each of the companies discussed above must adhere to the requirement, under the laws of the province of Saskatchewan, to submit a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement in order to retain or, in the case of Saskfor, obtain a Forest Management Licence Agreement. Although the terms of the *Project Specific Guidelines* require a component of public participation in the development of the 20-year management plans, legislating or mandating public involvement does not ensure that the skills and techniques required to consult the public exist within each of the companies (Boaden et al 1980). In addition to the requirement to involve the public in their respective planning processes, the four forestry companies are similar in that they operate in contiguous portions of the northern boreal forest characterized by similar demographic patterns.

Table 3.1 Demographic and Linguistic Characteristics of Several Representative Communities

	Hudson Bay	Red Earth	Montreal Lake	LaRonge	Meadow Lake	Buffalo Narrows	Glaslyn	New Thunder Child
Population	1,868	430	450	2,578	4,318	1,060	435	460
Knowledge of Neither Official Languages	0	40	10	20	30	10	0	10
Cree Home Language	0	420	165	160	40	35	30	165
Single Ethnic Origin Aboriginal	35	430	440	870	655	725	40	400

Source: Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 95-366

To illustrate this point, Table 3.1 provides an overview of the demographic and linguistic characteristics of several representative communities within the study area. What these companies do not share is a common history either as corporate entities or with the communities in which they reside. Nor do they possess the same ownership structures. In these regards the companies are different.

The following chapter will examine how these similarities and differences influence the public participation programs of each of the companies.

CHAPTER FOUR
PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT
IN WEYERHAEUSER, L&M AND SASKFOR MacMILLAN

The following chapter outlines the public participation processes for Weyerhaeuser, L&M and Saskfor MacMillan. These four companies are at various stages in developing their twenty-year plans and environmental impact statements. As the company that serves as the primary focus of this research is Mistik Management, the following chapter provides a comprehensive summary of Mistik's planning process. Mistik's process is reviewed separately from the other three companies for two reasons. As Mistik was the first forestry company to have its licence come up for review, it was the first company subject to evaluation under *The Environmental Assessment Act*. Subsequently, it was then the first company to submit, and have approved, its Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and EIS. The second reason is that Mistik's planning process, as it involved the public, is significantly different than that of the three other companies¹ to the point where preliminary analysis suggested that Mistik's process warranted individual, in-depth analysis.

This chapter details the planning processes of the three companies other than Mistik. These detail serve as the foundation upon which to build a model to explain what caused the variations in planning processes among the companies.

¹ These differences will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Weyerhaeuser

Like NorSask, Weyerhaeuser is obligated to submit a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan at ten-year intervals. Given the status of its current licence this would require the company to submit a new plan in 1999. However, unlike NorSask, Weyerhaeuser was considering an expansion to their operations. In order to determine the economic feasibility of such an expansion, Weyerhaeuser would have to determine the sustainable forest harvest level for its FMLA. As this would necessitate the completion of the same analysis for the EIS required under the new Saskatchewan and Resource Management (SERM) Guidelines for the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan the company decided to prepare and submit its Twenty-year Forest Management Plan in advance of the 1999 due date.

As was the case with Mistik, SERM's Project Specific Guidelines outlined a number of requirements to include in the EIS of the Twenty-year Plan. These requirements included: the sustainable management of all resources; the use of an integrated resource management approach; and the demonstration that biodiversity and ecosystem processes are maintained (Weyerhaeuser 1996a). As well, the company was required to contain an element of public consultation throughout the process of developing the plan. Although the company was compelled to involve the public in its planning activities, a corporate recognition that such activities would become fundamental to its operations already existed.

In a 1995 speech², George Weyerhaeuser jr. recognized that public values had changed and that there was a need for the company to engage in more

² The speech was delivered at the Pacific Paper '95 Conference on October 16 in Vancouver, B.C.

voluntary approaches to improve environmental performance. This appears to signal that Weyerhaeuser, at the corporate level, recognized the need to change its operations within its current operating environment. The tangible benefits of this desired change may be more visible in the company's Canadian operations than in other jurisdictions³. This may be attributed to the practical need to demonstrate an environmental commitment in Canada as Weyerhaeuser does not, as in the United States, conduct its operations on private forestry lands but on crown land. As one participant⁴ in Weyerhaeuser's planning process expressed it, "Weyerhaeuser had been beat up in the States and didn't want to get into an adversarial position, it wanted a new beginning in the province, and to do things right".

While Weyerhaeuser does not have a vision statement printed on the reverse of the corporate business cards, as companies so often do, there are a number of statements made in various recent publications that put a public face on their corporate philosophy. For example, the back cover of the management plan discussion paper (Weyerhaeuser 1997b) is comprised of the following statement:

At Weyerhaeuser Canada, we are committed to being industry leaders in stewardship of public forestland. We continuously improve our management practices to sustain environmental quality and enhance the economic value of forests entrusted to us.

We accomplish this by practicing sustainable forestry and integrated resource management based on sound science and proven technology. We work diligently with government agencies and regulatory bodies to improve laws and regulations in a way that enhanced our ability to manage all resource values in our care. We meet or surpass all requirements and guidelines set by government agencies. We respect the social considerations that accompany the right to harvest public

³ See criticisms of corporate practices in the United States in Paul Roberts (1997) "The Federal Chain-saw Massacre" in *Harper's Magazine* (June 1997:37-51).

⁴ The individual quoted participated in the workshops, fieldtrips and presentation of the company's draft management plan as a representative of a provincial wildlife association. The interview was conducted on July 4, 1997.

forests. And we actively listen to and consider public expectations in preparing forest management plans.

We manage public forestlands for the sustainable production of timber and other resource values.

The front cover of the 1997-98 annual Operating Plan contains a more descriptive statement concerning the role of the public in Weyerhaeuser's planning process. It states:

The health of Saskatchewan's forest ecosystem - with its diverse plant and animal life and its many lakes, rivers and streams - is vitally important to all of us. It's more than a supply of timber for our lumber, pulp and paper mills. Traditional aboriginal users, trappers, outfitters and special product interests all share a concern for our shared forest lands, as do cottage owners, hunters and other recreational users throughout the province.

That's why we invite public input and strive to accommodate the needs of other forest stakeholders. We appreciate your interest and look forward to your continuing involvement in our planning process (Weyerhaeuser 1997c).

It is within this context that the public is invited to participate in Weyerhaeuser's planning process. In essence, the above constitutes what Svendsen (1998) calls a "social mission statement". Such statements go beyond the "narrow set of aims often related to profitability" and focus more on the company's responsibilities to all stakeholders rather than just stockholders (Svendsen 1998:75). The following section summarizes Weyerhaeuser's activities to date with respect to public involvement in the forest management planning.

The Planning Process

Initially, Weyerhaeuser hired the consulting firm of Peat Marwick Thorne Inc. (KPMG) to organize and conduct 28 public meetings. The consulting

company initiated the process by sending out invitations to 600 people who had, in the past, attended Weyerhaeuser gatherings or who lived in proximity to the company's harvesting operations (Star Phoenix 1995a). As articles and editorials in the Saskatoon Star Phoenix (1995a,b) indicate, the public, specifically cottage owners, environmentalists and outfitters in the area, felt that the company was attempting to manipulate the public consultation process by limiting the invitation list to specific individuals, rather than by inviting all interested members of the public.

Therefore, the company, by inviting only those individuals or groups with which it had past contact, had neglected to consider the message that an "by invitation only" event⁵ sent to the public as a whole. Good public participation "demands", according to the American National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA 1998), that proponents make an effort to identify and contact, be it directly or through other methods, all interested members of the public⁵. This should help to ensure that a wide, if not complete, range of values will be represented which is an important criteria in assessing the effectiveness of a public participation process (MacLaren 1995). Also, according to the NEPA, by inviting only those individuals who lived in proximity to the company's harvesting operations the company committed an error, that being the "assumption that those most concerned will be the nearest to the facility" (1998:9). However, it may be reasonable to believe that those interested in the development but who are not in relative proximity to it, are in fact interest groups. These groups are often identified as "active" publics and as such it is most likely the case that no "special efforts" would be required to ensure their participation in a

⁵ Such a process does not allow for "any self-selection by participants" (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994:66). Also, Boaden et al (1980:52) state that "differentiating between sectors of the public ... carries with it the risk of unwittingly discriminating between the different sectors by providing them with different information".

planning process (Mitchell 1997:161). Although, it must be recognized that it is neither realistic, nor necessarily desirable, to try and include every individual or group in the process (Sewell and Coppock 1977)⁷.

While Weyerhaeuser's decision to initiate the public involvement process by starting with "by invitation" meetings caused a bit of stir, ultimately, as McMillan and Murgatroyd (1994) have suggested, this provided an opportunity for public to define itself. Hence, by starting the process with a little controversy, Weyerhaeuser may have generated more interest in the process than would have otherwise existed. It may be an antidote to the type of participation or consultation fatigue that can plague members of a community (Creighton 1981).

In addition to concerns regarding the invitation list, a number of individual participants expressed their preference for dealing directly with company employees as opposed to hired public relations firms. There was, in fact, a distrust of "hired" spokespeople acting as buffers between the public and the company⁸. It should be noted that the individuals expressing this sentiment are not restricted to those involved in Weyerhaeuser's planning process. Individuals involved in other participatory processes have voiced similar concerns. Indeed, the desire on the part of the public to deal directly with those in positions of authority, able to make

⁶ There a number of ways in which this can be achieved: the most rigorous is the development of a social or community profile (Connor 1993; McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994).

⁷ In fact, the truth is, as O'Riordan states, "In the absence of incentives to encourage participation only a few people will be mobilized to play their part, one might well ask whether our present political and educational institutions are doing an adequate job to provide these incentives, but the fact remains that, practically speaking, only a very small percentage of population can ever participate in extra-local issues with any degree of effectiveness. An 'open door' policy plus extensive use of the media can help widen community interest, but the vast majority of citizens will still prefer to play no direct part." (1977:167).

⁸ A SERM employee (SERM #3) felt that the dissatisfaction expressed by participants was due to the consultants coming to the meetings with "everything done", i.e. the rules for the meetings were already set and so on. Because of this the group believed that it really wasn't involved in the process and distrusted it from the outset. This is what lead to problems.

decisions, or to speak on behalf of the organization, is well documented (Creighton 1981). This does not imply that Weyerhaeuser was wrong to hire outside facilitators to conduct the process. Clearly, this is an accepted practice, one that is often very important and can assist in making the process effective (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994). But it is important that the facilitator does just that, facilitate communication between the groups and not supplant the role of the decision-maker or isolate the decision-maker thereby creating a pretense of participation.

In terms of its dealings with stakeholders in other jurisdictions, it is interesting to note that on occasions when Weyerhaeuser has sought out public opinion it has engaged in direct communication with the public. For example, between 1994-1995 the President and Executive Vice-President of Weyerhaeuser conducted seven public "town-hall" meetings in Washington and Oregon⁹. It should be noted however, that while it is significant that Weyerhaeuser solicited public comment and provided a forum in which to receive it, the condition under which Weyerhaeuser operates in the United States is fundamentally different than it is in Canada. In the United States Weyerhaeuser operations are conducted on privately owned timberland. Weyerhaeuser operations in Canada are conducted, under licence, on Crown Land.

In response to these concerns, Weyerhaeuser began conducting the public consultation process with its own staff or those of Timberlands, the division of Weyerhaeuser which is responsible for developing the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan. Weyerhaeuser's corporate records for the first round of public consultation and information sharing (held during the period

⁹ This information is from a speech entitled "Corporate Citizenship and Forest Stewardship" delivered by Jack Creighton, President of Weyerhaeuser to the Probus Club of Bellevue, Washington on March 21, 1996.

December 19, 1995 to February 15, 1997) detail the multifaceted approach used by the company to solicit public input. This approach used a number of publications, workshops, meetings, field tours, displays and information sessions to both disseminate and receive input. In addition to the above, Weyerhaeuser relied on a number of media vehicles (newspaper, magazine, television and radio) to keep the public informed of project developments.

Defining the Public¹⁰

Weyerhaeuser's public, as the company chose to define it, was broad in nature. The company chose to convene what could be described as a "provincial", as opposed to local, forum to provide direction and input into the development of the Forest Management Plan. Target groups for inclusion in the process consisted of interested individuals both from inside and outside the immediate area, regional and provincial organizations, the Prince Albert National Park, politicians, First Nations and Metis groups, Local Stakeholder Advisory Committees (which include cottage owners, outfitters, trappers), company employees and the general public. Some of the participants had a history of interest in forestry issues and were approached to participate on that basis. This may imply that the participants were hand picked. While the company would agree with this comment, it does point out that many participants were invited to participate specifically because of their strong bias and opinions against either the company specifically or forestry in general. Interestingly, the company actively sought to include individuals and groups known to harbour

¹⁰ In a speech delivered to the 1993 annual meeting of the International Association for Public Participation in Kananaskis, Alberta, Desmond Connor reminded participants that "public" is a plural noun. He stated, that "it is critical to identify the perhaps dozen publics, for a proposal". The degree to which the various forestry companies recognize this will be reflected in the way that they define their respective publics.

distrust for either the company itself or forestry in general and not just those who might be sympathetic to Weyerhaeuser.

All members of the public were encouraged to contribute to Weyerhaeuser's process. In addition to those groups or individuals which the company actively sought participation from, Weyerhaeuser undertook an information campaign employing mall displays and advertising in all major provincial newspapers to solicit input from the general public. It should be noted that even though Weyerhaeuser has been engaged in this public consultation process for over a year, the company continues to extend invitations to the public to become involved in the process at any time (Weyerhaeuser 1997a).

Public Consultation Activities

The first formal activities undertaken by Weyerhaeuser in this initial round of public consultation began in the spring and summer of 1996. It was during this period that Weyerhaeuser sought the public's assistance in identifying forest management issues and developing a direction for the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) studies. During this period, the company held three workshops, conducted five field tours and made 39 presentations/meetings with Local Stakeholder Advisory Committees (LSAC), interested forest users, contractors, employees, aboriginal and environmental groups (Weyerhaeuser 1997b:5). Weyerhaeuser's records for these activities indicate that these activities were well attended. In total, over 950 individuals attended the presentations/meetings, while 85 individuals took part in the field tours and approximately 75 participants attended the workshops.

What Weyerhaeuser realized from the first round of public consultation was a clear direction for the company to undertake an ecosystem-based forest Management framework as the foundation for the new Forest Management Plan. In particular, Weyerhaeuser points to the outcome of the May 1995 workshop where participants from the environmental firms hired to conduct the EIA studies met with stakeholders to set the direction for the studies. It was decided at that time, based on input from the stakeholders, that a habitat-based strategy would be employed rather than one based on indicator species¹¹ (Weyerhaeuser 1996b:2). This was the first clear change, instigated by public, which was adopted by Weyerhaeuser in the development of the plan.

The focus on habitat (ecosystems) rather than on specific species is a significant indicator that Weyerhaeuser was influenced by input from the public. Moreover, it was not the only instance where input from the public had an impact on the development of the plan. Other changes made as a result of the public consultation process included the addition of aquatic studies and timber salvage strategies. The Weyerhaeuser representatives interviewed for this study readily agree that these aspects had been originally overlooked by the company.

Another weakness Weyerhaeuser is seeking to redress is the lack of involvement by First Nations and Metis people in the public input process. Weyerhaeuser had sought involvement by these groups in much the same fashion as they courted the general public: newsletters, meetings, advertisements etc. In hindsight, the company realized that the initial structure of the involvement process was not conducive to the participation of these two

¹¹ Of the two most common approaches to wildlife management, "one approach favours managing land or water units primarily to benefit a feature species [species-based]. Another approach is based on managing species that take into account the welfare of other species within similar habitat relationships. The habitat diversity approach bypasses considerations of an individual species to focus on providing diverse habitats" (Gauthier 1995:221-222).

stakeholder groups (Weyerhaeuser employee #1). Currently Weyerhaeuser is trying more one-on-one types of communication with First Nations and Metis groups using members of the community to help organize and facilitate the consultation process.

Information and direction from the public and other sources (SERM, the Canadian Council of Forestry Ministers Forest Sustainability Criteria, timber resource updates etc.) were used to develop Weyerhaeuser's Twenty-year Plan Discussion Paper. This Discussion Paper, released in April 1997, provided the focus for the next round of public consultation activities. Specifically during this second round of meetings and workshops, the public was asked to identify any weakness or gaps in the concepts used to develop the initial Twenty-year Plan concepts.

The Discussion Paper was mailed to over 400 individuals or groups who had expressed an interest in the process. Each Discussion Paper package included an eight-page questionnaire regarding the contents of the document and soliciting input or suggestions for improvements from the reviewer. These questionnaires were to be sent back, in the self-addressed stamped envelopes which were provided, to Weyerhaeuser for their consideration. Weyerhaeuser also held meetings with each of the six Local Stakeholder Advisory Committees in the FMLA in order to receive their input and comments. The environmental groups and other organizations that had earlier played such an important role in establishing the direction for the environmental studies were asked to attend a special two-day workshop to review the Discussion Paper.

In preparing the Discussion Paper for distribution, Weyerhaeuser was careful not to create a document that looked too "finished". This was a conscious

attempt to indicate to the public their participation was not just a public relations exercise. As a Timberlands employee indicated, the best approach was to go to the public with an obvious "draft" document (Weyerhaeuser employee #2). The employee's opinion was that if the public really did perceive it as a draft, they would feel more comfortable in making suggestions and not feel that it was a completed document.

Input from this second round of consultation, completed in June 1997, was considered in preparing the first draft of the new Forest Management Plan and the initial Environmental Impact Assessment. Indeed, both of these documents were made available for review in early fall 1997 at which time the third round of public consultation commenced.

This third round of meetings and presentations occurred in late August and early September 1997 and included members of the general public and interest groups, as well as regulators. At the end of this round of meetings and presentations, as was the case in each of the other rounds, a summary of comments made, or issues raised, was prepared and sent to all participants and interested observers. Included in this summary, Weyerhaeuser's responded to each issue or comment and included a specific reference to how Weyerhaeuser would amend the plan in accordance with the input received. This indicated to those who participated that input from this third and final round would be used to prepare the final plan and EIS for submission to the provincial government.

It is perhaps premature to comment on what future public consultation will look like in Weyerhaeuser's FMLA given that the final Forest Management Plan and EIS have not been approved. However, in the Discussion Paper the company did state that "stakeholders [will] have a continuing opportunity to

influence Weyerhaeuser's plans through the public consultation process that occurs each year as part of preparing the Annual Operating Plan" (Weyerhaeuser 1997b:6). As well, the Local Stakeholder Advisory Committees, which were constituted as on-going working partnerships, are expected to continue operation well after the Forest Management Plan has been submitted for approval.

At present, Weyerhaeuser has not yet submitted its forest management plan for review.

L&M WOOD PRODUCTS

L&M Wood Products hold a Forest Management Licence Agreement in the Divide Forest at Glaslyn, Saskatchewan. In April 1997 the company submitted a draft of their new Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement to the provincial government for review. L&M submitted the final draft of its Forest Management Project in December 1998.

The Project Specific Guidelines issued by Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management in July 1996 stipulated that the proponent must involve the public at the earliest possible stage of the plan's development, and that traditional knowledge¹² should also be sought and included in the plan. Specifically, the Guidelines state "[T]he EIS must describe the proponent's process of providing for public involvement and input in the development of the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and how the proponent will establish an ongoing public consultation program to communicate future forest

management activities to the public and to obtain information from the public" (SERM 1996:3). The following is a summary of the public involvement process employed by L&M in the preparation of their Twenty-year Plan.

The primary goal of L&M, as highlighted in their submission to SERM, is "to work with the local public to strive for an acceptable balance to the economic, social and ecological objectives of a preferred forest management plan" (L&M 1997:4). Guiding this goal was L&M's philosophy "to achieve balance among the economic, ecological and social benefits of forest management and to ensure that the public plays a major role in defining that balance" (L&M 1998 Vol 1:1-7). It was within this framework that L&M developed their public consultation process.

Defining the Public

L&M, as the other forestry companies, had to define their public. Unlike other forestry companies, L&M decided to conduct the public consultation process as a sort of joint venture project with an existing group, the Divide Forest Advisory Council (DFAC)¹². Formed in 1994, the Divide Forest Advisory Council is a non-profit organization comprised of diverse group of individuals with a familiarity of the area and of forest issues. L&M began the public consultation process by holding meetings with the DFAC. The objective of the process was to solicit input from the Council on how the consultation should proceed and who should be invited (L&M 1997:4-2).

¹² Traditional knowledge, as differentiated from knowledge based on formal study or science, is based upon the "experiential knowledge of people who live and work in an area" (Mitchell 1997:178).

¹³ The Divide Forest Advisory Council was established by Mistik Management. The reasons for the creation of the council are outlined in Chapter Five. As stated in Chapter Three, L&M and Mistik both conduct operations in the Divide Forest and that L&M's FMLA is enveloped by that of NorSask.

There was agreement that the process should include members of the general public and not just those represented on the DFAC. However, the group felt that given the technical nature of the subject, i.e. forest resource management, and the amount of education that would be required to establish a foundation from which to work, it would be advantageous to restrict participation to potential "knowledgeable" and "committed" individuals. On that basis, the DFAC and L&M prepared a list of potential participants who would be invited to attend an education workshop and thereafter be invited to participate in future decision-making activities. In short, participation in the education workshop or seminar became what L&M described as a "loosely enforced requirement for participation at future meetings", in other words the meetings would not be "open" (L&M 1997:4-3). Special efforts were made to ensure participation in the process by First Nations people, including educational seminars held in their community.

The framework developed by this initial planning group consisted of the educational seminars followed by series of workshops (organized by the DFAC) and personal interviews, the objectives of which were to:

- identify the key resource features to be managed;
- set the criteria for the identification alternative plans;
- set the criteria for the selection of a preferred plan from among the alternatives;
- assign relative importance weights to the evaluation criteria leading to the selection of a preferred plan; and
- provide detailed information respecting the location and significance of site-specific resource features within and adjacent to the FMLA (L&M 1997:5).

The educational aspects, or preparatory groundwork for effective public consultation, were viewed as necessary, fundamental element of the public

consultation process. It was L&M's belief that this first step in creating a shared understanding was necessary in a process of shared decision-making in the development of a forest management plan.

Public Consultation Activities

The workshops, organized by the Divide Forest Advisory Council, were based on what was termed a "progressively advancing agenda" (L&M 1997:4). Given this format, by the end of the first workshop (February 9-11, 1996) the 30 participants had defined the key economic and non-economic resource products to be managed, set the principles for management alternatives as well as establishing and weighting the key evaluation criteria. At the subsequent workshop (June 8-9, 1996) the 24 participants progressed through the remaining tasks of finalizing the resource features to be used in the planning model, defining specific constraints and exploring ways to develop alternative forest management plans. At the final workshop in January 1997, 17 participants finalized the specific criteria for the evaluation of alternatives, along with the weightings to be used for the major evaluation criteria both for the preferred management plan and for the ranking of alternative plans.

It was felt, from the outset of the process, that information on site specific features in the FMLA was best obtained via personal interviews with individuals who had intimate knowledge of the forest area. To this end, 30 individuals were interviewed. These individuals were asked to provide information as to the locations of various features and/or activities (trap lines, species habitat, spiritual areas) and to prioritize them (L&M 1997:4-3). The results from the one-on-one interviews were combined with the

results from the workshops thereby treating them like a fourth workshop group (L&M 1997:4-29).

The evaluation criteria used by L&M in the selection of a preferred management plan fell into three main groups: economic (also referred to as value of forest resources), ecological and social. Each of these main criteria was further reduced into sub criteria as shown in Table 4-1.

The weighted evaluation criteria, arrived at during the public consultation process, were then applied to 24 alternative forest management plans. As a result, the management plan deemed to best satisfy the public's wishes was chosen as the preferred plan (L&M 1997:5). The preferred plan alternative¹⁴ ranked first as the preferred option in only the social criteria. However, it had the highest overall composite score when all criteria, major and sub, were taken into consideration. It was also the alternative that met the composite goal of the plan which was to "simultaneously maximize the joint supply of timber for the L&M mill in Glaslyn and the supply of moose, deer, fisher and blueberries with the overriding provision that the quantity and age structure of forest ecotypes be maintained in a configuration we would expect to see in nature" (L&M 1998 Vol I:1-7).

The Project Specific Guidelines stipulate that the company describes how public involvement will be facilitated in the future. L&M is not specific as to its intentions in this regard. Although there is no specific course of action laid out, the company does indicate that the relationships developed to date will form the foundation upon which future public consultation will take place (L&M 1997:Vol I, p11).

Table 4.1 Group and Meeting Participant Weights for Major Evaluation Criteria and Subcriteria

Participant	Major Criteria				Ecological Risk Sub Criteria						Forest Value Sub Criteria			Social Benefits Sub Criteria			
	Value of Forest Resources	Ecological Risk	Social Benefits	Total	Age Class Structure	Ecosite Structure	Landscapes Patterns	Stocking of Harvested Stands	E20 and E21 Production	Total	Public	Private	Total	MIN Employment	Woodlands/Sit/L Employment	MIN Disruption	Total
Group 1																	
Robert Fincati	0.3	0.4	0.3	1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	1	0.3	0.7	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1
Harold Kivimaa	0.4	0.2	0.4	1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.4	0.2	0.4	1
Ken Dopka	0.6	0.2	0.2	1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.25	0.05	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.3	0.3	0.3	1
Fred Gopher	0.6	0.2	0.2	1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.25	0.15	1	0.35	0.65	1	0.3	0.3	0.3	1
Jack Elson	0.4	0.3	0.3	1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.3	0.3	0.3	1
Average	0.46	0.26	0.28	1	0.2	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.12	1	0.37	0.63	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1
Summary	0.45	0.25	0.3	1	0.2	0.25	0.2	0.25	0.1	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.3	0.3	0.3	1
Group 2																	
R. Hanson	0.43	0.26	0.31	1	0.23	0.25	0.23	0.23	0.1	1	0.48	0.52	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1
Ken Davies	0.5	0.25	0.25	1	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0	1	0.6	0.4	1	0.4	0.2	0.4	1
Ray Hann	0.5	0.2	0.3	1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	1	0.5	0.5	1	0.5	0.3	0.3	1
Hector Schiell	0.2	0.5	0.3	1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1	0.2	0.8	1	0.4	0.4	0.2	1
Wilfred Hamm	0.33	0.33	0.33	1	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0	1	0.3	0.7	1	0.2	0.3	0.5	1
Howard McConnell	0.5	0.25	0.25	1	0.24	0.26	0.25	0.25	0	1	0.6	0.4	1	0.3	0.5	0.3	1
Average	0.41	0.30	0.29	1	0.23	0.25	0.23	0.23	0.07	1	0.45	0.55	1	0.35	0.33	0.33	1
Summary	0.43	0.26	0.31	1	0.23	0.25	0.23	0.23	0.1	1	0.48	0.52	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1
Group 3																	
John Pateman	0.4	0.3	0.3	1	0.3	0.1	0.15	0.05	0.4	1	0.5	0.5	1	0.3	0.3	0.4	1
Pat Delaney	0.5	0.2	0.3	1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1	0.5	0.5	1	0.4	0.2	0.4	1
Merle Robinson	0.3	0.3	0.4	1	0.5	0.2	0	0.25	0.05	1	0.5	0.5	1	0.4	0.3	0.4	1
Paul Chartrand	0.6	0.2	0.2	1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.6	0	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.5	0.2	0.3	1
Iver Thomas	0.6	0.2	0.2	1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	1	0.4	0.6	1	0.5	0.3	0.3	1
Average	0.48	0.24	0.28	1	0.24	0.18	0.13	0.24	0.21	1	0.46	0.54	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1
Summary	0.5	0.22	0.28	1	0.25	0.17	0.13	0.18	0.27	1	0.49	0.51	1	0.4	0.2	0.4	1
Total Group	0.46	0.243	0.297	1	0.227	0.223	0.187	0.22	0.157	1	0.457	0.543	1	0.4	0.3	0.3	1

Source: L&M (1997) Vol II: 4-28

Public Feedback

There was a general consensus among participants in the L&M consultation that the process was useful. However, there was some disagreement expressed

¹⁴ The preferred alternative is described as a one pass, even flow wood supply alternative with a moderate rate/low stringency ecosite maintenance option and avoidance of the production of spruce-depleted aspen and open forest types (L&M 1997:Vol I:5).

with respect to the degree of satisfaction in the process. The DFAC participants involved in L&M's planning process were satisfied with it and made their satisfaction known in a letter of support:

DFAC members at the meeting felt that the L&M Forest Management Public Consultation Process did a credible job at including local stakeholders and community interests in a large part of the forest management decision-making process. (Excerpt from a letter sent on March 4, 1997 by Leonard Greenhough, President DFAC to SERM regulators, copied to Lorne Scott, Minister responsible for SERM).

An individual, Joys Dancer, also had praise for L&M's process. However, she also expressed several concerns:

1. Only 3 women were consulted, as far as I can see, a major imbalance.
2. For the most part, only consumptive resources uses were polled.
3. Most people taking part in the workshops have commercial vested interest.
4. The meetings were by invitation - there was no open public forum.
5. The method and model for collecting information was only capable of dealing with quantitative information.
6. Any resource features or constraints that did not fit with the model's capabilities and biases were left out.
7. The model and survey tools are strongly biased toward fibre consumption and "commercial" wildlife species - no consideration of anything else.
8. The process for developing alternatives and criteria on which to base a choice of best alternative was very controlled and manipulative - rather than being based on open and free discussion. (Excerpt from an undated letter from Joys Dancer appended to the L&M EIS submission).

SASKFOR MACMILLAN LIMITED PARTNERSHIP (SMLP)

Of the three¹⁵ forestry companies still seeking Forest Management Licence Agreements in Saskatchewan, Saskfor MacMillan (Saskfor) is the only company that does not hold an existing licence. It is also seeking a licence within an area of the province currently undergoing a Land Use Management Planning process. Every company engaged in the development of a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan operates within a specific environmental context. For Saskfor, the environmental context was unique because public involvement in the planning process was established by interests outside the company before a formal process of developing a forest management plan had commenced.

In light of the fact that the provincial government was proposing to grant a new Forest Management Licence in the Pasquia-Porcupine area, interested companies were asked to submit proposals outlining how they would manage the resource. In order to assist in this process and to "provide background and guidance for the development of the FMLA" SERM prepared, in August 1994, A Draft Concept Paper For Forest Management in the Hudson Bay and Cumberland House Supply Areas. At that time both SaskForest Products and MacMillan Bloedel submitted proposals. Upon review of the individual proposals, the government encouraged the two companies to form a single company. As a result, Saskfor MacMillan Limited Partnership was created in spring 1995.

This set the stage for the government to establish the Forest Management Advisory Committee (FMAC). This Committee was made up of 17 individuals or group representatives from the proposed FMLA, the purpose of which, at that time, was to advise the Minister Responsible for SERM as to what items they

wanted negotiated with the forest management company in the FMLA (SERM 1994:24). As a result of their deliberations, the FMAC, in consultation with members of the communities within the FMLA and Saskfor, developed 78 consensus items, which formed the basis for their recommendations to the Minister. These were items that the Committee felt should be specifically included in the Agreement, or reflected in the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan. The FMAC completed its task in April 1996. Upon completion of its initial mandate, the FMAC has remained intact and has invited Saskfor to become a member. This step is important now, given that land use issues are currently being considered and Saskfor is an important stakeholder.

At the same time as the FMAC process was being undertaken, SERM convened a Land Use Planning Committee comprised of government departments (for example: Agriculture, Tourism, Energy and Mines) deemed to have some interest in land use issues in the Pasquia-Porcupine area. Although this was an internal government group, it did seek input in its deliberations from the FMAC. In addition, the Land Use Committee held public meetings during March and April 1996 (Government of Saskatchewan Let's Talk Forest Land Use 1996). Discussions with the FMAC continued through December 1996 at which time the government began to draft the Land Use plan for the area. To date, this plan has not been released.

In 1995, Saskfor made the decision to seek environmental approval for a new Oriented Strand Board (OSB) mill even before the Forest Management Licence had been awarded or indeed, before the FMAC had finished its work. This new mill, located in Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan, also required an Environmental Impact Assessment before approval to proceed could be given.

¹⁵ As noted earlier, NorSask has already received approval of its management plan and EIS as a result has had its licence renewed.

From the outset, Saskfor took the position that the existence of the two committees, the FMAC and the Land Use Planning, provided the company with a base from which to develop its public consultation processes both for the OSB mill and the Twenty-year Plan. Specifically, Section 4 of the Business Plan for Forest Management of the Pasquia-Porcupine FMA, submitted by Saskfor to the provincial government in August of 1995, explicitly states that the company would encourage all stakeholders to be involved in the planning process¹⁶. Furthermore, it makes clear Saskfor's intent to use information garnered from the public through the government appointed FMAC as well as from the Land Use Planning Process. At this stage, Saskfor's summary of public involvement for forest planning shows no specific meetings or activities to solicit public input aside from that requested by SERM as part of the assessment process. Participation of First Nation's people was restricted to involvement in economic activities undertaken during forest management (in terms of the number of jobs available to the community). There was a provision for presentation of plans, but no involvement in decision-making¹⁷.

In spite of the closed nature of the business plan, Saskfor did send an information piece to all residences in the proposed FMLA in June 1995. The Report to the People of Northeast Saskatchewan outlined the company's plans to build an Oriented Strand Board (OSB) plant in Hudson Bay. It also

¹⁶ Saskfor's vision statement is articulated in the 1995 business plan. It states that: SMLP endorses the government's goal of using the provinces' forest resources in a sustainable manner. SMLP is committed to achieving this objective in the Pasquia-Porcupine FMA area through responsible stewardship practices and ecosystem approaches to management. This includes:

- managing the resources sustainably;
- supporting the economic interests of the residents of northeast Saskatchewan; and
- inviting stakeholder (including First Nation) involvement in management planning.

solicited input from the public with respect to their opinions on the project. As well, a meeting was held in Hudson Bay to discuss the plant. There was opposition to the building of a new plant before an analysis was done as to what the sustainable wood supply was for the area¹⁸. It was viewed by some to be an inverted sequence of events.

However, in spite of concerns raised by the public and a call for a public inquiry into the proposed development¹⁹, the new plant was approved. Subsequently, in April 1996 the Project Specific Guidelines for the development of the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and EIS for the proposed Pasquia-Porcupine Forest Management Licence were issued by SERM. Saskfor's guiding philosophy, as it undertook the development of the Forest Management Plan and EIS, was "to produce the optimum supply of outputs to all stakeholders and to provide a fair distribution of social and economic benefits to local communities" (Saskfor 1997:xi). The company's stated operating mandate, was to "be competitive in the North American marketplace and in compliance with Saskatchewan environmental and labour requirements" (ibid.).

In order to determine a framework, in accordance with the guidelines issued by SERM, Saskfor hired a consultant, Simons Reid Collins of Vancouver, to prepare a Scope Assessment for the development of the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement. A Draft Scoping Document was prepared and reviewed by SERM and Canada Fisheries and Oceans

¹⁷ This is not representative of MacMillan Bloedel's operations elsewhere in Canada. For example, collaborative ventures that coordinates the interests of the company and First Nations people have been established in the Clayquot Sound area of British Columbia (Svendsen 1998:131).

¹⁸ The SERM files for this project contain a number of letters to the Minister of Environment and Resource Management from citizens concerned with the review process for the OSB plant. These include letters from Joys Dancer and Misters Bily, Taylor, Brand and Sochan.

¹⁹ In a February 1, 1996 letter from the Minister of Environment and Resource Management to Joys Dancer, the Minister acknowledges Ms. Dancer's request for the Province to conduct an inquiry.

(Saskfor May 1996:2). Minutes from the meeting, held April 16, 1996, to review the Scoping Document indicate that SERM officials expressed their concern regarding the company's proposed public involvement strategy. Specifically, SERM emphasized to Saskfor that public input must be used in developing the plan and that the company was not to rely solely on the FMAC or Land Use processes to provide such input. Although SERM saw no problem in Saskfor using the FMAC as a "sounding board" it stressed that the company provide avenues for other publics to be involved²⁰.

The final Scope Assessment Document, May 1996, reflected the comments made during the April 16 meeting and provisions were made in the development of the work plan to include public meetings in Phase One of the schedule. Other public input, most notably in the synthesis Phase or Phase Three of the work schedule, would be done through the FMAC.

In keeping with the commitment to involve the public beyond that represented by the FMAC, Saskfor released a second Report to the People of Northeast Saskatchewan in June 1996. This information item outlined why an EIA process was required, and what it would entail. As well, it solicited input and advice from the public via three vehicles: the submission of comments, to the president of Saskfor, on a form provided; by attending one of five public meetings; or by contacting a member of the Forest Management Advisory Committee and expressing any concerns to them.

The public meetings were held between August 6-12, 1996 in the communities of Endeavor, Porcupine Plain, Hudson Bay, Cumberland House and Carrot River. In total 91 individuals attended the public meetings. The highest

²⁰ These comments were made during an April 16, 1996 meeting between SERM and Saskfor in order to discuss the Scoping Document and are contained in the minutes of the meeting and as such are on record in SERM's project

attendance, 55 individuals, in Hudson Bay while the lowest attendance, four individuals, was in Carrot River (Saskfor Summary of Public Information Meetings). Saskfor received no written submissions in response to the request for input in the Report to the People information item.

At these meetings the public was told of Saskfor's intention to deal directly with the FAMC in obtaining public input in the future. However, the public disagreed with this approach, feeling that they should be consulted again before the final Plan was submitted for approval to the government. In response to the public's wishes, Saskfor has amended their work schedule so that in addition to meeting with the FMAC, the company will hold another round of meetings in the five communities listed above. Saskfor is concerned that should the communities raise concerns that cannot be dealt with in the timeframe the company has allotted, the process will need to be extended, delaying submission of the documents to SERM. This second round of meetings may not, because of time constraints, take place before Saskfor makes its final submission to SERM. In which case, the public and SERM will be reviewing the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and EIS concurrently.

In essence then Saskfor has defined its public on the basis of the communities within the proposed FMLA. In addition to the communities already cited, Saskfor has also been aware of First Nations and Metis concerns and has sought to forge linkages with those communities as well. This has meant the hiring of special staff, and the tailoring of information gathering activities and processes to suit these communities. In discussions with the company it was clear that SaskFor felt it had good relations with the First Nations and Metis communities in the FMLA. This position is substantiated by a comments from SERM indicating that the

file.

willingness of Saskfor's President (J.A Robillard) to meet individually with the Aboriginal communities was instrumental in the development of these relationships (SERM employee #5). These good relationships are seen to have resulted in the acquisition of a great deal of information on traditional land use and Aboriginal support for Saskfor's plan.

Saskfor submitted its Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement to SERM in December 1997. SERM then approached Timberline Forest Inventory Consultants (Timberline) to conduct an independent review of the SaskFor's submission²¹. In addition to reviewing the wood supply analysis and allowable annual cut calculation SERM also asked Timberline to review SaskFor's public participation process. The review conducted by Timberline compared the company's process with the requirements stipulated in the Project Specific Guidelines.

As a result of the review, Timberline concluded that "the public processes implemented or proposed by SMLP [SaskFor MacMillan Limited Partnership] to provide public involvement into both the development of the Twenty-year Plan and the ongoing forest management planning and operation, satisfy the process requirements²² of the Project Specific Guidelines for public involvement" (Timberlines 1998:13). While the evaluation found the process employed by SaskFor to be adequate, Timberline offered four suggestions for improvement:

1. There could have been the addition of another round of public meetings during the formative stages of the plan;

²¹ SERM hired an independent review of Saskfor's submission because the Department did not have the resources available to review and evaluate the submission (SERM employee #5).

²² Timberline prefaced this evaluation with the observation that the Guidelines issued by SERM were "quite general" and did not provide any concrete guidance with respect to what was expected of a public involvement process, only that one should be undertaken (Timberline 1998:13).

2. The process by which SMLP selected its preferred alternative would have more closely reflected statements in the Twenty-year Plan if the Forest Management Advisory Committee had been given an opportunity at an earlier stage of the plan development to fully evaluate the alternatives and make a meaningful contribution to selection of the preferred alternative;
3. Provide a process for the public, likely through the Forest Management Advisory Committee to become involved in the development of the Standard Operating Guidelines; and
4. Provide some mechanism for public consultation in the generation of the supplementary Operating Guidelines (Timberline 1998:14)²³.

Timberline did not comment directly on the adequacy of the involvement of Aboriginal people. The review did note that the attempt to engage First Nations people directly, and not to compel them to participate in open or public forums was a good decision. Timberline made no other comment with respect to the adequacy of First Nations participation in Saskfor's planning process. However, timberline does make an interesting comment, the tone of which seems to reflect Timberline's assessment of Saskfor's attitude toward participation:

SMLP commits to make additional efforts to inform and seek the input of Aboriginal communities in the Forest Management Area by holding additional meetings with Aboriginal communities, groups, reserves (Saskfor 1997:45). This is an appropriate way of seeking the participation of the Aboriginal people, as they are often reluctant to take part in forums that involve predominately non-Aboriginal participants. Again, however, the value of these exercises depends entirely on SMLP's willingness to listen to the concerns raised at these meetings, and to revise their plans to the extent possible. If Aboriginal concerns cannot be accommodate, the people raising the issue should be given a reason why. (Timberline 1998:134)

²³ It should be noted that points 3 and 4 pertain to the ongoing participation of the public in forest management.

Summary

This concludes the description of the public involvement initiatives undertaken by each of the three Saskatchewan forestry companies currently seeking Forest Management Licences in the province. Each of the companies was subject to virtually the same Project Specific Guidelines, and were required to provide for public involvement and input in the development of the plan. Based on the previous descriptions it is clear that there was no consensus among the companies as to how this obligation should be met. What is less clear is what caused different companies to choose different paths and what effect these choices with respect to process are likely to have on the final plan.

The next chapter details Mistik's planning process.

CHAPTER FIVE MISTIK'S PLANNING PROCESS

This chapter details Mistik's planning process, with special emphasis on the public participation aspects of the development of the company's Twenty-year Forest Management Plan. Public participation activities have been ongoing since 1988 (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-1), two years ahead of the development of their twenty-year plan.

The fact that Mistik began involving the public before it was legally legislated to do so indicates the difference between Mistik and the other companies in the study. Factors influencing Mistik's approach include the company's ownership structure, corporate culture, existing relationships with the community, the philosophy of key individuals, its perception of market trends and its resulting interest in environmentally conscious markets.

There are a number of indicators that suggest Mistik was committed to the public participation process it undertook in developing its twenty-year plan. The company's stated commitment to the land and its people is articulated in the company's vision statement and found on the back of every business card it states:

We are an innovative, responsible, and adaptive forest management company that continually strives to improve our relationships, services, and trust with the land, people and mills in an energized environment of mutual respect.

Although the words "public participation" do not appear in the statement, there is an expressed desire to develop good relationships with the public.

In this case, the inclusion of the public in decision-making is a method of achieving this vision.

The Planning Process: Getting Started

Any new plan grows from a preceding plan's successes and failures¹. In the case of Mistik, the process for their most recent plan started with the signing of the 1988 NorSask Forest Management Licence Agreement (FMLA). The FMLA gives NorSask the right to use, and obligation to renew, the forest resources in the area. It does not bestow ownership rights - the Crown retains those.

The NorSask sawmill used only softwood timber, which meant that a great deal of the timber resources within the FMLA was not being employed. Under the terms of the agreement, NorSask was obligated to find a use for the aspen (hardwood) within the licence region. This obligation was met when Millar Western² agreed in 1990 to build a pulp mill at Meadow Lake. The mill was opened in 1992. The opening of the pulp mill was, in the estimation of NorSask, the first step in meeting the long-term objectives of the provincial government with respect to the development of the NorSask forest for the benefit of Saskatchewan's people (Mistik 1996a: 4).

The 1988 agreement also outlined the planning process that NorSask was to follow in order to retain their licence. Specifically, the company was obligated to submit a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan (NorSask FMLA June

¹ A typical planning process normally starts with an evaluation of performance in view of the goals and objectives that were set in previous planning sessions. Gregory Dess and Alex Miller (1993) *Strategic Management* (McGraw-Hill:New York).

² Millar Western is a company that makes pulp from aspen, or hardwood, chips. In 1990 Millar Western Ltd. became the third shareholder in NorSask.

17, 1988). In 1990, in order to undertake this and other planning obligations, and to facilitate ongoing management of the forest, NorSask and Millar Western created Mistik Management Ltd. Mistik is a nonprofit forest management company that manages the NorSask forest for timber and non-timber products such as plants, animals and places of cultural interest (Mistik 1996a:6).

At its inception, Mistik made the commitment to pursue integrated resource management (IRM) as a fundamental part of its planning process³. Mistik's working definition of IRM was "the harmonization of the conservation, allocation and management of the land and its resources" (Mistik 1995 Vol. I:ii). Mistik also recognized those forest management practices, in particular those that are short term in nature, tend to be a source of contention and can create conflict⁴ between forest managers, the public and other forest users. In light of this, Mistik decided that in preparing the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan (referred to by the company as the NorSask Project) "all⁵ forest benefits demanded fair treatment in the planning and design of forest management activities" (ibid.). This decision committed Mistik to a course of action which, by definition, required that the public be involved in the planning process from the start.

³ In many respects Mistik's commitment anticipates the strategy outlined in the Canadian Forest Accord, endorsed in 1992 by the Canadian ministers responsible for forests. In agreement with the accord, organizations are to commit to the following: maintenance of a healthy forest environment; development of practices that respect all values associated with forests and the integrity of the ecosystems; maintenance of public participation in the various stages of planning; ensuring greater diversification of forest production; increased scientific research; training of a diversified workforce; integrating traditional First Nations people and knowledge into planning practices (Dufor in Mitchell 1995:201).

⁴ This is because of the very nature of forest use and that fact that various forest uses have conflicting objectives. The use of the forest for fibre limits its use for recreation or wildlife and so on. At the outset Mistik chose to pursue IRM in order to prepare their forest management plan. Had Mistik been compelled to pursue mandated management objectives this would not, according to Vogt *et al* (1997), have reduced this inherent conflict.

⁵ The issue of "all", as in comprehensive, is laudable but as Mitchell (1997:56) points out, the focus on an all inclusive plan can lead to the creation of a document that is historical rather than strategic. The key is to keep the focus what is practical.

While public involvement may not be cited specifically in all IRM literature, notions of coordination (Burton 1991; Gilbert 1988; Born and Sonzogni 1995), cooperation (Solcombe 1993; Grumbine 1991) and joint decision-making (Walther 1987) all convey a spirit of public participation. In his review of the IRM literature, Margerum (1995) found there to be four common elements or themes: Holism, interconnection, goal-orientation and reduction. In addition, he found that the interaction between stakeholders and the public is the "key operational aspect" in IRM (1995:49). Clearly, in the realm of resource management where the imperatives of holism and interconnectedness are fundamental, public participation in planning is more of a necessity than a luxury when it comes to translating theory into practice (Margerum 1997). Still, the focus on integrated resource management originates with the public perspective in that it is usually a public entity that is responsible for the planning exercise.

Early public involvement initiatives⁶ undertaken by NorSask indicates that they consisted of meetings that were informational in nature and involved a limited public, specifically some of the northern band or village councils, the NorthWest Saskatchewan Municipalities Association and several of the communities located within the NorSask forest (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:Appendix A). Topics discussed at these meetings included the company's annual operating plan for the area, logging plans/strategies and the terms of the FMLA. Although the purpose of these meetings was information dissemination rather than information sharing, they served as a vital first step⁷ in what would become a much more elaborate public participation process.

⁶ These are activities undertaken up to 1991.

⁷ Desmond Connor believes that in order to have constructive citizen participation mutual trust must exist between the parties. Such trust must be built systematically. By sharing information, the organization is taking that first step towards systematically building trust.

By 1991 the involvement of the public caused a shift in the public participation process (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-2). Mistik realized that public participation would have to be continuous if the goals of IRM were to be fulfilled. This also meant that decision-making and input into the development of resource management plans would have to be a shared activity. While Mistik undertook to initiate participatory planning processes as an integral part of the IRM on a voluntary basis, the company was already anticipating the possibility that the Twenty-year Plan may be subject to review under the provincial environmental assessment process, thereby mandating the company to involve the public. While forest management plans had never been considered "development" under the terms of *The Environmental Assessment Act* Mistik was certain that such exemptions would not continue for long. Mistik was correct.

On September 11, 1991 Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management (SERM) notified Mistik that the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan would be considered a "development" and would therefore be subject to Section 2(d) of *The Environmental Assessment Act*. As a result, the company would be required to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). In fact the EIS prepared for this project (the development of a forest management plan) is the first one of its kind not only in Saskatchewan but also in Canada (Mistik 1995 Vol. I:iii). In total, the NorSask Project would include not only the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan but also an EIS that would address issues such as the economic, social and environmental impacts of the plan.

Ecosystem approaches to resource management are viewed as a means to achieving sustainable development (Mitchell 1997). The inclusion of what could be termed "anthropocentric" considerations (economy and society) in

the environmental impact statement provides the foundation for a sustainable development⁸, as opposed to just a development, plan. Humans, and their associated systems, are often left out of ecosystem management plans in part because human activity has been systematically studied as separate and apart from the natural world (Mitchell 1997; Costanza et al 1997). However, efforts to manage individual species within whole ecosystems have been proven to be ineffective (Botkin 1990). The inclusion of economic and societal consideration in the development of an environmental impact assessment creates the potential for fostering a sustainable development plan.

SERM issues the final Project Specific Guidelines to Mistik in April of 1992. In the Guidelines, the government was clear with respect to two matters: that an Integrated Resource Management (IRM) approach for the plan be adopted and that the public be involved at the earliest possible stage of the plan's development.

Defining Who the Public Is

The first step that Mistik faced with respect to ensuring that the process involved "meaningful" public involvement was to define who the public was. The Guidelines stipulated the implementation of IRM⁹ process to balance the multiple economic, social and environmental interests of the single land base in question (SERM 1992:2). This posed an interesting challenge, in that

⁸ Since the introduction of the concept "sustainable development" by the Brundtland Commission there has been much discussion over the definition of sustainable development (is it still growth oriented) and hand-wringing over corporate appropriation of the term (see: M. Wackernagel and W. Rees (1996) *Our Ecological Footprint* (New Society :Gabriola Island). For the purposes of this paper the accepted, albeit oft criticized, Brundtland Commission definition of sustainable development applies, that being: the ability to meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

there are many different interests, and hence publics, with which an individual can identify. Some are legal (municipalities, regulatory agencies) and are easily identifiable while others are less so. These include groups that identify with a culture (Metis, Dene, Cree), a geographic region (within the bounds of the FMLA or within the bounds of Saskatchewan), an economic affiliation (trapper, outfitter, hunter) and so on. While the list of publics may be lengthy the reason for their involvement is not⁹. It is quite simple. If Mistik was to be committed to pursuing a path of IRM, it had to integrate all of the elements of the forest, including the views, priorities and needs of the public in all its many forms. In doing so Mistik recognized the public as a whole is comprised of many smaller "publics".

Ultimately Mistik used six criteria to select the "publics" they would target for inclusion. These criteria were: community affiliation; cultural affiliation; reliance on the forest and likelihood of significant direct effects; structured groups with concerns related to the forest management; geographic location; and provincial government (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-4). These "publics" were then separated into nine "interest" groups including:

- northern FMLA community councils and associations;
- resource users;
- woodlands workers and mill employees;
- third party users and forest industry;
- southern community and Rural Municipality councils;
- general public in the southern part of the FMLA;
- provincial government;
- environmental groups, and
- local advisory groups and co-management boards (ibid.).

⁹ The Guidelines define Integrated Resource Management as "the harmonization of the allocation, management and conservation of land (SERM 1992:2).

¹⁰ While there exists the very real potential for such groups to engage in the pursuit of goals that are best described as being strictly in their own self interest, there also exists the potential to gain certain benefits. The attainment of these benefits is likely to outweigh the possible risks of not including them (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994).

In turn these "interest" groups could be further differentiated, for example, the resource user group included trappers, outfitters and wild rice growers. Likewise, the co-management boards were established on the basis of the existing 12 Fur Conservation Areas (FCA) within the NorSask forest.

There is an inherent danger in using interest groups as representatives of the larger community in that such groups are often organized in order to achieve specific goals (Burke 1979). As such, there is room, as McMillan and Murgatroyd (1994) point out, to be skeptical of their motivations to participate. Given this, it could be said that Mistik did not facilitate enough participation of member of the general public. However, an analysis of public participation processes in the United States revealed that with respect to forestry issues, there is no "general public" (Lyden 1990). In other words, every one tends to represent one orientation or another.

The Public Consultation Process

The public consultation process was to serve three functions for Mistik. First, it was to serve as a vehicle for informing the public on issues surrounding forest management and Mistik's operations. Second, it was given a data gathering function in that it would provide the public (as defined above) with a mechanism to provide information to Mistik with respect to their values, priorities and concerns as they relate to the management of the NorSask forest. Finally, the public consultation process was to lay the foundation on which to build on-going shared decision-making responsibility for the management of the forest among the local people, Mistik and the provincial government (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII). While Mistik had a number of stated reasons for involving the public in decision-making, at no time did

the company "sell" the process as a panacea that would provide benefits to all parties involved. In the past, other multi-use management processes have failed because they had promised far too much in terms of benefits without due consideration of the realistic costs and compromises that are fundamental to the process (Vogt et al. 1997).

Mistik employed a number of techniques or tools in order to facilitate each of the above functions. While each function is important to the overall planning process, of principal interest here are the methods used to gather data from the public as input into the process. Then, following this input, what mechanisms exist to facilitate continued public input into Mistik's decision-making.

Information Gathering

There exist a wide variety of techniques, and within those techniques there are various methods¹¹, that can be employed to gather information. In order to gather information on the issues, resource management objectives and resource features of the forest, Mistik, for the most part, relied on three techniques: community meetings and individual interviews; elders gatherings; and hunter, trapper and outfitter surveys. These methods are detailed below.

Community Meetings and Individual Interviews

The community meetings and individual interviews were held from May to September 1993. During this time frame, Mistik conducted 12 public

meetings, 12 interview sessions and one trapper's meeting in 19 communities or areas in the FMLA. There were, in total, slightly more than 200 participants. Table 5.1 summarizes the type, date, location and participation numbers for each of these events.

The specific objective for these meetings/interviews was to gather site-specific information on ecological and culturally significant features within each of the areas. In order to solicit participation, Mistik first informed the village or First Nation office about the purpose of the meeting and then with the help of the community, established a suitable date for the meeting. Local people were hired or appointed by the village or First Nation office to help with the advertising for the meeting and to act as facilitators. As well, these facilitators were also asked to assist in the interviewing process that was conducted between five to ten days after the community meetings (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-27).

Once obtained, the information from the meetings and interviews was recorded on maps or taken down as notes. Site-specific information was then entered into the Geographic Information System (GIS) database. It should be noted that any information that was deemed to be sensitive in nature was kept confidential and the locale referred to only in very general terms (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-28).

¹¹ For example, a proponent may choose to gather information using a survey technique. However, surveys may be sent to specific groups, or delivered to "occupants" of a household. Surveys may be by telephone, or, given advances in technology, by e-mail.

Table 5.1 Community Meetings and Interviews

Meeting Type	Date	Community	Participants
Public Meeting	June 1/93	Beauval	3
Public Meeting	June 17/93	Beauval	3
Interviews	August 25 - 27/93	Beauval	22
Public Meeting	June 8/93	Loon Lake	0
Interviews	August /93	Paradise Hill Area	16
Interviews	August 19/93	Makwa Saghecan	4
Interviews	August 19/93	Island Lake	4
Trapper Meeting	June 11/93	Bronson FCA	8
Trapper Interviews	Aug. /93	Loon Lake FCA	2
Public Meeting	May 31/93	Buffalo Narrows	10
Interviews	June /93	Buffalo Narrows	1
Public Meeting	May 17/93	Jans Bay	20
Public Meeting	June 7/93	Canoe Narrows	7
Interviews	June 23/93	Canoe Narrows	3
Public Meeting	June 18/93	Dillon	10
Interviews	unknown	Dillon	6
Public Meeting	June 9/93	Glaslyn	9
Interviews	August /93	Livelong Area	31
Public Meeting	June 2/93	Green Lake	3
Interviews	August /93	Green Lake	18
Public Meeting	June 1/93	Ile a-la-Crosse	6
Public Meeting	May 27/93	La Loche	4
Public Meeting	June 10/93	Waterhen	??
Interviews	September /93	Pierceland	15
Interviews	September /93	Peerless	4

Source: Mistik (1995) Vol VII:3-27

Elders Gatherings

The participation of the Elders in the development of the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan was important to Mistik for a number of reasons. First, the

views and opinions of the Elders are important to all members, old and young, in the community (Beatty 1997). Second, the Elders' knowledge (as gained through personal experiences) of the natural, social and cultural environments is invaluable, especially within the resource management context (Berkes and Henley 1997). And finally, the Elders are the link with the past in that wisdom of the Elders preceding them has been verbally passed down to them (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-24).

Table 5.2 Representation at the Elders Gathering

Community	Participants	Fur Conservation Area
Big "C"	2	La Loche
Buffalo River	3	Dillon
Canoe Narrows	5	Canoe Lake
English River	8	Patuanak
Flying Dust	3	Waterhen
Island Lake	2	
Joseph Bighead	2	Bighead
Makwa	3	Loon Lake
Turnor Lake	2	Clear Lake
Waterhen Lake	4	Waterhen
Beauval	1	Beauval
Green Lake	2	Green Lake
Buffalo Narrows	2	Buffalo Narrows
Ile a-la-Crosse	3	Ile a-la-Crosse
Cole Bay	1	Canoe Lake
La Loche	1	La Loche
Patuanak	1	Patuanak
Jans Bay	1	Canoe Lake
Michel Village	2	Dillon

Source: Mistik (1995) Vol VII:3-25

In March 1993 Cree, Dene and Metis Elders gathered for three days in Meadow Lake in order to provide guidance to Mistik with respect to the development

of the Forest Management Plan (Mistik 1996b). As indicated in Table 5.2, the gathering drew 48 participants from 19 communities and all 12 of the Fur Conservation Areas (FCA).

The agenda for the meeting was specific, and included topics such as wildlife, logging, roads, and "visions of the future". As important as having an expressed agenda for a meeting is to a public involvement process¹², what was truly significant was the fact that the Elders were being consulted. In other words they were being asked to participate in forest management in the FMLA area. Their knowledge of the environment and their cultural values and spiritual beliefs were being actively sought in order to help Mistik prepare the forest management plan (Mistik 1996b).

In addition to providing important site-specific information which was then added to the Geographic Information System database, the Elders were also asked to prioritize, by assigning points, the importance to the community of a number of forest benefits. The aggregate results of this process are given in Table 5.3.

When the process was completed, the elders had ranked wildlife populations as the only criteria that they felt to be "very important". The least important criterion was the production of non-wood products. Given the results from this first ranking, the elders were then asked to rank the relative importance of the wildlife species found in the area.

¹² The presence of an identifiable agenda for public participation meetings is one of the criteria often used to evaluate public participation processes (MacLaren 1995).

Table 5.3 Relative Importance of Forest Benefits to Elders

Forest Benefit	Total Score	Group Ranking
Wildlife Populations	305	Very Important
Cultural and Spiritual Values	240	Important
Fish Habitat	235	Important
Water Quality and Quantity	226	Important
Wilderness	210	Important
Biodiversity	210	Important
Wood Supply	175	Moderately Important
Air Quality	175	Moderately Important
Recreation and Tourism	130	Somewhat Important
Non-wood Products	112	Somewhat Important

Source: Mistik (1995) Vol VII:4-13

The results from these surveys were used to design alternative forest management options and to develop initial evaluation criteria weights for selecting the preferred forest management plan (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:3-16). It should be noted, that while the decision to involve the Elders in the planning process is a decision that demonstrates cultural sensitivity and an open attitude toward the value of including non-traditional perspectives in the planning process, it is not one that is beyond scrutiny. Human values are fluid, and can change over time. Certainly the answer to the question, which do you value more and by how much? may change over time (Vogt et al 1997). In fact, the Elder's ranking of wildlife considerations as paramount is not necessarily one shared by all First Nations people in the area. As

one individual expressed during an informal discussion¹³ it was fine if the planning process protected wildlife, but it was more important if it resulted in an equitable distribution of jobs and money.

A second Elders gathering was held in August 1994. At this meeting, the Elders discussed with Mistik the general concept of the Twenty-year Plan and gave advice on how to proceed with the co-management process Mistik had initiated in the 12 FCAs.

Trapper and Outfitter Surveys

Mistik had four main objectives in surveying the trappers and outfitters (fish and big game) in the NorSask FMLA area. Specifically:

1. To determine the main issues related to forest management as perceived by trappers and outfitters, and whether there was consistent trends in these concerns;
2. To compile trapper and outfitter recommendations regarding the most efficient means to communicate proposed forest operation activities and resolution of site-specific concerns;
3. To gain insight into the requirements of trappers in the area and to access the local knowledge regarding the impacts of forest management and natural forces on key fur bearers, fish and game, and
4. To collaboratively design mitigative measures to optimize positive and negative impacts (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-23).

Potential participants were contacted in advance to solicit their participation in the survey. Surveys with the trappers and outfitters who agreed to participate were conducted by personal interview. Between January and March 1992, eighteen trappers from eight FCAs were surveyed. Interviews

¹³ This comment was not made during a formal interview session, rather it was offered during an informal discussion that took place when the researcher visited a First Nations community.

with the outfitters (17 big game, two fish) were conducted during April of the same year (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:Annex A).

Not surprisingly the majority of the trappers surveyed viewed logging activities in a negative light. This was especially true of clear-cut logging. On this point the out-fitters were in agreement. Both the trappers and out-fitters cited selective logging as preferable to clear-cutting. When these results were combined with those of other groups it was concluded that the evaluation criteria were reasonably representative of the priorities (Vol. II, 7-30).

Input From Other Sources

In addition to the input received from the community, Elders and outfitter/trapper groups, Mistik received feedback from the general public (definition: the population of Saskatchewan Vol. II:3-10) relaying their concerns regarding management of the forest. Of the variety of opinions expressed, forest ecosystem health was of the highest priority. It was generally felt that the health of the forest was fundamental to the realization of other forest benefits. There was also widespread acceptance of the idea that the local communities should receive a "reasonable", though undefined, portion of the benefits flowing from the management of the forest. The widest range of opinion was expressed with respect to the balance of forest supplies and the acceptability of certain forest management practices (clear cutting, mechanical harvesting, reforestation). As with the information obtained via the meeting, surveys and interviews, the concerns expressed by the public were also taken into consideration in the development of the forest management alternatives and ultimately in the selection of the preferred alternative. (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:3-20).

The Framework for Shared Decision-Making

Public involvement, as Mistik recognized early in the planning process, is not a single event¹⁴. Rather, it is an on-going ever-evolving commitment by all parties involved to share in the making of forest management decisions. This sentiment was reiterated in the SERM Guidelines, which stated:

The EIS needs to describe the proponent's plans of an ongoing public consultation program which will inform the public of all future forest management activities, in ways in which public concerns will be addressed and describe the mechanisms to allow public input from affected resource users (SERM 1992:4-5).

This requirement necessitates the establishment of vehicles, which will facilitate an on-going flow of information, ideas, understanding and concerns among forest resource users.

Since 1990 Mistik has established three mechanisms to facilitate on going shared decision-making. These are:

- Public Advisory Committees;
- Co-management Boards, and
- Forest Advisory Committees.

Along with the Government of Saskatchewan, these four groups have, at different times, filled the shared decision-making function and responsibility for Mistik.

¹⁴ In choosing to see public participation as an ongoing process Mistik is, according to Boaden *et al* (1980:11), in the debate over the nature of planning, clearly siding with those who see planning as a "continuous process of forward decision-making". The other side of the debate sees planning as a finite process that culminates in the production of a formal plan.

Public Advisory Committees

The initial 1990 EIS for the Millar Western pulp mill included the idea of forming a Public Advisory Committee (PAC) which would include representatives from various local groups. As originally conceived, the PAC was to 1) provide advice on harvest planning processes, 2) determine methods for minimizing harvesting impact and 3) enhance other resource values (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-10). The PACs were apprised at the outset of the process that their opinions and values would be considered by the company. However, it was stressed that Mistik would be responsible for the content of the final plan. This is consistent with authors who state that the clear delineation of roles, responsibilities and authorities by a proponent is considered a fundamental prerequisite for effective public participation (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994; MacLaren 1995; Mitchell 1997).

The PAC, as established in February 1991, included representatives from the following interest groups:

- Canadian Petroleum Association;
- Farm Woodlot Association;
- Meadow Lake and Area Environmental Group;
- Meadow Lake Tribal Council;
- Northern fur conservation Area Trappers Association;
- NW Saskatchewan Municipalities Association;
- NW Tourism Development Group;
- Saskatchewan Outfitters Association;
- Saskatchewan Wildlife Federation;
- Saskatchewan Wild Rice Council, and
- Saskatchewan Trappers Association.

(Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-28)

Although the PAC was established as a single group, it was divided into a Southern Advisory Committee and Northern Advisory Committee in 1992. This was done for two reasons. First, it was too difficult for northern representatives to travel to Meadow Lake to attend meetings and second, there were distinctly different issues of concern to each of the two groups.

However, the life span of each of the PACs was relatively short in that they were replaced in 1992/1993 by Co-management Boards and Forest Advisory Committees¹⁵.

Co-Management Boards

The idea of forming co-management boards arose out of discussions held in 1992 with Mistik, the Elders, Chiefs of the First Nations and the Mayors of the northern communities (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-10). The co-management boards were seen as the best vehicle for sharing decision-making responsibility with the people directly affected by the forest management decisions. Certainly, while the existence of co-management boards cannot, in and of themselves, guarantee that shared decision-making will follow their establishment, it is recognized that the potential for shared decision-making and managerial responsibility is higher once they exist (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994).

The need for such a vehicle was made even more urgent by the erection of a blockade on Highway #903 in May of 1992. The blockade, enforced by member of Protectors of Mother Earth (POME) and Elders from some of the local Treaty Indian and Metis communities, raised the issue of resource ownership in the northwest to a higher level¹⁶. The establishment of co-management

¹⁵ "As the new co-management boards evolved, the role of the Advisory Committee became problematic. Northern committee members involved in the co-management process re-acted negatively to an invitation to the October 1992 meetings, indicating that the Public Advisory Committee was an infringement on co-management. On October 22, 1992 the committee met to discuss co-management and its implication for the Advisory committee. The confusion and intense negative reaction from northern residents related to the committee placed Mistik in a difficult position. Mistik and several committee members continued to discuss a suitable course of action after the October meeting. In April 1993, several members of the Advisory Committee met to form the nucleus of the Divide Forest Committee" (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:5-10). It should be noted that the Divide Forest is in the southern portion of the FMLA. As noted in Chapter Four, L&M's operations are in the same area.

¹⁶ This blockade drew the attention of David Suzuki who visited the site in July 1992.

boards played an integral role in the resolution of the issues raised by the blockade.

On June 1, 1992 the elders of the Meadow Lake First Nations and Mistik Management signed the Tribal Council Understanding of Good Faith in which the partners agreed as follows:

- To work with the Treaty First Nations within the FMLA to establish Co-management Boards which will oversee the development of the one, five and twenty year operational plans for Mistik Management. These Co-management Boards will:
 - Develop cutting plans determining the size and location of cutting blocks and methods of harvesting.
 - Develop regulations for harvesting regarding such things as buffer zones.
 - Develop reforestation plans for the traditional lands.
 - Develop a budget for the costs of the operation of the Co-management Boards on a reasonable and negotiated basis.
- To assist the traditional users in securing financial assistance for the development of forestry operations.
- To assist the traditional users in seeking compensation from the Province of Saskatchewan for damage already incurred due to clear cutting operations.

Subsequent to the signing of the June 1 Understanding, similar agreements were signed with other Northern Communities and First Nations groups. Under the terms of the 1993 Forestry Co-management Partnership Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government of Saskatchewan and NorSask Forest Products, Mistik was to develop a two level would be co-management system. One regional level would cover the entire FMLA and a second local level based on existing Fur Conservation Area boundaries. It was at this second or local level that the co-management boards were to be established.

Under the terms of the various agreements Mistik is obligated to negotiate with the co-management boards matters concerning: the size and location of cut blocks; harvest regulations; road locations; method of harvest; reforestation plans, and cost of operating the boards. Matters which remained outside of the negotiation process included those that were the responsibility of the Provincial Government as noted in the MOU and those that Mistik deemed to be non-negotiable, including:

- rights of the mills to an uninterrupted wood supply at a reasonable cost;
- assurance that the land base must be maintained;
- assurance that the FMLA structure is not to be changed due to co-management;
- Mistik's right to make final decisions regarding the letting and managing of contracts, and
- Mistik's responsibility for financially supporting the on-going conduct of the co-management processes (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-31).

The membership on each of the co-management boards is comprised of representatives from within each of the FCAs who have a direct interest in the health of the forest and of the community. Although the community determines membership on the local board, it generally consists of an elected representative (chief, mayor or councilor), a trapper, an elder, a businessperson, and representatives from other area interest groups. There are no representatives from Mistik Management or the Government of Saskatchewan on these boards (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-12).

Although the Co-management Boards were established during the planning process associated with the development of the forest management plan, it is clear that they are to serve an on-going role with respect to NorSask forest management. It will be important for Mistik to realize that stakeholder groups such as the Co-management Boards are not a "set it and forget it proposition". Stakeholder groups will, as a result of their increasing

familiarity of the process or their changing values, evolve over time (Moore 1996). It will be important for Mistik to be cognizant of this and to adjust its relationship with the Boards accordingly. Changes in stakeholder groups that occur over time as a result of their participation in the planning process may prove an interesting subject for future research.

Even though, the co-management boards replaced the PACs it is clear from the membership profile of the co-management boards that some interests represented on the PACs were no longer part of Mistik's shared decision-making process. The movement from Advisory Committees to Co-management Boards is recognized as a natural progression when such groups move toward shared decision-making and management responsibility (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994). To ensure that these interests still had input into forest management planning, Mistik established the Forest Advisory Committees.

Forest Advisory Committees

In 1993 two Forest Advisory Committees were set up, one in the Divide Forest area and the second in the Pierceland area. These areas are in the southern portion of the NorSask FMLA and are in areas where the predominate ethnic origin is European not aboriginal. The committees are made up of members largely drawn from the members of the PACS and have functions similar to those of the co-management boards discussed above.

Incorporating Public Input into the Plan

Mistik believed that the public consultation process for the development of the forest management plan had to serve three functions: inform the public; gather data; and share decision-making. While the first activity involves information flowing almost exclusively from the company to the public, the others provide for a two-way flow of information between Mistik and others interested in the management of the forest. These types of communication flows are essential if one is to have effective public participation, i.e. shared decision-making (Connor 1996; Boaden et al 1980). However, it is equally important that there is an identifiable outcome or product that results from the participatory process. In other words it is important that the public sees their input was considered (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994). This section summarizes the steps taken and methods used by Mistik to incorporate the information obtained by these two-way processes into the development of the Twenty-year Forest Management Plan.

The site-specific information gathered during the community meetings/interviews, trapper/outfitter surveys and the elders meetings were used in developing the GIS environmental inventory. This inventory will be used in the planning and design of individual forest management activities.

The concerns, issues and priorities that surfaced during these activities in addition to those that were raised by the general public, formed the foundation on which Mistik developed the initial evaluation criteria and associated weights. A generic breakdown of the concerns expressed by interest group is given in Table 5.4. However, of specific interest was the information collected during the first Elders gathering. This information

gave Mistik an idea as to the relative importance of various forest features and benefits (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:3-16).

Table 5.4 Summary of Issues Raised by the Publics

Summary of Issues Raised by the Publics	Jobs and Benefits	Reforestation/Regeneration	Watercourse Protection	Monitoring of Forestry Activities	On-going Public Consultation	Choice of Harvesting Technology	Role and Power of Co-management Boards	Road Locations	Road Access Restrictions	Advance Notification of Forestry Activities	Clear-cutting	Size and location of Cut-Blocks
Northern Band Councils	x	x				x		x	x		x	x
NWSMA	x					x	x				x	x
Meadow Lake Tribal Council	x	x										
Elders	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
Northern Trappers	x						x		x	x		
Waterhen First Nation	x			x	x	x					x	x
Co-management Boards	x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x
Other Northern Publics	x										x	
Millar Western Environmental												
Community AOP Review Committee								x	x			
Forest Contractors	x											
Industry							x					
Southern Block Trappers	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x
Fish and Game Outfitters	x	x					x		x	x		
Government												
Public Advisory Committees		x					x					
Divide/Perceland Forest												
Government												

Source: Mistik (1995) Vol VII:4-11.

The information gained in discussions with the interest groups assisted Mistik in understanding the concerns and priorities of the other resource users such that the company was able to develop draft criteria weightings in 1994. However, the company needed a formal, quantifiable ranking of criteria in order to develop the management plan. In order to obtain this information Mistik held a workshop in March, 1995 with 17 representatives from nine different Forest Management Units. The objective of the workshop

was to assign weights for the key criteria that would be used in the evaluation framework for selecting the preferred forest management plan.

The key criteria were: net present value of the forest; economic risks; ecological risk, and benefit distribution. These primary criteria were then subdivided into secondary criteria such that the final evaluation framework consisted of the following:

- 1) Net Present Value of the Forest
 - 2) Economic Risk
 - public and private upside and downside risk
 - economic viability
 - 3) Ecological Risk
 - spatial and temporal change in forest structure
 - woodland caribou
 - re-harvest potential
 - 4) Benefit Distribution
 - woodlands operations
 - silviculture expenditures
 - co-management fees
- (Mistik 1995 Vol. VII:3-33)

There are many different ways to manage a forest - maximizing for fibre is one method. However, when faced with a number of conflicting objectives it is less a question of maximizing one variable but rather one of optimizing among a number of variables. Indeed, it is mathematically impossible to maximize for more than one variable at a time (Hardin 1991:55). In order to make the selection of the optimal management plan a "manageable" exercise, Mistik narrowed the large number of alternative management plans, 327 in total, down to 17 (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:5-15). These alternatives included options on either end of the spectrum (no harvest and unconstrained harvest) along with a number of alternatives with varying constraints that filled in the range between.

Mistik used the results of the public consultation activities (for example the Elders surveys) to estimate the initial weights for the various evaluation criteria employed to select the best forest management alternative. These initial weights were then refined on the basis of the evaluation workshop. Through this process the relative weights for the criteria were developed. The preferred alternative was then chosen on the basis of these weights (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:7-23). Table 5.5 provides a summary of the results of the evaluation process. A detailed discussion of the evaluation criteria is provided in Appendix Four.

The forest management alternative chosen by Mistik was Alternative 17 - Restricted Open Forest and Relaxed Benefit Distribution. It is clear from Table 5.3 that Alternative 17 is not the best alternative for all of the evaluation criteria, for example, Alternative 1 is a better choice for reducing ecological risk. However, Alternative 17 was the best overall choice when all the evaluation criteria were considered. Alternative 3 - LRSY/AAC Two Pass, represents the status quo in forestry practices for Saskatchewan and would have ordinarily been the forest management alternative chosen (Mistik Vol. II:7-33). However, using the evaluation criteria based on input from the public, this alternative placed well down the list of alternatives at number 14.

Table 5.5 Overall Evaluation of Forest Management Alternatives

ALTERNATIVES		EVALUATION CRITERIA							TOTAL SCORE	ORDER
		VALUE OF FOREST RESOURCES				ECONOMIC RISK	ECOLOGICAL RISK	LOCAL ECONOMIC IMPACT		
		PUBLIC		PRIVATE						
		SCORE	ORDER	SCORE	ORDER					
1. No Harvest	Rating	0.51		0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	3.86	17
	Score	0.06	17	0.00	17	0.00	3.80	0.00		
2. Unconstrained	Rating	5.69		10.00		10.00	0.00	9.42	5.56	15
	Score	0.68	1	1.50	1	1.30	0.00	2.07		
3. LRSY/AAC Two Pass (2P)	Rating	4.29		7.15		7.66	3.04	9.09	5.74	14
	Score	0.51	14	1.07	14	1.00	1.15	2.00		
4. LRSY/AAC One Pass (1P)	Rating	5.26		8.71		9.21	7.78	9.40	8.16	4
	Score	0.63	4	1.31	7	1.20	2.96	2.07		
5. Highly Constrained	Rating	1.65		3.55		5.19	2.03	8.15	3.97	16
	Score	0.20	16	0.53	16	0.67	0.77	1.79		
6. Moderately Constrained (2P)	Rating	4.58		8.08		8.57	2.11	9.40	5.75	13
	Score	0.55	13	1.21	12	1.11	0.80	2.07		
7. Moderately Constrained (1P)	Rating	5.09		8.68		9.03	7.64	9.77	8.14	5
	Score	0.61	8	1.30	8	1.17	2.90	2.15		
8. Relaxed Benefit Distribution	Rating	5.21		9.01		9.40	8.28	9.60	8.46	2
	Score	0.62	5	1.35	3	1.22	3.15	2.11		
9. Tightened Benefit Distribution	Rating	3.90		7.09		7.71	6.17	9.30	6.92	12
	Score	0.47	15	1.06	15	1.00	2.34	2.05		
10. Relaxed Caribou Population Size	Rating	5.13		8.73		9.13	6.91	9.81	7.89	8
	Score	0.62	7	1.31	6	1.19	2.63	2.16		
11. Tightened Caribou Population Size	Rating	5.01		8.61		9.04	7.52	9.71	8.06	6
	Score	0.60	11	1.29	9	1.17	2.86	2.14		
12. Low Biodiversity Stringency/Compliance	Rating	5.30		9.09		9.41	6.52	9.63	7.82	9
	Score	0.64	2	1.36	2	1.22	2.48	2.12		
13. Relaxed Biodiversity Compliance Rate	Rating	5.27		8.98		9.31	6.75	9.74	7.90	7
	Score	0.63	3	1.35	4	1.21	2.57	2.14		
14. High Biodiversity Stringency	Rating	4.81		8.34		8.74	5.71	10.00	7.33	10
	Score	0.58	12	1.25	11	1.14	2.17	2.20		
15. High Biodiversity Stringency/Compliance	Rating	4.11		7.31		8.29	5.61	9.98	7.11	11
	Score	0.61	9	1.10	13	1.08	2.13	2.20		
16. Restricted Open Forest	Rating	5.08		8.60		9.00	7.88	9.81	8.22	3
	Score	0.61	9	1.29	10	1.17	2.99	2.16		
17. Restricted Open Forest/ Relaxed Benefit Distribution	Rating	5.20		8.91		9.25	8.50	9.66	8.52	1
	Score	0.62	6	1.34	5	1.20	3.23	2.12		

Source: Misitk (1995) Vol II:7-31

Mistik characterizes its selection of the preferred alternative is this way:

Out of 17 optimized alternatives, the preferred forest management alternative provides a reasonable and fair balance of risks, benefits, costs and the distribution of each among local communities. The balancing of these considerations was based on: a) the relative importance of individual forest attributes; b) an extensive environmental database relating to the ecological, economic and social characteristics of the forest and forest user; c) a comprehensive, quantitative description of the interactions of these factors among forest ecosystems, the economy and local communities; and d) the results of extensive discussions with local communities regarding their desires and priorities. This complex analysis was critical to deal with the wide range of management possibilities and outcomes available over a 220-year period and over 1 millions hectares of forest (Mistik 1995 Vol. II:ii)

The use of a broad based, participatory approach to developing the plan for the area is fundamental to Mistik's, or for that matter any forestry company's, shift from a sustainable yield to a sustainable use management practice (Vogt et al 1997). This results in a management plan that is more closely aligned with the ecosystem approach to resource management. The sustained use vs. the sustained yield management approach is also gaining credibility in terms of the increased economic value that is created (Turner, Pearce and Bateman 1993). In short, there is evidence to suggest that the management option chosen by Mistik on the basis of multi-use priorities has both sound environmental and economic rationales as well.

The selection of the preferred management alternative was the step required before Mistik could prepare the Forest Management Plan and EIS for submission to the Provincial Government. It is the last step because the preferred alternative provides the foundation upon which the NorSask Forest Management Plan is developed and the impacts it will have on key features of the environment can be assessed.

The Final Document

The NorSask Project Specific Guidelines issued in April 1992 by Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management stipulated that in preparing a Twenty-year Forest Management Plan NorSask, or its agent Mistik Management must use and Integrated Resource Management approach. As well, it must include "the involvement of the public at the earliest possible stage in order to receive their input into identifying environmental issues which they feel should be addressed in the EIS, and to foster co-operative community-proponent planning of mitigating and enhancement measures" (SERM 1992:4). In November 1995 Mistik submitted, with supporting documents, the Twenty-year Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for the NorSask forest.

The decision as to whether or not the plan and EIS as submitted comply with the terms stipulated in the Project Specific Guidelines is the purview of the Saskatchewan Government. It is not the intent of this thesis to determine the adequacy of the NorSask Project in meeting the requirements for obtaining a provincial forest licence. Nor is it a question of whether the company included the public in the preparation of the plan, it is evident that Mistik did have a public involvement component in the planning process. What is of interest though is the manner and degree to which Mistik sought the involvement of the public in the development of the plan, and what impact this involvement had on the NorSask Twenty-year Forest Management Plan. In other words, did the company's actions constitute sincere participation?

Evaluating Public Participation Processes

The literature contains a number of assessment frameworks for evaluating public participation processes. In order to develop an assessment tool to evaluate the participation processes discussed above, a blend of three assessment tools will be employed: MacLaren (1995); McMillan and Murgatroyd (1994) and Mitchell (1997). The following criteria comprise the evaluation framework and as such constitute a checklist for assessing public participation processes.

- ✓ The process establishes goals and objectives for participation.
- ✓ The process should be well described with clearly defined roles, responsibilities and authorities.
- ✓ The process should be flexible to respond to changes as required.
- ✓ The participants should be representative of the public(s) involved and include the full range of values in the community.
- ✓ The public should be involved in the planning process during the early stages of development.
- ✓ Adequate resources, including staff, funds and commitment, should be dedicated to the process.
- ✓ Organization staff should be responsive to participants' information requests and information provided should be clear and comprehensible.
- ✓ Staff should also provide clear explanations of how information gathered will be used.
- ✓ The process should use more than one type of public involvement technique.
- ✓ There should be a clear indication that the process considered the input received.

Table 5.6 provides a summary evaluation, using this framework, of the participation processes of the four forestry companies. Although relatively close in terms of their respective processes, Mistik has a slight advantage over Weyerhaeuser in terms of its inclusion of aboriginal, both First Nations and Metis, groups at the initial planning and activity stages. The provision of information materials in native languages represents both a sensitivity and awareness of the community's values and character and indicates a real desire on the part of the company to engage the community in active participation. As well, expressions of management support for the process are stronger for Mistik in that the mandate statement for Weyerhaeuser come from the parent company and not locally.

In addition to the above, it is useful to add other criteria that indicate an on-going role for participants once the initial planning process has been completed. In this regard, Mistik, with the establishment and continuing support of co-management boards, is notably different. The existence of these boards, and an established information flow regime, allows for continuing input by the public into Mistik's planning process beyond that provided during the development of the forest management plan.

Table 5.6

Evaluation of Participation Processes

	Weyerhaeuser	L and M	SaskFor	Mistik
Established goals and objectives	Yes	Yes	Some confusion (also with roles etc.) likely due to land use process underway at same time.	Yes
Clearly defined roles, responsibilities and authorities	Defined but refined during the process.	Defined at outset of the process.	Less well defined (see above), evolved during process.	Defined at the outset of the process.
Flexible	Took steps to include Aboriginal when original participation vehicles failed. Also made changes with respect to use of consultants.	Rigid with respect to process. The company was adequate that participants had to be involved in education process first.	Somewhat	Changed entire planning process when better forest management tools became available – set process back ½ year.
Participants representative of community	Initial process under represented aboriginal population. Initially criticized for “invitation” approach. Used province as community.	Used the Divide Forest Advisory Council (DFAC) as first input source.	Aboriginal population underrepresented. Original process did not allow for broad-based community involvement.	Used a more local approach to defining community. Had wide range of participants including economic and ethnic representation.
Early involvement of participants	Workshop participants established management model criteria.	DFAC established evaluation criteria at outset.	Used information from Pre-existing groups organized for other purposes. But they did not set evaluation criteria.	Elders established evaluation criteria at outset of planning process.
Adequate resources	Financial and staff (especially after initial criticisms) support evident; management support is also evident.	Financial, staff and management support evident.	Some concerns with respect to support at all levels.	Financial, staff and management support evident.
Responsive to information requests	Yes	N/A	Yes – sent out information in response to regulator’s requests to do so.	Yes
Clear about how information will be used	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Use more than one technique for gathering and disseminating information	Employed a number of vehicles for information gathering. Used various mediums to disseminate or provide quality information.	Relied heavily on one process.	Used a limited number of approaches to gather information. Information disseminated was minimal.	Employed a number of vehicles for information gathering. Used various mediums to disseminate or provide quality information.
Clear indication that input was considered	The company made changes to plan as input was received from the public.	Yes, for those involved in the above-mentioned process.	Some indication from regulators that the company was not receptive to input.	The company made changes to the plan as input was received from the public.

Various authors have developed frameworks for assessing or developing effective public involvement processes (MacLaren 1995; Beresford and Croft 1993; Cuthbertson 1983; Hampton 1977). Despite this, the question of what constitutes public involvement is still difficult to provide a definitive answer to. This is because there exists no ready-made template from which to cut a 'one size fits all' process. It is perhaps because most of the criteria developed are either activity based or rely on subjective assessments of the process. In other words, based on MacLaren's (1995) framework, public participation can be assessed on the basis of, for example, whether the participants represented a full range of values within the community; participants received agendas and information before meetings; and, if the decision-makers dealt in good faith. And, although the above summary table attempts to assess the process on MacLaren's (1995), and others', criteria, it is in fact very difficult to state with certitude that, for example, a full range of values was represented, or that dealings were made in good faith. At best one can say that there is evidence that these took place.

The vexing thing about such a framework, or set of criteria for assessment, is that it represents a mixture of principles and techniques but is not really a framework. Given these criteria, it would seem that in order to have effective public participation all one need do is to ensure that the requisite steps are in place, or have been undertaken. It is not that these, or the criteria chosen by various authors are not important to an effective public participation program, but rather that they ignore other important but less easily quantifiable elements, the people and the philosophy of the organization. As one practitioner stresses, "the level

and quality of participation by the public will be no better than that of the staff in the proponent's organization"¹⁷.

It seems that there are two fundamental elements that underlay any public involvement process and which will determine its effectiveness: the process and the philosophy of the agent directing the process (Creighton 1981). The philosophy may best be described as the attitude, or sincerity, behind the organization's inclusion of the public in decision-making processes. Is the organization sincere in its desire to solicit and include the public's opinions or is it just satisfied with the optics of the program? As Mintzberg suggests, "some organizations take advantage of these demands [for public involvement], turning them around to use planning as a tool, not because anyone necessarily believes in the value of the process *per se* but because influential outsiders do" (1994:214). Such insincere participatory planning exercises usually resemble what Benveniste (1972) calls "trivial planning". The optic of such a public relation game is often used as a defense when the public is critical of the final decision taken. As Franklin points out, "of course they can say they have consulted [but] the purpose was primarily to avoid trouble rather than to do the right thing" (1996:11). The process can be thought of as the actual steps or activities undertaken by the organization to elicit public input. The process, like the philosophy of the organization, is important and does shape the effectiveness of any decision-making endeavor (Dean and Sharfman 1996). In colloquial parlance these two elements form the "talk" and the "walk". The presence of both elements, philosophy and process, is fundamental. The perfect process without the right philosophy is cynical manipulation where as the right philosophy without the accompanying process is hollow rhetoric.

¹⁷ This quote is from a presentation titled "Ten Lessons Learned in 22 Years of Public Participation" given by Desmond Connor at the second annual meeting of the International Association for Public Participation

While "scorecard" types of process assessments are useful as a primary indicator of effective public participation in planning or decision-making processes it is difficult to discern an organization's philosophical inclinations from them. In order to assess the spirit with which the process was undertaken, the reasons why and the impact that it had, it is necessary to speak directly with participants. In addition to providing insights into the qualitative aspects of the process, participants are best qualified to assess whether the participation activity was effective and why this was, or was not, the case. The next chapter provides an overview of the participant's views, reactions and analysis of Mistik's planning process.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PARTICIPANTS' PERSEPECTIVES

The preceding two chapters demonstrate that, with respect to public involvement, the planning process utilized by Mistik differed significantly from that of the other forestry companies included in the case study. The public involvement model chosen by Mistik was more extensive and innovative as it initiated culturally sensitive communication practices before developing a planning methodology. The mechanisms developed to facilitate ongoing communication are clearly different. As Mistik provides the foremost example of participation in the forest management planning processes within Saskatchewan its activities warrant further examination.

The previous chapter discussed the planning framework that Mistik employed in preparing their Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and EIS. This chapter explores in more detail the effect that such a process had on the communities within the FMLA, the company, and the relationship between the two. This chapter provides information derived from interviews¹ with members of communities in the Mistik FMLA, employees of Mistik and representatives of SERM. These interviews will provide insight into how the process unfolded from the perspective of the participants, thereby adding greater texture to the technical aspects of the process as outlined in Chapter Five. In addition, interview summary tables are provided at the end of the chapter.

¹ As discussed in Chapter Two the individuals interviewed, including those from the forestry companies, members of the public and regulatory agencies are listed by affiliation in Appendix One. In the body of the thesis interviewees are referred to by affiliation (e.g. Mistik employee, SERM employee) and by number so as to respect their confidentiality.

THE COMMUNITY²

Historically, there has not been a great reservoir of trust in the forestry industry between companies and the public. The public perception of how forestry companies have managed timber resources has been less than favourable (Vogt, et al 1997). Any planning process designed to include the public has to recover from this perception. While Mistik did not suffer from this to the same extent as other larger companies, it still had to convince the public that it was sincere in soliciting their involvement. In most cases it seems that even those who were skeptical of the process at the outset now have a positive opinion of it.

There was mistrust at the beginning too because of the perception of outsiders coming in and telling us how to do things. We have progressed and grown because we won't let NorSask, Mistik, Weyerhaeuser or Resources dominate the process, we won't let them. Now, the community has seen the results: jobs, money returned to the community, decision-making that is shared so they are more trustful (Beauval #1).

Mistik had more success because they constantly tried to inform the people more about what is going on, and why it's going on. It took them a little while too. But it started moving; things started happening (Beauval #1).

At the start, I wanted to make a difference, but I didn't think we would have enough clout to make it work. I think things are generally one hundred percent better, and I can't see it getting any better than this (DFAC Member #3).

However, this positive sentiment is not unanimous. There is evidence that some members of the community feel there is still room for improvement. One interviewee felt that the communities should have foresters working with them to review the company's plans and proposals. This individual's opinion

is that "the process has given the communities the illusion that they are part of the planning process" and that if a real conflict arose the community would be "overruled" by the company or government (DFAC Member #1). This individual felt that until processes or entities, such as co-management boards, were legislated participation in planning was more public relations than anything else. This does not detract from the individual's belief that Mistik is doing a good job but rather that "in the long-term, this needs to be addressed" (DFAC Member #1).

One aspect of Mistik's process which differed from that of other firms was the participation of Elders. At the outset, Mistik sought their advice to guide the development of the overall process. This acknowledgement of the elders is in itself recognition of the importance of traditional beliefs within the aboriginal community (Stiegelbauer 1990). In essence, the company was advocating that the knowledge of those closest to the land was valuable to the future management of the forest resource. It appears that the public perceived this gesture on the part of Mistik to be sincere. When interviewees were asked if Mistik had incorporated traditional, local knowledge into its management plans and operating procedures, there was generally a positive response.

Yes, local knowledge has been incorporated through this process. For example, moose calving areas and marking existing trails in the forest. At the beginning, Mistik was cutting right to the edge of the swamps. We asked them to leave a 25-metre buffer around sloughs and water bodies. We would like to see larger buffers, maybe 1 km, around Turtle Lake and the Horse Head River . . . We have addressed issues like night hunting, the new Forestry Act, the moose population decline, the size of clear-cut areas, road closures. Yes, this had been effective. The operators in the area have a planning process and cutting that is more responsible now than it was before (DFAC Member #1).

² Interviewee responses are coded according to their affiliation. Interviewees are from Beauval, the Divide Forest Advisory Committee (DFAC) and Green Lake. If the interviewee is from the Co-management Board he/she is referred to as such. If the interviewee is a member of the community they are also designated as such.

Yes, the Board has helped to incorporate local knowledge . . . This is really helping Mistik out a lot because we are giving them information that they wouldn't normally get otherwise (DFAC Member #3).

The Metis traditions of hunting, fishing and trapping are all taken into decision-making . . . If I could change anything about this process, I would have done co-management at the start, before FMLAs were created. Mistik and NorSask treat Native people with respect, unlike other companies (Beauval Co-Management Board #1).

Now we have a say in cutting before it happens. It really means a lot to us. Now we have a one-kilometer buffer around roads, lakes and rivers where they can't cut. It's also good for the company too that we are in the local area because we know where the fish are, what kinds there are, where the young ones are and what time of the year. It's the same for the animals like moose and deer. This saves them a lot of money, I think, because they don't have to pay someone to find this out for them (Beauval Co-Management Board #3).

The idea that government and users of the forest come to us for advice and for negotiating the use of the forest is the most important thing for us to come out of this process . . . Everybody's looking at the big picture now, and they weren't before. The local people here give of their time and their previous knowledge to this process (Beauval Co-Management Board #4).

The comments by the community members with respect to traditional knowledge providing information that Mistik would have otherwise had to pay others to obtain is particularly insightful. As Wolf-Keddie (1995) notes, traditional knowledge is gained by observation and experience and as a result has a greater contextual relevance to local conditions than does that gained strictly by western scientific means.

The culturally sensitive approach that Mistik took with respect to its interaction with the native community created an environment which allowed those often marginalized by formal processes to become involved. O'Hair et al. (1995) recognize this as at least attempting to provide a foundation for effective communication. As a member of the community of Beauval noted, "It is a win-win situation. The Trappers Association, the old guys, don't speak much English, so it was hard for industry to deal with them on issues like

cutting plans" (Beauval Co-Management Board #1). It would be difficult, if not impossible, to state with any conviction whatsoever that Mistik had engaged in a participatory planning process had the company not sought to overcome the language barriers that exist between cultures in Northern Saskatchewan. Surely Forester, who stated that "if we [planners] want to be understood when we speak practically, we must follow the enabling rules that structure our ordinary language" (1989:143) would agree that in addition to speaking clearly, we should be speaking the same language.

Shared decision-making does not only result in the incorporation of different perspectives, but can also generate new understanding and appreciation of these perspectives. For many members of the community, participation in the planning process was not valued just because it allowed them to influence decision-making but also because it provided them with an insight into the company's point of view and allowed them to see why certain decisions or actions were taken. This increased understanding has provided a foundation for more effective conflict resolution within the area. Although, as discussed below, the goal of conflict resolution must be placed in perspective and tempered by the realization that conflict, in and of itself, is not wholly negative. A certain amount of conflict is necessary insofar as it represents different, and often incompatible goals of legitimate interests within the community (Mitchell 1995).

Conflicts are resolved because we talk. We haven't had any great issues that we haven't dealt with. We value and respect differences of opinion, we hear each other out (Beauval Co-Management Board #3 page 3).

Yes, this process has reduced conflict because now we can see two sides to every story. It's not all one-sided anymore. Before, we all just thought that Mistik was being ornery. The attitude I had before was that they just wanted to cut all the trees and damn anyone else. Now I see why they cut (DFAC mbr #3 page 7).

Everyone looks at things with a much more open mind than they did before. We have all done some swinging to understand each other. We have all become better thinkers because of this process, we are now able to see another's point of view (DFAC mbr #2).

Public involvement in planning processes yields what could be characterized as "feel good" benefits as evidenced by many quotes above. In other words, participants relate a sense of feeling good about the process. However, if involvement in planning or decision-making is to have a sustained impact it should yield tangible results in terms of improved outcomes. Areas where the benefits of participation are likely to be most beneficial are in environmental protection and local economic development³. These are also the areas of greatest concern to the local communities in the NorSask FMLA. As a member of the Green Lake Co-Management Board stated, "we deal with issues that should be benefiting the community, I would say, logging jobs, fish, the wildlife, some of the plants, those kinds of issues. Keeping our rivers and lakes clean, that's a great concern"(Green Lake Co-Management Board #1). Perhaps though, the greatest benefit will occur if participants not only see their view incorporated into plans, but also witness a real change as a result of their participation. If this occurs, support for on-going involvement will more likely continue. Ignoring the input received from the public is more likely to undo even sincere attempts at public participation, resulting in a public which will feel increasingly "antagonistic toward the process" (NEPA 1997).

So, has there been an appreciable change in these areas of late? A resident of the Divide Forest seems to think this is the case, as reflected in this comment: "You drive along the highway now, and I don't think that you will see any bad forestry like you used to"(DFACC mbr #2). This remark represents

³ As noted in Chapter 1, both Community Economic development and Integrated Resource Management literature recognize the increasingly important role of public participation.

the changes in the area. Mistik even changed its contracting practices to provide more opportunities to local people. An individual from Beauval relates the story that when asked directly whether they would hire a local contractor from the north rather than one from the south, as had been the practice before, Mistik said "yes" and hired the local contractor. The individual went on to say that "when asked about the equipment, Weyerhaeuser said they'd go to their existing contractors first before hiring anyone new like us." (Beauval Co-Management Board #1).

Even if the involvement process itself had not altered the way in which Mistik operates, it would have, at the very least, allowed the public an opportunity to understand the company's general perspectives and particularly its environmental protection activities.

I didn't know nothing before about logging, I thought that they were going to cut the whole country. Now I see that they plant real quick behind you, that they are responsible for other things in the forest like the animals (Beauval Co-Management Board #3).

The realization that such activities are already underway is as beneficial an outcome as actual change.

The inclusive, participatory philosophy of Mistik goes beyond the development of a planning document and extends to economic development as well. A member of the Green Lake community characterizes the economic development benefits in this comment:

They saw this as a part of the interaction process that needs to happen, to alleviate fears, to show people are not here to take something, but to help and work with them. They've got locals hired in every community they can be in. They provided a lot of jobs. Not just jobs but a way of living now. People who are doing well and on their way . . . these are Native people, who never had a chance (Green Lake Co-Management Board #4).

The general impressions of the involvement process and the relationship between Mistik and the communities are quite positive. Certainly, in those communities which straddle the NorSask and Weyerhaeuser FMLAs there is, as evidenced by the following quotes, a clear preference for Mistik's operation.

Generally, people respect the process. Mistik has always promoted, encouraged and respected the process. Weyerhaeuser has had to be reminded that they are the guests. They have the licence, but it's not their backyard, it's ours. They're coming around though. NorSask is a new company, so they didn't have the same sort of entrenched attitudes and positions that Weyerhaeuser does (Beauval Co-Management Board #2).

Mistik is one of the best. Right away they helped us get going and encouraged people to get involved, to work and to educate themselves. Weyerhaeuser was the opposite. Right away they figured they could cut like they are used to doing. We said that they couldn't cut anymore unless there are some changes. They took our demands, took them back to wherever they have to take them back to, then came back and said "no" to us. So we said fine it's "no" to you too then (Beauval Co-Management Board #3).

I think there is good communication between Mistik and the co-management board . . . No, things aren't so good with Weyerhaeuser. It's different with Mistik. They have a totally different corporate attitude. Weyerhaeuser still have a very arrogant attitude (Beauval Co-Management Board #5).

The positive attitude toward Mistik's processes and the company's acceptance of dissenting points of view is not, however, universally shared.

I might be a little harsh in my judgement here but I'm going to say it anyway. When someone from the advisory council raises their voice Mistik raises their voice a little louder to the point where that person is going to back down. So it is like they are pulling a heavy strong-arm tactic in the meeting room (Divide Co-management Board #7).

Yet, despite the fact that Mistik is not exempt from criticism, the importance of the involvement process is perhaps best summarized by this quote from an individual from Green Lake: "You feel that by doing this you

are gaining some control over where you live and what's yours, and stop people from raping and pillaging your land, or taking from you and having no way to express how you feel about it, except to maybe someone over coffee who really can't do anything about it" (Green Lake Co-Management Board #4).

This response echoes the sentiment expressed by an area Elder during the early stages of the planning process:

I have no fights against development but we also have to be part of development because it's happening in our back yard. Until today, we've never really been part of development. I think that we have to look in that direction in order for the communities to survive in northern Saskatchewan. I see a very dark future for the north if that don't happen ... I hope from here we go forwards, not backwards (Mistik 1995: Vol. VII:4-17).

Tables 6.1a, 6.1b and 6.1c at the end of this chapter provide a summary of the community interview responses.

THE COMPANY

The interviews conducted with present and past employees of Mistik focused not only on the public involvement aspect of the planning process but also on the impact the process had on the company. However, before one can ascertain what these effects are it is important to establish the framework within which the initiative began. In order to determine the origins of the participation initiative, employees were asked why the company undertook to involve the public in the first place. This is especially germane given that Mistik had clearly decided to include the public before the government deemed such participation a requirement under *The Environmental Assessment Act*.

The imperatives cited by employees were unanimous, or nearly so. Modesty on the part of some individuals was the only thing that stood in the way of unanimity. It was this modesty which precluded certain individuals from identifying *themselves* as being pivotal in the initiatives' success. However, colleagues were quick to give credit when it was due. One employee's position is representative of the general consensus that Mistik's then CEO Barry Peel was the major factor in the company's planning initiatives. Mistik Employee # 3 described Mr. Peel as "the visionary responsible for the new management plan", a view upheld by many other Mistik employees. Aside from the question of leadership the main imperatives, or reasons, for undertaking a participatory planning process were: market protection or enhancement; public opinion; and moral obligation.

Barry Peel, the former CEO of Mistik and the person most often cited as the person behind the company's vision, cited four imperatives for participatory planning⁴. The first is a strong belief that "the land of any area should be controlled by the people who live on it". Once you start with this premise it then "makes good sense" that going the confrontational and legal route wasn't going to create a win/win situation. Nothing, if you went that way "would be resolved in the long term and the conflict would never end". It was, indeed still is, Mr. Peel's opinion that "a better solution is to make the community part of the process from the beginning, to include them in the decision-making, to share in the results and to take responsibility and ownership in the outcome".

Mistik Employee #4 seconded Peel's comments, saying that there were "massive signals that the sector was ignorant of what the public perceived and that

⁴ These imperatives were outlined by Mr. Peel during an interview with the researcher on March 10, 1997 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

its activities were really only supported by those employed by the forest sector". He was concerned that existing public relations activities were missing the mark and were, in fact, just "spinning" the sector's point of view in order to convince the public they were operating in their best interest. The company knew that it had to engage and involve the public in the planning process and that such a process had to get beyond "spinning". As Employee #4 pointed out, "open houses are not public involvement". On this point, the literature on public participation clearly agrees with the position taken by Mistik (NEPA 1997). The company, as borne out by comments from both Mr. Peel and Employee #4, was sincere in wanting the public to be involved in the planning process and that such involvement had to be real.

The second was market protection or enhancement. In Peel's estimation for any company to be successful it makes "good sense from the market point of view or has a better chance if it has support of the people who live on the land base". The company's view that markets are changing as a result of growing concern for the environment is recognized in economic geography literature. Collins states that "environmentalism has been instrumental in changing both the nature of demand by consumers in most western countries and the nature and source of raw materials" (1998:406).

In addition to protecting markets, including the people who live in the community or on the land base is also important in term of securing financing. This is especially true given that financial institutions⁵ are

⁵ This is particularly true of forestry companies that seek product certification (discussed below). Upton and Bass (1996:57) state that "financing quality forestry is always difficult in a competitive market place; and there is an increasing level of environmental risk associated with investments in forestry". This increased risk is "due to increasing public pressure, investments in natural forest exploitation" (ibid.). Hence, certification, because it requires proof that 1. The land and resource use rights of local people are respected, 2. Concerns of local people are sought and taken into account, and 3. Local people are involved to the fullest extent serves to assure financiers that some of these public pressure risks have been mitigated (Upton and Bass 1996:94). "As a result" Upton and

likely to require proof of this type of commitment (Szechenyi 1992). These institutions support Mr. Peel's belief that "[participatory planning processes] will resolve conflict"⁶ and that anything that resolves conflict in the area of forestry is likely to be reflected on the bottom line of the company.

This opinion is also strongly held by Mistik Employee #9. In his opinion, product certification⁷ will become more and more important to companies that want to protect market share. Given this, and because evidence of public support and participation in decision-making is one of the requirements of certification⁸, the certification process is important to Mistik. As Employee #9 pointed out "Scott Paper did a review in 1993 because of concern about the environmental and ethical integrity of suppliers" and other companies [for example Home Depot] are also becoming more concerned about the source of their products⁹. The net result is that a demonstrated,

Bass believe that "certification may assist forest managers in raising funds and obtaining access to cheaper finance" (1996:57).

⁶ In fact, one of the basic premises of public participation is that it is a possible means of conflict resolution (Creighton 1983).

⁷ Certification of forest products involves the independent assessment of a forest management operation, evaluating the ecological, socioeconomic and silvicultural practices against a set of accepted forest management standards (Viana *et al* 1996). Therefore, in order to demonstrate environmental sensitivity, an organization must do more than involve the public in decision-making processes. In terms of its production processes, Millar Western demonstrates concern for environmental impacts. When the pulp mill opened in 1992 it was the world's first successful zero liquid-effluent discharge mill. This means that waste water is cleansed, recycled and reused in the pulping process through a closed loop. In comparison to traditional pulping technologies, Millar's process reduced the amount of water used to 2 cubic meters of water per ton of dried pulp compared to between 60 – 100 cubic meters of water for conventional processes (Mistik 1996a:5). As part of the socioeconomic impacts of forestry, certification processes look carefully at the impacts that forestry operations have on local communities and encourage the involvement of stakeholders in planning processes. Specifically, current Forest Stewardship Council policies "require that certification should assure that there are no obvious abuses and the basic human rights are respected (indigenous land claims, worker safety, and payment at or above the regional minimum wage)" (Viana *et al* 1996:65).

⁸ The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), which determines certification requirements, was established in 1993 and accredits forest certifiers. This is not the only certification body. In 1995, the Canadian Standards Association (CSA) proposed that the International Standards Association (ISO) also develop sustainable forest management standards (Viana *et al* 1996).

⁹ In his book *The Ecology of Commerce*, Paul Hawken writes "many industries are now trying to re-source their raw materials to take into account sustainability, methods of extraction, means of processing, and impact on local

tangible concern for the environment and the people affected by forestry operations will be an important element in determining future market share. A recent analysis indicates that certification is an effective marketing tool in increasing overall commercial performance where consumers are concerned with "green" issues (Upton and Bass 1996). Mistik Employee # 3 sums it up by saying that spending the time and money on participatory planning will ensure that the company "keeps the environmentally friendly markets" as well, it "sets a new precedent in terms of philosophy".

Closely tied to the imperative of market share is the belief that social expectations are changing and that forestry companies will have to take note of these changes. On this point Employee #4 is adamant. He is certain that environmental groups and society as a whole are moving towards more environmental awareness and are less tolerant of environmentally detrimental behaviour. He believes that within the industry there is a "general feeling that this awareness and ISO 9000 has had an impact that can't be ignored". Vogel et al. (1997) agree with this position. They state that "the perception among many timber companies is that green certification is something that the companies will have to incorporate into their management regimes ... because it will directly affect the productivity of their business" (1997:318).

Mistik Employee #4 acknowledges that the payoff for this type of activity is not immediate. However, he also realizes that when the demand for environmentally sensitive products reaches a critical point, it is too late to start planning on changing the company's planning processes and criteria. As Employee #4 points out "since you can't do it overnight you have to plan to be prepared for when the market changes". He does not know when this

cultures and ecosystems. For example, Herman Miller, the Knoll Group and Wal-Mart have all committed

shift in the market will take place, but he is sure that when it does it will be immediate and to the benefit to those companies, like Mistik, that have already taken the requisite steps.

In reflecting on the process to date and the cost Mistik has incurred in its undertaking, Employee #4 said, "On the whole, for the time being, the status quo would likely mean more money for Mistik and would be easier to manage. But if you superimpose market trends on the cost curve there will be more profits in the long run". From Barry Peel's perspective, the operating history of the industry and reaction of environmental groups have forced change, "but it is for the good" and has "created a win/win situation".

Although there were a number of imperatives or forces that made participatory planning attractive to Mistik, there was also one factor that enabled the company to engage in this type of activity; that was the less restrictive regulatory environment in Saskatchewan. Mistik Employee #1 says "Saskatchewan¹⁰ has the luxury of not being over regulated, which gives companies room to do more innovative things". Without this latitude, ecosystem management and participatory planning would be more difficult even though it may be the best approach. As Employee #2 stated "if you are regulated to the hilt and have strict guidelines to follow, there is no

themselves to paying higher prices for sustainably produced timber" (1990:12).

¹⁰ In other jurisdictions, forestry company harvest is regulated on the basis of the classic forest management concept of Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) designed to ensure long-run sustainable yield (LRSY) of the timber resource. The AAC is based upon: (1) rate of timber production that the area may sustain taking into account factors such as (a) the composition of the forest, (b) the amount of time the forest will need to re-establish, (c) the silviculture treatments to be applied, (d) the standard for timber use and allowance for decay, waste and breakage and (e) the need of other resource users in the area. (2) the short and long-run implication of alternative rates of harvest; (3) the needs and nature of timber processing facilities; (4) abnormal infestations of insects or disease, fire devastation and major salvage programs planned for timber in the area; and (5) a wide range of environmental, social and economic factors (BC Ministry of Forests, 1998, All Things Considered, p67) . Because the AAC advocates cutting a forest when it reaches a certain age class it results in a managed forest that no longer resembles a natural one in class and stand structure. This is contrary to the objectives of an ecosystem approach to forest management.

incentive to do anything other than what one is told to do regardless of whether it works or is right". In essence, what the Mistik employees are substantiating, although they may not be aware of it, is the theory that "command and control" regulatory environments do not promote environmental sustainability as well as do "best available technology" regulatory regimes (Turner, Pearce and Bateman 1993:144). Vogel et al. (1997:318) state that many forestry companies are shifting to more broad based, holistic management regimes and away from maximum sustained yield approaches like Annual Allowable Cut (AAC). This is not possible if classic forest management techniques are enshrined in legislation. As Welford and Gouldson (1993) discuss, influences other than legislation will entice firms to enhance their environmental performance. Therefore, the lack of legislative requirements¹¹ may not be a disincentive to environmental responsibility if other non-market conditions exist.

The overarching belief in doing the "right" thing is a philosophy that seems to permeate Mistik to the very core; this credo is reiterated in any number of conversations with staff. It is this belief in doing the right thing that guided the entire planning process. When asked how the planning process unfolded, Employee #4 said that it was a "Strategy without a blueprint that had a life of its own". Mistik Employee #4 elaborated by adding that the company didn't start with a hard and fast process in mind, what it did have was a "commitment to do it right even if they found that the process had to change to accomplish this". He goes on to describe this as a "practical nirvana where they had a sense of something better but didn't know exactly what that was, only that there had to be a better way to

¹¹ It should be noted that government regulations are often recognized as the cause of the inefficient or inappropriate operating behaviour of organizations. In other words, government regulations make it impossible for organizations to change their operating regimes in order to become more efficient and environmentally responsible (Kernaghan and Siegel 1995).

achieve economic and environmental development". Mistik was exhibiting behaviour that Wheatley describes as shaping "organizations through concepts, not through elaborate rules or structures" (1992:133).

If the philosophical desire to do the right thing was truly a function of the CEO's leadership, as noted above, then it is legitimate to ask whether this new direction has had an impact on the company and, if so, how has the company changed? This is an interesting question in that, as Employee #4 points out, "Mistik was growing at the same time as the plan, therefore it had never operated under a different status quo". Mistik has, since its incorporation, grown from a staff complement of four to one of 40. Mistik Employee #4 believes that "like attracts like" and that anyone who was opposed to the direction that the company was heading has left. "It was critical", in his estimation, "to the process and the organization to have the right people in order to build a strong philosophical base for the organization".

However, building a "philosophical base" is not an easy task, especially when a company has long-time employees who are asked to make fundamental changes in their view of the industry. As Mistik Employee #6, a long-time employee with NorSask pointed out, it took him almost two years to really "buy into the concept" but now he says he "really is an advocate". While perhaps not everyone agrees, Employee #6 believes that soon "the philosophy will be the norm, and the dynamics are such that if you don't agree you will be gone". Although there have been difficulties in Mistik as the company becomes more adept in ecosystem planning and involving the public, Mr. Peel remains convinced that "Mistik will overcome the growing pains".

This is most likely an accurate assessment when one considers that when asked how the company has changed one of the District Superintendents cited things like more open communication; more employee input; better issue management; and more sensitivity to differing points of view. These types of things are often expressed as goals that companies, especially those having some difficulties, seek to achieve¹². If Mistik, as a company, has already achieved more open communication, increased employee input, better issue management and an acceptance of diversity of opinion, it resembles more closely a growing rather than declining organization. As such, Mistik should be well positioned to overcome the growing pains that Barry Peel referred to.

While building a strong, unified corporate philosophy continues to be one of Mistik's challenges, it is not its only one. Another challenge has been the building of different relationships with those outside of the company.

The change in directions [from status quo to participation/ecosystem planning] has been difficult but probably has been a good strategic move and the majority of the people [from the communities] have taken an interest and think the co-management process is good. There will always be a few who don't like it, lots have said it was a PR tactic. That's an opinion that is probably well founded given past practices of the company and the industry (Mistik Employee #6)

It is clear that the employees recognized that they had a credibility gap to overcome in building a rapport with the public. But the effort to involve the public in decision-making has brought rewards. "It has been a good decision" says Employee #3, "it gives more power and includes more stakeholders in decision-making with respect to resources. And it facilitates communication "both ways" and increases understanding". In

¹² Factors that indicate, or contribute to, an organization's decline include: an inability to identify and solve organizational issues; limiting the freedom of subordinates by maintaining conformity to the status quo; and, poor communication and information flows (Jones 1995; Weitzel and Jonsson 1989). On the other hand, Greiner's (1972) model of organizational growth holds that growth is achieved through creativity, direction, delegation, coordination and collaboration.

terms of increased understanding Employee #3 believes that the most important benefit has been the realization that every decision comes with tradeoffs. During the EIS process, Native groups and communities had to start thinking in terms of tradeoffs, what is valued more, and how much more is it valued, were new questions that had not been grappled with before. It is Employee #9's opinion that this approach "has reduced conflict and criticism because the process is appreciated as are the tradeoffs and opportunity costs".

The desire on the part of Mistik to see participatory management as a tool for resolving conflict is laudable, and is an often stated desired outcome for such processes, however it must be noted that it is desirable only if the company recognizes that healthy "communities cannot exist without conflict" (Gudykunst 1994:225). The more important aspect of the process is that it provides a way for the various interests to air conflicts constructively. If it were the case that the process led to the resolution of all conflict it would in fact be working against the long-term viability of the community (Peck 1987). It is important to recognize that conflict is a normal part of life, that it is a natural and predictable product of the interaction of people holding differing interests, values, beliefs and opinions (Mediation Services 1998). Hence, communities that are diverse, where different values, beliefs and perspectives exist, conflict will occur. Yet, these differences are what make communities interesting and vital. The question then is not how do we eliminate conflict, but rather how to do we find constructive ways to manage it.

A number of employees indicated that the relationship between the communities and company have been greatly enhanced because the company has empowered its employees to make decisions. Employee #5 said, "the company

gives us the philosophy and then empowers employees to talk to the people, we don't have to go out with the party line". "The process", Employee #8 says, "gives high empowerment to employees and to Natives". The extension of decision-making power to the employees is reflective of, and consistent with, a management style that is participatory in nature. This augurs well for the management of a public participation program in that "if public participation staff [in this case the employees] are managed in a top-down, traditional way, they are likely to manage the public in the same fashion. Alternatively, participatively-managed staff are likely to work with the public more interactively since participation is part of the organizational culture" (Connor 1993:1).

Sometimes changes create fragile states that exist temporarily before lapsing to the old, stable state. It would seem that employees do not believe, for a number of reasons, that this would be the case with Mistik. This substantiates Connor's (1996) contention that good participation processes drive out bad ones and that once expectations with respect to participation have been created, they generate a certain resistance to backsliding. Samples of employees' responses to the question "Will Mistik ever revert back to the type of planning and decision-making processes used before?" are as follows:

We have a well-entrenched philosophy and working arrangements, we could never go back. If co-management was removed there would be a backlash and we couldn't do business in the area again (Employee #5).

We wouldn't be in business if we didn't do this, not just because of local pressures, but from an ethical perspective. Even if the mills were sold they would have to stick with the same philosophy, no one else could operate any differently in this area now (Employee #7).

[We] could never go back and operate under the old system (Employee #9).

Even more telling are the unsolicited responses indicating that the employees would now be hard pressed to work for a company that had any other type of operating philosophy.

If I had to work for a company that didn't do this it would not be right. There is no other way to do business (Employee # 8).

I would quit rather than go back to just focusing on the bottom line (Employee #9).

Interview responses indicate that the employees of Mistik are committed to an ecosystem management process that is based on public involvement in decision-making for a number of reasons, not the least of which is, it is the "right" thing to do. As Mistik Employee #3 put it, "it draws the best resources, inputs and ideas from all over, it is not myopic in nature therefore it has to be better". As another employee puts it, "the process has been vindicated in that 17 alternatives were considered and one chosen, all through grass roots participation. This has resulted in a different and better plan, one where fibre management is not the major consideration" (Mistik Employee #2).

However, in the real world of business, such conviction does not replace genuine, tangible results as an indicator of success or of money well spent. The question remains as to whether the decision to challenge the status quo of classic forest management processes was a good business decision. The answer will depend on how well Mistik does in the competitive world market, in community relations and environmental protection in the future. To date, empirical studies on the success of communal management of natural resources have produced evidence supporting both advocates and detractors of this type of management regime (Turner, Pearce and Bateman 1993:218). This evidence from the natural resource sector is bolstered by other research that has

demonstrated that organizations that treat their stakeholders well, develop innovative products and technologies, demonstrate environmental sensitivity and good corporate citizenship within their communities, tend to be more profitable (Svendsen 1998). Given this, Mistik's optimism is not unfounded, but then neither is its success assured.

While the success of Mistik's management decision remains unproven, there is little doubt of the company's conviction with respect to its choices. As Employee #3 put it "the status quo may pass the economic test but not the environmental and social test" and for Mistik that was not good enough.

Given this challenge of the status quo, does the company feel that it is on the leading edge of change in forest management? Mistik Employee #4 says that "Mistik is not unique. Although it may be the first company to pull together all the pieces of the puzzle, many of these same pieces are being replicated all around the world. Especially on the science side of operational planning there are a lot of good companies [for example Alpac and Northwood] that should get more attention than they do". This opinion is shared by individuals within the Department of Environment and Resource Management¹³, who are both quick to praise Mistik for their initiatives, but also add that the company was perhaps more innovative than inventive¹⁴.

Tables 6.2a and 6.2b at the end of this chapter provide a summary of Mistik's employee interview responses.

¹³ See SERM employees #2 quote below.

¹⁴ The distinction between innovation and invention is as follows: Invention is the idea that generates a new product or new method of production. Innovation is the application of the idea to subsequent or different processes. Therefore, in this context, Mistik did not invent public participation or co-management boards, but they took the ideas and applied them to their own processes.

THE REGULATORS

The change in protocol with respect to the process used to grant a Forest Management Licence Agreement was initiated for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the pressure from the public. In addition, the government also wanted to better assess the management of the forest resources. In light of these two considerations, the move toward an Environmental Impact Assessment process done in conjunction with the development of a forest management plan was an obvious move. The inclusion of public opinion in the development of the plan was a necessary component of Integrated Resource Management, a model the provincial government was committed to using.

Although the government did not provide a template for the public involvement process to be used, it did recognize Mistik's novel approach. It was clear from the outset that Mistik had tried approaches in public involvement that had not been tried before within the forest industry. As a SERM Assessment Officer (SERM Employee #1), stated, "meetings with Elders basically had never been done before". He goes on to add that "the fact that Mistik's employees at public meetings could give answers to questions and make decisions on the spot created trust between the company and the communities that other companies didn't have". However this trust and creativity of approach did not always sit well with regulators whose principal responsibility was the sustainability of the forest resource.

Indeed, the assessment officer adds that, "SERM had a fear with Mistik's approach in letting the public decide, given that the folks may care more about economics and jobs than about the environment". Had this happened,

SERM would have had to step in and change the proposed management plan. As it turned out, this fear was unfounded and, as noted above, both the company and the public were concerned not just with economic issues but social and environmental ones as well.

When asked what contributed to Mistik's innovative planning path SERM Employee #1 cited three reasons. The first reason was the province's legislative environment. The second reason was the fact that the government here, as opposed to other jurisdictions, has responded differently to issues raised by the public and the management at Mistik. The last reason offered is the most significant: "given that there are lots of ways of meeting the government's guidelines, the fact that Mistik advanced is due to Barry Peel, a different manager would have likely yielded different results".

While the original planning process that contributed to the development of the EIS created relatively little friction between the government and the company, the on-going involvement mechanisms, in the form of the Co-Management Boards, are a little more controversial. On the positive side, both the government and the company are very supportive of co-management and are convinced of its benefits in resource management¹⁵. On the down side, there is some friction between the government and Mistik with respect to co-management boards, in that each wants to take credit for this initiative and, perhaps more disconcerting, each has a different model in mind. As SERM Employee #2 put it "Mistik thought they invented co-management, although they do deserve credit, it was just a response to pressure. Saskatchewan is unique because it is the only place where government is

¹⁵ The Saskatchewan Government's commitment to co-management is outlined in several documents prepared by Saskatchewan Environment and Resource management. For example, *Public Involvement in the management of Saskatchewan's Environment and Natural Resources: A Policy Framework* (1995) and *Governing With Community: A Guide to Public Involvement in the Saskatchewan Government* (1994).

primarily responsible for co-management rather than being promoted from the grass roots" (SERM Employee #2). Of course, the fact that the Co-Management Boards in the NorSask FMLA were established by a private company runs contrary to this by establishing a precedent of allowing for co-management boards to be set up outside of SERM.

Perhaps what we have here is a little professional rivalry, which should not detract from the point that Mistik's endeavors were innovative and represent a new approach to planning. As well, evidence indicates that the existence of a proactive participation program in one area leads to increased expectations in others (Connor 1996). Hence, the existence of a participatory planning process, in the form of co-management boards, in the Northwest area of the province puts increased pressure on SERM to provide similar bodies elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

The interviews conducted with participants from the communities, employees of Mistik and SERM paint a multi perspective picture of the participatory planning process used by the company to develop its Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement. One perspective that all seem to share is the cautious optimism that the new decision-making process will enhance the probability of success in attaining the desired outcomes that drove the initiative in the first place. This potential is so inviting that nobody is willing to dismiss or harshly criticize the process for fear of jeopardizing its anticipated rewards. And, as evinced in the comments above, nobody wants to revert to the status quo.

While the tone of the interviews may leave one with the sense that the planning process has created an "and they lived happily ever-after" relationship among the participants, it must be noted that these interviews took place shortly after the submission of the forest management plan. As such, there had not been sufficient practical experience amassed to date to assess whether the stated objectives of the process had materialized. It would be useful to return to the NorSask FMLA during the next few years to see if the participatory planning process has remained vital.

These interviews, coupled with documentation from other sources, provided the foundation for the analysis of the process produced in the following chapters. This analysis will critic the process from the perspective of its success, its failures and the reasons behind them. It will also assess the planning process as a legitimate communication activity. In other words if it was undertaken as a participatory activity did it achieve those objectives?

Table 6.1a Summary of Community Interview Responses
Beauval

		Traditional Knowledge	Conflict Resolution	Company community relations
B E A U V A L	Member #1	The Metis traditions of hunting, fishing and trapping are all taken into decision-making.	Conflicts are resolved because we talk.	Mistik and Norsask treat Native people with respect, unlike other companies.
	Member #2			With Co-management we welcomed a mechanism to deal with industry and to be part of the planning process.
	Member #3			
	Member #4			Now we have a say in cutting before it happens. That means a lot to use. It really means a lot ... to have some day in what happens in our area.
	Member # 5	The local people here give of their time and their previous knowledge to this process.		The idea that the government and users of the forest [Mistik] come to us for advice and for negotiating the use of the forest is the most important thing.
	Member # 6			I think there is good communication between Mistik and the co-management board.

Table 6.1b Summary of Community Interview Responses
Green Lake

		Traditional Knowledge	Conflict Resolution	Company community relations
		Green lake	Member #1	
	Member # 2			[How is communication?] I figure this is good. Weyerhaeuser is kind of a little bit... seems to me they don't want to do what we ask. But Mistik, I said a lot of times, it's awful easy to deal with Mistik.
	Member # 3			Mistik is never a problem. They are always out there. It doesn't matter what type of question you ask they're always willing to answer.
	Member # 4			And when Mistik got a hold of it [co-management] and started working with the communities more on a personal basis. And then it started to move a little bit. Mistik had more success because they constantly tried to inform the people more about what is going on, and why it is going on. It took them a little while too. But it started moving, things started happening.
	Member # 5			Oh, I think when Mistik designed this they had great goals in mind, exactly what is happening now. They never worried about being monitored. They never worried about someone taking away some sort of ... or some form of their job. They saw this as part of the interaction process that needs to happen to alleviate fears, to show people are not here to take something but to help and work with them.

Table 6.1c Summary of Community Interview Responses
Divide

		Traditional Knowledge	Conflict Resolution	Company Community Relations
D I V I D E	Member #1		If it ever came to real conflict then we would be totally over-ruled by government or industry.	
	Member #2	Yes, local knowledge has been incorporated through this process. For example, moose calving areas and marking existing trails in the forest.		Our interactions are very good with Mistik. Sometimes they get told-off about their plans. Yes, everyone does have a chance to participate and to provide input. Mistik has grown towards the planning being more longer-term than before.
	Member #3			I have to hand bouquets to Mistik [they] have really tried to listen and they have been open to change. They do go out and walk the traplines with the trappers. However, we have an impact on when cutting will happen and not "if" and "how".
	Member #4	Yes, the board has helped to incorporate local knowledge. This is really helping Mistik out a lot because we are giving them information that they wouldn't normally get.	Yes, this process has reduced conflict because now we can see two sides to every story. Before we all just thought that Mistik was being omery. The attitude I had before was that they just wanted to cut all the trees and damn anyone else. Now I see why they cut.	At the start I wanted to make a difference but I didn't think we would have enough clout to make it work. I think that things are generally 100% better and I can't see it getting any better than this.
	Member #5		Everyone looks at things with a much more open mind than they did before. We have all done some swinging to understand each other. We have all become better thinkers because of this process we are now able to see another's point of view.	I see this as shared management and not just advisory because Mistik is willing to listen to our input and if they don't agree they come back to use with more information and material to explain their reasons for decisions.
	Member #6			We're not here to agree with everything that the companies say. If that was the case then we just wouldn't be here. I must say though that Mistik has been real good They really do listen to us and to what we tell them.
	Member #7			I might be a little harsh in my judgement here but I'm going to say it anyway. When someone from the advisory council raises their voice Mistik raises their voice a little louder to the point where that person is going to back down. So it is like they are pulling a heavy strong-arm tactic in the meeting room.
	Member #8			There is real good communication between Mistik and the boards. They [Mistik] come to every meeting now, telling use where they are going.
	Member #9			They [Mistik] are really good about showing us their cutting plans well before they have to send them to government for approval and they share all the information that we ask them for. I think that the process is working and we really do have a say in decision-making.

Table 6.2a Summary of Employee Interview Responses
 On the Topics of: Conflict Resolution; jobs/Economy;
 Planning/Consultation, and Company/Community Relations

	Conflict Resolution	Jobs/Economy	Planning and/or Consultation Process	Changes in Company and Community Relations
#1			Public consultation doesn't work unless you know what you want. Mistik is leading the way.	
#2			The process has to be continuous. Always have to have input and education to show how our actions achieve the goals the public wants. The process has been vindicated, grassroots participation has resulted in a different and better plan.	The process has changed the company, it is part of our job descriptions. It requires a lot of education.
#3			It facilitates communication "both ways" and increases understanding. Co-management is a good decision if it gives more power and includes more stakeholders.	Native groups and the communities had to start thinking in terms of trade offs when they were involved in the EIA process.
#4	The blockade was a culmination of a number of events: a shift to mechanical harvesting; harvesting aspen and spruce; roads; hiring; and metis rights. Now the company recognizes these issues and deal with them. This is unique to the NorthWest [part of the province].	There is a broad objective to have 1/3 employment balance between treaty Indians, metis and existing contractors.	Before the IRM process community based involvement and issues identification in decision-making didn't exist. There was no blueprint for the process, do it right was the commitment even if it needed to backtrack and start over.	Mistik was growing at the same time as the process was underway. It has attracted "like" thinkers, the opponents have left. There were [at the start of the process] massive signals that the forestry sector was ignorant of what the public perceived and that the only people that supported it were employees.
#5	Because of the process, issues get viewed and solved better. There was a lack of controversy over the 20-year plan due to doing the job right. Because at the start of the process 1/2 the community would show up, but they became convinced it was running well and there was less controversy.	Jobs are a main priority in the north and people need input into planning. Need to plan the harvest so that there will always be wood. Mistik provides the basis for further economic development.	There is more open communication and willingness to try new things. The company is more sensitive to other points of view, doesn't just make decisions without consulting, there is no one-sided decision-making. There is a focus on problem solving, not just doing a job separate from other concerns.	If this process were removed there would be a societal backlash. This process has definitely changed Mistik's strategies on when and where to cut or to put roads and so on. The process demands a lot from employees in terms of dealing with people and it will get rid of those who don't show that attitude.

Continued...

Table 6.2a ...Continued

	Conflict Resolution	Jobs/Economy	Planning and/or Consultation Process	Changes in Company and Community Relations
#6		We know we could bring in outsiders who are much more efficient but would it be worth it if you can get the work done by using local folks? We keep the opportunities here, keep the kids here, keep the history. For the most part we are already cheaper and cost effective and the revenue stays in the community and we are better off.	Communication and education are the key to action, involving all the groups and lining the right thing.	There will always be a few who don't like it. Lots said it was a PR tactic. That opinion was probably well founded given past practices of the company and the industry. But there has been a real change in direction for the status quo to participation and ecosystem planning.
#7			Planning is now a combination of local interests and timber, ACC just maximized timber. This process is past the point of no return, aboriginal/political interests have advanced too far and no one wants it to go back either.	The company is different because its empowerment of natives is second to none. Other companies can't believe that the contractors are native.
#8	Co-management is the vehicle for trying to resolve conflict but we could still have problems, you can't please everyone, even those involved in the process.			The relationships between the company and the communities are better.
#9	[Reduced conflict because] the focus is on local issues, and the lack of local involvement had caused more grief than the public from "away".		The process has reduced conflict and criticism because the people now appreciate the trade-offs and opportunity costs and because we have consensus based decision-making.	This process worked here but it wouldn't work in the Eastern part of the province because of different relations between the locals and the company. I would quite rather than go back and operate under the old system.
#10	It was hoped at the outset that this process would resolve conflict.		Public pressure and environmental groups have forced the change, but it has been for the good. Now everyone sees the decision-making process and it takes all the argument away and out of the process.	Because we are all working together this aids in the company's profitability. It is possible that we could revert back to the old ways, but not without great pains.

Table 6.2b Summary of Employee Interview Responses
On the Topics of: Philosophy; Markets; Leadership, and
Environment/Ecosystems

	Philosophy	Markets	Leadership	Environment/ Ecosystem
#1			Senior management was less of a factor in Mistik going ahead with participatory planning, the public was more of a factor.	There is a public desire for sustainable forestry practices. This type of practice leads to long term profitability by ensuring 220 years of wood supply -- other systems do not.
#2				The long term health and integrity of the landscape is behind the general thrust of planning.
#3	Mistik has a philosophy of working with the community. The status quo may pass the economic test but it will not pass the environmental and social tests.	What does money spent on public involvement in planning do? It lets you keep Environmentally friendly markets.	Barry Peel is a visionary; he is responsible for the new management plan.	We will know we have passed the environmental test if we have the same animals, birds and insects we had before -- no loss of species.
#4	Like attracts like. Mistik has attracted the right people central to the process and the organization to build the philosophical base of the organization.	Needed to change the decision-making process, not because of the resource, but because of society and the market place.	The senior management didn't like how resources were managed (at a high level with few people providing input), they didn't think that was sustainable and didn't think it would yield the results they wanted.	We need to manage for non-consumptive values, including spiritual ones. We need to include these to show there are other important values of the forest. We need to know those resources will be there [in the future].
#5	There is a well-entrenched philosophy [of working with the people] and working arrangements. The company could never go back. The company provides the philosophy and empowers the employees to talk; we don't have to go with the "party line".		Barry Peel believed in working with people. This created a fertile ground for community and company relations.	Forest management is a moral responsibility.

Continued...

Table 6.2b ...Continued

	Philosophy	Markets	Leadership	Environment/ Ecosystem
#6	It is a train of thought or philosophy and when everyone is on board it is second nature – even for contractors.	The company needs to keep up with the times or we'll go out of business. We are in the forest management business and if we loose sight of this we'll loose our licence and we won't be in business any more.		
#7	Mistik is accountable to all people of Saskatchewan because it uses crown land. But it is specifically accountable to northerners because it is their backyard. We wouldn't be in business if we didn't do this not just because of local pressure but from an ethical perspective.			
#8	If I had to work for a company that didn't do this it would not be right, there is no other way to do business		Barry Peel was the reason for the change in planning. The vision for Mistik came from him.	
#9		It isn't a concern on the lumber side; it (certification) will be used as a marketing tool and to get ready for something that is coming. It is more important for pulp markets.	Management was very important to the participatory planning process. Different management may have lead to a different approach.	The [the public] trust Mistik, that the company will be accountable, and that the environment will be protected by the process.
#10	The land is controlled by the people who live on it.	From a market perspective, the product has a better chance if it has support of the local people. Also, financial institutions will require this sort of commitment. If the local people support you will be more profitable.		

CHAPTER SEVEN DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter provides an analysis of the organizational and contextual factors that influenced Mistik's choice of public participation as an integral part of the organization's planning process.

Mistik Management made the decision to include the public in the development of its Twenty-year Forest Management Plan before the Government of Saskatchewan issued the Project Specific Guidelines which directed the company to involve the public in the process, but did not specify how this was to be done. The Project Specific Guidelines were issued in 1992, whereas Mistik had begun the process of including the public in its decision-making processes in 1989-1990 (Mistik employee #10).

Although all Saskatchewan forestry companies were responsible for including the public in their planning processes, the fact that each company responded differently to the mandate is wholly consistent with findings elsewhere. Boaden et al (1980), in a study of local planning authorities in England found a wide range of responses to the statute requiring them to involve the public in planning activities. These variations were related to the nature of the area (urban, rural, suburban), and the planning history of each of the areas. This chapter explores what variations can be attributed to the different response undertaken by Mistik.

Regulators (SERM employee #1) have characterized Mistik's planning process as innovative. In order to research the origins of this process, employees at Mistik were asked what factors they believed "motivated" or "influenced" this innovative approach. The responses, summarized in the preceding

chapter, can be grouped into two categories: 1) business motivations and 2) philosophical or ethical motivations.

There may be concern that Mistik, given the specificity of this case, is such a unique entity that it renders generalization dangerous. The first concern is that Mistik's actions may not be indicative of a trend towards increased environmental conscientiousness by business organizations in general. Second, that the degree of Mistik's voluntary compliance with respect to environmental and stakeholder issues is not representative of the business sector and therefore may be unrealistically positive with respect to the effectiveness of voluntary compliance.

Mistik's proactive approach towards environmental protection and public involvement does fit a recognized category of corporate activity. There is a body of evidence indicating that environmental concerns play an increasingly significant role in corporate strategic planning and decision-making (Menon and Menon 1997; Brown and Karagozoglu 1998; Aragon-Correa 1998). Firms that do perceive the natural and social environment as important are far more inclined than those firms that do not perceive the environment as important to recognize non-traditional stakeholders (Henriques and Sadorsky 1999). Mistik is representative of this group of firms.

Certainly there are those firms that do not demonstrate a high degree of environmental or stakeholder commitment, in fact there are recognized continuums of such behaviour (Hunt and Auston 1990; Roome 1992). The question as to what prompts firms to act more responsibly is one of the objectives of this research. Therefore the recognition of variation in environmental and social conscientiousness is implicit in this study. Included in the continuum of behaviour are firms that do not comply with

environmental standards or regulations let alone engage in active environmentalism. Given this continuum it is not surprising that there are legitimate concerns that some companies have "highjacked" (Welford 1997) environmentalism and are actively engaging in what is commonly referred to as "greenwash". Greenwash is a term that has been employed since the early 1990s (Strid and Cater 1993) in reference to corporations attempting to preserve and expand their markets by presenting themselves as environmentally and socially sensitive when in fact they are__actually socially and environmentally destructive¹. The incorporation of environmental issues into the corporate lexicon represents, as Welford (1997:28) describes it, an addition to the status quo "development path but does not allow that dimension to radically change the path".

The benefits and costs of voluntary compliance with respect to the environment are strongly contested. Its detractors contend that the private sector profit motive is antithetical to the altruism required to make voluntary compliance realistic (Gibson 1998). Or that it is merely a way in which government can accede to private sector demands to reduce costs by shirking on environmental responsibilities (Lynes et al 1998). Advocates of voluntary compliance initiatives maintain that these initiatives are more cost effective, efficient and facilitate innovation (Rich 1993; Lynes et al 1998). For these reasons, governments are exploring the use of voluntary compliance as a substitute for existing environmental regulations (Arora and Cason 1995). In either case, Henriques and Sadorsky (1999) maintain that further research, both theoretical and empirical, is required to asses the impact that this will have on firms and__their interactions with stakeholders. Within this framework it is conceivable that Mistik is unique

¹ See Jed Greer and Kenny Bruno's book *Greenwash: The Reality Behind Corporate Environmentalism* for a scathing indictment of such companies as DuPont, Shell, Mitsubishi and Westinghouse for activities that the

and that as a rule voluntary compliance may not be a substitute for regulatory requirements. However, the case does provide evidence to support the use of voluntary compliance initiatives within an established regulatory framework.

Business Motivations

The goal of any business organization is long-run survival, which in turn is secured through maintaining the organization's profitability and stability (Jones 1995). Hence, it is the goal of management to develop strategies that retain, enhance or maximize the organization market share and revenue streams (Freeman 1984). These strategic management decisions dictate how an organization will interface with its environment and, ultimately will determine the long-run performance of the organization (Hunger and Wheelen 1997).

Strategies are however, not homogeneous and can be sub-divided into three levels: functional, business and corporate (Porter 1980, 1985, 1987; Dundas and Richardson 1980). Functional level strategies are aimed at improving the internal functional operations of an organization, for example marketing or research. The third level, that of corporate strategy, focuses on the organization's search for new products and services or new "domains" (Porter 1987). The second level, that of business strategy, is the level where organizations select strategies to "exploit opportunities in the organizational environment" in order to create a competitive advantage (Jones 1995:270). As such these strategies can focus either on reducing costs, or on product differentiation (Jones 1995). For the purpose of this

author's contend are attempts to portray the companies in an undeserved glowing green light.

discussion, it is this level of strategy, the business level, that is of interest.

Mistik has made very clear statements with respect to how it perceives its environment and hence how it develops its business strategy. The first part of its business strategy consists of the company's desire to obtain certification for its products. Certification of forest products is a process involving the independent assessment of a forest management operation, evaluating the ecological, socioeconomic and silvicultural practices against a set of accepted forest management standards (Viana et al. 1996). Certification processes carefully examine the impacts that forestry operations have on local communities and encourage the involvement of stakeholders in planning processes. Specifically, current Forest Stewardship Council² policies "require that certification should assure that there are no obvious abuses and that basic human rights are respected (indigenous land claims, worker safety, and payment at or above the regional minimum wages)" (Viana et al. 1996:65). In addition to these requirements social benefits, although not officially included in the certification process, are encouraged (Viana et al. 1996).

Therefore, in order to obtain certification it is clear that Mistik must demonstrate to certification bodies that not only have stakeholders, in this case the public and other interest groups (trappers, outfitters etc.), been involved, but also that they have been involved to such an extent as to assure that the above considerations have been addressed.

Mistik's reason for seeking certification has to do with the markets where its parent companies, Millar Western and NorSask, sell their respective

products. In this case the markets are divided along lines of environmental sensitivity. In the case where a business focuses its efforts on positioning a product to capture consumers concerned with environmental issues it is responding to what Upton and Bass (1996:44) refer to as "green market pull". The demand for environmentally sensitive products can be purely a result of consumer preference or, as Reinhardt (1998) suggests, as a function of government regulation. If the market for environmentally sensitive products is driven by regulation, businesses need to be cognizant of this when developing niche market strategies in order to ensure that their products meet product specifications or guidelines. Hence, certification can be a very important consideration for a company wishing to protect, or even expand market share.

Millar Western is concerned with certification because it sells its pulp and paper products in Europe³ where they are subject to more stringent environmental regulation (Mistik employee#9). NorSask, because it sells its product (lumber) on the American market, has not been subject to the same level of scrutiny⁴. However, just because these concerns have not played a significant role in marketing NorSask's lumber, this does not mean that this situation will continue⁵. In seeking certification for all its products, Mistik believes it will be in a position to use this as a marketing tool for its lumber. This was characterized as "getting ready for something that is coming" (Mistik employee #9). The example cited by Mistik was that of Home

² As noted in the preceding chapter, The Forest Stewardship Council accredits forest certifiers. This is not the only certification body.

³ "The recent boycott of Canadian forest companies' products by European consumers has had a serious impact on these corporations' finances and has encouraged some of them to rethink their policies" (Svendsen 1998:22).

⁴ As of 1998, less than 1 percent of all wood products sold in the United States carried a forest certification seal (Pickerill 1998).

⁵ In fact, the USDA Forest Service has compiled data indicting an increasing trend in demand for certified wood products. "According to a 1995 survey, 80 percent of furniture manufacturers and 60 percent of cabinet makers are willing to purchase certified wood, and 60 percent of hardwood buyers and 50 percent of softwood buyers will pay more for certified wood." (Moss 1997:46).

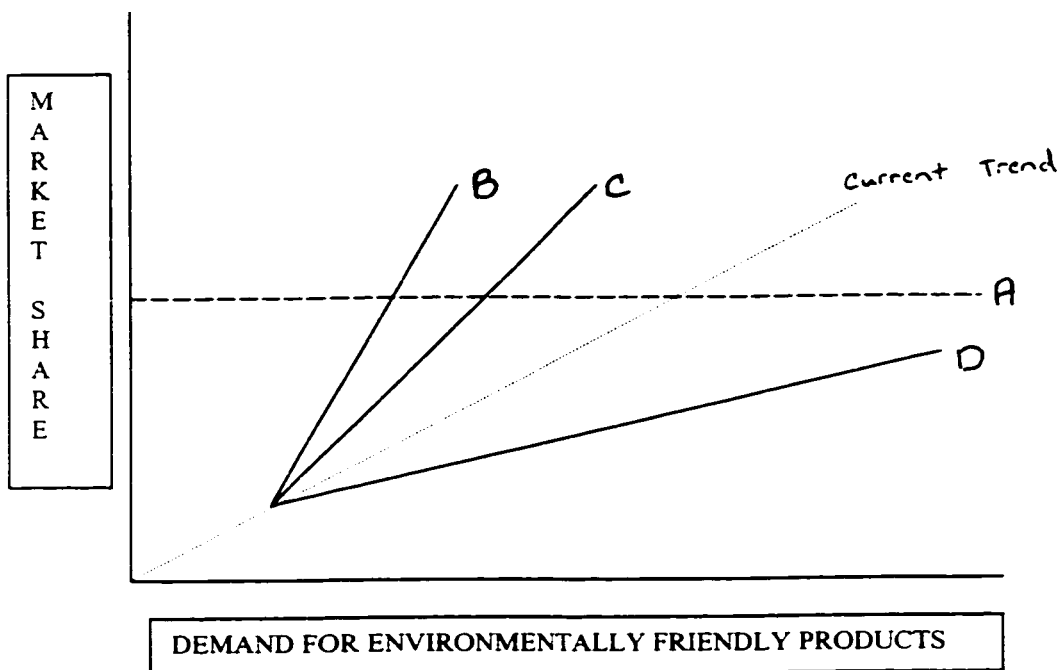
Depot, which has indicated that in the future it will only purchase certified wood products. This may, in fact be only a small indication of what is likely to happen. "In fact" as Svendsen points out "Greenpeace and various international wood-product companies in North America and Europe are now working together to come up with product-specific standards. These standards will determine which North American wood products can be effectively marketed in Europe" (1998:22-23).

Mistik's strategy is based on future market positioning. Current, conventional forestry practices may meet the financial objectives of the company, but not other objectives. As an employee said, in order to be successful and stay in business you must pass three tests, and as a result, "the status quo may pass the economic test but not the environmental and social tests" (Mistik employee #3). Another Mistik employee pointed out, "we could remain with the status quo and we would probably make more money in the short-run - it would certainly be easier to manage - but if you superimpose market trends the key to profit in the long-run will be environmental protection" (Mistik employee #4). In order to demonstrate this the employee drew Figure 7.1.

Here, the horizontal line (A) represents the amount of sunk cost Mistik has incurred in developing an environmentally sensitive plan that used extensive public participation. The dotted line represents what Mistik believes is the current trend in terms of market share based on environmental considerations. The intersection of this dotted line and line A, at some time in the future, indicates the pay back period for Mistik. However, because this time is an unknown and because the trend line for environmentally friendly products (and the associated market share) may increase sharply (as represented by lines B and C) this pay back period

could be much sooner because Mistik will be able to capture markets from companies that are not prepared, in other words not able to secure certification. Of course, Mistik also recognizes that perhaps the trend toward environmentally friendly products will not materialize as it predicts (line D).

Figure 7.1 Mistik's Projected Market Share



Part of this strategy is based on the lag time associated with obtaining certification if the market trend should suddenly shift (lines B and C). If other companies are not certified, or in a position to be certified, a sudden shift in demand for environmentally friendly products will result in a favourable market position for Mistik's parent companies. As the employee explained it "we are looking at a future pay off. Since you can't do it

[become certified] over night, you have to plan and be prepared, I don't know when it [significant increase in demand for environmentally friendly products] will kick in, but when it does it will be immediate" (Mistik employee #4). The findings of a recent study by Eric Hansen (1997) support the employee's statements. The Hansen study states that "environmental marketing strategies are likely to see increased use as the global forest products industry recognizes the potential for competitive advantage. Although there is little evidence indicating an immediate competitive advantage resulting from not being certified, it could be critical to obtain a position that would allow relatively quick forest certification" (1977:16).

When asked what the money spent on public involvement processes would do for the company, the answer was quite simply "it will let us keep environmentally friendly markets" (Mistik employee #3). In short, as Svendsen (1998) has suggested, developing collaborative stakeholder relationships may provide an organization with a competitive advantage.

Another motivator, which can be characterized as a business strategy, is that of conflict resolution or reduction (Mistik employee #10). Mistik had already experienced the impact of such a conflict during the 1992 blockade. Not only did the blockade disrupt operations for the company, but it also resulted in negative publicity. And, negative publicity is bad for business, especially when it concerns potential environmental or social exploitation (Saunders and McGowan 1993). Indeed, companies are increasingly concerned with their public images and do not like to fall victim to bad press associated with unethical or immoral behaviour, even if it is only perceived to have occurred (Reich 1998). Public participation then makes "good sense from a market point of view because the product has a better chance if it

has support of the people who live on the land base. To be successful the company needs this. As well, financial institutions will require [proof of] this sort of commitment" (Mistik employee #10).

The reduction of the potential for future conflict makes sense from a business perspective in that conflict can interfere with operations and hence revenue flows. Also, conflict can result in bad publicity, which, as noted above, can have a negative impact on a business. Public involvement in decision-making is, as one employee explained it, "an infrastructure that results in cost savings. The costs that it saves can be measured in terms of time spent putting out fires, fighting legal battles and dealing with a hostile public" (Mistik employee #10). The question of why Mistik believes that public involvement in planning will assist in reducing conflict remains unanswered.

The greatest benefit that public participation can potentially provide in terms of reducing future conflict is that it can, at the outset, identify, and hence make participants aware of, the different values held by the various parties involved. Mistik used the discovery and interpretation of public values as the starting point for the planning process (Mistik employee #4). Indeed, as noted in Chapter 5, this information was used to design alternative forest management options and to develop initial evaluation criteria weights for selecting the preferred forest management plan. Without doing this, the values placed on forest benefits other than timber would have been overlooked and hence would have been a source of potential conflict. As one employee expressed it "to native groups the economic aspects of forest management is important but not at the total expense of the environment. If the environment was to fall in quality they [natives] would be upset" (Mistik employee #3).

In addition to recognizing the various values, the public participation process also provided the public with an opportunity to be involved in the process of making trade-offs. "Native and community groups had to start thinking in terms of trade-offs when they were involved in the process. They had to answer questions about how much? which do you value more? how much more do you value it?" (Mistik employee #3). It is believed that as a result of this process, conflict and criticism have been reduced because both the trade-offs and opportunity costs of each decision are appreciated (Mistik employee #9). Making the community part of the planning process from beginning to end has made them share in the results and take ownership and responsibility for the outcome (Mistik employee #10).

In order to facilitate this type planning, Mistik realized that both communication and education were key elements in achieving involvement from all groups (Mistik employee#6). This would require the facilitation of communication not just between Mistik and the various participants but also among the participants themselves. Mistik realized that participation was not only going to be important, it was, given the mix of personal and political interests, also going to be very difficult. "The first meetings with the advisory boards were an example of how dramatically opposed many of the points of view and objectives were among the stakeholders" (Mistik employee #10). By ensuring that the process was transparent, that the criteria for making decisions were known and that all the information was shared, Mistik tried to create a framework within which most contentious issues can be resolved. However, conflicts internal to some of the

stakeholder groups still present a problem over which the company has no control (Mistik employee #8)⁶.

Resource management literature indicates that conflict can arise as a result of one of four basic differences, these are:

- 1) differences in knowledge or understanding;
- 2) differences in values;
- 3) differences about distribution of benefits and costs;
- 4) differences due to personalities and circumstances of interested parties (Mitchell 1997:21).

In conversations with Mistik employees, these points of conflict were, at various times, identified and discussed in relation to the planning process. Although, it must be noted that nobody believed that involving the public would prove to be a panacea. In terms of eradicating conflict, the company did hope that it would reduce the incidence and severity of disputes and provide a framework for their resolution.

Mistik has chosen what it believes to be an appropriate strategy to protect and perhaps, if the company has anticipated future market conditions correctly, enhance the organization's future market position and hence its profitability and stability. However, in terms of securing a profitable and stable future in terms of markets, it has also chosen this strategy because it will result in a secure resource stream, something that is important to the long-run survival of a forestry company that is tied to a specific and bounded geographic location. "Mistik has taken the position that it wants long-term profitability and has decided to manage the forest over a 220 year window, other forest management systems don't do this" (Mistik employee#1). The company feels that managing for the long-term, in other words for more

⁶ The reference here was to the degree to which local political disagreements that arise within a group (in this case

than one harvest rotation, is a good market strategy, one that would give it a competitive advantage ensuring its profitability (Mistik employee #10). This type of management horizon requires the company to use an ecosystem approach, one that considers not just fibre production, but the production of other benefits as well.

The ecosystem approach to managing a resource base is complex, involving the assimilation and integration of information on intricate systems of relationships, of which humans are but one component, but none the less an important one. It is important then that the information upon which decisions are based be the best available. This includes not only information obtained from scientific sources, but from other sources as well. Mistik believes that by including the public in the planning process the company "draws the best resources, inputs and ideas from all over, it [the plan] is not myopic in nature therefore it has to be better" (Mistik employee #3).

Mistik is in fact recognizing what Robinson (1992) describes as the value of traditional knowledge as it exists among first nations peoples. The inclusion of the public allows for the incorporation of its pragmatic, experience-based knowledge into the organization's planning process, allowing them to be active participants in what is both a scientific (the management of an ecosystem) and business activity. There is a growing body of evidence supporting the belief that the inclusion of local or traditional knowledge will benefit the long-run sustainability of a resource (Mitchell 1997)⁷. In turn, the long-run sustainability of the resource provides for

within the Aboriginal community) spill over and impact on Mistik's decision-making process.

⁷ On this issue, Mitchell asserts: "The growing recognition that indigenous people who live in an area have understanding and sights about resources, environment and ecosystems as a result of observation over various seasons and many years has been extended to recognize that any people, indigenous or otherwise living in an area

the long-run security of supply for the organization(s) deriving their livelihood from the resource.

In a recent article, Forest Reinhardt (1998) maintains that three factors are essential for a business strategy based on environmental product differentiation to be successful. These are: 1) a willingness on the part of consumers to pay for environmental quality; 2) credible information on what the environmental attributes of the product are; and 3) barriers to imitation by competitors (Reinhardt 1998:47). While only time will tell if Mistik's business strategy will be successful, it is evident that the company has based its strategy on that of environmental product differentiation, and cost avoidance through conflict reduction. Public participation in the planning process represents a fundamental element in the implementation of this strategy. As Plunkett and Fournier (1991) indicated with respect to employee participation, it is an activity undertaken for business reasons. The same argument appears to hold true with respect to public participation.

Yet, when asked what lead Mistik to engage in a public participation process, business motivations were only part of the response. Strongly tied to the considerations of markets, costs and resource supply were other considerations of a decidedly less "material" nature. In fact, the other factors cited as strongly motivating Mistik to involve the public in the planning process were philosophical in nature.

may be aware of aspects that scientists could miss. Such awareness had led to the acceptance of the participatory approach ... and in growing interest in combining local knowledge systems with science-based knowledge "(1997:1980).

Philosophical Motivations

The belief in the "rightness" of this approach is held in very high regard by the company's employees. When asked if the company could revert back to a non-participatory style of operation, employees felt that this was unlikely. One employee flatly stated that "we could never go back and operate under the old system" (Mistik employee #9). The philosophy was too well entrenched in the existing working arrangements and there would be a societal backlash if they tried to change it now (Mistik employee #5). "Even if the mills were sold, no one else could operate any differently" than the company is now (Mistik employee #7).

The conviction of employees at Mistik that public involvement was "the right thing to do" (Mistik employee #6) appears to be rooted in the belief that "the land should be controlled by the people who live on it" (Mistik employee #10) and that Mistik has to be accountable to these people (Mistik employee #7). With this in mind, it made sense for these people to be involved in the decisions affecting that land. This then became the driver that caused the company to find, what one person called a "practical nirvana" - a better method of economic and environmental development (Mistik employee #4). Public involvement is, in the minds of Mistik's employees the right thing from an "ethical" as well as a business perspective (Mistik employee #7). It is the organization's basic "philosophy that it works with the community" (Mistik employee #3) and not apart from it.

When discussing the involvement of the public in the company's planning process, reference is often made to the vision of the individual who was then the CEO at Mistik, Barry Peel.

Barry Peel, he was the visionary, the one responsible for the new management plan (Mistik employee #3).

Barry had the ideas and knew change was necessary (Mistik employee #4).

There was fertile ground for improving community and company relations. Barry Peel believed in working with people (Mistik employee #5).

Barry Peel was the reason for the change in planning at Mistik, the vision for Mistik came from him (Mistik employee #8).

The employees of Mistik are, it seems, prepared to credit the CEO with one of the fundamental characteristics of leadership - that of creating a vision (Hughes, Ginnett and Curphy 1996). However, while creating a vision may be important, it seems more likely that the CEO was able to discern the invisible basic assumptions (Schein 1985), or mental models (Senge 1990) of the organization and express them in terms of recognizable, testable, expressions of the organization's values (Schein 1985). These values in turn found expression in terms of a shared vision for the organization.

What are these underlying and basic assumptions that existed within Mistik? Interviews with the employees revealed two sources of very compatible sets of assumptions. The first is the relationship between the employees and the larger community. The second is the adoption by the forestry professionals of the precepts of the ecosystem approach to resource management.

Within Mistik, most, but not all, employees are from the geographic area defined by the company's forest management licence. As well, many of the employees are from the local aboriginal communities. One employee related the story of how he felt when the company opened up for harvest an area of land where, in the past, he had gone to hunt elk. He said, that when he

looked at the area he suddenly realized how it must make others feel when areas with which they have a historic attachment are opened up for harvest. He said, "it makes me think, if I feel this way, how does someone else feel?" (Mistik employee #6). For the aboriginal employees the sense of "separative self" (Ferber and Nelson 1993) would be particularly acute if they felt that their work ethic conflicted with the ethics of their community⁸.

There is then a recognition that the activities of the company have a direct impact on not just the activities of the larger community, but also on their feelings and sense of self and shared history. They also know, given their experience with the blockade, what effect community can have on the company. There is the tie between the company and the community through the employees. The employees are members of, and identify with, each entity and there is the basic assumption, or culture⁹, of connectedness.

In addition to the assumptions created by virtue of the relationship of the company to the community, there are also the basic assumptions associated with individuals who have received training, especially recent training, in natural resource management. Professional training can result in the development of an identifiable culture as described by Schein (1996) with respect to engineering. He describes engineering culture as possessing the following: it seeks to master nature; it is stimulated by puzzles and problems and prefers people free solutions; it sees the world as an elegant machine; it is safety orientated, and; prefers linear, simple cause and effect, quantitative thinking (Schein 1996:14).

⁸ First Nations people who take on roles within organizations are often forced to deal with conflicting allegiances. The more closely the culture in the workplace (public self) mirrors the individual's social cultural (private self) the easier it is for the individual in question to deal with the often conflicting demands of work and community (Beatty 1997).

On the other hand, forestry schools teach a different set of fundamentals. The education system for forestry was described by a recent graduate as being based on an ecosystem model¹⁰ that asks question like "how do things interrelate in the forest?", and "how are we going to manage it?" (Mistik employee #7). The result of a professional education structured around an ecosystem model would create a culture possessing characteristics more inclined towards: working with nature; people, and other values, included in solutions that reflect both the qualitative and complex nature of the resource.

Therefore, it is not so much that the CEO provided the vision to the company, so much as he articulated values that reflected the existing, albeit unspoken, culture of the company. The articulation of these values is important in shaping the practices of an organization, particularly when it comes to encouraging collaborative or participatory activities (Svendsen 1998). In essence, the CEO demonstrated what Covey (1992), and others, characterize as transformational leadership. What characterizes such leadership? It derives, among other things, from the ability of a leader to create a vision, or a sense of what is to be done, based on the recognition of the needs of the members of the organization (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 1996). In turn, this creates a powerful force within the organization. When a leader is able to recognize and articulate this underlying vision he or she is often seen to be operating on a "higher moral plane" and likely to garner a significant degree of loyalty from the other members of the

⁹ To Schein culture is defined as the basic assumptions that are shared by members of an organization (1985:432).

¹⁰ The fundamental ontological and ethical characteristics of which are based on the following concepts: web of life; holism; heterarchical; indisassociation; intrinsicalism and spiritualism (Gladwin, Kennelly and Krause 1995:883).

organization (Hughes, Ginnett and Curphy 1996; Micklethwait and Wooldridge 1996).

In the case of Mistik, it is clear that the CEO enjoys a great deal of respect and credit for the "vision" he provided to the company. However, it seems that the requisite foundation in terms of organizational culture was already in place and that the CEO was principally responsible for turning it into a set of values that could then be acted upon or used to create something tangible (Schein 1985). In the case of Mistik the articulated values of "working with the people" manifested themselves into a business strategy that was based on public participation in decision-making.

This does not in any way imply that Mistik would have espoused the values that it did with a different CEO. Clearly, the CEO also believed in these values and was not merely a neutral entity. Rather, the CEO was hired because he did possess a compatible outlook, but interestingly, an outlook compatible with the parent company's (Millar Western) values¹¹. At the time that Mistik was established Millar Western took on the task of hiring a CEO. In the opinion of a number of employees, Millar Western wanted to hire "a special individual, who knew that change was necessary and was willing to try new things" (Mistik employee #4). The CEO was chosen, as is often the case (Greco 1997), to reflect the culture of the parent company. It so happens that this choice was compatible with the other cultures within

¹¹ Millar Western, a family owned business, has a reputation among its employees of running the company like a family. The company keeps records of important dates in their employee's lives (birthdays, anniversaries) and marks such occasions with cards. As well, it is their corporate policy not to let employees go during economic down turns.

Mistik thereby contributing to the company's emphasis on environmental and stakeholder issues¹².

The use of public participation in planning may have been a conscious business strategy decision to ensure the long-run profitability and stability of the organization. The choice was made on a clear and rational articulation of how Mistik perceived its environment, what it believed the environment would look like in the future, and how the company should position itself in order to take advantage of these opportunities. The fact that it chose this strategy, or that this strategy was even considered, is attributable to Mistik's philosophical outlook and corporate culture. As Schein recognized "not only does culture limit the strategic options that are conceivable to an organization, but strategies cannot be implemented if they run against powerful cultural assumptions" (1985:19).

When asked what motivated Mistik to adopt public participation as an integral part of the planning process, the responses of the employees revealed a consistent "image" of the organization in terms of its culture and strategy (Beach 1997). The level of support and enthusiasm for the strategy chosen by Mistik reflects a high level of compatibility between the option and the employees' perception of Mistik's values (Beach 1997; Shockley-Zalabak and Morley 1989).

It is evident that the philosophical or cultural atmosphere in Mistik provided a framework within which the participatory strategy grew. A participatory strategy includes both the public and employees. While the main focus of the discussion to this point has been on the involvement of

¹² In their study of corporate environmental commitment, Henriques and Sadosky (1999:96) found that "if a company wishes to make environmental issues a priority, it may want to hire managers who react positively to

the public in decision-making, it should be noted that Mistik's employees feel that they too enjoy a high degree of empowerment, the ability to make decisions on their own (Mistik #8). The philosophy of the company is well understood by employees, even those on contract. This provides them with the parameters within which to make decisions. As one individual expressed it, Mistik has "empowered employees to talk [directly to the public], without having to go with the party line" (Mistik #5). This is the hallmark of an organization that is, as Wheately (1992;133) describes it, "shaped by concepts and not through elaborate rules or structures".

Wheatley describes organizations that operate under a system of "expressed expectations of acceptable behavior" in the following way:

They trust in the power of guiding principles or values, knowing that they are strong enough influencers of behavior to shape every employee into a desired representative of the organization. These organizations expect to see similar behaviors show up at every level in the organization because those behaviors were patterned into the organizing principles at the very start (1992:132).

In summary, because the corporate philosophy and values are well communicated and understood in the company, decisions can be made on most issues as they come up. The employee dealing with the issue does not have to go back to the company to seek guidance. The opportunity to deal directly with employees who have the authority to make on the spot decisions has fostered a greater level of trust between Mistik and the public.

The participatory approach to management created an atmosphere that made public participation a viable option for Mistik to pursue. Without such an atmosphere, this option would not have been considered. There is a consistency then between the organization's philosophical outlook and the strategy chosen.

stakeholders [and]_who represent the values the company wants to espouse".

However, there are other enabling factors that contributed to the choice of strategy that should be considered. These are factors that give latitude to the organization to pursue new approaches to planning. Unlike the values and culture of the organization, necessarily determine the choice of business strategy. Two of these enabling factors are the age of the organization and the size of the organization.

At the time in question, Mistik was a "young" organization, having been incorporated in 1990. The planning process and the company were growing at the same time. What started out as a company of four eventually grew to one of 40 employees. At the outset, the forestry operations were conducted as per the status quo for the industry. It was the planning activities that reflected the new philosophy (Mistik #4). There was no blueprint or strategy for developing the plan, just a "commitment to do it right" (Mistik #4).

The fact that Mistik was a young company strongly driven by a philosophy of including people allowed it to try new approaches. "There is a challenge in getting people to give up what is familiar" (Sternberg, O'Hara and Lubart 1997:15). In the case of Mistik, there was nothing familiar to give up. The age of the company also allowed managers to hire individuals that fit the corporate culture. It is widely recognized within Mistik that there is a "like attracts like" atmosphere with respect to hiring and if an individual does not fit with the philosophy he/she will not remain with the company (Mistik #8).

With a complement of 40 employees, Mistik is a relatively small company. An organization that is both small and young is frequently seen as more

creative, willing to try new things (Greener 1998), although innovative advantage based on firm size may differ from industrial sector to industrial sector (Acs and Audretsch 1988). In 1997 Iledare et al, along with industry and regulatory_specialist, were concerned that the increased number of small independent companies engaged in oil and gas exploration in the Gulf of Mexico would increase the risk of environmental degradation in the area. However, the results of the study found that small firms had a "slightly better" environmental protection record than did larger companies (Iledare, Pulsipher, Dismukes and Mesyanzhinov 1997). A study conducted by Rappaport and Flaherty (1992) found that small companies had, as a collective, a positive record of environmental performance unmatched by larger companies. While it would be dangerous to generalize these finding by stating unequivocally that small firms are more environmentally conscientious than larger ones, it can be inferred that, on the basis of size, they are no worse. It may be that under certain circumstances size is an advantage. A small, empowered workforce coupled with a well understood and accepted philosophy results in a less bureaucratic more flexible organization. This type of organizational structure is more suitable to a participatory style of decision-making. As well, because Mistik and its parent companies are local, there is less chance that the actions of an affiliate or subsidiary in another jurisdiction will contradict the actions undertaken locally. This is an advantage that other, larger or multinational companies many not have¹³.

¹³ Evidence suggests that "large organizations are more likely to be targets of institutional actors" (Scott 1992:241) such as environmental groups. The implication being that large firms are more visible and therefore more likely to be singled out for attention by external stakeholders (Greening and Gray 1994).

Model of the Process

The inclusion of stakeholders in private, corporate decision-making is not common practice. Beyond consultation activities undertaken to fill certain social responsibility needs, it is a rare occurrence. What characterizes a company that chooses this type of process? Where does public participation fit within the larger context of organization theory?

As outlined in Chapter One, organization theory recognizes that organizations operate within an environment that is uncertain and must be planned for - the environment is a contingency (Jones 1995). As Pfeffer (1982) suggests, the closer the fit between an organization's structure and the organization's environment, the more effectively the organization will be able to operate. The organization's environment includes other organizations (Hannan and Freeman 1977), but also, as noted above, other groups which have an interest or "stake" in the organization. The stake may be because the group's own success is directly tied to that of the organization (employees) or because the actions of the organization have an impact on the group (communities).

Stakeholders are then elements within the organization's environment and hence something that organizations must consider in order to be effective in meeting organizational goals (Campbell 1977). The literature has explored in depth the relationship between shareholders and managers (principals and agents), between managers and employees (participation) and to some extent the relationships between suppliers and customers (Jensen and Meckling 1976; Abrahamsson 1977; Anton 1980; Weisbrod and Janoff 1995). Outside of literature on social responsibility, where the main focus is on what

organizations "do for" these interests, there has been little said about the public and its role, as a stakeholder, in an organization. This is however, beginning to change. For example, Eckel, Fisher and Russell (1992) have argued that stakeholders are important to a private business and should be involved (consulted) when an organization is in the process of designing an environmental performance management system. As well, authors such as Svendsen (1998) have begun work on how stakeholder relationships can be created that provide the foundation for mutually beneficial outcomes. This provides a base from which to explore further questions regarding the role the public could play in organizational decision-making.

It is acknowledged that organizations exist within a larger environment, and that this larger environment impacts on the organization and in turn, organizational decisions influence their environment (Katz and Kahn 1966). Organizations have perceptions about how this environment looks, how it acts and how it will unfold. In order to position themselves to best take advantage of the future, and hence secure their long term survival, organizations develop strategies. At the business level these strategies, as described above, are focused on securing markets by product differentiation and/or cost reduction. The choice of business strategy is then very important for an organization in that it reflects what the organization anticipates with respect to its environment and sets its course for how best to take advantage of the expected opportunities¹⁴.

The environment is, of course, not completely predictable. And there are many different views as to how it will unfold. As a result, there is a range of options available to an organization with respect to strategies

¹⁴ The ability of an organization to recognize alternative, plausible visions of the future and to develop strategies to position the organization accordingly is referred to as scenario building and is part of strategic planning.

targeted at their environment. In the case of Mistik, the company views its future success as being tied to 1) environmentally friendly markets, 2) a secure resource stream and 3) good community relations. The company could have selected a strategy that focused on lower developmental costs based on the assumption that environmental considerations would not play a significant role in determining market share.

In order to ensure that the strategy works the company then has to select an organizational structure and/ or processes that will best suit or support the strategy (Jones 1995). In the case of Mistik, the company believed that the chosen strategy would be supported by the organization developing and implementing a program whereby the public became active participants in the organization's planning process. Public participation became a vital component of the strategy.

It was clear to Mistik that the company could not enact this strategy without this type of organizational design. In order to have its products certified, to ensure that the forest was managed in a sustainable way so as to ensure its resource supply and to develop and maintain good community relations, Mistik believed the public needed to have a role in the planning process. Public participation was the best way to enact the strategy. Was it the only way?

Just as there are a number of possible strategies for an organization to choose, there are various structures and processes that can be selected to support the strategy. In other words, the strategy does not preclude the organization from choosing non-participatory processes. A company with a hierarchical decision-making system can position itself to produce and sell environmentally responsible products.

What is interesting about Mistik's choice is that it has selected a management strategy that is unconventional. Public participation in the planning or decision-making processes of a private business organization is exceptional, not ordinary. Innovation, Rosabeth Moss Kanter has said, is often thought of in terms of technology, "new products and new methods for making them" (1983:20). She goes on to say though that "this is unfortunate" and recognizes that "complementary social and organizational innovation" are also important (ibid). Cooke and Morgan (1998) concur with this assessment of innovation, and contend that there is a long history of innovations surrounding organizational changes made to firms' social relations. In this light, and by Kanter's definition of innovation - "a process of bringing any new, problem solving idea into use" (1983:20) - Mistik's use of public participation in its planning and decision-making processes is an organizational innovation.

In the case of Mistik, the company has demonstrated flexibility and innovation in terms of selecting an organizational process to match its selected business strategy.

Much has been made of innovation, and what characterizes an innovative organization. Kanter suggests that innovation results from "the willingness to move beyond received wisdom, to combine ideas from unconnected sources, to embrace change as an opportunity to test limits" (1983:27). In a similar vein, Hamel sees it as the "capacity to reconceive" (1998:8). Why was Mistik able to "reconceive" or "move beyond received wisdom" with respect to its planning process?

In the case of Mistik, both the strategy and the choice of public participation as a process to support the strategy are consistent with the espoused values or culture of the organization. The selection of public participation not only supported the strategy, it was a tangible expression of the belief that the company had an obligation to work with the people who lived on the land affected by the company's business activities. In this case innovation may be an adaptive response that, as Perrow describes it, works to "stabilize the organization and allows routine to be reestablished" (1972:151). However, the reestablished routine is fundamentally different than that which preceded it.

That Mistik was capable of seeing its success inextricably aligned to the way it operated, managed the resource base and interacted with the public, was largely a function of the corporate culture. If, as Schein (1985) suggests, culture allows strategies to be apparent or available, it seems reasonable that it also allows for certain process choices to be available. In Mistik's case, the choice was public participation. Without the basic assumptions - that the people on the land to have a right to a say in its management; the connection of the organization to the community; the health of the resource as dependant on the health of other elements of the ecosystem; that knowledge and information can come from many different sources, in many different forms - the option of involving outside stakeholders would not present itself.

There is a wide range of strategy options available to an organization. From these options the organization will select one which it believes will best secure its profitability and stability. The strategy will be dependent upon how the organization perceives the environment and will be

limited by its culture. In the case of Mistik, it had a culture that allowed public participation to be a viable option.

Conceptually, the relationship between Mistik's choice of business strategy, organizational processes and philosophy can be portrayed as a series of concentric rings existing within the larger framework created by the overarching organizational goals of profitability and stability.

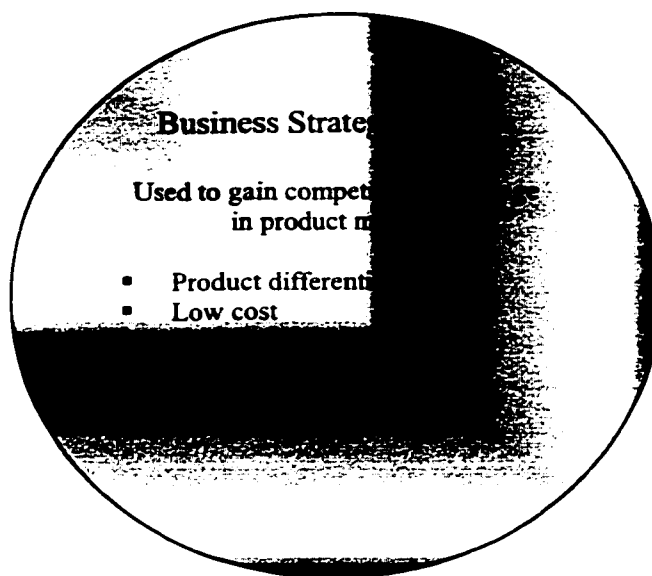
In order to attain the long-run goals of profitability and stability, the business organization has to select a business strategy based on market and/or cost factors in order to gain a competitive advantage. The organization has to determine what markets it wishes to pursue, the characteristics of those markets, and anticipated trends in demand. In terms of cost, business organizations have to determine what the costs/benefits are, and what the timing should be in terms of adopting the strategy (cost of implementing now, vs. sometime in the future). The identification of costs may include not only the tangible/known costs but also intangible/unknown costs. The tangible/known costs include, for example, the money and time spent on gathering information used as an input into the planning process, the cost of holding meetings and printing of documents. The intangible/unknown costs can include the possibility of increased work interruption due to conflict with the community or legal interventions.

The organization's perception of these market and cost factors will determine what type of strategy, from a spectrum of possible strategy options, it will select. This is illustrated in Figure 7.2. Here, strategy options (as represented by the different colours) are situated within the larger context of profitability and stability. The strategy selected will

depend on the organization's assessment of market and cost factors. The different shades within the strategy sphere indicate that strategies shade, or tend to set, certain directional paths. The strategies themselves do not determine specific decisions taken by an organization on a day to day basis, rather they colour or direct these specific choices. They set the parameters of what would be acceptable.

Figure 7.2 Business Strategy Options

Profitability and Stability



Within the context of business strategy options lies another set of choices, these are the structural¹⁵ and process¹⁶ options that an organization used to support the chosen strategy. Again, there are many options available to an organization in terms of structure and process. The organization can, for example, choose to have a participatory type of decision-making process or on the other extreme, it could choose a command and control decision-making process.

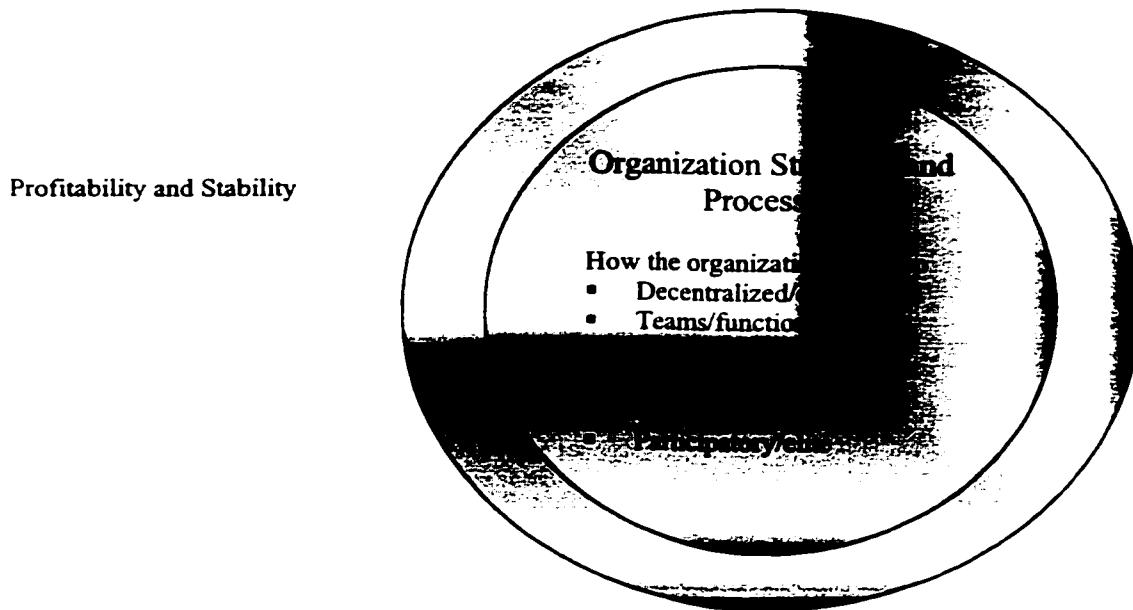
Figure 7.3 illustrates the business strategy layer being supported by the organization's structures and processes. As with the business strategies, there are many options available to an organization with respect to the way it chooses to structure itself, and with respect to what types of processes it selects. Again, different colours represent discrete differences in terms of structure and process within which there are different degrees or shades, indicating that there is room for some flexibility with respect to each option.

The final circle is that of organizational culture. It is important because it lies at the heart (Figure 7.4) of the strategy/structure selection process.

¹⁵ "The formal system of rules and task and authority relationships that control how people are to cooperate and use resources to achieve the organization's goals" (Jones 1995:13). For example does the organization use teams, does it have a wide or narrow span of control.

¹⁶ The processes are the management tools and techniques adopted to achieve the organization's goals. For example, an organization may adopt a participatory planning process while another selects a more traditional expert driven process.

Figure 7.3 Organization Structure and Processes



In 1962, Kuhn popularized the concept of paradigms, or worldviews: those assumptions about the nature of the world that influence our decisions and the way we perceive the world around us that ultimately influence how we make decisions and what actions we take. Margolis (1993) refers to this as the relationship between "habits of the mind"¹⁷ and "patterns of response". In organizational learning literature the "habits of the mind" concept is referred to as "mental models"¹⁸ (Senge 1990). Senge suggests that mental models are powerful not only because they affect what we, as individuals or organizations do, but because they "affect what we see" (1990:175). Hence, when these paradigms (habits of the mind; mental models) change our entire

¹⁷ Margolis defines habits of the mind as "entrenched responses that ordinarily occur without conscious attention and that even if noticed are hard to change" (1993:7).

perception¹⁹ of the world around us changes and so do our actions²⁰. In essence, an organization's values are reflections of these basic assumptions about the nature of the world and, as such, values influence both what the organization "sees" and what it "does". Therefore, the visibility of an option (be it a business strategy or management process) rests upon the mental maps or mind sets that allow an organization to see specific courses of action based on our assumptions of the world and how it operates.

Culture is comprised of the basic assumptions held within an organization. These assumptions are perceptions of the world around us, of its nature. Is the world seen as knowable and controllable²¹ or chaotic and unpredictable²²? Are relationships between entities simple and linear or complex and interconnected? The assumptions that an organization makes about the nature of the world are shaped by a number of factors: the nature of the industry; the education and training of its staff; the organization's history and experiences; the societal and cultural backgrounds of its members.

¹⁸ "Mental models are deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action" (Senge 1990:8).

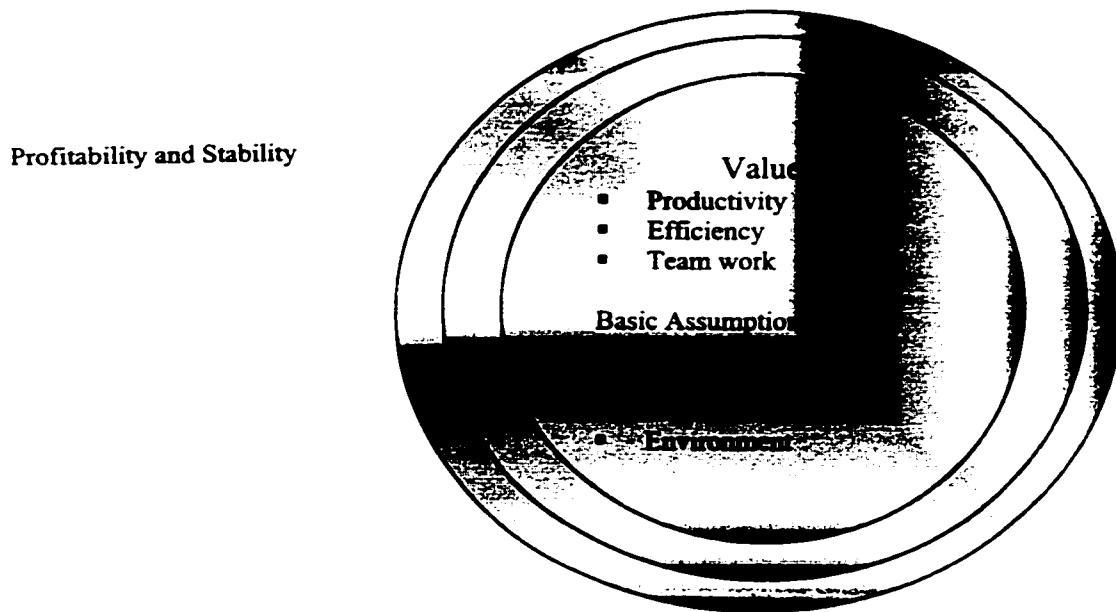
¹⁹ It is Kuhn's contention that a paradigm, or at least "something like a paradigm, is a prerequisite to perception" (1970:113).

²⁰ In Kuhn's words, "when paradigms change, the world itself changes with them. Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places. Even more important, during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before. It is rather as if the professional community had been suddenly transported to another planet where familiar objects are seen in a different light and are joined by unfamiliar ones as well. Of course, nothing of quite that sort does occur: there is no geographical transplantation; outside the laboratory everyday affairs usually continue as before. Nevertheless, paradigm changes do cause scientists to see the world of their research-engagement differently. In so far as their only recourse to that world is through what they see and do, we may want to say that after a revolution scientists are responding to a different world" (1970:111).

²¹ These attributes, along with those of linearity, simplicity, hierarchies, cause and effect, and command and control are commonly associated with a mechanical or Newtonian paradigm or worldview.

²² A natural or ecosystem paradigm sees the world as chaotic, unpredictable, complex, interrelated, adaptive and self-organizing.

Figure 7.4 Organizational Culture and Values



From these assumptions come the organization's values or expressions of these assumptions that can be acted upon: innovation; people and good working relationships; efficiency; risk-taking; risk-aversion; cost control. Schein (1985) proposed that the organization's basic assumptions are most often preconscious or unrecognized²³. On the other hand, organizations have an awareness of their values²⁴.

²³ These basic assumptions constitute what have already been referred to as paradigms, or worldviews, in that they define what the organization believes to be the nature of its environment, including: the perception of human nature; human activity; human relationships; reality; time and space (Schein 1980:4). "Basic assumptions, in the sense in which I want to define that concept, have become so taken for granted that one finds little variation within a cultural unit. In fact, if a basic assumption is strongly held in a group, members would find behavior based on any other premise inconceivable" (Schein 1985:437).

²⁴ An organization's values provide the "day-to-day operating principles by which the members of the culture guide their behavior" (Schein 1985:434). As such, these values are a fundamental to decision-making especially when a new problem, task or issue presents itself. This is because the initial response proposed is one that

Once identified, the values of the organization create a visual channel that make some strategic and structural/process visible, and hence viable. At the same time however, some options are removed from consideration because they cannot be seen. This channel is represented by the grey shaded lines extending from the values "core" in Figure 7.5. The values of the organization define what options are allowable or acceptable within defined parameters of behaviour. For a person, or in this case an organization, to be able to adopt a process of public participation they would need to have a value set, or basic beliefs that would allow them to see that as an option. If an organization has a view of the world that is individualistic or mechanistic it would not see the value, or even the rationale, of bringing in outside stakeholders to participate in decision-making. This option (involving outside stakeholders), while it still exists, as an option is invisible to an organization that does not have a value system sympathetic to participatory management process. In fact, for this organization, public participation would not really be a viable option²⁵. Conversely, an organization that values relationships and believes that an organization has responsibilities to all stakeholders, not just shareholders, would not see a traditional, non-participatory, decision-making model as an option.

The importance of this is that if an organization is compelled²⁶ to employ a process that is inconsistent with the organization's core values or beliefs, the tension created will work against the process' objectives. Hence, if an

expresses what "ought to be done" and as such has the status of a value. Further discussion on the proposal in essence becomes a discussion of values (Schein 1985).

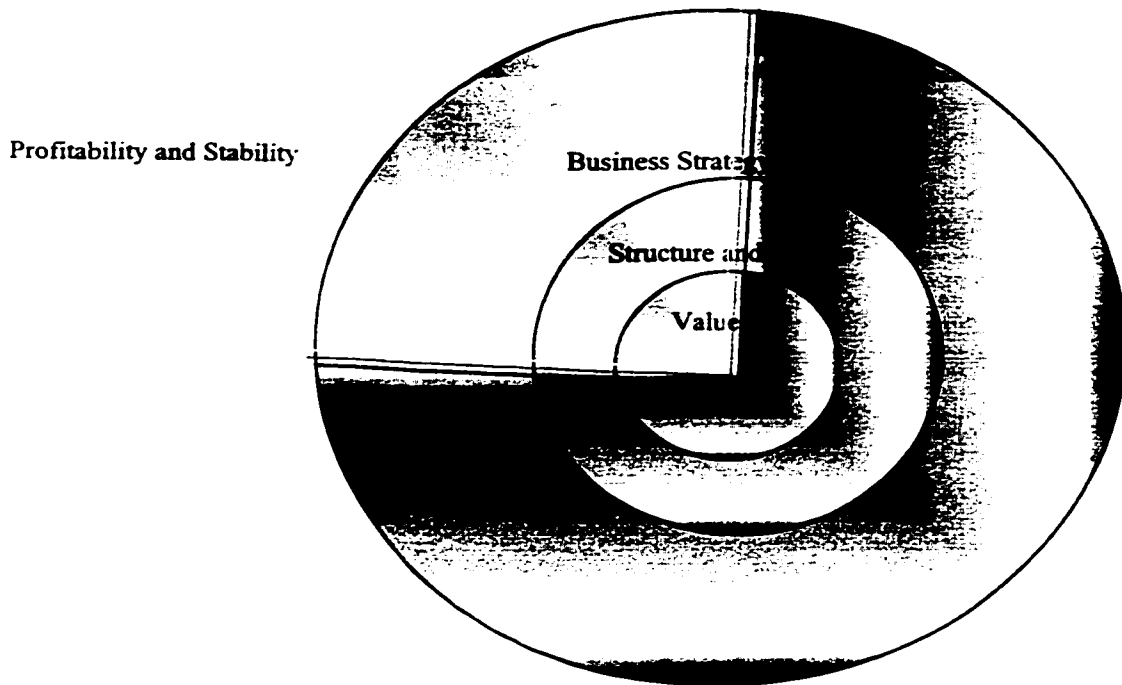
²⁵ The reason being that if an organization that did not believe in the virtue or benefit of such a process was compelled to engage in it the lack of a compatible value system or cultural core, would preclude the success of the process.

organization employs a public participation process but lacks the fundamental values compatible with the process then in all likelihood it will fail to develop or implement the process properly. A poorly developed or implemented process will not yield the associated or desired benefits.

Furthermore, if an organization voluntarily attempts to market itself and its products as being socially and environmentally friendly without demonstrating a corresponding commitment to the requisite values, there is evidence that the firm's market position will suffer. In a study conducted by Mohr, Eroglu and Ellen (1998) the researchers found a high degree of skepticism exists with respect to social and environmental claims made by firms. Similarly, Newell, Goldsmith and Banzhaf (1998) contend that firms should avoid making false or misleading environmental product statements because it will leave the company "open to lawsuits by competitors, or government agencies. Long run corporate credibility may be damaged, harming the brand's equity" (1998:58). "It is not enough to talk green", companies must be perceived as being green or at least demonstrating a commitment to move in that direction (Ottman 1998:9). Hence an attempt to secure market share by positioning the firm's products as socially and environmentally sensitive could backfire if such claims are seen as "greenwash" by a company that in fact does not demonstrate the values it espouses.

²⁶ An organization may be compelled to engage in a process, for example a public participation, by a regulator as a licensing requirement.

Figure 7.5 The Alignment of Strategy, Structures, Processes And Values



What role, if any do the leader, size and age of the organization play with respect to above model?

As noted above, leaders who are highly regarded for their vision are likely those who have been able to uncover the basic assumptions and express them as values. This is important, not only because of the cohesiveness it brings to an organization, but also because when known, values²⁷ provide decision-making guidelines. Values define the channel boundaries and lets the organization recognize what options are acceptable. Without a leader capable of performing this function, organizations may take decisions that drift away from their base assumptions, the implications of which will be discussed shortly.

²⁷ As defined by Kernaghan and Siegel (1995:690) values are enduring beliefs that influence the choices [decisions] made by organizations from among available means or ends.

The age of an organization may create artificial restrictions with respect to its ability to see viable options. It may be hard for organizations to conceive of different ways of doing things at both the strategy and structure/process levels. A young organization is absolved of any obligation to past practices. At least past practices of its own making, although there are conventions and status quo within an industry that may act to restrict the range of available options.

With respect to the size of an organization, the smaller the organization the more it allows for values to be known and understood by all of its members. The more uniform the understanding of the values of the organization the more consistent the decisions made will be.

The leader, size of the firm and age of the firm act as enablers in that they either: 1) remove some barriers that could restrict a company from trying new approaches or 2) provide guidance and set boundaries within which decisions can be made.

In the case where the strategy or structure/process options do not conform with the culture of the organization, a tension emerges. The result may be felt as a certain confusion and cause the organization to be insincere. This can happen when an organization "sub-contracts" the development or articulation of its culture/values²⁸. This can result in more options being made available to the organization that would have otherwise been the case, but these options are available on paper only and not in practice. An

²⁸ An organization's members should, ideally, develop the corporate vision and value statements, as opposed to having a consulting firm or other organization develop them on their behalf. Weisbrod and Janoff (1995:66) believe that it is important for an organization to "experience the muddling through" that is required to create the clarity of purpose needed for the articulation of an organization's vision and values.

organization that values order and expert driven, quantifiable information may be told by a regulator or a consulting firm conversant with the latest management trends, to engage the public in a decision-making or policy setting exercise. However, if the culture does not value input from perceived non-experts, or does not believe in qualitative information, the process will likely be sabotaged from the inside. If there isn't a cultural foundation that allows for a strategy or structure/process to be seen as a viable option, imposing it from the outside without first trying to create that accepting/compatible cultural foundation the process will not be a pleasant or rewarding experience.

Conclusions

Mistik recognized that the public is a stakeholder group which can possess what Mitchell et al (1997) define as "three critical attributes":

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Power | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- in terms of the public's ability to influence regulators and affect the company's licence;- the public's ability to affect the company's market position; and- the public's role in the certification process. |
| Legitimacy | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- the public as owner of the land base. |
| Urgency | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- the public's ability to affect day to day operations; and- the need for the company to prepare a long term resource management plan and EIS. |

Once the above was recognized, Mistik had to determine how to effectively manage this stakeholder group's interests. This fundamental recognition

allowed the company to make the decision to implement a process whereby the public was involved in the organization's planning process.

Participatory management, which involves the inclusion of stakeholders in an organization's decision-making has readily been applied to employees. Certainly, the literature on stakeholder involvement has provided the normative arguments for the theory of stakeholder participation; described situations where it has occurred; and, to a more limited degree, documented the institutional effects that participation has had on the larger organizational goals of profitability and stability.

The rationale for the expansion of decision-making responsibility to employees rests upon the arguments that employees, as a group, have changed, as has the nature of their work. As a result, these stakeholders have valuable contributions, in the form of information and knowledge, to make toward the overarching corporate goals of profitability and stability. It is also argued that by recognizing the employees' larger need for recognition and sense of control over their work, participation will result in greater workforce harmony, which in turn will reflect positively on the bottom line.

Discussions about outside stakeholders, specifically the public, have been largely dealt with in the literature on corporate social responsibility. The central focus of which has been on the organization's responsibility to act in an ethical fashion towards its stakeholders. However, there is little said on what form this "responsibility" should take. Svendsen sums up the situation as follows:

It is no wonder that companies, and for that matter the public, are attracted to the concept of corporate social responsibility and uncertain about what it means. Many business leaders and managers, despite wanting to "do the right thing", are unsure where to start. They might agree that building strong, mutually beneficial stakeholder relationships is important, but few understand how to establish and maintain win-win associations (1998:14 emphasis in the original).

The boundaries of stakeholder theory need to be recast to provide for a more involved role for outside stakeholder (public) participation in decision-making. In this case, the arguments for public participation can be extrapolated from those made on behalf of employee participation. In other words, the public has valuable knowledge and information that can contribute to the long-term objectives of the organization. As well, given the changing nature of the public in terms of it no longer quietly accepting the consequences of corporate decision-making, the inclusion of the public may provide for reduced conflict, which in turn adds to corporate stability.

The activities of Mistik demonstrate that organizational decision-making activities can be successfully re-formatted to include outside stakeholders. In essence, critical stakeholder interests can be effectively managed by bringing them into the organization's planning activities. This is an organizational innovation that is well suited to the changes that Mistik was facing in terms of its organizational environment. It also demonstrates that the bounds of participatory decision-making can be moved outwards to include outside stakeholders. This moves the discussion of stakeholder theory to a more interactive ground beyond that of corporate social responsibility and provides a model for effectively managing these interests.

CHAPTER EIGHT IMPLICATIONS

This chapter identifies the lessons learned from this research and discusses the implications with respect to public policy and organizational planning and decision-making.

The review of the literature conducted at the outset of this thesis revealed a number of areas where further inquiry was warranted in order to shed light on public involvement initiatives in private business organizations.

Specifically:

1. Is there any evidence that the inferences made by Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) with respect to stakeholder identification and salience hold when real stakeholder/organizational relationships are examined?
2. What organizational and contextual factors will cause an organization to recognize the public as a stakeholder?
3. Once the public is recognized as a stakeholder what organizational structures and processes can be implemented in order for the organization to effectively manage this stakeholder relationship?

In order to fill some measure of the identified gaps in the literature and working under the guiding hypothesis that resource based companies face a number of imperatives that compel them to involve the public, as stakeholders, in planning activities, the following research questions were presented:

1. What are the major imperatives that compel a resource business to involve the public in planning processes?
2. What factors contribute to an organization selecting public participation as a management process?

3. Where does the pressure for stakeholder participation come from and how does an organization recognize its stakeholders?
4. How do organizations react to the pressure to involve stakeholders and why?
5. Does the nature of the company or the nature of the imperative influence the nature of the process?

This thesis has sought to shed light on the above by examining the activities of Mistik Management, a company that manages the forest resources for commercial lumber and pulp and paper uses. This examination yielded some answers to the research questions posed above while acknowledging that the specificity of the case may restrict the general application to firms operating in other business environments. Notwithstanding its specificity, this research contributes to an understanding of public involvement processes undertaken by private business organizations. The following is a brief summary of the research findings.

What are the major imperatives that compel a resource business to involve the public in planning processes?

Regulatory compliance aside, there are two basic imperatives that compel a business to involve the public in planning processes. These are best described in terms of two basic motivations: business and philosophical. The philosophical motivations, which can be described in terms of an organization's culture and values, provide fundamental parameters dictating what business practices would be acceptable. In the case of Mistik these parameters allowed the company to view the forest resource as something held in common and of importance to many different stakeholders. It also allowed the company to see a business opportunity in the provision of environmentally sustainable, certified forest products.

What factors contribute to an organization selecting participation as a management process?

The selection of public participation from a range of potential management processes becomes a compatible, natural fit once the underlying philosophical and business motivations of a firm are revealed. As is the case with organizations selecting employee participation as a component part of organizational management processes, organizations that select public involvement do so because they perceive the initiative as yielding an advantage to the organization. These advantages include a reduction in conflict, a more stable operating environment and better decision-making as a result of the inclusion of non-traditional sources of knowledge and information.

Where does the pressure for stakeholder participation come from and how does an organization recognize its stakeholders?

As posited by Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) and discussed in the preceding chapter, stakeholders may be recognized on the basis of their power, legitimacy and urgency. However, it is evident that the ability of an organization to recognize these is, depending on one's point of view, either limited or enhanced by the organization's philosophical core beliefs and values.

How do organizations react to the pressure to involve stakeholders and why?

In the case of this research the pressure to involve the public as stakeholders come from two separate and distinct quarters. In the case of Mistik it was an internal pressure generated by a fundamental belief system. The second pressure point, one common to all the companies studied, was external to the companies in that it came as a directive from a regulatory

body. Depending on the source of the pressure, organizations will react differently. Internally generated pressures (it is the "right" thing to do) facilitated more sincere and innovative approaches to public involvement than processes undertaken in response to externally generated (need to comply) pressure.

Does the nature of the company or the nature of the imperative influence the nature of the process?

Given the nature of the case study this question is the most difficult to provide a definitive answer to. It may well be that Mistik's unique circumstances (age, industry, size, ownership structure, location, relationship to place) are more important than its philosophical core and business strategy in determining the nature of the public involvement process it undertook. It is evident that these factors did contribute to the company's core beliefs the outstanding question is to what degree? This provides fertile ground for further research.

The model (Figure 8.1) developed in the preceding chapter outlines the requisite conditions for the implementation of meaningful public participation and is centered on an internal consistency between the organization's business strategy and its core philosophical values. This model is consistent with Burrell and Morgan's (1979) work that discusses the advantages of congruence, or compatibility, between an organization's substructures¹ and its environmental² elements. As Burrell and Morgan's (1979) work highlights, there is no "one" correct alignment of internal

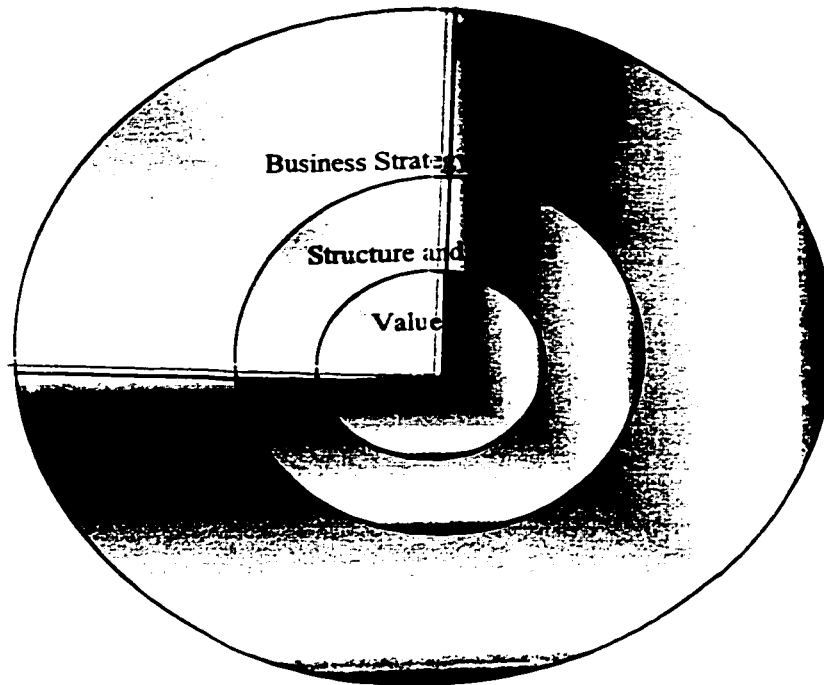
¹ Burrell and Morgan (1979) are building on the idea that an organization is comprised of a number of subsystems: strategic, technological, human, structural and managerial.

² General environmental factors include the economic situation (interest rates, unemployment); technological change; demographics; and, politics. These, along with resource availability, stakeholder and other considerations, determine the nature of the environment that an organization finds itself working in (Jones 1995:212-217).

subsystems; each is contingent upon the business environment within which the organization operates. What is important is that there be consistency between the subsystems and the external environment. An organization in which the "approach to organization and management are incongruent with the nature of the environment and the general orientations of the people in the organization" will create what Morgan considers to be a "frustrating place in which to work" (Morgan 1986:64). Morgan continues, "the incongruencies get in the way of effective operations, and the organization is likely to find difficulty in sustaining its position within the industry" (1986:65).

Figure 8.1 The Model

Profitability and Stability



In much the same way, organizations will be more comfortable operating within a system where there is "consistency" or "compatibility" between their values, business strategy and management structures and processes, regardless of what those values, strategies, structures and processes may be. Internal consistency among these elements suggests a greater potential for an organization's success in that there is reduced confusion and more harmony around purpose and method. This consistency in turn reduces frustrations and increases organizational effectiveness. This chapter explores the practical implications of the tenets of this model on public policy, organizational development and stakeholders and investigates what will facilitate or foster this consistency.

The implications of the model on public policy, organizational design and stakeholder relations are important for a number of reasons. The problems associated with environmental stability, and corporate responsibility (especially in terms of negative externalities), are not likely to disappear anytime in the near future. As we reach the end of the 90s, "more managers and decision-makers recognize the interaction of economic, environmental, and social factors. The number and nature of groups wanting access to public-issues planning and decision-making is exploding" (Connor 1996:2). In addition it is increasingly common for public participation initiatives to be mandated as part of environmental reviews or impact assessment (NEPA 1998). At the global level, Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration sets out the premise that environmental problems are most effectively managed through participation of citizens. Agenda 21 calls on governments to seek out broad public participation in decision-making and policy setting for sustainable development (UNCED 1992). Indeed, the conflicts posed by competing interests are more likely to grow as economic activity increases and as

environmental resources become scarce. This will further strengthen the call for participation³.

As ecosystem management models become the accepted standard in the forestry sector, replacing sustainable yield management models (Vogt et al. 1997), there will be a need to develop organizational management processes and structures that accommodate, not only in principle but in practice, those models. In other words, internal management processes will have to embrace or work within the "themes" of ecosystem management. These themes include: humans embedded in nature; values; interagency cooperation; organizational change; adaptive management; monitoring; hierarchical context; ecological boundaries; ecological integrity; and, data collection (Mitchell 1997:53-55). This may be another example of developments in science driving changes in social structures and paradigms (Kuhn 1962).

Moreover, the assertion that business is separate and unbehaving to society is questionable⁴. Beyond the normative domain of business ethics, there is a demand for participation in private entities⁵ and a desire to find practical methods to facilitate such participation (McMillan and Murgatroyd 1994). In fact, even new business magazines recognize this. *Fast Company*, a relatively new business magazine⁶ is dedicated to business pursuits in harmony with "social justice" - two words not normally found in publications aimed at the business sector.

³ As Tom Kierans (1990) points out "environmentalism ... is an emerging ideology which may yet come to challenge the pluralism of our liberal, democratic society". (Tom Kierans 1990 *The Next Revolution Report on Business* 6(9):33-35)

⁴ It is recognized by Reinhardt (1998) and others that the debate concerning the relationship between business and the environment is divided into two clearly delineated camps: those side with Friedman (1970) and those who contend that business benefits from being environmentally responsible. This author sides with the latter.

⁵ "Conventional public participation has rarely questioned the undemocratic structure of the modern business enterprise... New social movements are pushing... for citizen participation in and even control over... private sector decision making" (Frank Tester, 1992 *Alternatives* 19(1):40) .

The next iteration of capitalism will have to consider the impact of business activity on society as a whole and not just on shareholders. In his 1993 book, Drucker postulates that in the transformation from the capitalist to the post-capitalist polity nation-states will have to "share power with other organs, other institutions, other policy-makers" (1993:11). Clearly, businesses fall into Drucker's "other" categories. However, in taking on this new role within society, Drucker recognizes that organizations will be required to become "responsibility based" (1993:97)⁷. It may become a question of "rethinking" the role of the business organization, "why it exists, for what and for whom" (Handy 1997:377). Mohn suggests that "it is possible to change unbridled capitalism into the modern system of a free-market economy with social responsibility" where "the purpose of business activity is no longer maximizing profits but making the greatest possible contribution to our society" (1986:173-174). Stakeholders, because they are members of society, become by definition important. As well, externalities, which are recognized as the social spillover benefits or costs that flow from private production of a good, are also important in that socially responsible organizations will wish to minimize the negative externalities and maximize the positive ones.

⁶ The first issue of *Fast Company* was published in November 1995.

⁷ Drucker identifies a responsibility-based organization as follows:

- Organizations must take responsibility for the limit of their power, that is, for the point at which exercising their function ceases to be legitimate.
- Organizations have to take "social responsibility". There is not one else around in the society of organizations to take care of society itself.
- Organizations, in order to function, have to have considerable power. What is legitimate power? What are the limits? What should they be?
- Finally, organizations themselves must be built on responsibility from within, rather than on power or on command and control (1993:97).

Widely viewed as an indication of market failure⁸, externalities, in particular the impact that business activities have on the public, will need to be redressed. And, while there has been progress in this area, much remains to be done (Moore 1996). This implies a need to find a method to incorporate other interests within the profit-making motive. Especially when given the growth in mutual funds and pension plans, many of the shareholders are just stakeholders in their other lives. Issues of separative self⁹ were at one time just issues for employees, now they may be issues for owners/stakeholders. Planning, especially long-range planning, can provide the basis for including other points of view or values. As well, it can provide boundaries, delineating what is acceptable and what is not, what lies within the vision of the organization, and what does not. None of this implies that profits are bad, or are to be eschewed¹⁰. It is rather a matter of identifying the circumstances or criteria under which profits can be produced. In essence, it sets the ground rules or conditions for profit making within the context of social responsibility.

In an era where governments are wrestling with questions of identity and roles¹¹ so too are business organizations. There is a great sorting out of

⁸ "Market failure does not mean that nothing good has happened but rather that the best attainable outcome has not been achieved". R. Lipsey, P. Courant and D. Purvis (1994) *Microeconomics* (HarperCollins:New York p. 389).

⁹ In economic theory "separative self" is used to describe the belief that humans operate, in terms of economic decision-making, in a manner that is impervious to personal or social influences (see: Paula England (1993) "The Separative Self: Androcentric Bias in Neoclassical Assumptions" in M. Ferber and J. Nelson, eds. *Beyond Economic Man* (University of Chicago Press:Chicago). In other words they separate those factors from those of pure self-interest when making decisions in the market place. Here the term is used here to describe the same phenomenon but with respect to the work place as opposed to the market place.

¹⁰ Certainly, even first year economics texts that teach that a firm's output-price decisions are based on profit maximization recognize that firms may make decisions that reflect the importance of other goals, among them "the desire to do good" (William Baumol, Alan Blinder and William Scarth (1994) *Microeconomics* (Harcourt Brace:Toronto) p. 202).

¹¹ Kernaghan and Siegel (1995:3) open their latest edition of *Public Administration in Canada* with a statement indicating the degree to which issues of identity and roles influence governments today. They state "Governments in Canada are being challenged to respond effectively to such forces as the emergence of a global economy, startling advances in information technology, rapid social change, the need to provide more services with fewer resources, the public's insistence on a more open and participatory policy-making process, and widespread

social/economic relationships, roles and responsibilities. The old theory of the firm as separate and apart may have to be rethought and recast in the process of this adjustment. As Moore explains, "the two major factors that you don't control as a business person - but upon which you are critically dependent - are customers and the values and policy environment of your society" (1996:272). Hence, customers, values and policy play an important role in the success of a business organization and clearly have an impact vis-à-vis the model developed in Chapter Seven. As Welford (1997:228) suggests it is not enough that businesses have, in general, accepted the need to be socially and environmentally responsible, they must now get beyond a "rhetoric that has not been translated into meaningful action". In order to do this, businesses will need to reestablish a relationship with the society in which they operate.

Within this complex and dynamic environment, as organizations strive to create the internal consistency that will nurture and facilitate public participation, the implications to public policy, organizational and stakeholder development must be explored.

Public Policy

Business strategy is influenced by the desire to succeed in the market place, where success is characterized by long-term profitability and stability. As demonstrated above, consumer demand for environmentally friendly products is often shaped by government regulation, consequently

criticism of government officials and institutions" (Nelson Canada:Scarborough). Also indicative of the search for new roles and identities for governments is the growing interest in The Third Way. This new philosophy rests upon three principal ideals: mutual responsibility, self-government and equality of opportunity. Together these three cornerstones suggest a new political purpose, social ethic and approach to government (Progressive Foundation (July 1996) *The New Progressive Declaration* (Washington D.C.).

business needs to be cognizant of this when developing niche market strategies (Reinhardt 1998). Hence, the creation of demand for certain products will lead organizations to adopt strategies to meet these demands (Collins 1997). The implication for public policy is then two-fold:

- 1) Governments, through regulation, can create a need for a certification process that includes such indicators as local involvement and environmental sustainability; and/or
- 2) Governments can undertake to educate the public with respect to the benefits of certified products (including the reduced negative externalities) thereby creating demand for the product.

Public policy assuming a role in helping to create these niche markets, especially when in so doing, governments advance some aspect of the public interest.

What constitutes the public interest insofar as public involvement in corporate decision-making is concerned? Governments, especially with respect to resource based industries, have a regulatory responsibility¹² to control the spillover effects of the operation of the industry and protect the integrity of the resource. The method most often used to carry out this regulatory function is often characterized as "command and control"¹³. However, command and control methods are being replaced with other regulatory instruments that focus on achieving specific objectives rather than methods (Kernaghan and Siegel 1995).

By employing both regulation and education as policy instruments, governments are altering an industry's market through the creation of

¹² The responsibility comes vis-à-vis the government's role in protecting the "public interest". And, as such it is clear that many environmental problems or negative externalities "cannot be solved without political decisions" (Baumol *et al* 1994:576).

¹³ Command and control or, as it is often referred to, regulatory approach involves the setting of environmental standards which are then enforced via legislation without the aid of market-based incentives (Turner *et al* 1993:144).

demand, or development of a niche market, for a product that has specific public interest considerations built into it¹⁴. As a result of this demand, businesses will develop a strategy to meet the demand. This also meets other objectives, including, as noted above, the increasing desire of governments to form new relationships with businesses. In this case, the business using the resource is directly responsible for ensuring its integrity as opposed to having the regulator taking on that responsibility and associated cost. Under this regime, the government can monitor for specific outcomes but leaves the business and, if the process is truly working well, its public stakeholders to determine the method used to meet the objective. This form of regulation, because it focuses on incentives¹⁵ (in this case access to specific markets), can be both more effective¹⁶ and efficient than command and control methods¹⁷.

What ultimately may be more difficult for governments to address is the possibility that the participation processes may yield outcomes that they are uncomfortable accepting. This was the greatest concern expressed by

¹⁴ The German government was the first to respond to increasing consumer desire for environmental information about products when it introduced the Blue Angel labeling program in 1977. The program is intended to identify products that have a high degree of environmental integrity when compared to similar products. A poll conducted in 1989 indicated that 75% of German consumers preferred Blue Angel products. Other countries (Denmark, the Netherlands and France) are considering similar programs. (Paul Ekins (1992) *Green Economics* (Anchor Books:New York, p 95).

¹⁵ While command and control types of measures are useful under certain circumstances, incentive systems are more effective in others. Policy instruments that are based on economic incentives can be, as Constanza et al (1997:195) stress, "powerfully efficient methods for achieving allocative objectives". The authors go on to say, "from the perspective of economic efficiency, the regulatory approach [command and control] appears to be both cumbersome and costly. Indeed, now that most of the nations on earth have rejected command and control methods in favor of competitive markets for guiding economic policy, it seems anachronistic to rely so heavily upon regulatory techniques for organizing environmental policy rather than attempting to reap in the policy arena some of the efficiency advantages that economic incentives have demonstrated in the organization of markets (Costanza et al 1997:198).

¹⁶ The issue of regulatory effectiveness was discussed in earlier chapters with particular reference to Annual Allowable Cut/Long-Run Sustainable Yield regulatory requirements in the forestry industry.

¹⁷ For a discussion with respect to the inefficiency of command and control methods see Turner *et al* (1993:144-145).

SERM officials¹⁸ during the Mistik planning process and one which will likely surface again. In such cases governments will be faced with the choice of agreeing with the outcome as determined by the stakeholders or to overrule the decision. King et al (1998) suggest that, in part, this difficulty arises due to the public administrators' reluctance to redefine their relationship with the citizenry when engaging in participatory decision-making processes. This perspective though assumes that the fault lies with the administrators and not necessarily with the stakeholder-determined outcome. This may be unfair in that administrators do face the very real challenge of finding a way to "devolve" environmental responsibility without endangering the resource base (M'Gonigle 1999).

There is no certitude surrounding the belief that stakeholders will, as a matter of course, develop environmentally sustainable outcomes. There are sufficient indications that they may respond to other forces, social and economic, than to environmental ones¹⁹. Although voluntary environmental protection measures developed with the input of stakeholders are gaining in popularity (Oikawa, Kojima and Tedder, 1995) there remains the obligation for government to develop environmental regulations and to monitor for compliance, but not necessarily to dictate process. The argument that governments must be vigilant in ensuring compliance with environmental regulation when devolving responsibility to other bodies is implicit in the 1996 report²⁰ by the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario.

¹⁸ The SERM official stated that the Department "had a fear with Mistik's approach of letting the public decide given that there was a possibility that the public may care more about economics and jobs than about the environment. Had the economy been put on the back burner SERM would have not accepted Mistik's plan - we would have stepped in" (SERM employee #1).

¹⁹ Greider (1997:469) characterizes this as "yielding" in the response to "economic pressures" in hope that eventually they will be rewarded for this retreat. Certainly, Daly and Cobb (1989) are aware that many people, perhaps the majority, are far more concerned with the products of economic activity than with the associated environmental losses.

²⁰ The Commissioner's 1996 annual report titled *Keep the Doors to Environmental Decision Making* was tabled with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on April 22, 1997.

Public involvement in corporate decision-making may be considered to be in the public interest. However, should industries that do not seek certification, nor believe in the value of participatory decision-making processes, be compelled to seek public input? This question speaks to what Schot and Fisher (1993) characterize as one of the most daunting problems with respect to government regulation. That is, that regulations are established with real understanding of how particular firms or businesses operate and how they will affect business strategy and behaviour (1993:372). In order to have more effective regulation there needs to be a better understanding of organizations, and their internal and external environments.

The problem with governments mandating public participation initiatives is that if the organization's philosophy and business strategy are at odds with the mandated process, an internal conflict which places the organization's culture against the required process will ensue. The organization forced to adopt a process that is inconsistent with its strategy and philosophy will experience discomfort²¹. In such a situation, there is a high probability that the public involvement process will meet the "letter but not the spirit" of the mandate. However, forced implementation of public participation processes in order to justify specific actions on the part of a proponent, as opposed to genuinely seeking input from the public on resource management, is not unheard of (Baskerville 1986). Under such circumstances it is suggested that the participative activities are carried out in order that they can be "checked off" as having been undertaken (King et al 1998). Under these circumstances the process will likely be "trivial"

in nature²² and in the long run may do more harm than good. If the process is trivial, and does not meet the public's expectations, it will tend to "poison the water" for any future involvement processes by creating a cynical public. This is especially likely to happen if other participation processes have been well planned, implemented, and received by the public²³.

However, these potential pitfalls do not mean that governments should not mandate public participation processes. When mandating such processes, the nature of both the organization and the industry must be considered. Governments will have to be realistic, and this may mean being flexible with respect to the varying degrees of public participation they are likely to encounter given differing business strategies and philosophies.

The Public as Stakeholders

This research focussed on the public as a stakeholder, and hence a participant in organizational decision-making. It is important to identify the various ways that members of the public have a stake in, and influence over, an organization. As noted in Chapter Seven, stakeholders can be identified in terms of their power, legitimacy and urgency. In terms of influencing an organization's use of public participation as a management process in decision-making, the public can have an impact in its role as

²¹ As Collins and Porras (1994) point out, there is no "right" ideology that leads to business success. What is important to the success of a business is a consistent alignment between the organization's ideology and its goals, strategy, processes and design (1994:67-71).

²² In other words it may more closely resemble a public relations as opposed to a public involvement exercise. In the long run this may be more damaging, as it will hold the promise of participation but in the end fall short of delivering the requisite incorporation of the public's input in the final document.

²³ As Desmond Connor (1996:3) has observed "In my experience, good participation drives out bad. Furthermore, demonstrations of proactive public programs by one agency, such as Environment Canada, lead to expectations that other federal departments can do the same. Thus, while some industries and sectors lead or lag others, the laggards will be dragged into more participative ways despite their reluctance".

consumer, affected party and, in the case where a company seeks outside funding, an investor. The implications of each are discussed below.

The influence that stakeholders, as consumers, have over the business strategy and subsequently the management practices and structures of an organization is evident to any participant in the market place. Without demand for a business's product, there is no market and ultimately no business. It was noted above that governments have a role in shaping demand through incentive based regulation and education programs. However, as Welford and Gouldson (1993) have discovered, even without legislation, stakeholder pressure can influence corporate strategy²⁴. Clearly, if the public makes consumption decisions based on the types of environmental and social considerations that certification processes underscore, these decisions will have an impact on organizational decision-making. Businesses are responsive to market signals and, as Hamel (1998) stresses, do have the capacity to re-conceive their industry and develop innovative strategy.

What does this mean with respect to implications that can be drawn from the model? If the public, as consumer, forces business organizations to adopt market strategies that are targeted at environmentally and socially responsible markets, they will be forced to adopt compatible structures and practices. For those to be effective, they will have to be undertaken with philosophical sincerity.

In the role as affected party, the public has the ability to influence the strategy formulation and management processes of an organization. Insofar as an organization is required to demonstrate, as certification processes

²⁴ "It's no longer enough to simply provide an environmentally safe products. Consumers are asking to see environmental audits and practices" (Anita Roddick 1991 Fortune 124(5)).

demand, that the local community is supportive and has been included in the development process, it is clear that the public play an important role. Again, as above, in order to pursue a market strategy premised upon securing entry and success within specific niche markets, business organizations will need to adopt compatible management processes, public participation chief among them.

Finally, the public, through the increasing participation in stock markets, will influence corporate strategy and processes. This is particularly true with respect to the growth in "ethical fund" purchases²⁵. There is already evidence that the requirements of financial institutions with respect to environmental management and performance have an impact on an organization's management processes and structures²⁶. Indeed, as Wolfe (1992:3) points out, "successful implementation of a management system usually entails a culture change within the organization". Once again the model suggests that the public, in the role of provider of investment capital, will influence management practices and processes within organizations. As suggested by Wolfe, this stage is preceded by a cultural change and then a process change. As a result, there is a new internal consistency within an organization between its process and structures and its philosophy, one that reflects the values of socially responsible, or conscientious, investors.

²⁵ Over the past seven years, Ethical Funds Inc. has grown from \$100 million in assets to \$2.2 billion with a median return on investment in 1998 of 22.2 per cent. Companies chosen for inclusion in Ethical Funds must have good labour relations, social and racial equity in employment and good environmental track records. In part, the success of Ethical Funds is attributed to the screening of companies on the basis of their labour and environmental records because, in so doing, the number of companies that may experience legal liabilities on both those fronts are reduced. (Regina Leader Post "Investing Ethically" by Bruce Johnstone, February 22, 1999 pp. D1).

²⁶ For example, the requirement to have an environmental management system in place. And, as Wolfe points out "an environmental management system has a framework that also responds to the need for expanding accountability, for increased communication with traditional and emerging stakeholder groups, and for the recognition of stakeholder expectations through the adoption of a written set of Guiding Principles such as those promulgated by the International Chamber of Commerce or the Canadian National Round Table on the Environment" (Wolfe 1992:3).

Organizations

Organizations exist and operate in complex environments. The fundamental observation that flows from the research is that the process and structures that organizations adopt in order to manage their relationships within their environments are most effective if they are consistent with the organization's philosophical culture and its business strategy.

In a world that seeks immediate solutions to problems, there is a tendency to adopt short-lived, fashionable solutions in the form of new management techniques, tools or processes²⁷. This, in spite of the fact that such processes often fail because the organization adopting them has not made the requisite changes to its traditional structure (Ashkenas 1997). This search is a way to secure success and stability for the organization. What does this mean for organizations opting to engage in public participation or stakeholder involvement activities?

Organizations must realize that involving the public in decision-making will not be a successful endeavour if they use it because it is "the thing to do", as opposed to something that the organization believes in. If organizations do not have an accommodating corporate philosophy, one that is amenable to participation, they will find the exercise frustrating. This will occur most likely because they would not be prepared to deal with the

²⁷ "The average big company used 12 of the 25 most common management tools in 1993; in 1994 they used 13; they expect to use 14 tools in 1995. Seventy-two percent of managers believe that companies who use the right tools are more likely to succeed; 70 percent say that the tools promise more than they deliver". This quote is from a survey of 787 companies around the world by Bain & Company, April 1995 in Micklethwait and Wooldridge (1996:viii).

heightened expectations²⁸ of participants and their desire to have an active, real role in the outcomes of the process. Failure to actualize these expectations, or to be insincere in the soliciting of input from the public, will lend itself to the development of a cynical public in the same way that an imposed participation process can have counterproductive results if the organization is not prepared.

If an organization compelled to use a participation method wanted to undertake the process in as effective a manner as possible, the organization would be well advised to undergo a cultural epiphany prior to developing the process. This would be no small feat. It is perhaps better for the organization to take a realistic approach to the issue and try to implement some type of process that, while it may fall short of being an optimal participatory process, will be one that the company can engage in with sincerity.

Perhaps the most important thing for organizations engaging in participatory processes to remember is that they will need to be flexible and willing to adapt as the process unfolds and as members of both the organization and the stakeholder groups change as the process unfolds²⁹. All organizations are different, with different internal cultures and different relationships with outside stakeholders. Therefore, just as there needs to be consideration given to the internal consistency of philosophy, business strategy and processes, there also needs to be considered with respect to the uniqueness of each organization's environment. Given this, organizations need to be realistic in assessing their position with respect to culture and other

²⁸ The importance of establishing realistic expectations through the clear definition of roles, responsibilities and outcomes was discussed in Chapter Five with respect to the evaluation framework.

²⁹ As McMillan and Murgatroyd (1994:69) point out, "public consultation is a dynamic process. From the moment it is initiated, conditions begin to change and expectations change accordingly".

factors before trying to implement public involvement processes. They also need to assess the organization's historical and current relations with stakeholders and be realistic with respect to how these existing relationships will affect the process, how it will be accepted and how it will unfold and make the adjustments required by those specifics.

In the case of Mistik Management, the company's business strategy was a natural expression of an existing corporate culture. However, it may be the case that an organization may want to take advantage of an opportunity in an environmentally or socially sensitive niche market. For those organizations wishing to implement a business strategy aimed at securing environmentally and socially sensitive markets, they may need to engage in an education program to align philosophy with structures and processes. Without an accommodating philosophical and management foundation, attempts to secure entry into these markets will look disingenuous and create discomfort within the organization and cynicism from without.

One interesting implication this research has for business organizations is that it may provide a solution for the creative vs. vision quandary that organizations face. The quandary is that while both vision and creativity are important for organizations, they can represent conflicting goals. The reason for this is that visionary companies are uniform in terms of culture³⁰ (Nemeth 1997). Collins and Porras (1994) go so far as to suggest that visionary companies are characterized by their "cult-like" atmosphere and very strongly held values. To the contrary, creative companies do not require uniformity and, in fact, what makes these companies creative is their ability to harness dissent (Nemeth 1997). It is the very act of

³⁰ Uniformity refers to the ability of employees to know instinctively what they should be doing based on the organization's core values.

inviting participants into the workings of an organization that can enhance creativity (Sutton and Kelley 1997). So, the question is can an organization have a strongly held philosophy, or set of values, and be creative? There is reason to believe that this is possible if the philosophical base from which the organization operates is one that respects the importance of outside interests³¹ and recognizes the importance that these interests play in the success of the organization. If the members of the organization recognize that better decisions result from the participation of dissenting points of view, and are prepared to establish processes to harness these points of view, it is creating the requisite foundation for creativity. Public participation may provide the basis for an organization to be both visionary and creative by allowing for a variety of different perspectives while maintaining the same vision. Therefore the company can be visionary while maintaining enough diversity to be creative.

Finally, on a practical note, public participation provides a much needed refinement to techniques designed to assist managers in dealing with multiple stakeholder interests (Mitchell, Agle and Wood 1997). And, from the perspective of business ethics, it provides a tool that moves the organization from a position of being socially responsive³², which Frederick (1994) defines as amoral, to the moral position of being socially responsible³³. This is accomplished by an organization providing a mechanism through which the public, and hence the community, can be active participants in an organization's decision-making processes. Where management scholars struggle to reconceive their domain as one of

³¹ As defined earlier these are members of stakeholder groups outside of the organization, for example, customers, suppliers, environmental groups.

³² Social responsiveness on the part of an organization is seen as a process of response to social pressure (Clarkson 1995).

organization in full community, both social and ecological, (Gladwin, Kennelly and Krause 1995) the practical example of an organization that has managed to act on such a view is interesting. And, perhaps most importantly, it is timely in that an organization's ability to respond to, and fulfill, expectations of social responsibility may prove to be as important to long-term success as meeting shareholder expectations (Parston 1997).

Does the Model Predict Success?

In discussing organizations, in particular business organizations, there is a tendency toward predicting success or failure of the organization on the basis of certain characteristics or traits. Porter (1980) developed a framework to help a firm analyze its industry as a whole and then predict the firm's future evolution and competitive strategy. Pfeffer (1994) later pointed out that Porter's approach did not work well as a predictor of success and then offered up his own indicator which suggested that a firm's future success could be found by analyzing how its workforce was managed. But perhaps the most well known indicators of a firm's success, or at least its potential for excellence, were developed and marketed by Peters and Waterman (1982). However, five years later Peters (1987) was proclaiming that there are no excellent companies. Clearly, predicting business success is a risky business in and of itself.

So, to answer the question posed above: Does the model predict, or even better, guarantee success? The answer is no. Success for any organization in

¹¹ The concept of corporate social responsibility encompasses four elements or dimensions of responsibility: economic, legal, ethical and discretionary (Clarkson 1995) suggests a greater degree of proactiveness, as opposed to reactiveness, on the part of the organization with respect to recognizing and acting on its social obligations.

any industry will depend on how the future unfolds, how well the organization is managed, and what happens to product markets irrespective of demands for environmentally sustainable products or other niches. Other predictors of success were proven to be unreliable overtime. The model presented in this research predicts that in order to choose and implement a participatory management structure and process there should be compatibility between those structures and processes and the business strategy and philosophy of the organization. Clearly there is a feedback relationship between these factors in that a certain philosophical perspective requires compatible business strategies, structures and processes.

Suggestions for Future Research

Participants of the Mistik planning process identified a number of factors that confirmed the value of public involvement in the planning process. It would be interesting to follow-up on the process to see whether the anticipated benefits such as, reducing conflict within the Forest Management Licence Area, were realized. Was Mistik successful in competing with other companies in the markets it had identified and if so, does public participation in planning offer a competitive advantage? Also, it was noted that all participants in such processes change as a result of their involvement. Research examining the evolution of the relationships and the impact achieving goals identified previous to the process would be beneficial.

Also, this research focussed on a firm in a specific resource industry. Additional research should examine on participatory activities by organizations in other industries and sectors of the economy.

This research provided a detailed study of public participation. As the relationships between community and business evolve it will be important for both sides to explore the use of other tools that facilitate an improved interface between the various stakeholders. Building on this research, further studies could investigate other techniques, aside from involvement in planning processes that provide effective ways for organizations to involve outside stakeholders.

On the public policy front, improved government policies that move organizations to be socially responsible should be examined. As well, more definition on the changing role of business in society - beyond Freidman (1970) - new governance structures and implications for private business accountability and responsibility will need to be elaborated. In summary, there will be a need to explore other means of achieving a better integration of business and society.

Appendix One
List of Interviewees

Mistik Management

The following individuals, see attached organizational chart, were interviewed: CEO, Planning Manager, Operations Manager, Transportation Co-ordinator, Operations Research Co-ordinator, North District Supervisor, Central District Supervisor, Eco-system Co-ordinator, Planning Co-ordinator, and Central District Planner.

These individuals are identified in the thesis by organization and are identified by a randomly assigned number.

Community Members

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Beauval | Six members of the Co-management Board/Community were interviewed. They are identified by assigned number. |
| Divide Forest | Nine members of the Co-management Board/Community were interviewed. They are identified by assigned number. |
| Green Lake | Five members of the Co-management Board/Community were interviewed. They are identified by assigned number. |

Other Forestry Companies

Individuals from the other forestry companies (Weyerhaeuser, L&M and SaskFor MacMillan) held positions including: Operations Manager, Communications Manager, Tree Planter and Team Co-ordinator.

These individuals are identified in the thesis by organization and are identified by a randomly assigned number.

Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management

The five individuals interviewed held positions in the Environmental Assessment and the Public Involvement Branches of the Department.

These individuals are identified in the thesis by organization and are assigned a randomly selected number.

Other

An individual from a provincial environmental group was interviewed.

Appendix Two
Interview Questions

Interview Process Guidelines

I. INTRODUCTION

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION GATHERING

- Please describe your position/role within the organization.
- Length of affiliation.

III. QUESTIONS

- Please describe, in your own words, the planning process that has been undertaken; who was involved; what information was collected and how; what were the principle criteria and objectives that were used in the plan's development?
- How was the new process chosen or developed? What values did the planning strategy reflect? Where did these values come from?
- What motivated the change in the organization's planning process? Was there one particular motivator or driver?
- What makes the new planning process and plan different, in terms of process and final product, from previous planning processes?
- What were the elements of the final plan and how was it implemented? How is it currently being managed?
- Was a cost/benefit analysis done with respect to the adoption of a new planning process? If not a formal analysis, what are the expected benefits of the new planning process?
- Did the process change over the course of the participatory planning process or did it remain static?
- Did the objectives of the new plan change as the plan was developed?
- Did the philosophy of the organization change due to the planning process; did the focus of the company change given input from other sources?

Appendix Three
Project Specific Guidelines

**FINAL PROJECT SPECIFIC GUIDELINES
FOR THE PREPARATION OF AN
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT**

**NORSASK FOREST PRODUCTS INC.
PROPOSED
TWENTY YEAR FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN
TO BE PREPARED BY
MISTIK MANAGEMENT LIMITED**

**Saskatchewan Environment
and Public Safety**

April, 1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
2.0 PUBLIC INPUT	4
3.0 GENERAL GUIDELINES	5
4.0 PROJECT DESCRIPTION	6
4.1 The Forest Management Licence Agreement	7
4.2 The Company	8
4.3 The Proposed Twenty Year Forest Management Plan	8
4.3.1 Principles	9
4.3.2 Strategies and Methods	9
4.3.3 Implementation	10
5.0 SITE DESCRIPTION	10
5.1 Existing Environment	10
5.1.1 Vegetation	11
5.1.2 Topography	11
5.1.3 Landform	11
5.1.4 Geology	11
5.1.5 Soil Ecology	11
5.1.6 Wildlife Resources	12
5.1.7 Aquatic Resources	12
5.1.8 Insect Populations	12
5.1.9 Climate	13
5.2 Land Use	12
5.2.1 Forest Harvesting	13
5.2.2 Agricultural Areas	13
5.2.3 Wild Rice	13
5.2.4 Mineral Development	13
5.2.5 Electrical Power Facilities	13
5.2.6 Hunting	13
5.2.7 Fishing	14
5.2.8 Trapping	14
5.2.9 Existing and Potential Parks	14
5.2.10 Existing and Potential Ecological Reserves	14
5.2.11 Recreational, Tourism and Aesthetic Resources	14
5.2.12 Heritage Resources	14
5.2.13 Traditional Resource Use	14
5.2.14 Roads and Access Routes	14
5.2.15 Demographics	14
5.2.16 Industrial Development	14
5.3 Regulations, Legislation, Policy	14

6.0	IMPACT ASSESSMENT	14
6.1	Environment	15
6.1.1	Climate	15
6.1.2	Vegetation	16
6.1.3	Wildlife	16
6.1.4	Aquatic Resources	16
6.1.5	Insect Populations	17
6.1.6	Soil Ecology	17
6.1.7	Groundwater	17
6.1.8	Aesthetics	17
6.1.9	Forest Ecosystem	17
6.2	Land Use	18
6.2.1	Agriculture	18
6.2.2	Wild Rice Harvesting	18
6.2.3	Mineral Development	18
6.2.4	Electrical Power Facilities	18
6.2.5	Hunting	18
6.2.6	Fishing	18
6.2.7	Trapping	18
6.2.8	Parks	18
6.2.9	Ecological Reserves	18
6.2.10	Recreational, Tourism and Aesthetic Resources	18
6.2.11	Heritage Resources	18
6.2.12	Traditional Resource Use	18
6.2.13	Land Entitlement Selection	18
6.2.14	Existing and Proposed Roads and Access Routes	19
6.2.15	Expansion of Existing Residential Areas	19
6.2.16	Other Designated Areas	19
6.2.17	Industrial Development	19
6.3	Socio-Economics	19
6.3.1	Local Economy	19
6.3.2	Local Infrastructure	19
6.3.3	Community and Social Values	19
6.3.4	Employment Opportunities	19
7.0	MITIGATION	19
8.0	MONITORING AND RESEARCH	20
9.0	SUMMARY	21
	APPENDIX A	

PREFACE

For the first time in Saskatchewan, the environmental assessment process is being applied to a twenty year forest management plan. The application of the environmental assessment process to a long-term ongoing program/activity is a new undertaking in Saskatchewan. It is important that the public has a clear understanding of the process to be followed and its scope.

The need to apply the environmental assessment process to forest management has been an issue identified by the public over the past few years. The decision to apply Saskatchewan's environmental assessment process to a twenty year forest management plan came about as a result of extensive discussions between Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety, the Forestry Branch of Saskatchewan Parks and Renewable Resources, and the Federal government through the offices of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. Timing for these discussions was important as a new twenty year management plan was being required by Forestry Branch for the NorSask Forest Products Inc. Forest Management Licence Agreement (F.M.L.A.). Discussions among the three parties concluded that the twenty year management plan was the most appropriate avenue to apply the review process. Annual and five year operating plans were considered to be too short in time in terms of overall forest management planning. These types of plans address site specific activities and are reviewed on a continual basis by government agencies through an existing review process co-ordinated by Forestry Branch. The twenty year forest

management plan, however, lays out the concept for long-term forest management for the complete F.M.L.A. land base.

Fisheries and Oceans have agreed to co-ordinate the Federal review process with the Provincial process. This means that the environmental impact statement prepared by the proponent will be utilized by both the Federal and Provincial governments pursuant to their respective environmental assessment processes. Efforts will be made by Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety to co-ordinate review of the environmental impact statement by Provincial and Federal agencies; however, the final decisions could be independent of each other. The decisions reached through the environmental assessment process will pertain only to the acceptability of the environmental impact assessment conducted for the twenty year forest management plan. Forestry Branch, Saskatchewan Parks and Renewable Resources will continue to be responsible for timber allotment and for regulating the plan.

The application of the environmental assessment process to an ongoing activity may cause some confusion regarding the scope of the assessment. Unlike "developments" in the past which have dealt with projects only, and which have had the process applied prior to any activity proceeding, forest management/harvesting has been and is an ongoing practice. It is important that the public and reviewers clearly understand that it is a new twenty year forest management plan that is being subjected to the

environmental assessment process, not the current harvesting/management program. The new plan is being prepared for implementation in 1994.

Current harvesting activities are not subject to the environmental assessment process and are allowed to proceed as approval to operate was issued under an existing five year forest management plan. Approval for the new twenty year plan is contingent upon submission and approval of an environmental impact statement.

The following set of project-specific guidelines describes the key issues which have been identified by both Federal and Provincial review agencies, including Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety as well as the issues identified through public review of a draft guideline document. These issues must be addressed in the environmental impact statement.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

NorSask Forest Products Inc. is required to prepare and submit a Twenty Year Forest Management Plan for an area in the Meadow Lake region covered by the NorSask Forest Products Inc. Forest Management Licence Agreement (F.M.L.A.) by February 2, 1994. Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety (SEPS) in agreement with the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), has decided that the NorSask Twenty Year Forest Management Plan will be subject to an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) under Saskatchewan's environmental assessment process.

NorSask Forest Products Inc. has informed SEPS that Mistik Management Ltd., a forest management company incorporated by NorSask Forest Products Inc. and Millar Western Pulp (Meadow Lake) Ltd. will be responsible for the preparation of the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan and the EIS.

The Twenty Year Forest Management Plan provides long-term direction for the management of the timber resource of the F.M.L.A. area, and describes an overall set of forest management objectives and strategy, the forest land base, forest harvesting practices, forest restoration, road requirements, environmental protection practices and other forest user requirements.

Under the terms of the F.M.L.A. the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan is not designed to address site specific activities.

However, NorSask Forest Products Inc. and the government are committed to the development of an Integrated Resource Management (IRM) approach for the plan, which over the long term, will address site specific activities. The forest management plan looks at the productive forest land base of the F.M.L.A. area (1.6 million hectares), but by taking the IRM approach, the entire land base (3.3 million hectares) will be included in the planning process.

Integrated Resource Management is the harmonization of the allocation, management and conservation of land; it is the implementation of the process by which multiple resource concerns on a single land base are balanced in the best interests of the economic, social and environmental concerns. The need for the "Integrated" approach to forest management flows from the fact that the same trees that provide pulp or saw logs for the industrial complex, also provide habitat for wildlife, scenic values for recreationists, watershed protection and water quality services for lakes and rivers plus soil protection and micro-climatic and macro-climatic protection roles.

Through an integrated resource management framework, it should be possible to better identify what benefits can be realized from developing and using the natural resources of the province; it will be important that the exercise acknowledges the importance of the timber resource development and industry in the province,

while at the same time taking an integrated perspective towards non-timber uses. A successful Plan must be an evolving, working tool which demonstrates sensitivity to the issues of Integrated Resource Management and the practical limitations of human and financial resources available for implementation.

Integrated Resource Management is accepted as the tool to achieving "sustainability" in a managed forest ecosystem¹. Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety is of the opinion that this is the most useful approach relevant to the existing state of technology and knowledge respecting forest management in Canada today.

These guidelines reflect the questions and concerns which have been raised about the forest management plan, and identify the most important information which Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety feels should be included in the EIS. However, these guidelines should not be regarded as either exhaustive or restrictive as issues other than those already identified could arise during the investigations associated with NorSask's EIA. Reference to Saskatchewan Environment and Public Safety's

¹ Conservation Strategy for Sustainable Development in Saskatchewan, Draft, Saskatchewan Round Table on Environment and Economy, 1991.

"General Guidelines for Conducting an Environmental Impact Assessment" is encouraged. The department is prepared to provide advice and assistance throughout the EIA with regard to the identification of environmental issues and the means by which these could be evaluated in the assessment.

2.0 PUBLIC INPUT

One of the most important components of an EIA is the involvement of the public at the earliest possible stage in order to receive their input into identifying environmental issues which they feel should be addressed in the EIS, and to foster co-operative community-proponent planning of mitigation and enhancement measures. For this EIA, draft project-specific guidelines were made available for public review and comment prior to finalization. In addition, meetings with stakeholders and the public were held to allow for further public input into these guidelines, prior to finalization.

Public comments and input received as a result of the guidelines being made available for public review, clearly show strong interest and concern, particularly from the local communities, over how the provincial forests have been managed in the past and how they are to be managed in the future. There is a strong desire/interest by the local communities/public to play a major role in both the development and implementation of the twenty year forest management plan.

The EIS needs to describe the proponent's plans for an ongoing public consultation program which will inform the public of all future forest management activities, the ways in which public concerns will be addressed and describe the mechanisms to allow public input from affected resource users.

3.0 GENERAL GUIDELINES

The intent of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is to:

- (1) demonstrate that the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan will result in the application of integrated resource management to the NorSask F.M.L.A.;
- (2) identify potential sources of impacts both positive and negative; and
- (3) where applicable, identify measures to prevent, eliminate or mitigate any negative impacts.

All information should be presented in a clear, concise fashion, so that information will be meaningful to persons outside the forest industry.

Local and regional maps or graphical representation should be used where appropriate. Public comments received have indicated that many of the traditional users of the land are more experienced and knowledgeable about their local environment and land forms than they are at reading technical reports. Therefore, it would be of great assistance to them in being able

to assess the impact of the proposed Forest Management Plan if they could see much of the information collected placed on maps. Specific areas in which the use of maps would be of assistance in depicting the information include:

- summary of past history (harvested areas, fire losses, regenerated areas, road corridors);
- existing environment;
- land use.

4.0 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The EIS should provide a complete detailed description of the proposed operations, supported by technical data, in sufficient detail and scope to enable an accurate assessment of the environmental and economic implications of the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan. The EIS should provide a complete rationale for proposed harvesting, restoration and rotational strategy including environmental, economic and site specific reasons pro and con. The EIS should also provide a complete rationale for alternative harvesting and reforestation operations that were not chosen with economic, environmental and site specific reasons pro and con. All stages of development and all project components should be described.

The EIS should also include the use of detailed maps of the proposed cut area for the first five-year term. These maps should illustrate either through the use of colours, codes, or

symbols, the year of the proposed cutting. Larger scale maps should be included of those areas that fit into the ten, fifteen, and twenty year cut plans for the company.

To provide a complete description of the proposed development, the EIS should provide the following information related to the F.M.L.A., the company (NorSask) and the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan:

4.1 THE FOREST MANAGEMENT LICENSE AGREEMENT

- overview of licence area;
- management units;
- existing road agreements;
- general objectives and goals;
- long term philosophy and strategy;
- Acts and Regulations which apply;
- summary of past activities
 - harvesting (methodology, size of harvesting blocks, machinery);
 - silvicultural practices;
 - fire losses;
 - road corridor development;
 - other catastrophic events;
 - problems and successes.

4.2 THE COMPANY

- operating mandate;
- forest management and environmental policy (integrated resource management, position regarding the necessity and/or adequacy of stream reserves, policy toward installation of permanent and temporary stream crossings, access roads);
- social policy (training for employment, enhancement of local business opportunities, corporate procurement policies).

4.3 THE PROPOSED TWENTY YEAR FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN

The EIS must provide a detailed description of all components of the proposed Twenty Year Forest Management Plan including the objectives of the management plan, management strategy to meet these objectives, forest development strategy (road development [requirements, closures, abandonment], harvesting activities [methods, minimum and maximum sizes of clear-cut areas, equipment, manpower, camps], silvicultural practices, protection activities [fires, insect, disease], intensive forest management practices) and identify how the proposed plan will take into consideration other forest users. The Twenty Year Forest Management Plan should clearly identify the alternatives considered in developing the forest development strategy, the pros and cons of these alternatives and the reasons behind the selection of the preferred approach. In providing a detailed

description of the proposed Twenty Year Forest Management Plan, the EIS must identify the methodology for determining the annual allowable cut, the proposed volumes of annual allowable cut and how/if this volume can be provided on a sustained yield and a sustainable forest ecosystem basis. In concert with an integrated resource management approach, a similar process should be followed for describing the methodology used for determining the supply on non-timber values. The EIS must show how the concept of integrated resource management was included in the development of the plan, how the plan relates to forest renewal and a sustainable forest ecosystem, and discuss the socio-economic implications of the plan. Information on the proposed plan may be presented as follows:

4.3.1 Principles

- 4.3.1.1 Integrated Resource Management;
- 4.3.1.2 Sustainability;
- 4.3.1.3 Forest Renewal;
- 4.3.1.4 Socio-Economics.

4.3.2 Strategies and Methods

- 4.3.2.1 Integrated Resource Management;
- 4.3.2.2 Sustainability;
- 4.3.2.3 Forest Renewal;
- 4.3.2.4 Socio-Economics.

4.3.3 Implementation

- 4.3.3.1 Integrated Resource Management;
- 4.3.3.2 Sustainability;
- 4.3.3.3 Forest Renewal;
- 4.3.3.4 Socio-Economics.

5.0 SITE DESCRIPTION

5.1 EXISTING ENVIRONMENT

The EIA should provide baseline data from which to predict and evaluate the environmental impacts, both positive and negative, of the Twenty Year Forest Management Plan. Baseline data of an adequate quality and quantity should be collected for key environmental parameters to provide an understanding of existing conditions, to allow predictions of how the management plan may cause these key environmental components to change, and to provide a sound basis for necessary environmental monitoring. Use of existing information is encouraged although there will be a need to collect additional data for certain parameters. The information should not be presented simply as an inventory of available data, but should be collected and analyzed using methodologies that yield data of a quality and in a level of detail such that they will be of practical use in predicting and evaluating impacts and in forming a sound basis for later monitoring. Where data gaps exist in baseline information for key parameters, the EIS should identify how and when the required data will be gathered. To assist the public in understanding the

information collected, as much of the information as possible should be placed on maps (should be mapped at a scale commensurate with the level of activity proposed - e.g. five year plan more detailed than 10, 15 & 20 yr cutting plans). Key parameters for which information should be presented include:

5.1.1 Vegetation

- forest resource by age, species, area, volume, and supply area;
- classification and area of non-productive forest land;
- classification and area of non-forested land;
- classification and area of non-forested productive land;
- unique, rare or endangered plant species or habitats.

5.1.2 Topography

- identification of fragile sites.

5.1.3 Landform

5.1.4 Geology

5.1.5 Soil Ecology (test sites should include burns and cut-overs in various stages of regeneration)

- types and depth;
- soil profile;
- available nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus, sulphur;
- micronutrients;
- soil P.H.;

- percentage of organic matter;
- carbon nitrogen ratio and beneficial micro-floral activity.

5.1.6 Wildlife Resources

- animal species (reptiles, amphibians, birds and mammals), populations, habitat and seasonal use patterns;
- unique, rare or endangered animal species.

5.1.7 Aquatic Resources

- fish and fish habitat that sustains or supports, or has a potential to sustain or support commercial, recreational or native fishing activities;
- unique, rare or endangered fish species and habitats;
- streams, rivers and lakes;
- water quality;
- stream classification including fisheries values;
- fishery productivity and angling success.

5.1.8 Insect Populations

- identification of important genera/species;
- endangered and extirpated genera/species;
- their role in the ecosystem.

5.1.9 Climate

- climatic zones;
- prevailing 50 and 100 yr. weather patterns (temperature, precipitation).

5.2 LAND USE

The EIS should include a comprehensive description of the present/proposed land and resource uses and the community environment and infrastructure within the defined socio-economic impact area. As with the information collected for the existing environment, it would assist the public reviewing the EIS to have the land use information collected placed on maps. Components for which information is required include:

5.2.1 Forest Harvesting

- manufacturing plants and markets;
- labour and wood supply;
- current operating areas (harvesting and reforestation).

5.2.2 Agricultural Areas

- including forestry/agricultural transition of land;
- private and other wood supply areas.

5.2.3 Wild Rice

- wild rice harvesting and other gathering areas.

5.2.4 Mineral Development (including exploration)

- mining;
- oil and gas;
- other.

5.2.5 Electrical Power Facilities

5.2.6 Hunting

- Treaty Indians and other indigenous groups;

- sport;
- big game outfitters.

5.2.7

Fishing

- Treaty Indians and other indigenous groups;
- sport;
- commercial;
- outfitting.

5.2.8

Trapping

- fur conservation areas;
- existing traplines and trappers cabins.

5.2.9

Existing and Potential Parks

5.2.10

Existing and Potential Ecological Reserves

5.2.11

Recreational, Tourism and Aesthetic Resources

5.2.12

Heritage Resources

5.2.13

Traditional Resource Use

5.2.14

Roads and Access Routes

5.2.15

Demographics

5.2.16

Industrial Development

5.3 REGULATIONS, LEGISLATION, POLICY

- including roles and responsibilities of the proponent and other agencies.

6.0 IMPACT ASSESSMENT

The EIS should consider all potential sources of impacts on the described existing environment, and should document and evaluate

the significance of positive and negative project-related impacts on the environment of the project area. Impact predictions should be described according to defined criteria and should be as specific and quantitative as possible. Analysis of impacts should include each potential source of impact and should incorporate consideration of probability, magnitude, duration and significance, together with the rationale for these predictions and conclusions. Cumulative and residual impacts should be discussed under each section.

The components which may be potentially impacted, in either a positive or negative way, include the following:

6.1 ENVIRONMENT

6.1.1 Climate

- local air quality;
- global carbon dioxide and oxygen budgets;
- impact of micro and macro-climatic change on future forest productivity, with particular emphasis on clearcuts;
- effects of forestry operation on future climates via their contribution to the global carbon dioxide budget;
- impact over local micro and macro-climate;
- potential regional air moisture evapotranspiration balance changes.

6.1.2 Vegetation

- unique, rare or endangered species or plant communities;
- ecosystem diversity (diversity from place to place and over time);
- ecosystem processes (e.g. succession)
- wildlife habitat;
- riparian zones;
- protected ecological areas;
- harvesting/gathering;
- research sites.

6.1.3 Wildlife

- reptiles, amphibians, birds and mammals;
- unique, rare and endangered species;
- critical habitat including but not limited to nesting and calving sites, molting areas, wintering areas and mineral licks;
- protected ecological areas;
- research sites;
- habitat.

6.1.4 Aquatic Resources

- fish and fish habitat that sustains or supports, or has a potential to sustain or support commercial, recreational or traditional fishing activities;
- unique, rare or endangered fish species and habitats;
- streams, rivers, lakes and surface drainage;

- water quality including sediments;
- research sites.

6.1.5 Insect Populations

- impact on the role and functions of insects in the ecosystem and its processes.

6.1.6 Soil Ecology

- soil stability per erosion;
- soil structure per compaction;
- nutrient status and potential changes;
- moisture regimes;
- research sites.

6.1.7 Groundwater

- groundwater recharge and potential flow and quality changes;
- interception;
- predicted changes due to forest harvesting and management activities.

6.1.8 Aesthetics

- areas valued for recreational use.

6.1.9 Forest Ecosystem

- describe and evaluate alternatives for tailoring forest harvesting practices (e.g. clearcutting versus other means of harvesting) so as to maintain essential landscape integrity and ecosystem processes. This should include demonstrating that a mosaic of all age stands of all species can and will

be maintained over the entire FMLA area in
perpetuity.

6.2 LAND USE

6.2.1 Agriculture

6.2.2 Wild Rice Harvesting

6.2.3 Mineral Development

6.2.4 Electrical Power Facilities

6.2.5 Hunting

- big game outfitting;
- sport;
- treaty and other traditional.

6.2.6 Fishing

- treaty and other traditional;
- commercial;
- sport;
- outfitting.

6.2.7 Trapping

6.2.8 Parks

- including potential parks.

6.2.9 Ecological Reserves

- including potential ecological reserves.

6.2.10 Recreational, Tourism and Aesthetic Resources

6.2.11 Heritage Resources

6.2.12 Traditional Resource Uses

6.2.13 Land Entitlement Selection

- 6.2.14 Existing and Proposed Roads and Access Routes
- 6.2.15 Expansion of Existing Residential Areas
- 6.2.16 Other Designated Areas
- 6.2.17 Industrial Development
 - impacts on industrial development;
 - impacts on twenty year forest management plan.

6.3 SOCIO-ECONOMICS

- 6.3.1 Local Economy
 - direct use of the forest by the communities.
- 6.3.2 Local Infrastructure
- 6.3.3 Community and Social Values
 - aesthetics;
 - cultural;
 - traditional lifestyles.
- 6.3.4 Employment Opportunities
 - areas of employment;
 - skill levels required.

7.0 MITIGATION

It is expected that the successful implementation of IRM will minimize the nature, extent and duration of most significant impacts on sensitive resources. However, it is recognized that some site specific impacts cannot be avoided and may require special enhancement procedures to reduce their nature, extent or duration. The EIS should describe the measures which NorSask

Forest Products Inc. will implement to minimize adverse impacts and enhance positive impacts. For ease of reviewing, this section should list the impacts identified in Section 6.0, on an individual basis, followed by a description/discussion of the appropriate mitigative measure. Mitigation of impacts may involve identification of areas where timber harvesting cannot occur until a more detailed assessment is complete, or where constraints are such that no timber harvesting should take place. It may also involve changes to scheduling and/or location as well as alternative methods for various practices (ie. road construction, harvesting, silvicultural, forest protection). Sites should be identified which are suitable for legal protection as ecological reserves and/or heritage sites. With respect to aesthetics, line of site, visual impact analysis may be considered for harvest sequences relative to travel corridors and recreational use areas. Those impacts which cannot be mitigated should be identified and their significance discussed.

8.0 MONITORING AND RESEARCH

The EIS should contain information that outlines programs which will be used to assess the impacts of proposed harvesting and silvicultural practices on the forest ecosystem as well as to determine the effectiveness of the mitigation measures. The EIS should describe the research to be conducted to study the feasibility of alternate road construction practices,

silvicultural practices, harvesting practices and forest protection practices.

9.0 SUMMARY

In summary, the EIS should provide a concise and complete statement which allows the Province and the public to weigh the benefits against the identified environmental impacts for the proposed Twenty Year Forest Management Plan. Efforts should be made, wherever possible, to compare timber and non-timber values in commensurate terms. The discussion should include an assessment of the intangible costs and benefits which cannot be expressed in economic terms.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

Conservation: is the wise use of natural resources to provide sustainable benefits.

Ecological Processes: refers to the operation of functioning and change among ecological relationships.

Ecosystems: consist of communities of plants, animals and micro-organisms along with the air, water, soil and other elements. Ecosystems are subdivisions of the environment.

Ecosystem Diversity: the relationship and process variation in space and time in a given area.

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA): a formal study which gathers and analyzes biological, physical and socio-economic information pertaining to a proposed development and its affected environment and which predicts and evaluates the effects of the proposed development.

Environmental Impact Statement (EIS): the written report by a proponent describing the planned development and the results of the proponent's Environmental Impact Assessment.

Forest Ecosystem: refers to the relationships of all living populations to each other and their non-living surroundings in a given area, in this case the F.M.L.A. area.

Integrated Resource Management: is a process that ensures all interested or affected parties have an opportunity to be involved and informed in protecting, developing and managing resources.

Sustainability: refers to the ability to sustain a resource over time. For example, sustainable deer management is such that the deer may be harvested at rates that allow deer populations to rebuild themselves.

Appendix Four
Detailed Evaluation Criteria
(Source: The NorSask Forest Management Project Volume III Part Three)

PART 3 - ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT

The Environmental Impact Statement is designed to assist the public, government and Mistik in arriving at a decision regarding the environmental acceptability of the Forest Management Plan proposed for the NorSask Forest. The Forest Management Plan sets out Mistik's proposals for access, harvesting, renewal, tending, protection, monitoring and research over the next twenty years. The Plan and the supporting documentation have been prepared over a period of 3 years and are based on extensive scientific data and knowledge plus dialogue with a great number and cross-section of the residents in and around the NorSask Forest. The Environmental Impact Statement critically analyzes the results of this planning process, the supporting documentation and the resulting forest management proposal from an environmental perspective.

ENVIRONMENTAL APPROVAL REQUIREMENTS

A formal process in Saskatchewan has been established under the Environmental Assessment Act to reach public decisions on the acceptability of major enterprises like the NorSask Project. This Environmental Impact Statement conforms to the provincial process and responds specifically to the environmental assessment requirements (i.e., the NorSask Project Specific Guidelines¹) established in April 1992 by Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management. These requirements were developed by the Saskatchewan government through a public consultation process which included an opportunity for review and comment by all members of the public.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

A comprehensive analysis and evaluation of 17 forest management alternatives are presented in the Environmental Impact Statement. The results of this evaluation provide the rationale for choosing the proposed direction for forest management over the next 20 years in the NorSask Forest. The environmental assessment examines over the next 220 years, the potentially significant impacts of proposed forest management operations on the NorSask Forest. Key environmental features examined include:

- a) long term-effects on forest ecosystems,
- b) the net public and private value of forest resources,
- c) wood supply quantities and quality.
- d) the availability of habitat for major wildlife species.

- e) local employment and economic impacts,
- f) blueberry production, and
- g) water yields.

ALTERNATIVES EVALUATION

The alternatives evaluated consider a broad range of options including:

- i) complete discontinuation of forest access and harvesting operations,
- ii) continuing forest management according to the current provincial forest management system which is based on an annual allowable cut (AAC)/long-run sustainable yield (LRSY) harvest regulation system along with specific harvesting restrictions (e.g., two-pass harvesting), and
- iii) maximizing the economic return from the forest.

As well, a variety of alternatives were developed based on key forest management considerations identified through the public consultation process. These alternatives strove to achieve varying levels of:

- i) conservation of forest biodiversity,
- ii) fair distribution of the economic benefits of forest management among the local communities,
- iii) caribou habitat supply, and
- iv) reduction in the area of inadequately regenerated areas.

Each alternative was designed to satisfy these requirements while, at the same time, optimizing² the supply of wood to the mills and the supply of habitat for moose, white-tailed deer and fisher.

SELECTION OF THE BEST ALTERNATIVE

The best forest management future was chosen from among all of the alternatives considered, based on an exhaustive evaluation of their short-term and long-term impacts. The proposed forest management activities offer a balance of ecological, economic and social advantages. **Importantly, the selection of the best alternative was based on the stated preferences and priorities expressed by representatives of the local communities at an alternatives evaluation workshop.** Mistik relied on the priorities of the public to select the preferred alternative. **The preferred alternative**

selected by these members of the public is the foundation for the Forest Management Plan submitted for approval.

CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusions of this Environmental Impact Statement are as follows:

- i) **Continuing with forest management is preferred to stopping any further forestry operations.** Continuing with forest management will yield major positive environmental impacts including economic, social and ecological benefits to local communities and forest ecosystems. The alternative of stopping further forestry operations proved to be one of the least preferred alternatives. The "No Harvest" alternative would result in major negative impacts on local communities and economies.
- ii) **Continuation of the current provincial forest management system for the NorSask Forest would have major negative economic and ecological impacts.** The total loss in future economic benefits to be realized is estimated at \$225 million if the current forest management system was to be continued to be applied in the NorSask Forest. As well, this alternative poses considerable ecological risk due to the conversion of the natural forest structure to a "normal"³ forest structure and the fragmented forest landscape that would result.
- iii) **Of the 17 optimized alternatives, the preferred forest management alternative provides a reasonable and fair balance of risks, benefits, costs and the distribution of each among local communities.** The balancing of these considerations was based on a) the relative importance of individual forest attributes, b) an extensive environmental database relating to the ecological, economic and social characteristics of the forest and forest users, c) a comprehensive, quantitative description of the interactions of these factors among forest ecosystems, the economy and local communities, and d) the results of extensive discussions with local communities regarding their desires and priorities. This complex analysis was critical to deal with the wide range of management possibilities and outcomes available over a 220-year period and over 1 million hectares of forest.
- iv) **The proposed activities set out in the Forest Management Plan will yield a valuable stream of benefits to local communities and Saskatchewan while ensuring the long-term maintenance of the ecological integrity of forest ecosystems and species.** An overall net present value of major forest resources of \$978 million is forecast to be produced by the proposed forest management activities. Much of this benefit will accrue to the local communities. The local labour income

generated by the NorSask Project is forecast over the next twenty years at being more than one billion dollars and the total gross local economic output at being more than seven billion dollars. Local employment to be generated is forecast to be more than 27,000 person years in total. Populations of moose, deer and caribou will increase or remain high. There will be some reduction in the fisher population, but the population is forecast to stabilize and to remain at a healthy and viable level sufficient to support a sustained trapping yield. Water yield from the forest will increase marginally and potential supplies of blueberries will be far in excess of local and retail demand.

The overall forest ecosystem will be managed to maintain its current biodiversity and to remedy the current age class imbalance and abnormal forest landscape patterns produced by past forest management activities. This will ensure sustainability of forest ecosystems and the species which are part of these ecosystems.

- v) **Environmental improvements to forest management will occur as the Forest Management Plan is carried out over the next 20 years.** Mistik has proposed a coordinated and integrated environmental monitoring and research program to measure and improve the effectiveness of forest management. The knowledge gained through this program and other scientific research will be used to refine forest management on a regular and structured basis. As well, the Forest Management Plan prescribes a formal process a) for review of proposed annual operations, and b) for any future amendments to the Plan that may be required. These proposals together will result in an efficient and reliable means to regularly improve and refine the effectiveness of forest management operations.
- vi) **Ongoing public consultation is a key component for effective Plan implementation.** The details of individual forest management operations will be worked out on an annual basis. **The local co-management boards and forest advisory committees have an essential role to play in applying the provisions of the Forest Management Plan to local circumstances.** This will require a sincere and ongoing commitment to forest management by all interested parties.
- vii) **Overall, the NorSask Project is in the public interest.** The positive impacts of the project greatly outweigh the negative impacts. Those negative impacts that are predicted can be effectively mitigated using current technology. Improved knowledge that will be gained through monitoring and research will further avoid or reduce these impacts in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations are based on the analysis and results contained in the Environmental Impact Statement:

- i) **Regular forest management performance assessment should be carried out and the results should be made publicly available.** The management objectives contained in the Forest Management Plan provide quantitative measures of the expected results in the forest of proposed forest management activities. These measures include the amount of wood to be produced, the supply of habitat for select species of wildlife and the area and quality of forest ecosystem types to be sustained. Reasonable achievement of these objectives should be a condition of project approval.
- ii) **The Forest Ecosystems and Landscape Management Manual should be finalized as soon as possible.** This manual provides critical guidance for designing individual forest management operations. This guidance is essential for ensuring adequate environmental protection. Finalization and refinement of the manual should be a top priority for Mistik and the government.
- iii) **Adherence to the proposed public consultation process during Plan implementation should be a condition of approval.** Mistik has proposed an ongoing public consultation program to be used during Plan implementation. Public input is vital to achieving the desired positive impacts from the project. Approval should be conditional on continued effective public consultation during Plan implementation. This will ensure commitment to this proposed process by Mistik and other interested parties.

Bibliography

- Abrahamsson, Bengt (1993) *Why Organizations?* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- _____, (1977) *Bureaucracy or Participation* (Sage:Beverly Hills).
- Ackoff, Russell (1970) *A Concept of Corporate Planning* (Wiley-Interscience:New York).
- Acs, Zoltan and David Audretsch (1988) "Innovation and Firm Size" in *Technovation* (Vol. 7, No. 3:197-211).
- Anton, Frank (1980) *Worker Participation Prescription for Industrial Change* (Detsclig:Calgary).
- Aragon- Correa, Juan (1998) "Strategic Proactivity and Firm Approach to the Natural Environment" in *Academy of Management Journal* (Vol. 41, No. 5:556-567).
- Argyris, Chris (1992) *In Organizational Learning* (Blackwell:Cambridge).
- Argyris, Chris and Donald Schon (1974) *Theory in Practice* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Arnstein, Sherry (1969) "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in *American Institute of Planners Journal* (July:216-221).
- Arora, S. and T.M. Cason (1995) "An Experiment in Voluntary Environmental Regulation: participation in EPA's 33/50 Program" in *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* (Vol. 28, No. 3:271-286).
- Ashkenas, Ron (1997) "The Organization's New Cloths" in Hesselbein et al (eds) *The Organization of the Future* (Jossey-Bass:SanFrancisco).
- Astley, W.G. and Andrew Van de Ven (1983) "Central Perspectives and Debates in Organization Theory" in *Administrative Science Quarterly* (Vol. 28:245-270).
- Atkinson-Grosjean, Janet (1998) "Opportunities for Auditors?" in *CGA Magazine* (February 1998:32-40).
- Aucoin, Peter (1995) *The New Public Management* (The Institute for Research on Public Policy:Montreal).
- Babbie, E. (1990) *Survey Research Methods* (Wadsworth:Belmont).
- Baker, H.R. (1993) *Restructuring Rural Communities*, Volumes 1 and 2 (University Extension Press:Saskatoon).
- Bari, Judy (1994) *Timber Wars* (Common Ground Press:Monroe).
- Barnet, Richard (1975) *The Crisis of the Corporation* (Institute for Policy Studies:Washington).

- Baumol, William et al (1994) *Microeconomics* (Harcourt Brace & Company:Toronto) .
- Beach, Lee Roy (1997) *The Psychology of Decision-Making* (Sage:Thousand Oaks) .
- Beatty, Bonita (1997) "Integrating 'First' Principles into Aboriginal Administration" in *Policy Options* (March 1997:31-34) .
- Beauchamp, Tom (1993) *Case Studies in Business, Society and Ethics* (Prentice Hall:Englewood Cliffs) .
- Beck, Nuala (1995) *Excelerate* (HarperCollins:Toronto) .
- Beckley, T.M. and D. Korber (1996) *Clear cuts, conflict and co-management: experiments in consensus forest management in northwest Saskatchewan* (Natural Resources Canada:Edmonton) .
- Bellah, Robert, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steven Tipton (1985) *Habits of the Heart* (Harper & Row:Cambridge) .
- Bennis, W. (1969) *Organization Development* (Addison-Wesley:Reading) .
- Benveniste, A. (1972) *The Politics of Expertise* (Geindecary Press:Berkely) .
- Beresford, Peter and Suzy Croft (1993) *Citizen Involvement: A Practical Guide for Change* (Macmillan:Houndsmills) .
- Berkes, F. (1989) *Common property resources: ecology and community-based sustainable development* (Belhaven:London) .
- Berkes, Fikret and Thomas Henley (1997) "Co-Management and Traditional Knowledge: Threat or Opportunity?" in *Policy Options* (March 1997:29-31) .
- Berman, Evan (1997) "Dealing with cynical citizens" in *Public Administration Review* (Vol. 57, No.2:105-112) .
- Black, John (1997) *Oxford Dictionary of Economics* (Oxford University Press:Oxford) .
- Blackwell, Ronald, Albert Dunlap, George Gilder, Edward Luttwak, Robert Reich and Paul Tough (1996) "Does America Still Work?" in *Harper's* (Vol. 292, No. 1752:35-47) .
- Blau, Peter (1974) *On the Nature of Organizations* (Wiley-Interscience:New York) .
- Bluestone, Barry and Bennett Harrison (1982) *The Deindustrialization of America* (Basic Books:New York) .
- Boaden, Noel et al. (1980) *Planning and Participation in Practice* (Pergamon Press:Oxford) .

- Bolman, L.G. and T.E. Deal (1984) *Modern Approaches to Understanding and Managing Organizations* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Bonin, Raymond (1995) Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (Government of Canada:Queen's Printer).
- Born, Stephen and William Sonzogni (1995) "Integrated Environmental Management: Strengthening the Conceptualization" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 19, No. 2:167-181).
- Boulding, K.E. (1956) "General Systems Theory - The Skeleton of Science" in *Management Science* (Vol. 2:197-208).
- Bouckaert, Luk (1994) "Business and Community" in *Business Ethics: A European Approach*, Brian Harvey ed. (Prentice Hall:New York).
- Boyd, Brian, Gregory Dess and Abdul Rasheed (1993) "Divergence Between Archival and Perceptual Measures of Environment: Causes and Consequences" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 18, No. 2:204-226).
- Brown, Warren and Necmi Karagozoglu (1998) "Current Practices in Environmental Management" in *Business Horizons* (Vol. 41, No. 4:12-18).
- Brownell, Baker (1950) *The Human Community: Its Philosophy and Practice for a time of Crisis* (Harper & Brothers:New York).
- Bryant, Christopher (1991) *Sustainable Community Development Partnerships and Preparing Winning Proposals* (Rural and Small Towns Research and Studies Programme:Mount Allison University).
- Bryson, John M. (1988) *Strategic Planning for Public and Nonprofit Organizations* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Buchholz, Rogene (1992) *Business Environment and Public Policy* (Prentice Hall:Englewood Cliffs).
- Burrell, G. and G. Morgan (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (Heinemann Educational Books:London).
- Burton, John (1991) *Integrated Catchment Management and Its Links with Public Works Facilities* (Asia-Pacific Public Works Congress:Australia September 5).
- Butler, Richard (1991) *Designing Organizations* (Routledge:London).
- Campbell, J.P. (1977) "On the Nature of Organizational Effectiveness" in P.s. Goodman, J.M. Pennings and Associates, *New Perspectives on Organizational Effectiveness* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Cannella, Albert and Ramona Paetzold (1994) "Pfeffer's Barriers to the Advancement of Organizational Science: A Rejoinder" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 19, NO. 2:331-341).

- Cantanese, Anthony (1974) *Planners and Local Politics: Impossible Dreams* (Sage:Beverly Hills).
- Carroll, A. (1979) "A Three Dimensional Conceptual Model of Corporate Performance" in *Academy of Management Review* (October 1979).
- Cartwright, T. J. (1991) "Planning and Chaos Theory" in *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Vol. 57, No. 1:44-56).
- Clark, David (1985) "Emerging Paradigms in Organizational Theory" in *Organizational Theory and Inquiry*, Yvonna Lincoln ed. (Sage:Beverly Hills).
- Clarkson, Max (1995) "A Stakeholder Framework for analyzing and Evaluating Corporate Social Performance" in *Academy of Management Review* (vol. 20, No. 1:92-117).
- Clegg, Stewart (1990) *Modern Organizations* (Sage:London).
- Cohen, Michael and James March (1974) "Leadership in a Organized Anarchy" in *Classics of Organization Theory*, Jay Shafritz and J. Steven Ott (Brooks/Cole:Pacific Grove).
- Collins, J.C. and J.I. Porras (1994) *Built to Last: Successful Habits of Visionary Companies* (Harper Collins:New York).
- Collins, Lindhurst (1998) "Environmentalism and Restructuring of the Global Pulp and Paper Industry" in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* (Vol. 89, No. 4:401-415).
- Connolly, Terry, Edward Conlon and Stuart Deutsch (1980) "Organizational Effectiveness: A Multiple-Constituency Approach" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 5:211-217).
- Connor, Desmond (1996) Public "Participation in Canada: Development, Current Status and Trends" in *The Journal of Public Participation* (Vol. 2, No. 1).
- _____, (1993) "Ten Lessons Learned in 22 Years of Public Participation" (Conference paper presented at the International Association for Public Participation at Kananaskis, Alberta: August 29-September 1).
- Cooke, Philip and Kevin Morgan (1998) *The Associational Economy* (Oxford University Press:Oxford).
- Cope, Robert (1989) *High Involvement Strategic Planning: when People and Their Ideas Matter* (Basil Blackwell:Oxford).
- Cortner, Hanna and Margaret Moote (1994) "Trends and Issues in Land and Water Resources Management: Setting the Agenda for Change" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 18, No. 2:167-173).
- Costanza, Robert et al (1997) *Ecological Economics* (St. Lucie Press:Boca Raton).

- Covey, Stephen (1992) *Principle Centered Leadership* (Simon & Schuster:New York).
- Creighton, James (1983) "An Overview to the Research Conference on Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment" in Gregory Daneke, Margot Garcia and Jerome Delli Priscoli (eds.) *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment* (Westview Press:Boulder).
- _____ (1981) *The Public Involvement Manual* (Abt Books:Cambridge).
- Cresswell, John (1994) *Research Design* (Sage:Thousand Oaks).
- Crowe, Terry (1996) "Healthy, Wealthy and Wise: The Community Economic Development Evolution" in *Plan Canada* (May:8-9).
- Curry, Steve (1992) "Case Studies" in Stephanie Barrientos et al., *Research Methods in Economics* (University of London:London).
- Cuthbertson, Ida (1983) "Evaluating Public Participation: An approach for Government Practitioners in Gregory Daneke, Margot Garcia and Jerome Delli Priscoli (eds.) *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment* (Westview Press:Boulder).
- Daly, Herman and John Cobb (1989) *For the Common Good* (1994 edition Beacon Press:Boston).
- Daneke, Gregory, Margot Garcia and Jerome Delli Priscoli (1983) *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment* (Westview Press:Boulder).
- Davidoff, Paul (1965) "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" reprinted in *A Reader in Planning Theory*, Andreas Faludi ed. (Pergamon Press:Oxford).
- Davis, D.L. (1992) "The Meaning of Menopause in a Newfoundland Fishing Village" in J.M. Morse, *Qualitative Health Research* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- Davis, John (1991) *Greening Business* (Basil Blackwell:Oxford).
- Doktor, Robert, Rosalie Tung and Mary Ann Von Glinow (1991) "Future Direction of Management Theory Development" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 16, No. 2:362-365).
- Douglas, David J.A. (1994) *Community Economic Development in Canada Volume One* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson:Toronto).
- Dror, Y. (1971) *Ventures in Policy Sciences* (American Elsevier:New York).
- Drucker, Peter (1993) *Post-Capitalist Society* (Harperbusiness:New York).
- Dundas, K. and P. Richardson (1980) "Corporate Strategy and the Concept of Market Failure" in *Strategic Management Journal* (Vol. No. 1:177-188).

- Duffy, Dorli, Mark Roseland and Thomas Gunton (1996) "A Preliminary Assessment of Shared Decision-Making in Land Use and Natural Resource Planning" in *Environments* (Vol. 23, No. 2:1-15).
- Duncan, W.J. (1975) *Essentials of Management* (The Dryden Press:Hinsdale).
- Dyckman, John W. (1961) "What Makes Planners Plan?" reprinted in *A Reader in Planning Theory*, Andreas Faludi ed. (Pergamon Press:Oxford).
- Eckel, Leonard, Kathryn Fisher and Grant Russell (1992) "Environmental Performance Measurement" in *CMA* (Vol. 66, No.2:16).
- Ekins, Paul (1992) *Green Economics* (Anchor Books:New York).
- Ekos Research Associates (1995) *Rethinking Public Consultation* (Ekos Research Associates Inc:Ottawa).
- Elder, P.S. (1975) *Environmental Management and Public Participation* (Canadian Environmental Law Research Foundation:Toronto).
- Emery, F.E. and E.L. Trist (1973) *Towards a Social Ecology* (Plenum Press:London).
- Etzioni, Amitai (1991) *A Responsive Society* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- _____ (1969) *Readings on Modern Organizations* (Prentice-Hall:Englewood Cliffs).
- _____ (1964) *Modern Organizations* (Prentice-Hall:Englewood Cliffs).
- Faludi, Andreas ed. (1973) *A Reader in Planning Theory* (Pergamon Press:Oxford).
- Farquhar, Carolyn and Judith Macbride-King (1994) *Building Community Excellence: One Organization at a Time* (The Conference Board of Canada:Ottawa).
- Fayol, Henri (1916) *General and Industrial Management*, trans. C. Storrs, 1949 (Pitman:London).
- Ferber, Marianne and Julie Nelson (1993) *Beyond Economic Man* (University of Chicago Press:Chicago).
- Fisher, A.C. and Krutilla (1974) "Managing the Public Lands: Assignment of Property Rights and Valuation of Resources" in Edwin Haefele, *The Governance of Common Property Resources* (Johns Hopkins University Press:Baltimore).
- Fisher, Roger, William Ury with Bruce Patton ed. (1991) *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (Penguin:New York).

- Fisher, Roger and Scott Brown (1988) *Getting Together: Building Relationships as we Negotiate* (Penguin:New York).
- Forrester, J.W. (1969) *Urban Dynamics* (MIT Press:Cambridge).
- Forester, John (1993) *Critical Theory, Public Policy, and Planning Practice* (State University of New York Press:Albany).
- _____ (1989) *Planning in the Face of Power* (University of California Press:Berkely).
- Franklin, Ursula (1996) *Every Tool Shapes The Task* (Lazara:Vancouver).
- Fredrick, W.C. (1994) "From CSR1to CSR2. The Maturing of business-and-society thought" in *Business and Society* (Vol. 33:150-164).
- Freeman, R. Edward (1984) *Strategic Management* (Pitmand:Boston).
- Friedman, Milton (1970) "The Social Responsibility of business is to Increase Its Profits" reprinted in *Business Ethics in Canada*, Deborah Poff and Wilfrid Waluchow eds. (Prentice-Hall:Scarborough).
- Friedmann, John (1992) *Empowerment: the Politics of Alternative Development* (Blackwell:Cambridge).
- _____ (1989) *Planning in the Pubic Domain: From Knowledge to Action* (Princeton University Press:Princeton).
- Gauthier, David (1995) "The Sustainability of Wildlife" in Bruce Mitchell (ed.) *Resource and Environmental Management in Canada* (Oxford University Press:Toronto).
- George, C.S. (1972) *The History of Management Thought* (Prentice-Hall:Englewood Cliffs).
- Gibson, Robert (1998) "Upside Down Logic (Voluntary Environmental Initiatives)" in *Alternatives* (Vol. 24, No. 2:1).
- Gilbert, V. (1988) "Cooperation in Ecosystem Management" in James Agee and Darryll Johnson, *Management for Parks and Wilderness* (University of Washington Press:Seattle).
- Gladwin, Thomas, James Kennelly and Tara Krause (1995) "Shifting Paradigms for sustainable Development: Implications for Management Theory and Research" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 20, No. 4:874-907).
- Glasser, B.G. and A.C. Strauss (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Aldine:Chicago).
- Goldberg, Michael (1986) "Rational Planning and Uncertainty" in Morely and Shachar, *Planning in Turbulence* (Magnes Press:Jerusalem).
- _____ (1985) "The Irrationality of 'Rational' Planning: exploring broader bases for planning and public decision-making" in M. Breheny and A. Hooper, *Rationality in Planning* (Pion:London).

- Goodman, Robert (1971) *After the Planners* (Touchstone Books:New York).
- Gormley, William (1987) "Institutional Analysis A Critical Review" in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Review* (Vol. 6, No. 2:153-169).
- Government of Saskatchewan (1994) *Governing With Community: A Guide to Public Involvement in the Saskatchewan Government* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina).
- _____ (1996) *Let's Talk Forest Land Use* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina).
- Grambine, R. (1991) "Cooperation or Conflict? Interagency Relationships and the Future of Biodiversity for U.S. Parks and Forests" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 15, No. 1:27-37).
- Grant, Jill (1994) *The Drama Of Democracy* (University of Toronto Press:Toronto).
- Grant, Robert, Rami Shani and R. Krishnan (1994) "TQM's Challenge to Management Theory and Practices" in *Sloan Management Review* (Vol. 35, No. 2:25-35).
- Gauthier, David (1995) "The Sustainability of Wildlife" In Mitchell (1995) *Resource and Environmental Management in Canada* (Oxford University Press:Oxford).
- Greco, Joanne (1997) "The Search Goes On" in *IBS* (Vol. 18, No. 5:22-25).
- Greene, J.C., V.J. Caracelli and W.F. Graham (1989) "Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs" in *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* (Vol. 11, No. 3:255-247).
- Greening, Daniel and Barbara Gray (1994) "Testing A Model of Organizational Response to Social and Political Issues" in *Academy of Management Journal* (Vol. 37, No. 3:467).
- Greener, Larry (1998) "Evolution and Revolution as Organizations Grow" in *Harvard Business Review* (May-June:55-68).
- Greider, William (1997) *One World, Ready or Not* (Simon & Schuster:New Work).
- Greiner, L.E. (1972) "Evolution and Revolution as Organizations Grow" in *Harvard Business Review* (July-August:37-47).
- Grima, A. (1983) "Analyzing Public Inputs to Environmental Planning" in Daneke, Garcia and Priscoli (eds.) *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment* (Westview Press:Boulder).
- Guba, E and Lincoln, Y (1988) "Do inquiry paradigms imply inquiry methodologies?" in D. M. Fetterman, *Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education* (Preger: New York).

- Gudykunst, William (1994) *Bridging Differences: Effective Intergroup Communication* (Sage:Thousand Oaks).
- Gulick, L. and L. Urwick eds. (1937) *Papers in the Science of Administration* (Institute of Public Administration:New York).
- Haas, A. and M. Sherman (1982) "Reported Topics of conversation Among Same-sex Adults" in *Communication Quarterly* (Vol. 30:332-342).
- Hall, Peter (1980) *Great Planning Disasters* (University of California Press:Berkely).
- Hamel, Gary (1998) "Strategy Innovation and the Quest for Value" in *Sloan Management Review* (Vol. 39, No. 2:7-14).
- Hamel, Gary and C.K. Prahalad (1994) *Competing for the Future* (Harvard Business School Press:Boston).
- Hampton, William (1977) "Research into Public Participation in Structure Planning" in Derrick Sewell and J.T. Coppock (eds.) *Public Participation in Planning* (John Wiley & Sons:London).
- Handy, Charles (1997) "Unimagined Futures" in Frances Hesselbein, Marshall Goldsmith and Richard Beckard eds., *The Organization of the Future* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Hannan, M.T. and J.H. Freeman (1977) "The Population Ecology of Organizations" in *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 82:929-964).
- Hansen, Eric (1997) "Forest Certification" in *Forest Products Journal* (Vol. 47, No. 3:16-22).
- Hansen, P.G. and B. Lubin (1986) "Answers to Questions Frequently Asked about Organization Development" in *Organization Development Journal* (Vol. 4, No. 4:40-46).
- Hatch, Mary Jo (1993) "The Dynamics of Organizational Culture" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 18, No. 4:657-693).
- Henderson, Hazel (1991) *Paradigms in Progress: Life Beyond Economics* (Knowledge Systems:Indianapolis).
- Henriques, Irene and Perry Sadorsky (1999) "The Relationship Between Environmental Commitment and Managerial Perceptions of Stakeholder Importance" in *Academy of Management Journal* (Vol. 42, No. 1:87-99).
- Hesselbein, Frances, Marshall Goldsmith and Richard Beckhard (1997) *The Organization of the Future* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Hirschman, A.O. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Harvard University Press:Cambridge).
- Hodge, B.J. and William Anthony (1984) *Organization Theory* (Allyn and Bacon:Boston).

- Hodgetts, Richard (1995) "Fredrick Taylor: Alive and Well and Ready for the 21st Century" in *Academy of Management Best Papers Proceedings*, Dorothy Moore ed. (Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting:218-222).
- _____ (1979) *Management: Theory, Process and Practice* (W.B. Saunders:Philadelphia).
- Holland, Stuart (1975) *Capital vs the Regions* (St. Martin's Press:New York).
- Holling, C. S. and M. Goldberg (1971) Ecology and Planning in *AIP Journal* (July :221-230).
- Huges, Richard, Robert Ginnett and Gordon Curphy (1996) *Leadership: Enhancing the Lessons of Experience* (Irwin McGraw Hill:Boston).
- Hunger, David and Thomas Wheelen (1997) *Essentials of Strategic Management* (Addison Wesley:Menlo Park).
- Hunt, C.B. and E.R. Auster (1990) "Proactive Environmental Management: Avoiding the toxic trap" in *Sloan Management Review* (Vol. 31, No. 2;7-18).
- Hutchinson, J.G. (1967) *Organization: Theory and Classical Concepts* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston:New York).
- Iledare, Omowumi, Allen Pulsipher, David Dismukes and Dimitry Mesyanzhinov (1997) "Oil Spills, Workplace Safety and Firm Size" in *The energy Journal* (Vol. 18, No. 4:73-89).
- Innes, Judith (1992) "Group Processes and the Social Construction of Growth Management" in *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (Vol. 58, No. 4:440-453).
- _____, (1996) "Planning Through Consensus Building" in *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (Vol. 62, No. 4:460-472).
- Ibarra, H. (1993) "Personal Networks of Women and Minorities in Management: A Conceptual Framework" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 18, No. 1:56-97).
- Jaeger, Richard (1988) *Complementary Methods for Research in Education* (American Educational Research Association:Washington).
- Jensen, M.C. and W.H. Meckling (1976) "Theory of the Firm" in *Journal of Financial Economics* (Vol. 3:305-360).
- Jones, Gareth (1995) *Organizational Theory* (Addison-Wesley:Reading).
- Jorgensen, D.L. (1989) *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss (1983) *The Change Masters* (Simon & Schuster:New York).
- Katz, Daniel and Robert Kahn (1966) *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (John Wiley & Sons:New York).

- Kay, James J. (1994) *Some notes on: The Ecosystem Approach; Ecosystems as Complex Systems* (University of Waterloo:Waterloo).
- Keltner, John (1994) *The Management of Struggle: Elements of Dispute Resolution Through Negotiation, Mediation and Arbitration* (Hampton Press:Cresskill).
- Kendrick, John (1987) *People of the Snow, The Story of Kitimat* (NC Press:Toronto).
- Kernaghan, Kenneth and David Siegel (1995) *Public Administration in Canada* (Nelson Canada:Scarborough).
- Kilmann, R.H., M.J. Saxton and R. Serpa eds. (1985) *Gaining Control of the Corporate Culture* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- King, Andrew (1995) "Avoiding Ecological Surprises" in *Academy of management Review* (Vol. 20, No. 4:961-985).
- King, Cheryl Simrell, Katheryn Feltey and Bridget Susel (1998) "The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Public Participation in Public Administration" in *Public Administration Review* (Vol 58, No. 4:317-326).
- Koontz, H. (1961) "The Management Theory Jungle" in *Academy of Management Journal* (Vol. 4:174-188).
- Krau, Edgar (1998) *Social and Economic Management in the Competitive Society* (Kluwer:Boston).
- Kretzmann, John and John McKnight (1993) *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets* (ACTA Publications:Chicago).
- Kuhn, Thomas (1970 reprint of 1962 original) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press:Chicago).
- L & M Wood Products (1997) *Draft Forest Management Plan Vols. I and II* (Glaslyn, Saskatchewan).
- _____ (1998) *The L&M Forest Management Project Vols. I and II* (Glaslyn, Saskatchewan)
- Langer, E. (1978) "Rethinking the role of thought in social interaction" in J. Harvey, W. Ickes and R. Kidd (Eds.) *New Directions in Attribution Research* (Lawrence Erlbaum:Hillsdale, NJ).
- Lawrence, Paul and Jay Lorsch (1967) *Organization and Environment* (Harvard University:Boston).
- Lerner, Sally (1994) "The Future of Work in North America" in *Futures* (Vol. 26 No. 2:185-196).
- Lindblom, Charles (1959) "The Science of 'Muddling Through'" reprinted in *A Reader in Planning Theory*, Andreas Faludi ed. (Pergamon Press:Oxford).

Logan, John and Harvey Molotch (1987) *The Political Economy of Place* (University of California Press:Berkeley).

Loizides, Stelios (1996) *Promoting Corporate Objectives Through Community Economic Development* (The Conference Board of Canada:Ottawa).

_____ (1995) *Corporate Involvement in Community Economic Development* (The Conference Board of Canada:Ottawa).

_____ (1994) *The Role of the Private Sector in Community Economic Development* (The Conference Board of Canada:Ottawa).

Lorsch, Jay and John Morse (1974) *Organizations and their members: a contingency approach* (Harper & Row:New York).

Lynes, Jennifer and others (1998) "Voluntary Corporate Initiatives for Environmental Improvement" in *Alternatives* (Vol. 24, No. 2:18-19).

Lyons, Thomas and Roger Hamlin (1991) *Creating an Economic Development Action Plan: A Guide for Development Professionals* (Praeger:New York).

MacLaren, Virginia (1995) "Assessing Public Participation in Waste Management Planning in Toronto" in *Environments* (Vol. 23 No. 1:52-58).

Margerum, Richard (1995) *Examining the Practice of Integrated Environmental Management: Towards a Conceptual Model* (unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Wisconsin-Madison).

_____ (1997) "Integrated Approaches to Environmental Planning and Management" In *Journal of Planning Literature* (Vol. 11, No. 4:459-475).

Margolis, Howard (1993) *Paradigms and Barriers* (University of Chicago Press:Chicago).

Margulies, Newton and Anthony Raia (1972) *Organizational Development, Values, Process and Technology* (McGraw-Hill:New York).

Maslow, A.H. (1943) "A Theory of Human Motivation" in *Psychological Review* (Vol. 50:370-396).

Martin, J., S. Petronio and R. Littlefield (1984) "Prerequisite Conditions for Self-disclosing: A Gender Issue" in *Human Communication Research* (Vol. 50:268-273).

McGregor, Douglas M. (1957) "The Human Side of Enterprise" in *Classics of Organization Theory*, Jay Shafritz and J. Steven Ott eds. (Brooks/Cole:Belmont).

McMillan, Bill and Stephen Murgatroyd (1994) *Opening the Door* (Dark Horse Books:Edmonton).

Meadow Lake Tribal Council (1995) *Annual Report*

Mediation Services (1998) *Resolving Conflict Constructively* (Saskatchewan Justice:Regina).

Mendell, Marguerite and Lance Evoy (1993) "Democratizing Capital: Alternative Investment Strategies" in *Community Economic Development in Search of Empowerment and Alternatives*, Eric Shrage ed. (Black Rose Books:Montreal).

Menon, Anil and Ajay Menon (1997) "Enviropreneurial Marketing Strategy: The Emergence of Corporate Environmentalism as Market Strategy" in *Journal of Marketing* (Vol. 61, No. 1:51-67).

Merriam, S.B. (1988) *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).

Meyerson, Martin (1956) "Building the Middle-Range Bridge for Comprehensive Planning" in A. Faludi, *A Reader in Planning Theory* (Pion:London).

M'Gonigle, Michael (1999) "More than one whale for the killing" in the *Globe and Mail* (National Edition Thursday May 27:A11).

Micklethwait, John and Adrian Wooldridge (1996) *The Witch Doctors: Making Sense of the Management Gurus* (Random House:New York).

Miles, M.B. and A.M. Huberman (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Sage:Thousand Oaks).

_____ (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Research Methods* (Sage:Beverly Hills).

Minkes, A.L. and C.S. Nuttall (1985) *Business Behaviour and Management Structure* (Croom Helm:London).

Mintzberg, Henry (1994) *The Rise and Fall of Strategic Planning* (The Free Press:New York).

_____ (1993) "The Pitfalls of Strategic Planning" in *California Management Review* (Fall 1993:32-47).

_____ (1983) *Power in and Around Organizations* (Prentice-Hall:Englewood).

Mistik Management (1995) *The NorSask Forest Management Project, Twenty-Year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Volumes I-IX* (Mistik Management:Meadow Lake).

_____ (1996a) *The Guide to the NorSask Project* (Mistik Management:Meadow Lake).

_____ (1996b) *The NorSask Forest Story* (Mistik Management:Meadow Lake).

Mitchell, Bruce (1990) *Integrated Water Management: International Experiences and Perspectives* (Belhaven:London).

- _____ (1995) *Resource and Environmental Management in Canada* (Oxford University Press:Don Mills).
- _____ (1997) *Resource and Environmental Management* (Longman:Edinburgh Gate).
- Mitchell, Ronald, Bradley Agle and Donna Wood (1997) "Toward a Theory of Stakeholder Identification and Salience: Defining the Principle of Who and What Really Counts" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 22, No. 4:853-886).
- Mitroff, Ian (1983) *Stakeholders of the Organizational Mind* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Mohn, Reinhard (1986) *Success Through Partnership* (Doubleday:New York).
- Mohr, Lois, Dogan Erglu and Pam Ellen (1998) "The Development and Testing of a Measure of Skepticism Toward Environmental Claims in Marketers' Communications" in *The Journal of Consumer Affairs* (Vol. 32, No. 1:30-55).
- Molotch, Harvey (1976) "The City as a Growth Machine" in *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 82, No.2:309-330).
- Moore, James (1996) *The Death of Competition* (HarperBusiness:New York).
- Mores, Janice and Peggy Field (1995) *Qualitative Research Methods of Health Professionals* (Sage:Thousand Oaks).
- Morgan, Gareth (1993) *Imaginization: the art of creative management* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- _____ (1989) *Creative Organization Theory* (Sage: Newbury Park).
- _____ (1986) *Images of Organization* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- Morley, David and Arie Shachar (1986) *Planning in Turbulence* (Magness Press:Jerusalem).
- Moss, Anne Marie (1997) "Is Certification Smart?" in *Furniture Design and Manufacturing* (Vol. 69, No. 12:46-56).
- Mulligan, Thomas (1986) "A Critique of Milton Friedman's Essay The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits" in *Journal of Business Ethics* (Vol. 5:265-269).
- Nelson, J.G. and Rafal Serafin (1995) "Post Hoc Assessment and Environmental Planning, Management and Decision-Making" in *Environments* (Vol. 23 No. 1:3-9).
- Nemeth, C. (1997) "Managing Innovation" in *California Management Review* (Vol., 40, No.1:59-74).

NEPA (1998) "Public Participation Under NEPA" Fact Sheet (Office of the NEPA Policy and Assistance, U.S. Department of Energy, February 1998).

Newcomb, Theodore (1950) *Social Psychology* (The Dryden Press:New York).

Newell, Stephen, Ronald Goldsmith and Edgar Banzhaf (1998) "The Effect of Misleading Environmental Claims on Consumer Perceptions of Advertisements" in *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* (Vol. 6, No. 2:48-60).

Ng, Roxana, Gillian Walker and Jacob Muller eds. (1990) *Community Organization and the Canadian State* (Garamond Press:Toronto).

Nozick, Marcia (1993) "Five Principles of Sustainable Community Development" in *Community Economic Development in Search of Empowerment and Alternatives*, Eric Shragge ed. (Black Rose Books:Monteal).

_____ (1992) *No Place Like Home* (Canada Council on Social Development:Ottawa).

O'Hair, Dan, Gustav Friedrich, John Wiemann and Mary Wiemann (1995) *Competent Communication* (St. Martin's Press:New York).

Oikawa, Cathy, Hideo Kojima and Alec Tedder (1995) *Voluntary Measures for Environmental Protection* (The Conference Board of Canada:Ottawa).

Omery, A. (1983) Phenomenology: A Method for Nursing Research in *Advances in Nursing Science* (Vol. 5:49-63).

O'Riordan, T. (1977) "Citizen Participation in Practice: Some Dilemmas and Possible Solutions" in W.Sewell and J. Coppock, *Public Participation in Planning* (John Wiley and Sons:London).

Ottman, Jacquelyn (1998) "Back Up Green Programs with Corporate Credibility" in *Marketing News* (Vol. 32, No. 22:9-10).

Ozbekhan, H. (1969) "Toward a General Theory of Planning" in E. Jantsch *Perspectives of Planning* (OECD:Paris).

Parston, Greg (1997) "Producing Social Results" in Francis Hesselbein, Marshall Goldsmith and Richard Beckhard eds., *The Organization of the Future* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).

Patten, T.H. (1989) "Historical Perspectives on Organization Development" in *The Emerging Practice of Organization Development*, Walter Sikes, Allan Drexler and Jack Gant eds. (NTL Institute for Applied Behavioural Science: Alexandria).

Paul, Karen ed. (1987) *Business Environment and Business Ethics* (Ballinger:Cambridge).

Peck, M.S. (1987) *The Different Drum: Community Making Peace* (Simon and schuster:New York).

- Perrow, Charles (1973) "The Short and Glorious History of Organization Theory" reprinted in Gareth Morgan, *Creative Organization Theory* (Sage:Newbury Park).
- _____ (1972) *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay* (Scott, Foresman and Company: Glenview)
- Perry, Stewart (1987) *Communities on the Way: Rebuilding Local Economies in the United States and Canada* (State University of New York Press:Albany).
- Perry, Stewart, Mike Lewis and Jean-Marc Fontan (1993) *Revitalizing Canada's Neighbourhoods* (Centre for Community Enterprise:Vernon).
- Peters, Thomas (1987) *Thriving on Chaos: Handbook for a Management Revolution* (MacMillan:London).
- Peters, Thomas and Robert Waterman (1982) *In Search of Excellence* (Harper & Row:New York).
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey (1982) *Organizations and Organizational Theory* (Pitman:Boston).
- _____ (1994) "Competitive Advantage Through People" in *California Management Review* (Vol. 36, No. 2:9-28).
- _____ (1993) "Barriers to the Advancement of Organizational Science: Paradigm Development as a Dependent Variable" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 18, No.4:599-620).
- _____ (1981) *Power in Organizations* (Pitman Publishing:Marshfield).
- Pickerill, Martha (1998) "Timer With a Green Pedigree" in *Time* (Vol. 152, No. 24:72).
- Pinkerton, Evelyn (1996) "The Contribution of Watershed-Based Multi-Party Co-Management Agreements to dispute Resolution: The Skeena Watershed" Committee in *Environments* (Vol. 23, No. 2:51-68).
- _____ (1989) "Attaining better fisheries management through co-management prospects, problem and propositions" in E. Pinkerton (ed) *So-operative management of local fisheries: new direction in improved management and community development* (University of British Columbia Press:Vancouver).
- Pitsula, James and Ken Rasmussen (1990) *Privatizing a Province* (New Star Books:Vancouver).
- Plunkett, Lorne and Robert Fournier (1991) *Participative Management: Implementing Empowerment* (John Wiley & Sons:New York).
- Porter, Michael (1980) *Competitive Strategy* (The Free Press:New York).
- _____ (1985) *Competitive Advantage* (The Free Press:New York).

- _____ (1987) "From Competitive Advantage to Competitive Strategy" in *Harvard Business Review* (May-June:43-59).
- Reed, M.G. (1995) "Co-operative management of environmental resources: a case study from Northern Ontario, Canada in *Environments* (Vol. 71, No. 2:132-149).
- Reich, Robert (1998) "The New Meaning of Corporate Social Responsibility" in *California Management Review* (Vol., 40 No. 2:8-17).
- Prendergast, Gerard and Edmund Thompson (1997) "Cynical Segmentation of Environmental Markets: The Product of Marketers' Disposition or Corporate Demands?" in *Journal of Euro-Marketing* (Vol. 6, No. 4:17-34).
- Rappaport, Ann and Margaret Flaherty (1992) *Corporate Responses to Environmental Challenges* (Quorum: New York).
- Reinhardt, Forest (1998) "Environmental Product Differentiation in *California Management Review* (Vol., 40, No. 4:43-73).
- Rich, Laurie (1993) "The Volunteers" in *Resources* (Vol. 15, No. 2:6-9).
- Richer, Laurie (1991) *An Evaluation of Employee Involvement Initiatives in Canada* (Queens University School of Industrial Relations - Series #36).
- Rifkin, Jeremy (1995) *The End of Work* (G.P. Putnam's Sons:NewYork).
- Ring, Peter and Andrew Van de Ven (1994) "Development Processes of Cooperative Interorganizational Relationships" in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 19, No. 1:90-118).
- Rittel, Horst and Melvin Webber (1973) "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning" in *Policy Sciences* (4:155-169).
- Rivlin, Alice (1993) "Values, Institutions and Sustainable Forestry" in Gregory Aplet et al., *Defining Sustainable Forestry* (Island Press:Washington).
- Roberts, Hayden (1979) *Community Development: learning and action* (University of Toronto Press:Toronto).
- Roberts, Paul (1997) "The Federal Chain-Saw Massacre" in *Harper's* (Vol. 294 No. 1765:37-51).
- Robinson, Michael (1992) "Linking Distance Education to Sustainable Community Development" in Denis Wall and Michael Owen, *Distance Education and Sustainable Community Development* (Canadian Circumpolar Institute:Edmonton).
- Roome, N. (1992) "Developing Environmental Management Systems" in *Business Strategy and the Environment* (Vol. 1:11-24).

- Rosenweig, Philip and Jitendra Singh (1991) *Organizational Environments and the Multicultural Enterprise* in *Academy of Management Review* (Vol. 16, No. 2:340-361).
- Ross, David and Peter Usher (1986) *From the Roots Up: Economic Development as If Community Mattered* (The Bootstrap Press:New York).
- Salancik, G.R. and Jeffrey Pfeffer (1977) "Who Gets Power - and How They Hold on to it: A Strategic Contingency Model of Power" in *Organizational Dynamics* (Vol. 5:2-21).
- Salwasser, Hal (1991) "In search of an ecosystem approach to endangered species conservation" in Kathryn Kohm, *Balancing on the Brink of Extinction* (Island Press:Washington).
- Sandercock, Leonie and Ann Forsyth (1992) "A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory" in *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Vol. 58, No. 1:49-57).
- Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management (1996a) *Final Project Specific Guidelines For the Preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement for L & M Wood Products (1985) Ltd. Proposed Twenty Year Forest Management Plan* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina).
- _____ (1996b) *The Saskatchewan Environmental Assessment and Review Process* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina).
- _____ (1995) *Public Involvement in the Management of Saskatchewan's Environment and Natural Resources* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina).
- _____ (1994) *A Draft Concept Plan for Forest Management in the Hudson Bay and Cumberland House Supply Areas* (Government of Saskatchewan:Regina)
- Saskfor Macmillan Products Limited Partnership (1995a) *Report to the People of Northeast Saskatchewan: An Introduction to Our Oriented Strand Board Plant* (Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan).
- _____ (1995b) *Environmental Impact Statement Oriented Strand Board Plant* (Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan).
- _____ (1996a) *Scope Assessment for Twenty-Year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* (prepared by Simons Reid Collins:Vancouver).
- _____ (1996b) *Report to the People of Northeast Saskatchewan: An Introduction to the Environmental Review Process and the 20 Year Forest management Plan for the Proposed Pasquia Procupine Forest Management Lease* (Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan).
- _____ (1997) *Twenty-year Forest Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for the Pasquia-Porcupine Forest Management Area* (Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan).
- Saunders, T. and Loretta McGovern (1993) *The Bottom Line of Green is Black* (Harper:San Francisco).

- Sayles, L. (1964) *Managerial Behavior: Administration in Complex Organizations* (McGraw-Hill:New York).
- Schein, Edgar (1980) *Organizational Psychology* (Prentice Hall:Englewood Cliffs)
- _____ (1985) "Defining Organizational Culture" in Jay Shafritz and J. Ott (eds) *Classics of Organization Theory* (Harcourt Brace:Fort Worth).
- _____ (1996) "Three Cultures of Management" in *Sloan Management Review* (Fall:9-20).
- Schon, Donald A. (1982) "Some of What a Planner Knows" in *APA Journal* (Summer 1982:351-363).
- Schon, Donald A. and Martin Rein (1994) *Frame Reflection* (Basic Books:New York).
- Schot, J. and K. Fischer (1993) *Environmental Strategies of Industry* (Island Press:Washington).
- Schweitzer, Martin, Sam Carnes and Elizabeth Peele (1999) "Evaluating Public Participation" in *IAP2 Improving the Practice* (First Quarter).
- Scott, William (1969) *Organization Concepts and Analysis* (Dickenson:Belmont).
- Scott, William, Terence Mitchell and Philip Birnbarum (1981) *Organization Theory* (Richard D. Irwin:Homewood).
- Scott, William and Terence Mitchell (1972) *Organization Theory* (Dorsey Press:Chicago).
- Secretan, Lance (1996) *Reclaiming Higher Ground: Creating Organizations that Inspire the Soul* (Macmillan:Toronto).
- Selin, Steve and Chavez, Deborah (1995) "Developing a Collaborative Model for Environmental Planning and Management" in *Environmental Management* (Vol.19, No. 2;189-195).
- Selznick, P. (1957) *Leadership in Administration* (Harper & Row:New York).
- _____ (1948) "Foundations of the Theory of Organization" in *American Sociological Review* (Vol. 38:25-35).
- Senge, Peter (1990) *The Fifth Discipline* (Currency Doubleday:New York).
- Sereno, Kenneth and C. David Mortensen (1970) *Foundations of Communication Theory* (Harper & Row:New York).
- Sexton, William ed. (1970) *Organization Theories* (Charles E. Merrill:Columbus).

- Shaffer, Ron (1989) *Community Economics: Economic Structure and Change in Smaller Communities* (Iowa State University Press:Ames).
- Shafritz, Jay and J. Steven Ott (1992) *Classics of Organization Theory* (Brooks/Cole:Pacific Grove).
- Shannon, Margaret (1990) "Building Trust: The Formation of a Social Contract" in Robert Lee, Donald Field and William Burch (eds.) *Community in Forestry* (Westview Press:Boulder).
- Shaw, Bill (1988) "A Reply to Thomas Mulligan's 'Critique of Milton Friedman's Essay The Social Responsibility of Business Is to Increase its Profits'" in *Journal of Business Ethics* (Vol. 7:537-543).
- Shockey-Zalabak, P. and D.D. Morley (1989) "Adhering to Organizational Culture: What does it mean? Why does it matter? in *Group and Organizational Studies* (Vol. 14:483-500).
- Shragge, Eric, ed. (1993) *Community Economic Development in Search of Empowerment* (Black Rose Books:Montreal).
- Sikes, Walter, Allan Drexler and Jack Gant eds. (1989) *The Emerging Practice of Organization Development* (NTL Institute for Applied Behavioural Science:Alexandria).
- Silver, Jim (1987) "The Ideology of Excellence: Management and Neo-Conservatism" in *Studies of Political Economy* (24 August:105-129).
- Sim, R. Alex (1988) *Land and Community* (University of Guelph:Guelph).
- Simon, Herbert and James March (1958) *Organizations* (John Wiley and Sons:New York).
- Smith, Adam (1970) *The Wealth of Nations* (Penguin Books:Harmondsworth) originally published in 1776.
- Smith, Denis (1993) *Business and Environment* (St. Martin's Press:New York).
- Solocombe, D. Scott (1993) "Environmental Planning. Ecosystem Science and Ecosystem Approaches for Integrating Environment and Development" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 17, No. 3:289-303).
- Spain, Daphne (1993) "Been-Heres Verses Come-Heres: Negotiation Conflicting Community Identities" in *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (Vol. 59, No. 2:156-171).
- Spedding, Linda, David Jones and Christopher Dering (1993) *Eco-Management and Eco-Auditing* (Chancery Law:London).
- Stacey, Ralph (1992) *Managing the Unknowable* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).

- Starik, Mark (1995) "Should Trees Have Managerial Standing, Toward Stakeholder Status for Non-Human Nature" in *Journal of Business Ethics* (Vol. 14:207-217).
- Sternberg, Robert, Linda O'Hara and Todd Lambart (1997) "Creativity as Investment" in *California Management Review* (Vol. 40, No. 1:8-21)
- Stiegelbauer, Suzanne (1990) *The Road Back to the Future: Tradition and the Involvement of Elders at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto* (Doctoral Dissertation:University of Texas at Austin).
- Strid, Steve and Nick Carter (1993) "No Free Ride for Eco-Ads" in *Tomorrow* (Vol. III, No. 2:44-50).
- Sutton, Robert and Thomas Kelley (1997) "Creativity Doesn't Require Isolation" in *California Management Review* (Vol. 40, No. 1:75-91).
- Svendsen, Ann (1998) *The Stakeholder Strategy: Profiting from Collaborative Business Relationships* (Berrett-Koehler:San Francisco).
- Szechenyi, John (1992) "Verification and Audit - Is the System Working?" in *Environmental Management Systems: Preparing for the New Reality* (Canadian Institute Publications:Toronto).
- Tauxe, Caroline (1995) "Marginalizing Public Participation in Local Planning" in *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (Vol. 61, No.4:471-481).
- Taylor, F.W. (1911) *Principles of Scientific Management* (Harper & Row:New York).
- Timberline Forest Inventory Consultants Ltd. (1998) *Review of the SaskFor MacMillan Limited Partnership Twenty-year Forest Management Plan for the Paquia-Porcupine Forest Management Area* (Edmonton, Alberta)
- Toch, Hans and Malcolm MacLean (1970) "Perception and Communication: A Transactional View" in *Sereno and Mortensen Foundations of Communication Theory* (Harper & Row:New York).
- Trist, Eric (1977) "A Concept of Organizational Ecology" in *Australian Journal of Management* (Vol. 2:162-175).
- Troughton, Michael (1988) "Rural Canada: What Future?" in *Integrated Rural Planning and Development*, Floyd W. Dykeman ed. (Mount Allison University:Sackville).
- Tsiganou, Helen (1991) *Worker's Participative Schemes* (Greenwood Press:New York).
- Turner, Kerry et al (1993) *Environmental Economics* (The Johns Hopkins University Press;Baltimore).
- UNCED (1992) Conference on Environmental Development, Agenda 21.

- Upton, Christopher and Stephen Bass (1996) *Forest Certification Handbook* (St. Lucie Press:Delray Beach).
- Vaill, P.B. (1989) "Seven Process Frontiers for Organization Development" in *The Emerging Practice of Organization Development*, Walter Sikes, Allan Drexler and Jack Gant eds. (NTL Institute for Applied Behavioural Science:Alexandria).
- Viana, Virilio, Jamison Ervin, Richard Donovan, Chris Elliot and Henry Gholz (1996) *Certification of Forest Products* (Island Press:Washington).
- Vogt, K.A., J. Gordon, J. Wargo and D. Vogt (1997) *Ecosystems: Balancing Science with Management* (Springer: New York).
- von Bertalanffy, L. (1950) "The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology" in *Science* (Vol. 3:23-29).
- Vroom, V.H. and P.W. Yetton (1973) *Leadership and Decision-Making* (University of Pittsburgh Press:Pittsburgh).
- Wallen, N.E. and J.R. Fraenkel (1991) *Educational Research: A Guide to the Process* (McGraw-Hill:New York).
- Walther, Pierre (1987) "Against Idealistic Beliefs in the Problem Solving Capacities of Integrated Resource Management" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 11, No. 4:439-446).
- Weaver, C., J. Jessop and V. Das (1985) "Rationality in the Public Interest" in Breheny and Hooper, *Rationality in Planning* (Pion:London).
- Weber, Max (1946) *From Max Weber*, H. Gerth and C.W. Mills eds. (Oxford University Press:New York).
- Weisbord, M.R. and Sandra Janoff (1995) *Future Search* (Berrett-Koehler:San Francisco).
- Weisbord, M.R. (1987) *Productive Workplaces: Organizing and Managing for Dignity* (Jossey-Bass:San Francisco).
- Weitzel W. and E. Jonsson (1989) "Decline in Organizations: A Literature Integration and Extension" in *Administrative Science Quarterly* (Vol. 34:91-109).
- Welford, Richard (1997) *Hijacking Environmentalism: Corporate Resonances to Sustainable Development* (Earthscan:London).
- Welford, R. and A. Gouldson (1993) *Environmental Management and Business Strategy* (Pitman:London).
- Werhane, Patricia (1980) "Formal Organizations, Economic Freedom and Moral Agency" in *Journal of Value Inquiry* (Vol 14).
- Werner, O. and G. Schoepfle (1987) *Systematic Fieldwork* (Sage:Newbury Park).

- Weyerhaeuser (1996a) *Forest Impact Vol. No. 1* (Timberlands:Prince Albert). E
- _____ (1996b) *Forest Impact Vol. 1 No. 2* (Timberlands:Prince Albert).
- _____ (1996c) *Saskspirit Vol. 8 No. 4* (Saskatchewan Division of Weyerhaeuser:Prince Albert).
- _____ (1997a) *Forest Impact Vol. 1 No.3* (Timberlands:Prince Albert).
- _____ (1997b) *Establishing the Framework for a New 20-Year Forest Management Plan: A Discussion Paper* (Saskatchewan Division of Weyerhaeuser:Prince Albert).
- _____ (1997c) *Do you care about the forest, too? 1997-1998 Annual Operating Plan* (Timberlands:Prince Albert).
- Wheatley, Margaret (1992) *Leadership and the New Science* (Berrett-Koehler:San Francisco).
- Whyte, William H. (1956) *Organization Man* (Simon and Schuster:New York).
- Wiersum, K. Freerk (1995) "200 Years of Sustainability in Forestry: Lessons from History" in *Environmental Management* (Vol. 19 No. 3:321-329).
- Wolf, John (1992) "CSA's Environmental Management Program and its Relationship to Other National and International Environmental Management System Initiatives" in *Environmental Management Systems* (Canadian Institute Publications:Toronto).
- Young, R.C. (1988) "Is Populations Ecology a Useful Paradigm for the Study of Organizations?" in *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 94. No. 1:1-24).