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**PARTICIPATION IN STRATEGIES
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

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The analysis presented here draws from the experience of IIED working with many other institutions, organisations and individuals in assisting or promoting the development of strategies for sustainable development or their near equivalents. We have also incorporated extensive experience based on the work of IIED's different programmes and their partners on the use of participatory approaches.

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We've got their attention ! Now what ?!!



Cartoons courtesy of Regina Faul-Doyl

PARTICIPATION IN STRATEGIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Why Participation?

Sustainable development is a challenging social process. The different objectives of society - social, economic and environmental - need to be integrated where possible, and traded-off where they are incompatible. Institutional and individual roles and responsibilities have to change, so that new patterns of behaviour will foster sustainable development.

These challenges demand new approaches to decision-making and action. It has long been understood that a *multidisciplinary approach* is needed to handle the analysis of social, economic and environmental dimensions and their interactions; and *coordination* is required amongst the various authorities and interests.

Realisation of these needs during the 1980s led to a proliferation of national strategic approaches to dealing with environment and development. National Conservation Strategies (NCSs) and National Environmental Action Plans (NEAPs), for example, were built around a multidisciplinary, coordinated approach to planning.

However, these strategies contained few provisions for *participation*, beyond consultation amongst a few select groups. The strategies were essentially led by a small group (usually government, and often with a significant donor input in developing countries). Successes were mixed. Even so, people closely involved in strategy preparation and implementation describe the most practical benefits of their strategies in terms of, for example: enhanced understanding of sustainable development issues; improved communications and consensus on the main issues, and what to do about them; networks of committed individuals and institutions; agreements on new roles and responsibilities; and greater commitment.

In other words, successful past strategies appear also to have been participatory. Conversely, strategies that appear to be going nowhere, even though the documentation may look good, frequently have been characterised by a lack of participation.

Science-based and inter-disciplinary approaches are helpful for defining social, environmental and economic trade-offs, but are not sufficient. These kinds of trade-off are value judgements. They need to be made with the participation of both "winners" and "losers", so that some sort of agreement and commitment is reached on the outcome. A people-centred approach is needed as a complement to the science-based approach. Recognising this, many strategies have built in some elements of participation, in an *ad hoc* manner. Although often without adequate resources and professional skills, these efforts tend to have paid off, and invariably strategies have recommended greater participation in their implementation and further iteration. This experience is discussed in detail in chapter Four.

It is also reflected in Agenda 21 which calls for national sustainable development strategies (NSDSs, i.e. strategies with broad social, environmental and economic coverage) to be prepared "with the widest possible participation". This is a tremendous challenge, without precedent. How can such participation be achieved in practice, to a degree and in a manner which is useful ?

B. What is Participation in Practice, at Field and at Policy Levels ?

Although "participation" is now widely endorsed as an essential component of sustainable development, there is less consensus about what it means and how to achieve it. Participation means different things to different people. At the *field project level*, IIED examined over 200 purportedly "participatory" projects and found that, in practice, participation meant anything from passive "listening" only (the Project does the planning, the people do what the Project decides), through to communities defining their own objectives and implementing and monitoring the project themselves. A typology of seven "classes" of project participation is discussed in Chapter Three.

Project participation is relevant to strategy implementation and other field activities. At the *policy/planning level*, which is most directly relevant to the core purpose of NSDSs, a further typology of participation is proposed in Chapter Four.

TYPOLGY OF PARTICIPATION IN POLICY-MAKING

- 1 *Participants listening only* (e.g. receiving information from a government PR campaign or open database).
- 2 *Participants listening and giving information* (e.g. through public inquiries, media activities, "hot-lines").
- 3 *Participants being consulted* (e.g. through working groups and meetings held to discuss policy).
- 4 *Participation in analysis and agenda-setting* (e.g. through multistakeholder groups, round tables and commissions).
- 5 *Participation in reaching consensus on the main strategy elements* (e.g. through national round tables, parliamentary/select committees, and conflict mediation).
- 6 *Participants involved in decision-making on the policy, strategy or its components.*

At each level, participation may be narrow (few actors); or broad (covering all major groups as well as government).

C. Planning for Participation in Strategies

The challenge is to determine the appropriate type of participation for future strategies. This needs good planning, along the following lines:

- (a) *Defining the strategy theme:* e.g. sectoral environmental issues; *or* cross-sectoral environmental issues; *or* comprehensive sustainable development issues.
- (b) *Definition of strategy level:* national; provincial; or local.
- (c) *Stakeholder analysis:* identifying the groups most likely to be affected by, or to affect, the strategy. These are likely to include: government; local government; NGOs; academics; business; unions; resource user groups; consumer groups; traditional community groups; religious/cultural groups; communities; and eminent persons.

This initial definition of strategy theme, level and stakeholders (tasks a, b and c) can be tackled together, by a broad proto-group of strategy participants. This will determine the choice of participation structures and methodologies, and incentives required for participation.

- (d) *Choice of participation structures and methodologies:* Strategies tend to comprise a cyclical set of mutually-reinforcing tasks, notably: information collection, analysis, decision-making, implementation and monitoring. The precise participation structure or methodology used at any time within a strategy will depend principally upon the specific strategy task at hand.

For participatory structures/institutions, there are a range of options. Based on experience so far, for most strategy tasks, the promising participation structures appear to be: the planning system; traditional structures (e.g. village-based systems, religious systems); and specially-constituted committees, round tables and other groups formulated to take advantage of group dynamics. For communications, information, education and monitoring tasks, the useful structures so far have been: the education system, extension system, the arts/theatre, and the media.

For participatory methodologies, there are a range of options. Useful approaches have included:

- for survey, analysis and monitoring tasks: methods of Participatory Learning and Action, including participatory resource surveys and "green" audits;
- for decision-making tasks: consensus-building, negotiations, and traditional methods, e.g. of conflict resolution;
- for implementation tasks: voluntary agreements and joint management; and
- for communications, information, education and monitoring tasks: seminars, workshops, interviews, phone-ins, e-mail networks, exhibitions and plays.

Many of these methodologies will be relatively new in most countries, for which capacity-building will need to be planned.

D. Realising the Benefits of Participation

Based on the evidence so far, the benefits of participation in strategies differ according to the different tasks in the strategy (although some of them will be more or less in evidence throughout the strategy). The benefits, discussed in Chapter Five, include:

For information and analysis tasks:

- basing the strategy on a broad knowledge base and spread of opinion; offering the best informed judgement on issues, trade-offs and options in the time available;
- improved communications within and between interest groups;
- increased debate, mutual education, understanding of major issues both within and between different groups;
- tackling issues that cannot be identified, properly defined or dealt with by any other means (e.g. changing values, local conditions, rights and claims and lifestyles, and particularly issues such as poverty which otherwise may be submerged); and
- application of the potentials of group dynamics.

For policy formulation and planning:

- application of consensus-building and conflict-resolution potentials to major societal decisions;
- practicality and realism of objectives, targets and standards, which are *negotiated* so that they are locally acceptable, meaningful and practicable; this avoids the risk of "imposing" approaches, or blanket solutions;
- "ownership" of, and commitment to, the strategy can be built up by groups actually working on it (essential if the strategy is to result in social mobilisation);
- political credibility of the strategy is higher than when it is just a product of technicians and bureaucrats;
- accountability and transparency - people can see what "government" does; and
- greater equity - participation can link decision-making back with groups that have become marginalised through previous decisions; and so help an equitable definition of trade-offs.

For strategy implementation and monitoring:

- increased, and more relevant, capacity (learning by exposure and debate; learning by doing);
- more extensive networks for tasks, e.g. monitoring;
- through utilising networks, others buy into the process;
- efficient mobilisation and management of resources and skills;
- greater likelihood of change to more appropriate behaviour by different groups; and
- greater likelihood of self-mobilisation for sustainable development.

A principal aim of the participation component in a strategy is to achieve as many as is desirable of these benefits, at reasonable cost. To date, most strategies have realised few of the them, since the strategies have not been based on participation. To realise further benefits in future will require:

- acceptance at the highest levels of the need for participation (Chapter Six);
- improving the institutional environment for participation (Chapter Six);
- bringing in more stakeholder groups in an efficient manner (Chapter Seven); and
- improved planning for participation and provision of professional participation skills (Chapter Eight).

E. Challenges for the Future

For the remainder of the 1990s, one of the most significant challenges for strategies is to increase the level and effectiveness of participation. The reality is that most countries have some form of less-than-participatory strategy already in place, and new demands (internally or from e.g. Agenda 21) to develop broader, more participatory strategies such as an NSDS. In practice, the existing strategy should be built upon, rather than abandoned.

In building upon current strategic initiatives, the constraints to participation need particular attention before a strategy commences. Priorities may be: institutional reviews of the main agencies that should be promoting participation; training in participatory methods; close monitoring of early participation exercises; and promotion at high levels of the implications and impacts of participation.

It is probable that, when strategies become based more fully upon participation, their institutional framework, management and cost structure will begin to change. For example: a national strategy secretariat and task force - which has dominated most past strategies - may become complemented by local groups, and the latter may come to take a lead in further iterations of the national strategy. Strategy practitioners may increasingly bring in people who have been active in local participatory projects, but who so far have had little to do with policy-level initiatives. National planning procedures may begin to accommodate multi-actor and process approaches, and previously marginalised groups may share platforms with recognised authorities.

Once participation structures are up and running, and participatory efforts at strategy implementation are under way, more contentious strategy issues may then be tackled; this could mean greater concentration on mediation and conflict resolution. The funding structure will then be able to begin to incorporate new, longer-term provisions for joint action, e.g. trust funds for community initiatives. All of this will have major implications for the way that strategies are managed. Once national policies and institutions become more conducive to participation and sustainable development, the critical mass of effort may begin to turn away from national strategies, and towards middle-level strategies that can link national policy initiatives with local-level participatory action.

If participation can be facilitated, it could effectively counter a failing of past strategies - that they can become overly-comprehensive "planners' dreams". In contrast, with effective participation, strategies should become the result of society defining its (diverse) needs for sustainable development, and professionals devising practicable ways to undertake the desired actions.

There is little precedent for dealing with these challenges. Taking participation into the mainstream of planning and development activity needs further research and interaction, and changes in institutional and professional attitudes and environments. For these and other reasons, networking within and between countries on participation aspects is strongly recommended. This would be particularly valuable amongst policy analysts, planners and others who are working in multidisciplinary ways, and those who have been behind effective participatory approaches.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development is a challenging social process. Decisions need to be made about the relative rights and needs of present and future generations. Choices have to be made between priorities at local, national and, indeed, global levels. The different objectives of society - social, economic and environmental - need to be integrated where possible, and traded-off where they are incompatible. Institutional and individual roles and responsibilities have to change, so that new patterns of behaviour will foster sustainable development.

These challenges demand new approaches to decision-making and action. It is clear that a *multidisciplinary approach* is needed to handle the analysis of social, economic and environmental dimensions and their interactions. It is also clear that *coordination* is required amongst the various authorities concerned with different sectors. And, furthermore, it is broadly-agreed that strong *educational efforts* are needed to demonstrate to the various actors the complexities of developmental and environmental issues, and to encourage sustainable responses.

Realisation of these needs during the 1980s led to a proliferation of national strategic approaches to dealing with environment and development. National Conservation Strategies (NCSs) and National Environmental Action Plans (NEAPs) were built around a multidisciplinary, coordinated approach to planning, with educational and promotional activities.

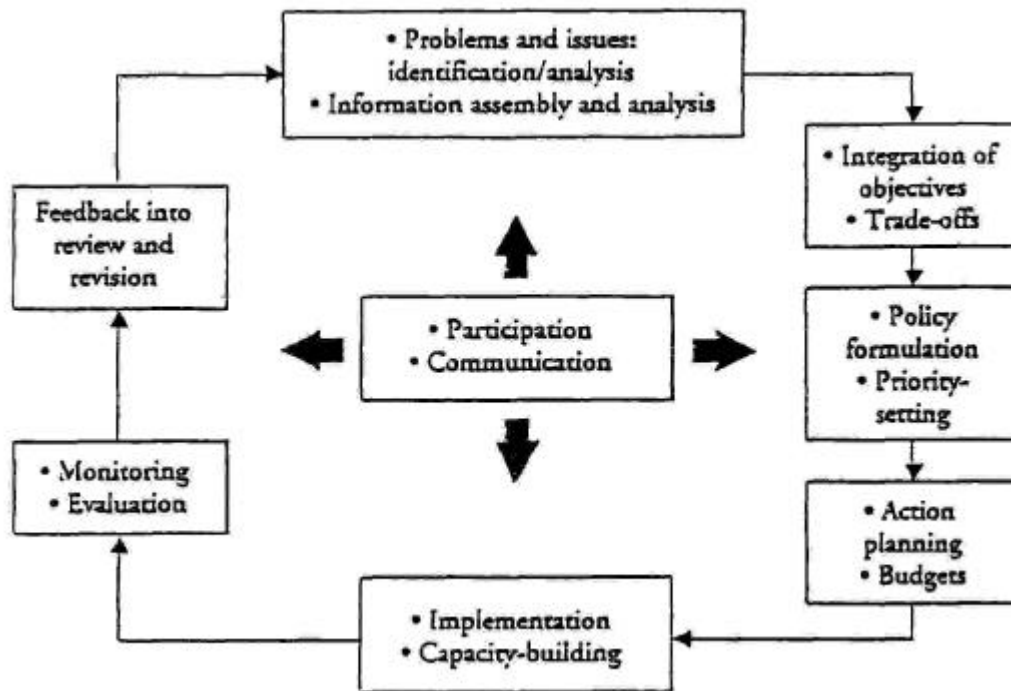
Some elements of participation were included in certain strategies. At the information-gathering stage, the paucity of information (particularly on local social and environmental dimensions) available to the authorities led to efforts to gain a better understanding of the complexities of local situations, and this occasionally involved one or more consultation exercises. At the strategy implementation stage, the need for different actors to coordinate with government led to several forms of incentives-led efforts at encouraging action by various groups, or joint action with governments. Many strategy exercises were run as "projects", and there was initially very little provision for participation. However, strategy teams found themselves having to build in participation, often on an *ad hoc* basis, realising that some participation was essential for strategy success.

The delays that such participatory exercises caused in generating information for "decision-makers" led, in many cases, to prejudice against further participation in strategies. This is a phenomenon which, as we shall see, has commonly hampered the integration of participatory approaches more generally.

The experience of practically all of these NCSs, NEAPs and other strategies has confirmed the need for a multidisciplinary, coordinated, promotional approach to sustainable development. It also uncovered two further requirements for a successful strategy. One is that a strategy should emphasise the continuous, *cyclical nature of strategic tasks* - a virtuous circle of information gathering, analysis, decision-making, capacity-building, implementation, monitoring and review (Figure 1). Strategies are not about generating a one-off plan/document and then implementing it. The other requirement is the need to build a *participatory approach* throughout this strategy cycle which includes all groups who are likely to be affected.

Such a cyclical, participatory approach has yet to be fully developed in any strategy. However,

Figure 1: The Strategy Cycle



The figure shows the elements of the strategy as a series of consecutive steps. In reality, many elements will occur concurrently, i.e. implementation of various kinds and capacity-building need to continue throughout the cycle

Source: Carew-Reid et al. (1994)

almost invariably, the limited participation that occurred in some strategies showed considerable benefits. People who have been involved in strategies have commonly observed that what is important is **not** the strategy document itself, which becomes outdated almost as soon as it is published. At meetings coordinated in four continents in 1993/4 by IUCN and its Commission on Environmental Strategy and Planning, those most closely involved in strategy preparation and implementation described individual strategy success in terms of:

- enhanced **understanding** of sustainable development issues both within and between interest groups;
- improved **communications** within and between interest groups;
- **consensus** on the main issues, and what to do about them;
- **networks** of committed individuals and institutions;
- **agreements on new roles and responsibilities**, made between interests;
- **joint actions** for sustainable development; and
- greater **commitment** to action for sustainable development.

In other words, successful past strategies appear also to have been participatory. Conversely, "failed" strategies - those that appear to be going nowhere, even though the documentation may look good - frequently have been characterised by a lack of participation (IUCN 1993 a, b.)¹.

These two important requirements for improving strategies - a cyclical approach and a participatory process - are linked. In effect, a successful strategy is one in which the capacity is built up to think and work strategically, as a product of all appropriate groups in interaction. This reflects historical experience. Successful strategies and policies have tended to evolve over time. Rarely have they been integrated deliberately. Indeed, deliberate strategic planning has always been difficult. Rather, transformations in development patterns tend to have been made through incremental responses in association with general economic and societal trends, political awareness and public opinion (Grayson 1993).

It would be a counsel of perfection to suggest that policies have to be integrated from the outset, since not all possible fields of conflict can be foreseen, nor may it be politically apt to raise potential sources of conflict. It is in implementation that any strains become obvious.

Careful monitoring and adaptation is important to move towards a gradual integration of policies. The lack of good information on problems and potentials, the inevitable lack of complete consensus on desirable objectives and standards, and the lack of experience in sustainable approaches on the ground, necessitate continuous improvement, which again is a cyclical approach.

The different values, ideas and perspectives of the many groups in society - government, non-government, the private sector, and the general public - need to be increasingly well-captured in the transition to sustainable development: in collecting information, in making decisions, in carrying out actions and reviewing them. Science alone cannot provide the answer about the integrations and trade-offs required for sustainable development. Neither can it provide an appropriate response to uncertainty and intergenerational equity. The scientific approach needs to be as much interdisciplinary as multidisciplinary, but it must be supplemented by sound social processes. The market is one way for society to make decisions, but it is an extremely weak mechanism, particularly for the pursuit of social and environmental objectives. People will bring about sustainable development as citizens, not just as consumers. Regulations, and other mechanisms of government can help to meet some needs, but the means of governance - no matter how enlightened - will have to adapt to gain greater commitment of various groups to the major changes required for sustainable development. All of this will have fundamental and unprecedented effects on institutions and professional approaches.

The political climate for development is changing to reflect these needs. The challenge of Agenda 21, the United Nations action programme for sustainable development, is to find ways to achieve sustainable development in a participatory manner, involving civil society as a whole; and to extend the concept of planning beyond government alone to a more participatory, strategic approach.

National sustainable development strategies (NSDSs) have gained recent recognition as the principal mechanism for setting out national approaches to Agenda 21. Adopting an NSDS is one of several activities defined to meet Agenda 21's objective 8.3:

"improving or restructuring the decision-making process so that consideration of socio-economic and environmental issues is fully integrated and a broader range of public participation assured" .

¹ Few strategies, however, have been entirely participatory on the one hand, or completely non-participatory on the other. Most strategies have had to incorporate existing participation structures and methodologies, improve them or even create new ones, to get close to their declared objectives.

Agenda 21 describes an NSDS in which participation is integral, with governments enabling and people managing, as follows (UNCED 1992):

"National strategies, plans, policies and processes are crucial in achieving this... The strategy should build upon and harmonize the various sectoral economic, social and environmental policies and plans that are operating in the country... Its goals should be to ensure socially responsible economic development while protecting the resource base and the environment for the benefit of future generations. It should be developed through the widest possible participation".

The need for the "widest possible public participation" is noted in a number of chapters in Agenda 21 (Box 1), although there is very little clarity about how to assure it. But the idea of participation as an "elixir" to revive failed planning approaches has become widespread. The key question is: what forms of participation are appropriate, given the tasks at hand to address the issues facing certain stakeholders ? Agenda 21 emphasises capacity-building at the community level and empowerment, indicating, for example, that governments

"should implement programmes with a focus on empowerment of local and community groups by delegating authority, accountability and resources to the most appropriate level".

Such support of a community-driven approach to sustainability by empowering groups should

"respect cultural integrity and rights, promote grass-roots mechanisms to allow for sharing of experiences, give to communities a large measure of participation in management and protection of resources, and establish networks of community-based learning centres".

In this paper, we address this challenge; it is particularly important that efforts are made to help appropriate participation in strategies for sustainable development. The continuation of non-participatory approaches will not tackle the endemic failure of much policy, planning and institutions. Equally, injudicious or excessive participation will help no-one, and may engender prejudice against participation.

As a start, in light of the demands of sustainable development (Box 2) and the calls of Agenda 21, we review the (limited) experience of participation in strategies. We look at the nature of participation, derived in particular from parallel (but more diverse and often richer) experience in local level projects, particularly for rural development. The paper sets out typologies of project participation and of participation in policy-making, and discusses the forms of participation that are required for sustainable development. It describes how communities, NGOs and businesses can have key roles in participation, as partners of government. However, it also notes the need for major institutional changes to create the right 'enabling environment' for effective participation. NSDSs offer a major opportunity for developing and using participation structures and methodologies at national level, and for the various actors to work together to meet the imperatives of sustainable development. The benefits of participation in NSDSs, and the obstacles likely to be faced, are explored with reference to strategies in different countries.

We go on to suggest some guidelines for building greater participation into strategies. Here, we stress the value of using existing structures, institutions and methodologies for participation. But we note the value of new methodologies developed largely through rural development, and the value of some of the new structures, such as round tables and core groups, which were developed through strategies. However, since experience of participation in strategies is limited - especially at national level, there are several areas where it would be premature to present more than basic guidelines. Hence, we concentrate on a discussion of the challenges and dilemmas.

Box 1: Agenda 21 on Participation

Agenda 1 refers to the need for broad participation in various chapters. For example:

In Chapter 8 (Integrating environment and development in decision-making), "an adjustment or even a fundamental reshaping of decision-making, in the light of country specific conditions may be necessary if environment and development is to be put at the centre of economic and political decision-making, in effect achieving full integration of these factors".

In Chapter 23 (Strengthening the role of the major groups), it requires, in the "specific context of environment and development, the need for new forms of participation" and notes "the need of individuals, groups and organisations to participate in decisions, particularly those which affect the communities in which they live and work".

In Chapter 26 (Recognising and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities), active participation is called for to incorporate their "values, views and knowledge".

In Chapter 33 (Financial resources and mechanisms), "priorities should be established by means that incorporate public participation and community involvement providing equal opportunity for men and women... In this respect, consultative groups and round tables and other nationally-based mechanisms can play a facilitative role".

In Chapter 37 (National mechanisms and international cooperation for capacity-building), "as an important aspect of overall planning, each country should seek internal consensus at all levels of society on policies and programmes needed for short- and long-term capacity building to implement its Agenda 21 programme. This consensus should result from a participatory dialogue of relevant interest groups and lead to an identification of skill gaps, institutional capacities and capabilities, technological and scientific requirements and resource needs to enhance environmental knowledge and administration to integrate environment and development".

It is notable that Agenda 21 calls for participation effectively in all the elements of a strategy cycle (as defined above in this paper).

Source: UNCED (1992).

More experience has been gained in local-level activities. But local experiences in participation cannot always be translated to national level. The challenge is in scaling up - beyond project-level participation, to participation in national policy and planning; this is a political and institutional challenge, for at present there are few structures to permit such participation.

Considerable investment is needed to develop and adapt participation approaches and to support institutions which work. However, these cannot be formulaic approaches - for participation should evolve from and through the society in question. Neither must they be token approaches, for these will achieve little and may aggravate groups for whom participation has been inadequate. The trouble is that, nowadays, it is easy for any government or group to claim that it is adopting a participatory approach, since the language of participation is now available to all, and there are few established standards. For example, there is a risk of the various techniques of participatory inquiry becoming debased by their incomplete or inappropriate usage. There are many risks that participation is imposed or rushed, especially given the imperatives of Agenda 21. For example, certain NEAPs have been 'driven' from 'outside' by the World Bank.

Sustainable development, a strategic approach and participation are linked together. There is only limited understanding and experience of each of them. They require space to be tested and to evolve, within the circumstances of individual nations and localities.

Box 2: Sustainable Development Requires a Strategic, Participatory Approach

Sustainable development requires four goals to be met:

A. Meeting the needs of tomorrow's generations through today's decisions:

Sustainability is achieved, or otherwise, through the countless actions of many different groups, which will have effects both within and between generations. Today's generation must be motivated to deliver a sustainable future. This entails accessing a myriad views and obtaining adequate information to develop and compare complex scenarios; allowing for uncertainties; setting a mix of policy, market and other incentives; and an adaptive approach emphasising continuous improvement, because social preferences, norms, economic and environmental conditions change over time.

B. Balancing social, economic and environmental objectives:

To do this requires both the application of social, economic and environmental sciences, and the application of people-centred approaches, i.e. local knowledge, ideas and values.

C. Managing natural systems within their limits:

This entails recognising all values of natural systems (economic, social, environmental); reconciling multiple facts, opinions and needs concerning these systems; ensuring the right policy/economic signals to manage natural systems sustainably; and ensuring adequate rights, responsibilities, powers, skills, technology and capacity

D. Focusing on development, not growth:

This entails preserving quality in the long-term; coordinating all areas of development and the institutions responsible for them, as opposed to exaggerated growth in a limited number of areas; and a policy and economic climate conducive to making investments for the long-term, applying the precautionary principle.

Achieving these goals requires two basic approaches:

- **STRATEGY:** *A strategic choice of objectives and targets, and an adaptive approach to their achievement and review* - a vision of the right point on the horizon; one step at a time on the path; and the ability to get back on track if things go wrong.
- **PARTICIPATION:** *An intersectoral and integrative approach; with an emphasis on dialogue, and incorporation of diverse perspectives* - mutual help in defining the vision and keeping on the path.

The national strategy experience (NCSs, NEAPs and other approaches) of the past fifteen years has been extremely valuable in providing that space. The more successful strategies have been characterised by participation, by building capacities for groups to think and work together strategically. Strategies are processes of managed change, for focusing and mobilising society towards sustainable development. The space to develop, and to build up local capacities to work and think strategically and to participate must, therefore, still be available. International and national responses to Agenda 21 must allow this space and promote local capacity-building.

CHAPTER TWO

WORKING TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

"Sustainable development is a process that must encompass every section of society and every role that we play: citizens and parents, children and students, civil servants and teachers, business leaders and employees. Sustainability will not simply "happen"; neither can it be imposed by top-down authoritarian governments. Nevertheless, the transition to sustainable development will still need to be managed, planned and administered. It also needs a sense of purpose..."

(Pearce 1994)

"Sustainable development might be defined by people themselves, to represent an ongoing process of self-realisation and empowerment.... and the "bottom line, in practical terms, is that if people are not brought into focus through sustainable development, becoming both the architects and engineers of the concept, then it will never be achieved anyway, since they are unlikely to take responsibility for something they do not 'own' themselves".

(Redclift 1992)

2.1 The Challenge of Sustainable Development

The challenge of achieving sustainability within environmental, social and economic systems may be summarised as follows:

- *Environmental sustainability* entails an ecosystem being able to support healthy organisms, whilst maintaining its productivity, adaptability and capability for renewal (including maintaining biodiversity);
- *Social sustainability* reflects the relationship between development and social norms: an activity is socially sustainable if it conforms with social norms or does not stretch them beyond the community's tolerance for change.
- *Economic sustainability* requires that the value of the benefits to the society in question exceed (or at least are equal to) the costs incurred, and that some form of equivalent capital is handed down from one generation to the next.

Sustainable development is altogether a more challenging prospect. It goes far beyond the need to achieve sustainability in any one system. According to Carley (1994), it requires:

- making choices both between different objectives - social/cultural, economic, environmental - and between generations;
- making choices between different times - notably present and future generations;
- understanding system complexity;
- accommodating many uncertainties;
- knowing how to deal with a lack of information;
- taking account of different levels of sustainability from the household to the globe; and
- taking coordinated action across many different levels and groups.

Sustainable development is akin to justice and democracy - it is a potential which most people would like to realise, but which they would find it hard to define, and which must be reached through

societal decisions that take account of many local differences (Holmberg *et al.*, 1991). For example, certain universal principles for justice are broadly agreed (the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and institutions and procedures have been set up to pursue justice; but, ultimately, these exist to exercise judgement in the interests of the society in question.

Achieving sustainable development is, similarly, a matter of judgement. It entails balancing social, environmental and economic objectives; and doing so in a way which also balances the needs of the future with those of the present (Figure 2).

This multi-dimensional balancing act will mean integrating objectives where possible: there are a number of possible "win-win" situations. But, more often, it will mean making choices between conflicting objectives. Rarely will it be possible to sustain, for example, full employment, growing revenues from natural resource exploitation, and extensive biodiversity protection. Trade-offs have to be made both within and between a number of levels, e.g. global, national, provincial, community and household. However, the externalities of one system or level can flow into another, e.g. the carbon dioxide released from national deforestation may have global effects. And policy and market signals set at one level will affect the use of resources at other levels. Hence, there is also a need for consistency and mutual recognition of what is sustainable both between "vertical" levels and within levels.

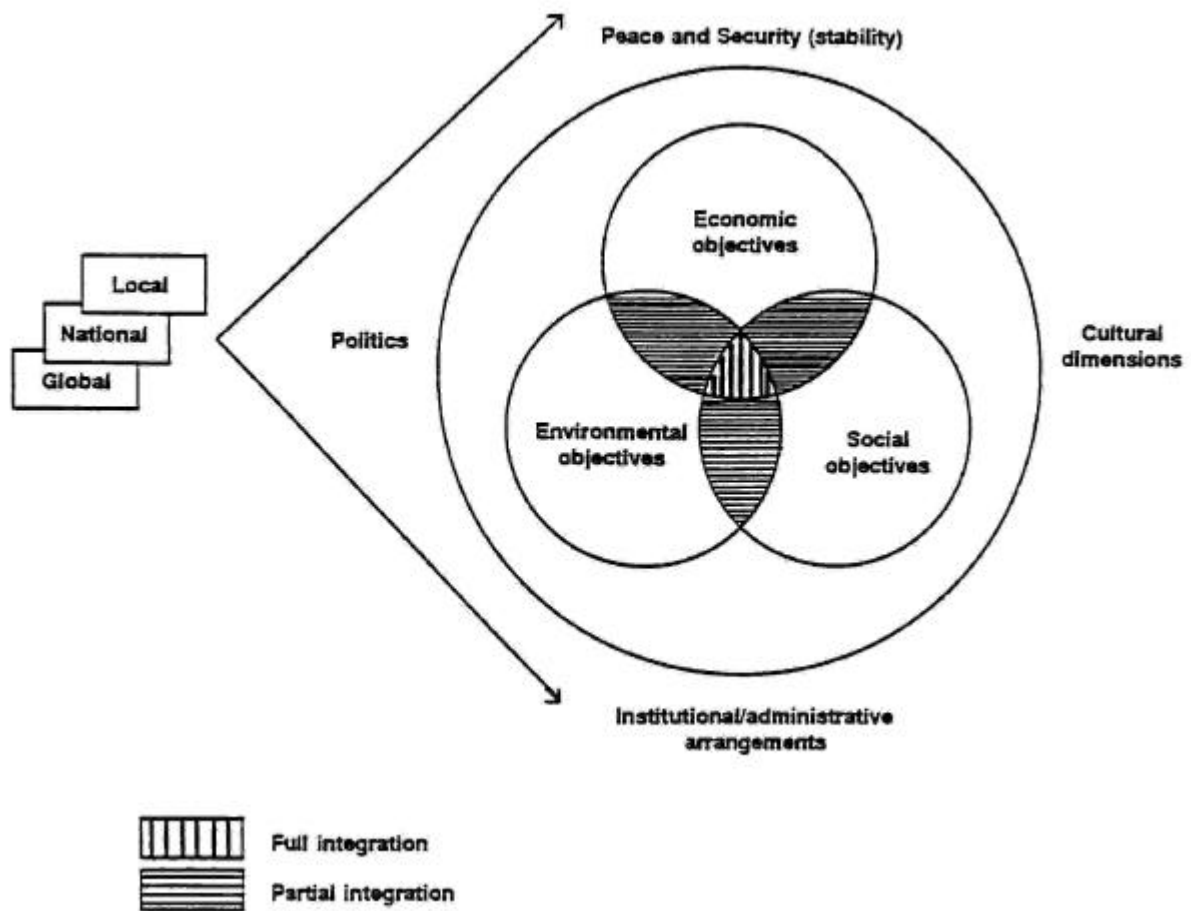
Neither can we say the "right" mix is fixed in time. A further balance is needed to determine the trade-offs between the current generation and the next. In doing this, it will be necessary to allow for uncertainties in the environmental system (such as climate change), in the economic system (such as commodity price changes) and in the social system (such as changing numbers of people and their values). Furthermore, technology will change. Hence the need for an approach of continuous improvement.

In such a balancing act, therefore, there is a need to acknowledge specific local needs and circumstances - there is no single mix of goals that will be right for every group in every country. Sustainability depends upon the relationship of specific resources with the specific surrounding environment and society - conditions which can be highly specific to a given locality. Few criteria of sustainability will be universal. At any one level, other circumstances will determine what is sustainable. For example, at a national level, forest use in a country with 99 per cent of its land under tropical forest and a population density of 1 person per hectare will have certain externalities. But these will be very different from those in a country with 1 per cent of its land under temperate forest and a population density of 1000 per hectare.

Definitions of what is sustainable therefore have to be negotiated locally and continually between different groups. Sustainable development requires the joint awareness and action of governments, communities and individuals. The individual is ultimately the key player - sustainable development will, in practice, be the result of many *millions of actors working separately and together*. Clearly an NSDS cannot be planned and implemented by governments alone. All actors need to be motivated to deliver a sustainable future.

Much of this is currently under debate. In principle, it is right that the debate on sustainability should be broad-based. An interdisciplinary, *science-based* approach is helpful: economists, natural scientists and social scientists can work together to integrate information on the economic, environmental and social dimensions of sustainability. But - to make any difference - such information and analysis must be complemented by a *people-centred* approach:

Figure 2: The Systems of Sustainable Development



**Sustainable development will entail integration of objectives where possible;
And making trade-offs between objectives where integration is not possible**

Source: Dalal-Clayton *et al.* (1994)

- to ensure an equitable approach to development;
- to capture local values, knowledge and ideas - and thereby bring into decision-making more information and a wider range of experiences, both of which contribute to the elaboration of more realistic policies and development initiatives;
- to debate and reach consensus, where possible, on trade-offs; and to agree to disagree where consensus currently is not possible; this will help to build political support for and reduce opposition to policy proposals, projects and other decisions by building in stakeholders' concerns;
- to gain commitment of both "winners" and "losers" - each group must feel that actions meet their individual, as well as collective goals;
- to encourage behaviour change;
- to develop more appropriate institutions and procedures; and
- to work together on solutions, particularly in environments facing multiple demands.

2.2 Planning Methods and Participation

A consequence of the issues discussed above is that a mix of multidisciplinary science and participation is required for strategies for sustainable development. However, there is little precedent for such an approach in strategies. Multidisciplinary action, with limited participation (primarily consultation), has been the prevalent approach to date (Carew-Reid *et al.* 1994).

Carley (1994) has observed that

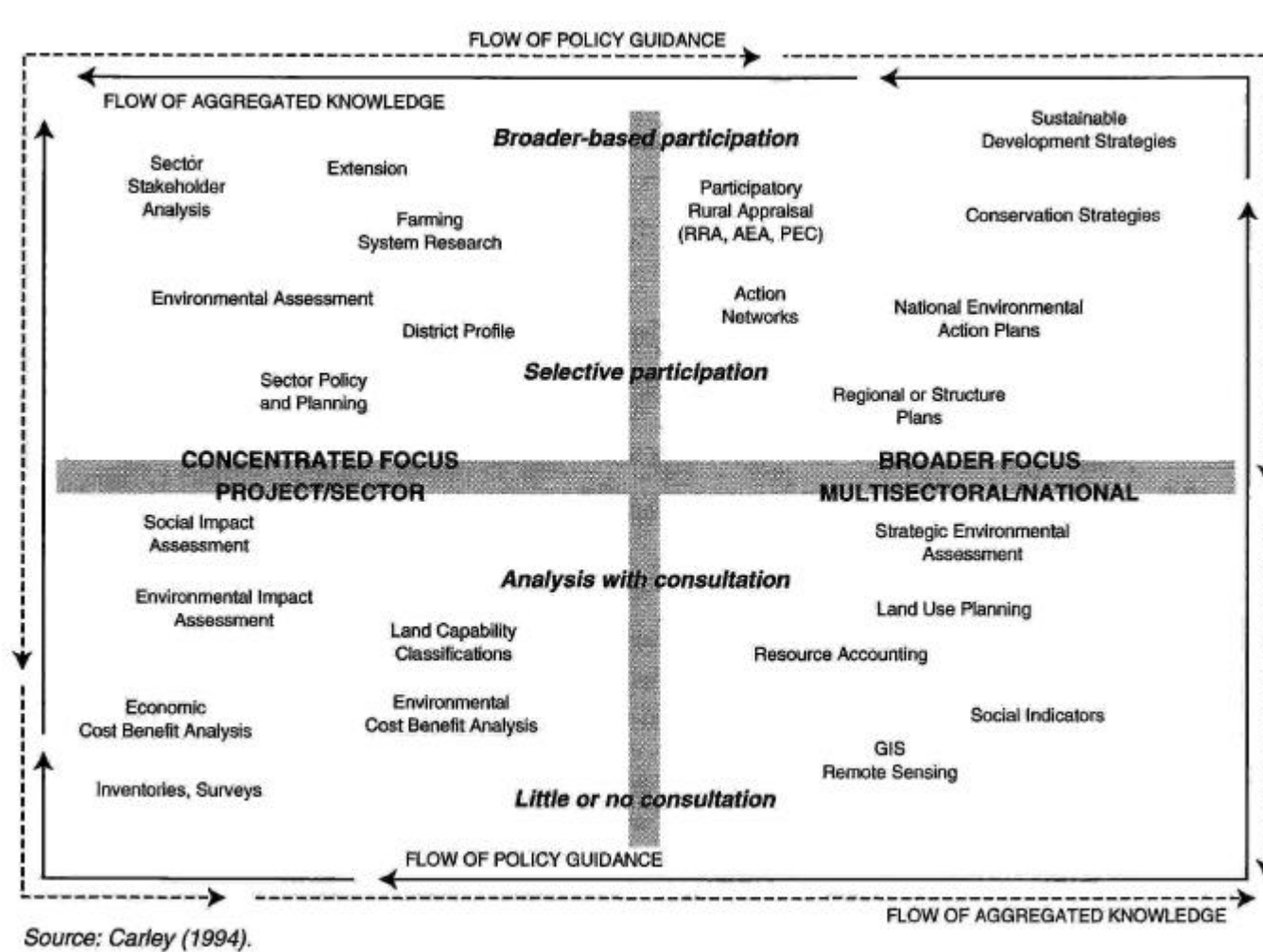
"good decisions come about from a steady improvement of the process of decision-making and participation, and enhanced human resource and institutional capabilities at national, regional and local levels".

Many methods of analysis can contribute to these processes: by building up a picture of the tasks necessary to promote sustainable development (e.g. political change, good governance, institutional coordination, and equitable resource distribution); by offering techniques which can be applied to those tasks; and by contributing to the development of a national consensus leading to purposive action. The relevant techniques, taken together, form a suite or framework which has been called "sustainability analysis" (Dala-Clayton 1993).

Carley (1994) discusses about 30 techniques available to sustainability analysis including environmental, economic, social and integrated or participatory methods, in relation to the degree of participation used in the techniques (see Figure 3). For example: land use planning (LUP), environmental impact assessment (EIA) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are usually low in participation; whereas participatory rural appraisal (PRA) is very high in participation. Below, as examples, we consider the need to increase participation in relation to two of these techniques: land use planning and environmental impact assessment.

In Chapter Six, we discuss the new methodologies of Participatory Inquiry, specifically designed for and around participation.

Figure 3: Techniques of Sustainability Analysis and Participation



(a) Land use planning

In a recent review of land use planning in developing countries, Dalal-Clayton and Dent (1993) conclude that:

"Land use planning has failed to live up to its promises. It remains centralised, sectoral and top-down. Experts prepare maps that indicate in considerable detail how the land should be used. There is little participation of the target groups and, sometimes, little input from agencies charged with implementing the plans. The supposed beneficiaries of development plans have neither the opportunity to articulate their needs, nor to contribute their own local knowledge. Except in command economies, most of these plans have remained just plans!

The missing link in land use planning is a platform for negotiation between all the stakeholders - land users, rural people, urban people, government, business and others. Government must learn the limits of their own capacity and competence. They should provide an enabling environment and facilitate informed decision-making, rather than attempt to direct and police land use in every field and on every hillside.

Planning agencies need to be more sensitive to the experiences, priorities and aspirations of local communities. This, in turn, will require greater awareness of and skills in methods of participatory inquiry".

They note that participatory approaches have been limited mainly to local-level developments and discuss a number of initiatives that show potential for scaling up to involve more people and larger areas, linking local initiatives with higher-level policy and public institutions (e.g. the Gestion de Terroir approach in Sahelian West Africa - see Toulmin 1993). They point out that:

"At present, participatory planning faces problems of poorly-developed local institutions, undefined lines of authority, opposition from central institutions and a weak base of information and management skills. Decisions should be made where the information is. For questions of detail, this is at local level but local institutions rarely have a formal systematic way of gathering and interpreting natural resources data".

Experience suggests a number of questions that should be asked, answered and acted upon at the outset of planning at the local level (Box 3).

Dalal-Clayton and Dent (1993) also offer a set of principles for land use planning which "might bring planning and people closer together" (Box 4). These principles lay particular stress on participatory approaches.

Box 3: Basic Questions for Local Level Planning

1. What are the different groups within a community (e.g. women/men, better/worse-off, younger/older) and which ones have access to and control over particular natural resources (e.g. grazing, water, forest) and which do not ? What conflicts exist over access to resources ? What does this imply for planning the sustainable use and management of these resources ?

How can the interests of less-powerful people be protected in the planning process ?
2. What ways have local people developed to assess and manage their resources ?

What local indicators or categories are used to assess the condition of their resources (eg, presence of particular plant species to indicate soil type or condition) ? What can we learn from these approaches that might be useful to other communities ?
3. Are the local people interested in sharing their 'know-how' with other communities ? Are other communities interested in learning from them ? Can we assist them in this process ?
4. How have land and resource use patterns and practices changed over time within the area ? What factors have influenced the present situation, and what situation do local people envisage for the future with and without changes to current practices ?
5. Do the local people want any help, bearing in mind that particular groups within the community may hold different views ? If so, how can we help them to improve what they are already doing ? How can we help them to identify gaps in their information gathering/analysis process and how can we help to plug these gaps. Are approaches or methods from outside useful and appropriate ?
6. What local institutions (e.g. village committees) are involved in or can assist land use planning ?
7. What external services (e.g. government, private sector, NGO) are needed by local people to assist in the process, e.g. technical assistance, finance, etc.
8. What would be the impacts of intervention in local level planning by external agencies ? How might these affect the balance of 'power' within the community and the subsequent use of resources ?

Source: Dalal-Clayton & Dent (1993).

Box 4: Principles of Land Use Planning

1. Planning should not be an external exercise by planners in offices remote from the area concerned. To be successful, a plan needs to be developed and implemented by the stakeholders. All those with a legitimate interest in a land use plan should first be identified, particularly residents of the area and those whose livelihoods are dependent on its resources. At the earliest possible stage, a mechanism should be established for participation and a platform for negotiation established between all the stakeholders.
2. Acknowledge the existence of potentially conflicting interests in developing, implementing and benefiting from land use plans, and develop processes to deal with this. To the extent possible, try to reach consensus, taking particular care to ensure the inclusion of marginalised groups (e.g. women) and minority interests (e.g. hunters and gatherers).
3. The needs and goals of all the interest groups should be clarified against the aims of the plan stated by the initiating organisation or individual.
4. Consensus-building and negotiation requires wide and public access to information about the issues, problems and development options.
5. Deliberate, voluntary change is likely to occur where there is:
 - knowledge
 - the capacity to change
 - the motivation to change

Knowledge. Information about natural resources is essential at all levels of decision-making so that emerging problems can be recognised quickly. Good information is needed not only about land resources and the interactions between climate, landscape, soils, water, ecology and land use; but also about the social and economic consequences of change, or not changing.

Capacity to change. Lack of time, people, management skills, appropriate institutional structures (tenure, laws or decision-making systems), equipment and money are all constraints. Financial and managerial resources are needed for activities that do not give a quick return and, often, benefit urban people more than those in rural areas (e.g. safeguarding water resources). Money and managerial skills are not available easily in poor rural areas.

Motivation to change. Education, information and persuasion will be effective only if the change interests and benefits the people for whom change is deemed desirable and where such change is socially acceptable.

Practical, profitable solutions to land use problems are needed that can be incorporated easily into farming systems, but are not available in many instances. Attractive (e.g. affordable) technical solutions may be readily accepted - although some may have the potential to be environmentally damaging (e.g. pesticides); unattractive ones are not likely to be accepted (e.g. many mechanical soil conservation practices).

/cont...

Box 4: Continued.

6. Build on:
 - indigenous, existing systems of local knowledge, land use and planning, taking care to retain their diversity and flexibility, i.e. mobility within common property resource systems;
 - the experience and expertise of other sectors and NGOs;
 - government and local support.
7. Build and support local institutions that can manage common property resources such as land, water, pastures, wildlife, forest products and infrastructure.
8. Address social issues, especially land tenure and access to resources, as well as physical or environmental issues.
9. 'Free' (or unpriced) resources such as land, water and wildlife have important economic values and are not infinitely substitutable. Both an accounting system to assess depreciation of these natural resources and a mechanism to ensure their sustainable management are needed, otherwise they are likely to be exploited to the point where the system is destroyed.

Source: Dala-Clayton & Dent (1993).

(b) Environmental impact assessment

EIA was first introduced in 1969 as a requirement of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of the United States and was intended to test, inform and re-orient federal decision-making. Many countries and agencies have now adopted EIA procedures, and a range of off-shoot disciplines have been developed (e.g. cumulative effects assessment, health impact assessment, risk assessment, social impact assessment, and technology assessment). To date, EIA (*per se*) has been used predominantly as a project-based tool. More recently, strategic environmental assessment (SEA) has emerged as a tool to apply some of the procedures of EIA to policies, sectors and programmes. SEA has so far been applied in only a limited number of developed countries, where mechanisms for cross-sectoral environmental management at policy level are comparatively well-developed.

Recommendations for 'consultation', 'participation' and 'adaptability' during the EIA process have long been included in methodological handbooks. But, in practice, EIA has tended to be non-participatory, rigid and mechanistic. These approaches have placed emphasis on outputs (principally the environmental impact statement) rather than on process (such as facilitating participation), and have often failed to recognise that information is not an end in itself, but a tool to improve the decision-making process. A recent review of environmental impact statements prepared in Tanzania showed that over 90% of EIA processes omitted to involve local people to any significant extent in the environmental assessment process (Mwalyosi *et al.* 1995).

To some extent, these failures are a reflection of shortcomings in the project cycle - which implicitly demands quick, cheap and 'dirty' responses to project appraisal, including environmental assessment. The lack of resources (including time) commonly suffered by EIA practitioners, is a consequence of this approach. To some extent, therefore, the operational constraints to integrating participation into EIA are symptomatic of the project cycle approach itself.

Furthermore, the use of formal public meetings, rapid consultancy missions, and the collection of huge quantities of scientific data (characteristics which are particularly common to EIA in developing countries) alienate local people from the decision-making process, and are techniques that

increasingly are being questioned (Hopkins 1994). So too is the use of 'mystification techniques' - the practice of imposing authority through the use of sophisticated jargon to obscure potential or actual impacts implicit in EIA documentation.

Consideration is now being given to the adoption of new or adapted techniques of communication between EIA practitioners and local communities (such as those commonly used in Participatory Learning and Action initiatives) and more open, transparent and participatory methods for project monitoring and evaluation.

At a mechanistic level, most development agencies now explicitly refer to participation in their EIA procedural guidelines. These vary in depth, form and clarity. For example, the World Bank devotes a chapter of its "Environmental Assessment Sourcebook" (World Bank 1991) to community and NGO involvement, whilst other agencies pay scant, if any, attention to participation. Most donor agencies and governments make little operational distinction between the terms 'consultation' and 'participation' and guidance often implicitly recommends passive or consultative forms of participation. For example, UNEP (1988) recommends that :

"... the concerns and points-of-view of all the various groups interested in and affected by the project should be taken into account throughout the EIA process."

The Commission of the European Communities (CEC, 1993) recommends that EIA should :

"... involve public consultation with interested parties and the affected population"

Ambiguity in the wording of guidelines often introduces scope for agencies and practitioners to avoid or minimise the extent of participation and, for some countries, participation is viewed narrowly as a 'tool' for the benefit of the project proponent, rather than for those likely to be affected by the project. This can be a reflection of cultural approaches to governance and decision-making, rather than simply a reluctance to move away from conventional, 'top-down' approaches to planning and decision-making. For example, the guidelines for Malaysia (MoE Malaysia 1987, section 1.4.5, p5) list the benefits of such participation "to the project initiator", but omit to discuss any benefits to the public ! In apparent contradiction, the guidelines also actively discourage any participation:

"A valid assessment of the impact of a project on the community can be made without some form of public participation".

Examples of EIA processes which have effectively involved all stakeholders are rare. It is especially unusual to involve, to any significant degree, those people likely to be affected directly by a project. This is a challenge that will have to be addressed if EIA is to effectively contribute to sustainable development. Interestingly, some of the more innovative approaches are emerging from the activities of non-governmental organisations (Box 5). Furthermore, if strategic environmental assessment is to play an effective role at the policy, sector and programme level, then mechanisms for genuine and effective participation (as opposed to mere consultation) will need to be included purposefully in sustainable development strategy processes.

Box 5: Stakeholder Involvement in EIA in Rio Negro Province, Argentina

An innovative approach to involving local stakeholders in environmental assessment was adopted in Rio Negro province, Argentina. Local NGOs stimulated and organised a training workshop to improve local EIA capacity and improve awareness of the role that EIA can play in development planning. The workshop was also used to demonstrate the role of EIA in addressing local environmental issues associated with agricultural changes in the region. Working closely with local and regional government, a broad range of stakeholders was invited, ranging from local health workers, farmers, foresters and townsfolk, through to 'decision-makers' responsible for land use planning, environmental management and regional administration. The organisers then selected a key (and contentious) development project as a focus for the training workshop, and used the week-long workshop sessions to focus on aspects of particular concern to local people.

Both formal and informal techniques were used throughout the workshop: background lectures, round table meetings, working groups, debates, role play and social events. Each workshop session was facilitated by practitioners familiar with EIA, and drawn largely from the local area. From these sessions emerged a ranking of key issues and concerns and suggestions for ways of addressing these in the design of the project. These were then integrated into the EIA process and hence into the planning of the development project itself. This highly process-oriented approach provided an excellent opportunity for the exchange of ideas, and the building of consensus between stakeholders and local administrators.

The initiative also made a very real contribution to improving local input into the development planning process, and helped build partnerships between local people and decision-makers. A broader approach to addressing environmental management issues associated with rapid development in the region has now emerged from the initiative, with the active support of the municipal authorities. The initiative also provides an insight into the different roles that EIA can perform if innovative and locally-driven approaches are encouraged and respected. In this case, EIA not only fulfilled an impact prediction role, but also provided a mechanism for consensus-building and local input into development planning.

Source: Ross Hughes, pers.comm. (1995).

2.3 Conclusion

There is a wider availability, and more experience, of planning methods that are multidisciplinary than there is of participatory planning methods. Yet, experience of these multidisciplinary methods, such as EIA and land use planning discussed above, suggest that they need to become more participatory. If, as it appears, *strategies also need to be both highly participatory and highly multi-disciplinary* to be effective, the challenge is to accomplish this in an efficient manner. What kind of participation is appropriate? At what stage and in what manner should it be incorporated? What mix of planning methods is desirable? To answer these questions, we need first to look at what has been meant by "participation".

CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION

It is clear that perceptions of participation vary considerably. This is well-illustrated by opinions on participation in the development of the Bangladesh Flood Action Plan (Box 6). At its broadest level of meaning, participation is nothing less than the basic fabric of social life; people have always "participated" in survival strategies, in developing their cultures, and in making decisions about their development (Borrini 1993). As Zazueta (1994) has pointed out, "whether through formal or informal organisations, autocratic or participatory means, people at the grassroots level use vernacular planning processes to define their needs and to take steps necessary to implement them". Whether in small hunter-gatherer family groups, larger agricultural settlements, or complex industrial societies, structures and procedures for participation and conflict resolution have evolved. Yet colonial powers and, in more recent times, many large businesses, tend to have been divisive, marginalising many groups from this process.

Over the past three decades, many development projects and programmes have failed where activities have been designed with little or no reference to people's needs or priorities, nor to their knowledge and skills. An evaluation of 25 projects sponsored by the World Bank reported that 13

Box 6: Some Perceptions of Participation in the Bangladesh Flood Action Plan

Villagers:

- "Participation is about doing something for everyone's benefit" (A villager in Gaibandha).
- "Oh yes, the foreigners were here one day, last month. But they only went to school and spoke in English. We are not educated. We could not understand" (A poor peasant).

Government Officials:

- Yes, we're doing people's participation. We have had people working in Food for Works programmes since the seventies" (Top official in Bangladesh Water Development Board).
- Your idea regarding women's participation is not correct for the overall national interest".

Foreign Consultants

- "Another idea from the social scientists. Only slogans! First, 'poverty alleviation'. Then 'women' and 'environment'. Now 'people's participation'! It's just a new fad!" (Engineer).
- "You have to consult my socio-economist, not me. I have no time for this participation. I'm working 12 hours every day on the project" (FAP Team Leader).

Source: Adapted from Adnan *et al.* (1992)

of them had been discontinued a few years after financial assistance had ended. Lack of attention to participation and to local organisation-building when the projects were formulated and implemented appeared to be the main cause (Zazueta 1994).

It has become clear that outsiders cannot necessarily identify local people's priorities, nor understand how best these might be met. For example, many government bureaucracies have considered it their job to manage land and other resources. However, this has often been impracticable - producing highly inefficient systems, vulnerable to corruption, and at the same time taking responsibilities away from local people (Toulmin 1995).

Today, with "development" being a process that tends to be led at national and international levels, and with specialised agencies planning and supporting development for and by others, new means have to be created to build participation back, to make the development process acceptable to society as a whole. In recognition of this need, the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development has defined participatory development as:

"A process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank 1994).

The terms 'people's participation' and 'popular participation' are now part of the normal language of many development agencies, including NGOs, government departments and banks (Adnan *et al.* 1992). This has created many paradoxes. The term 'participation' has been used to justify the extension of control of the state on the one hand, and to build local capacity and self-reliance on the other. It has been used to justify external decisions as well as to devolve power and decision-making away from external agencies. It has been used for data collection by "experts" and for more interactive analysis. But more often than not:

"people are asked or dragged into participating in operations of no interest to them, in the very name of participation" (Rahnema 1992).

One of the objectives of development support institutions must, therefore, be greater involvement with and empowerment of diverse groups of people, as sustainability is threatened without it. The dilemma for many authorities is they both need and fear people's participation. They need people's agreements and support, but they fear that this wider involvement is less controllable, less precise and so likely to slow down planning processes. But if this fear permits only stage-managed forms of participation, then distrust and greater alienation are the most likely outcomes. This makes it all the more crucial that judgements can be made on the type of participation in use.

In conventional rural development, participation has commonly centred on encouraging local people to sell their labour in return for food, cash or materials. Yet these material incentives distort perceptions, create dependencies, and give the misleading impression that local people are supportive of externally-driven initiatives. This paternalism undermines sustainability goals and produces impacts which rarely persist once the project ceases (Bunch 1983; Reij 1988; Pretty and Shah 1994; Kerr 1994; Pretty 1995). Despite this, development programmes continue to justify subsidies and incentives, on the grounds that they are faster, that they can win over more people, or they provide a mechanism for disbursing food to poor people. As little effort is made to build local skills, interests and capacity, local people have no stake in maintaining new practices once the flow of incentives stops.

If participation has a generally-agreed broad meaning, there are also many ambiguities when it comes to interpreting what participation might amount to in practice. It is being perceived through different eyes. The Oxford English Dictionary defines participation as "shar[ing] in, by common action or position... hav[ing] a share...". Although the dictionary stresses sharing, the word "participation" is

used very loosely by organisations working in development, often for situations where little sharing is taking place. For example:

"You will participate in doing what I want!"

has a very different meaning from:

"We'll participate together in a process".

The many ways that development organisations interpret and use the term participation can be resolved into seven clear types (Pretty 1994, 1995). These range from manipulative and passive participation, where people are told what is to happen and act out predetermined roles, to self-mobilization, where people take initiatives largely independent of external institutions (Table 1). This typology suggests that the term 'participation' should not be accepted without appropriate clarification.

The World Bank's internal 'Learning Group on Participatory Development', in seeking to clarify the benefits and costs of participation, distinguished between different types of participation:

"many Bank activities which are termed 'participatory' do not conform to [our] definition, because they provide stakeholders with little or no influence, such as when [they] are involved simply as passive recipients, informants or labourers in a development effort" (World Bank 1994, p6).

The problem with participation as used in types 1-4 (i.e. the more common passive, consultative and incentive-driven forms of participation - see Table 1) is that the "superficial and fragmented achievements have no lasting impact on people's lives" (Rahnema 1992). Types 1-4 can marginalise some groups or limit their stake in the process of defining the balance between economic, social and environmental goals, and between the present and the future. If the objective of development planning is to achieve sustainable development, then none of the first four types of participation alone will suffice. All the evidence (see Chapter Four) points towards long-term success in social, economic and environmental terms coming about when people's ideas and knowledge are sought, and when power is given to them to make decisions independently of external agencies.

A recent study of 230 rural development institutions employing some 30,000 staff in 41 countries of Africa found that participation for local people was most likely to mean simply having discussions or providing information to external agencies (Guijt 1991). Government and non-government agencies rarely permitted local groups to work alone, some even acting without any local involvement. These external agencies did permit some joint decisions, but usually controlled all the funding.

Another study of 121 rural water supply projects in 49 countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America found that participation was the most significant factor contributing to project effectiveness and maintenance of water systems (Narayan 1993). Most of the projects referred to community participation or made it a specific project component, but only 21% scored high on interactive participation. Clearly, intentions did not translate into practice. It was when people were involved in decision-making during all stages of the project, from design to maintenance, that the best results occurred. If they were just involved in information sharing and consultations, then results were much poorer. According to the analysis, it was quite clear that moving down the typology moved a project from a medium to highly effective category.

Table 1: A Typology of Participation: How People Participate in Development Programmes and Projects

Typology	Characteristics of Each Type
1. <i>Manipulative Participation</i>	Participation is simply a pretence, with 'people's' representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2. <i>Passive Participation</i>	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. <i>Participation by Consultation</i>	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. <i>Participation for Material Incentives</i>	People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labour, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. <i>Functional Participation</i>	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be coopted to serve external goals.
6. <i>Interactive Participation</i>	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. <i>Self-Mobilization</i>	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Source: Pretty (1995), adapted from Pretty (1994), Satterthwaite (1995); Adnan *et al.* (1992), Hart (1992)

Great care must, therefore, be taken over both using and interpreting the term participation. It should always be qualified by reference to the type of participation, as most types will threaten rather than support sustainable development. If we recognise that participation is central to sustainable development, then it is helpful to consider participation in sustainable development strategies as a sharing in **all** the tasks ultimately affecting a group of people (in the strategic tasks of information gathering, analysis, decision-making, implementation and capacity-building, and monitoring and evaluation - see Figure 1).

With the progression from activities with lower levels of participation (Types 1 and 2) to those with higher participation (Types 5-7) we tend to observe:

- more formation of local groups; greater use of participatory methodologies;
- more (strategic) tasks done by these groups - especially more decisions being taken by the groups;
- a more realistic, practical work programme; and
- an institutional environment more conducive to participation.

As we will note in the conclusion to the next chapter, we can also construct a typology of participation in national-level policy-making and planning, based on the experience so far of sustainable development strategies. It follows similar trends.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES THAT HAVE WORKED

"If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem" (Anon).

4.1 Evidence for Participation Working at the Local Level

Sustainable development at a local level depends not just on the motivations, skills and knowledge of individual people, but on action taken by groups or communities as a whole. Some policies recognise the value of group or community participation; however, they tend to force local people to work in groups, either by cross-compliance (they must comply if they are to receive another benefit), or simply by strong economic incentives. Such actions rarely build on existing social processes and local institutions. More often, planning simply ignores local people and institutions (Dalal-Clayton & Dent 1993). This is surprising, because there is mounting evidence to show the cost of so doing.

Much of this evidence has come from rural development projects. It is being increasingly well-established, by both comparisons between projects and comparisons within projects, that the benefits of participation to local and national systems can be substantial. People who are already well-organised, or are encouraged by the project to form groups, and whose knowledge is sought and incorporated during planning and implementation, are more likely to contribute financially and continue activities after project completion. If people feel ownership and are committed, then there will be sustained change.

Evidence includes comparisons of 50 government and non-government agricultural projects (Pretty 1995); 164 World Bank agricultural development projects (Cerne 1987, 1991); 68 World Bank resource management projects (Kottak 1991); 20 irrigation projects (Montgomery 1983); 20 USAID agricultural projects (USAID 1987); 52 miscellaneous USAID projects (Finsterbusch and van Wicklen 1989); and 49 health projects (Bossert 1990). A unique study of 25 agricultural projects some 410 years after completion found that success was equated closely with local institution-building (Cerne 1987). Twelve of the projects achieved long-term sustainability, defined in terms of the actual economic rate of return (ERR) - recalculated at the time of the impact evaluation - being equal to or lower than the opportunity cost of the capital. In the other thirteen, the rate of return projections at project completion were very favourable, but all had declined markedly, indicating the inability to sustain project activities post-completion.

The key factors differentiating these projects were institutional build-up and participation at farmers' level; participation of beneficiaries; recurrent cost financing and recovery; and a favourable policy environment. There was a strong association between economic sustainability and institutional development.

Yet in many of these cases, it is not clear what type of participation is being referred to by the analysts. Although groups are formed, it may have been through, for example, functional rather than interactive participation (types 5 and 6 in Table 1). Better comparisons come from studies of varying performance *within* projects. These include cases where participation processes have superseded non-participatory ones or have been run in parallel, allowing for comparisons in time and space. The following examples are particularly relevant to strategies, as they concern large-scale strategic projects at national level:

- The National Irrigation Authority (NIA) in the *Philippines* ran, in parallel, two types of irrigation projects: those which NIA developed with the participation of farmers, and those assisted through its technically-oriented and imposed approach (de los Reyes & Jopillo 1985; Bagadion & Korten 1991). The impact on productivity, resource conservation and commitment of local groups was substantial. In the participatory projects, yields were between 10-22% greater, water use was more efficient, farmers contributed seven times as much to costs, and new structures were more likely to be maintained. As de los Reyes and Jopillo put it: "NIA's judicious use of the farmers' knowledge of their environment resulted in more functional systems".
- In *Nepal*, the Small Farmer Development Programme (SFDP) also shows the benefits of working with local groups. Compared with non-project neighbouring sites, the SFDP has been successful at improving agricultural yields; diversity of production has increased; recovery rates for loans are greater than 90%; and secondary social indicators all show improvements in welfare of the poor. This approach has increased incomes, regenerated natural resources and reduced population growth rates.
- In *Kenya*, there is a similar diversity of implementation of the catchment, or community, approach to soil and water conservation by the Ministry of Agriculture. Where there has been collaboration between professionals from various departments, combined with interactive participation with rural people, once again the impacts have been substantial (Pretty *et al.* 1995; MoA 1988-95; Eckbom 1992). The Soil and Water Conservation Branch (SWCB) of Kenya's Ministry of Agriculture encourages local communities to analyze their own farming and conservation problems and recommend solutions. Farmers form their own catchment conservation committees and work with interdisciplinary planning teams.

Findings show that, where there is mobilization of the community, strong local groups, committed local staff and collaboration with other departments in multi-disciplinary planning and implementation, then within two years there are clear benefits. These include increases in agricultural productivity, diversification into new enterprises, reductions in resource degradation, improvements in the activities of local groups, and independent replication to neighbouring communities. These improvements have occurred without payment or subsidy, and so are more likely to be sustained.

Another remarkable example of a national programme providing the framework for local capacity-building has been the Integrated Pest Management Programme (IPM) in *Indonesia* (GoI 1992; Winarto 1992). Those farmers that have participated in IPM field schools have reduced their pesticide applications substantially and have also seen their rice yields increase by 0.5t/ha. Farmers now "exercise greater control over conditions they once felt beyond their means to deal with effectively" (Winarto 1992).

Similar sustained impacts on productivity, resource conservation and capacity of local groups have occurred in a wide range of sustainable agriculture programmes throughout the world, including the Philippines, Indonesia, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, India, and Sri Lanka (Bagadion and Korten 1991; Kenmore 1991; Bunch 1991, 1993; GTZ 1992; UNDP 1992; van der Werf and de Jager 1992; Lobo and Kochendörfer-Lucius 1992; Uphoff 1992; Kamp *et al.* 1993; Krishna 1993; Shah 1994; SWCB 1994; Balbarino and Alcober 1994; Pretty 1995).

Other successful examples of participation at the local level are discussed in Chapter Seven, where the roles of different institutions in participation are considered.

These and other examples have helped to show that three components are required for sustainable local development: meeting basic needs; optimal use of the environment; and empowering local groups. This is expressed in the concept of Primary Environmental Care, in which participation is integral (Box 7).

Box 7: Primary Environmental Care

Primary Environmental Care (PEC) is an umbrella term for participatory development approaches dealing with social, environmental and economic systems that have been shown to work at the community level. It has three integral sets of goals:

- meeting and satisfying basic needs (the economic goals);
- protection and optimal use of the environment (the environmental goals); and
- empowering of groups and communities (the social goals).

The basic ideas behind PEC are not new and have been endorsed for years. What is new is the increasing consensus that the three sets of goals should be considered together and that the success of PEC will depend upon the following conditions:

- local groups and communities are permitted: to organise; to gain access to natural resources and finances; to participate in processes influencing development priorities; to select and help to develop productive and environmentally-acceptable technologies; and
- outside institutions empower local groups and communities through political support, access to information, and adaptable approaches to resource provision.

The challenge in an NSDS is to create these conditions.

A bibliography of PEC activities is provided by Pretty and Sandbrook (1991).

4.2 Evidence from National Strategies

There is a less rich, but none the less growing, body of evidence for the benefits of participation from national strategic planning exercises. As we describe in more detail below, participation in strategy implementation has been restricted to certain actions, or has been largely experimental as governments test out new institutional arrangements.

There has recently been a proliferation of comprehensive national plans and studies such as NCSs and NEAPs. The Directory of Country Environmental Studies (WRI/IIED/IUCN 1992) - a product of the INTERAISE project ⁽²⁾ - lists nearly 400 such documents for over 130 countries, over 90 per cent of them having been carried out in the last five years. Only very recently has participation become a routine element in the planning of such initiatives. In earlier strategies, it was often added to the process by strategy project managers (often foreign consultants in developing countries) and other participants when it became apparent that certain strategy tasks could just not be performed without some kind of participation. This was particularly the case with the collection of information, or consensus-building on issues, or to ensure support as certain options developed. Such participation was often not (adequately) budgeted for, and usually did not take advantage of special expertise in participation: it was defined and designed by the main actors of the strategy to meet local expediences, often in an *ad hoc* manner, uninformed by professional assistance in participation methodologies, and without the involvement of groups who could best catalyse participation. The

⁽²⁾ The International Environmental and Natural Resource Assessment Information Service (INTERAISE) is a project undertaken collaboratively by IIED, WRI and IUCN and sponsored by members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC).

extent of such participation in early NEAPs in Madagascar, Lesotho and Rwanda has been reviewed by Opsal (1994).

The main actors/motivators of national strategies have varied tremendously; and their perceptions have dominated the participation process. Many of the earlier NCSs and NEAPs were narrowly prepared by central government and external consultants. It has been noted that "NEAPs are being packaged and pulled together too rapidly for real participation to take place in the strategy decentralisation process" (Winpenny and Tandon 1993), presumably meaning participation beyond the professional planners.

Those developing countries with few participation catalysts (such as strong local authorities, traditional systems, NGOs and media) tend to have gone through a fast-track approach to developing national strategies - strongly influenced by donor interest and foreign expertise sorting out the issues and options, rather than through a slower, participatory route. In contrast, those developing countries with stronger participation structures tend to have slowed the whole strategy process down. In the case of the Botswana NCS, for example, the traditional *kgotla* system was used for consultation on the strategy. Whilst this may have frustrated the donor and external project executants (IUCN), these external interests could none-the-less see the advantages in running a public participation process in parallel with the more usual professional consultation process (Box 11).

A number of national strategies have been founded, at least in part, on participation, as opposed to building participation in at a late stage. Shared responsibility and participation have been integral principles from the beginning. This is particularly evident in Canada's *Projet de société* - perhaps the most participatory strategy process known to the authors (Box 8). The experience of such strategies should be examined in more detail in future.

In some cases, the earlier strategy preparation phases have incorporated a considerable amount of participation. Ireland's Environmental Action Plan, for example, was prepared by trades unions, employers' groups, agricultural groups, local authorities, as well as government. Even if participation was weak initially, in almost all of the strategies prepared in industrialised 'northern' countries, the first strategy iteration appears to have been adequate to make the case for increased participation in future versions (evident in Australia, the Netherlands and the UK). Participation comes across as a strong recommendation for detailed (local) planning, implementation and monitoring.

A test of the effectiveness of participation in strategy formulation is in its implementation. Whereas most NEAPs, NCSs, Green Plans, etc., have involved considerable participation in information collection, ideas generation and consensus-building, government tends to have been dominant in strategy implementation - supplemented occasionally by some NGO activity. This suggests that strategies have been viewed by governments as essentially exercises to plan government roles, procedures and investments, and "ownership" of the strategy by other groups has been low.

Clearly, for a strategy to lead to sustainable development, we would expect to see major changes in the involvement of the private sector and communities. Effective progress towards sustainable development cannot be achieved by government alone. Some of this will eventually be brought about by economic and policy signals sent by the government, but greater voluntary changes would be more likely if the private sector were involved more strongly throughout the strategy (small resource user groups as well as big business).

The following sections discuss examples of such strategies from, respectively, developed and developing countries, and from a dependent territory.

4.2.1 *Some Developed Country Examples*

(a) **Canada's** Green Plan is an example of a government-led consultative process. The Plan, an environmental strategy for the federal government, was prepared in 1989-90 through the government's budget planning process. It used the existing committee structure, from the Cabinet Committee on the Environment down through committees of deputy and assistant deputy ministers, to a management team within the Department of the Environment. A "multi-stakeholder" Advisory Committee was set up for the elaborate consultation process, which involved a great many interests: government; business; industry; environmental, youth and indigenous peoples' NGOs; and academics. A background paper on the plan was released for public consultation, and its contents were substantially revised in light of the consultation; 17 meetings were held with interest group representatives; 41 open public meetings were held; and there was a two-day meeting to consolidate views. Questionnaires were distributed, of which 4,500 were returned. Ten thousand citizens attended information sessions across the country and contributed suggestions through questionnaires and written submissions.

The prescriptions of Canada's Green Plan also include recommendations for participation in implementation: personnel exchanges between NGOs and government; increased support to the Canada Environmental Network; and setting up other round tables and advisory councils (on youth and information).

However, it was felt by some groups involved in the Green Plan that participants were somewhat coopted by government.

"Every effort was made to obtain views from a wide range of non-government interests. However, the exercise is now felt to have been only moderately successful in that the Environment Ministry's role in leading the process was perceived as owning the process. There was some suspicion among parties that government had prepared the plan in advance and was merely 'going through the motions of consultation' There was reluctance to comment on the government agenda; people wanted to contribute to the agenda" (ERM 1994).

The Canadian government is now considering how to revise the Green Plan, but will still concentrate on areas of federal responsibility. It might usefully draw lessons from the work of the *Projet de société* - an independent multistakeholder initiative to prepare an NSDS for Canada. The 'Projet' is being developed as a consensus process involving over 80 businesses, government and independent organisations in a National Stakeholders' Assembly (Box 8). It has explicitly been designed to be transparent, inclusive and accountable. Each partner and sector is encouraged to identify and take responsibility for its *own* contributions. Dialogue and cooperation are considered

Box 8: Canada's Projet de société

Many of Canada's provinces, territories, regions and municipalities have prepared sustainability strategies. The Projet de société, however, aims at the overall national level. It was established in November 1992, as a follow-up to the Earth Summit, with the 'mission' to "help promote Canada's transition to a sustainable future". Its primary role is as a catalyst for change.

The Projet de société recognises several necessities: that this transition is a collective responsibility of all Canadians; that all levels and sectors of society must be engaged in identifying and implementing the necessary changes; and that new institutional models and processes are needed to achieve a common purpose and course of action. These involve partnerships and networks.

Five Canadian organisations came together to organise a first National Stakeholder meeting in November 1992: the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME); Environment Canada; the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD); the International Development Research Centre (IDRC); and the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE). Representatives from over 40 sectors of Canadian society attended the meeting, including business associations, community organisations and indigenous peoples.

Each of the five 'sponsoring' organisations, acting as a Working Group, contributed Can.\$ 50,000 to establish a Secretariat and hire a Research Director. Two sub-committees (Documentation and Information; and Vision and Process) assumed responsibility, respectively, to analyse Canadian responses to Rio, and to draft a concept paper on sustainability planning. The NRTEE facilitated and chaired the process and provided the Secretariat. Most of the tasks were undertaken by volunteers and committees which met monthly. There were those who wanted to "produce documents" and those who wanted "activities". It was therefore decided to do both.

A progress report and recommendations were presented to a Second National Stakeholders meeting in June 1993. At the Third Assembly in December 1993, the NRTEE was asked to assume a larger management role for the next phase of the Projet, rather than merely acting as a facilitator, and to move towards preparing a draft strategy. The NRTEE worked closely with a volunteer working group to develop, revise and critique a strategy document. A draft was tabled at the Fourth Assembly in November 1994, entitled "*Canadian Choices for Transitions to Sustainability*". Minor changes were suggested and the document was endorsed. A revised document was published in January 1995. The NRTEE then organised a series of about 15 meetings across the country to determine how useful such a document might be in engaging various constituencies in discussions about sustainability. A final revised draft, based on the feedback received, will be presented to the Fifth Assembly, likely to be held in November 1995. The Working Group was reconstituted in early 1995 to promote other initiatives. It will focus on three key areas: linking activities; education/engaging; and catalysing.

Principles of the Projet de société:

- The process is designed to be transparent, inclusive and accountable.
- Each partner and sector is encouraged to identify and take responsibility for its own contribution to sustainability.
- Dialogue and cooperation among sectors and communities are key elements of problem-solving.
- A shared vision and agreement on key policy, institutional and individual changes are necessary for the transition to sustainability.
- Strategy and action must be linked, and must build on previous and ongoing initiatives.
- Canada's practice of sustainable development and its contribution to global sustainability should be exemplary.

Sources: Projet de société (1993, 1994, 1995).

key to problem-solving, and shared visions are a keystone. The Secretariat for the 'Projet' is based in the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy. At present, there is virtually no relationship between the 'Projet' and the Green Plan follow-up process.

(b) **The Netherlands'** National Environmental Policy Plan (NEPP, NEPP-Plus, and NEPP-2 - the latest revision) is a government-led participatory strategy. This integrates the national land use plan, national transport plan and national energy plan with national planning for agriculture and industry. Such integration has been made possible by multidisciplinary and participatory approaches; the necessity of these approaches being more generally understood in the Netherlands, a densely-populated country where education and general public awareness of the delicate man-environment balance is relatively strong.

NEPP-2 is intended to link national policy with local targets (Box 9). The Netherlands Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning and Environment works with provincial and municipal government and other groups in the NEPP. Participation, to varying degrees, has occurred in information generation and advice, decision-making and implementation. It is still being developed, by government agencies and nine "target groups" ⁽³⁾. Each group is led by a steering committee, consisting of representatives of government and of the target group. Local targets are set by local officials based on the national plan. Provinces are obliged to do this; municipalities have the incentive of additional central government funding if they also do so. With industry, NEPP has emphasised voluntary agreements or covenants to secure agreements with government on environmental objectives and targets. Covenants are negotiated with trades associations, and local variations are allowed for branch members. Ministry staff accept that the price to be paid for a high degree of local participation and motivation will be a certain loss of control over the direction and actions of the NEPP. The Ministry has negotiated action plans with all "target groups" in the NEPP.

A Platform for Sustainable Development was also established in the Netherlands in 1993 as a forum for agenda-setting and consultation. Members are drawn from many social groups. Debate will be stimulated by campaigns targeted at politicians and the general public; the effectiveness of this presupposes that a high degree of participation already existing in the Netherlands - something that is borne out by recent experience.

4.2.2 Some Developing Country Examples

(a) **Nicaragua's** National Conservation Strategy for Sustainable Development involved limited participation based around the local government structure. Workshops were organized in each of Nicaragua's 143 municipalities to make a "participatory diagnosis" of problems and needs. Short documents summarized the results and were submitted to a second round of workshops - again in every municipality - to decide on proposed actions. In addition, many activities were organized with groups such as artists, teachers, youth, and political parties, to ensure that a broad range of groups had opportunities to participate. This effort helped to establish strong links between the strategy and communities and institutions. It also contributed to the national dialogue between antagonists in the recent civil war; and launched locally-driven efforts to solve local problems in many parts of Nicaragua. A similar approach was used in the next strategic iteration, the NEAP (published in 1994).

⁽³⁾ The Target Groups are: agricultural producers; transport sector; chemical manufacturers; gas and electricity suppliers; construction industry; consumers and retailers; environmental protection industry; research and educational establishments; and environmental organizations, trade unions and voluntary bodies.

Box 9: The Dutch National Environment Policy Plan

As a small, intensively-settled country, the Netherlands has had to confront pressing thresholds of environmental carrying capacity earlier than other industrialised societies. The basic premise of the NEPP (VROM 1989) is that far-reaching measures are required to deal with environmental degradation in the Netherlands. It argues that without key policy changes, "agriculture, forestry, recreation and nature protection will be seriously damaged". A principal objective is "to maintain the environmental carrying capacity on behalf of sustainable development". Global, continental, fluvial, regional and local-level targets for environmental quality are identified under three different scenarios: continuation of current policy, maximum utilisation of emission-related measures, and a mix of emission and source-oriented measures (such as shifts from private car use to public transportation). The attainment of regional and local targets, for example, entail sharing reductions in emission levels and volume of wastes of the order of 70-90%. A "target group" approach, based on consultation and the negotiation of covenants, is endorsed for implementation of the policy targets and objectives. This process is backed by new legislation and intensified enforcement, and supported by efforts to reach international agreements on continental and global problems.

The NEPP was followed-up in 1990 with a supplement - the NEPP-plus, and subsequently by a NEPP-2 in 1993. The latter (VROM 1993) was debated by the Netherlands parliament in March 1994 and was unanimously supported in almost every aspect. NEPP-2 differs from the first NEPP by concentrating on implementation by those target groups, or sections of them, which are more difficult to reach. It also includes efforts to mitigate the impact of the Dutch 'ecological footprint' on other countries.

It is not yet clear if there will be a NEPP3, but many activities are now focussing on the next steps that have to be taken to develop longer-term environmental policies in the Netherlands, e.g. research on sustainable economic structures, sustainable lifestyles and sustainable consumption.

(b) **Nepal's NCS** is one of the more advanced national strategies in Asia, in terms of both participation and implementation. Tied closely to the National Planning Commission, but still not fully integrated with the NPC, and run as a long-term project, the strategy decided not to get too involved initially in institutional struggles which, in Nepal, is a sensitive issue. Key to strategy formulation was a multidisciplinary, 80-member Environmental Core Group involved in different sectors (although largely professionals from government). From this multidisciplinary approach sprang a number of participatory exercises - in environmental assessment and village planning with villagers and the private sector. User groups were seen as appropriate participants for strategy implementation, as they take a less compartmentalised view than government departments. Hence, for implementation, emphasis has been placed on developing the policy context and specific tools to encourage participation of government departments, the private sector and villagers in carrying out EIAs, and preparing land use and village plans. It is expected that this approach of "showing the way by doing" will make the case for institutional change eventually more convincing.

(c) **Pakistan's NCS** employed a level of public participation which was unprecedented in a national planning exercise. This has led to a well-planned, phased participation process in the North West Frontier Province; here, too, the level of participation has not had precedent in other government-led operations (Box 10).

Box 10: Participation in a Provincial Strategy: The Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy, Pakistan

In 1992, the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy (NCS) was completed. The process of developing the NCS had been far more open to public involvement than any previous government exercise. When the government in North West Frontier Province (NWFP, also known as Sarhad Province) indicated its desire to develop a provincial strategy to implement the NCS, it also chose to open up to an even wider audience than the NCS. IUCN-Pakistan's Technical Advisor to the Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy (SPCS), describes this process (Fuller 1994):

"From day one in the SPCS Unit, it was considered absolutely crucial that the strategy be developed using a multi-phased public consultation process. Consultation would ultimately lead to the involvement of the people and institutions in NWFP. In practical terms, the plan was fairly straightforward. We would begin in Peshawar [the provincial capital] with some sectoral meetings to introduce ourselves. A team would then visit each district in NWFP to extend the awareness of the SPCS process as widely as possible. To stimulate discussion an inception report was prepared with an Urdu summary that was distributed in advance. People would then be invited to a meeting to react to its contents, which were the team's preliminary ideas about what would be included in the final strategy - conceptual cannon fodder, in effect.

Beginning in January 1994 from Peshawar, the team in association with the Deputy Commissioner of each district worked its way through NWFP in eight months... In most cases our team of forerunners would arrive at least a week in advance to organize the meetings. In the case of Hazara Division we used the services of the Sungi Development Foundation to set up the sessions. It is very important to point out that this sort of structured public meeting is a good first step, but is only the beginning of a full-fledged public involvement process. However, when you consider that it was the very first time that the government undertook such a process for public policy formulation, it is a giant first step.

As for the results, well a number of generalisations can be made. In every case bar none, the team learned well in advance about many environmental issues that it had not predicted would arise. Similarly, they met people who were desperately interested in working on these issues, either individually or through NGOs, whom the government had not previously been aware of. The team was quite careful to avoid raising expectations about rapid action on the immense list of environmental issues, yet there was a flood of requests for more consultation and involvement. This has been reflected in the SPCS revised work plan.

Once the report on the regional consultations is complete, a second round of district sessions will be held to illustrate the province-wide range of issues in each district. In other words, each district gathering will be exposed to each of the other districts' problems and any indigenous solutions that have been proposed. Some of these sessions will be held in even smaller towns to further broaden the base of contact with people and NGOs. Given that there are approximately 8000 villages in NWFP, we will only just be beginning to scratch the surface, of course.

Once there is a degree of confidence as to the list of problems, the actual work of developing the strategy in more detail begins. This, too, will be as participatory as possible, using working groups from the line departments of government plus relevant NGOs to help in the process. When a draft is complete, the district process will begin once again. Hopefully this time a more substantive workshop setting will be used, involving as many people as possible. These will take using regional languages, local facilitators, and maximum audiovisual assistance. Only then will the strategy document begin to be given final shape."

Box 11: Botswana National Conservation Strategy

The Botswana NCS was initiated in 1983, and was finally approved by the Government of Botswana in 1990. During the intervening years, a process of intensive consultation, involving all public and private sector stakeholders took place. These included village elders and members; District Council Officers and elected representatives; Central and District Government Officers from all Ministries, Boards and Councils; Government Ministers and MPs of all parties; NGOs; parastatals; educational and research establishments; the international donor and environmental agencies; and private and public companies.

Through a process of representation, it was possible for the views of all communities to be canvassed and brought up, to 'higher' levels; thus, the process took over a year and involved use of the traditional '*kgotla*' system of consultation and discussion. Formal consultation consisted of: a Public Discussion Campaign, involving 60 villages; meetings with 30 District/Town Councils; and an Opinion Survey covering 3000 householders.

1. The Impacts of Local Consultation

Initially the consultations proved beneficial. The opportunity to be consulted and involved was appreciated. However, it became increasingly evident that the planning process:

- was very protracted, but truncated from the stand-point of local communities in that it did not involve them in the crucially important consensus-building phase (there was no involvement beyond consultation); and
- raised local community expectations unrealistically high through, in effect, encouraging them to formulate 'wish-lists' which could not be met within a tolerable time-scale (possibly a managerial/design problem in the consultation exercise).

As the central discussions on the principal planning issues were extended progressively, so the mood of local community consultees changed from disappointment, to frustration, to strong disillusionment and mistrust.

Delays in both decision-making and in taking action not only disenchanted local communities, but also several donors. Many of the latter, who had waited patiently to invest in the component projects of an NCS Action Plan, in the end allocated the funds for other purposes. This merely compounded the feelings at community level.

2. Causal Factors

Several factors were responsible for the harmful impacts, including the facts that:

- politicians were not genuinely committed either to involving local communities in consensus-building about the alternative uses of natural resources, or to delegating management responsibilities; and
- conventional wisdom and self-interest prevailed concerning resource uses by the livestock sector relative to other sectors, thereby inhibiting changes in resource management and the adoption of innovative approaches.

Continued:

Box 11: continued:

3. Benefits

For all its deficiencies, the protracted consultative process did achieve positive results, including:

- the creation of increased awareness amongst officials in central and national organisations about the principal resource planning and environmental management issues. Thus the (albeit truncated) community participation process has helped to increase the central institutional management planning capacity. At worst this may perpetuate the top-down process; alternatively it may stimulate the de-centralisation required to facilitate real and sustained community participation;
- the establishment of an NCS Agency, which - due largely to a lack of agreement about how it should relate to various line Ministries - was not very effective during its first 3 years. However, funding has been approved. This is ear-marked to facilitate the preparation of an NCS Action Plan, supported by practical programmes and projects;
- the setting up of an NCS Board, with representation from central government, local authorities and NGOs; and
- the setting up of a grass-roots NGO - the Natural Resources Conservation Society of Botswana.

4. Principal Lessons

Consultation was neither fortunately planned, nor followed through in ways which enabled local communities actually to be involved in preparing and implementing the plans - as distinct from just making verbal inputs. In other words, participation did not extend beyond rather lengthy consultation. One or more consultations, to gather community views on a range of subjects, are not surrogates for consensus-building concerning potentially contentious and complex resource use issues. Furthermore, neither was sustained, genuine commitment obtained from politicians and decision-makers to a consensual and open-minded planning approach.

Source: Ralph Cobham; memo to IIED, 20.3.95.

Box 12: Sustainable Development and Conservation Strategy for the Forest Estate, Cross River State, Nigeria

Background

One-third of Cross River State (CRS) is forested. It has the largest area under Tropical high forest (THF) of all Nigeria's states - 0.85m ha, representing 31% of the nation's total. Plantations cover a further 0.01 m ha.

Government forest management has been centralised and under-resourced, with little sensitivity for the principles and practices of sustainable management. Furthermore the interests of the some 2,500 local communities have been disregarded. In 1992, about 45% of the CRS THF was sequestered by the Federal Government to form a National Park, without local community participation, support or commitment.

Despite an acute national shortage of timber, population and economic pressures are such that the THFs of CRS continue to be cleared for low-intensity bush-fallow agriculture. But there are considerable opportunities to improve annual timber revenues by some 3.5 times the present levels through sustainable forest management. The annual value of non-timber products harvested from the THF already exceeds that of the timber harvested.

These facts have emphasised the need for a strategy for the sustainable forest development and conservation. Thus, in early 1993 with financial and technical assistance from UK ODA, the Forest Development Department (FDD) began to address these issues and to prepare such a strategy.

Features of the Strategic Planning Process

The process has been consultative and multi-sectoral in its coverage of stakeholder interests, with all of the main governmental and non-governmental interest groups involved: timber concessionaires, Federal & State Government organisations, local communities, NGOs, trade associations, educational and training establishments, the media, etc. Some of the main features of the planning process were its:

- early attention to agreement on a universally acceptable aim and a related set of objectives;
- flexibility, as manifested by the necessity to respond to external political and economic forces in ways that would enable the process to continue, albeit with some delay;
- multi-dimensional perspectives. The process sought to facilitate and integrate full-blooded contributions from both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' interests. Overall, this appeared to be successful, apart from an inability to integrate national park and forestry planning initiatives, both at State and community levels;
- substantial commitment to building the strategy on a sound factual base. Over a period of 30 months, a total of 18 studies were commissioned, covering essential technical, social, economic and environmental features of the CRS forest estate and other features of the economy. These were completed prior to finalising the strategy;
- great care in identifying the main stakeholders and the priority issues which they wished the strategy to address;
- declaration of a commitment to consensus-building;
- adoption of a pioneering approach through the development of community management committees as a main vehicle through which the strategy for sustainable management would be achieved;

/cont...

Box 12: Continued:

- adoption of an iterative approach, rather than a solely linear and sequentially phased one. Operational improvements were made in parallel as the strategy evolved; for example, significant amendments were made to ways used to determine concessionaire lists, concession agreements, tariffs and royalties, and institutional arrangements;
- packages of solution programmes, covering legal instruments and enforcement measures, economic incentives and dis-incentives, public awareness campaigns, and institutional strengthening initiatives, etc. have been established in support of the strategy. Indeed, they are an integral part of it; and
- recognition of the importance of 'selling' the strategy to the decision-takers, e.g. by commissioning professional video producers to assist the presentation.

Shortcomings Identified for Remedial Action

Through careful analysis during the planning process, many necessary improvements were identified, involving the provision/development of the following:

- the ability to evaluate the implications of the strategy, the priority issues, the associated solution package options and programmes, in cost-benefit terms;
- greater professional commitment by FDD to implementing undertakings given to stakeholders, and thus to building mutual trust and co-operation;
- increased training of FDD & stakeholder staff in strategic rather than operational planning activities, to help focus on major issues as opposed to minutiae;
- improved FDD & stakeholder ability to formulate a realistic vision for the future, from which specific goals and objectives are derived;
- greater self-reliance rather than dependence on external advisers;
- a capacity to strengthen the management skills of local communities, so that responsibility for sustainable development of the FE can be delegated effectively;
- the establishment of community-based NGOs to assist in the provision of demand-led extension services; and
- explicit coverage of gender issues;

Source: Ralph Cobham, memo to IIED, 1994

(d) **Botswana's** NCS used a very lengthy and extensive consultation process, involving village level as well as the national level. However, this did not extend to extensive participation in consensus-building and participation in implementation, and parties grew fatigued over the long time given to discussion. Consequently, again the "ownership" of the strategy is not widely shared. More details on the lessons from Botswana are given in Box 11.

(e) **Nigeria:** The case of the strategy for the sustainable development and conservation of the forest estate in Cross River State, Nigeria, begun in 1993, provides an example of a process in which, early on, it was decided to engender wide local ownership. The strategy is "authored" by local communities and stakeholder groups as well as government (Box 12).

4.2.3 A Dependent Territory Example

The small island of St Helena (population 5000) is a dependency of the UK located in the remote southern Atlantic ocean. It has a rich endemic fauna and flora, but suffers from severe land degradation, limited development options, and is highly vulnerable to external actions and decisions.

A process was started in 1993 towards developing a Sustainable Environment and Development Strategy (SEDS). Initially, a six-week scoping exercise was conducted, facilitated by a team from The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew and IIED. The exercise was cross-sectoral and inclusive of all government departments, the private sector, NGOs and the public. It involved a wide range of surveys and data-gathering exercises and consultations, e.g. numerous official and public meetings, visits to farmers and smallholders, phone-ins, school painting competitions and seminars, and *ad hoc* discussions.

Analysis of issues raised at 15 separate public meetings (Box 13) revealed that, even in a small and isolated place like St Helena, there is widespread interest and concern about the environment amongst all types and age groups of people. The issues raised were both national and international in scope (Table 2). They were ranked by the team after placing them in context together with

**Box 13: Public Meetings Held During Scoping for the
St Helena Sustainable Environment and Development Strategy (SEDS)**

[This table accompanies Table 2]

1. Alarm Forest (the Briars) Community Meeting
2. Half Tree Hollow Community Meeting
3. Longwood Community Meeting
4. Kingshurst (St Pauls) Community Meeting
5. Levelwood Community Meeting
6. Blue Hill Community Meeting
7. Jamestown Community Meeting
8. Sandy Bay Community Meeting
9. Farmers Association
10. Smallholders
11. Fishermen's Association
12. Heritage Society
13. Church Group Meeting
14. Radio Phone In
15. SEDS Seminar

Table 2: Public Concerns About the Environment in St Helen

RANK/ISSUES RAISED	FORUM															TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1. GOVERNMENT CLOSED SHOP	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	-	-	*	10
2. Agricultural/Food Security	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	9
2. Research/Education	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	9
2. Soil Erosion	*	-	*	-	*	-	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	8
2. INTERNATIONAL POLLUTION	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	8
2. Apathy Amongst Populace	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	-	*	*	8
3. Water Shortage	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	7
3. Living Costs	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	7
3. TOO MANY CONSULTANTS	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	7
3. No Cash for Environment Work	*	-	-	*	*	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	7
4. UNEMPLOYMENT	*	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	6
4. INTERNATIONAL OVERFISHING	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	6
4. LACK OF CONTINUITY	*	-	-	*	*	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	6
5. Increased Water Cost	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	5
5. Cactoblastus Killing Opuntia	-	*	-	*	*	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	5
5. Organic Matter	*	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	5
6. Increase in No. of Pests	-	*	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	4
6. Local Pollution	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	4
6. Flax Mulch/Soil Conditioner	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	4
6. Land Use Strategy	*	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	4
7. Lack of Fishing Fleet	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
7. Recreational Facilities	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	3
7. 3 Day Labour	*	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
7. Natural Regeneration	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
7. Taxes, esp Land Tax	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	3
7. GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	3
8. Water Quality	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
8. Building Heritage	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	2
8. Nature Trails	-	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
8. Legislation	-	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
8. VIDEOS	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
8. Drought	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	2
9. Absentee Landowners	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
9. Road Condition	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
9. School Closure	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
9. Lack of Finance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	1
9. Removing Historical Remains	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	1
9. Spear Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
No. Present	7	13	8	16	11	7	7	9	6	14	6	4	3	5	15	131
Sex - male	2	7	3	11	7	3	2	6	5	12	6	1	3	3	10	81
- female	5	6	5	5	4	4	5	3	1	2	0	3	0	2	5	50
Age <30	0	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	17
30-60	6	7	7	10	8	2	4	5	5	9	6	2	1	4	14	90
60+	1	4	0	3	1	3	1	2	1	3	0	2	3	0	1	25

NB: Capitalised items are, or are influenced by, international affairs.

The fora listed above are detailed in Box 13.

information from the diversity of other methods used to assess islander's opinions and attitudes, e.g. questionnaires.

The Team's report indicates that:

"Almost everyone spoken to had one issue or another that concerned them which would directly or indirectly affect the relationship between man and nature" (Kew/IIED 1993).

The island's government was very enthusiastic about the opportunities presented by the strategy process since, at present, the future of the island's economy looks particularly difficult. But government officers commonly commented that the public was apathetic.

The team noted that the public appeared to be resigned to decisions always being taken on their behalf (often by expatriate officers or in London) - and therefore felt it pointless to become interest in development issues if they could not influence decisions. In fact, many islanders were only prepared to speak more openly to the team about their concerns when not in an open or public forum. It is notable that the main concern raised (Table 2) was that government was a "closed shop"; people did not feel they could "buy in". Perhaps because of this, the people of the island were very supportive of the idea of a strategy initiative as it offered an unusually participatory process.

Such a participatory strategy process on the island may, itself, help to build trust between government and the administration. As the report observes:

"The people clearly perceive a threat of over-bearing government. There is a feeling of 'them and us'. This factor, above all others, is symptomatic of the biggest obstacle confronting measures to promote partnerships for sustainable development on the island" (Kew/IIED 1993).

St Helena's government established a SEDS Response Committee to decide how to deal with the options for a strategy process outlined in the team's report. By late 1994, the Response Committee had decided to create a (government-based) Advisory Committee on Environmental Affairs (ACE) to coordinate the SEDS process, and had sought technical assistance and financial support from the UK Overseas Development Administration. The ACE has provision for some non-government representation, but mainly on an *ad hoc* basis. It remains to be seen how participatory the process will become, but initial indications are that despite an enthusiastic public response during the scoping phase, the government is intending to conduct the SEDS process essentially as an internal planning exercise. If this is the case, it seems likely that the people of St Helena may dissociate themselves from any active involvement and opportunities will be lost.

4.3 A Typology of Participation in National Strategies

Based on the above experiences of national strategies, and of further lessons in Carew-Reid *et al.* (1994) and Dalal-Clayton *et al.* (1994), we can propose a typology of participation in national policy-making and planning (Table 3). Similarities may be noted with the typology of how people participate in more local-level projects (shown earlier as Table 1). Both typologies apply to strategies, which are a mix of policy-making, planning and action on the ground. The type of participation that is appropriate will depend upon the particular strategy task, e.g. policy-making, implementation, monitoring.

At any level, the quality of participation has varied, and so has the degree to which it was planned and/or made use of professional participation skills. Assessment of the quality of participation is addressed at the end of Chapter Eight.

In addition, the key elements which appear to determine the degree of participation of any one group are:

- their interest/stake in the activity;
- their degree of control over decisions; and
- their powers to act, and to take effective responsibility.

For policy-making and planning, the "highest" level of participation which we have noted in strategies is level 5 of Table 3. Indeed, there is a discontinuity between levels 5 and 6. Participation in fundamental decision-making on the policy or strategy, i.e. level 6, is ultimately a function of the national decision-making processes, democratic or otherwise. Strategies have yet to change such processes. For the remainder of the 1990s, one of the most significant challenges for strategies is to deal with participation, and especially how to make the link between levels 1-5 and level 6.

Table 3: A Typology of Participation in Policy Processes and Planning

(Based on analysis of NCS, NEAP, TFAP, green plan and similar broad and strategic policy processes.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Participants listening only</i> - e.g. receiving information from a government PR campaign or open database. |
| 2 | <i>Participants listening and giving information</i> - e.g. through public inquiries, media activities, "hot-lines". |
| 3 | <i>Participants being consulted</i> - eg. through working groups and meetings held to discuss policy. |
| 4 | <i>Participation in analysis and agenda-setting</i> - e.g. through multistakeholder groups, round tables and commissions. |
| 5 | <i>Participation in reaching consensus on the main strategy elements</i> - e.g. through national round tables, parliamentary/select committees, and conflict mediation. |
| 6 | <i>Participants involved in decision-making on the policy, strategy or its components.</i> |

With each level, participation may be:

- *narrow* (few actors); or
- *broad* (covering all major groups as well as government)

Note that Pearce (1994) suggests that, in the transition to sustainability, participation in the policy process will go through various stages (Table 4). These stages combine elements of participation at local and national levels.

Table 4: A Possible Map of Transition to Sustainability

STAGE	POLICY	ECONOMY	SOCIETY	PARTICIPATION
One	Weakly integrated policy	Minor changes to economic instruments	Low awareness of sustainable development; little media coverage	Information-sharing; consultation; discussion groups; plus ...
Two	Formal policy integration; realistic targets	Major changes in micro-economic incentives	Wider public education, discussion	Stakeholder groups; roundtables; conflict mediation plus ...
Three	Binding policy integration; strong agreements	Full economic valuation; green accounts in business + nationally; green taxes, offsets	Local empowerment; integrated education; local initiatives	Fuller democratic representation in policy; community can take lead locally

Adapted from Pearce (1994).

CHAPTER SIX

INSTITUTIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

6.1 Challenges of Institutionalising Participation

To build participation into strategies will require an understanding of those structures/institutions and methodologies for participation which currently exist. Some of these are listed in Table 6.

In the absence or weakness of existing participatory structures, informal or one-off structures have sometimes been put together specially for a strategy, e.g. special committees; round tables to discuss specific common or cross-sectoral issues; core groups to take issues forward. This has been a very common approach, at least for the first iteration of a strategy. Indeed, the general experience of round tables has come very much from strategies.

Few of the methodologies listed in Table 6 have been well-known and used routinely in a country-level strategy. From experience in major local strategies, the early development of Participatory Learning and Action has been critical (this explains why there are so many variants of participatory methodologies established under different names for local circumstances).

Table 6: Structures/Institutions and Methodologies for Participation

Participation Structures/Institutions	Participation Methodologies
<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Planning system■ Traditional structures, e.g. village-based systems, religious systems■ Education/academic system■ Extension system■ Arts/theatre■ Media■ Political system	<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Participatory learning and action■ Resource surveys■ "Green" audits■ Planning methodologies, environmental impact assessment, etc.■ Consensus-building and negotiations■ Traditional methods, e.g. of conflict resolution■ Communications and information techniques, e.g. "phone-ins" and e-mail networks

Paradoxically, some of the most successful participatory environment and development projects and programmes have evolved in countries where the government has few structures, and little support, for public participation. New programmatic structures, well-suited to participation in local circumstances, have had to be developed *de novo*. Sharp (1992) cites Kenya, Pakistan and Indonesia as examples. He also notes that, in the 1970s and 1980s,

"the international development assistance community chose to turn a blind eye to the undemocratic nature of many governments in the South. One reason was that people's participation - and the development of indigenous institutions on which it depends - was in many countries conceivable only in the context of individual programmes or projects. Another was that independent groups embraced the idea of networking as a means of enabling people to participate in development planning and activities without being confined by the bureaucratic straitjacket of more formal institutions" (Sharp 1992).

It is only now, with the NSDS initiative and similar efforts, that the ability of governments to embrace institutionalised participation is being tested; in many countries, there are no precedents. The challenge is in scaling up the level of successful participation, which so far has often been on an informal or project basis.

The danger is that so many of these initiatives for broad-scale participation are being pushed from the outside, e.g. the decision of many aid-giving nations to make future development assistance (especially to Africa) conditional upon the recipient countries' progress to democracy. Who defines this democracy? What kinds of participatory structures will such conditionalities promote? Which groups in the country will be empowered by it ?

While sustainable development requires participatory processes, the imposition of unfamiliar forms - without the checks and balances necessary for cultural and economic reasons - is likely to be counterproductive and divisive. For example, the internationally-favoured multi-party system has, in Africa, resulted in splits along tribal lines. In contrast, single-party systems have helped to hold multi-ethnic nations together in early independence. Locally-defined forms of civil society are needed for sustainable development. As one observer has noted:

"it is necessary to strengthen civil society at all levels including peasants, workers and student movements, NGOs, professional associations, academic groups, etc." (Damiba 1991, quoted in Sharp 1992).

If participation has so many intrinsic merits, why is it so difficult to institutionalise it ? A number of key constraints were identified in a study of the Indian experience of Joint Forest Management (Box 14). Although local situations will differ, many of these constraints will be common elsewhere. They pertain mainly to current institutional and professional roles, attitudes, procedures and resources.

In conclusion, rarely will a totally bottom-up participatory approach to strategies - or a totally top-down non-participatory approach - be appropriate. The former has its advantages of ensuring local relevance and commitment; the latter has its advantages often of low immediate cost, expediency and strong vision (which can, in some narrow circumstances, be the most efficient approach). Over 60 years ago, John Stuart Mill noted that good governance needs to involve achieving balances between people's participation and efficiency (Mill 1931). In some circumstances, greater participation will itself lead to greater efficiency, such as in the achievement of soil conservation; in others, efficiency is better served by centralised processes and services, such as in electricity supply. So it is for strategies - the skill in managing a strategy is to reach the right balance: participation where appropriate, to the right degree and with the right groups; and a more centralised approach where appropriate. The broader institutional and societal requirements of sustainable development, however, suggest that the scale ought to be tipped strongly towards greater participation than at present.

6.2 Political Dilemmas: Participation, Empowerment and Democracy

"People already have the knowledge; what they must have are the **rights** over their local environments. This is the big problem in the world today. The vast majority of people have become passive observers, and a few people are taking decisions for everyone else. That is the prime reason why the environment... is being destroyed" (Agarwal and Narain 1991).

Hill (1992), in comparing the national environmental plans of Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK, shows that the dominant influence in the character and content of these plans

Box 14: Key Constraints to Participation: The Experience of Joint Forest Management, India

- *In the initial phases it requires considerable time and extra effort in development of human resources.* Generally, no extra incentives are provided to staff for the extra effort required. To introduce participation requires more financial resources and is costlier compared to conventional programmes in the initial phase. Most institutions and programmes feel constrained in making such investments, as they are currently evaluated primarily by the criteria of achievement of physical and financial targets.
- *Participation requires major reversals in the role of external professionals, from a "management" role to a facilitating one.* This requires changes in behaviour and attitudes, and can only be gradual. To do this will entail significant retraining for which, usually, inadequate resources are devoted.
- *Participation threatens conventional careers;* professionals feel a loss of power if they have to deal with local communities as equals and include them in decision-making. This discourages professionals from taking risks and developing collaborative relationships with communities.
- *Participation and institutional development are difficult to measure,* and require using quantitative and qualitative performance indicators together. Existing monitoring and evaluation systems cannot measure these well. Thus, physical and financial indicators, which are easier to measure, dominate performance evaluation and impact analysis.
- *Programmes tend to retain financial decision-making powers for themselves.* While many programmes initiated by external agencies tend to use participatory methods for planning, they do not make corresponding changes in resource allocation mechanisms to local institutions. This hampers the growth of local institutions and leads to poor sustainability of the programmes.
- *Participation is a long, drawn-out process and needs to be iterative in the initial period before being scaled up and replicated.* Most development programmes tend to blue-print the process of participation and institutional-building in the early phases, without enough experimentation and iteration. The institutional form thus evolved is ineffective.
- *Participation is also directly linked with equity, which threatens elites.* This political dilemma is addressed in section 6.2.

Source: Bass & Shah (1994)

was the national political culture, political structures and practices, and political will, and specifically the ways in which the government deals with the different stakeholder groups.

Several key political dilemmas are likely to face any significant increase in the degree of participation in strategies:

- the political dimensions of the great structural constraints and inequalities which face sustainable development (local, national and international power structures);
- whether participation is a complement to, or substitute for, political processes of democracy;
- ways of defining values and making societal choices, which are strategic tasks, but also overwhelmingly understood to be in the political domain; and
- the corollaries of empowerment and participation.

These are variously a function of which groups are pushing for participation; which groups are threatened by the professional and institutional changes required for a participatory approach; who perceives that they will be the winners, and who the losers, of a sustainable development strategy; and the existing politicisation of the issues dealt with by the strategy.

The drive for a greater degree of participation in national sustainable development strategies has come from:

- *development assistance agencies*, which have become frustrated with the lack of implementation of past plans; which are convinced - for rural development at least - of the practical benefits of participation generally; and which aim to further foreign policy aims of increasing democratisation;
- *strategy teams* (largely government professionals and administrators and their advisers), which have become aware that technical analyses of sustainable development issues cannot, by themselves, provide an adequate picture of needs; and which have similarly become frustrated with a lack of implementation of their "top-down" plans;
- *governments*, particularly of newly-independent countries, which are struggling with trying to replace policies and procedures set up by (colonial) authorities with those which are meaningful to the population; and those of ex-communist countries, which are aiming to replace centralised planning with approaches which motivate and sit well with people;
- *non-governmental and citizen's groups*, which are demanding a greater role in decision-making (generally, as well as for strategies); and, to an extent
- *the private sector*, which is identifying a number of opportunities for joint action in sustainable development projects.

Moreover, there are more general societal and foreign policy moves towards democracy and greater human rights which appear to call for participation. Given the confusion over different meanings of participation (as discussed in Chapter Two), it is not surprising that there is great confusion between participation as a populist political movement and the more functional aspects of participation as applied to a strategy, irrespective of politics. As Dala-Clayton *et al.* (1994) note, at an ambitious extreme, the long-term goal of an NSDS could be seen as creating an *alternative* national consensus through the NSDS process. Participation in such a strategy would clearly amount to a political process. It should be clear that the arguments for greater local-level empowerment, and the arguments for participation, have common roots and often the same protagonists, but they are not identical.

It is sometimes held that significant progress towards sustainable development can be achieved only in a democratic society, where stakeholders have reasonable opportunities to engage in planning and decision-making processes (Banuri and Holmberg 1992). However, this contention does not address the issue in its entirety. The answer to the question "is democracy necessary for a successful strategy?" really depends upon how democracy is defined. If it means building on the best and most representative systems for participation, then democracy is certainly needed. However, the answer is "no" if democracy means the supremacy of an individual's rights to produce and consume irrespective of the effects on others. It may also be "no" if the electoral cycle means politicians push short-term goals to win votes from individuals with strong aspirations to consume more resources, as opposed to doing what is sustainable in the long term:

"Current political incentives are such that politicians have to be more concerned with generating policies that secure the short-term goal of re-election, rather than tackling the inevitably fraught

transition towards more sustainable development. Ironically, it is probably democracy itself that is the greatest political barrier to a truly sustainable future" (Pearce 1994).

It is clear that the politics of democracy needs to be supplemented by longer-range participatory structures, such as local authorities, interest groups, traditional associations, etc.

Many would argue that more radical change is necessary for sustainable development, because of the prevalent inequality in distribution of resources and in the costs and benefits of their use, and because of entrenched behaviour patterns (at least in the rich North) which threaten social/environment balances. This need for radical change does not necessarily have anything to do with democracy. Indeed, democracy has tended to lead to a slow incrementalism, and is not particularly good at introducing radical change. Furthermore, the *market* has not yet offered a strong mechanism for sustainable development. Alternative means of participation - based on new professionalism, voluntary approaches, participatory methodologies and supportive institutions are required, at least as a strong complement to political processes. These can be instituted irrespective of political positions (Dalal-Clayton *et al.* 1994).

Party politics, as a relatively narrow value system, should not therefore provide the main forum for strategy formulation. Party politics tends to polarise the issues: sustainable development, in contrast, may be more easily negotiated with a committed "middle ground" of interest groups.

6.2.1 The legal basis for participation:

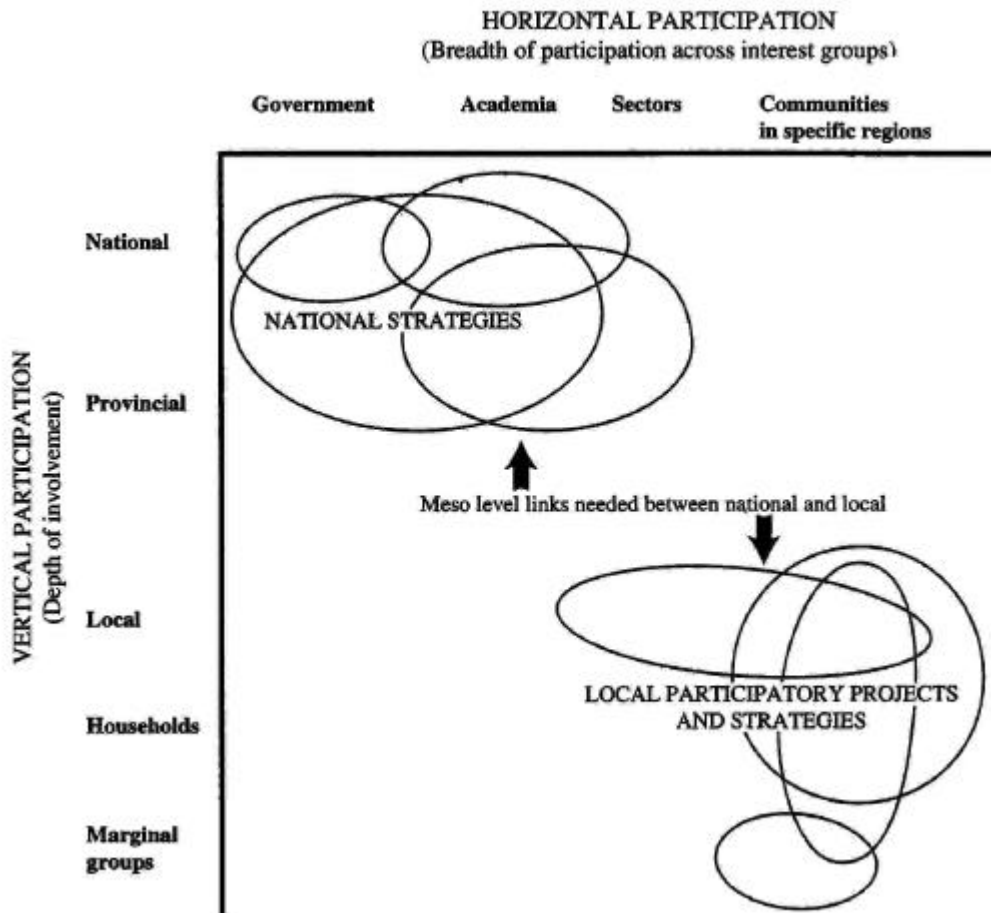
Participation of the public rests upon the principles of free speech, and rights to a healthy environment and secure livelihood. A clear legal framework is needed within which to exercise such rights. It tends to be more fully developed within the urban and rural planning systems of most countries, and in certain EIA legislation. Specifically, the legal framework needs to sanction: public access to information held by public authorities; participation in decision-making processes; and involvement in judicial and administrative review. Such sanctions, if they are to be more than symbolic, require backing up by effective procedures, notably the requirement of due notice of impending decisions and channels to object and make appeals. Successful strategies tend to have developed *ad hoc* procedures where legislative procedures are absent or not fully exercised (Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, 1994).

6.3 Linking National Strategy Experience with Local Participation Experience: the Importance of Middle-Level Institutions

Figure 4 shows a conceptual "participation map". This traces the possible extent of both "horizontal" participation and "vertical" participation.

"Horizontal participation" refers to the interactions that are needed across sectoral interest groups, government ministries, and communities in different parts of the country, to ensure that issues, priorities and impacts, etc., are considered and dealt with across sectors or between areas, and

Figure 4: A "Map" of National and Local Participation Experience



that partnerships form where joint action is needed.

"Vertical participation" is required to deal with impacts that are experienced further down the "hierarchy" from national to highly local levels, or from leaders right down to marginalised groups (such as impacts of policy). It is also required to cover the cumulative effects of impacts that are experienced further up the "hierarchy" (such as the cumulative impacts of soil erosion, or CO₂ emissions). The deeper the vertical participation within a given institution or nation, the better internalised the understanding and support for the strategy is likely to be. Similarly, there is a need to establish links between local and national strategies.

Examining recent national strategies, we find that any participation in which they have engaged tends to have concentrated in the top left corner of the "participation map" (Figure 4) - with extensive government and academic contributions at national level. Much multi-disciplinary analysis has been undertaken, and policies have been changed - often extensively, at least on paper. In almost all past strategies, there was relatively little participation initially. However, participation comes across as a strong recommendation for detailed (local) strategy planning, implementation and monitoring. Although there have been some improvements to national-level government institutions and some regulatory instruments have been introduced, there has generally been little impact so far on the ground. There appear to be many local blocks to implementation.

In contrast, examining local participatory approaches, there is ample evidence of considerable involvement of communities and sectoral interests at very local levels - resulting sometimes in impressive work on the ground, with much generation of local information and some localised institutional change. Of these approaches, particular progress has been made in:

- joint community/business/local government initiatives in urban or peri-urban areas, often catalysed by local governments and NGOs, e.g. Groundwork UK, Local Agenda 21s in Australian and UK local authorities;
- buffer zones (economic support zones) around national parks, with joint government/community planning and action. There are many well-documented examples, e.g. in India, Nepal and Zimbabwe (IIED 1994) and many Man and Biosphere Reserves worldwide;
- extensive rural development projects based upon social organisation and/or environmental protection, often at watershed and river basin level, again catalysed and/or managed by NGOs (see sections 4.1 and 7.3).

Although most did not start as "local strategies", many of these successful local projects have had to evolve strategic approaches to thrive - linking with national policy and institutional initiatives, etc.

In spite of individual successes, the problem of "scaling up" such local participatory initiatives remains plagued by policy and institutional inertia (Dala-Clayton & Dent 1993). Often, "successful" local projects have been identified by the policy actors (or by academics who inform them) with little more than anecdotal evidence, and these are then replicated in other areas, frequently without success. This is because the precise policy, institutional and physical conditions, surrounding "successful" local activities, need to be identified and assured before replication is possible.

In other instances, government structures cannot deal with participation. It may then be necessary for government departments to sort out their own differences - using interdisciplinary approaches - before embarking on full-scale participation. In the UK, this approach appears to have dominated the 1993 NSDS - different wings of government felt the need to get together to sort things out first, and only limited consultation outside government could be countenanced. In Australia, the very different approaches of federal, state and municipal strategies necessitated a legal Intergovernmental

Agreement on the Environment to ensure consistency between them; this has had the effect of putting the federal strategy in the ascendancy.

A number of approaches have managed to make the leap from participation at local level to national level. For example, Gestion de Terroir, in the Sahel, has always addressed the administrative and legal constraints to very local resource management, and gradually builds up a larger, national-level picture. The success of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Northern Pakistan has led to a major government-led National Rural Support Programme (Toulmin 1993). AKRSP staff played key roles in the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy, which may have been significant.

In general, however, we know that the genesis and implementation of national strategies and local participatory efforts have tended to be very separate. Furthermore, we suspect that there have been few efforts to unite them, to their mutual advantage. Key to doing this in future will be: (a) building on existing participatory structures, methodologies and projects, including successful informal approaches; and (b) capacity-building for participation.

(a) ***Building on existing participatory structures, methodologies and projects.*** This will require a conscious effort by national strategy coordinators to improve top-down to bottom-up linkages. The choice may well be from amongst:

actors and structures which can explore possible national-local linkages, for example:

- NGOs and local authorities;
- traditional structures;
- specially-formed committees and round tables; and
- major sustainable development projects.

methodologies for making national-local linkages, for example:

- participatory learning and action;
- voluntary agreements; and
- joint management.

(b) ***Capacity-building for participation.*** At the policy level, capacity is needed to deal with the rich insights and information coming from local participatory approaches, to devolve appropriate power to participating partners, and to monitor the impacts. At the local level, capacity is needed to take up the challenges that newer policies offer. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that it is at the "meso" level - the province, municipality or other middle administrative level where capacity-building can reap most benefits. At this level, there is much potential to link top levels (where policy is "set") and bottom levels (where policy is implemented, and from which policy-relevant information is required) (Table 7).

Table 7: Examples of Institutional Channels and Roles for Decision-Making and Action, by Sector and Level

LEVELS	SECTORS		
	Governmental/Quasi-Governmental	Voluntary/Collective Action	Private/Quasi-Private
International	Bilateral and multilateral donor agencies	Society for International Development	Multinational corporations; external NGOs
National ministries	Central government ministries; parastatal corporations	National cooperative federation	National corporations; national NGOs
Regional	Regional administrative bodies; regional development authorities	Regional cooperative federation; watershed consultative assembly	Regional companies; regional NGOs
District	District council; district administrative offices	District supply cooperative; soil conservation; educational forum	District firms; charitable organizations
Sub-District	Sub-district council; sub-district administrative offices	Sub-district marketing cooperative	Rural enterprises; private hospital
Locality	Division council; health clinic; secondary school; extension office	Wholesale cooperative society; forest protection association	Businesses in market town; service clubs
Community	Village council; post office; primary school; extension worker	Primary cooperative society; village dyke patrol; parent-teachers association	Village shops; mosque; committee for village welfare
Group	Caste; panchayat; ward or neighbourhood assembly	Tubewell users' association; mothers' club; savings group	Microenterprises
Household/Individual	Citizen; voter; taxpayer; partaker of services	Member	Customer; client; beneficiary

Source: Uphoff (1992a)

6.4 New Approaches to Learning and Professionalism

"No-one learns who claims to know already in advance" (Rahnema 1992).

In recent years, a new world view for sustainable development has begun to emerge. The science-based "transfer of technology" approach which had served development for many years increasingly is being recognised to fit poorly with many of the conditions and needs of complex and diverse resource use and management. In the "transfer of technology" paradigm, research and planning decisions are made by scientists. Technology is developed on research stations and in laboratories, and then handed over to other departments to pass on to people. In the alternative paradigm, people's needs and priorities are put first, and people participate in planning and implementation. When this is done, the potential of the resource-poor becomes greater than previously supposed. But achieving true participation requires changes which are personal, professional, institutional, and policy-related.

The concern for sustainable development has emerged both from a recognition of the failures of current approaches and from advances in other domains. Sustainable development presents a deeper and more fundamental challenge than many researchers, extensionists and policy makers have yet supposed. It needs more than new technologies and practices. It needs professionals willing and able to learn from resource users and other stakeholders; it needs supportive external institutions; it needs local groups and institutions capable of managing resources effectively; and above all it needs policies that support these features. It also requires we look closely at the very nature of the way we conceptualise sustainability and how it might be achieved (Pretty 1994, 1995).

Since the early 17th century, scientific investigation has come to be dominated by the Cartesian paradigm, commonly called positivism or rationalism. This posits that there exists an objective external reality driven by immutable laws. Science seeks to discover the true nature of this reality, the ultimate aim being to discover, predict and control natural phenomena. Investigators proceed in the belief that they are detached from the world. The process of reductionism involves breaking down components of a complex world into discrete parts, analysing them, and then making predictions about the world based on interpretations of these parts. Knowledge about the world is then summarised in the form of universal, or time- and context-free, generalisations or laws.

This methodology of science has been hugely successful, producing technologies and medicines that have enabled many people to live safer and more comfortable lives than ever before (Funtowicz and Ravetz 1993). It is an approach that clearly works, and as a consequence, investigation with a high degree of control over the system being studied and where system uncertainties are low has become equated with good science. And such, science is readily equated with 'true' knowledge, and so the 'only proper way' of thinking and doing.

One problem with the positivist paradigm is that its absolutist position appears to exclude other methodologies. Yet the important point about positivism is that it is just one of many ways of describing and analysing the world, and what is needed is pluralistic ways of thinking about the world and acting to change it (Kuhn 1970; Feyerabend 1975; Vickers 1981; Checkland 1981; Reason and Heron 1986; Habermas 1987; Giddens 1987; Maturana and Varela 1987; Rorty 1989; Bawden 1991; Uphoff 1992; Wynne 1992; Chambers 1993; Funtowicz and Ravetz 1993; Röling 1994). Recent years have seen the emergence of a remarkable number of advances in a wide range of disciplines and fields of investigation. The sources include the so-called 'harder' sciences, such as physics, biology, chemistry, meteorology and mathematics, as well as the 'softer' sciences of philosophy, economics, sociology, architecture and organisational management.

Nonetheless, those arguing for the seriousness and importance of developing additions to positivism are still in the minority. Many scientists continue to argue strongly that information is first produced by science, and only then interpreted and applied by the public and policy makers. It is this process of interpretation that is said to introduce values and confuse certainties. Yet the results from any

investigation are always going to be open to different interpretations. All actors and stakeholders, and particularly those with a direct social or economic involvement and interest, have different perspectives on what constitutes a problem and/or improvement.

These advances in alternative paradigms have important implications for how we go about finding out about the world, generating information and so taking action. All hold that:

"the 'truth' is ultimately a kind of mirage that in principle cannot be achieved because the worlds we know are those crafted by us" (Eisner 1990, p89).

All suggest that we need to reform the way we think about methodologies for finding out about the world. Although these alternatives are emerging from a wide range of disciplines, there are five principles that differentiate them from positivist science (Pretty 1994).

The first is that any attempt precisely to define concepts like sustainability are fundamentally flawed. It is a contested concept, and so represents neither a fixed set of practices or technologies, nor a model to describe or impose on the world. The question of defining what we are trying to achieve is part of the problem, as each individual has different values.

The second is that problems are always open to interpretation. All actors have uniquely different perspectives on what is a problem and what constitutes improvement. As knowledge and understanding are socially constructed, what each of us knows and believes is a function of our own unique contexts and pasts. There is, therefore, no single 'correct' understanding. What we take to be true depends on the framework of knowledge and assumptions we bring with us. Thus, it is essential to seek multiple perspectives on a problem situation by ensuring the wide involvement of different actors and groups.

The third is that the resolution of one problem inevitably leads to another 'problem-situation', as problems are endemic. The reflex of positivist science is to seek to collect sufficient data before declaring certainty about an issue or problem. As this position is believed to reflect the 'real world', then courses of action can become fixed and actors no longer seek information that might give another interpretation. Yet in a complex and changing world, there will always be uncertainties and new interpretations.

The fourth is that the key feature now becomes the capacity of actors (professionals, resource users and the public) continually to learn about these changing conditions, so that they can act quickly to transform existing activities. All should make uncertainties explicit and encourage rather than obstruct wider public debates about pursuing new paths for development. The world is open to multiple interpretations, and so it is impossible to say which one is true.

The fifth is that systems of learning and action are needed to seek the multiple perspectives of the various interested parties and encourage their greater involvement. The view that there is only one epistemology (that is, the scientific one) has to be rejected. Participation is an essential component of any system of learning, as any change cannot be effected without the full involvement of all stakeholders and the adequate representation of their views and perspectives.

As Sriskandarajah *et al.* (1991, p4) put it:

"ways of researching need to be developed that combine 'finding out' about complex and dynamic situations with 'taking action' to improve them, in such a way that the actors and beneficiaries of the 'action research' are intimately involved as participants in the whole process".

These themes underpin, and resonate with, sustainable development and participatory approaches. In practical terms, the components of this new paradigm imply a new professionalism, new institutional

settings, and new ways of formulating policies (Box 15). Typically, normal professionals are single-disciplinary, work largely in ways remote from people, are insensitive to diversity of context, and are concerned with themselves generating and transferring technologies. Their beliefs about people's conditions and priorities often differ from people's own views. The

**Box 15: A New Paradigm for Sustainable Development ?
Towards New Professionalism, Institutional Settings and Ways of Policy-Forming**

As Bawden (1991) has put it:

"The language of reductionism and positivism does not entertain the very complex and dynamic phenomena associated with the quest for sustainable practices".

The central concept of this emerging new paradigm enshrines new ways of learning about the world. Teaching and learning, though, are not the same thing. Learning does not necessarily result from teaching. Teaching implies the transfer of knowledge from someone who knows to someone who does not know. Teaching is the normal mode of curricula, it underpins the transfer of technology model of research and extension, and is also central to many organisational structures (Ison 1990; Pretty & Chambers 1993).

But teaching itself can impede learning. Gibbs (1981, in Ison 1990) has put it that the:

"preoccupation with teaching has ... actually constrained the effectiveness of higher education and limited its abilities to meet society's demands ... We might say that we are now beginning to perceive that the purpose of education is learning. And we are beginning to realise that frequently teaching interferes with learning".

Professionals who are to work with local complexity, diversity and uncertainty need to engage in sensitive learning about the particular conditions of rapid change. Such professionals must be able to let go of certain ideas and adopt new ones, as the situation and they themselves change. Where teaching does not include a focus on self-development and enhancing the ability to learn, it threatens sustainable development (Ison 1990). Successful use of participatory methods is conditional on the quality of facilitation and the openness of the individuals involved.

A move from a teaching to a learning style has profound implications. The focus is then less on *what* we learn, and more on *how* we learn and *with whom*. Institutions will need to provide creative learning environments, conditions in which learning can take place through experience, through open and equal interactions, and through personal exploration and experimentation.

Participatory approaches and methods have implied new roles for development professionals (see Table 8)

new professionals, by contrast, make explicit their underlying values, select methodologies to suit needs, are more multidisciplinary and work closely with other disciplines, and are not intimidated by the complexities and uncertainties of dialogue and action with a wide range of non-scientific people (Pretty and Chambers 1993).

But it would be wrong to characterise this as a simple polarisation between old and new professionalism, implying in some way the bad and the good. In reality, almost every individual or groups operates somewhere between the extremes (Table 8). It is clearly time to add to the paradigm of positivism for science, and embrace the new alternatives. This will not be easy. Professionals will need to be able to select appropriate methodologies for particular tasks (Funtowicz and Ravetz 1993). Where the problem situation is well defined, system uncertainties are low, and decision stakes are low, then positivist and reductionist science will work well. But where the problems are poorly defined and there are great uncertainties potentially involving many actors and interests, then the methodology will have to comprise these alternative methods of learning. Many existing professionals will resist such paradigm changes, as they will see this as a deprofessionalisation of research. But Hart (1992, p19) has put it differently:

"as a 're-professionalisation', with new roles for the researcher as a democratic participant".

6.5 The Methodology of Participatory Learning and Action

"Scientific" approaches to information gathering, analysis and monitoring are prevalent. When it comes to social issues and determining opinions, "extractive" techniques such as questionnaires dominate. The latter are useful because large numbers of people can be surveyed, and statistical techniques can be used to determine the reliability of the results. However, they are weak at enabling us to learn of local complexities: many of the contextual grounds for understanding are systematically removed or ignored; there are often tacit assumptions that the interviewee, interviewer and questionnaire designer hold the same values; and cultural reasons affect the types of response. Multiple perspectives - so essential for sustainable development - are lost. Gill (1993) has captured a real problem with interview and questionnaire approaches:

"The stranger then produces a little board, and clipped to it, a wad of paper covered in what to the respondent are unintelligible hieroglyphics. He then proceeds to ask questions and write down answers - more hieroglyphics. The respondent has no idea of what is being written down, whether his or her words have been understood or interpreted correctly... The interview complete, the enumerator departs and is probably never seen again".

However, there are alternatives to questionnaires and other extractive approaches that are gaining some credibility because they are concerned with interactive participation as well as data collecting. The ground assumptions that underpin participatory learning and action are completely different to those for conventional surveys.

In recent years, there has been a blossoming of participatory approaches in government and non-government research, extension and planning institutions (Table 9). Some focus more on problem diagnosis (e.g. AEA, DRR, RAP, ROA, RRA and GRAAP). Others are more oriented to community empowerment (e.g. DELTA, PAR and TFD). Some concentrate more on facilitating on-farm or resource user-led research (e.g. FPR and FSR). Others are approaches designed to get professionals in the field listening to resource users (e.g. SB). Some have been developed in the health context (e.g. RAP); some for watershed development (e.g. PALM); and some for food security assessment (e.g. RFSA). Some have been developed in government extension institutions (e.g. RCA); and others in NGOs (e.g. PRAP).

Table 8: Towards a New Professionalism for Sustainable Development

Elements	Components of the new professionalism
<i>Assumptions about reality</i>	The assumption is that realities are socially constructed, and so participatory methodologies are required to relate these many and varied perspectives one to another.
<i>Underlying values</i>	Underlying values are not presupposed, but are made explicit; old dichotomies of facts and values, and knowledge and ignorance, are transcended.
<i>Scientific method(s)</i>	The many scientific methods are accepted as complementary; with reductionist science for well-defined problems and when system uncertainties are low; and holistic and constructivist science when problem situations are complex and uncertain.
<i>Who sets priorities and whose criteria count?</i>	A wide range of stakeholders and professionals set priorities together; local people's criteria and perceptions are emphasised.
<i>Context of researching process</i>	Investigators accept that they do not know where research will lead; it has to be an open-ended learning process; historical and spatial context of inquiry is fundamentally important.
<i>Relationship between actors and groups in the process</i>	Professionals shift from controlling to enabling mode; they attempt to build trust through joint analyses and negotiation; understanding arises through this interaction, resulting in deeper relationships between investigator(s), the 'objects' of research, and the wider communities of interest.
<i>Mode of professional working</i>	More multidisciplinary than single disciplinary when problems difficult to define; so attention is needed on the interactions between members of groups working together.
<i>Institutional involvement</i>	No longer just scientific or higher-level institutions involved; process inevitably comprises a broad range of societal and cultural institutions and movements at all levels.
<i>Quality assurance and evaluation</i>	There are no simple, objective criteria for quality assurance: criteria for trustworthiness replace internal validity, external validity, objectivity, and reliability when methods is non-reductionist; evaluation is no longer by professionals or scientists alone, but by a wide range of affected and interested parties (the extended peer community).

Source: Pretty (1995), adapted from Pretty and Chambers (1993)

**Table 9: A Selection of Participatory Approaches and Methodologies
of the 1980s-1990s**

(in alphabetical order)

■ AEA	Agro-Ecosystems Analysis
■ BA	Beneficiary Assessment
■ DELTA	Development Education Leadership Teams
■ D&D	Diagnosis and Design
■ DRR	Diagnostico Rural Rapido
■ FPR	Farmer Participatory Research
■ FSR	Farming Systems Research
■ GRAAP	Groupe de Recherche et d'Appui pour l'Auto-Promotion Paysanne
■ MARP	Methode Accelere de Recherche Participative
■ PALM	Participatory Analysis and Learning Methods
■ PAR	Participatory Action Research
■ PD	Process Documentation
■ PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
■ PRAP	Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning
■ PRM	Participatory Research Methods
■ PTD	Participatory Technology Development
■ RA	Rapid Appraisal
■ RAAKS	Rapid Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge Systems
■ RAP	Rapid Assessment Procedures
■ RAT	Rapid Assessment Techniques
■ RCA	Rapid Catchment Analysis
■ REA	Rapid Ethnographic Assessment
■ REFLECT	Regenerated Freiréan Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques
■ RFSA	Rapid Food Security Assessment
■ RMA	Rapid Multi-perspective Appraisal
■ ROA	Rapid Organisational Assessment
■ RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
■ SB	Samuhik Brahman (Joint trek)
■ SSM	Soft Systems Methodology
■ TFD	Theatre for Development
■ TFT	Training for Transformation

Source: Pretty (1995)

This diversity of names, applications and "owners" is a sign of strength. It implies that each variation is to some extent dependent on location-specific contexts and problem situations. It is notable, however, that most of these inquiry approaches have developed at local level, often within the context of rural development, rather than at national level for planning and decision-making.

These new approaches and methods imply shifts of initiative, responsibility and action downwards in hierarchies, and especially "down" to local people themselves. Earlier investigations which were extractive, with researchers collecting data and taking it away for processing, are superseded by investigation and analysis more by local people, who share their knowledge and insights with outsiders. Methods such as participatory mapping, analysis of aerial photographs, matrix scoring and ranking, flow and linkage diagramming, seasonal analysis, and trend diagramming are not just means for local people to inform outsiders. Rather, they are methods for local people to undertake their own

analysis, conducting, in effect, their own research (Chambers 1992c). Local people using these methods have shown a greater capacity to observe, create diagrams and undertake analyses than most outsiders have expected, and are also proving good facilitators for others. Participatory approaches and methods have proved increasingly popular and powerful. They are spreading and taking different forms in different places.

Even though there are great differences between these approaches, a series of common principles underpin most of them (Box 16).

Box 16: Principles of Participatory Learning and Action

- *A Defined Methodology and Systemic Learning Process* - the focus is on cumulative learning by all the participants and, given the nature of these approaches as systems of inquiry and interaction, their use has to be participative. The emphasis on visualisations democratises and deepens analysis.
- *Multiple Perspectives* - a central objective is to seek diversity, rather than characterise complexity in terms of average values. The assumption is that different individuals and groups make different evaluations of situations, which lead to different actions. All views of activity or purpose are heavy with interpretation, bias and prejudice, and this implies that there are multiple possible descriptions of any real-world activity.
- *Group Learning Process* - all involve the recognition that the complexity of the world will only be revealed through group inquiry and interaction. This implies three possible mixes of investigators, namely those from different disciplines, from different sectors, and from outsiders (professionals) and insiders (local people).
- *Context Specific* - the approaches are flexible enough to be adapted to suit each new set of conditions and actors, and so there are multiple variants.
- *Facilitating Experts and Stakeholders* - the methodology is concerned with the transformation of existing activities to try to bring about changes which people in the situation regard as improvements. The role of the 'expert' is best thought of as helping people in their situation carry out their own study and so achieve something.
- *Leading to Sustained Action* - the learning process leads to debate about change, and debate changes the perceptions of the actors and their readiness to contemplate action. Action is agreed, and implementable changes will therefore represent an accommodation between the different conflicting views. The debate and/or analysis both defines changes which would bring about improvement and seeks to motivate people to take action to implement the defined changes. This action includes local institution building or strengthening, so increasing the capacity of people to initiate action on their own.

Source: Pretty (1994, 1995).

6.5.1 The Methods for Participatory Learning and Action

In recent years, the creative ingenuity of practitioners worldwide has increased the range of participatory methods in use. Many existed in other contexts, or were borrowed and adapted. Others are innovations arising out of situations where practitioners have applied the methods in a new context - the context and people themselves giving rise to the new approach. Sometimes innovation has been inadvertent. One of the main strengths of participatory inquiry has been the emphasis on diagramming and visual sharing: social mapping, for example, which involves mapping of households according to characteristics of household members, was invented by investigators of an NGO in India concerned with health issues. They had heard simply that rural people could be encouraged to map their own village if the outsiders were sufficiently sensitive, and so logically assumed that the same could be done for the health status of household members. Only later did they discover that this was a new use for an old method.

The methods fall into four groups, namely those for group and team dynamics, for sampling, for interviewing and dialogue, and for visualisation and diagramming (Table 10). Although developed mainly for local use, all are in principle relevant for sustainable development strategies. Indeed, a few have been used at local level in some strategies, such as in the Nepal National Conservation Strategy, in the Cross River State Forest Strategy in Nigeria (see section 4.2.2 and Box 12), and in the St Helena Sustainable Environmental and Development Strategy (see section 4.2.3). Their use was absolutely critical in developing the more successful schemes of Joint Forest Management in India. Details of how to use these methods in the field are provided in Pretty *et al.* (1993a) and on how to train in these methods by Pretty *et al.* (1993b).

Table 10: Methods for Participatory Learning and Action

Group and Team Dynamics	Sampling	Interviewing and Dialogue	Visualisation and Diagramming
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Team contracts ■ Team reviews and discussions ■ Interview guides and checklists ■ Rapid report writing ■ Energisers ■ Work sharing (taking part in local activities) ■ Villager and shared presentations ■ Process notes and personal diaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Transect walks ■ Wealth ranking and well-being ranking ■ Social maps ■ Interview maps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Semi-structured interviewing ■ Direct observation ■ Focus groups ■ Key informants ■ Ethnohistories and biographies ■ Oral histories ■ Local stories, portraits and case studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Mapping and modelling ■ Social maps and wealth rankings ■ Transects ■ Mobility maps ■ Seasonal calendars ■ Daily routines and activity profiles ■ Historical profiles ■ Trend analyses and time lines ■ Matrix scoring ■ Preference or pairwise ranking ■ Venn diagrams ■ Network diagrams ■ Systems diagrams ■ Flow diagrams ■ Pie diagrams

6.5.2 *Criteria for Trustworthiness*

It is common for users who have presented findings arising from the use of participatory methods to be asked a question along the lines of "but how does it compare with the real data?" (see Gill 1991, p5). It is commonly asserted that participatory methods constitute inquiry that is undisciplined and sloppy. It is said to involve only subjective observations and so reflect just selected members of communities. Terms like informal and qualitative are used to imply poorer quality or second-rate work. Rigour and accuracy are assumed, therefore, to be in contradiction with participatory methods.

This means that it is the investigators relying on participatory methods who are called upon to prove the utility of their approach, not the conventional investigator. Conventional research uses four criteria in order to persuade their audiences that the findings of an inquiry can be trusted (see Lincoln and Guba 1985; Guba and Lincoln 1989; Pretty 1995). How can we be confident about the 'truth' of the findings (internal validity)? Can we apply these findings to other contexts or with other groups of people (external validity)? Would the findings be repeated if the inquiry were replicated with the same (or similar) subjects in the same or similar context (reliability)? How can we be certain that the findings have been determined by the subjects and context of the inquiry, rather than the biases, motivations and perspectives of the investigators (objectivity)? These four criteria, though, are dependent for their meaning on the core assumptions of the conventional research paradigm (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Kirk and Miller 1986; Cook and Campbell 1979).

Trustworthiness criteria were first developed by Guba (1981) to judge whether or not any given inquiry was methodologically sound. Four alternative, but parallel, criteria were developed: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. But these "had their foundation in concerns indigenous to the conventional, or positivist, paradigm" (Lincoln 1990, p71). To distinguish between elements of inquiry that were not derived from the conventional paradigm, further 'authenticity' criteria have been suggested to help in judging the impact of the process of inquiry on the people involved (Lincoln 1990). Have people been changed by the process? Have they a heightened sense of their own constructed realities? Do they have an increased awareness and appreciation of the constructions of other stakeholders? To what extent did the investigation prompt action?

Drawing on these, and other suggestions for 'goodness' criteria (Marshall 1990; Smith 1990), a framework of twelve criteria for establishing trustworthiness have been identified (Pretty 1994) (Box 17).

There have been several occasions in recent years where comparisons have been made between questionnaire surveys and applications of participatory inquiry. In some cases, such as in Botswana, Kenya, Senegal and Nepal, both gave fairly similar results, though the conventional surveys took much longer to conduct and to analyse the results (Rocheleau *et al.* 1989; Franzel & Crawford 1987; Gill 1991; Adhikary *et al.* 1990). The conventional surveys were therefore both more costly and less timely. In others, such as in Nepal, India and Sierra Leone, the participatory methods clearly produced findings that were more trustworthy than those from the questionnaire (Inglis 1990; Devavaram 1992) (Box 18).

Box 17: Criteria for Establishing the Trustworthiness of Participatory Processes

- 1. Prolonged and/or Intense Engagement Between the Various Actors.** For building trust and rapport, learning the particulars of the context, and keeping the investigator(s) open to multiple influences. Trust takes a long time to build, but can be destroyed overnight. It is increased by confirming that participants will have an input into, and so influence, the learning process.
- 2. Persistent and Critical Observation.** For understanding both a phenomenon and its context. Observation increases the depth of understanding and breadth of realities encountered.
- 3. Parallel Investigations and Team Communications.** If sub-groups of the same team proceed with investigations in parallel using the same methodology, and come up with the same or similar findings, then these findings are trustworthy. This requires regular formal meetings and agreed group norms of behaviour.
- 4. Triangulation by Multiple Sources, Methods and Investigators.** For cross-checking information and increasing the range of peoples' realities encountered, including multiple copies of one type of source or different copies of the same information; comparing the results from a range of methods; and having teams with a diversity of personal, professional and disciplinary backgrounds.
- 5. Analysis and Expression of Difference.** For ensuring that a wide range of different actors are involved in the analysis, and that their perspectives are accurately represented. These perspectives will not be resolved to a single consensus position.
- 6. Negative Case Analysis.** For sequential revision of hypotheses as insight grows, so as to revise until one set of hypotheses accounts for all known cases.
- 7. Participant Checking.** For testing the data, interpretations and conclusions with people with whom the original information was constructed and analysed. Participants have the opportunity to investigate discrepancies and challenge findings, to volunteer additional information, and to hear a summary of what investigators have learned and constructed. Without participant checks, investigators can make no claims that they are representing participants' views.
- 8. Peer or Colleague Checking.** Periodical reviews with peers or colleagues not directly involved in the learning process, so as to expose investigators to searching questions.
- 9. Reports with Working Hypotheses, Contextual Descriptions and Visualisations.** These are 'thick' descriptions of complex reality, with working hypotheses, visualisations and quotations capturing peoples' personal perspectives and experiences.
- 10. Reflexive Journals.** These are diaries individuals keep on a daily basis to record a variety of information about themselves and sequential changes in methodology.
- 11. Inquiry Audit.** The team should be able to provide sufficient information for a disinterested person to examine the processes and product in such a way as to confirm that the findings are not figments of their imaginations.
- 12. Impact on Stakeholders' Capacity to Know and Act.** For demonstrating that the investigation has had an impact, including participants having a heightened sense of their own realities, as well as an increased appreciation of those of other people. The report could also prompt action on the part of readers who have not been directly involved.

Source: Pretty (1994)

Box 18: Fuelwood Surveys in Sierra Leone: A Comparison of Two Types of Survey

A team of four investigators used a variety of Rapid Rural Appraisal methods to investigate fuelwood marketing and trading issues in eight towns and villages around Freetown, Sierra Leone. The fuelwood production project of the multilateral agency had already conducted a questionnaire survey in the same area. The questionnaire contained 278 questions and, because of the amount of information generated, the final analysis and report took almost two years to complete. By contrast, the multidisciplinary team presented their results to the project four days after the final location had been visited.

It is not possible in principle to say from the data alone which survey was more accurate. However, the contextual information available to the inquiry team puts in doubt much of the formal survey data. In Tombo, for example, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, the questionnaire surveys indicated that 11% of people (1100) were wood traders. Through purposive sampling, the RRA team found 5 large traders and between 10-20 small traders. In Fogbo, the questionnaire suggested that 73% of households collected fuelwood on the edge of the town; the RRA team visited the area of bush fallow, and saw that it could not possibly support this level of collection. In Moyeimi, respondents to the questionnaire indicated that *Lophira* was the most preferred wood, yet in the use of preference ranking method in the RRA, it is not mentioned by a single respondent - all preferred Black Tumbala. In Sango, the questionnaire survey indicated that 75% of the population were buyers of wood, yet no one was a seller; the RRA team discovered an elaborate network of buyers and sellers.

Source: Inglis (1990, 1991).

6.6 Consensus-building, Negotiations and Conflict Resolution

"What we often perceive as Man's power over nature turns out, in practice, to be a power exercised by some Men over other Men, with Nature as its instrument" (C.S. Lewis).

Consensus:

This means general agreement - a condition in which all participants can live with the result, although not all (and maybe none) of them may embrace it with great enthusiasm. Consensus does not mean wholehearted agreement or unanimity: differing views, values, and perspectives are a fact of life. Nor does consensus mean majority agreement, whereby minority concerns are effectively excluded.

A strategy with a broad base of support requires consensus among all participants. Consensus needs to be built on objectives, principles, issues, priorities, policies and actions. Consensus can be a particularly valuable basis of agreement for strategies, because no participant can be outvoted. All participants are therefore obliged to do their best to accommodate each other's interests, to compromise, to reach agreement where possible, and to identify issues remaining contentious to be resolved later.

The strategy process needs to produce, early on, guidelines on how much consensus is needed or achievable, and what to do when an impasse is reached. In British Columbia, Canada, for example, where a provincial land use strategy is being negotiated by a large number of interests, issues on which consensus cannot be reached revert to government for decision.

Both consensus views and dissenting views need to be recorded. During the development of the Botswana NCS, for example, when issues were too contentious, or effectively non-negotiable (at the

time), it was (eventually) found to be necessary to state this clearly and to agree when and how the issue would be revisited.

Consensus is not necessary at all stages of the strategy. Indeed, given the value-laden and uncertain nature of many of the issues and the enormous interests at stake, strong and persistent disagreements are likely. Fundamental differences of value are probably immune to consensus. But consensus is achieved very gradually, through joint inquiry and action focused on (shared) problems. An exploration and understanding of the diversity of concerns and opinions is very important; and wide participation in the strategy process provides a continuing vehicle for this.

The Canadian National Round Table on the Environment and Economy has prepared guidelines on whether it is worth embarking on a consensus process, covering: identification of the reasons; representatives of the various viewpoints; incentives for reaching agreement; complementary matters that need to be sorted out; and the usefulness of an independent person to help participants focus on the issues (NRTEE 1993).

Negotiations:

The aim of negotiations is to tackle the trade-offs inherent in sustainable development; to reach compromise in policy-making or setting responsibilities and plan objectives. It is important at the overall strategy level, but especially in setting decentralised targets. Agreed objectives and targets have a better chance of being implemented than those which are imposed. The Netherlands has emphasised negotiation processes for target-setting (see section 4.2.1). In contrast, UK recycling targets, German carbon dioxide targets, and EC sulphur dioxide and NO targets were set without negotiation; and, although the targets made a powerful political impact, they have not been met in practice.

Conflict resolution:

The number of "win-win" possibilities in sustainable development is limited, and conflict resolution is invariably required. Few NCSs or NEAPs have yet used such techniques, preferring to concentrate on non-contentious or "win-win" possibilities. However, at a local level, where, for example, several groups may depend upon a single resource - such as a fishing ground, a watershed, or a forest - conflict resolution is essential. Box 19 describes a successful exercise by the Northern Lights Institute to deal with a river basin.

A key feature of the Canadian *Projet de société* has been conflict resolution through 'tête-à-tête' meetings, linking individuals together (brokerage on a personal level by the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy - the strategy process facilitator). To assist stakeholders to reach innovative solutions, the draft strategy document of the *Projet de société* (1994) attempts to reduce the "blindness" of sectoral bias and traditional mandates by providing innovative 'Choicework' ⁽⁴⁾ tables around basic human needs, such as air, water and food. These tables attempt to "compare expert and public perceptions of various issues in order to find a method to bridge the gap between experts and the general public on a range of sustainability issues". The tables also identify areas of conflict and levels of consensus in order to show where immediate progress can be made and where more consensus-building is needed.

⁽⁴⁾ "Choicework" is defined as sorting out choices, weighing pros and cons, and beginning making the difficult trade-offs.

Box 19: Conflict Resolution and Mediation in a River Basin Strategy, USA

Historically, the use of the water of the Clark Fork River, Montana, USA, has been contentious. Ranchers, environmentalists, mining companies, recreational fishing groups and electricity companies are all critically dependent upon the river for their operations. The huge demand for water, particularly in times of drought, has reduced some tributaries to dry stream beds. In other parts, they are loaded with chemicals, threatening some user interests. The different interest groups have - until recently - been waging increasingly bitter battles in court rooms and legislatures.

The Northern Lights Institute, a group which encourages the use of conflict mediation techniques in environmental disputes, offered a participatory approach which it termed "river basin citizenship" as a more sustainable alternative to litigation and advocacy. The State's attempt to claim rights to a part of the river's waters to protect fishing interests offered an opportunity to test this approach.

Northern Lights attempted to answer the question: could local citizens with competing interests, along with federal and state water managers, come together to develop a watershed management strategy that would support both irrigation and environmental protection, and reduce conflict? The uncertainty and "battle fatigue" helped to open the door for conflict mediation. Collaborative decision-making has been shown by the Institute to work particularly well when all parties feel it is their last resort; people have to feel they have little to lose, and perhaps something to gain.

Early meetings of the various groups dealt with the issue slowly - spending time getting to know one another and particularly the river. Key was learning about the river together - through field trips, where different groups' perspectives were put forward. Gradually, the "symbols and demons" that dominated the debate and participants' views of each other gave way to a broader understanding. From agreements on common ground, agreement towards more contentious issues could begin to be mapped out. Eventually, a multi-interest Clark Fork Basin Steering Committee was formed to prepare the water management strategy - the first consensus-based water plan developed in Montana. This was particularly successful in addressing "the gap between water law and policy, and how the resource is actually used" - in other words, it addressed realistic needs and situations.

Source: Maughan (1994).

The use of round tables has been central to many of the strategic initiatives in Canada. They have been used as means by which to tackle the institutional constraints facing strategy development, i.e. some of the barriers to "horizontal" and "vertical" participation. This experience is discussed below:

6.7 The Experience of Round Tables in Canada

A significant institutional response to the cross-sectoral, cross-disciplinary and cross-temporal challenges of sustainable development has been round tables, or other multistakeholder processes. The round table approach in Canada has tackled a range of policy issues, including The Forest Round Table and the connected Pulp and Paper Dialogue. These have been organised around the National Round Table on the Environment and Economy (NRTEE). The recent experiences in Canada have been reviewed by the NRTEE. Various points of view were put forward on the pros and cons of multistakeholder processes and their implications (this emphasis on different perspectives is, itself, part of the round table approach). The analysis is summarised in NRTEE (1995).

The various approaches include round tables on the environment and economy (of which Canada now has hundreds at national, provincial and local levels), multistakeholder task groups (such as the

Climate Change Task Group and the Task Force on Economic Instruments and Disincentives to Sound Environmental Practices), and commissions, councils and collaboratives (such as the Economic Instruments Collaborative). These all attempt to bring together a broad range of competing interests to work on solutions; and they usually rely on consensus for decision-making and a neutral chair or facilitator.

The relationship to the policy process has been diverse. They have been used to develop broad strategies, to implement or monitor those strategies, to prepare principles or action plans which may then be "self-implemented", to prepare policy options for government (for temporary or permanent issues), or to carry out public consultation phases in the development of public policy.

In themselves, almost all form but a small part in the policy processes, in spite of much recent focus on them. However, Ronald Doering, the Executive Director of the NRTEE has noted that they have been described as "innovative institutional adaptations that will play an increasingly important role in future years as we reinvent government by trying to improve our ability to engage citizens more deliberatively in policy choices". Doering quotes a political scientist as claiming "the institutionalisation of multistakeholder forums is the most significant innovation in the Canadian policy process in the past decade". Yet he also notes they have also been vilified as "superficial, mere window dressing, a waste of time, or a disguise for a vacuum by encouraging talk rather than action". Some are suffering from "consultation fatigue with the same few 'elites' being consulted again and again. The corporate business sector displays less interest in these processes while... NGOs have a declining capacity to participate".

A few clear lessons and dilemmas come across in the NRTEE review:

(1) When designing the multistakeholder process, it is important to distinguish consultation from consensus. The former meets the needs of the initiating party, but the latter should be participant-driven, which requires a neutral facilitator. The role of a multistakeholder process is different in each case, but "many of the frustrations of past efforts have resulted from a lack of clarity on this... or from an attempt to blend the two approaches. They do not blend easily... You can't have the buy-in and other advantages of a consensus process until you're willing to... allow the participants to design and manage the process". Specific examples are not, however, given.

(2) Neutral facilitation is needed to achieve round table objectives, as people with very different value systems and even different vocabularies naturally find it hard to agree.

(3) The involvement of NGOs is essential, but many cannot afford to participate, especially to get involved in research and go beyond mere attendance. Yet government funding for NGOs compromises their independence; and means that some NGOs are fully taken up with government-driven agendas. In other words, round tables could be seen as a way for governments to neatly "contain" participation to a limited part of the whole policy process, and indeed to coopt some groups. This has been a real problem in some round tables.

(4) In many circumstances, round table approaches are not appropriate, due to subject matter, lack of timeliness, lack of commitment from key stakeholders. In particular, firm political commitment to act on possible outcomes is needed initially. Round table processes are "still in the development stage, and it is wrong to see them as a mature phase of the policy process."

Yet, as current institutions are not coping well with the transition to sustainability, in part because of their jurisdictional fragmentation, round tables are worth pursuing because they force government to "take more seriously what they call the 'horizontality problem", i.e. cross-departmental cooperation. Doering assesses that multistakeholder processes:

"have been important experiments in policy making and public administration. Their role is essentially transitional and catalytic; they support rather than replace elected bodies. With all their flaws, and while still generally marginal to core policy making, Canadian round tables are common sense partnerships". (NRTEE 1995)

Another commentator (in NRTEE 1995) addresses the political aspects. He acknowledges that multistakeholder processes have helped environment, consumer and aboriginal interests to be better represented in the "policy marketplace". But these processes may result in "politically compelling consensus which constrains the ability of elected politicians to make decisions". In other words, "bargaining" through this marketplace is replacing the search for the common good. The better bargainers get the best deal, or, perhaps, "organised interests bargain amongst themselves, cut up the pie and invite elected representatives to serve the helpings". In effect, "the utility of multistakeholder exercises should reflect both how and how well they assist elected representatives in their core task - searching for and defining the common good, and incorporating it in public policy".

A further commentator suggests that it is essential to have a neutral forum such as NRTEE; no one stakeholder could bring together the right group without raising suspicions.

NRTEE (1995) also examines the issues of representativeness, governance and democracy. The kinds of dilemmas raised include: the notion of the flourishing of a stakeholder elite at the expense of the broader public's involvement in decision-making; stakeholder representation (stakeholders should be able to state who they are and who and what they represent); the need to make participation more transparent and involve more than an elite - and a broader network of stakeholders would reduce the burden on the 'overconsulted'. One commentator suggests that "multistakeholder processes mask significant imbalances in power over resources and considerable... differences in influence on government among the participants".

Further dilemmas present themselves when it comes to implementing round table agreements and action plans. Silk (in NRTEE 1995) proposes the notion of "sustainability mediators" - individuals in the various institutions whose job it is to liaise with other institutions and work on further consensus, joint management, etc. He sees such people as specialists in working across different sectors, recognising that this is a special skill which not all people have.

This approach has been used in some NCSs and NEAPs. Under the Pakistan NCS, for example, environment contact officials are appointed in key government agencies. However, it is not known whether the Pakistan Government selected these contact officials on the basis of their aptitude.

The main benefits of the round table approach tend to be in the various forms of consensus achieved. While fully recognising that its approach is yet immature, the NRTEE issued, in 1993, a set of consensus principles which have been very widely distributed across Canada and many other countries. In brief, these principles are (NRTEE 1993):

- 1 Purpose-driven (people need a reason for participation)
- 2 Inclusive, not exclusive (as long as parties have a significant interest)
- 3 Voluntary participation
- 4 Self-design (the parties design the process)
- 5 Flexibility
- 6 Equal opportunity (in access to information and participation)
- 7 Respect for diverse interests (and different values and knowledge)
- 8 Accountability (to parties both within and outside the process)
- 9 Time limits (realistic deadlines)
- 10 Commitment to implementation and monitoring

6.8 Institutional Support and Context for Participation

Participation needs to take place in appropriate institutional contexts if it is to flourish. Learning environments are needed for individuals to develop their own problem-solving capacities. There are, therefore, three prerequisites necessary for bringing these conditions together, namely:

- new participatory approaches and methods for partnerships, dialogue, participatory analysis and sharing;
- new learning environments for professionals and local people to develop capacities; and
- new institutional settings, including improved linkages both within and between institutions.

Where all three combine, then widespread and persistent change is more likely. The challenge for strategies is both to build on whatever of these three prerequisites already exist, and to generate these conditions where they are lacking.

Most development institutions, whether universities, research organisations, planning or extension agencies, state or NGO, are characterised by restrictive organisation (Chambers 1992a). They have centralised and hierarchical authority, specialised departments, standardised procedures, and uniform packaged outputs provided in a supply-led manner to people. Personal promotion and institutional survival depend very little on external achievement, such as farmers adopting the products of research. More important is internal performance according to professional norms. Such institutions are sustained by modes of learning that often give misleading feedback. Those at the top are left with falsely favourable impressions of their work. This makes them unable to predict and adapt to the demands of a complex and changing world.

In contrast, for sustainable development, there will be a need to support multiple linkages and alliances within and between institutions through, for example:

- support for participation at the top;
- decentralised authority with support for local diversity;
- incentives and encouragement to conduct participatory work;
- encouragement for linkages and sharing with other institutions;
- lateral spread through sharing between and within organisations, and through participants becoming trainers;
- a learning environment focusing on problem-solving, and being interactive and field-based;
- error being embraced in the learning process;
- responsibility being personal more than procedural;
- democratic behaviour and attitudes, stressing listening and facilitation, not didactic teaching;
- participatory and enabling methods and approaches which seek to enhance capabilities; and
- support for local groups and organisations, which are encouraged to conduct their own experiments and extension, to manage themselves and to make demands on the system.

Rapid adaptation to change occurs through devolved responsibility, local learning, and the responsive generation of a range of options. This has established desirable conditions for collaboration and the creation of alliances. Making it happen in practice is less easy, largely because of a lack of attention to the dynamics of groups.

Strategies are intimately bound up with their institutional context. Successful strategies have helped to generate an institutional environment conducive to participation and sustainable development; indeed, this has been a major benefit of them - encouraging strategic alliances focusing on learning, participation and adaptation. Other strategies have been themselves constrained, even at the formulation stage, by the lack of such a conducive environment (Carew-Reid *et al.* 1994).

6.9 Applying the Dynamics of Groups to Sustainable Development Strategies

Strategy formulation provides an excellent opportunity to realise the potentials of group work. It has long been recognised that cross-sectoral groups are needed for most strategy tasks; but no strategy we know of has deliberately set out to exploit the potentials of such groups.

Participation calls for collective analysis. Even a sole worker must operate closely with others. Ideally, though, teams of people work together in interdisciplinary and intersectoral teams. By working as a group, people can approach a situation from different perspectives, carefully monitor one another's work, and carry out a variety of tasks simultaneously. Groups can be powerful and productive entities when they function well. A good team's performance and output is greater than the sum of its individual members.

Although groups generally produce fewer ideas than individuals working separately, they often generate more appropriate ideas as each is discussed and thought through more deeply. Groups are more likely to identify errors of judgement before action is taken. Discussion stimulates more careful thinking and leads to consideration of a wider range of ideas. Rather surprisingly, good groups take more adventurous decisions than the individuals comprising them would have done if acting independently.

However, groups that are too cohesive can also create their own problems. Religious sects, military groups, sports teams and political groups all show a tendency towards a dominant group identity. In extreme cases, the individual's conscience and principles are sacrificed for group loyalty, harmony and morale. Seeking a consensus at all costs can bring the group into a blind spot when it becomes highly selective in the facts it sees, sorts and accepts. Maintaining an open agenda, creating a sense of self-critical awareness and preventing secrecy within these types of groups is essential if group "delusions" are to be prevented.

Several people brought together to work on a single research or development activity do not necessarily make a productive *team* of investigators (Handy 1985). Before a group of people can function well as a team, they tend to pass through a series of stages. These can be characterised as: (1) *forming*; (2) *storming*; (3) *norming*; and (4) *performing* (Box 20).

For the team to perform well and achieve its goals, there should also be a mix of roles present in the individuals. Compatibility and creative conflict within the group is important. A certain amount of conflict helps to avoid complacency, but compatibility may be more important when the task is especially complex and requires close interaction between team members. High compatibility is achieved if all individuals strongly desire consensus.

Box 20: Stages in Group Functioning

According to Handy (1985), the following stages are a prerequisite for effective team functioning:

First, various individuals come together, sometimes as strangers, sometimes as colleagues, to create a new group for some stated purpose. In this early *forming* stage, they are still a collection of individuals, each with his/her own agenda and expertise, and little or no shared experience. As these individuals become more familiar with one another, the group will enter a *storming* phase. There is a good reason for giving this name to the second phase of group formation, because it is during this stage that personal values and principles are challenged, roles and responsibilities are taken on and/or rejected, and the group's objectives and mode of operating will start to be defined more clearly. If there is too much conflict and discord within the group, it will collapse. If, however, some common ground can be found, the group will gain greater cohesion and a sense of purpose.

As the group members begin to understand their roles in relation to one another and establish a shared vision or goal, they will develop a clearly discernable identity and group-specific norms of behaviour. At the *norming* stage, the group has settled down. People know each other better, they have accepted the rules and probably developed subgroups and friendships. Once these norms have been established, the group will be ready for action and will enter into the *performing* phase. It is in this phase that they will work most effectively as a *team*. This team has a life of its own; its power to support learning may be considerable. The confidence level of the team members will have reached the point where they are willing to take significant risks and try out new ideas on their own.

Despite the need for equitable team work, most evidence indicates the need for a focal person or leader to bring out the best in a group. The leader of a team is therefore an exception, being the hierarchical senior to other team members. Recent research has led to the grouping of team roles into nine different types (Box 21). Each role or function is accompanied by an allowable weakness. It lets individuals 'off the hook' of having to be perfect, and frees them to concentrate on their strengths. The best teams have a wide mix of roles and functions represented, while teams consisting wholly of one type, however brilliant the individuals, can be disastrously ineffective. For example, a team with several *Shapers* could stay locked in conflict, whereas too many *Fixers* will produce a team good at gathering information and making contacts but poor at reflecting and implementing.

Two factors make it hard for institutions to produce effective teams based on a full mix of roles and functions. The first is the tendency to select individuals that match the image of the organisation. This results in too many people of the same type. The second is that, all too often, individuals are selected according to qualifications and their apparent eligibility for the position, rather than their suitability in terms of their team contribution.

Participatory strategy processes will depend critically on intersectoral groups, and groups representing different geographical and hierarchical interests. Strategies will need to incorporate principles of group work in the mechanics of participation and institutional collaboration. There is sufficient experience from other contexts to show that it is possible, provided systematic methodologies are used. The question of dynamics and group work should not be left to chance.

Box 21: A "Perfect" Team: Illustration of Nine Desirable Roles

The Coordinator: The team's natural chairperson: confident, talks easily, and listens well; promotes decision-making; able to elicit contributions from all team members; need not be a brilliant intellect.

Allowable Weakness: somewhat manipulative.

The Spark: The team's vital spark and chief source of ideas: creative, unorthodox and imaginative.

Allowable Weakness: lacks practicality, a bit of a handful, up in the clouds.

The Implementer: The team's workhorse: turns ideas into practical actions and gets on with them logically and loyally; disciplined, reliable, conservative.

Allowable Weaknesses: can only adapt if told why; lacks imagination.

The Fixer: The team's extrovert: amiable, good at making and using contacts; an explorer of opportunities.

Allowable Weaknesses: undisciplined, short attention span.

The Shaper: Usually the self-elected leader: dynamic, positive, outgoing, argumentative, a pressuriser; seeks ways round obstacles.

Allowable Weaknesses: not always likeable, tendency to bully; provokes opposition.

The Monitor Evaluator: The team's rock: strategic, sober, analytical and introvert; capable of deep analysis of huge quantities of data; rarely wrong.

Allowable Weaknesses: an unexciting plod, lacks imagination.

The Teamworker: A counsellor and conciliator: social, perceptive, accommodating, aware of undercurrents and others' problems; promotes harmony; most valuable of times of crisis.

Allowable Weakness: indecisive.

The Completer Finisher: The team's worrier and stickler for detail, deadlines and schedules: has capacity for relentless follow-through; chief catcher of errors and omissions.

Allowable Weaknesses: reluctant to let go; worries about small things.

The Specialist: The team's chief source of rare knowledge and skill: a single-minded loner; self-starting, dedicated and makes the occasional dazzling breakthrough.

Allowable Weakness: contributes on a narrow front.

Source: Pretty (1995) adapted from Belbin (1992)

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROLES IN PARTICIPATION

7.1 Roles for Governments

There will be winners and losers in sustainable development; each decision is likely to have redistributive effects. Many governments now recognise that they need to take on "enabling" roles to facilitate progress towards sustainable development; and to involve and empower as necessary the various "stakeholders". The latter include, for example, the concerned government bodies (both horizontal and vertical), the private sector, non-government groups, international bodies, and the general public (resource user groups, livelihood groups, etc.) (Table 7). Many of today's problems, especially environmental problems, are either too big or too small for governments alone to handle (Carley & Christie 1992). Indeed, there is growing recognition that "governments, and environment ministries, cannot deliver environmental improvements on their own" (ERM 1994). The world increasingly is becoming interconnected (through communications, markets and ecosystem links), and less and less of it remains untouched by the actions of others. Conversely, it is becoming less easy to ignore the consequences upon others in making one's own decisions (Fowler 1992). Thus, the participation of government and major groups alike is essential for sustainable development (see Chapter Two).

However, governments and state institutions are limited in their capacity to use participatory methodologies (Bebbington & Farrington 1992; Gibbon 1992). This is because of factors affecting both institutions and individuals. Excessive centralisation and inflexible management tend to suffocate local initiatives and responsibilities. This creates the ground for misleading feedback mechanisms, and so measures of success are based on internally-generated criteria. Reward systems for professionals discourage them from undertaking fieldwork. Inadequate attention to human resource development supports the status quo, and little effort is made to overcome attitudinal and behavioural barriers. Coupled with these factors, inflexible programming and budgeting usually leaves no unallocated resources to respond to new needs as they arise, and so again discriminates against innovation.

One of the key elements in the strategy process is consensus-building. In a recent study of national environmental plans and strategies, ERM (1994) identified three key questions associated with consensus-building:

- how can other parties be persuaded to become involved ?
- how far should environment ministries (and governments) be prepared to relinquish control over the direction of an environmental strategy ? and
- how much should government seek to influence the input of other parties, e.g. via education ?

There are usually several forms of participatory structure available within the government which have all been used in strategies: the planning systems; the decentralised administrative system; and the education system. Often, however, it will be necessary to set up special committees and round tables to increase "horizontal" participation across interests groups and sectors - not only to ensure that government participation is broad enough, but also to be able to bring in non-governmental inputs. Town and rural planning, and sometimes associated procedures such as EIA, tend to have more participatory structures than economic planning, and these may be backed up by legal provisions, but even so are at best consultative and are essentially top-down (Dala-Clayton & Dent 1993)

National strategies have tended to involve participation of the major "*horizontal*" sectors of the national government (see Figure 4, p56). Some examples of integration at ministry level in OECD countries are given in Box 22. There tends to have been less participation throughout the "*vertical*" hierarchy - the provinces/states and different types of lower-level divisions. Institutional participation of government is therefore important, so that the strategy consensus reflects the views and needs of many government institutions, but so also is the participation of key *individuals* in government - the kinds of people who can cross barriers and engender vision and change. In Uganda, for example, the decentralisation policy of the government allowed strong inputs from most of the 38 Districts in the strategy (through consultations and 3-day workshops) - although the results have been used selectively at central government level.

A strategy ought to be able to survive changes in government, and so it seems logical that government participation should be structured to suit, i.e. not be overly-dependent on political patronage. Sometimes, parliamentary and other political processes have been used to ensure cross-party support. The strategies of Victoria (Australia), Pakistan and the Philippines are among those that have successfully survived changes in government. In most such cases, the strategy:

- is not strongly affiliated to a political party;
- is not in the hands of politicians or civil servants who would be moved by the new government; and
- has strong support outside government.

Experience suggests that certain changes can be made by government to improve participation with successive iterations of a strategy cycle:

- governments can offer enabling conditions for participation, but not get operationally involved;
- NGOs and local authorities can start participation, to learn from it, and to build their own capacity;
- governments can build structures and an empowering policy and legal environments to actively support participation (see section 6.2.1); and
- government itself can conduct certain participation tasks where appropriate and efficient (Carew-Reid *et al.* 1994).⁵

⁵ There has been a tendency to think of participation as exclusively an NGO preserve. However, while NGOs may initially play a strong role in acting as catalysts to participation, this role may become less necessary over time. Ultimately, governments can be highly efficient at running certain strategy tasks with participation - since they can apply many government institutions to the task and realise economies of scale. Or they can help to provide better conditions for participation by non-government groups.

Box 22: Examples of Inter-Ministry Integration in Environment

In the **United Kingdom**, environment ministers have been appointed by all government departments to ensure that environmental objectives are taken into account and that departmental commitments in the 1990 White Paper on the Environment are fulfilled.

Sectoral policies in the second National Environmental Policy Plan (NEPP 2) of **The Netherlands** (1993) were largely written by the three sectoral ministries most closely affected by environmental policies (Transport, Agriculture and Economic Affairs). These ministries share responsibility for environmental policy with the Environment Ministry; the NEPP 2 was formally sponsored by them and by the Development Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The **Norwegian** Ministry of Environment has a coordinating role in integrating environment into the policies and programmes of the major economic and sectoral ministries. All ministries in Norway are responsible for building environment into their planning and budget processes; this includes a requirement to assess the likely environmental impacts of policies and, in support of the national environmental objectives, they must establish their own sectoral environmental goals and must monitor the effectiveness of their actions.

The **Canadian** Environmental Assessment Act, which was proclaimed in January 1995, legally established the requirement for environmental screening and assessment studies to be carried out (where possible) on sectoral ministry project proposals that come before the Federal Government.

Source: ERM (1994).

7.2 Local Government

Local government has often been well-placed to act as a broker in sustainable development strategies: it has strong links to national policy, and yet also has to deal with the specific demands of different groups in diverse field situations. It is often at the local government level where land allocation and specific resource use decisions and targets are made. As discussed in Chapter Four, municipalities in Nicaragua were the basis for formulating the NCS; and in the Netherlands local government was principally responsible for negotiating sustainable development targets. In general, the degree of involvement of local governments has depended on:

- *the size of the country* and the number of local governments;
- *the stage of the strategy*. With each cycle of the strategy, more participants, and hence more local governments, tend to be involved, e.g. the Pakistan NCS is now being articulated primarily through provincial strategies; and
- *the design of the strategy*. For example, the national strategy may be designed to develop gradually from national, to provincial, to local level. Or it may be designed as a national framework, in which local governments and communities can develop their own strategies - the state conservation strategy of Victoria, Australia, provides for municipal strategies (of which there are so far 24). Or it may start off with the development of local strategies, e.g. Malaysian state strategies preceded the federal strategy.

In the United Kingdom, local authorities are coordinating some of the most innovative sustainable development initiatives in the country. An early local authority environmental audit in the UK - The Green Audit of the county of Lancashire - formed a basis for subsequent participation. It acted as a scene-setter to help begin discussion, as opposed to starting with unproductive confrontational dialogue. This led to the participatory Lancashire Environment Forum, a multi-interest group which

used the Green Audit to develop the Local Agenda 21. The recommendations of this are based on consensus. However, the Forum recognised that consensus was not immediately possible on everything. As well as defining common territory, the Forum also clarified areas upon which there was not yet agreement.

In the city of Leicester, also in the UK, there is a strong emphasis on participatory monitoring, to complete the strategy cycle and keep it turning. Public opinion is considered essential for maintaining the pressure. Opinion surveys on, for example, whether Leicester is getting cleaner, play a crucial role in this.

7.3 More Roles for Groups outside Government

Agenda 21 states that non-governmental groups have substantial roles to play in sustainable development. It emphasises that a pluralistic civil society, comprising civic groups working alongside government and the private sector, is critical to sustainable development. If truly representative, non-governmental groups are active in organising the many niches of civic society, and where government recognises and supports this role financially, technically and legally, the prospects for sustainable development ought to be good.

Indeed, in theory, non-government groups can play significant roles in all elements of the NSDS process. They can be full participants in information collection and analysis, decision-making, implementation, monitoring and adaptation. They can also play roles as advocates and advisers. The roles of non-government groups will vary greatly between countries, according to political and social conditions, historical precedents, and the strength and diversity of the non-governmental community.

Potential nongovernmental participants are extremely diverse:

- academic and research institutions;
- associations of resource users (farmers, hunters, fishers, tourism operators, etc.);
- banking and financial organizations;
- community groups;
- environmental organizations;
- human development organizations;
- indigenous peoples (some may be involved as governments);
- industry and business (corporate sector);
- the judiciary;
- the media;
- professional associations;
- relief and welfare organizations;
- religious groups;
- schools, teachers, and parent-teacher associations;
- trades unions;
- women's groups;
- international organizations; and
- individual members of the public.

Until recently, however, governments have tended to dominate strategy processes, perhaps bringing in non-governmental inputs in information collection, some field implementation and communication/education. However, many governments which prepared strategies with few non-governmental inputs have, more recently, realised the role of such inputs, and now recommend non-governmental involvement in implementation and future iterations.

When involving nongovernmental interest groups, it will make sense to take care to ensure that the representativeness and accountability of these groups can be assured. This will be the case particularly in making the key decisions of the strategy (Carew-Reid *et al.* 1994):

Representativeness. An apparently single interest may, in fact, consist of several competing interests. If complete representation of a sector is not possible (and it seldom is), participants in the strategy should be aware of what interests are not being reflected, and how their concerns differ from those of the "representative" group.

Accountability. Accountability can be achieved when the interest group is represented by an association with democratic procedures, such as a national chamber of commerce, an association of municipalities, or a professional association. It is more difficult when there is no association.

Fairness. National and provincial government officials are salaried and therefore are paid to participate. They usually will have ready access to information. Most large corporations will have the resources needed. Many small businesses, community groups and environmental and social interest groups will not have these resources. To put them on an equal footing with wealthier and more powerful participants, they will need financial support to attend meetings and prepare informed positions - but they should not be compromised by such support.

It is hard to achieve anything remotely resembling perfection in any of these three respects. A reasonable aim is for as much representativeness, accountability and fairness as possible, within the constraints of budgets, timetables set by political deadlines, and capacity to manage a logistically complex process.

7.4 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

NGOs form a diverse group - and a proliferating one in terms of both types and numbers. They cover a spectrum from long-established, major international and national institutions to fragile, local operations with no staff or guaranteed funding. They may work on single issues, or broad-spectrum development concerns. Almost all of them operate through organising groups of people to make better use of their own resources.

The United Nations takes a broad definition of NGOs, to include non-profit organisations in the private sector, academic and research organisations and local government. This broader scope is reflected in the term much-used by Agenda 21: the "major groups" or the "independent sectors". They are also known as the "third sector" in contrast to the government and business sectors. The potential of NGOs to contribute to achieving progress towards sustainable development is now well recognised:

"NGOs [as] intermediaries have important roles to play; they can create links both upward and downward in society and voice local concerns... In doing this they can bring a broader spectrum of ideas and values to bear in policy making. They can also exert pressure on public officials for better performance and greater accountability" (World Bank 1988, quoted in Fowler 1992).

But it is also recognised that NGOs will need help:

"The vast majority of the [NGO] bodies are national or local in nature, and a successful transition to sustainable development will require substantial strengthening of their capacities" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

Agenda 21 calls on governments to draw on the "expertise and views of NGOs" for sustainable development. NGO expertise and views encompass many practical functions, e.g.:

- mobilising the public, or certain groups;
- detailed field knowledge of social and environmental conditions;
- delivery of services: disaster relief, education, health;
- encouraging appropriate community organisation and capacity building;
- research, policy analysis and advice;
- facilitation and improvement of social and political processes;
- mediation and reconciliation of conflict;
- awareness-raising and communications;
- watch-dog, warning and monitoring;
- advocacy and challenging the status quo; promoting alternatives; and
- training in, and use of, participatory approaches.

These functions are often complementary to government and the private sector, and can be exercised by individual NGOs or by partnerships and networks.

NGO coalitions can complement and buttress governments where the latter are weak, such as in welfare and in engagement with local communities, and where governments are limited in their capacity to use participatory methods. Working with governments can help to "scale up" the contribution of NGOs, which otherwise can remain parochial. On the other hand, NGO coalitions can act as a check and critic where governments and the private sector are too strong (e.g. in appropriating natural resources and causing adverse social and environmental impacts).

Coalitions can also help to sort out internal responsibilities amongst NGOs. A recent World Resources Institute study of environmental challenges in Latin America (Zazueta 1993), examined the main organisational constraints facing NGOs, particularly concerning their institutional capacities to better influence policy-making and implementation. It is concluded that NGOs and grassroots organisations (GROs)

"will need to improve their ability to make good use of opportunities for policy dialogue and to make realistic proposals that can be acted upon. This will help them to be recognised by governments as valuable partners in development.... An equally important challenge for these organisations will be accepting that their roles are being changed by the new realities that they themselves have helped to create. How they redefine and fulfill these new roles while making the best use of their comparative advantages will largely determine their future..... This is especially true for NGOs. As grassroots organisations [GROs] become more organised and active in self help, as well as in making their voices heard at the highest levels, NGOs have to discover how they can help strengthen GRO efforts. Building their capacity to generate, analyse, and disseminate information; developing specific skills in project design and management; acquiring the technical knowledge needed to perform specialised work in development or environmental activities; and gearing GRO training to particular needs and specific cultural contexts will help them to avoid being redundant. More important, meeting these challenges will ensure that NGOs can continue to make a valuable contribution to the process of sustainable development" (Zazueta 1993).

It must be remembered that NGOs do not act as one group. With respect to sustainable development, they cover a spectrum of approaches:

- "interest-based" NGOs, e.g. natural history societies and professional associations;
- "concern-based" NGOs, e.g. environmental and animal welfare campaigning and advocacy groups; and

- "solution-based" NGOs, e.g. education and rural development groups.

It is the type of approach, as much as the functions of the NGO, that will really determine how it can participate in a strategy. Many NGOs, particularly the "solution-based" groups, are comfortable with ideas of participation and consensus - and actively promote them. Others, who work through lobbying and advocacy, tend to see their role as one of "disagreeing", not of seeking compromise. Consequently, a few of these NGOs (particularly from environmental and welfare campaigning interests) take approaches which appear to be incompatible with sustainable development - which depends upon negotiated trade-offs. Normally, such NGOs are likely to stay on the margins of a participatory strategy - where the debate and consensus usually will take place within a middle ground which none the less should cover all sectors and major groups.

Often, NGOs have been successful at organising participation locally. An example of successful collaboration in planning and facilitation by a British NGO is Planning for Real (Box 23). In Planning for Real, people are involved fully in interactive participation for neighbourhood planning. The tendency for outside professionals to dominate is held in check by several agreed norms for group behaviour. These norms take time to develop, and are critical for successful participation and collaboration.

Occasionally, NGOs can play central roles in sustainable development in a government "vacuum". For example, in Kenya and Tanzania, NGOs operate a major proportion of the health system. In Northern Pakistan, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme is the leading actor in rural development support. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) runs a large proportion of primary schools.

These major operations are the exception. Yet their much-publicised success tends to have resulted in NGOs being viewed principally as "delivery mechanisms". This view - or worse, viewing NGOs merely as amateurs, rather than as development organisations with lessons to teach - is a serious error.

So far, NCSs or NEAPs tend to have involved environmental NGOs more than other types of NGO. Sustainable development strategies, in contrast, when fully under way, will need to deal more extensively with the social dimension, in which development NGO/community-based organisations have much experience. This is particularly the case as NSDSs will need to address the common policy/planning system failure to: link government to local communities and resource users; understand and act on local complexity; and enlist local resource users in implementation. All of these are areas where NGOs have comparative advantages - at the "meso" level between central government and local communities. Hence, as sustainable development strategies begin to take over the roles started by NCSs and NEAPs, or other environmental strategies, we should expect to see greater NGO involvement.

Box 23: Planning for Real: Neighbourhood Planning in Urban Britain

In community development, there is a need for all views to be accounted for, yet the talkers nearly always win. At public meetings and consultations, local planners tend to sit on a platform, behind a table, maintaining their superiority. When only a few people turn up, and only a few of them speak up, they blame local indifference. Planning for Real attempts to bridge this gap, to identify local needs and resources, and to do it without endless talk.

The focus is a physical model of the neighbourhood. Unlike an architect's model, these should be touched, played with, dropped and changed around. At the first meeting, the neighbourhood model is constructed, using houses and apartment blocks made from card and paper on a polystyrene base. The model then goes into the community (to the launderette, the school foyer, the local shops, etc.) so that people see it and learn about the second consultation. At the second meeting, the objective is to find out: "have we got it right?" There is no room for passivity, not many chairs, no platform, with the model in the middle of the room. People spot the landmarks, discuss, identify problems and glimpse solutions. They move around, and can put down pieces of paper with suggested solutions written on them at particular locations. They are permitted to put more than one on the same place - so allowing for conflicts to surface. Often, people who put down an idea wait for others to talk first about it. The process permits people to have first, second and third thoughts - they can change their minds. The model allows people to address conflicts without needing to identify themselves. It depersonalises conflicts and introduces informality where consensus is more easily reached.

The professionals attend too. These local planners, engineers, transport officials, police, social workers and others, wear a badge identifying themselves. But they can only talk when they are spoken to. The result is that they are drawn in, and begin to like this new role. The 'us and them' barriers begin to break down. The priorities put on the model have 'disagree' written on the reverse side. Anyone can turn these over, again remaining anonymous. The priorities are assessed as Now, Soon or Later, and also on the basis of whether they can be done solely by local people (with the help of outsiders, with some money and advice) or only by outsiders. Obligations are negotiated and made explicit. People are able to negotiate compromises.

The next stage is a local talent survey conducted by local people. The form is pictorial and does not look like a government form. The human resources are documented, and planning can then capitalise on these hitherto hidden resources. Participation in this alternative planning process acts as a demonstration of local capacity, from which larger things can grow.

Source: Gibson (1991).

7.5 NGOs and NSDSs in Practice

Previous national strategies have shown no standard pattern of NGO involvement. Governments have almost always been dominant in strategy processes and results. In some instances, outside agencies have had to ensure that local NGOs are formally involved. For example, in Indonesia, Togo, Kenya and Rwanda, the World Bank was responsible for initiating tripartite government/NGO/Bank meetings on sectoral and national development strategies (Cernea 1988).

7.5.1 Industrialised Countries

NGOs in industrialised countries have been involved, often fairly extensively, in providing information for the national strategy. Hill (1992) compared the national environmental plans of Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK. All of these plans were published as

government documents, and most of the implementation is supposed to be the responsibility of government and the private sector. In reality, NGOs were involved only in data gathering and consultation (types 2 and 3 of the Participation Typology in Table 3).

The consultation has been often quite extensive, however. The most far-reaching, government-led consultative process appears to have been for Canada's Green Plan (see section 4.2.1). However, Canada's independent *Projet de société* involves a much more ambitious multistakeholder exercise (see Box 8). In the Netherlands, discussions with interest groups were held through six "negotiation platforms". In the UK and Norway, interest groups were kept more at a distance, and they were not shown strategy drafts. In Norway, these groups were asked for their views on the Brundtland Report, and the findings were fed into the process by government bodies.

The earliest United Kingdom initiative, the Conservation and Development Programme, was released in 1983 in response to the World Conservation Strategy. It was dominated by NGO input, which had been made with inadequate involvement of government at the highest level. This meant that the government felt unable to deal with the large agenda sprung upon it with the publication of the Programme, which consequently led to little real action. In contrast, in the 1990 UK initiative "This Common Inheritance", the government was dominant and there was no formal consultation process. The views of some NGOs, including environmental pressure groups and trade associations, were canvassed only informally, and this led to considerable criticism by a large segment of the public. The latest UK initiative, "Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy" (HMSO 1994), now includes a recognition of what NGOs can do for sustainable development; yet the NGO input into the (government-led) process was little more than consultation (Dalal-Clayton *et al.* 1994).

7.5.2 *Developing Countries*

Whilst NGOs in industrialised countries have usually been consulted through strategic planning, those in developing countries tend, in contrast, to have been viewed more as vehicles for strategy implementation in the field. With notable exceptions, they have been canvassed less frequently for their views and information for the strategy process - and still more rarely involved in policy formulation, monitoring and the other elements of an NSDS.

IUCN studied the development of a number of NCSs and NEAPs in Asia and Africa (IUCN 1993a, 1993b). One of the key factors examined was the type of participation. Most of the strategies were developed around existing government planning systems and procedures, most of which included little if any (NGO) participation. They had, therefore, to devise new (one-off) approaches to participation. IUCN (1993a) notes that most central actors in the NCS processes initially had "limited understanding of the real difference between consultation and participation, [its] long-term benefits to the strategy process, and the skills and resources required to carry out a truly participatory process". They also had limited resources for this purpose, for participation was not usually built extensively into strategy work plans and budgets.

Of the Asia strategies, only the Nepal NCS had a significant degree of participation in information collection, analysis and consensus-building, i.e. eventually up to participation type 5 in the typology (see Table 3). The continuity of participation focussed around an Environmental Core Group, involving mostly government agencies, but also some NGOs, in strategic exercises; and around a programme of Participatory Inquiry in villages and the private sector.

Most of the other Asian strategies involved NGOs only in occasional consultations, through workshops and seminars. Such consultations were also held in Pakistan, but here there was a further, highly significant NGO role: the whole strategy process was managed by an influential local NGO - IUCN-Pakistan. This provided an excellent vehicle for "scaling up" the contribution of IUCN-Pakistan in partnership with government. But the central involvement of a major NGO was

also able to catalyse very effective dialogue between government and the private sector, and expose the potential of NGO roles in sustainable development. For example, a new NGO - the Journalists Resources Centre (JRC) - was established early on, partly in response to the need for an independent communications and information centre to foster the debate necessary in an NCS. It is perhaps significant that the JRC was attached to IUCN-Pakistan.

The Pakistan NCS itself places much responsibility on NGOs and "community organisations" for its implementation, and on government for supporting NGO roles. It implies that many new community organisations will have to be created in the process. The NCS notes that:

"nine of the 14 NCS programme areas rely on community organisations for their implementation, while a tenth (supporting institutions for common resources) can only be implemented by community organisations, supported by catalytic agencies. This entails carefully working out the institutional arrangements by which the catalytic agencies are supported... The Federal Government is envisaged as formulating policy guidelines, making financial allocations, and providing an enabling framework" (Government of Pakistan 1993).

Since the official adoption of the Pakistan NCS, NGOs in Pakistan have grown in number, size and influence, and there has been a notable increase in the breadth and extent of NGO involvement in development. Two examples are significant. Firstly, the NCS recognises the "think-tank" potentials of NGOs, and has been instrumental in setting up Pakistan's Sustainable Development Policy Institute. Secondly, recognising that it is difficult for government agencies to achieve quality rural development on many fronts, and witnessing the success of the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in Northern Areas, the government has encouraged and supported the establishment in other provinces of a new "NGO", the National Rural Support Programme, for which government provides the majority of its funding. The role of the NCS was less direct in the latter than in the former.

Most of the state conservation strategies in Malaysia were developed with very little participation. However, their preparation was led by an NGO, WWF-Malaysia, acting as a consultant to government. WWF felt constrained in the amount of participation it could engage in on the government's behalf, regarding much of the work as confidential to the government. In this instance, a clearer partnership role may have been preferable. The federal Malaysia NCS has taken this lesson on board, and is being prepared through a more consultative process involving WWF, the government, NGOs and the private sector.

In certain African strategies, such as Tanzania and Nigeria, there has been a tendency for preparation to have been the exclusive territory of a small group of "learned staff" within particular government departments, with little participation by other departments, let alone by NGOs. In contrast, one of the most enduring strategies, the Zambia NCS, involved two prominent NGOs (an environmental group and a major self-help community group), and a commercial body (the commercial farmers' association) from the beginning in its high-level steering group, as well as in technical consultations. This prominence given to non-governmental interests, although at times exposing their lack of experience in policy matters, has resulted in a stronger policy platform for NGOs.

In Papua New Guinea (Box 24), NGOs have been involved throughout the National Forestry and Conservation Action Plan (NFCAP). This has been challenging, running into systemic constraints concerning government working with NGOs. However, it is also beginning to realise great benefits - ensuring that the NFCAP is provided with brokers to deal with the community landowners who own nearly all the forest. NGO involvement has enabled far stronger participation than in most other national forestry action plans. The lessons of NFCAP, on the roles NGOs can play as brokers of dialogue and small-scale "learning-by-doing" projects, are being taken on board by PNG's subsequent NSDS process.

7.6 The Private Sector

In developing and implementing a strategy, experience shows that it is important to seek representative, accountable members of the private sector (trades and industry associations, local chambers of commerce and industry and the trades unions, etc). However, it is usually also effective to bring in the private sector leaders who are responsible for forming new patterns of investment and operation in the country. This is the approach of the (global) Business Council for Sustainable Development, round table structures in Canada, and the Pakistan NCS. It tends to mean that big business and industry, i.e. those responsible for much of the resource use, waste creation and employment, are often important participants.

However, this should not exclude the involvement of others: representatives of socially-significant smaller-scale industries which may be important for employment (the approach of Ireland); or those smaller businesses with particularly high resource requirements (e.g. small-scale mining, or forest/agricultural processing) or industries with particularly sensitive environmental impacts (e.g. tourism). Both Germany and the Netherlands have a programme of intensive negotiations between industry associations, unions and the appropriate level of government to decide on operating standards and targets.

How to bring such actors into the process and defining what their role should be will be influenced strongly by prevailing political and economic circumstances such as traditional industry-government relations. ERM (1994) note that:

"Where industry [including all economic activities, e.g. the agriculture, transport and energy sectors] is profitable, sensitive to public pressure and motivated or willing to accept change, policy development can benefit from expert business input of industry. Sectoral policies are likely to be more implementable and enforceable if they have been designed with practical 'operational' knowledge (see Box 25).

On the other hand, where industry is unprofitable, or state-controlled, where public awareness and pressure is low and where little or no communication exists between environment agencies and the business community, constructive input from industry can be very difficult to obtain".

Box 24: The National Forestry and Conservation Action Plan, Papua New Guinea: A Precedent for NGO Involvement in a National Strategy

The Papua New Guinea (PNG) national constitution stresses the importance of citizen participation and partnership, recognising the interactions of the PNG people with the land and with each other:

First National Goal: *"We declare our first goal to be for every person to be dynamically involved in the process of freeing himself or herself from every form of domination or oppression so that each man or woman will have the opportunity to develop as a whole person in relationship with others".*

Second National Goal: *"We declare our second goal to be for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of our country."*

The fifth constitutional directive principle recognises the need to build and exercise locally-suited organisations:

"PNG should achieve development primarily through the use of PNG forms of social, political and economic organisations".

In practice, the demands of the PNG public for participation - in decision-making and in sharing the benefits of development, and not merely consultation - have been strong. Wherever effective structures for participation have not been set up, impasses and clashes have resulted (something that we have noted is common in every country).

A broad range of NGOs is evolving as part of PNG's civil society. The special challenge is to build NGOs to work in partnership with government in land issues. 97% of the land is under customary ownership - held by people living remote from one another, and who depend upon the land for their livelihoods. Their needs must be met. However, state needs must also be met, e.g. to realise revenue from the land, and to protect those resources which are of national and global importance.

The National Forestry and Conservation Action Plan (NFCAP) of PNG, launched in 1990, is one of the first major initiatives offering NGOs partnership, not merely in field action but also in planning and policy-making for sustainable development. It potentially offers a way to reconcile the scientific/administrative approach to development with the people-centred approach.

The experience of NGO involvement in the PNG-NFCAP reveals:

- a* *A forum is needed for NGOs to meet, discuss issues, and coordinate approaches to government and the private sector.* Since the NFCAP started in 1990, NGOs have been represented on the NFCAP Steering Committee, and on the policy-setting National Forest Board and Provincial Forest Management Committees. There is a technical NGO Working Group on the NFCAP, and an NGO Specialist on the NFCAP Team. In spite of these provisions for NGOs, it soon became clear that the critical need was for a forum of NGOs -to communicate among one another, and so that government could coordinate with the diverse NGO group. Consequently, in 1990, NGOs set up the National Alliance of Non-Governmental Organisations of PNG (NANGO-PNG), with a very broad membership.
- b* *NGOs should participate in process design and management:* The NFCAP was conceived before any mechanism for NGO participation was in place. NANGO-PNG was not set up in time to influence overall NFCAP objectives. NGO involvement has gradually become more decentralised, as many NGOs are based outside Port Moresby.

Box 24: Continued.

- c* *NGO capacity needs to keep pace with opportunities for NGO involvement:* Whilst government recognises that NGOs need strengthening to take up roles in forestry - just as government needs strengthening - NFCAP has tended to race ahead of NGO capacities to consider them, consult their constituencies and define their potential roles.
- d* *NGOs need to develop participatory approaches, skills and resources to engage with communities:* Some NGOs are well ahead of government in this. The government recognises the potential roles of NGOs in drawing together landowners, so that landowners can deal better with government and the private sector. NGOs now need to learn from each other and develop operational capabilities to participate with landowners. In turn, government can learn from the NGOs.
- e* *Funding rules and administrative procedures need to be clear and simple:* Funding procedures for NGO participation were initially opaque and unduly lengthy. This has sapped NGO commitment to an extent. This was due, in part, to government skepticism concerning NGO operational capabilities - a directory of these is now being prepared.
- f* *Clear and consistent government policies towards NGOs are needed:* Progress on funding NGOs, and on partnerships between NGOs and government generally, has been constrained by the lack of a clear government policy on NGOs. This has meant that neither government nor NGOs have complete confidence in partnerships. As a result, NGOs have not yet entered into a long-term process of policy dialogue. Certain agencies in government have had to make notable efforts to show to NGOs that it is worth their involvement in a "grand plan" such as the NFCAP.
- g* *A good learning environment is needed to encourage participatory approaches:* The NFCAP is an excellent fore-runner for NGO involvement in national sustainable development initiatives. It has offered a good learning environment for NGO/government cooperation, as have its projects. This learning needs to be encouraged - through flexible approaches to NFCAP projects, good attention to monitoring and seminars, and documentation of experience. The newly-initiated PNG NSDS process is building on the NFCAP experience of NGO participation.

Sources: Bass (1993), Mayers and Peutalo (1995, forthcoming).

Box 25: Involving Target Groups in the Netherlands

"Environmental officials in the Netherlands cite three successive stages in drawing economic actors (target groups) into the environmental strategy process:

- persuasion that there is an environmental problem at all;
- persuasion that the sector shares responsibility for tackling the problem;
- developing imaginative packages of instruments that provide both incentives to change and penalties for lack of progress.

A key incentive to target group involvement in the policy development process is that involvement provides an opportunity to influence the outcome; instruments shaped by business are likely to be more cost effective than those developed by government 'in isolation'. Essential to this pattern of relations is good communication channels between government and economic actors (e.g. via trade organisations, farm cooperatives) and a realistic enforcement programme, which provides credibility to the threat of sanctions and the possibility of a level playing field".

Source: ERM (1994)

CHAPTER EIGHT

PLANNING FOR PARTICIPATION IN STRATEGIES

"One thorn of experience is worth more than a whole forest of instructions" (Mikhail Gorbachev).

It is not our intention here to give detailed guidelines on participation in strategies. For details on participation structures, roles and methodologies, the reader is referred to Carew-Reid *et al.* (1994). For details on participation activities which could be planned as a focus for participation in strategies, the reader is referred to Borrini (1993); much of this section is based on the former reference ⁽⁶⁾.

Experience of strategies over the last decade indicates a number of requirements for effective participation (Box 26). All of these requirements need to be well-planned if the benefits of participation are not to be missed. Without planning, groups can be left out of the process; the complex organisational tasks of participation can be underestimated, and the many prerequisites required may not be in place in time. The essential point is to clarify strategy objectives and participants, to apply (existing) participation structures/institutions and methodologies, and to develop essential capacities where they are missing. This entails various tasks (Carew-Reid *et al.* 1994):

(a) *Definition of strategy theme:*

A basic idea will need to be obtained of the set of issues which the strategy must tackle, e.g.:

- sectoral environmental issues; *or*
- cross-sectoral environmental issues; *or*
- comprehensive sustainable development issues (where these cover significant social issues, they will require more participation than environmental concerns).

⁽⁶⁾ Borrini (1993) undertook a study of participation in the Tropical Forests Action Programme (TFAP). Based on analysis of TFAP activities, she generated a useful set of optional activities for participation in the different phases of the TFAP; some of these were based on a case study. These guidelines for key participation activities are summarised in Box 29, with examples.

Carew-Reid *et al.* (1994) reviewed the activities and the results of a number of National Conservation Strategies (NCSs), National Environmental Action Plans (NEAPs), and other comprehensive approaches to environment and development. This was done through literature review, workshops in different continents, and inputs from the international Working Group on Strategies for Sustainability of IUCN's Commission for Environmental Strategy and Planning. In contrast to Borrini, who stressed different types of participation activity, the guidance provided by Carew-Reid *et al.* concentrated on structures and methodologies for participation, means of communication for keeping participants informed and linked together, and the roles of different groups in participation. These roles take different forms according to the strategy task.

Box 26: Requirements for Effective Participation in Strategies

Requirements depend on the precise strategy scope, goals and likely participants. They also depend upon political and cultural circumstances. In general, the needs are:

- **participatory methods** - for appraisal of needs and possibilities, dialogue, ranking solutions, forming partnerships, resolving conflicts and reaching consensus;
- **policies, laws and institutions** - that encourage, support, manage and reward participation in planning/development process (including specially-formulated groups where appropriate institutions do not exist);
- **catalysts for participation** - e.g. NGOs and local authorities, to start participation and to link top-down and bottom-up processes;
- **learning environments** - for participants and professionals to test approaches;
- **specific activities and events** - around which to focus participation;
- **a phased approach** - i.e. start modestly, building on existing participation systems, and build up; deepen and focus participation with each iteration of the strategy "cycle"; and
- **adequate resources, skills and time** - effective participation tends to start slowly and requires early investment; it becomes more cost-effective with time.

(b) *Definition of strategy level:*

It is essential to identify the main levels at which policy and institutional change are required to address the above issues. These will usually be:

- national
- provincial
- local

However, the key to effective change is often to link the levels, e.g. a national strategy would not entirely be a national-level exercise.

(c) *Stakeholder analysis:*

It will be necessary to identify the groups most likely to be affected by, or to affect, the strategy. These are likely to include:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| ■ government | ■ resource user groups |
| ■ local government | ■ consumer groups |
| ■ NGOs | ■ traditional community groups |
| ■ academics | ■ religious/cultural groups |
| ■ business | ■ communities |
| ■ unions | ■ eminent persons |

The initial definition of strategy theme, level and stakeholders (tasks a, b and c) can be tackled together, by a broad proto-group of strategy participants. For effective participation, this should not be done entirely by a government department or a development assistance agency. It is important to get the local "ownership" right, for tasks a, b and c will determine the choice of participation structures and methodologies, and incentives required for participation.

(d) *Choice of participation structures and methodologies:*

The precise participation structure or methodology used at any time within a strategy will depend upon:

- (i) the *specific strategy task* (information collection, analysis, decision-making, implementation, monitoring, etc);
- (ii) the *maturity of the strategy* (the number of times the strategy cycle has been revised or 'turned round'); and
- (iii) the nature of *horizontal/vertical links* and the actors involved.

Box 27 lists some participatory structures best-suited to specific groups. Below, we discuss needs according to strategy task:

Participation structures/institutions: Based on experience so far, for most strategy tasks, the promising participation structures appear to be: the planning system; traditional structures (e.g. village-based systems, religious systems); and specially-constituted committees, round tables and other groups formulated to take advantage of group dynamics. For communications, information, education and monitoring tasks, the useful structures so far have been: the education system, extension system, the arts/theatre, and the media.

It is likely that the government planning and administration structure, and the political system, will largely determine whether it is possible for a national strategy to be built up from local initiatives, or whether the initiative has to start from the top, and filter down through participation and existing decentralisation structures. It will also partly determine what kind of mix of participatory and multidisciplinary approaches can be taken.

It is important, at the outset, that the strategy participants know just how far up the decision-making "hierarchies" their recommendations can and will reach. One of the failures of participation has been disillusionment resulting from unrealistic expectations about how far-reaching, and how quickly, the results of participation will make a difference to policies and plans.

Participation methodologies: useful approaches have included:

- for survey, analysis and monitoring tasks: participatory inquiry, including participatory resource surveys and "green" audits;
- for decision-making tasks: consensus-building, negotiations, and traditional methods, e.g. of conflict resolution;
- for implementation tasks: voluntary agreements and joint management; and
- for communications, information, education and monitoring tasks: seminars, workshops, interviews, phone-ins, e-mail networks, exhibitions and plays.

Box 27: Structures for "Horizontal" and "Vertical" Participation

HORIZONTAL LINKS BETWEEN SECTORS/RESOURCES

- *different sectors*, e.g. central planning system with associated procedures e.g. planning inquiry and EIA; local authorities development control and environmental health etc; round tables; environmental core groups; conflict mediation organisations; participatory inquiry groups
- *living/working communities (household, work place, neighbourhood)*, e.g. housewives associations; neighbourhood associations; commuter groups; unions; participatory inquiry groups
- *different claims on the environment and resources*, e.g. legal system; local authority planning and development control; lands commission; conflict mediation organisations
- *different social groups*, e.g. traditional fora; local authority social services; religious groups; conflict mediation organisations; participatory inquiry
- *producers/consumers/sufferers of pollution*, e.g. industry associations; trade associations; consumer groups; rights groups; round tables; conflict mediation organisations

VERTICAL LINKS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND LOCAL INTERESTS

- *top-down and bottom-up decision-making*, e.g. planning and development control systems; decentralisation of government and private sector operations; local authorities; NGOs
- *party politics*, e.g. parliamentary system; party membership and representation

(see also Figure 4, page 56)

Many of these methodologies will be relatively new in most countries, and hence capacity-building will need to be planned for.

(e) *Communications, information and education (CIE):*

The participatory aspects of an NSDS require an ethically-motivated, educated and socially-aware public. However, in many areas, the public do not understand, or are simply not interested, in the issues of sustainable development as currently discussed in many national-level fora. Clearly, a two-way process of education and consultation is needed. Carew-Reid *et al.* (1994) give guidance on the processes of CIE which are essential complements and precursors to participation in a strategy. In many instances, media activities in particular have been crucial to public debate, and to clarifying the extent of public concern at times of critical decision-making. Specially-commissioned video production has often helped to reveal the breadth and depth of concern on strategy issues; these have variously been used to excite local/resource-user group discussion (e.g. Pakistan, St Lucia and Canada), and to "brief" decision-makers when critical strategy decisions have to be made (e.g. Botswana, Cross River State Nigeria). In all strategies, the number of actors, their physical separation, the sheer volume of information, ideas and correspondence, and the need to ensure equitable access to information, have necessitated very good communications links.

(f) *Defining specific activities*

The specific activities required for the strategy can best be defined once (a) to (e) above have been sorted out. They will be very specific to the precise strategy needs and participants. None the less, some helpful, general suggestions might be offered by referring to the work of Borrini (1993). Drawing on her analysis of actual and potential activities used in National Forestry Action Plans, some key activities have been abstracted in Box 28.

(g) *Phasing*

"The fact that countries have been slow to produce NSDSs is no surprise - given what they are being asked to do [by Agenda 21], it would be worrying if results had been quicker" (Winpenny and Tandon 1993).

It is inevitable that the process of developing a national strategy will be slower with participation than without, but experience shows that a participatory process is likely to be much better. Indeed, if a sustainable process is to be initiated, it needs to proceed relatively slowly. We should expect an NSDS to progress in a manner, and over a time scale, which is set by the main participation processes. Consensus-building and conflict resolution can take a considerable time; and past experience indicates that these processes usually have to be phased to deal with *least* contentious issues first.

It follows, therefore, that a phased approach to participation will be required, beginning with the use of participation structures and methodologies with which the majority of participants are familiar, and which are acceptable scientifically and politically. It will probably not be possible to both focus and get adequate detail from all the stakeholder groups in the initial strategy cycle. As with the scope of the strategy, it can be best to build up to greater ambitions. The capacity for participation can be built throughout the process - indeed, it is participation capabilities which have been the subject of much of the capacity-building of many successful (local) strategies.

Sustainable development will entail quite radical changes in institutional roles. For this reason, it may be quite legitimate for governments to start with a strategy which concentrates on government roles alone, and especially their integration, before going on to a wider, participatory process. This may well be the case for highly-developed government systems, which recognise the risks of moving from centralised, sectoral norms towards more experimental, integrated, participatory modes of operating.

(h) *Monitoring participation*

The different types, or levels, of participation can be compared with the typology of participation in policy processes (Table 3) or with the typology of participation in development programmes and projects (Table 1), as appropriate to the particular strategy task.

However, this does not address the quality of participation. The quality issue is a key one, as there have recently been many initiatives claiming to be participatory, but not, in fact, allowing participants to make their full contribution.

Box 28: Participation Activities in the National Forestry Action Plan Process

Borrini (1993) provides many examples of participation activity in the TFAP process, and generates guidelines based on these. Some examples are:

(1) *People's representatives sit in the TFAP Steering Committees of many countries* (eg. Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, The Philippines, Thailand). The issue, however, is who is selected and how. In The Philippines, the people's representatives are officially nominated by the government. In other countries they are elected or appointed by the NGOs and people's associations (PAs) themselves. In Tanzania, TFAP stimulated the association of NGOs and PAs into a Forum like TANGO (Tanzania Association of Non-governmental Organisations). Their representatives sit in Steering Committees at national, regional and district level.

(2) *A workshop to enhance people's participation in TFAP*. The workshop examines the benefits, obstacles and opportunities of people's participation in furthering the national TFAP goals, as well as when, how and with what kinds of incentives and support, participation is expected to take place. Ideally, a review of the national experience in participatory development is carried out prior to the workshop, and the results then discussed. At minimum, the existing avenues for people's participation in other sectors (e.g. public health, adult education, agricultural extension) are reviewed and discussed to bring lessons to bear in the TFAP process. The resulting country-specific strategy to enhance people's participation in TFAP identifies national and sub-national needs, objectives, resources, activities and monitoring procedures. Borrini cites early workshops that have touched on these issues, but not fully, in Nigeria, Colombia, Sierra Leone and Thailand.

(3) *Training in participatory techniques*. Trainees include governmental personnel and/or members of NGOs and PAs who will facilitate people's participation in planning and implementing TFAP projects. Many TFAP countries have adopted this option, including Guatemala, Ecuador, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Thailand, India, Sri Lanka. In Ecuador, the training of local leaders and NGO staff in participatory rapid appraisal methods led to a number of community proposals for inclusion in the national TFAP plan. A remarkable training scheme based in participatory workshops and field support was used for a forestry staff re-orientation programme in Nepal.

(4) *Strengthening and orienting NGOs and PAs*. A programme of institutional and technical strengthening for NGOs and PAs expected to play well-defined roles in the TFAP process. Building upon their prior experience and skills, the programme enables them to undertake specific activities (e.g. assisting local groups and Resource Management Councils, contributing to environmental impact assessment studies, disseminating information, facilitating participatory action research, representing people's views in planning workshops). In Guatemala, a consortium of non-governmental organisations (ASINDES) has been supported to strengthen its capacity to negotiate the terms of reference for NGO participation in the national TFAP. A survey of NGO needs and possibilities for expanding agroforestry activities and various other seminars and workshops for NGOs also received external support. A similar approach has been undertaken in Papua New Guinea. Zimbabwean officials fear that PAs and NGOs that receive governmental support may be weakened in one of their most important tasks, ie. to maintain a watchful and critical eye on governmental practices.

(5) *Land and Resource Tenure Review*. The notion is to put together a stakeholder review to examine tenurial opportunities and constraints for sustainable forest management policy. In Ethiopia, for example, a specific study of factors affecting people's participation in natural resource management, has identified the lack of security of tenure as they key factor that prevents people from getting involved in sound land practices. Ethiopian officials suggest land and resource review or at least the possibility for peasants to lease land for at least 50 years. In Tanzania, tenure rights are outside TFAP jurisdiction, although they represent a crucial issue. TFAP has not yet managed to enforce legal rights of tenure and this is seen as an obstacle to people's participation in a number of projects. For instance, ownership and benefits accruing from village woodlots still need to be clearly established.

Box 28 Continued:

(6) *TFAP formulation workshops.* These workshops are critical for reviewing evidence, setting agendas and defining options. Full stakeholder participation is desirable. In Tanzania, workshops and project development took place in 10 regions, with substantial involvement of NGOs and the private sector. The resulting plans for regions and districts were very useful, and it would have been excellent to compile them as early as possible in the TFAP process. In Colombia and Nicaragua, TFAP workshops proved extremely important. The workshop is the most common format adopted by the Colombian TFAP for the exchange of information and development of ideas and project proposals.

(7) *People's representatives participating in the Round Table of Donors.* Upon agreement with the national authorities, and via an electoral process involving different NGOs, PAs and local groups, a number of people's representatives participate in the Round Table of Donors discussing the NFAP financial requirements. According to national circumstances, participation of such representatives may be more or less substantive (from providing information to advocating for specific initiatives; from identifying obstacles to discussing the political, technical and financial implications of the NFAP as a whole).

In Peru this option was adopted, and actually represented the culmination of the TFAP process. In Tanzania, the participation of NGOs in the Round Table of Donors assured that a credit line for people without collateral was approved (without the specific request of a NGO representative, the credit line would have remained above US\$ 7,500, which is out of range for many little investors). Officials from Zimbabwe believe that many TFAP projects did not achieve the expected results because people were not involved enough in the preparatory phases, including the discussion at the Round Table of Donors.

(8) *Participation options in implementation.* Although less examples of these are available, Borrini lists several options:

- Poverty-alleviation policies and programmes
- Legalising communal property regimes and management by user groups
- Participatory Environmental Projects (Primary Environmental Care)
- Intersectoral integration in TFAP
- Incentives for greater participation to governmental personnel
- National TFAP credit scheme
- Training for landless people
- Participatory EIA
- Participatory monitoring and evaluation of projects

Some criteria for assessing the quality of participatory processes are suggested below (adapted from Adnan *et al.* 1992):

- *transparency:* whether all stages of the activities are publicly visible, including decision-making processes;
- *access to information:* whether there has been adequate and timely access to project information or not;
- *accountability:* whether the agencies involved in management and implementation are procedurally and periodically answerable to people;

- *meaningful choice*: whether people can participate in a voluntary manner without being compelled, constrained or otherwise left with no other choice;
- *comprehensiveness*: whether people have been consulted from the very outset in defining the nature of the problem or opportunity prior to any project being decided upon, as contrasted to consultation during subsequent stages of the project cycle; and
- *non-alienation*: whether people have participated in a way that they do not feel distanced and alienated from development activities, the implementation process and the eventual outcomes.

8.1 Challenges for the Future

These brief guidelines have been built on experience to date. However, there are emerging challenges which will have to be addressed in the future in developing and implementing strategies for sustainable development.

For the remainder of the 1990s, one of the most significant challenges for strategies is to increase the level and effectiveness of participation.

The reality is that most countries have some form of less-than-participatory strategy already in place, and new demands (internally or from, for example, Agenda 21) to develop broader, more participatory strategies such as an NSDS. In practice, the existing strategy should be built upon, rather than abandoned.

In building upon current strategic initiatives, the constraints to participation need particular attention before a strategy commences. Priorities may be: institutional reviews of the main agencies that should be promoting participation; training in participatory methods; close monitoring of early participation exercises; and promotion at high levels of the implications and impacts of participation.

It is probable that, when strategies become based more fully upon participation, their institutional framework, management and cost structure will begin to change. For example: a national strategy secretariat and task force - which has dominated most past strategies - may become complemented by local groups, and the latter may come to take a lead in further iterations of the national strategy. Strategy practitioners may increasingly bring in people who have been active in local participatory projects, but who so far have had little to do with policy-level initiatives. National planning procedures may begin to accommodate multi-actor and process approaches, and previously marginalised groups may share platforms with recognised authorities.

Once participation structures are up and running, and participatory efforts at strategy implementation are under way, more contentious strategy issues may then be tackled; this could mean greater concentration on mediation and conflict resolution. The funding structure will then be able to begin to incorporate new, longer-term provisions for joint action, e.g. trust funds for community initiatives. All of this will have major implications for the way that strategies are managed. Once national policies and institutions become more conducive to participation and sustainable development, the critical mass of effort may begin to turn away from national strategies, and towards middle-level strategies that can link national policy initiatives with local-level participatory action.

If participation can be facilitated, it could effectively counter a failing of past strategies - that they can become overly-comprehensive "planners' dreams". In contrast, with effective participation, strategies

should become the result of society defining its (diverse) needs for sustainable development, and professionals devising practicable ways to undertake the desired actions.

There is little precedent for dealing with these challenges. Taking participation into the mainstream of planning and development activity needs further research and interaction, and changes in institutional and professional attitudes and environments. For these and other reasons, networking within and between countries on participation aspects is strongly recommended. This would be particularly valuable amongst policy analysts, planners and others who are working in multidisciplinary ways, and those who have been behind effective participatory approaches.

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