# Co-Management Efforts as Social Movements

The Tin Wis Coalition and the Drive for Forest Practices Legislation in British Columbia

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In 1991, a model forest practices act that would radically transform methods of forest management in British Columbia was proposed by a coalition of First Nations, trade unions, environmentalists and small businesses. If implemented, the Tin Wis Forest Stewardship Act would see the province of British Columbia give a prominent forest management role to bioregional boards.[1] The proposed legislation followed two decades of activism in the community forestry movement in BC and represented an attempt to institute a co-management
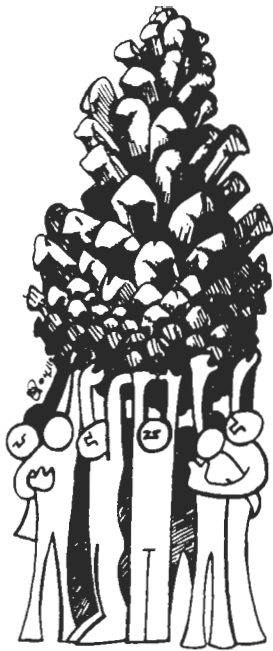
A fundamental aim of social movements is to convince society to apply different values or principles than those currently used. In the case of the Tin Wis Forest Stewardship Act, the aim is to foster the awareness and practice of long-term responsible stewardship of public resources at the local level.

agreement between the provincial government and the communities, aboriginal people and other stakeholders most affected by forestry practices in the long run.

The effort to write and raise support for the Forest Stewardship Act provides an important opportunity to consider new middle-range theoretical propositions predicting the conditions under which co-management agreements successfully arise and persist.[2] Co-management of Crown or state-owned forests in particular is an ideal vehicle for exploring co-management because of the numerous and tightly entwined resources involved in a forest ecosystem: fisheries, wildlife and water all "flow through" the forest and have complex symbiotic relationships which are affected by changes to the forest.

The 1970s was the decade in which British Columbians began to realize that – despite official policy – Crown forests were not being managed on a biologically sustained yield basis. Studies of the regional "over-cut" by the Environmental and Land Use Committee Secretariat and recognition of the problem by the Royal Commission on Forest Resources ended an era of innocence and denial.[3]

At the same time, greater awareness was emerging of the need to protect the forest ecosystem from the negative effects of logging. Fish and wildlife habitat, water quality, soils and wilderness became key concerns. The major multinational timber companies, which leased Crown forests under long-term licence agreements, played a major role in the development of forest policy and guidelines for forest practices.[4] Regulation designed to protect non-timber values would constrain logging activities and was clearly not in their interest. As a result, clear-cutting of very large areas (up to several thousand hectares each) tended to predominate and buffer zones to protect riparian areas alongside fish streams were absent or inadequate. Landslides, mass wasting and siltation of soils became major concerns not only in that they destroyed fisheries habitat, but also because they eliminated future forest growing sites.[5]

Other major concerns developed around job loss and optimal wood utilization. Although the volume of wood harvested increased annually (doubling from 1967 to 1987), the number of jobs generated by each unit of wood harvested decreased through mechanization so that by 1987, only 0.95 workers were directly employed per cubic metre harvested as opposed to the 1.61 in 1967.[6] BC in fact has the lowest recorded employment level per unit of wood harvested in the world.

One reason for the low employment level was the fact that high quality Crown timber was not always processed for its "highest" use. For example, wood suitable for furniture or construction material was often allocated to pulp mills – conveniently owned by the same integrated company – for use in newsprint. As a result, smaller sawmills and remanufacturers suffered wood supply shortages and job growth in this sector was constrained. This practice served the market convenience of an integrated company, but was contrary to the interest of the BC public who owned the timber and deserved the highest return on the sale of a public good. Such practices also served the long-term strategy of increasing the market control of the major companies, whose economic and political influence grew as they acquired more long-term leases.[7]

Community forestry initiatives arose in the 1970s in response to the growing awareness of these conditions. Although many BC environmentalists focused their energy in the next two decades on efforts to preserve representative old-growth ecosystems, a growing number who worked in the labour movement, with tribal councils and with non-native communities, were equally or more concerned with responsible and accountable management of "the working forest." They became concerned not only with sustainable rates of logging, but also with how to preserve the basic structure of the forest by using selective logging or small clear-cuts, leaving wildlife corridors, riparian zones along creeks, old growth snags and so on.

A handful of influential foresters developed and spread these "holistic forestry" and "new forestry" ideas, working as consultants to community groups and tribal councils. The Nisga'a Tribal Council in particular became a leader in protesting the over-cutting, mismanagement and poor forest practices in its area.[8] Similar efforts were made in the Kootenays, where a comprehensive local management plan was developed;[9] on the Queen Charlottes, where over-cutting and waste was an issue;[10] in the Village of Tofino, which demanded a regional sustainable logging plan for its area,[11] and by the Village of Hazelton, which issued a Forest Industry Charter of Rights for municipalities.[12]

These groups focused on many of the broader forest stewardship issues, but usually did not have the resources to extend their struggle beyond their local area. Intellectual linkages were formed among these groups and many others across the province by the New Perspectives Forestry Society, whose 1991 conference brought many together for the first time to discuss community forestry issues. However, broader political linkages with province-wide organizations was a necessary condition of developing a real political voice. It was not until the community forestry issues identified above were taken up by the Tin Wis Coalition that a social movement around them became possible.

The Tin Wis Coalition, formed in 1988, included a few leading First Nations (spearheaded by the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council on the west coast of Vancouver Island), a few key labour unions (such as the Canadian Paperworkers

Résumé

CET ARTICLE PASSE en revue le développement du mouvement des communautés forestières en Colombie-Britannique à partir de ses débuts dans les années 1970 jusqu'à sa plus récente expression dans un projet de loi sur les pratiques forestières: la loi sur la gestion forestière de Tin Wis. Ce projet de loi consiste en une entente de cogestion qui alloue aux comités des collectivités un rôle proéminent dans la gestion forestière. En situant ce projet de loi dans le contexte de la littérature sur les mouvements sociaux, l'auteur nous fournit des pistes quant à la possibilité d'une réussite.
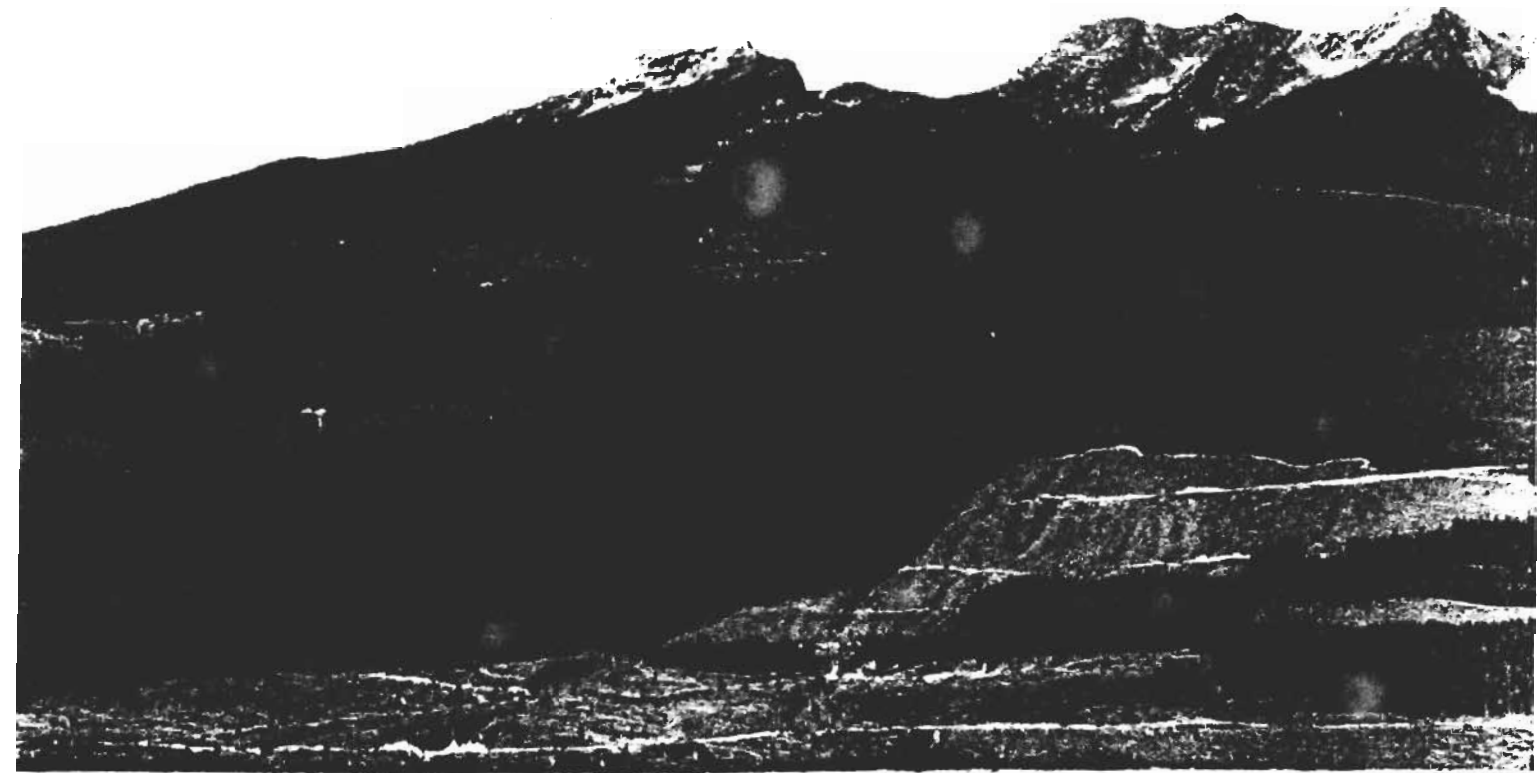
Clear-cut, Arrow Lake, Nakusp BC: The Tin Wis Forest Stewardship Act represents the culmination of attempts by BC communities to improve forest management practices and protect fisheries and wildlife habitat.

Union, the Canadian Pulp and Paperworkers Union, the United Fishermen [sic] and Allied Workers Union, the BC Government Employees Union, and the BC Federation of Labour), environmental groups and individual environmentalists, small business people, and peace and justice activists. Following the mandate of a 1990 Tin Wis conference resolution, a forestry working group was struck to address the full range of issues through the drafting of a model forest practices act.

The Tin Wis Forest Stewardship Act could thus be considered the culmination of a series of efforts by BC communities over two decades to reform forest management toward sustainable rates of logging on a regional basis, holistic management for all forest values, optimal wood utilization standards and the recognition of First Nations' rights and decision-making processes. What is the likelihood that this current attempt will be successful? To begin answering that question, it is helpful to analyze the effort in the context of the social movement that gave rise to it.

In viewing the Tin Wis Coalition as a social movement, this discussion adopts the analytic framework provided in Alan Scott's useful summary of the current literature.[13] Scott views the "new" social movements as attempts to reform conventional pluralist interest group politics through mobilizing civil society into greater participation in government, rather than simply seizing centralized power. Movements involve at least several pressure groups or political parties and may involve mass mobilization at a grassroots level. The Tin Wis Coalition fits this criterion, including as it does a broad spectrum of groups. The coalition also works through local community leadership as well as elected political leaders. The stewardship act proposes that key forest land use planning functions be devolved to local boards (partly elected locally and partly provincially appointed) that represent the range of local stakeholders and First Nations governments.

Social movements are located in civil society, in the popular sector, more than in organized political parties. The proposed structure for forest management would curtail the influence of political parties and civil servants on the management process, although governments and bureaucracies would play an important oversight role if basic standards and procedures set forth in the act were violated.

A more fundamental aim of social movements is to convince society to apply different values or principles than those currently used. In this case, the aim of the act is to foster the awareness and practice of long-term responsible stewardship of public resources at the local level. This represents a fundamental departure from the short-term focus on current forest products markets.

Scott thus views social movements as a response to the failure of the institutions of representation to respond to popular sector issues, demands, or concerns. Most popular sector movements are in fact made up either of groups which have been excluded from the polity or of issues which have been excluded from mainstream politics. The Tin Wis Coalition could be said to generally fit these criteria for a social movement, in the sense that it combined some groups excluded from the polity (e.g. environmentalists) with some issues which its more mainstream groups (e.g. unions) could not get onto the political agenda.

What then does the social movement literature tell us about the criteria for successful social movements of this type? What chance is there that a co-manage-
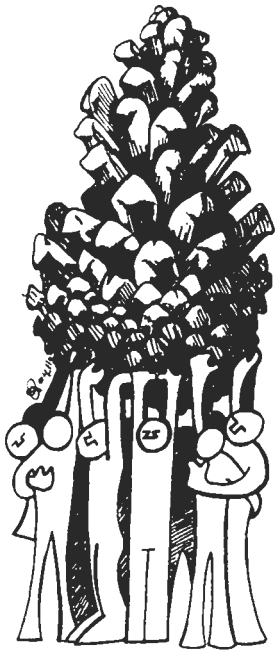
The Tin Wis Coalition has access to a degree of power simply by forming a consensus among sectors which are not normally united in their demands of government.

ment agreement, such as the one expressed in the Forest Stewardship Act, can be realized? Scott advocates an examination of both general sociological pre-conditions and specific political conditions in attempting to predict the success of a social movement.

General sociological conditions

Scott's approach is partially based on resource mobilization theory, which focuses on the difficulties of mobilizing individuals and groups to participate in social movements. Applying this approach to the Tin Wis movement, we can identify four sociological conditions relevant to gauging its likelihood of success.
• *The ability to articulate a consistent vision.* A number of events and converging intellectual currents made it possible for the Tin Wis Coalition to articulate a consistent and integrated vision of forest stewardship. Primary among these was the influence of the Brundtland Commission on the *Resource Management Act 1991* developed by New Zealand and adopted as a model for much of the "Purposes" section of the BC Forest Stewardship Act. Provincial, national and international concern with sustainable management was also reflected in the provincial Roundtable on Environment and the Economy, the Canadian Green Plan, and the Earth Summit.
On the local level, concepts from the so-

cial sciences such as cultural ecology (the adaptation of human populations to specific environments) and from the natural sciences such as watershed-based or ecosystem-based management, fit well with the new political realities of First Nations' territorial rights and the demand for local community rights. The study of traditional ecological knowledge which had come into favour found itself in harmony with concepts such as bioregionalism, the geobiological equivalent of cultural ecology. These different ways of understanding the local environment all pointed to locally-based management models as a way of achieving integrated management of local ecosystems.
• *Access to financial and logistical resources.* In the first few years, the Tin Wis Coalition was built with financial and logistical support from the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council, churches and unions. In the writing of the proposed act, the cash and logistical donations of unions and small businesses and the individual donations of time and travel by working group and other Tin Wis members was of key importance. Especially important in this latter stage was the donation of professional legal help by the BC Public Interest Advocacy Centre and the experience and intellectual leadership of the group's chair, a former government forester in contact with many community groups.
• *The ability to demonstrate that radical reform is necessary and not being addressed.* Both the provincial auditor-general and the provincial Forest Resources Commission identified the need for major reform to ensure proper forest management. Both the Forest Resources Commission and the International Woodworkers of America specifically called for a Forest Practices Act. Opinion polls showing a 20

percent drop in public confidence in government over the last decade have paralleled a rise in the demand for freedom of information and accountability of government to the public. BC has no freedom of information act and public access to information on public resources was a key component of the Forest Stewardship Act.
Equally urgent was the reform required to bring together interests in conflict over "jobs versus the environment" and "First Nations' versus other citizens' rights." The stewardship act pointed to the more fundamental shared interests of these parties and how they could work together.
• *Access to old and new public forums of debate and dissemination of opinion.* The community forestry movement and the critique of forest management in general found greater expression in the late 1980s with more reporters and new columns on the environment, native affairs and natural resource management in the major Vancouver newspaper, the *Sun*. Newer publications, such as *Forest Planning Canada*, also increased coverage of the issues. A scathing critique of forest management by an industry and government insider, who endorsed the stewardship act, sold 10,000 hard cover copies in the first year.[4] Regular dissemination of forest practice and watershed management information began to occur through at least five new freely-distributed newspapers or tabloid newsletters. At least four government-supported task forces or forums grappled with the issues.

Specific political conditions

Although he recognized the importance of analyzing the political dynamics among interest groups in predicting the likelihood of success of a social movement,

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Toward a common property ethic

• We need a change of perspective with regard to common property resource (CPR) management. Groups that engage in successful CPR management should be recognized as leaders, rather than anthropological curiosities.
• Since humans can only remain alive as one component of the interdependent ecosystem that is the biosphere, what rationale can there be for slicing that ecosystem into bits and pieces to be "owned" by unconnected actors? And what rationale can there be for allowing uncontrolled access to air, water, land or any other biosphere component?
• We need a better understanding of the psychology of private property. What makes the difference between a stewardship approach and a siege mentality? Between a sense of community and a castle-keep mindset?
• We must educate children to have a gut-level sense of common dependence on and responsibility for, the earth. Children need to understand that rules for co-existing must be negotiated and obeyed. "Ownership" of any aspect of the earth, where it exists, must connote "stewardship" in the sense of dedicated, careful, informed protection for future generations.
• The duties of stewardship must be negotiated among all stakeholders. Failure to discharge duties must be greeted with outrage. ❑

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cott did not identify specific political con-
itions for this purpose. The following six
onditions were suggested by studying a
arallel set of dynamics in Washington
tate.[15]

*The existence of new and expanding or-
anizations.* Within a political context of
xpanding environmental and communi-
y-based organizations, the Tin Wis Coali-
ion is widely supported as a moderate
oice of reason. The Western Canada Wil-
erness Committee expanded from 500 to
5,000 members over the 1980s. The Green
Party, the New Democratic Party Green
Caucus and the Left/Green network be-
ame established by 1990. Three rainforest
ction networks and a healthy communi-
ies network formed and distributed
ewsletters. Four regional or province-
vide alliances formed or became more ac-
ive. In Vancouver, a First Nations support
group arose in response to the Oka crisis.

*The existence of new or expanding forms
if political expression.* At least six forms
if political expression became more in-
ensely discussed or utilized by the late
980s. Blockades of public or logging
oads were frequently used by environ-
mentalists and First Nations. Tree climbing
o prevent logging of old growth became
popular enough to support courses on the
ubject. Mass demonstrations and arrests
ecame more common. Festivals, marches,
ir conferences such as Earth Day, the
itein, or Tin Wis were seen as measures of
he degree of support. Product labelling
uch as the EcoLogo by Environment Can-
da became widespread and discussions
ibout labelling of wood products in terms
if the forest practices involved became
neated. Finally, informal accords between
ectors outside government and major cor-
porations were occasionally solidified, e.g.
he Tin Wis Accord of 1989 and the South
sland Accord of 1991.

• *The ability to form issue networks.* Hec-
o identifies issue networks as a major
source of reform pressure for governmen-
al processes dominated by a few econom-
c players.[16] Issue networks are formed
vhen government personnel, public sector
epresentatives and non-aligned scientists
generate a free and lively debate about
policy and technical alternatives. The writ-
ng of the stewardship act involved sec-
oral leaders, academics, independent con-
sultants and experienced government per-
sonnel familiar with research, technical in-
ormation and alternative working mod-
ls. The ability of an issue network to com-
pine such diverse resources effectively al-
ows it both to produce and legitimize
vorkable models.

• *The ability to form coalitions at the lo-
cal and provincial levels.* Two different
ypes of coalitions formed at the local or
egional level in 1990-91. In the rural West
Chilcotin area, First Nations, local loggers,
cattle ranchers, guide-outfitters, environ-
mentalists and community leaders formed
a community resources board. The board

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completed an inventory of forest use, iden-
tified conflict areas, zoned areas for differ-
ent uses and forged a regional forest plan.
This work was co-ordinated with that of
the government sponsored larger regional
advisory council.[17] In less rural southern
Vancouver Island, an informal accord be-
tween a local of the International Wood-
workers of America, Canada and several
environmental groups affirmed their joint
commitment to work toward value-added
forest products jobs and the preservation
of representative ecosystems. This South
Island Accord broke the unwritten IWA-
major corporation alliance against envi-
ronmentalists. The accord was struck in re-
sponse to massive lay-offs by the major
corporations after they had promised the
IWA not to lay off workers if the union
helped them fight the environmentalists.

• *The ability to identify issues with the
public interest.* The stewardship act
adopts as a major principle that the forests
are to be managed for public net benefit
and proposes a method by which the pub-
lic can reach consensus on how to balance
use and protection of the forest. Streeck
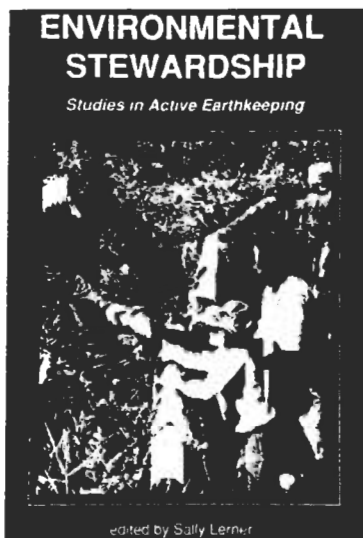and Schmitter consider the ability to iden-

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tify one's agenda with the public good as
the most important way a group can place
its goals in the mainstream of the public
agenda.[18]
• *Access to power.* The Tin Wis Coalition
has access to a degree of power simply by
forming a consensus among sectors which
are not normally united in their demands
of government. The amount of political
power enjoyed by individual members is
also important in determining the coali-
tion's access to power. In BC, labour
unions are currently the major source of
power and give critical impetus to the coa-
lition, even though the largest woodwork-
ers union, the IWA. has been only margin-
ally involved through two locals. First Na-
tions, which are in the process of negotiat-
ing government-to-government relation-
ships with the province, are becoming an-
other important source of power.

Conclusions

This article has noted four general socio-
logical and six specific political conditions
necessary for the success of social move-
ments. It is likely that these conditions

What is co-management?

Co-management usually develops around common pool or common property re-
sources such as fisheries or forests because these are vulnerable to over-exploita-
tion by private individuals, by large corporations, and by state agencies under the
influence of either of the former. Co-management arrangements in general involve
genuine power sharing between community-based managers and government
agencies, so that each can check the potential excesses of the other.

Communities which are able to play a role in management have in many cases
developed ways to prevent over-exploitation of local resources through using for-
mal and informal mechanisms to regulate the activities of insiders and the access of
outsiders.[1] Such community-based arrangements have shown promise in improv-
ing the management of fisheries, forests, wildlife, water, and other common pool
resources in an ecologically and hence economically sustainable direction.[2]   ❑

– E.W.P.

Notes

[1] For further reading on this aspect of co-management: D. Feeny, Fikret Berkes, Bonnie Mc-
Cay, and James Acheson, "The Tragedy of the Commons: Twenty-two Years Later," *Human
Ecology*, 18:1 (1990), pp. 1-19; *Community-Based Resource Management in Canada: An Inventory
of Research and Projects*, Fay G. Cohen, and Arthur J. Hanson, eds. (Ottawa: Canadian Com-
mission for Unesco, 1989); *The Question of the Commons: The Culture and Ecology of Communal
Resources*, Bonnie McCay, and James Acheson, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press,
1987); Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*
(New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Peter Usher, "Indigenous Management
Systems and the Conservation of Wildlife in the Canadian North," *Alternatives*, 14:1 (1987),
pp. 3-9.
[2] For further reading on co-management in particular resource areas: J.E.M. Arnold, and J.G.
Campbell, "Collective Management of Hill Forests in Nepal: The Community Forestry De-
velopment Project," *Common Property Resource Management* (National Research Council,
1986), pp. 425-480; *Common Property Resources: Ecology and Community-Based Sustainable De-
velopment*, Fikret Berkes, ed. (London: Belhaven Press, 1989); William Blomquist, *Dividing the
Waters: Governing Groundwater in Southern California* (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992); Harvey
Feit, "Self-management and State Management: Forms of Knowing and Managing Northern
Wildlife" *Traditional Knowledge and Renewable Resource Management*, M.M. Freeman and L.N.
Carbyn, eds. (Boreal Institute of Northern Studies, 1988), pp. 72-91; Svein Jentoft, "Fisheries
Co-Management: Delegating Government Responsibility to Fishermen's [sic] Organiza-
tions," *Marine Policy*, 13 (1989), pp. 137-54; and Evelyn Pinkerton, "Attaining Better Fisheries
Management Through Co-Management: Prospects, Problems, and Propositions," *Co-opera-
tive Management of Local Fisheries New Directions in Improved Management and Community De-
velopment*, E. Pinkerton, ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), pp. 3-33.

have broader applicability: they should be considered working hypotheses for predicting the success of co-management agreements based on social movements.

An analysis of the Tin Wis Coalition and the stewardship act in light of these conditions would suggest that this co-management initiative is likely to succeed. But meeting the necessary conditions of success may not be sufficient to guarantee the actual success of a social movement: each case must satisfy its own sufficient conditions as well. In the case of Tin Wis, government must find – or be pressured into finding – the proposed strategy acceptable.

The provincial NDP government, elected in 1991, appointed a forests minister opposed to the devolution of significant powers, although a near contender for this position held the opposite perspective. Either a cabinet shuffle or a First Nations' decision to put forest stewardship on to the political agenda as part of their treaty making process could potentially create a success. A third alternative is that government could learn from the success of its experimental community-based planning exercises, particularly in areas such as the West Chilcotin, where a Tin Wis type process has already facilitated agreements and could cause a rethinking of current policy.

Evelyn Pinkerton, a maritime anthropologist and research associate at the School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, served on the Tin Wis Steering Committee and the Tin Wis Forestry Working Group. Thanks to Ray Travers, Brian Robertson, Frank Tester and Eric Anderson for helpful comments.

Notes

[1] For a discussion of the act in relation to trends in public participation in governmental decision making in Canada see: Frank Tester, "Environmentalism and the Evolution of Citizen Participation in Canada," *Alternatives*, 19:1 (1992), pp. 34-41.
[2] The conditions proposed here extend those advanced by Pinkerton about co-management in

Evelyn Pinkerton, "Attaining Better Fisheries Management Through Co-Management: Prospects, Problems and Propositions," E. Pinkerton. ed., *Co-operative Management of Local Fisheries: New Directions in Improved Management and Community Development* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), pp. 3-33; and by Ostrom about self-management in Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), among others.
[3] Environment and Land Use Secretariat, *The Terrace/Hazelton Report* (Victoria: unpublished manuscript, 1975); and Peter Pearse, *Timber Rights and Forest Policy* (Victoria: The Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources, 1976).
[4] Ministry of Forests, Ministry of Environment and Parks, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Council of Forest Industries, *Coastal Fisheries Forestry Guidelines* (Victoria: 1987).
[5] J.C. Scrivener and M.J. Brownlee, "Effects of Forest Harvesting on Spawning Gravel and Incubation Survival of Chum and Coho Salmon in Carnation Creek, British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences*, 46:4 (1989), pp. 681-696; and V.A. Poulin, *Fish/Forestry Interaction Program: Summary, Part 1. Extent and Severity of Mass Wasting on the Queen Charlotte Islands and Impact on Fish Habitat and Forest Sites* (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, 1986).
[6] Ministry of Forests, *Annual Reports* (Victoria: Parliament Buildings, 1963-1989).
[7] Ian Mahood and Ken Drushka, *Three Men and a Forester* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1990); and Patricia Marchak. *Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983).
[8] Ombudsman [sic] of British Columbia, *The Nishga Tribal Council and Tree Farm Licence No.1, Public Report No.4* (Victoria: 1985).
[9] Slocan Valley Community Forest Management Project, *Final Report* (Box 81. Winlaw, BC: 1975).
[10] Christie MacLaren, "Citizens Review MacMillan Bloedel's Performance on Queen Charlottes," *Globe and Mail* (December 28-31, 1987), p. 1.
[11] Craig Darling, *In Search of Consensus: An Evaluation of the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force Process* (Victoria: University of Victoria, Institute for Dispute Resolution, 1991).
[12] Village of Hazelton, *Framework for Watershed Stewardship* (Hazelton, BC: 1991).
[13] Alan Scott, *Ideology and the New Social Movements* (London: Unwyn Hyman, 1990).
[14] Mahood and Drushka, *Three Men* [note 7].
[15] Evelyn Pinkerton, "Overcoming Barriers to the Exercise of Co-Management Rights," *Growing Demands on a Shrinking Heritage: Managing Resource Use Conflicts*, Monique Ross and J. Owen Saunders, eds. (Calgary: Canadian Institute for Resources Law, 1992), pp. 276-303. Also in Evelyn Pinkerton, "Translating Legal Rights into Management Practice," *Human Organization*, 51:4 (1992), pp. 330-341.
[16] Hugh Heclo, "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment," *The New American Political System*, Anthony King, ed. (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1978), pp. 87-124.
[17] David Neads, "West Chilcotin Community Resources Board," *Forest Planning Canada*, 7:6 (1991), pp. 10-14.
[18] W. Streeck and P. Schmitter, "Community, Market, State – and Associations? The Prospective Contributions of Interest Governance to the Social Order," *Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State*, Streeck and Schmitter, eds. (London: Sage, 1985), pp. 1-29.