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Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations and Management of Water Resources in the Fraser River Basin¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻⁹⁵

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WORKSHOP IN POLITICAL THEORY AND POLICY ANALYSIS
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The literature on the environmental movement, the roles of environmental non-government organisations (ENGOS), and the role of citizens' organisations in sustainable development and the management of water resources was reviewed by the author in Chapter 13 of Volume I. It was concluded there that citizens' organisations in general have a significant role to play in each of the following key principles of sustainable development: the pursuit and maintenance of ecological integrity, the pursuit of equity, thinking globally while acting locally, and increasing social self-determination. The major contribution that ENGOS in particular make to sustainable development is on the first principle. At the community level, these groups help to maintain ecological integrity through practical work on resource stewardship, by prodding government to strengthen its conservation activities and by raising environmental awareness in the communities of which they are a part

The objective of this chapter is to identify the roles played by community-based ENGOS in the Fraser Basin and to describe the relationship of these groups to government. Observations on the potential of these groups to contribute to change towards sustainable development in the Basin are also made.¹ The analysis is based on interview research undertaken in 1987 and 1989. The 1987 research focused on the Lower Mainland and the 1989 research covered four other communities in the Interior.

The literature reviewed in Volume I supports the design of an analytical framework for this chapter that is oriented around the advocacy, supplemental, and transformative roles of ENGOS. That framework is outlined below, before presenting further background to the present study. The working definition of an ENGO is presented in Box 9.1.²

The Analytical Framework:
Interest Group Roles in Relation to Government

The three-part classification of the roles of interest groups in relation to government that frames this analysis is summarized in Table 9.1 and its components are described below. An additional general area of investigation involves relationships between roles, or changes in interest group goals over time.

The Advocacy Role

The advocacy role encompasses the broad range of activities undertaken by ENGOS to strengthen and expand the accountability of government without necessarily restructuring governance systems. ENGOS that play this role strive

Box 9.1:
Working Definition of an Environmental Non-Government Organisation (ENGO)
An ENGO is a citizens' interest group whose activities include efforts for environmental conservation. "Conservation" activities are those that strive to protect or promote the natural integrity of ecosystems or components of ecosystems through the rehabilitation of degraded ecosystems or the prevention of negative impacts on ecosystems. The membership of the group is voluntary; it does not aim to be profit-making; it is autonomous; it provides mainly services as opposed to material benefits; and it seeks changes on behalf of its members, wider society, and/or the environment.

to make government meet its commitments in their area of concern for the environment by demanding that government adhere to its environmental policies, follow through on programs that help maintain ecological integrity, and enforce existing environmental regulations. They also attempt to expand the government's consideration of environmental issues by forcing it to incorporate ecological principles in planning processes, pass new environmental legislation, and include concerns about environmental issues in decision-making. Groups that predominantly play this role are called advocacy groups in the analysis.

The above themes are investigated in the Fraser Basin study through responses to interview questions on interaction with government and access to decision-making, and ENGO strategies for increasing government accountability.

The Supplemental Role

The supplemental role refers to the work undertaken by ENGOS to supplement government functions for environmental conservation through "voluntary environmental stewardship." The focus here is generally not political, but practical—a "do it yourself" approach that includes servicing the recreational and social needs of ENGO members as well as efforts to protect the environment. The motivation to work towards these ends arises from a desire to be involved in environmental management in a "hands on" way, or from a recognition that government either cannot, or will not.

Table 9.1: The Roles of Interest Groups in Relation to Government

The Advocacy Role

Advocacy groups generally aim to:

- strengthen and expand the accountability of government without necessarily restructuring governance systems;
- make government meet its commitments in their area of concern for the environment by demanding that government adhere to its environmental policies, follow through on programs that help maintain ecological integrity, and enforce existing environmental regulations; and
- expand the government's consideration of environmental issues by forcing it to incorporate ecological principles in planning processes, pass new environmental legislation, and include concerns about environmental issues in decision-making.

The Supplemental Role

Stewardship groups generally aim to:

- service the recreational and social needs of their membership;
- supplement government functions for environmental conservation through "voluntary environmental stewardship";
- protect the environment through practical, "hands on" project work.

The Transformative Role

Both advocacy and stewardship groups sometimes aim to:

- transform government and society because of dissatisfaction with the existing system of governance, through protest, education and modelling.

The Transformative Role

The transformative role encompasses ENGO activities that strive to transform government and society because of dissatisfaction with the existing system of governance. Actions taken beyond legal bounds—civil disobedience or more violent protests—often aim at such restructuring. But the less dramatic "modelling" and education effects of the other roles can also be directed towards societal transformation.

The potential of a transformative role for ENGOs is not directly explored through the interview questions in the Fraser Basin study, but findings that emerge via the analysis of the other two roles point to some initial observations on this theme.

Relationships between Roles and the Evolution of Roles

The concern of this area of investigation is the evolution of a group's goals and strategies over time, and the relationship between such change and government attitudes or actions. For example, the supplemental role can lead to a transformative role, through the effects that stewardship activities have on a community. Involvement in stewardship activities can also act as a force for the politicisation of communities resulting in a transition to the advocacy role. More subtle changes in the realm of strategies and tactics also occur within a

undertake the measures that are necessary to maintain ecological integrity.

These themes are explored in the Fraser Basin study through questions on ENGO conservation roles in relation to the perceived role of government, and issues of trust and cooperation in working with government. Groups that play predominantly a supplemental role are called stewardship groups in the analysis.

given type of role. As well, multiple roles or strategies can be adopted by a group at a particular point in time, and complementarity between roles may be sought through cooperation among groups. Overall, the shifting and recombining of roles and strategies is a striking feature of ENGO make-up, and these themes pervade the analysis.

In the Fraser Basin study, ENGOs were asked whether government response or performance affected their choice of strategies, whether their objectives and strategies had changed over time, and whether they expected these to change in the future.

Approach

The approach to the empirical side of the research is described below, and a description of the ENGOs forming the study sample follows.

Interview Method and Sampling

Interviews were undertaken in 1987 in the Lower Mainland, and in 1989 in the four next-largest population centres distributed through the Fraser Basin: Kamloops, Williams Lake, Prince George and Quesnel (see Figure 9.1). Interest group representatives from some smaller communities in the vicinity of these centres, namely Wells, Barkerville and Vanderhoof, were also interviewed. The interviews were all face-to-face and open-ended. They took anywhere from 45 minutes to two hours, depending on the level of dialogue into which the interview subject wished to enter.³ In some instances two or more representatives of an organization were interviewed, either in a group interview or in separate interviews. Two interviews were carried out when respondents felt it was important to have more than one perspective on their organization represented, or when an organization seemed to be active and important enough (by reputation) that two opinions on its role were warranted. The analysis combines pairs of interviews in the cases where this occurred. Appendix 9.1 presents a list of the ENGO representatives interviewed.

Organizations to include in the sample were identified from media records, the *B.C. Environmental Network Directory* (Valhalla Society, 1988), from advice provided by interest group representatives and water managers (e.g., the Fraser River Estuary Management Program secretariat) and from a list of member groups supplied by the Federation of B.C. Naturalists. As well, a representative of the B.C. Wildlife Federation was contacted for names of fish and game clubs in the study communities.

Representatives of the groups identified, as suggested by the above sources, were contacted by telephone and mail to set up interview dates. These representatives were either

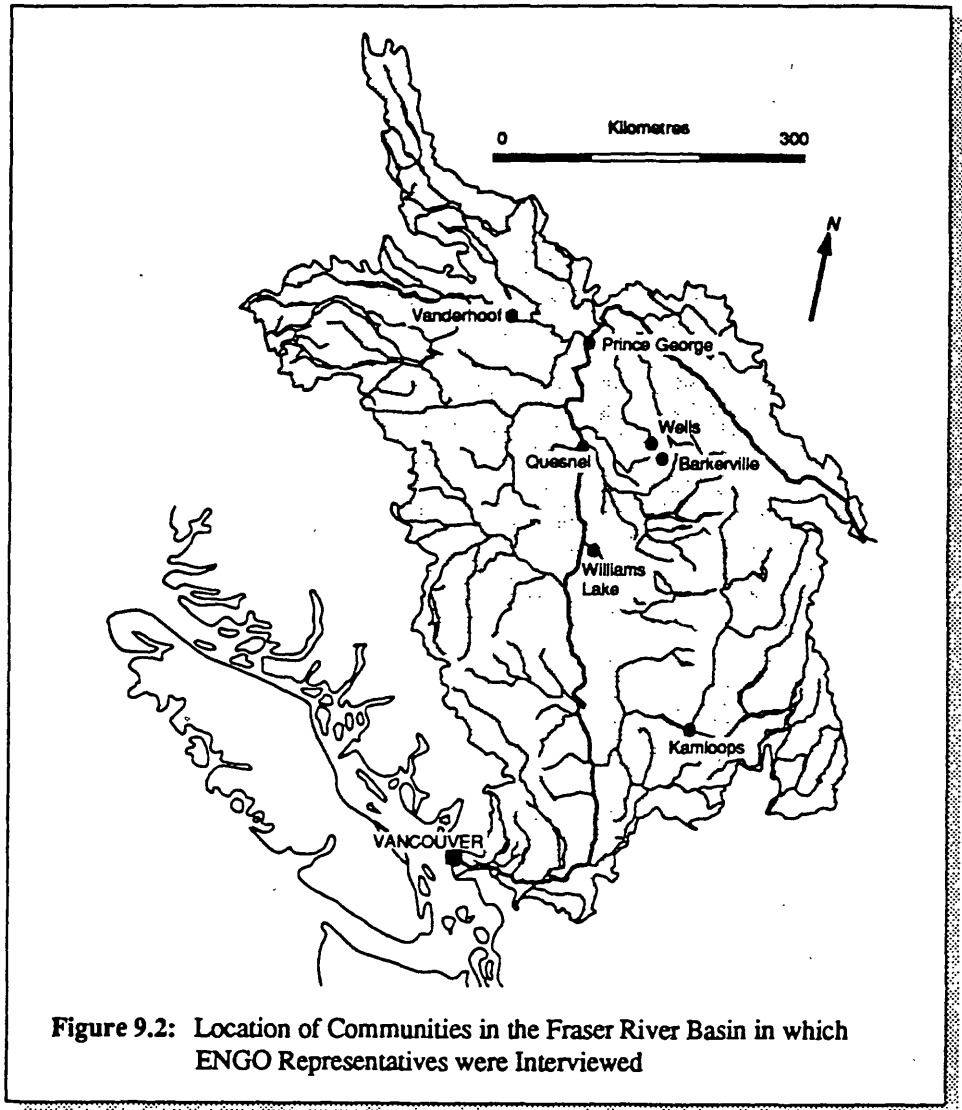


Figure 9.2: Location of Communities in the Fraser River Basin in which ENGO Representatives were Interviewed

official or unofficial spokespersons for their groups, as declared by themselves and other correspondents. That is, if the interview contact was not an "official" spokesperson in terms of holding an executive position, then he or she was a person repeatedly identified as a legitimate spokesperson by members of their group or by representatives of other organisations. Each contact person was also asked to identify other organisations in their community that might be of interest to the study. Through this "snowball" approach it is likely that all the groups relevant to this research that existed at the time the field work was undertaken were identified; however, time and travel constraints did not permit the scheduling of interviews with representatives of every organization.

The scope of groups included was restricted to those that held some interest in the aquatic environment; groups with such an interest were included even if this was not their primary area of concern, so groups with broad conservation or environmental quality mandates did qualify. Although repre-

Table 9.2: List of Fraser Basin ENGOs (See Box 9.2 for an explanation of the bracketted numerical code)

Lower Mainland:

Organisations included in analysis:

- Vancouver Natural History Society (III)
- British Columbia Waterfowl Society (III)
- Wreck Beach Preservation Society (IV)
- Fraser River Coalition (IV)

*Organisations interviewed but not included in analysis:
(reason for exclusion noted in brackets)*

- North East Coquitlam Ratepayers Association
(not water-oriented enough)
- B.C. Wildlife Federation (not local)
- Federation of B.C. Naturalists (not local)
- Outdoor Recreation Council of B.C. (not local)
- Sierra Club (not local)
- Steelhead Society of B.C. (not local)
- Greenpeace (not local)

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Alouette Field Naturalists (Maple Ridge)
- Burnaby Fish and Game Club
- White Rock and Surrey Naturalists
- Langley Field Naturalists
- Pocket Wilderness Coalition (Langley)
- Citizens for a Better Surrey (Surrey)
- Valley Outdoor Association (Surrey)
- B.C. Public Interest Research Group
(Simon Fraser University)
- Save our Parklands Association (Vancouver)
- Project Plowshares (Vancouver)
- Stein Alliance (Vancouver)
- Western Canada Wilderness Committee (Vancouver)
- West Coast Environmental Law Association (Vancouver)
- Society Promoting Environmental Conservation (Vancouver)
- Community Forum of Airport Development (Vancouver)
- Environmental Interest Group (U.B.C. students, Vancouver)

Quesnel and Vicinity:

Organisations included in analysis:

- Streambourne Fly Fishing Club (I)
- Quesnel Naturalists Club (III)
- Cottonwood Community Association (IV)
- Quesnel Environmental Society (IV)
- Environmental Savings Plan (IV)

*Organisations interviewed but not included in analysis:
(reason for exclusion noted in brackets)*

- Wells Historical Society (not water-oriented)
- Cariboo Horse Loggers Association (not water-oriented)

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Dragon Mountain Farm (Quesnel)
- Quesnel Peace Action Group

Kamloops and Vicinity:

Organisations included in analysis:

- Kamloops Fly Fishers Association (I)
- Central Interior Steelheaders Association (I)
- Kamloops and District Fish & Game Club (two interviews) (II)
- Kamloops Naturalist Club (two interviews) (III)
- Thompson Watershed Coalition (two interviews) (IV)

*Organisations interviewed but not included in analysis:
(reason for exclusion noted in brackets)*

- Regional Wildlife Association of the B.C. Wildlife Federation
(not local)
- Ducks Unlimited - regional office of international
organization (not local)
- The Friends of Wells Grey Park (not water-oriented)
- B.C. Green Party (not local)

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Recycle Now Society
- Fish in a Natural Setting
- Kamloops Outdoor Club
- Project Plowshares
- Kamloops-Shuswap Peace Council

Prince George and Vicinity:

Organisations included in analysis:

- Nechako Valley Sporting Association (II)
- Prince George Naturalists (III)
- Spruce City Wildlife Association (two interviews) (III)
- Nechako Neyenkut Society (IV)
- Nechako Environmental Coalition (IV)

*Organisations interviewed but not included in analysis:
(reason for exclusion noted in brackets)*

- Nechako and Fraser Valleys Heritage River Committee
(government-appointed)

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Steelhead Society of B.C. Prince George Chapter

Table 9.2: Continued.

Williams Lake and Vicinity:

Organisations included in analysis:

- Williams Lake Rod and Gun Club (a.k.a. Williams Lake Sportsman's Association) (II)
- Williams Lake Field Naturalists (III)
- Beaver Valley Preservation Group (IV)

Organisations interviewed but not included in analysis: (reason for exclusion noted in brackets)

- Fish for the Future Committee (government-appointed)
- Cariboo Chilcotin Wilderness Association (not water-oriented)

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Cariboo Tourist Association (Williams Lake)
- Fly Ash Committee (Williams Lake)
- Williams Lake Committee for Peace
- B.C. Guide Outfitters Association (One Hundred Mile House)

Other Locations in the Fraser Basin:

Organisations identified but not interviewed:

- Chilliwack Field Naturalists (Chilliwack)
- Chilliwack Outdoor Club (Chilliwack)
- Lillooet Rod and Gun Club (Lillooet)
- Yalakom Ecological Society (Lillooet)
- Stein Action Committee (Lytton)
- Citizens Opposing Dumps (Ashcroft)
- Pollution Awareness Campaign (Ashcroft)
- Cache Creek Area Residents United (Cache Creek)
- Citizens Opposed to Toxic Waste Incinerators in B.C. (Savona)
- Concerned Citizens of Deadman's Creek (Savona)
- Safe Alternatives to Incineration (Savona)
- Kingfisher Community Club (Enderby)
- Armstrong Fish and Game Club (Armstrong)
- Yellowhead Ecological Association (Clearwater)
- Kingfisher Community Club (Salmon Arm)
- Shuswap Naturalists (Salmon Arm)
- SNAG (Salmon Arm)
- Shuswap Recycling Society (Salmon Arm)
- Shuswap Outdoors (Salmon Arm)
- Shuswap Nuclear Study/Action Group (Salmon Arm)
- North Shuswap Naturalists (Celista)

representatives of some provincial or national-level groups, such as the Green Party, were interviewed, only community-based groups or groups focused on regions within the Fraser Basin are considered in this analysis. National and provincial organisations that play an umbrella role are mentioned where they have a connection with member groups that are included in the study. Some government agency and Native group representatives were interviewed as well, but their responses will not be analysed here. The total number of organisations finally included in the analysis is 22.

The analysis of the interview data is qualitative, due to the "small sample size and the open-ended nature of the questions. All interviews were taped so that accuracy of reporting can be ensured. Responses from groups in the different communities are generally lumped together, and few geographical variations in response are distinguished, again due to the small sample size.

Overview of the Sample

The analysis is based on interviews of representatives of the ENGOs listed in Table 9.2. For completeness, names of organisations not interviewed (either due to logistical limitations or because their orientation was peripheral to the focus of the study) are also listed, as are names of organisations interviewed but not included in the analysis because they do

**Box 9.2:
Types of Interest Groups in the Sample**

TYPES I to III: the "stewardship groups."

Type I Fish-oriented

- Members: mainly fishers
- Activities: fishing, fisheries enhancement

Type II Fish and game or wildlife-oriented

- Members: mainly fishers and hunters
- Activities: fishing, hunting, habitat conservation and enhancement

Type III Wildlife-oriented

- Members: mainly naturalists
- Activities: recreation, conservation, education

TYPE IV: the "advocacy groups."

Type IV Environmentally-oriented

- Members: environmentalists
- Activities: environmental advocacy

Box 9.3:

A Profile of the Advocacy Groups

Focus of concern:

environmental issues, e.g., chemical spraying for weed or insect control, pollution from pulp mills, garbage disposal, impacts of logging, dredging and dyking

Roles:

advocacy, watchdog of industry and government

Activities:

lobbying, research, education, publicity, protest, civil disobedience

Cooperation with other groups:

seek coordination among ENGOs to complement local or regional advocacy efforts

Perception of government performance:

performance is inadequate, especially regarding environmental regulations

Relations with government:

from antagonistic to tentatively cooperative; better contact with environmental agencies

Modes of interaction:

confrontational approaches prevalent due to discouragement with cooperative efforts

- Type I groups focus on *sport fishing* or on fishing along with fisheries conservation or enhancement;
- Type II groups are the "*fish and game*" or "rod and gun" clubs which originated as supporters of sport fishing and hunting but have moved towards a concern for wildlife and habitat beyond fish and game species to varying degrees;
- Type III groups are predominantly naturalist clubs which focus on wildlife out of an interest in recreation, education and conservation rather than fishing and hunting; and
- Type IV groups have a wide range of interests in *environmental* issues including concerns with aquatic ecosystems. Wilderness-oriented organisations that might fit into this category are not included in the present analysis because of their lack of a focus specific to the aquatic environment

The different types of groups are well-distributed among the four smaller communities except that the Quesnel area has more than its share of organisations oriented towards general environmental issues. Fishing and hunting clubs formed a small proportion of all organisations in the Vancouver area and are not included in the sample for analysis.

In the analysis following, Type IV groups generally fall into the advocacy category, because the main role they play in relation to government can be described in advocacy terms. Type III groups—the naturalists—play predominantly a supplemental (or stewardship) role. The fishing-oriented organisations and fish and game groups (Types I and II) also fall predominantly into the supplemental category. The transformational role is played by groups from various categories as an off-shoot of their main advocacy or supplemental roles.

not strictly meet the grass-roots, autonomous definitional requirements, or because of their lack of a water-orientation. Some of the groups identified may no longer exist; most of them were active in 1988, as implied by their listing in the 1988 *B.C. Environmental Network Directory* (Valhalla Society, 1988).

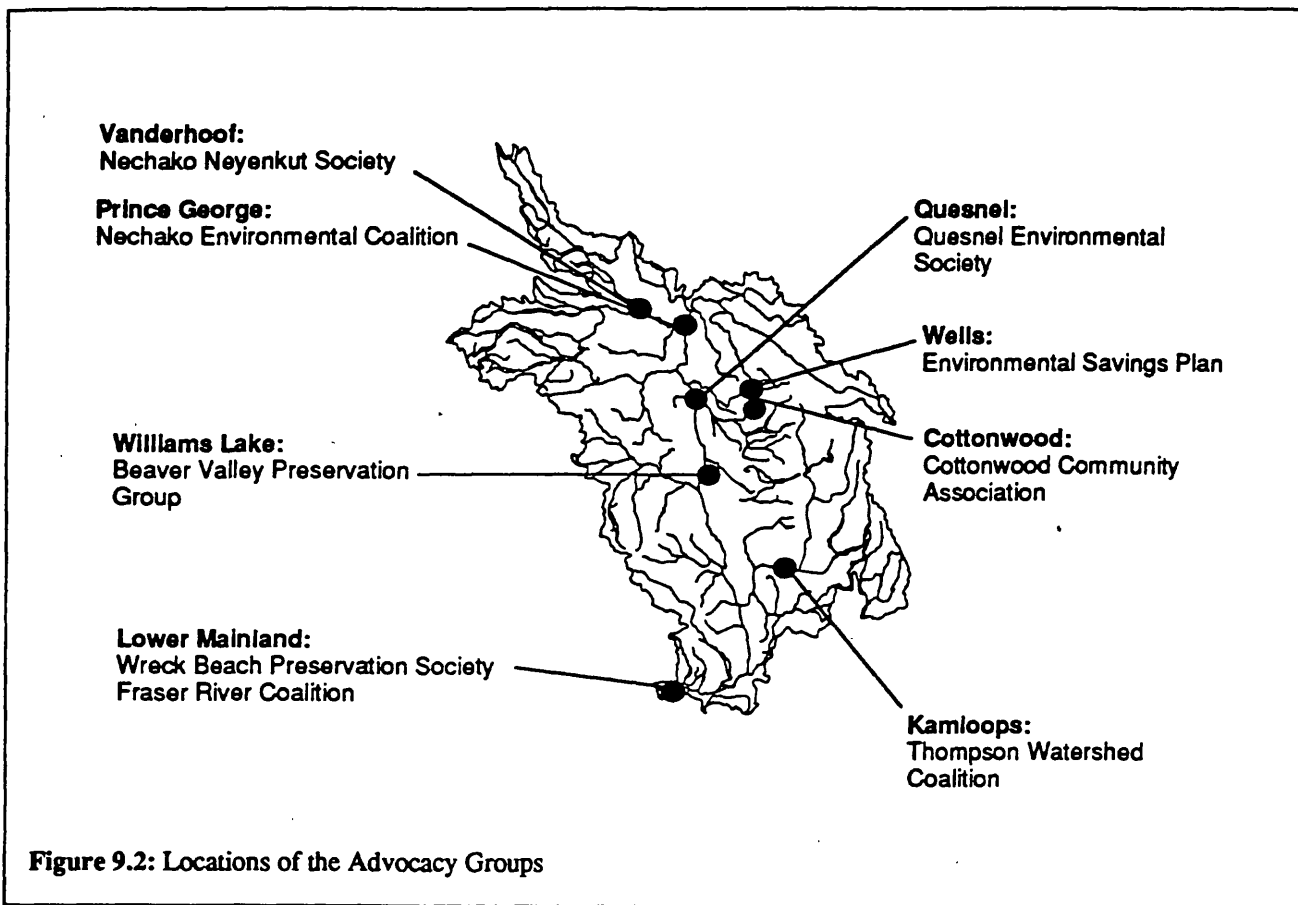
The organisations range in age from over 50 years to less than 2 years and in size from fewer than twenty members to over 1000 members. (These statistics were not available for several of the groups studied.) The longest-established groups appear to be some of the "rod and gun" or "fish and game" clubs, although others of these are under five years old. The oldest and largest organization in the sample analysed is the Vancouver Natural History Society, established in 1907 and with approximately 1,200 members in 1987. Age and size of organization do not appear to be closely linked, with some naturalists' groups being small in size despite being over 10 years old, and some recently-formed organisations with broader environmental mandates having over 200 members.

The number in brackets following the group name in Table 92 refers to the type of goals and activities of the group, as follows (see also Box 92 for summary descriptions):

ENGO Roles in Increasing the Accountability of Government: The Advocacy Groups

The Type IV, environmentalist organisations which predominantly play an advocacy role are: in the Lower Mainland, the Wreck Beach Preservation Society and the Fraser River Coalition; in Kamloops, the Thompson Watershed Coalition; in the Williams Lake area, the Beaver Valley Preservation Group; in the Quesnel area, the Quesnel Environmental Society, the Environmental Savings Plan and the Cottonwood Community Association; and in the Prince George area, the Nechako Neyenkut Society and the Nechako Environmental Coalition (Figure 92). For the most part, the interview responses of those groups form the basis of the following analysis.

The analysis begins with a description of the advocacy groups in terms of their general orientation and strategies. It then explores the perceptions held by these groups of their interaction with government and access to decision-making.



ing, and describes the specific strategies adopted by the groups to increase government accountability. Central observations made in the analysis are summarized in Box 9.3, forming a profile of the advocacy groups.

Goals, Roles and General Activities of Advocacy Groups

The work of the groups that play predominantly an advocacy role tends to be oriented around environmental issues; the intent is usually to resolve a threat to the environment by stopping a particular development or industrial practice, sometimes through involvement in planning exercises. Issues of concern to the Thompson Watershed Coalition include chemical spraying for weed or insect control, pollution from pulp mills, and garbage disposal; the Nechako Neyenkut Society aims primarily to maintain the flow of water in the Nechako River by preventing further diversions via the "Kemano II" hydro-electricity generation project; and the Nechako Environmental Coalition has as its main concern the prevention of pulp and paper industry pollution—both air and water. Quesnel-area groups are also involved in pulp mill pollution issues as well as in environmental issues related to forestry and water pollution from gold mining. The Beaver Valley Preservation Group near Williams Lake focuses on the

impacts of logging on the watershed, and is concerned with pesticide impacts, and the potential for recycling and cleaning up dumps. Pollution prevention is a target for these interior groups for reasons of overall ecological integrity and human health. Most of the issues of concern stem from the forest industry and waste disposal problems.

In the Lower Mainland, the Fraser River Coalition tackles a wide range of development issues with the intent of conserving, preserving or enhancing habitat and ecosystems of the Fraser River Estuary. The Wreck Beach Preservation Society aims to preserve Wreck Beach in as nearly a natural state as possible. The kinds of issues these groups deal with revolve around various forms of industrial and urban pollution and the impacts of land use change and engineering works such as dredging and dyking.

Most of the issue-oriented work of the advocacy groups is reactive: their representatives describe it in terms of vigilance, struggle and confrontation. They "work against," "stem," or "stop" development; they are "unyielding watchdogs," "pockets of resistance" and "advocates" of the ecosystems in their communities. Their strategies include protest and civil disobedience. Petitions, letters and briefs to government seek the implementation of government policies for environmental protection. Behind these lobbying endeavours lie extensive efforts in fact finding, research.

and education. Workshops, expositions, public forums, press releases, slide shows and other uses of popular media all serve to educate group members and the general public,

"We did about as much as we could do [cooperatively]. We had a couple of meetings with Weldwood and the Forest Service and they agreed to do some selective logging experiments... It looks like nothing's been done and I'm personally beginning to wonder if it isn't a front to get us quiet because we were making a bit of a fuss, writing some letters and passing a petition around."

(Case, Beaver Valley Preservation Group)

strengthening campaigns and broadening their support-base. Some educational initiatives have also been taken towards recycling and the exploration of alternative forest harvesting methods. These latter undertakings also provide the groups with more constructive projects that partially counteract the disheartening effect of the unrelenting demands of advocacy battles. Generally, however, these groups do not do as much project work as the stewardship groups.

Important to the advocacy groups in seeking their objectives is coordination with other ENGOs. The Fraser River Coalition, for example, cannot practically concern itself with the entire Fraser Basin, so they look to other groups to complement their work in the Estuary. The representative of the Environmental Savings Plan, in the less-populated interior, feels that a disproportionate advocacy burden is placed on up-river ENGOs that watch over vast areas of the Fraser Basin, and calls for a re-distribution of support from the Lower Mainland. The Nechako Environmental Coalition orients some of its work towards providing assistance to other organisations. The Nechako Neyenkut Society also tries to support groups (largely outside the Basin) which can benefit from its experience, and at the same time it gains solidarity benefits from its participation in the province-level Rivers Defense Coalition.

Advocacy Group Interaction with Government

Interaction between the advocacy groups and government is described below in terms of the groups' perceptions of government performance, the form of their relations with government, the modes of interaction, and issues of trust and bureaucratic support.

Perceptions of Government Performance

The advocacy groups clearly are responding to what they see as inadequate government performance. Group spokespersons were unanimous in their opinion that government is not adequately committed to protecting the environment. Advocacy activities in the Fraser Basin are seen as essential to attaining a voice for the public and to getting government

to meet its responsibilities.

The main concerns regarding government performance in environmental management were that regulations and guidelines are insufficient standards are too low and not stringent enough, permits for waste and emissions are granted too readily, penalties are too low, policing is too lax, and prosecutions and fines are not adequately applied. The Thompson Watershed Coalition and the Nechako Environmental Coalition felt the government is also guilty of mis-

"There's no pollution control standards unless an interest group makes a big stink... The bureaucrats say that industry is always after them, saying that the government cowers to environmentalists, but actually they don't."

(Rubinson, Thompson Watershed Coalition)

informing the public at times, for example in covering up the problem of dioxins from pulp mills. The few positive comments on government performance were related to the efforts made by local level public servants in responding to grass roots input. This phenomenon is further discussed below.

Advocacy groups see politicians and government agencies as being primarily reactive, fulfilling their duties only to the extent that public pressure demands, and then reluctantly. Representatives of the Fraser River Coalition, the Thompson Watershed Coalition, the Nechako Environmental Coalition and the Environmental Savings Plan felt that government accepts input from industry, particularly "big business," more readily than it receives public input. Public participation efforts on the part of government are seen as ineffective, to the extent that participation in formal planning exercises by group representatives is regarded as a waste of time.

Relations with Government

Relations between government and advocacy groups range from antagonistic to tentatively cooperative. Upwards through the regional and provincial bureaucracy, to elected politicians, the groups' trust in government diminished. Similarly, a widely-shared experience was that of diminishing responsiveness from government agencies from the local level to the provincial level. While some perceive government as overly cooperative with companies, as suggested above, others point out an increasing responsiveness to the grass roots. The Fraser River Coalition feels that a major obstacle to their success is the lack of recognition that they can provide a useful service to the government.

Environmental advocacy groups, as might be expected, have better contact with the agencies that deal with the environment than with other agencies; for example, the B.C. Ministry of Highways was seen as inaccessible in comparison with the B.C. Ministry of Environment. Groups interacted with all levels of government—municipal, regional, provin-

cial and federal—and both elected and non-elected officials. For instance, the range of agencies with which the Wreck Beach Preservation Society has interacted includes federal agencies responsible for fisheries and fish habitat, the Coast Guard and the Fraser River Harbour Commission; the regional Fraser River Estuary Management Program; the provincial Health Service and Department of Public Works; Surrey, Ladner and Richmond Municipal governments; and the Vancouver Parks and Recreation Department.

Modes of Interaction

Myriad forms of interaction between group and government representatives occur, via telephone, letter writing, telegraphs, written briefs and submissions in planning processes, personal and public meetings and presentations,

"Our association is almost made up 50-50 of NDP and Socred's ...As a group we probably would prefer [not to have to get involved in politics]... people out here like to live their own lives and they don't like to be bothered by anybody. ...suddenly they found themselves confronted by all these absurd situations ...we're surrounded by total devastation"

(Topham, Cottonwood Community Association).

delegations to meet politicians in Victoria, judicial processes such as Environmental Appeal Board or Tree Farm License renewal hearings, and coordinated resource use planning teams. In many cases interaction is ongoing and regular, sometimes it occurs at the initiative of government (e.g., for input into resource plans or to test public reaction to a development such as additions to hydro-electric power lines), but more often it is at the initiative of the ENGOs. Advocacy group techniques for increasing access to government are elaborated in the next section.

Confrontational approaches to interaction, though prevalent amongst advocacy groups, are not taken by choice—most groups would rather be cooperative. The Nechako Environmental Coalition is typical in its view that a confrontational stance has been adopted only of necessity, in the face of lack of responsiveness from government and industry. Members of the group come from all walks of life and would not normally choose a "radical" approach to seeking input. The Thompson Watershed Coalition maintains that it tries not to adopt a confrontational style but has been discouraged by its experience of cooperative approaches. On one issue to do with a grazing lease, the Coalition agreed with the Environment Minister that it would stop public campaigning while negotiations took place; but meetings turned out to be impossible for the objectors to attend, and the decision was apparently made "politically" in the end, in favour of the ranchers' lobby. Other groups in the sample held similarly negative opinions of the utility of involvement in organized planning and decision-making processes.

Groups in the Quesnel area, for instance, formed the Barkerville Corridor Coalition in reaction to their disillusionment with participation in the Forest Service's Integrated Resource Management Planning process for the corridor.

Trust and Bureaucratic Support

Despite the disillusionment described above, most specific commitments to the groups from government appear to have been upheld and government employees are thought to be accessible. Lower level bureaucrats seem more cognizant of the value of public involvement, to the extent that in some cases they will provide classified information to interest group contacts via anonymous "brown envelopes." Similarly, municipal and local agencies are seen as more accessible and more responsive than provincial agencies. Field-level personnel such as biologists are perceived as being devoted to the environmental cause and doing what they can within bureaucratic and political constraints. The extent to which they were uncooperative appeared to stem from limitations placed on them from higher levels—often politically motivated.

Information is gathered from government by the ENGOs via the modes of interaction mentioned above; the type of information requested emphasises technical data such as water quality statistics. Levels of satisfaction with experience in obtaining information from government agencies varies—for the Nechako Neyenkut Society, access to information is one of their most serious problems, while the Fraser River Coalition has not met significant obstacles in obtaining information. Generally, however, advocacy group

"Any information we release to the media we have to back up publicly immediately, while the government will release information based on ... studies done in a secretive fashion... and there's no way of challenging it"

(Dykes, Nechako Environmental Coalition).

spokespersons conveyed dissatisfaction with their access to information. Again, there are more problems encountered in getting responses from higher levels of government than lower levels, with the least adequate response coming from provincial offices in Victoria. Sometimes the costs of obtaining information in the form of fees for copying were prohibitive. Other problems identified were that some bureaucrats did not wish to appear to be cooperating too closely with environmental groups and that in one instance government employees were threatened with being fired if they continued to give a group access to their files.

In most cases, the time and advice contributed by government employees with which the interest groups interact was considered to be adequate, despite the above complaints regarding access to information and reported instances of "passing the buck." This reflects the consensus suggested

Box 9.4:
Advocacy Strategies

Direct advocacy strategies:

Meetings with politicians and bureaucrats
Phone calls; Letter-writing; Petitions
Involvement in public participation opportunities offered by government
Participation in or initiation of judicial proceedings

Indirect advocacy strategies:

Public awareness-raising and education
Use of print, radio and television media
Special events
Protests; Civil disobedience

earlier that local level public servants are generally cooperative. Adequacy of financial support, likewise, was not considered to be a major issue, largely because the advocacy groups tend to avoid dependence on government funding sources. In contrast, the group representatives did voice concern over legal and bureaucratic barriers to their work. The Fraser River Coalition, for example, feels that lack of legal rights and assistance is a hindrance to its efforts and the complexity of the bureaucracy makes it difficult to identify the appropriate points of contact. Other groups described forms of "red tape" that stymie their efforts towards involvement in environmental protection. Overall, the discouragement with such aspects of "bureaucracy" contrasted sharply with the credit the groups accord to the individual government employees who are the most proximate "human face" of the government.

Advocacy Group Strategies for Increasing the Accountability of Government

The advocacy groups' opinions of government performance and problems in their relationship with government agencies point to issues of accountability, as perceived by ENGO representatives. The focus of the present discussion is on the strategies used by the groups in their efforts to increase government accountability, that is, to make government follow through on its commitments to protect the environment and also to expand on these commitments. Strategies that have been mentioned earlier are elaborated in this context, highlighting the approaches that the groups feel are most effective.

Generally, advocacy work aims at lobbying government for change in legislation, policy or management practices, either directly, or indirectly—via public awareness raising

and the use of the media. The strategies adopted tend to change over time, as priorities shift or as experience dictates. The array of direct and indirect strategies described below is summarized in Box 9.4.

Direct Advocacy Strategies

Advocacy techniques involving direct communications to government officials from the interest groups in the sample are either face-to-face or via telephone and mail. The former include visits to politicians—whether delegations to Victoria or appointments with locally-elected officials, the presentation of briefs to local government, and behind-the-scenes or relatively informal personal interaction with government employees. For contact with provincial politicians and agency headquarters personnel, groups in Fraser Basin communities remote from Victoria have to rely heavily on phone calls and letter writing. Strategic advocacy work using the mail includes letters to ministry and company officials with copies to politicians, and post card campaigns in which group members and others are urged to submit supporting opinions to the same targets. As a further expression of numbers of people supporting an interest group

"Even with lobbying, what you say has very little effect unless the particular group or person [in government] happens to sympathise with what you're saying or maybe because they think they're going to get more votes or something"
(Burgener, Nechako Neyenkut Society).

objective, some of the groups in the Basin have used petitions. Most of the advocacy groups will make submissions on plans and take up opportunities for public participation provided by government agencies, often in cooperation with other groups and in concert with efforts to raise public support. The Fraser River Coalition, for example, makes every effort to take advantage of such opportunities from the earliest point possible. Other groups have given up on government-initiated processes, as discussed earlier.

Judicial venues (appeals and hearings) or quasi-judicial routes (commissions and inquiries) towards influencing government decisions are also used by many of the sample groups. The Thompson Watershed Coalition has decided to appeal all pesticide spraying permits in its area of concern. In the opinion of one Fraser River Coalition representative the only process that has any meaning to industry and politicians is the laying of charges, and even then it is the adverse publicity rather than the fines that makes the difference. Members of the Nechako Neyenkut Society likewise are sceptical of the effectiveness of the judicial route but they went to the court system anyway when they found no other avenues for public input available to them. In their experience, using the courts has been expensive and frustrating, given the difficulties they have had in gaining intervenes status and at other stages of the process. Groups

often rely on assistance from the West Coast Environmental Law Association to overcome such obstacles.

Levels of political activism vary amongst the advocacy groups, even though it is to be expected that the type iv, environmentalist groups will be activist to some extent. In terms of partisan politics, virtually all of the groups attempt to maintain neutrality through gestures such as sending copies of letters to ministers to opposition members of the legislature, and supporting whatever Government is in power in its positive efforts. To ensure environmental issues are on any Government's agenda, some groups have published information and raised questions at public forums or all-candidates meetings prior to elections.

Indirect Advocacy Strategies

Public awareness raising is the main strategy used by the advocacy groups to increase the accountability of government without direct interaction. Various forms of publicity are used to inform the public on environmental issues, to sway public opinion towards that held by the groups, and to raise public opposition to activities approved by government. Although public education is an objective more characteristic of the stewardship groups (described later), the advocacy groups realize that long-term change in the performance of government depends on changes in the attitudes of the electorate, to the extent that the Fraser River Coalition has made education the main thrust of its work.

"We'll take so much, but there comes a point when direct action is required.... You can be pushed so far, then enough is enough.... The direct action is the exclamation mark behind the words" (DeVink, Environmental Savings Plan).

Use of the media is important in strengthening the voice of the advocacy groups, with both public and government audiences in mind. The groups issue press releases and write letters to the editor to put forward their views, and they get their opinions on radio and television through phone-in talk shows, radio spots, and cable television coverage of the events they organize. Occasionally they stage special events to gain media attention; for example, a member of the Nechako Neyenkut Society canoed to Vancouver to draw attention to that group's cause.

Other strategies that advocacy groups have used that do not involve direct lobbying of government include attendance at the annual Canadian Environmental Network conference in Ottawa, coordinating tactics with other groups, threatening an unofficial public referendum, and organizing a protest march and a human blockade to stop herbicide spraying. The latter, undertaken by the Environmental Savings Plan, was intended to demonstrate the limits of their tolerance of government's unaccountability and to "add an exclamation mark behind the words."

Setting Priorities Amongst Strategies

According to the advocacy groups' spokespersons, the effectiveness of their efforts to increase government's accountability depends on persistence, dedication, expertise and credibility (or "having your facts straight"). Continuous public education efforts and the identification of alternatives were also identified as key strategies. One interviewee mentioned a need to obtain the maximum return on advocacy efforts because interest group resources are meagre.

All of the groups would rather not have to "get political," or even take an activist stance, but the advocacy groups feel that no other avenues for influencing government are sufficient, given the high rate of environmental degradation they observe. The Cottonwood Community Association, for example, represents a very independent group of people who would rather not be bothered with advocacy work but

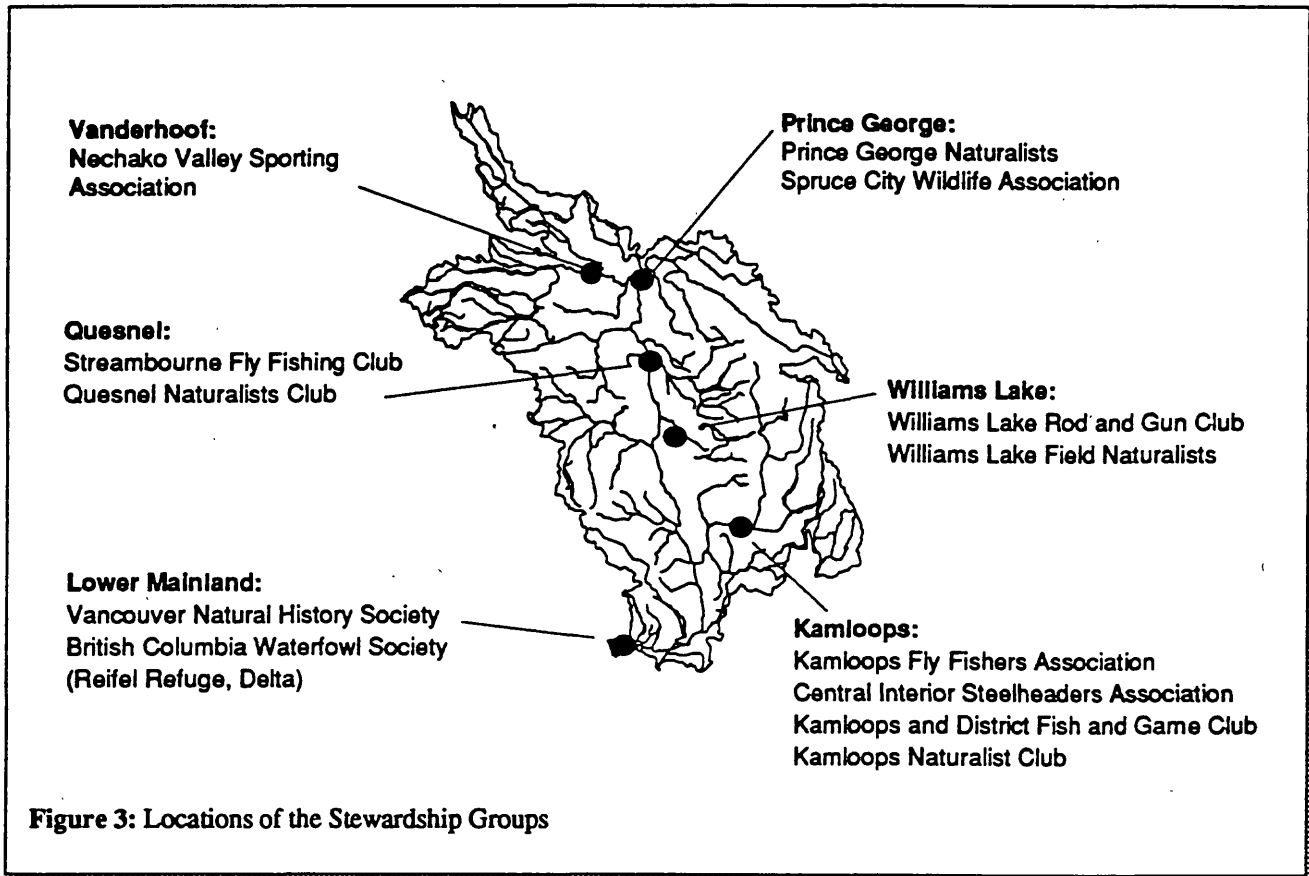
"It's a pretty broad-based group and people have different strategies ...people are there because they're just tired of this [environmental degradation] and they decide they're finally going to do something"

(Waldon, Quesnel Environmental Society)

feel obliged to take on that role. The Thompson Watershed Coalition is likewise frustrated at being forced into a reactive position in the sense of having to build the case against permit approvals; its representative felt that the burden of proof should be on the proponent of an action rather than on the defendants of environmental quality.

The range of advocacy strategies reviewed above is shared by virtually all of the environmentalist groups sampled. Any one group employs a range of tactics, sometimes progressing from one to another as the utility of a particular strategy is disproven. The stereotypical progression of tactics is exemplified by the Cottonwood Community Association's response to an issue of cyanide pollution: first the group wrote to the appropriate Members of the Legislature and contacted the ministries involved. When their demands were not met through these avenues of communication they attempted a legal appeal. When the judicial route did not work they "took it to the streets," holding a public protest involving the posting of signs to coincide with the Premier's visit to Quesnel. Finally, they began publicly threatening the ministries that they would take "drastic measures," i.e., civil disobedience, if pushed any further. In this chain of events, the group felt that the appeal process, with the help of the West Coast Environmental Law Association, was essential in lending a legitimacy to their campaign. Other groups also expressed the opinion that their pursuit of a resolution to a conflict through the courts despite the arduousness of this approach should be seen as an indication of their willingness to play by the rules of "the system."

As dependent as the environmental advocates in the



Fraser Basin sometimes become over the perceived unaccountability of government, they retain sufficient optimism, idealism, and sense of effectiveness to continue their efforts. There is a shared impression that the degradation of ecosystems in the Basin is at least moderated as a result of their efforts to provide a voice for the environment and act as a watchdog over government and industry. The corollary to this sentiment is the wish that the advocacy groups were not necessary. Several of the representatives interviewed saw their groups as filling a void that would not exist if government accepted its responsibilities towards the public and the environment. In short, they would like to see government agencies put their members out of advocacy work.

ENGO Roles in Supplementing Government Conservation Functions: The Stewardship Groups

Groups of Types I, fishing-oriented; II, fish and game-oriented; and III, wildlife-oriented (mainly naturalists), are the ENGOs that generally play supplemental roles and so dominate the following analysis. The functions that these groups play qualify them as "stewardship groups." Those that comprise the sample are, in the Lower Mainland, the Vancouver Natural History Society and the British Colum-

bia Waterfowl Society; in Kamloops, the Kamloops Fly Fishers Association, the Central Interior Steelheaders Association, the Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club and the Kamloops Naturalist Club; in Williams Lake, the Williams Lake Rod and Gun Club and the Williams Lake Field Naturalists; in Quesnel, the Streambourne Fly Fishing Club and the Quesnel Naturalists Club; and in Prince George, the Nechako Valley Sporting Association, the Prince George Naturalists and the Spruce City Wildlife Association (see Figure 93). Some advocacy-oriented (Type IV) groups, like the Wreck Beach Preservation Society in Vancouver, also perform some stewardship functions.

After the overall roles and strategies of the stewardship groups are described below, aspects of trust and other issues in cooperation between these groups and government are explored. Then the roles of stewardship groups in relation to government roles, from the perspective of the group representatives, are discussed. An introductory profile of the stewardship groups is provided in Box 9.5.

Goals, Roles and General Activities of Stewardship Groups

The basic objectives of the Type I groups in the sample are support for local sport fishing, fisheries conservation and enhancement, and the encouragement of moderation in

sport fishing pressure. The Type II groups perform roughly the same fishing-oriented functions as well as similar activities related to hunting, so they tend to hold somewhat broader habitat and conservation concerns. Type III groups, the naturalists, focus on wildlife and its habitat, including fish, but from a non-

"Generally, our goals are to foster an appreciation for the natural world [amongst our members] and to help to educate other members of the general public in the values of the natural world and to undertake activities that would be designed to enhance and protect natural systems"
(Howie, Kamloops Naturalist Club).

consumptive standpoint. Groups of Types I and II have varying levels of emphasis on the promotion of sport hunting and fishing in relation to their conservation activities. Naturalist groups as well place different priorities on recreation versus conservation activities.

The groups in the sample play all the roles said to characterize "voluntary environmental stewardship," including habitat protection, enhancement and rehabilitation; monitoring; surveillance; and projects in support of recreation and education. In response to a question on what attracts and maintains membership interest, the stewardship groups consistently pointed to two types of activities: club activities (recreational, educational, social) and on-the-ground projects. So-called "hands on" project work in the latter category is reported as holding particularly strong appeal for members. Explanations for the attraction of "hands on" activities are that these activities (particularly fisheries enhancement) can involve whole families, participants can see the benefits, and most users like to "give something back to the resource" rather than just take from it.

Recreational Activities

Non-consumptive recreational activities undertaken by stewardship groups include bird watching, hiking, cross-country skiing, social events and other club functions. Examples of

"[Our objectives are] primarily to further the interests of fly fishing but also to raise public awareness of conservation of fisheries in particular and of nature in general"
(Roschitz, Streambourne Fly Fishing Club).

Box 9.5: A Profile of the Stewardship Groups

Focus of concern:

sports and recreation; fish and wildlife and their habitat

Roles:

voluntary environmental stewardship

Activities:

recreation support, conservation projects, habitat enhancement, monitoring, environmental surveillance, education, advocacy

Cooperation with other groups:

seek coordination among various groups and organisations to share resources and facilitate stewardship activities

Perception of government performance:

government is not fulfilling its responsibilities with regard to fish and wildlife management, but some credit is given for effort, especially at the local level

Relations with government:

generally supportive; intense contact at local level

Modes of interaction:

cooperative, but will take confrontational approaches if necessary

Trust and bureaucratic support:

varying levels of trust, but generally productive working relationship with adequate support from government; problems with "red tape"

Group roles in relation to perception of government's role:

variously reactive, supplementary, cooperative, independent

recreation support projects which also further conservation goals are the construction of wildlife viewing platforms, and outhouse and hiking trail construction and maintenance.

Conservation Projects

Representative of the most ambitious conservation projects undertaken by community-based ENGOs in the Basin are the establishment and operation of small parks, public nature interpretation centres, and educational centres. The properties used by these projects are often under the jurisdiction of other organisations and agencies such as the Nature Trust and the Canadian Wildlife Service. For example, the B.C. Waterfowl Society runs the George C. Reifel Waterfowl Refuge on federal land in Delta, and the Williams Lake Field Naturalists run a nature centre for the municipality of Williams Lake.

Habitat Enhancement

Fisheries enhancement activities undertaken by the clubs in the sample are extensive. They include annual habitat enhancement work, stream clearing, garbage clean-up, fencing of critical spawning areas, adding gravel to lakes and creeks, building spawning beds, constructing and operating

"The enhancement aspect of fisheries—salmon, trout—probably appeals to the broadest number of people simply because almost everybody's a fisherman.... And also fisheries projects lend themselves more to hands on involvement... everybody can do something"
(Hennenberger, Spruce City Wildlife Association).

hatcheries, fish egg collecting and fertilizing, collecting broodstock, fry releases, and fin clipping. Habitat enhancement for non-fish species is also carried out, such as the rehabilitation of islands for ducks and geese, tree planting, and habitat improvement for birds through dyking and the provision of nesting boxes.

Monitoring and Surveillance

Monitoring activities undertaken by stewardship groups in the Basin include regular wildlife inventories, and the monitoring of oxygen levels in lakes, fishing pressure and water quality.

The role of "environmental watchdog" was undertaken by all three types of stewardship groups. The representative of the Vancouver Natural History Society, for example, suggests that the Society's members are effective watchdogs of the foreshore and marshes of the Fraser River Estuary because their birding activity gives them a strong presence there. Members of the Society are also Volunteer Wardens of Ecological Reserves. Volunteer policing or surveillance, to protect fish and wildlife from poaching, is also performed by up-river groups such as the Spruce City Wildlife Association through its "Omenica Wildlife Patrol"

"In a nutshell [the Wildlife Patrol] is to try and give the conservation officer service more eyes and more ears because they are woefully understaffed and have been forever"
(Hennenberger, Spruce City Wildlife Association).

"You have to educate the people to realize that even if the government was doing a perfect job (and let's face it, nobody's perfect)... you have to educate people so they will either back up or fight against the government - one or the other"
(Maier, Spruce City Wildlife Association).

and the Nechako Valley Sporting Association's "Woods Patrol." The tools of this work are informal ticketing and "observe, record, report" programs in cooperation with wildlife and fisheries officers. Clubs back up surveillance efforts with signage for habitat protection, and through more subtle approaches like moral persuasion and the demonstration of good behaviour to influence other anglers and hunters. Watchdog work aims to maintain water quality and prevent pollution as well as protect species populations.

Educational Activities

Educational activities and awareness-raising for members and the general public is a major focus for the stewardship groups, as it is for the advocacy groups. Whether hunters, fishers or naturalists, stewardship groups aim to foster the appreciation of the natural world through a wide range of projects. They have guest speakers such as fisheries researchers at club functions; they hold fishing clinics; they schedule river-front walks; they organize conferences, public displays and exhibitions; they disseminate information in government publications and via radio and newspaper columns; and they sponsor public lectures on environmental topics. The Fraser River Coalition has taken slide shows to the schools and the Vancouver Natural History Society runs a summer camp.

Advocacy Activities

Just as advocacy groups undertake certain stewardship projects, stewardship groups sometimes engage in advocacy activities. Fish and game, and naturalist club representatives in the Basin often encourage letter-writing to politi-

"As public interest groups our job is to be prodders, and watchdogs on a variety of issues—to push on science, technology and the political system. We don't believe in breaking laws but in changing them"
(Brink, Vancouver Natural History Society).

cians on environmental issues and they attend public hearings on pollution issues etc. For some, environmental conflicts become a major focus of club activities. The Nechako Valley Sporting Association has regarded the hydro-electricity generation project, "Kemano II", as one of its foremost concerns over the past six years. More discussion on the politicisation of the stewardship groups follows in the next section.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Cooperation with other groups and organisations is important to most of the stewardship groups in the sample. At the local or regional level groups share information on habitat as well as on activities. The Nechako Valley Sporting Association holds as part of its mandate the coordination of

local activities of groups working together, fostering cooperation and goodwill. The Spruce City Wildlife Association representative notes that they can afford to be less active on issues they know are being dealt with by other groups. Clubs liaise with larger organisations such as Ducks Unlimited to attain funding for projects. With the help of government funding, the Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club has worked with the Shushwap Nation Indians on a fisheries project involving enhancement and monitoring. Further discussion of group interaction with government follows below.

Stewardship Group Interaction with Government

The following analysis addresses the stewardship groups' perceptions of government performance, their relations with government, their modes of interaction with government, and issues of trust and bureaucratic support

Perceptions of Government Performance

Like the advocacy groups, the stewardship groups feel that government is not doing enough, not fulfilling its responsibilities with respect to the environment; however their opinion is tempered in this case by more optimistic commentary. The wildlife-oriented groups in particular tend to give government more credit, citing effective conservation efforts, increasing responsiveness to public opinion and a good system for wildlife management. Deficiencies in government performance identified by the stewardship groups were less focussed on regulation and more on management

"I think changes are happening so terribly fast I don't think any government can act fast enough to cover all the conservation issues that arise from, for example forestry and mining expansions into different regions, and we are concerned that an incredible network of logging roads is spreading like a spiderweb over the country and that the fisheries aspect is looked after"
(Roschitz, Streambourne Fly Fishing Club).

"Other government agencies [besides the Ministry of Environment] tend to have more influence on decision-making. Their [MOE] input is not given as high a priority as other ministries"
(McMechan, Williams Lake Field Naturalists).

and they were naturally more specific to fish and wildlife. Criticisms addressed poor enforcement of fish and game regulations, deficiencies in managing for a diversity of species (i.e., non-game species and endangered species), "unbalanced" control of the fishery (i.e., not allowing enough escapement for food and sport), lack of cooperation among levels of government and government agencies, lack of

receptiveness to public input, and lack of support for research leading to a shortage of data. There was an opinion expressed by some representatives that government seems to be trying harder to protect the environment in response to public pressure, but that a gap between intention and action remains, and "lip service" is not good enough. The harshest criticisms came from the Central Steelheaders Association spokesperson who felt that government has failed in its stewardship duties and from the Nechako Valley Sporting Association representative who suggested that the provincial government is abrogating its responsibility in the "Kemano IF issue. The variation in popular perceptions of government performance was acknowledged by the representative of the Quesnel Naturalists Club who pointed out that some club members would feel that government is doing an adequate job while most would probably disagree.

Much of the criticism offered by stewardship group representatives echoed that of the advocacy groups in pointedly contrasting the dedication of under-supported local government employees with inadequacies at the provincial level. Upper-level political hindrances were seen to have a negative, trickle-down effect constraining local initiatives through inappropriate directives and "handcuffs" such as reprimands to employees for giving out "too much" information. The Provincial Government is also accused of diverting power and resources away from the B.C. Ministry of Environment towards more development-oriented agencies and projects (e.g., Mines), resulting in under-staffing and under-funding of the Wildlife Branch. The latter was a particularly frequent complaint

Relations with Government

Reflecting the high opinion held of local-level government personnel, and the preference for "hands on" project work, interaction between the stewardship groups and government emphasises personal and often intense contact at the local level, using established lines of communication. Interaction is largely face-to-face, regular and ongoing; meetings are held at the initiative of agencies and groups alike. Local offices of provincial or federal agencies are seen as

"The club has always felt that it's had a fairly good level of respect from politicians locally or provincially in that we've seldom taken extreme positions that are not validated by good sound logic or data ... they don't write us off as a radical group... although they may not agree with our position"
(Howie, Kamloops Naturalist Club).

considerably more accessible and more interested in the concerns of the groups, although all levels of government are the target of communications. The main agencies involved are the B.C. Ministry of Environment Fish and Wildlife Branch, B.C. Forest Service, Environment Canada, and the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans. Civil

servants are regarded as more committed and more responsive to input than are politicians. Amongst the civil servants, fish and wildlife officers appear to be more trusted than foresters, who are regarded by some as more "political" in their behaviour and less forthcoming with information. Salmonid Enhancement Program community officers are uniformly well-respected.

Modes of Interaction

Despite a generally supportive relationship with government, some stewardship group representatives stated that their groups will adopt a more confrontational approach if the cooperative route fails to achieve adequate environmental protection. For example, the Kamloops Fly Fishers Association representative feels that political action is required on important, broad issues, and the Spruce City Wildlife Association spokesperson stated that although that group would prefer not to have to get involved in politics it will in order to react to things that can reverse the work club members have done—"those kinds of things you have to do something about" (e.g., when they feel there are not enough fisheries closures at the mouth of the Fraser). Currently,

"At the local and regional level I'd say [our interaction with government is] cooperative most of the time. When you get to the provincial and federal level, well there's a lot of shuffling back and forth and a lot of times you get lack of answers—they shuffle you aside."
(Kuenzl, Williams Lake Rod and Gun Club)

groups like the Vancouver Natural History Society are careful to target any confrontational tactics at "those initiating actions rather than those just carrying out orders."

Mail is the predominant avenue for lobbying work by stewardship groups: they commonly will initiate letter-writing campaigns to influence "higher-up" decision-making. Local-level advocacy work by these groups is mainly indirect, via community awareness-raising. Provincial umbrella organisations—the B.C. Wildlife Federation and the B.C. Federation of Naturalists—undertake direct advocacy work on behalf of community-based member clubs, although groups such as the Central Interior Steelheaders Association are uncertain whether their interests are well-served by the provincial organisations. Some stewardship group representatives mentioned that the level of political activism practised at a given point in time depends on the make-up of the club executive or membership. For example, the members of the Quesnel Naturalists Club discussed at length whether they should become more politically active on environmental issues and discovered that there was enough opposition to that approach that taking it would cause a rift in the membership. Part of the reason for staying

away from politics is the awareness that group members hold different political allegiances and they do not wish to alienate one another. As well, politically "activist" images do not appeal to most members of the stewardship groups.

Thus, like the advocacy groups, the stewardship groups prefer a cooperative style of interaction with government; the difference is that the stewardship groups are less likely to resort to confrontational tactics and more likely to seek partnerships with government agencies. Perhaps because of project-related cooperation, stewardship groups are not as disillusioned with participation on standing government advisory groups. Government's interest in maintaining a cooperative relationship is demonstrated by its use of stewardship groups as a sounding board of public opinion on policy and management proposals and as a source of technical information, and by its unsolicited, "off the record" communications to group members. Interaction is thus more balanced, or "two-way" than it is in the case of the advocacy groups; there is a sense of a shared common cause that promotes working together.

Much of the stewardship work described earlier is undertaken through projects involving direct cooperation between groups and government agencies. For example, the Vancouver Natural History Society has worked with the Parks Board on educational projects along the river, has provided statistics on bird sightings to the Provincial Museum, and has helped the provincial Ministries of Tourism and Transport in creating viewing guides. Typically, group members donate labour to such projects and government matches this donation with funding for expenses. Often "make work programs" are used to pay unemployed participants and to serve a training function. When a group manages property owned by government, as in the cases of nature centres on municipal property, there is usually close interaction between the parties involved. Clearly, volunteer warden or surveillance programs also require close cooperation, with the agency providing the power of prosecution once an offender is identified by the volunteer.

Trust and Bureaucratic Support

Virtually all of the fisheries habitat and enhancement work undertaken by Types I and II groups involves cooperation with the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans or the B.C. Fish and Wildlife Branch. The government role ranges from simply giving permission for projects, through providing legal and technical advice, funding, supplies, administrative assistance and supervision. The group role centres around the provision of labour but sometimes involves fund-raising and research services and the provision of data and planning advice as well.

In their work with government, the stewardship groups have encountered few breaches of trust, and in return, the groups claim to have followed projects through to completion. Productive working relationships are bolstered by friendships and by participation of government employees in groups as members. The opinion is virtually unanimous

that government employees provide all the information, time and advice that could be expected of them. However, the level of support for cooperation with clubs apparently differs amongst government agencies, and according to the experience of the different groups. At one extreme, some feel that government is "off-loading" its responsibilities onto the shoulders of stewardship groups. At the other, agencies such as the provincial Fish and Wildlife Branch are perceived as reluctant to get involved with non-government organisations in enhancement activities and have not accommodated potential for a co-management approach. In contrast, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans' Salmonid Enhancement Program community officers are so well appreciated that one interviewee suggested the Fish and Wildlife Branch should establish parallel positions.

Despite a general pattern of successful cooperation be-

"There seems to be a willingness on government's part to work with the individual, and say 'If you'd like to do this, maybe we could help you out'... The government gets a lot of brownie points in my book for the fact alone that they're going to let the people of the province help out a little, and the people should. If you're going to use the resource you should put a little back into it"
(Maier, Spruce City Wildlife Association).

tween government and stewardship groups, the Kamloops Fly Fishers Association representative claims it has taken time to build trust at the local level, and some groups are still uncertain as to the degree of trust that is warranted. One spokesperson felt that his group does not get enough respect from government personnel, whose attitude is "Why listen to him, he's just from the Wildlife Federation?" Another believes that information provided to one interest group is sometimes different from that provided to others. One fishing club representative identified the need for earlier consultation and senses a potential insincerity on the part of the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, suspecting opportunistic motivations towards cooperation driven by the need for public support. This spokesperson also is of the opinion that government needs to be more sensitive to the needs of user groups, for example, facilitating some hand planting of steelhead smolts for the symbolic value of this activity rather than relying on a helicopter. On the whole, however, commitments are seen to have been met by government except at the upper, political levels. (And at those levels, the few trusting relationships established are more frequently set back by changes in political appointments.)

At the local level, groups are also generally satisfied with the level of funding they receive from government—while finances can be problematic, government grants are usually seen as adequate and funding programs such as the Fish and Wildlife Branch's "Habitat Conservation Fund" are much appreciated. However, one representative's concern over the difficulty in meeting the conditions for receiving grants

reflects a broader problem of bureaucratic constraints in the form of "red tape." For example, the Wreck Beach Preservation Society experienced difficulty in meeting bureaucratic requirements in order to spend \$2,800 on trail improvement, and a management plan for a Nature Trust property which the Spruce City Wildlife Association and the Prince George Naturalists are expected to manage had been tangled in red tape for two years. Especially at the municipal level, groups find that paper work in the form of getting permits, producing reports, and meeting stringent restrictions hinders their progress on projects. The Williams Lake Rod and Gun Club representative stated that the complexity of the bureaucracy can also be problematic in terms of knowing who to contact for assistance, especially for less-experienced group members and the general public.

Stewardship Group Roles in Relation to their Perception of Government's Role

The stewardship groups undertake activities that they describe as filling different roles in relation to the role of government: some activities fill a gap in an area that is neglected by government or caused by a deficiency in government performance; some activities should not be expected of government or are better performed by ENGOs than by government; and other activities the groups feel should be undertaken in partnership with government.

The Reactive Role

As in the case of the advocacy groups, lobbying by stewardship groups is driven by perceived government inadequacy. Some group spokespersons felt that government could not be trusted to represent their interests in outdoor sports and the environment without being pushed—an attitude supporting the ENGO role of watchdog over government activities. Sometimes government neglect of group interests takes the form of "misplaced" management priorities, as in its emphasis on hatcheries where groups would rather see habitat enhancement. In other cases, usually involving specific disputes, groups see the lack of attention to their interests as an outcome of favouritism towards other interests. In these more politicized situations the groups will attempt to "educate" their communities to ensure that supporting voices are heard, and occasionally they will pursue a judicial resolution of an issue (e.g., the Vancouver Natural History Society has taken legal recourse). Government planning initiatives such as the Forest Service's Coordinated Resource Management Planning process which invite ENGO participation also place demands for greater organization and activity on local ENGOs, even if the impetus is a positive one.

The Supplementary Role

Most stewardship groups feel they would have a continuing role even if government was doing its job, and see their initiatives as largely independent of government performance—they fill a niche that would leave a gap or be filled

by other groups if they ceased activities. Few group representatives could imagine a system of governance which would end the necessity for their group's existence and activities. Most see their role as complementary to government's role, especially in the areas of public education, user (e.g., angler) education, work with land owners, work on enhancement and other projects, research and conservation writing, and surveillance against poaching. The Spruce City Wildlife Association purposefully focuses

"We're providing a service that probably, at least in our kind of society, has to be provided by volunteer groups"
(McMechan, Williams Lake Field Naturalists).

on projects that require their help and would not normally get done by the bureaucracy. Surveillance and monitoring are the most frequently-cited examples of such projects; groups are aware that government agencies do not have sufficient resources to meet needs in these areas and several feel that poaching would increase if their groups did not exist. More predictably, in the area of services to members of a social, educational and recreational nature, group representatives feel that their volunteers are the most appropriate providers.

The Cooperative Role

As discussed above, there is a strong emphasis on working in cooperation with government agencies amongst the stewardship groups, especially on habitat enhancement activities. As one representative pointed out, the local nature of enhancement issues lends them a practical as well as symbolic appropriateness to community involvement. Government funds have stimulated clubs to action and a large portion of some clubs' activities depend on such funding. Conversely, group representatives believe that government will always need the help of the public. Overall, the steward-

"The government is becoming a little more open to us.... They've been asking us into various consultation processes. ...We suffer no government restrictions whatsoever"
(Bowling, Prince George Naturalists).

ship groups recognize a need to work closely with government agencies, complemented by a feeling of independence from government. A positive spin-off identified of joint work with agencies like the B.C. Ministry of Environment in habitat improvement projects is that club members can help to educate government employees through personal interaction.

The Independent Role

A minority of representatives felt that group activities would be more effective without government involvement. The issue of "red tape" interference with group project work discussed above was one point in support of this proposition. It was felt that many projects could be undertaken more efficiently if government would allow the groups to work more independently once project goals and approaches are established. Projects in the areas of youth training and

"It's always tempting to say let us handle the problem—we'll solve it. Get rid of the bureaucrats ...however they have another mandate... like it or not they have a responsibility and I don't think you can view them as a hindrance"
(Howie, Kamloops Naturalist Club).

public education were seen by some as being more effectively undertaken by groups without government involvement because of the potential for interest group approaches to be more innovative and better able to gain the trust of community members. In other areas, respondents pointed out that government involvement is important to reduce fragmentation of efforts and enable the uniform implementation of policies.

Advocacy, Stewardship and Social Transformation

Clearly, both advocacy and stewardship groups play a wide range of roles and have a variety of styles of interaction with government. As has been indicated at points in the above discussion, these roles and styles evolve over time; some roles can be played simultaneously; and advocacy and stewardship groups often undertake activities associated with the other type of group. The activities of the groups in these various role manifestations have the potential to impact the communities of the Fraser Basin to the extent that they effect social transformation, whether or not that is the primary motivation of the interest groups. In combination, the advocacy work, the stewardship work, and the transformative influence all contribute to sustainable development in the Basin, primarily by helping to maintain the integrity of the natural environment.

Relationships between ENGO Roles and the Evolution of Roles

Several points have been made in earlier sections of the analysis on the theme of relationships between roles. These are reiterated below and supplemented where possible with further observations from the interviews.

- Stewardship groups get involved in political advocacy (even though they would prefer not to) when issues call

"The Kemano completion project has changed the outlook of the group to a more active lobbying situation, because we realized that we weren't getting anything before; there was no response at all to our concerns"
(Collard, Nechako Valley Sporting Association).

for their attention that cannot be dealt with through "hands on" work alone; when a cooperative approach fails to achieve adequate environmental protection; when development threatens the results of projects they have undertaken or a particularly valued ecosystem; or when club membership and especially the president and executive have a preference for advocacy work. The demographics of the membership can also have an effect—a spokesperson for one group saw the aging of the membership leading to more political activism and less hands on project work (although the influence presumably could occur in the reverse direction). Some fish and game, and naturalist groups are content to rely on their umbrella organisations to do the political work necessary on their behalf.

- For some stewardship groups that engage in advocacy work, environmental conflicts become a major focus of club activities. At least one, the Central Interior Steelheaders Association, expects it will have to practice more forceful advocacy in the future. The naturalist groups appear to be the most stable in their orientation, with fewer activist tendencies than the fish and game clubs.
- Advocacy groups, like stewardship groups, would prefer to take a cooperative approach to interacting with government but feel that a confrontational position has to be taken of necessity. Their experience leads them to believe that without constant pressure from environmental activists government will not address ecosystem needs in the face of development pressures.
- Advocacy groups will sometimes progress from one tactic or strategy to another in reaction to lack of response from government, typically from direct lobbying and the use of the courts, and indirect lobbying (public awareness-raising and public protests), to threats of direct action. The Quesnel Environmental Society, for example, is expecting to expand its lobbying efforts beyond local bureaucrats, moving up the government hierarchy in its push for action. More than one spokesperson predicted that their groups (including a stewardship group) may consider the possibility of direct action strategies more seriously in the future than they have in the past. The shift to a more activist stance is reported to be connected to experience of futility with using more cooperative channels and to the growing environmental awareness of group members. Contrary to this

trend, the Spruce City Wildlife Association is currently in a less activist phase, in comparison with a more "radical" orientation in the past

Further observations offered by the group representatives on shifts or trends in the orientation and activities of community-based ENGOs in the Fraser Basin include the following:

- Evolution in the goals of stewardship groups, and in changes in membership, has tended to be towards a broader, more habitat-oriented, conservationist bent, away from a utilitarian focus on maximizing individual fishing take or recreational activities, for example. As the representative of the Kamloops Fly Fishers Association puts it, the need to protect resources for the future means that they have to be "more than a fishing club," and the Williams Lake Rod and Gun Club representative spoke of "quality rather than quantity." The Spruce City Wildlife Association is expanding its involvement in forestry management and policy due to their growing awareness that activities in the forest sector have serious implications for wildlife. Despite such trends, the representative of the Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club notes that the basic emphasis of that group on fishing and hunting will be maintained, and the Nechako Valley Sporting Association has been more rather than less focused on recreational activities in recent years.
- The Central Interior Steelheaders Association intends to take a more independent approach in carrying out its stewardship projects, depending less on leadership and support from government.
- Some group representatives report a growing emphasis on education objectives, including as targets young people in the community and club members, towards encouraging a more conservationist perspective on the environment. Contrary to the escalation of lobbying efforts described above, the Beaver Valley Preservation Group is placing a stronger focus on education and putting less effort into pressuring government and industry for change—in the expectation that government is more likely to respond to expressions of environmental priorities from the public.
- The Cottonwood Community Association representative identified a trend to coalition building to deal with watershed issues. He expected that a coalition may form in the Cariboo to increase ENGO effectiveness in lobbying. Growth of the Nechako Environmental Coalition and the Thompson Watershed Coalition are further indications of this trend. In some cases, groups that might otherwise consider taking a more activist approach, such as the Quesnel Naturalists Club, can avoid this route in the knowledge that other groups play that role.

ENGO Roles and Social Transformation

If the above trends in ENGO orientation could be confirmed as typical of the environmental movement in Fraser Basin communities, the question might arise as to whether such trends reflect changes in the society of which they are a part. The present investigation cannot support a thorough analysis in that regard but it can set the stage by reviewing interest group images of their relationship with the wider community, or "the public," and by reflecting on ENGO activities that would most logically be expected to have an effect on the society in which they take place.

The "Public Interest"

In response to the question of whether their groups were working "for the public interest," answers ranged from a qualified "yes" to "definitely," "absolutely," and "very much so." The Nechako Neyenkut Society spokesperson said that her group is driven by a broad concern for the public interest and that accusations to the contrary—that the group is a "radical, special interest group that stirs up trouble in areas that are not its concern"—are insulting. The Kamloops Fly Fishers Association also noted that the government regards the group as a "special interest." Qualifications on the "yes" answer from the advocacy groups were that the groups represent the interests of "the earth" or "the environment" as well as the public. Qualifications from the stewardship group representatives were that they work also for their membership and the local community as opposed to the general public; and that their work for their membership has a spillover effect on the broader environment, especially through such activities as enhancement projects and volunteer surveillance.

When asked more directly "on whose behalf does your group work?" or "what is your constituency?", answers were more varied. The spectrum ranged from "our members only" to "the public at large," "the people of B.C.," and "the

"Our constituency is the steelhead anglers, but it's really everyone, because [the steelhead] is one more threatened species, and we care about rivers.... It always pains me that there's so little public knowledge or awareness that the Thompson River is one of the fifth or sixth great rivers in the world for steelhead angling"
(Dwyer, Central Interior Steelheaders Association).

government doesn't represent the public, we do." In between, replies from stewardship groups included: "fellow flyfishers;" "people interested in fly fishing and the environment;" "steelhead anglers," and from the same group "everyone—we care about rivers;" "the hunters and fishers of the region;" "the average sportsman;" "most of Omenica riding;" "those people who love Wreck Beach;" "lovers of the Fraser Valley;" "anybody who loves the environment;"

and "a mix of people from the community." The advocacy groups more often described their constituency in terms of a geographic community, for example, "the citizenry of north-central B.C.," "residents of Quesnel and district," "the Beaver Valley watershed community," and "citizens from the top of 11 Mile Hill to Stanley, and 30-40 kilometres north and south."

A "Special Stake"

To further probe the issue of representativeness and accountability to the public, interviewees were asked whether there is an aspect of the environment or area in which their group has a special stake. Only a few responded to this question in its political sense (and these were all stewardship groups), suggesting that they do have a special stake in contrast to that of the general public, earned by their investment of effort and acquired knowledge. For example, one spokesperson of the Spruce City Wildlife Association explained that his group "can't help but" have more influence on fish and wildlife management because of its day-to-day

"The Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club considers Jocko Lake theirs, and rightly so because they have secured public access to that particular lake for years"
(Chan, Kamloops Fly Fishers Association).

involvement, and that a stronger voice is warranted for those who have "done their homework" and are better informed, as long as it does not run counter to well-accepted wisdom on an issue. Others worded their replies in terms of the aspect of the environment with which they are most concerned, or the source of threats to the environment that absorbs their energies. Forestry practices and impacts, from logging methods to pulp mill pollution, were the most frequently-mentioned areas in which groups had a "special stake" in the latter category. Other areas included particular species such as mule deer, categories of wildlife such as migratory birds, "quality fishing waters," "the watershed," "the dry interior landscapes and ecosystems," and "the interests of the local environment" Comments directly related to water were included that indicate that an interest group's "stake in the environment" goes beyond the vested interests of that group: "we all drink water," and "fish don't really have a right to water in this province" (implying the need to build recognition of that right).

Social Learning

Given these patterns in "for whom" and "for what" the community-based ENGOs in the Basin are working, how likely is it that the efforts of the groups will spill over into the society of which they are a part? Beyond the on-the-ground effectiveness of the work of the groups, are there any indications that their efforts will direct change in society or

governance towards environmentalist priorities? Only a few indicators of such potential can be gleaned from the interview results, as the exploratory nature of the research does not lend itself to a rigorous analysis of these large questions.

The educational activities of the ENGOs are the most obviously inclined to direct change in community values and priorities as these activities are often undertaken with this purpose in mind. Public education towards greater environmental awareness and understanding of issues is a major focus of both the advocacy and the stewardship groups. These community-based environmentalists seek access to the public via print, radio and television media and

"As we all kind of seek out the truth about how to protect the environment and how to protect jobs at the same time, well, things will change"
(Case, Beaver Valley Preservation Group).

live forums for public awareness raising. Their primary intent is to inform the public, and bureaucrats and politicians as well, as to "what's going on in the environmental issues," according to the Vancouver Natural History Society spokesperson.

ENGO work that is not primarily educational in intent also has an influence on community learning, in the view of advocacy group representatives. Activist efforts encourage public understanding of political systems as well as issues and ENGO points of view. This raised awareness gives the activists hope for attitudinal change that provides some compensation for frustrations encountered in issue-specific battles. Representatives of Quesnel advocacy groups, for example, felt that awareness-raising efforts are paying off, as evidenced by the recent formation of the Quesnel Environmental Society, despite tendencies for high levels of employment in local industry to keep community members silent even when they are sympathetic to environmental causes.

Building Constituencies and Communities

While most educational efforts on the part of the groups, especially in the stewardship category, do not explicitly aim to do more than engender an informed interest in issues amongst members of the public, education does have the effect of encouraging community members to back up the ENGOs or to take a stand on their own, increasing political support for the environment. A Spruce City Wildlife Association representative described the influence of fisheries enhancement work as kindling an interest in the people who are involved. This interest then leads individuals to gain knowledge, take on responsibility and create a constituency, because "You can't just go out in the field and do some work without watching out for it, given that the big decisions are made at the political level." Stewardship and advocacy groups alike are aware that this constituency-building is

what best protects ecosystems in the longer term.

As important to the stewardship groups as the constituency-building effect of their work is its *community-building* effect. All the naturalist clubs and fish and game clubs have a strong social role for their members. The interaction of people in their work to protect ecosystems was reported to promote "fellowship" and "social glue." The "hands on" work in particular gives people a sense that they are contributing, and a feeling of pride and "belonging." A particularly impressive project in the Kamloops region involved a cooperative initiative between the Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club and the Shushwap Nation Tribal Council on the enhancement of the Deadman River. While the Native Indians involved cut back on their over-fishing and gained employment, the club members replaced their distrust of the Indians with respect for them.

The more people you can get involved the better it is, if for no other reason than any time you involve people in a conservation project or an enhancement project of any kind you create a constituency for that particular project, for that particular species—you kindle an interest that might not have been there...you give those people a chance to gain knowledge that they didn't have before; consequently they will be far more interested and far more concerned for that particular species or that particular ecosystem... You adopt these things; once you have worked for them you feel you have the responsibility to see that it works"
(Henchenberger, Spruce City Wildlife Association).

"The basic concern is what keeps people together.... Most of the people in the group tend to be very law abiding, conservative people who have serious concerns about what might happen to their future.... [when Alcan] offered the community an aluminum smelter in exchange for the water that they would be losing, it caused a major break in the community... friends weren't speaking to friends... it was a really miserable session"
(Burgener, Nechako Neyenkut Society).

Advocacy work appears to be less certain in its community-building effect. Communities can be divided in their opinions on issues in which advocacy groups are involved, and even group members don't always agree on options. As opportunities for new advocacy strategies arise, and issues confronting groups change, the choice of tactics made by a group can also be socially divisive. The Nechako Neyenkut Society, for example, has experienced divisions within its membership and between its members and the small community of Vanderhoof. Members of the Society became

**Box 9.6:
A Personal Experience**

In October 1976, I saw survey markers along Wreck beach with nails driven into live trees. I talked to the UBC Engineering Department and the constituency office; nobody knew anything. I was fearful, I just had an instinct. They moved bulldozers into Cowards Cove on the 24th of January. I put wirecutters, saws, and hammers to dismantle the bulldozer into a bag and set out for the beach. It was an absolute nightmare—the beach was being bulldozed. I tried to get a court order but on January the 25th they started dredging. I sent a letter to the Vancouver Sun; after the project was completed the article came out. I came out of the closet. I became militant about the beach (Williams).

aware that they were being seen by the general public as extremists at a certain stage in the evolution of the water diversion issue and they purposefully became "quieter" to counteract that trend. More recently, desperation has driven them back to an outspoken standpoint. The community has been particularly divided over whether or not to accept offers from the proponents of the development for compensation in the form of a smelter and a pulp mill. The spokesperson for the Nechako Neyenkut Society reported that despite these divisive forces a basic concern for the environment keeps people together.

Individual Incentive

Some of the representatives interviewed emphasized the need for change at the individual level as the way to build support for a healthy environment. In the words of the spokesperson for the Streambourne Fly fishing Club, "another word for stewardship is a true love for nature—it can't come from government, it has to come from within... action has to be through individuals rather than through the government" Like community-level changes resulting from stewardship work mentioned above, individual changes in

*"I want to go hunting and fishing and listen to the birds and tweet along with them"
(Paulik, Fraser River Coalition).*

*"One or two generations are wiping out the renewable resources; is it our right to do that?"
(Hall, British Columbia Waterfowl Society).*

attitude are said to result from the effects of group and community members working together on projects. The effectiveness of such work stems from the way it calls upon participants to take on personal responsibility and the oppor-

tunities it provides for person-to-person communication.

If stewardship attitudes can disseminate from environmentalists and club members through a community on this one-to-one basis, the question remains as to the nature of the personal motivation that fuels this process. In response to the question, "Why are you personally involved in this work?", answers ranged widely, from an immediate interest in sporting pursuits to a concern for future generations. Some respondents were quite philosophical, mentioning such benefits as a "broader perspective on life," and "the enjoyment of learning." While those involved in stewardship work often identified a love of the outdoors as the motivating influence, the advocates were more likely to mention threats to the environment as the force behind their involvement. The spokesperson for the Wreck Beach Preservation Society told her story as paraphrased in Box 9.6.

Community-based ENGOs and Sustainable Development

The key principles of sustainable development outlined in Gardner (Volume I) are the pursuit and maintenance of ecological integrity, the pursuit of equity, thinking globally while acting locally, and increasing social self-determination. The analysis of community-based ENGOs in the Fraser Basin points, at least tentatively, to a role for these organisations in achieving each principle.

The Pursuit and Maintenance of Ecological Integrity

The most likely impact on sustainability resulting from the activities of the Fraser Basin groups surveyed is on the maintenance and enhancement of environmental integrity and diversity. Most of the work the groups undertake is directed towards conserving and enhancing the resource base to ensure a good quality of life for community residents, for the benefit of the environment itself, and for future generations. While the advocates prod government to strengthen its conservation activities, the stewardship volunteers effect on-the-ground improvements by providing

*"Most people feel that rather than just taking, taking, taking... it's a nice feeling to be able to give something back to the resources so there will be something there for their children to enjoy"
(Anon., Kamloops and District Fish and Game Club).*

"an efficient and effective alternative to public agencies in the delivery of programmes and projects," to use the words of the Brundtland Commission (WCED 1987:238). Both types of groups contribute to the longer-term defence of environmental integrity by building constituencies of support for ecosystems through community awareness-raising efforts.

The Pursuit of Equity

Although the pursuit of equity was not an explicit goal of any of the group representatives interviewed, the role of the stewardship groups in community-building, discussed above, can contribute to social equity through a mixing of social strata in club activities. The advocacy groups also attempt to promote equity by working to counteract the tendencies of decision-making to favour industry.

Thinking Globally while Acting Locally

The "hands on" experience of stewardship projects enhances community awareness of and sensitivity towards ecosystem needs and engenders a sense of responsibility for the quality of the environment. By "acting locally," the groups surveyed thus provide opportunities for direct in-

"The grass-roots is possibly the only way to bring about change... so our focus is to educate ourselves, number one, and to educate our neighbours, number two"
(Case, Beaver Valley Preservation Group).

volvement that can raise the environmental awareness of citizens well beyond their immediate self-interests, if not to the global level. Some of the environmentalists interviewed expressed personal motivations that suggest they are already "thinking globally," at least in terms of ecosystem concepts. The emphasis that correspondents placed on change at the individual level agrees with many commentators on sustainable development who believe change has to begin at that level, especially through direct involvement in work towards sustainability.

Increasing Social Self-determination

The emphasis the Fraser Basin ENGOs place on local action and community-building can work for conservation in the community's self-interest, thus contributing to social self-determination. Yet the close cooperation between stewardship groups and government agencies in the sample suggests that most of their on-the-ground work is not done independently, potentially lessening the tendency towards self-determination in some cases.

"[Our strategies include seeking the] mechanisms that permit effective involvement and protest... and to move away from the fruitless bitching in the back of the tackle shop or in other places, to get involved"
(Dwyer, Central Interior Steelheaders Association).

The Future Direction of ENGOs in the Fraser River Basin

A question that has yet to be explored is that of the congruity between the self-portrait of the ENGOs analysed in this chapter and the actual effects of community-based ENGOs "on the ground" in the Fraser River Basin. Little can be said on this point based on the research discussed here, except to postulate that the mixed message from a representative of the Fraser River Coalition might well prove accurate: "I don't feel we have accomplished that much—I would like to feel more positive about it...but if we hadn't been able to do the little we have done, where would we be now?"

In terms of their transformative influence on society, the community-based ENGOs in the Basin do have the potential to shift social priorities towards sustainability, as explained

"I'd like to see changes occurring on a big picture basis, and by that I mean we've got to get consumerism changing; we have to get some massive educational programs"
(Dykes, Nechako Environmental Coalition).

above. This effect is based in interest group education of their communities on ecosystem dynamics, government processes, and environmental issues, rather than on strategies for radical restructuring. Social transformation at a more systemic, structural level was not an explicit priority of any of the groups surveyed, although increasing consideration of direct action strategies indicates a willingness on the part of some groups to work outside of "the system," and the issue of concentration of access to resources in the hands of industry was a major concern of some advocacy groups.

Essentially, all of the groups surveyed fall into Schnaiberg's (1980) categories of "reformists" and "meliorists." The advocates in the sample, as predicted by Schnaiberg, are kept busy trying to ensure fairness in decision-making and the implementation of existing environmental legislation—occupations that perhaps distract them from more revolutionary tendencies. Yet there was little indication that the groups surveyed are prone to the co-optation associated with these less-radical categories: there are no obvious signs of "third wave environmentalism" emerging. Box 9.7 displays a sequence of stewardship and advocacy activities or strategies derived from a combination of commentaries from various Fraser Basin ENGO representatives. In aggregate, the commentary suggests trends towards increasingly confrontational and activist orientations—trends based in a loss of trust in government at the upper levels, particularly the legislature. This activism is supported by the political action of umbrella organisations and increasing mobilization of the grass-roots through coalitions. Escalation of activism through coalition-building is reflected in a national campaign to stop both the Kemano project and the diversion works of "James Bay II" The

**Box 9.7:
Generic Sequence of ENGO Strategies**

The types of activities or strategies listed below do not actually occur in any set order; the sequence varies widely among groups and many strategies are often adopted simultaneously. The sequence displayed here is that typifying a trend towards increasing political activism, starting from stewardship activities and moving into advocacy strategies.

STEWARDSHIP

POLITICAL ACTIVISM

- recreational and educational activities for membership
- on-the-ground habitat enhancement and other stewardship work
- participation in public participation opportunities provided by government
- direct advocacy work (e.g., meetings with politicians)
- indirect advocacy work (e.g., use of the media for publicity)
- judicial (legal, or court) action
- protest, public demonstrations
- coalition-building
- civil disobedience

ADVOCACY



**Box 9.8:
Commentary from a Coalition
Representative**

"Ehor Boyanowski, president of the Steelhead Society of British Columbia, said environmentalists are becoming increasingly frustrated with the government's inability, or unwillingness, to protect the environment. 'We are only one step away from civil disobedience on a major scale.... We want to stop those outbreaks from happening. We have to demand that the government undertake the stewardship of its own laws.'" (Hume 1990)

groups involved are the Steelhead Society of B.C., the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, the Rivers Defense Coalition of B.C. and representatives of Cree and Inuit in Quebec. Some comments by a representative of this coalition are displayed in Box 9.8.

Despite the activist trends in the ENGO movement, the stewardship role appears to be well-entrenched in Fraser Basin communities. While the work of the stewardship groups is most frequently based in a cooperative relationship with government at the regional and local levels, some ENGOs work quite independently and some desire more independence from government. The qualities identified by Hodge and Hodge (1979) in Ontario ENGOs over a decade ago are inherent in the Fraser Basin stewardship groups, namely, innovation, energy and commitment, capability, and information and knowledge. The representative of the Nechako Environmental Coalition echoed a recognition of these qualities almost precisely, pointing out that ENGO work could lead to innovation, if the resources required to realize this potential were available: "there is tremendous energy and knowledge out there in the citizenry that can be expressed through environmental groups." Supporting this vision is the opinion volunteered by the spokesperson for the Beaver Valley Preservation

Group, that a community-based approach to resource management is the way of the future. Stewardship group representatives would support this view, in their recognition that the residents of a community are well-placed to take a hand in the management of its resources because of their direct interest in and knowledge of their "own backyards."

If the potential of the stewardship role is nurtured, the community-based ENGOs of the Fraser Basin can be expected to increase their contribution to sustainable development into the future. The stewardship movement ensures that, as advocacy work urges government and industry to do a better job in caring for the environment, citizen organisations will be making a positive contribution as well.

Acknowledgments

The Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada provided the financial assistance which supported the production of this paper. The author would like to thank Julian Griggs and Sally Lemer for their valuable comments and suggestions for improvements to draft versions of the paper. She would also like to thank all those included in the list of interviewees as well as those who were interviewed but whose commentary was not used in this analysis. All these people generously donated their time, their hospitality, their advice and their enthusiasm.

Notes:

- ¹ This chapter does not propose to address a range of topics which could be investigated in connection with the roles of ENGOs, namely: the socio-economic characteristics of environmentalists and their representativeness of the general population; general themes of public participation and citizen involvement beyond ENGOs; the depth or strength of the environmental movement in the Fraser Basin; ENGOs that are not community-based (e.g., province-level groups); the relative effectiveness of various ENGO strategies; the actual effect of ENGO strategies on environmental policy and decision-making or on ecosystems; and the internal organization and dynamics of ENGOs.
- ² Native Indian organisations are not considered to fall within the scope of this definition. While many Native organisations perform vital roles in environmental conservation, they are also involved in cultural, economic and political activities with further-reaching and more profound implications than the activities of environmental interest groups.
- ³ A copy of the survey instrument is available on request from the author.

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Appendix I: List of ENGO Representatives Interviewed

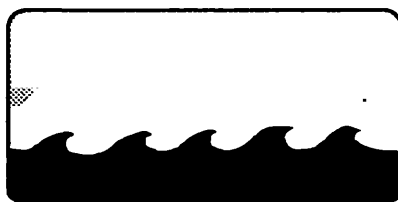
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From:
**Water in Sustainable Development:
Exploring Our Common Future in the
Fraser River Basin**

Anthony H. J. Dorsey
Editor

Research Program
on
Water in Sustainable Development
Volume II

forthcoming, July 1991



Westwater Research Centre
Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of British Columbia