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1 Does stakeholder involvement really benefit biodiversity conservation?

2

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27

28 **Abstract**

29

30 The establishment of protected areas, such as Natura 2000, is a common approach to curbing
31 biodiversity loss. But many of these areas are owned or managed by private actors. Policies
32 indicate that their involvement should be encouraged to ensure long term success. However,
33 to date there have been no systematic evaluations of whether local actor involvement in the
34 management of protected areas does in fact contribute to the conservation of biodiversity,
35 which is the expressed policy goal. Research incorporating both qualitative and quantitative
36 data was carried out in three case studies in Scotland where local actor input was required in
37 the development and/or implementation of Natura 2000 management plans. No relationship
38 was found between stakeholder involvement and expected biodiversity outcomes. Social
39 outcomes of increased stakeholder involvement, such as increased trust, did however increase
40 the likelihood of positive future biodiversity outcomes. The findings indicate that efforts
41 aimed at increasing stakeholder involvement in the management of protected areas need to
42 consider making processes more independent, and acknowledge and address underlying
43 biodiversity conflicts. The findings also emphasise the need to evaluate multi-level
44 conservation efforts in terms of processes, social outcomes and biodiversity outcomes.

45

46 **Keywords:** Biodiversity conflict; Natura 2000; public participation; Scotland; Special Area
47 of Conservation; Stakeholder involvement.

48

49 **1. Introduction**

50

51 Stakeholder involvement is widely advocated in a range of policy activities including
52 decision-making (Renn, 2006), policy implementation (e.g. Ferreyra & Beard, 2007; Huitema
53 et al. 2010) and policy evaluation (Fischer, 1995). It has particularly gained ground in the
54 environmental sector since the 1980s with the Brundtland report resulting in a trend towards
55 more multi-level management of natural resources. As a result, such involvement is seen as
56 “one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development”
57 (UNCED, 1992: paragraph 23.2).

58

59 The main arguments for increased involvement are well known. Fiorino (1990) outlined three
60 main types of argument for participation, namely normative, i.e. to strengthen democratic
61 cultures and processes (Webler and Renn, 1995), substantive, i.e. to bring additional
62 knowledge and values into decision-making in order to make better decisions (Renn, 2006)
63 and instrumental, i.e. to provide greater legitimacy (Svarstad et al., 2006), increase trust
64 (Munton, 2003), and reduce the intensity of conflicts (Young et al., 2010). These three types
65 of argument for increased stakeholder involvement are highly relevant in the context of
66 biodiversity governance. Indeed, anthropogenic pressures on ecosystem goods and services,
67 combined with the current global financial crisis, are increasingly leading to the devolution of
68 biodiversity governance through stakeholder involvement (Young et al. 2012). While this is
69 an appealing concept due to the important substantive and instrumental benefits of such an
70 approach (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005), it is essential, particularly in the current economic
71 climate, to ensure that any public money spent on biodiversity conservation efforts, including
72 processes to involve stakeholders at local levels, is being used effectively. The evaluation of
73 stakeholder involvement is not only important for accountability and auditing purposes but,

74 in line with the more normative and substantive arguments for stakeholder involvement, can
75 help ensure fair representation and involvement; and increases our knowledge of human
76 behaviour in these contexts (Rowe and Frewer, 2004). In view of these important goals, there
77 is a growing body of work on evaluation of stakeholder involvement (Reed, 2008).

78

79 Many academic evaluations of stakeholder involvement focus on the processes of
80 involvement (i.e. the normative goals of stakeholder involvement). Other evaluations focus
81 on outcomes (linked to substantive and/or instrumental goals), be they social outcomes (such
82 as increased trust, or conflict resolution) or policy outcomes (i.e. changes ‘on the ground’ that
83 contribute to the achievement of the policy goal(s)). There is also a growing body of work
84 suggesting and testing a combination of criteria relating to process, social outcomes (e.g.
85 Berkes, 2009; Blackstock et al., 2007; Carlsson & Berkes 2004; Grant and Curtis, 2004) and
86 environmental outcomes (Beierle & Konisky, 2001; Conley & Moote, 2003; Ferreyra &
87 Beard, 2007).

88

89 There has, however, been less research evaluating the *links* between process, social outcomes
90 and environmental outcomes. In their study on environmental planning in the Great Lakes
91 region, Beierle and Konisky (2001) found that although stakeholder involvement had helped
92 improve the quality of decisions and improved the relationships amongst stakeholders, there
93 was no obvious link between stakeholder involvement and improved environmental quality.
94 While Sultana and Abeyasekara (2008) found that social cohesion was slightly stronger and
95 that stakeholder involvement had led to a faster uptake of community actions for fisheries
96 management, no direct links were made between stakeholder involvement and improved
97 environmental conditions. Newig and Fritsch (2009) explored the ability of participatory
98 decision-making to deliver environmental policy output, compliance and implementation.

99 Again, no direct links emerged, indicating this is an aspect of policy evaluation that requires
100 further work (Burgess and Chilvers, 2006). In addition to the direct links between process and
101 environmental outcomes, little is known about the *indirect* links between process, social and
102 environmental outcomes (Kenney, 1999). Whereas conflict will hamper efforts to develop
103 collaborative management strategies, good social outcomes may perhaps be more likely to
104 lead to a greater willingness and better knowledge on the part of land owners and managers to
105 engage, to assimilate new knowledge and want to adapt their activities in order to conserve
106 biodiversity.

107

108 To test the direct and indirect links between stakeholder involvement and biodiversity
109 outcomes, this paper focuses on the implementation of the European Natura 2000 network of
110 protected sites. Setting land aside for conservation dates back thousands of years and is
111 recognised as an effective way of conserving biodiversity (Mulongoy and Chape, 2004).
112 Consequently, protected areas have grown in range and extent since the creation of
113 Yellowstone National Park in 1872, covering 12.9% of the global terrestrial area (Jenkins and
114 Joppa, 2009). As little “untouched” land remains and most ecosystems are, to a certain extent,
115 shaped by if not directly dependent on humans, the president of the International Union for
116 Conservation of Nature at the time concluded that “if local people do not support protected
117 areas then protected areas cannot last” (Ramphal 1993; cited in Warren, 2002: 196). This
118 understanding together with the recognition of local stakeholder rights and democratisation of
119 policy processes has resulted in a move from state-centred to multi-level governance of
120 protected areas (Lockwood, 2010), which has been accompanied by the development of
121 mechanisms to facilitate stakeholder involvement in the decision-making and management of
122 protected areas. Protected areas therefore represent an appropriate setting in which to
123 evaluate stakeholder involvement.

124

125 This paper provides qualitative and quantitative empirical evidence from stakeholders
126 involved in the development and implementation of management plans on the direct and
127 indirect links between stakeholder involvement and expected biodiversity outcomes. We
128 provide evidence to inform biodiversity policy development and implementation, as well as
129 wider academic debates, which would appear to have often run ahead of empirical studies of
130 association. Using three in depth case studies of local stakeholder involvement in the
131 development and/or implementation of biodiversity management plans in Scotland, this paper
132 explores three main hypotheses to address the direct and indirect links between stakeholder
133 involvement and biodiversity outcomes. The first hypothesis was that process characteristics
134 of stakeholder involvement would influence biodiversity outcomes. The second hypothesis
135 was that process characteristics of stakeholder involvement would influence social outcomes.
136 Our third hypothesis was that social outcomes of stakeholder involvement processes would
137 influence biodiversity outcomes. These hypotheses are tested using a combination of
138 qualitative and quantitative data derived from semi-structured interviews carried out with
139 policy stakeholders in three case studies. The main results are then presented before
140 discussing implications for stakeholder involvement in conservation and for wider academic
141 debates about stakeholder involvement processes and outcomes.

142

143 **2. Research design and methods**

144

145 2.1. Study system

146

147 In the European Union, the main mechanism for protected areas is the Natura 2000 network,
148 consisting of Special Protected Areas (SPAs) and Special Areas of Conservation (SACs)

149 designated under the Birds and Habitats Directives respectively. Natura 2000 covers 17.5%
150 of the EU's territory, making it the largest network of protected areas in the world (European
151 Commission, 2010). The majority of Natura 2000 sites are privately owned and their use is
152 not primarily nature conservation. The European Commission stated that for the Natura 2000
153 network to be a success, the active involvement of those who live in or depend on these sites
154 is needed (European Commission, 2000). Member States are required to “establish the
155 necessary conservation measures”, for example management plans, statutory, administrative
156 or contractual measures in accordance to their ecological requirements (Article 6 (1)) as soon
157 as an SAC is designated. By 2004, the UK and France were the most advanced Member
158 States in establishing management plans (European Commission, 2004), making them
159 appropriate settings in which to examine and evaluate stakeholder involvement.

160

161 Three case studies located in Scotland were selected for this study. The main criterion for
162 case study selection was the existence of a management plan that had required, at some stage
163 of its development and/or implementation, the active involvement of a range of local
164 stakeholders. Case studies comprised:

165

166 A. The river Bladnoch. The river Bladnoch and its tributaries were designated as an SAC in
167 2005 for their population of Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*), listed under Annex II of the
168 Habitats Directive. The Bladnoch was considered of particular value due to its ‘spring run’ or
169 ‘early running’ salmon, which run from January onwards, an uncommon characteristic for
170 rivers in this part of Scotland (JNCC, 2009). The river Bladnoch SAC Atlantic Salmon
171 Catchment Management Plan was commissioned by Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) in 2004
172 and produced by the Galloway Fishery Trust in 2007. Its objectives were to identify potential
173 or actual negative impacts on the SAC; to assess existing management; and to identify and

174 prioritise further measures required (Scottish Natural Heritage, 2007). The main stakeholders
175 in this case study were representatives of the Galloway Fisheries Trust, Scottish Natural
176 Heritage, Forestry Commission Scotland, Forest Enterprise, Scottish Environmental
177 Protection Agency, the Bladnoch District Salmon Fishery Board, as well as local fishermen,
178 farmers and forest owners. Whilst no funding was allocated specifically to implement the
179 plan, it is the responsibility of statutory agencies to ensure that the Bladnoch is in favourable
180 condition; hence measures listed in the plan would be implemented. While many measures
181 could be implemented by the statutory agencies and the Galloway Fisheries Trust alone, local
182 stakeholders could add greatly to the success of these measures through voluntary
183 engagement. The main issues raised by local fishermen were whether measures within the
184 plan adequately ensured the return of Spring salmon by addressing the main perceived impact
185 on the river, namely acidification from forestry practices.

186

187 B. The Moray Firth. The Moray Firth is a complex setting, home to seven SACs covering
188 three species: bottlenose dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*), common or harbour seal (*Phoca*
189 *vitulina*) and Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*). All three species are listed under Annex II of the
190 Habitats Directive. The Moray Firth Seal Management Plan was developed in 2005 to
191 address the conflict between seal conservation and salmon fisheries. The main stakeholders in
192 this case study included representatives from the Scottish Government, Scottish Natural
193 Heritage, the District Salmon Fishery Boards, scientists from the Sea Mammal Research Unit
194 in St Andrews and local netmen. Its objectives were to i) contribute to the fulfilment of the
195 conservation objectives for the SACs in the Moray Firth; ii) reduce the impact of shooting by
196 District Salmon Fishery Boards on the common seal population; iii) reduce the impact of
197 common and grey seal predation on depleted adult spring salmon stocks, smolts, and on rod
198 and net fisheries; iv) monitor and research the status of common and grey seal populations,

199 salmon stocks and interactions between them through a Seal and Salmon Research
200 Programme; and v) develop non-lethal methods of reducing seal-salmon conflict, and training
201 for fishery managers (Butler, 2005). All measures above were being implemented at the time
202 of the study. While some funding was available for the development of the plan and some of
203 the scientific research associated with objective iv above, continued implementation depends
204 fully on the voluntary engagement of local stakeholders (netmen and fishermen) in reducing
205 shooting of seals and cooperating with the scientific research carried out.

206

207 C. The Forth and Borders moorlands. Moorlands are habitats of international and European
208 importance, home to animal assemblages of conservation importance (Thompson et al.,
209 1995). There have been major losses of moorland habitat and a decline in the quality of the
210 remaining moorland (BRIG, 2008). The Forth and Borders Moorlands Management Scheme,
211 centred on 12 protected areas, aimed to “maintain and improve the habitats and species”
212 (Scottish Natural Heritage, 2004: 2) associated with the protected areas. In order to achieve
213 this aim, a number of prescriptions were available to land owners and managers under the
214 scheme to promote good moorland management practices. All land owners and managers
215 choosing to sign up to the scheme were entitled to subsidies – the value of which depended
216 on the amount of land put under the scheme and the number of prescriptions adopted. In this
217 case study, success depended entirely on the number of local landowners and managers
218 taking up the scheme, and their level of involvement. The main stakeholders in this case were
219 Scottish Natural Heritage employees (mainly local area officers responsible for implementing
220 the scheme) and local landowners and managers. This case study was embedded in a conflict
221 between grouse management and raptor conservation.

222

223 2.2. Data gathering

224

225 Both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered in this study. A total of 59 in-depth
226 semi-structured interviews were carried out from January to July 2009 with stakeholders who
227 had been involved in the development and/or implementation of the management plan.
228 Evidence gathered from documentary data was instrumental in selecting the initial
229 interviewees. The selection of initial interviewees followed a purposive sampling strategy
230 designed to ensure that the views of each of the main types of stakeholder were included.
231 Further contacts within the stakeholder network associated with each of these sites were
232 obtained from these initial interviewees and extended through a process of ‘snowball’ or
233 chain referral sampling. This approach to sampling, which has long been used in sociological
234 and political science research, is particularly suited to identifying members of policy or other
235 networks, who often may be few in number, in that it can lend the researcher some of the
236 characteristics of an ‘insider’, thereby facilitating access (Lewis-Beck et al, 2004). The
237 resulting “policy stakeholders” (Fischer, 1995) interviewed were divided into three groups:
238 Government and government department representatives (referred to as GA in later quotes);
239 scientific and technical advisers (SA) and biodiversity users (BU)(Table 1). The first group
240 comprised local and regional stakeholders responsible for implementing or regulating
241 biodiversity policy. The second group comprised local or regional scientists external to
242 governmental bodies (e.g. university, independent research organisations). The third group
243 included local stakeholders who were affected by or involved directly in the management of
244 the target species/habitats in the protected areas. These included farmers, fishermen, fishery
245 managers, foresters and local businesses owners. The proportion of these groups in each case
246 study varied (see Table 1). This was mainly related to the nature of the management plans:
247 there is a stronger emphasis on implementation in the Forth and Borders plan, hence more
248 biodiversity users were suggested in the snowballing process; whereas scientific input was an

249 important aim in the Moray Firth plan, hence the more balanced range of stakeholders
 250 interviewed. While most interviews were face-to-face, three interviews were carried out over
 251 the phone.

252

253 **Table 1.** Breakdown of interviewees in each case study: The first letter refers to the case
 254 study (B=Bladnoch; M=Moray Firth; F=Forth and Borders Moorlands); the middle letters
 255 refer to the stakeholder group (GA=Government and government department representatives;
 256 SA=scientific and technical advisers; BU=biodiversity users).

| Interviewee background | Bladnoch | Moray Firth | Forth and Borders Moorlands |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Representatives of the Scottish Government or government departments | BGA1 | MGA1 | FGA1 |
| | BGA2 | MGA2 | FGA2 |
| | BGA3 | MGA3 | FGA3 |
| | BGA4 | MGA4 | FGA4 |
| | BGA5 | | FGA5 |
| | | | FGA6 |
| Scientific advisers | BSA1 | MSA1 | FSA1 |
| | BSA2 | MSA2 | FSA2 |
| | | MSA3 | FSA3 |
| | | MSA4 | FSA4 |
| | | MSA5 | |
| | | MSA6 | |
| Biodiversity users | BBU1 | MBU1 | FBU1 |
| | BBU2 | MBU2 | FBU2 |
| | BBU3 | MBU3 | FBU3 |
| | BBU4 | MBU4 | FBU4 |
| | BBU5 | MBU5 | FBU5 |
| | BBU6 | MBU6 | FBU6 |
| | BBU7 | MBU7 | FBU7 |
| | BBU8 | MBU8 | FBU8 |
| | BBU9 | MBU9 | FBU9 |
| | BBU10 | MBU10 | FBU10 |
| | BBU11 | | |
| | BBU12 | | |

257

258

259

260 Semi-structured interviews incorporated qualitative elements relating to interviewees’
 261 experiences of developing the management plan and their perceptions of the social and
 262 biodiversity outcomes (for the full interview guide, see Supplementary Material Appendix
 263 A). Based on pilot interviews, interviews were modulated to start with a general question,
 264 usually about their relationship with the protected area. This was an effective means of
 265 understanding the personal experiences of interviewees with the designated area(s) and
 266 opening up discussions towards their concerns, not covered necessarily in the semi-structured
 267 interview. The table in the interview guide (Supplementary Material Appendix A) was used
 268 to elicit more discussion on the process itself and scores. Interviewees were asked to discuss
 269 and then score, on a scale from one to five, the process criteria (n=6), social outcome criteria
 270 (n=6) and the criterion relating to expected biodiversity outcomes (n=1). Each criterion was
 271 scored and then discussed in more detail again, if needed. Interviewees could change their
 272 score as the discussion progressed. All but three interviewees took part in the scoring
 273 exercise. Interviewees were also asked to compare the expected biodiversity outcomes with
 274 and without a management plan. They were asked to suggest any other potential respondents
 275 and whether they had any other comments. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and
 276 coded using NVivo qualitative data analysis software (QSR International, 2010). The coding
 277 used generic theory-based criteria (Rowe and Frewer, 2000) and social and environmental
 278 outcome criteria (Beierle and Konisky, 2001) (Table 2) derived from the public participation
 279 literature as a benchmark to evaluate stakeholder involvement.

280

281 **Table 2.** Theoretical framework for the evaluation of stakeholder involvement in the
 282 implementation of Natura 2000 in Scotland based on generic theory-based criteria (Rowe and
 283 Frewer, 2000) and social and environmental outcome criteria (Beierle and Konisky, 2001)

| Evaluation focus | Criteria measured |
|------------------|-------------------|
|------------------|-------------------|

| Evaluation focus | Criteria measured |
|--|--|
| <i>Procedural evaluation</i> | |
| Representativeness | 1. Were the participants representative of the affected public? |
| Independence | 2. Was the process carried out in an independent, unbiased way? |
| Transparency | 3. Was the public able to see what was happening and how decisions were being made? |
| Influence | 4. Did participant input have a genuine impact on the management plan? |
| Early involvement | 5. Were stakeholders involved as early as possible? |
| Cost-effectiveness | 6. Was the process cost-effective? |
| <i>Social outcome evaluation</i> | |
| Stakeholder values | 7. Were stakeholder values incorporated into decision making? |
| Technical quality | 8. Was the technical quality of decisions improved? |
| Conflict resolution | 9. Was conflict resolved among stakeholders? |
| Increased trust | 10. Was trust increased between stakeholders? |
| Learning | 11. Did stakeholders become better educated and informed? |
| Creation of new structures | 12. Were organisations established to implement decisions? |
| <i>Biodiversity outcome evaluation</i> | |
| Biodiversity outcomes | 13. How successful was the plan in ensuring the long-term conservation of the target species/habitats? |

284

285 2.3. Data analysis

286

287 As stated in the introduction, 3 main hypotheses were tested in this study:

288 - *Hypothesis 1. Process characteristics of stakeholder involvement influence biodiversity*
289 *outcomes.*

290 - *Hypothesis 2. Social outcomes derived from stakeholder involvement are influenced by*
291 *process characteristics.*

292 - *Hypothesis 3. Social outcomes derived from stakeholder involvement influence biodiversity*
293 *outcomes.*

294

295 The qualitative data gathered through the scoring exercise in the interviews was used to test
 296 all the above hypotheses.

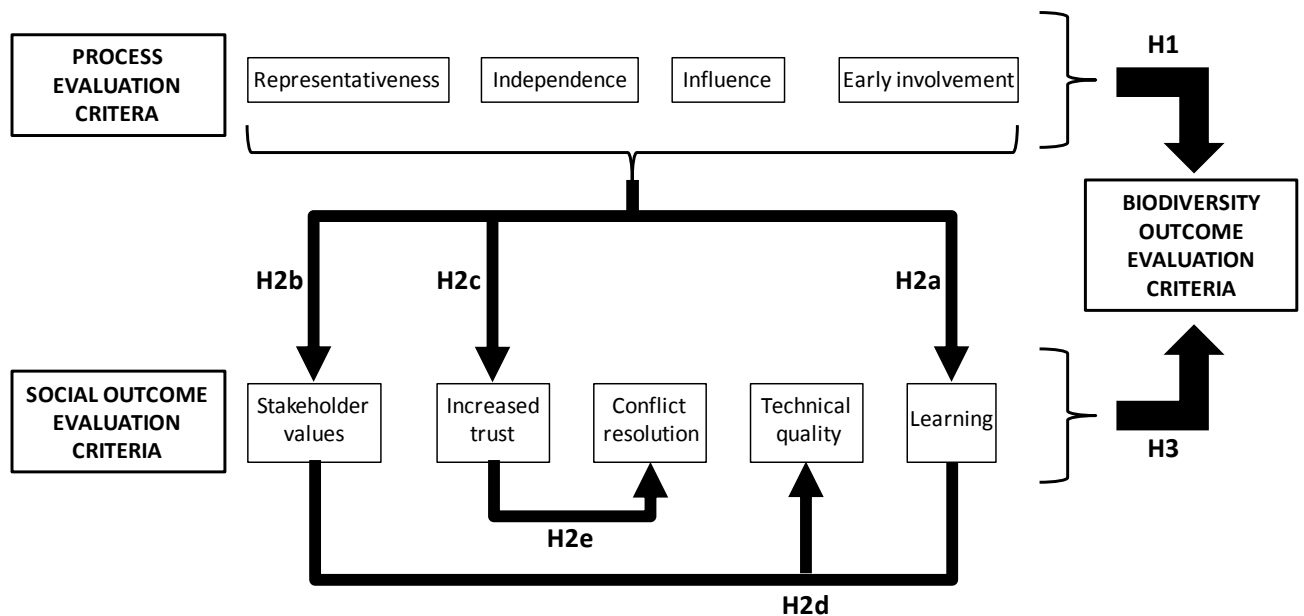
297

298 The quantitative data gathered in interviews was also used to test the three hypotheses, using
 299 ordinal regression models (which treat the data as categorical and exploit the ordered nature
 300 of the data when perform regression analyses; Christensen 2011). Our analysis of the
 301 quantitative data involved seven analyses, divided into three phases (see Figure 1).

302

303 **Figure 1.** Diagram of quantitative analyses performed to estimate links between process and
 304 biodiversity (H1); process and social outcomes (H2a-e); and social outcomes and biodiversity
 305 outcomes (H3). Arrows represent separate ordinal linear regression models.

306
 307



308
 309

310 Firstly, we investigated hypothesis 1 (*Process characteristics of stakeholder involvement*
 311 *influence biodiversity outcomes*) by modelling the relationship between the score for
 312 ‘biodiversity outcome’ and the scores for four process characteristics (‘representativeness’,
 313 ‘independence’, ‘influence’ and ‘early involvement’). The effects of ‘social group’ were also

314 considered. Two process characteristics ('transparency' and 'cost-effectiveness') were not
 315 used in the analysis due to large numbers of missing responses from interviewees in these
 316 categories. Secondly, we investigated Hypothesis 2 (*Social outcomes derived from*
 317 *stakeholder involvement are influenced by process characteristics*). This involved five
 318 separate analyses, linked to five specific sub-hypotheses (Table 3).

319 **Table 3.** Quantitative analyses that were used in investigating hypothesis 2.
 320

| | Sub-hypothesis | Response variable | Explanatory variables |
|-----|---|---------------------|---|
| 2a) | Learning is improved by higher scores of process characteristics | Learning score | Representativeness |
| 2b) | Stakeholder values are improved by higher scores of process characteristics | Stakeholder value | Influence Independence |
| 2c) | Trust is improved by higher scores of process characteristics | Trust | Early involvement Social group |
| 2d) | Technical quality scores are improved by higher social outcome scores | Technical quality | Learning score Stakeholder value Social group |
| 2e) | Conflict resolution scores are improved by higher scores of trust | Conflict resolution | Trust Social group |

321
 322 Thirdly, we investigated hypothesis 3 (*Social outcomes derived from stakeholder involvement*
 323 *influence biodiversity outcomes*) by modeling the relationship between 'biodiversity
 324 outcome' and five social outcomes ('stakeholder values', 'technical quality', 'conflict
 325 resolution', 'increased trust', and 'learning'). 'Social group' was included as a sixth
 326 explanatory variable. One social outcome ('creation of new structures') was not used in the
 327 analysis due to large numbers of missing responses from interviewees in this category. The
 328 missing responses were due to the fact that no new formal structures had been created in any
 329 of the case studies to implement measures. In all models, the case study (Bladnoch, Moray
 330 Firth, Forth and Borders) was included as a structural variable to account for any systematic
 331 differences amongst study systems.

332

333 The ordinal regression models were fitted using the ‘clm’ function within the ‘ordinal’
334 package in R (R Development Core Team, 2011). All models were based on the cumulative
335 logit, and were of the form

$$336 \text{logit}\{\mathbf{P}(y_i \leq v_j)\} = \theta_j - \beta_i^T x_i, \quad j=1, \dots, 9, \quad i=1, \dots, n \quad \mathbf{Eq 1.}$$

337 where y_j is the response variable for the i th interviewee, which may take on a value between 1
338 and 5 (including half decimals), and $v_j = (j + 1) / 2$ denotes the nine possible values of y_j . The
339 parameters θ_j provide a separate intercept for each category j , whilst x_i is a vector of
340 explanatory variables for the i th observation and β_i is the vector of associated regression
341 parameters.

342

343 Correlations between the explanatory variables within each model were computed using
344 Spearman’s rank order correlation (package ‘cor’ in R), but never exceeded 0.71
345 (Supplementary Material Appendix B) – multi-collinearity is therefore unlikely to be an
346 issue. We also examined the distribution of scores for each variable – all of the variables
347 showed a reasonable range of scores (i.e. no variable was heavily concentrated on one
348 particular score), and none exhibited a particularly high degree of skewness (Supplementary
349 Material Appendix C). ‘Social group’ was entered into all analyses as a categorical variable,
350 but we used an empirical criterion - the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) - to determine
351 whether other explanatory variables were best entered into models as continuous or
352 categorical variables. We did this by performing separate ordinal regressions of ‘biodiversity
353 score’ against the continuous and categorical versions of each explanatory variable – the type
354 (continuous or categorical) with the lowest AIC score was used for all subsequent modeling.
355 This approach led us to treat ‘learning’ as categorical and all other exploratory variables as
356 continuous within our analyses (Supplementary Material Appendix D).

357

358 Within each analysis we considered all possible subsets of explanatory variables (all subset
359 selection), and calculated the AIC value for the model that corresponds to each subset.
360 Backward and forward selection using AIC led to identical results. In general, differences in
361 AIC values between models of 0-2 are considered as having substantial support in the data,
362 differences of 4-7 as having considerably less support in the data, and differences of more
363 than 10 as having essentially no support in the data (Burnham and Anderson, 2002). Finally,
364 we calculated Akaike weights for all combinations of variables, which can be considered as
365 the weight of evidence in favour of a particular model being the best model, given the data
366 available (Burnham and Anderson, 2002). We then summed Akaike weights across models in
367 the set where each particular variable occurred to assess the importance of each variable
368 (Burnham and Anderson, 2002). Larger values of the summed Akaike weight (SAW) for
369 each variable, the more important that variable is in relation to the other variables – a value of
370 SAW close to one indicates a high level of importance and a value close to zero a very low
371 level of importance.

372

373 **3. Results**

374

375 *3.1. Process characteristics of stakeholder involvement influence biodiversity outcomes*
376 *(Hypothesis 1)*

377

378 *3.1.1. Results based on the quantitative analysis*

379

380 The most important variables in determining biodiversity scores, according to summed
381 Akaike weights, were social group (SAW=0.92) and independence (SAW=0.82) (Fig. 2),

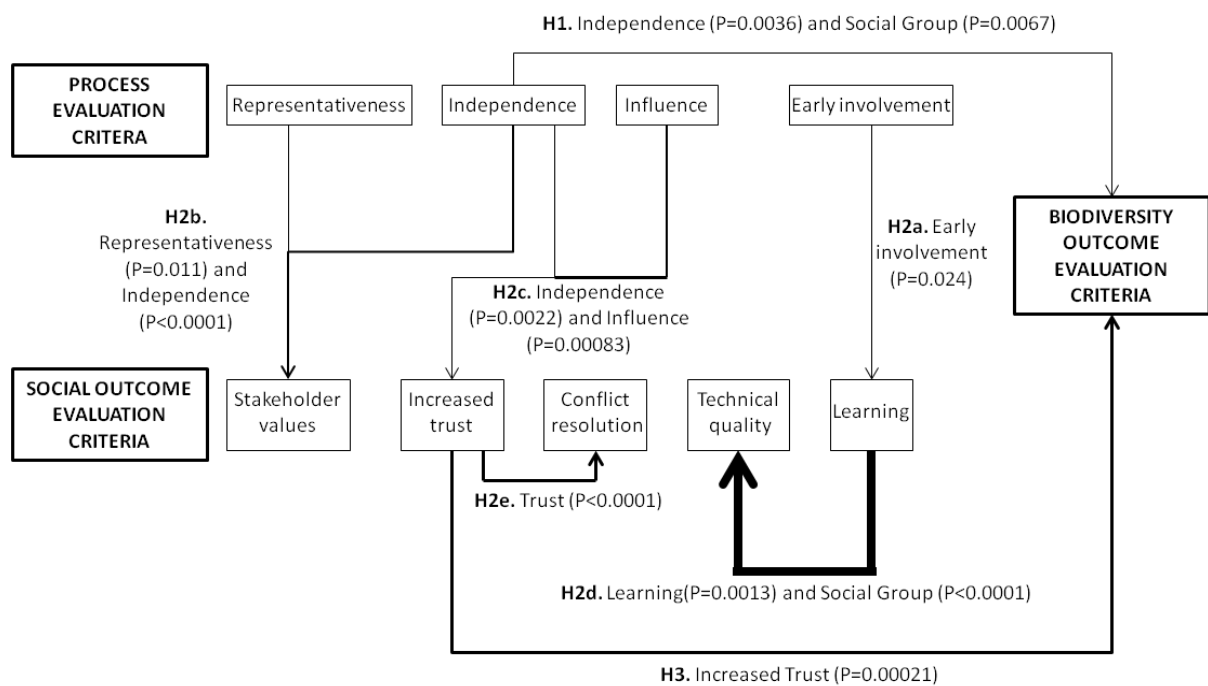
382 with the remaining variables (influence: SAW=0.61, representativeness: SAW=0.40, and
 383 early involvement: SAW=0.37) being less important.

384

385 **Figure 2.** Diagram of significant relationships identified during quantitative analysis to
 386 estimate links between process and biodiversity (H1); process and social outcomes (H2a-e);
 387 and social outcomes and biodiversity outcomes (H3). Arrows represent significant effects
 388 identified by ordinal linear regression models. The width of the arrows is proportional to the
 389 estimate of effect size for all significant relationships.

390

391



392

393

394 Model selection using AIC identified the best model as being that which contained
 395 independence and social group (Supplementary Material Table E1), and both of these
 396 variables were statistically significant (Table 4).

397

398 **Table 4.** Model estimates and test statistics for the best-fitting cumulative logit models
 399 identified by full subset model selection using AIC. The best-fitting model from each section
 400 of the quantitative analysis is presented. For models including categorical explanatory
 401 variables (3.1.1, 3.2.1. d & e) significance values were calculated using likelihood ratio tests
 402 (LR = log-likelihood ratio statistic, P = significance assuming chi-squared distribution for test
 403 statistic).
 404

| 3.1.1 Influence of process characteristics on biodiversity outcomes | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | estimate | s.e. | 95% CI | z | LR | P |
| Independence | 0.73 | 0.25 | 0.26, 1.25 | 2.92 | - | 0.0036 |
| Social group 2 v 1 | -1.64 | 0.92 | -3.52, 0.11 | - | 10.01 | 0.0067 |
| Social group 3 v 1 | -2.58 | 0.86 | -4.38, -0.95 | - | | |
| 3.2.1. Influence of process characteristics on social outcomes | | | | | | |
| a) Learning | | | | | | |
| Early | 0.56 | 0.25 | 0.074, 1.06 | 2.25 | - | 0.024 |
| b) Values | | | | | | |
| Representativeness | 0.77 | 0.30 | 0.20, 1.39 | 2.55 | - | 0.011 |
| Independence | 1.27 | 0.30 | 0.72, 1.90 | 4.25 | - | <0.0001 |
| c) Trust | | | | | | |
| Independence | 0.81 | 0.26 | 0.31, 1.35 | 3.06 | - | 0.0022 |
| Influence | 1.13 | 0.34 | 0.50, 1.84 | 3.34 | - | 0.00083 |
| d) Technical quality | | | | | | |
| Values | 0.82 | 0.45 | -0.22, 1.77 | 1.83 | - | 0.068 |
| Learning 2 v 1 | 2.81 | 1.72 | -0.21, 6.92 | - | 17.85 | 0.0013 |
| Learning 3 v 1 | 4.08 | 1.72 | 1.11, 8.25 | - | | |
| Learning 4 v 1 | 5.85 | 2.09 | 2.21, 10.74 | - | | |
| Learning 5 v 1 | 6.59 | 2.01 | 3.05, 11.20 | - | | |
| Social group 2 v 1 | -4.95 | 1.62 | -8.78, -2.18 | - | 22.88 | <0.0001 |
| Social group 3 v 1 | -5.46 | 1.59 | -9.32, -2.80 | - | | |
| e) Conflict resolution | | | | | | |
| Trust | 1.58 | 0.36 | 0.92, 2.33 | 4.42 | - | <0.0001 |
| Social group 2 v 1 | 0.62 | 0.80 | -0.94, 2.20 | - | 4.66 | 0.097 |
| Social group 3 v 1 | -0.86 | 0.71 | -2.28, 0.51 | - | | |
| 3.3.1. Social outcomes influence biodiversity outcomes | | | | | | |
| Trust | 1.59 | 0.43 | 0.79, 2.49 | 3.71 | - | 0.00021 |
| Values | 0.69 | 0.38 | -0.031, 1.38 | 1.47 | - | 0.067 |

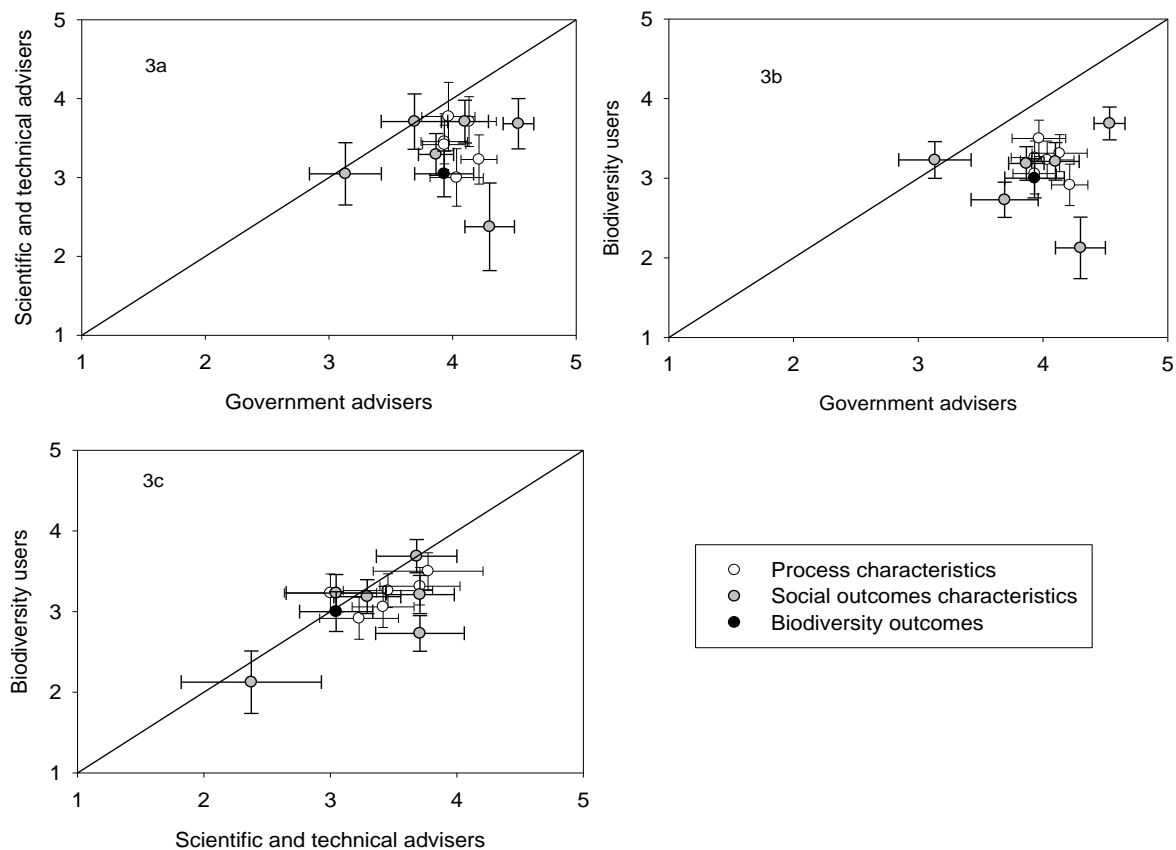
405
406

407 The effect of independence was positive, so that higher levels of independence were
 408 associated with higher biodiversity scores, and the biodiversity scores for social group 1 was

409 higher than those for groups 2 and 3 (Table 4). Indeed, a scatterplot of responses from the
 410 three different stakeholder groups (Fig. 3) highlighted similar views generally on stakeholder
 411 involvement and its outcomes by biodiversity users and scientific advisers (Fig. 3c). There
 412 were, however, much greater differences between biodiversity users and government
 413 advisers, and between scientific and government advisers (Fig. 3a and 3b).

414

415 **Figure 3.** Comparison of process, social outcome and biodiversity outcome evaluation across
 416 interviewee groups. Circles represent the mean, and error bars the standard error of the mean.



417

418

419 3.1.2. Results based on the qualitative analysis

420

421 Interviewees highlighted the importance of bringing together in discussions all relevant
422 stakeholders in the process. This was successful in the Moray Firth, where one scientific
423 adviser commented that stakeholders were “*trying to get to the same end together and [...]*
424 *very committed to making it work*” [MSA6]. In the Bladnoch, integration and discussion was
425 mainly successful amongst the statutory agencies, one representative stating that “*different*
426 *organisations use English as their main language but actually it’s not true. We use the same*
427 *words for different things. Actually the meetings are so important to share the understanding*
428 *of what we’re actually meaning by that bit of paper*” [BGA3].

429

430 Interviewees also highlighted two more aspirational procedural aspects that would lead to
431 more likely biodiversity outcomes: clarity of management plan objectives, and clarity of
432 stakeholder involvement. The lack of identification of issues that needed to be addressed was
433 most apparent in the Bladnoch and the Forth and Borders, where one government adviser
434 commented that it could “*be half the battle, working out what the issues are that you’re*
435 *trying to deal with in the plan*” [BGA5]. In this respect, the perceived lack of clarity of issues
436 in the Bladnoch and Forth and Borders case study resulted in less positive scores of
437 biodiversity outcomes. Even in the Moray Firth case study, where the focus was on
438 addressing the conflict between seal conservation and fishery interests, and where the
439 procedural aspects were evaluated very positively, different groups of stakeholders perceived
440 the objectives of the management plan differently, and therefore evaluated the potential
441 biodiversity outcomes differently. A key aspect highlighted by interviewees was therefore to
442 clarify what was expected from the management plan itself, to “*keep it simple*” [BBU1], and
443 to “*pick on one objective and sort that one*” [MGA2]. The need to be open and clear about
444 the objectives or goals of stakeholder involvement could also impact directly on biodiversity

445 outcomes by assigning clearer roles to those involved in implementing the actions in
446 management plan.

447

448 3.2. Social outcomes derived from stakeholder involvement are influenced by process
449 characteristics (Hypothesis 2)

450

451 3.2.1. Results based on the quantitative analysis

452

453 a) Learning is improved by higher scores of process characteristics

454

455 The most important variables in determining learning score were early involvement (SAW=
456 0.65) and influence (SAW=0.48) (Fig. 2), with the remaining variables appearing to be less
457 important (representativeness: SAW=0.33; independence: SAW=0.28; social group:
458 SAW=0.16). The best model, according to AIC, contained a statistically significant effect of
459 early involvement (Table 4). However, models that exclude early involvement were
460 moderately well supported according to AIC ($\Delta AIC=1.5$ for a model containing ‘influence’
461 alone, $\Delta AIC=2.54$ for a model containing ‘representativeness’ alone, and $\Delta AIC=3.07$ for a
462 model containing no explanatory variables at all, besides from the structural effect of case
463 study that was included in all models; Supplementary Material Table E3). The estimated
464 effect of early involvement was positive (Table 4).

465

466 b) Stakeholder values are improved by higher scores of process characteristics

467

468 The most important variables in determining stakeholder value scores were independence
469 (SAW=1.00), influence (SAW=0.62), and representativeness (SAW=0.59) (Fig. 2), with

470 early involvement (SAW=0.34) and social group (SAW=0.13) being of less importance. The
471 best model, according to AIC (Supplementary Material Table E4), contained independence
472 and representativeness, and both of these variables had highly significant positive effects
473 (Table 4). There was also some evidence for the existence of an effect of influence, however,
474 and a model that replaces representativeness with influence performs almost as well as the
475 best model ($\Delta AIC=0.14$).

476

477 c) Trust is improved by higher scores of process characteristics

478

479 The key variables in determining trust were independence (SAW=0.98) and influence
480 (SAW=0.99) (Fig. 2), with early involvement (SAW=0.38), representativeness (SAW=0.29)
481 and social group (SAW=0.18) being of less importance. The best model, according to AIC
482 (Supplementary Material E5), contained independence and influence, with the effects of these
483 variables being positive and statistical significant (Table 4).

484

485 d) Technical quality scores are improved by higher social outcome scores

486

487 Summed Akaike weights for learning and social group were very high (SAW=0.99 and 1.00,
488 respectively) (Fig. 2), whilst the SAW for stakeholder values was considerably lower (0.67).
489 The best model, according to AIC (Supplementary Material Table E6), was that which
490 contained learning, social group and values. Both learning and social group had statistically
491 significant positive effects (Table 4), while values had a close to significant positive effect
492 (Table 4). However, a model that excluded values was moderately well supported according
493 to AIC ($\Delta AIC=1.64$ for a model containing only learning and social group).

494

495 e) Conflict resolution scores are improved by higher scores of trust

496

497 The best model, according to AIC, was that which contains both trust and social group
498 (Supplementary Material Table E7), with trust having a very strong positive relationship with
499 conflict resolution (SAW=1.00, $P < 0.0001$ within the best model; Table 4) (Fig. 2), and
500 social group having a non-significant relationship with conflict resolution (SAW=0.58, Table
501 4). However, a model that excluded social group was also well supported according to AIC
502 ($\Delta AIC=0.66$ for a model containing ‘trust’ alone). Interestingly, social group 2 (scientific
503 advisers) tended to have a more positive view of conflict resolution than social group 1
504 (government advisors), while social group 3 (biodiversity users) tended to view conflict
505 resolution more negatively than social group 1.

506

507 3.2.2. Results based on the qualitative analysis

508

509 a) Learning is improved by higher scores of process characteristics

510

511 In the Moray Firth, the early integration of local stakeholders in an industry-led process of
512 developing the management plan enabled all stakeholders to learn about the issues
513 surrounding seal and salmon ecology. One scientific adviser commented that “*the folk that*
514 *have been involved in the plan have learned a lot and lot of our preconceived ideas of what*
515 *was happening have changed enormously*” [MSA6]. There were some visible effects of
516 learning, namely a change in attitudes, so that “*it wasn’t a case now that they were going out*
517 *and saying “there’s a seal, let me shoot it”, they were going out and saying “there’s a seal in*
518 *the river but is it actually causing a problem?”*” [MGA3].

519

520 In the Bladnoch and Forth and Borders case studies, learning was limited amongst
521 biodiversity users. In the Forth and Borders, one consultant explained that learning had not
522 been maximised, resulting in a situation in which farmers “*won’t have really known where*
523 *the options came from, what they were trying to achieve*” [FBSA1]. Learning had, however,
524 taken place from the perspective of government advisers.

525

526 b) Stakeholder values are improved by higher scores of process characteristics

527

528 In the Moray Firth case study, the inclusion of stakeholder values was very closely linked to
529 the independence of the process. The process was being carried out mainly by a biologist on
530 the Spey District Salmon Fishery Board (DSFB). He was trusted by those involved in the
531 process and considered as the “*the lynchpin in the project*” [MBU1], bridging different
532 communities including the fishing community, as well as the scientific and government
533 departments. Interviewees that were involved in the process felt that, through the involvement
534 of this ‘champion’, they were broadly able to incorporate their values into the plan and have
535 an influence on the plan early on.

536

537 In the Bladnoch and Forth and Borders case studies, a critical consideration was “whose
538 values” were being addressed. In this aspect, this characteristic was very closely linked to the
539 perceived level of influence of government departments compared to biodiversity users and
540 scientific advisers. This led one farmer to comment on the fact that “*it was more a case of the*
541 *values of those with the money rather than the values of the people on the ground*” [BBU3].
542 There was little evidence from biodiversity users to suggest that they had shaped the process
543 and final decisions to reflect their priorities. In the Bladnoch case study, the lack of

544 incorporation of biodiversity users' values resulted in a plan viewed as "*insipid*" and "*an*
545 *exercise rather than a weapon*" [BBU9].

546

547 c) Trust is improved by higher scores of process characteristics

548

549 As highlighted above, the process in the Moray Firth was perceived by biodiversity users as
550 'independent', which allowed them to voice their views and concerns through "*an informed*
551 *and trusted honest broker*" [MGA2]. Trust was also seen to have increased from the point of
552 view of the Scottish Government and government department representatives who perceived
553 that this trust came from "*getting to know where they're coming from, that they're not all*
554 *mad axe-men and vice-versa, knowing that we're not green-wellied mad men*" [MGA2].
555 However a number of interviewees from the fishery boards and many netsmen were a little
556 more cautious in their views on trust. To explain this, one netsman referred to the fact that
557 they could not be completely open during the process because "*there could be SNH folk there*
558 *that would take offence because it's not everybody's thing at all* [shooting seals]" [MBU3].

559

560 In the Forth and Borders case study, where the process was driven by Scottish Natural
561 Heritage and therefore not evaluated by interviewees as "independent", the evaluation of trust
562 and influence varied depending on the (often already existing) relationship between local area
563 officers and land owners and managers. In the Bladnoch, levels of trust varied little between
564 government advisers, who already knew each other before the process. For most biodiversity
565 users interviewed, the process of developing the plan had been helpful in enabling them to
566 understand different perspectives better, a key aspect of learning. Unfortunately, for some
567 interviewees, this increased awareness of the workings of government departments

568 emphasised their failings. As such, the process of developing the plan “*just drew the lines a*
569 *bit more starkly*” [BBU3] between biodiversity users and government advisers.

570

571 d) Technical quality scores are improved by higher social outcome scores

572

573 In the Bladnoch case study, the Galloway Fisheries Trust, who wrote the plan, had a very
574 good reputation in the Bladnoch area, leading one fisherman to claim that “*nobody else could*
575 *have done it [...] their technical analysis of the situation is spot on*” [BBU4]. Contributions
576 from the forestry sector and on water quality were also acknowledged by interviewees.
577 However, some interviewees commented on the lack of integration of their local knowledge
578 and values into the plan. One fisherman claimed that despite the fact he was “*familiar with*
579 *the area, you know what goes on year after year [...] what we think should be done [...] we’re told “no, you just don’t”*” [BBU7]. One aspect on which all interviewees agreed was
581 the pressing need for more data and research on acceptable levels of afforestation for the
582 survival of species such as the Atlantic salmon – considered a key issue for biodiversity
583 users. One interviewee, however, felt that government advisers were unwilling to increase
584 their learning on the issue “*for fear that it’s going to bring out information that is politically*
585 *unwelcome*” [BBU2].

586

587 In the Moray Firth, having an “independent” industry-led approach was perceived as
588 allowing local knowledge and values to be collected and integrated into the process. A
589 situation was reached in which “*it was the salmon guys working directly with the scientists*
590 *and actually getting some robust data back*” [MBU1], thereby augmenting the technical
591 quality of the plan and strengthening the learning and acceptance of the data by the District

592 Salmon Fishery Boards, who could “*see that the figures that are coming out are not just from*
593 *conservationists who want to stop everyone taking salmon*” [MBU1].

594

595 In the Forth and Borders case study, the importance of high quality decisions was essential to
596 maximise uptake of the voluntary scheme. While most prescriptions and payment rates were
597 consistent with existing schemes, being “*quite well researched and then just copied into*
598 *here*” [FBSA1], new management prescriptions were more contentious among land owners
599 and managers and led them to doubt the quality of these prescriptions. One such prescription
600 was ‘diversionary feeding of hen harriers’. This was seen as impractical from a farming
601 perspective, with one independent adviser dismissing it as “*very tenuous*” [FBSA1]. One
602 farmer remarked that “*practical knowledge certainly would definitely have helped [...] Of*
603 *course farmers don’t know everything but maybe small things that could have added to the*
604 *scheme*” [FBBU2]. The implication was that for those drawing up the scheme, local
605 knowledge gained from experience was not on a par with scientific knowledge. This lack of
606 integration of local knowledge and values also affected the acceptability of the scheme.

607

608 e) Conflict resolution scores are improved by higher scores of trust

609

610 The strong positive relationship between trust and conflict management was apparent in the
611 qualitative analysis, but uncovered different understandings of ‘conflict’. The government
612 advisers tended to refer mainly to inter-personal conflicts, i.e. in the Moray Firth the conflict
613 was “*between salmon fisheries, both the rod angler and the netsmen and seal conservation*
614 *interests*” [MGA2]. In the Bladnoch, government advisers did not perceive conflict but
615 instead mentioned “*challenges*” [BGA3] and “*tensions in terms of pace of change, those sorts*
616 *of things*” [BGA5]. For government advisers in the Moray Firth and Bladnoch case studies,

617 these inter-personal conflicts were well addressed, and were strongly linked to the fact that
618 stakeholders had had the opportunity to communicate and build trust with each other. For
619 other stakeholders such as scientific advisers and biodiversity users, perceptions of conflict
620 were different, and had maybe not been addressed as well as they could. The netmen, and
621 district salmon fishery board members to a lesser degree in the Moray Firth case study, for
622 example, perceived ‘conflict’ as being intrinsically linked to the issue of declining salmon
623 stocks, and were, accordingly, disappointed with the process, which although a step in the
624 right direction in terms of bringing stakeholders “*together finding common ground, agreeing*
625 *common ground [... had not...] made a dent on what needs to be done*” [MBU9] in terms of
626 controlling seal populations.

627

628 In the Bladnoch and the Forth and Borders case studies, perceived conflict had not been
629 adequately managed. In the Forth and Borders case study, trust was limited and resulted in
630 allocating blame. For one grouse manager, “*they [SNH] buried the predatory bird thing*”
631 [FBBU8]. In the eyes of one Scottish Natural Heritage representative, the low uptake of the
632 supplementary feeding prescription was hindering efforts to resolve the conflict: “*where*
633 *there’s conflict and they’re [the land managers] not convinced that it’s the right way forward*
634 *then there isn’t uptake and it’s very difficult to know if it’s the right way forward*” [FBGA4].
635 For the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, “*ultimately the issue of wildlife crime*
636 *hasn’t gone away and there will be a need for land owners and their employees to take this*
637 *more seriously and stop the illegal killing of birds of prey because that ain’t part of modern*
638 *day land management practice*” [FBBU9]. This led another interviewee to conclude that
639 “*they [the conflicts] haven’t been resolved and there’s no real evidence that a scheme like*
640 *this has really helped resolve conflicts at all*” [FBBU10].

641

642 In the Bladnoch case study, conflicts were very present for many biodiversity users,
643 especially the conflict between afforestation and acidification, which had “*not moved*
644 *forward, either from the catchment plan side of it or from the people that have issues with it*”
645 [BSA2]. As such, the process was seen as ineffectual, leading to frustration, scepticism and
646 distrust concerning the drive behind the plan. For three biodiversity users, the process had
647 actually exacerbated the conflict. Some interviewees did perceive the plan as a basis for
648 conflict resolution, as long as implementation switched from ‘consideration speak’ to action,
649 “*in other words they took their own advice and “where we are able” becomes “we will”*”
650 [BBU9]. Others believed that the basic conflict of forestry in the landscape could not be
651 resolved unless other measures, such as a change in legislation, compensation or mitigation
652 measures such as liming, were put in place.

653

654 3.3. *Social outcomes derived from stakeholder involvement influence biodiversity outcomes*
655 *(Hypothesis 3)*

656

657 3.3.1. Results based on the quantitative analysis

658

659 The key social outcomes in determining biodiversity scores were trust (SAW=0.97), and
660 values (SAW=0.60) (Fig. 2), with technical quality (SAW=0.49), conflict resolution
661 (SAW=0.37), learning (SAW=0.26), and social group (SAW=0.26) being of lesser
662 importance. The best model, according to AIC, contained trust and values, but models that
663 omitted values were also relatively well supported (ΔAIC for model with trust and
664 technical=0.15, ΔAIC for model with trust alone=1.52). Trust was statistically significant
665 within the best model (Table 4), having a positive effect on biodiversity scores.

666

667 3.3.2. Results based on the qualitative analysis

668

669 In the Bladnoch case study, government advisers highlighted indirect impacts on biodiversity
670 that included identifying the important issues affecting Atlantic salmon in the protected area
671 and coordinating efforts to address these issues. The greater contact had contributed to
672 organisations gaining a greater degree of focus and cohesion. In the Moray Firth case study,
673 government advisers again concluded that while it was currently too difficult to say whether
674 the management plan had “*made a real difference to the actual biodiversity, it’s certainly*
675 *made a difference to the way things are managed and handled*” [MGA2]. The most
676 frequently cited indirect benefits to biodiversity in the Moray Firth case study were the
677 increased trust between stakeholders and the improved quality of decisions through the
678 integration of scientific and local knowledge and values. The increased contact between
679 stakeholders had contributed to “*generate some trust between the different parties that [...]*
680 *would have carried on their own way*” [MSA5]. Finally and closely related to the issue of
681 increasing trust, interviewees highlighted the importance given during the process to
682 “*gathering the scientific evidence to support the policy*” [MSA4]. In the Forth and Borders
683 case study, there were also a number of indirect biodiversity benefits, again mainly
684 highlighted by government advisers. One key issue impacting on biodiversity in the long-
685 term were improved levels of trust between government advisers and land owners and
686 managers. One government adviser said that the management scheme had given her “*a very*
687 *good tool with which you can go and talk to owners and occupiers about their site*”
688 [FBGA2].

689

690 **4. Discussion**

691

692 This study empirically tested the links between stakeholder involvement and social and
693 biodiversity outcomes in the context of protected area management using both qualitative and
694 quantitative data. Five main findings emerged from the study.

695

696 Firstly, the study found mixed results when testing the assumption that the better the process
697 the more likely “good” outcomes are to emerge (Rowe and Frewer, 2004). In two case studies
698 (the Bladnoch and Forth and Borders), the views of interviewees on process, social outcomes
699 and biodiversity outcomes were relatively similar, which would imply a relationship between
700 process and outcomes. In the Moray Firth case study, however, there was a clear lack of an
701 unequivocal relationship between process and outcomes. This was particularly unexpected,
702 because the process in the Moray Firth was evaluated very positively by interviewees but the
703 social and biodiversity outcomes were evaluated much less positively, seemingly going
704 against the assumption that a good process is more likely to lead to good outcomes. This
705 finding emphasises the need in the context of protected area management to carry out
706 evaluations linking all three goals of participation, namely normative, substantive and
707 instrumental with criteria relating to process and outcomes (Burgess and Chilvers, 2006). The
708 finding also emphasises the difficulties of linking stakeholder involvement processes to
709 biodiversity outcomes in light of external factors (Conley and Moote, 2003). In the Bladnoch
710 case study, the life-cycle of the salmon, which spend much of their life at sea, meant that any
711 actions in the Bladnoch were unlikely to impact significantly on the returning population of
712 salmon. In the Moray Firth, impacts other than shooting pressure (such as food availability)
713 were likely to affect seal populations. In the Forth and Borders, extrinsic pressures, including
714 afforestation and agricultural subsidies were, again, likely to impact on moorland habitats.
715 The characteristics of the natural environment (i.e., complexity, high uncertainty, large
716 temporal and spatial scales and irreversibility), used as arguments for increased stakeholder

717 involvement in environmental management (van den Hove, 2000), actually prevented
718 participants from evaluating possible biodiversity benefits derived from the management
719 plans.

720

721 Secondly, results across case studies showed that stakeholder involvement in the
722 development and implementation of management plans could lead to good social outcomes,
723 such as increased trust amongst stakeholders and improved learning. These social outcomes
724 could, in turn, impact on biodiversity outcomes in the long-term, for example by leading to a
725 greater willingness on the part of land owners and managers to want to conserve biodiversity.
726 This may be sufficient reason to promote the expansion of well designed stakeholder
727 involvement. Evaluating these biodiversity outcomes at this stage has necessarily, however,
728 been prospective, because these management plans have been in existence for a relatively
729 short time. Such evaluations pose problems, with 'results' difficult to quantify, biodiversity
730 outcomes likely to be long-term and have multiple interacting variables impacting on them
731 (Koontz, 2006) - 'results' have therefore been difficult to quantify in this study. The main
732 lesson is that the success of stakeholder initiatives such as management plans would therefore
733 require long-term state investment in bottom-up initiatives through funding of increased
734 research, adaptive monitoring and evaluation (Bottrill et al. 2011; Young et al., 2012).

735

736 Thirdly, the results emphasise the importance of independent processes, more likely to
737 increase trust among stakeholders, better integrate stakeholder values and, in turn, more
738 likely to lead to positive biodiversity outcomes. The management plans in the Bladnoch and
739 Forth and Borders case studies were driven directly by the top-down EU and national level
740 pressure of designating and managing Natura 2000 sites. The perceived lack of integration of
741 local knowledges and values into those plans created the perception that Scottish Natural

742 Heritage had not aimed to develop some of the more normative or substantive qualities of
743 stakeholder involvement but wanted to gain what Irvin and Stansbury (2004) refer to as “a
744 more cooperative public” (ibid: 57). As such, the development of the management plans in
745 the Bladnoch and Forth and Borders reflected the pragmatic instrumental aims of the
746 representative democracy model, used mainly in a capacity to legitimise certain decisions,
747 increase trust in institutions, and resolve conflicts (Chilvers, 2009). This may go some way to
748 explaining the generally higher scores given by government advisors, whose role it is to
749 ensure that protected areas deliver expected biodiversity outcomes. In contrast, the drivers
750 behind the development of the Moray Firth management plan were influenced by the direct
751 threat of a ban on seal shooting itself, linked to the SAC designation. The deliberative process
752 in the Moray Firth allowed groups, such as fishermen, that are often considered to be
753 disenfranchised and alienated (Jentoft, 2005) into the decision-making process, inputting their
754 knowledge (Berkes, 2009) and exerting their influence on the outcomes of the process. This
755 finding in no way precludes the involvement of government representatives in the process
756 (Koontz, 2006). On the contrary, in the Moray Firth, the involvement of government advisers
757 allowed for clear boundaries to be set and the plan to be implemented (Young et al., 2012).

758

759 Fourthly, the results emphasise the importance of acknowledging that stakeholder
760 involvement processes do not occur in a vacuum but are embedded in a complex governance
761 structure (Carlsson and Berkes, 2004). In this study, all case studies were embedded within
762 severe and long-standing conflicts: over acidification and salmon fisheries in the Bladnoch;
763 over seal conservation and fisheries in the Moray Firth; and over farming, game management
764 and moorland conservation in the Forth and Borders case study. The stakeholders involved
765 held very strong preconceptions of other stakeholders and of the environmental problem. The
766 Moray Firth was the only case study in which the conflict was addressed directly. Even in

767 this case study, however, stakeholders held different views over the interpretation of
768 “conflict”. In the other two case studies (Forth and Borders, and Bladnoch), stakeholders felt
769 frustrated that what they perceived as the main conflicts had been ignored in the management
770 plan process. This emphasises the need to acknowledge, define and address conflicts with all
771 relevant stakeholders (Young et al., 2010) in protected area management; and to clarify the
772 role of stakeholders in the conflict management process. The results also reflect the broader
773 issue of clarifying the goals of stakeholder involvement processes (Ferreya and Beard,
774 2007), and the role of stakeholders in those processes (Mostert et al. 2007).

775

776 Finally, our results demonstrate the possibility and cost-effectiveness of using a mix of
777 qualitative and quantitative data, together with a mix of and relationship between process and
778 outcome criteria in the evaluation of stakeholder involvement approaches. The potential
779 weakness of this approach - and of evaluations of outcomes in general – is, as explained
780 above, the difficulty of evaluating quantifiable outcomes. Whilst we believe stakeholder
781 perceptions of outcomes was a useful proxy for evaluating short and long-terms social and
782 biodiversity outcomes, management plans focusing on simpler (maybe sedentary) natural
783 systems affected by fewer external impacts could help to reduce confounding influences in
784 order to detect links between social and biodiversity outcomes.

785

786 **5. Conclusions**

787

788 These results add to a small but growing body of work on the links between increased
789 stakeholder involvement and conservation of biodiversity. Our findings emphasise the risks
790 associated with the assumption that good processes are more likely to lead to good outcomes.
791 This highlights the need for multi-dimensional evaluations incorporating process, social

792 outcomes and biodiversity outcomes. Establishing direct links between stakeholder
793 involvement processes and outcomes in biodiversity conservation is complicated by the
794 context in which such processes are embedded. Results across case studies did, however,
795 show that stakeholder involvement in the development and implementation of management
796 plans can lead to good social outcomes such as better understanding of stakeholder values,
797 increased trust and learning. These indirect benefits of increased stakeholder involvement
798 may be sufficient reason to promote the expansion of stakeholder involvement, and to carry
799 out further research on how social benefits may contribute to biodiversity outcomes.

800

801 Our results also highlight the need to widen the current debate on stakeholder involvement in
802 biodiversity policy implementation. Stakeholder involvement is costly both in time and
803 resources and, if badly implemented, can lead to greater social conflicts. It is therefore
804 essential to carry out evaluations such as that used in this study to establish how stakeholders
805 are currently involved in conservation and the risks and opportunities associated with
806 stakeholder involvement in biodiversity management.

807

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811

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925

926

927 SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

928

929 **A1. Semi-structured interview guide**

930

931 **Short introduction:**

932

933 The aim of this research is to better understand how local people are involved in the management of
934 protected areas. I'll be asking you a series of questions about your experience of the site and its
935 management plan. The interview usually takes about an hour. There are no right or wrong answers,
936 it's all confidential and your identity will not be revealed at any stage.

937

938 I've divided the interview into three main parts, just to help me remember everything: initially I'll just
939 ask a few background questions about you and your experience of the area, the meat of the interview
940 is really about the process of writing the management plan (that's where the table comes in), and then
941 a quick look at the plan itself.

942

943 **Background questions to be filled before-hand**

944

| | |
|--|--|
| Date of interview: | |
| Location of interview: | |
| Name and contact details of interviewee: | |
| Profession of interviewee: | |

945

946

947 **FIRST OF ALL, A FEW QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR *PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE***
948 ***AREA***

949

950 **Q: How well do you know the site (How long have you lived in the area? How often do you visit the**
951 **site? How well do you know the local inhabitants?)**

952 Moving on to the Natura 2000 site:

953 **Q: Have things changed since the site was designated as a Natura 2000 site? (Has the use of the**
954 **site changed? Are there any activities you can no longer carry out? How will future use of the site be**
955 **affected, i.e. increase in tourism? How might this future use affect you personally?)**

956

957 **NOW IN TERMS OF YOUR *PERSONAL LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT***
958 ***OF THE MANAGEMENT PLAN***

959 **When** did you first get involved? What were your **responsibilities**? How many **meetings** did you
960 attend? Did you have any **other related activities** apart from attending the meetings? Generally, **how**
961 **well** do you think the drafting of the management plan went?

962

963 **Table exercise:** Focussing still on the **drafting of the plan**, I've got a list here of different aspects
 964 that could be true of the process. It's my list and there are probably lots of aspects I've missed out, so
 965 if you think of anything else as we're going along, just let me know. For each of these aspects I'd you
 966 think back, talk me through it and at the end score each of the aspects along a gradient from 1 to 5
 967 where 1 is very bad and 5 very good.

| How good was the process at: | 1 (very bad) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (very good) |
|---|-----------------|---|---|---|------------------|
| Representing the people affected | | | | | |
| Allowing people to have a real impact | | | | | |
| Incorporating the values of people | | | | | |
| Involving people as early as possible | | | | | |
| Increasing trust between all involved | | | | | |
| Resolving any existing conflicts | | | | | |
| Being unbiased and independent | | | | | |
| Being transparent and clear | | | | | |
| Being cost-effective | | | | | |
| Improving the technical quality of decisions | | | | | |
| Providing information and educating people | | | | | |
| Leading to new organisations or structures being established to implement decisions | | | | | |
| Leading to long-term biodiversity benefits | | | | | |

968
 969 Q: Were there any aspects **missing**? Irrespective of how you scored, what were the **three most**
 970 **important aspects** for you in the above list during the process of drawing up the plan?

971 Q: Do you think the process **could have worked better**? How?

972

973 **MOVING ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN:**

974 Q: **How well** do you think the management plan is being **implemented**?

975 Q: Do you think **things could have been different** in the area if there wasn't a plan in place? What
 976 about in terms of **biodiversity** specifically?

977 Q: Do you have any **suggestions** as to who else I should interview?

978 Q: I fully appreciate that this is a very general approach and that there are probably lots of things I
 979 haven't mentioned. I don't know if anything comes to mind now? If later, provide contact details.

980 Q: Do you want to be **kept informed** of research findings? Yes or No? Contact details?

981

982

983 **Appendix B**

984

985 **Correlation between explanatory variables**

986

987 Correlation tables for sets of explanatory variables using Spearman's rank correlation:

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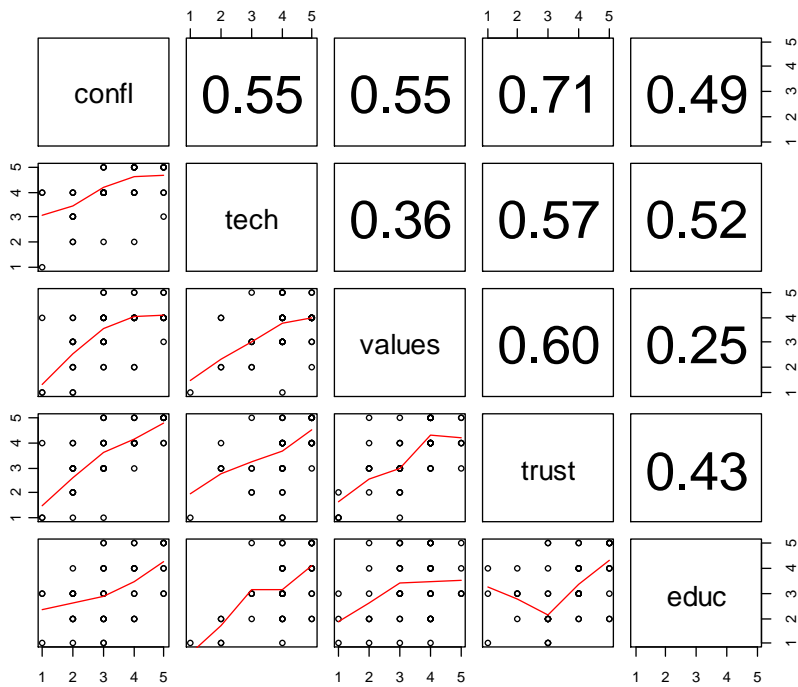
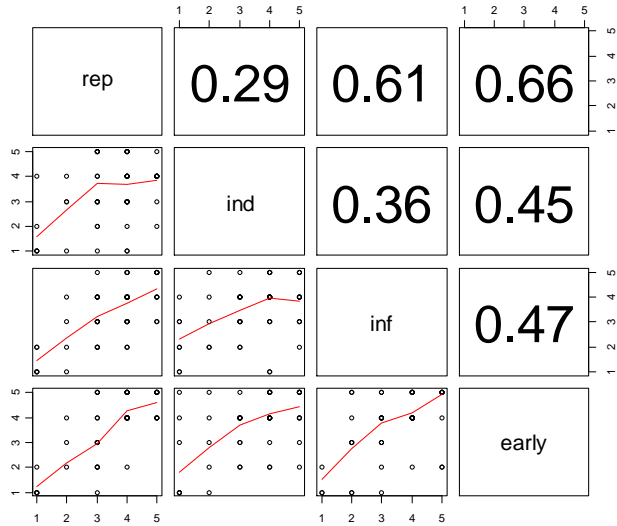
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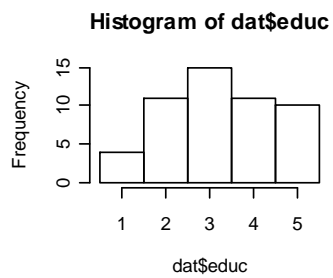
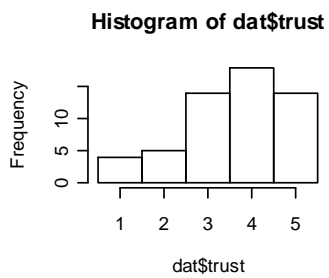
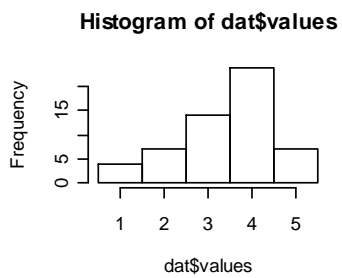
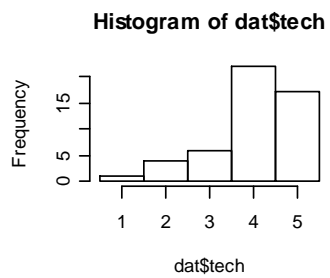
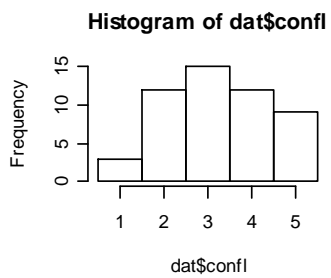
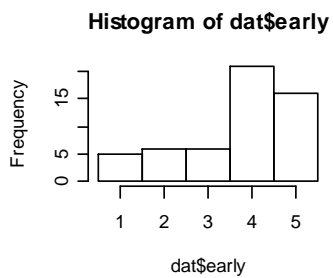
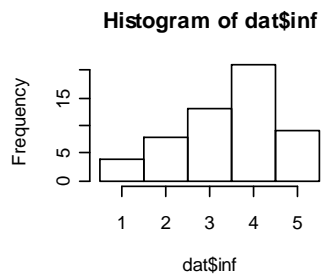
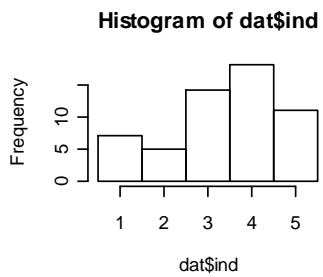
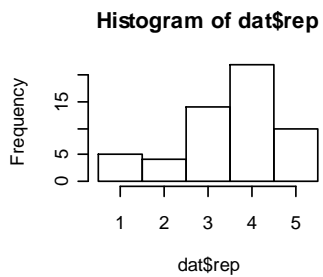
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1015 **Appendix C. Distribution of scores across each variable**
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1021 **Appendix D. Data type for explanatory variables (AIC)**

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1023 Check for whether explanatory variables should be continuous (numeric) or categoric (factor)

1024 – using AIC to compare both options for explaining variation in biodiversity scores:

1025

| Variable | Numeric AIC | Categorical AIC |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Representativeness | 136.11 | 139.79 |
| Independence | 129.02 | 129.58 |
| Influence | 131.09 | 134.59 |
| Early involvement | 136.78 | 137.71 |
| Technical quality | 116.45 | 118.93 |
| Conflict resolution | 112.66 | 113.41 |
| Trust | 106.04 | 110.11 |
| Values | 113.15 | 114.05 |
| Learning | 120.05 | 117.26 |

1026

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1030 **Appendix E**

1031

1032 **Table E1. Effect of process outcomes on biodiversity outcomes (system: case study, rep:**
 1033 **representativeness, ind: independence, infl: influence, early: early involvement, social:**
 1034 **social group).**

1035

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|---|--------|-----------|----------|
| system + ind + social.group | 124.84 | 0.00 | 0.179 |
| system + ind + inf + social.group | 125.11 | 0.27 | 0.157 |
| system + rep + ind + inf + social.group | 126.00 | 1.16 | 0.100 |
| system + rep + ind + inf + early + social.group | 126.26 | 1.42 | 0.088 |
| system + ind + early + social.group | 126.64 | 1.80 | 0.073 |
| system + rep + ind + social.group | 126.83 | 1.99 | 0.066 |
| system + ind + inf + early + social.group | 127.09 | 2.25 | 0.058 |
| system + rep + inf + early + social.group | 127.12 | 2.28 | 0.057 |
| system + inf + social.group | 127.76 | 2.93 | 0.041 |
| system + rep + ind + early + social.group | 128.29 | 3.45 | 0.032 |
| system + ind + inf | 128.81 | 3.97 | 0.025 |
| system + inf + early + social.group | 128.99 | 4.16 | 0.022 |
| system + rep + inf + social.group | 129.32 | 4.48 | 0.019 |
| system + rep + ind + inf | 130.22 | 5.38 | 0.012 |
| system + early + social.group | 130.56 | 5.72 | 0.010 |
| system + ind + inf + early | 130.80 | 5.96 | 0.009 |
| system + ind | 130.84 | 6.01 | 0.009 |
| system + rep + ind + inf + early | 131.62 | 6.78 | 0.006 |
| system + inf | 131.98 | 7.14 | 0.005 |
| system + social.group | 132.14 | 7.30 | 0.005 |
| system + rep + early + social.group | 132.21 | 7.37 | 0.004 |
| system + rep + ind | 132.32 | 7.49 | 0.004 |
| system + ind + early | 132.38 | 7.54 | 0.004 |
| system + rep + social.group | 132.79 | 7.95 | 0.003 |
| system + inf + early | 133.08 | 8.24 | 0.003 |
| system + rep + inf + early | 133.34 | 8.50 | 0.003 |
| system + rep + inf | 133.88 | 9.05 | 0.002 |
| system + rep + ind + early | 134.26 | 9.42 | 0.002 |
| system + early | 137.46 | 12.62 | 0.000 |
| system + rep | 138.64 | 13.80 | 0.000 |
| system + rep + early | 139.29 | 14.45 | 0.000 |
| system | 140.98 | 16.14 | 0.000 |

1036

1037

1038 **Table E2. Effect of social outcomes on biodiversity outcomes (syst: case study, tech:**
 1039 **technical quality, confl: conflict resolution, trust: trust, values: values, educ: learning,**
 1040 **social: social group).**

1041

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| syst + trust + values | 101.45 | 0.00 | 0.113 |
| syst + tech + trust + values | 101.75 | 0.31 | 0.097 |
| syst + tech + trust | 101.80 | 0.35 | 0.095 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust | 102.91 | 1.46 | 0.054 |
| syst + trust | 102.97 | 1.52 | 0.053 |
| syst + confl + trust + values | 103.04 | 1.59 | 0.051 |
| syst + confl + trust | 103.12 | 1.67 | 0.049 |
| syst + trust + values + social.group | 103.47 | 2.02 | 0.041 |

| | | | |
|--|--------|-------|-------|
| syst + tech + confl + trust + values | 103.55 | 2.11 | 0.039 |
| syst + tech + trust + values + educ | 103.67 | 2.22 | 0.037 |
| syst + trust + values + educ | 103.90 | 2.46 | 0.033 |
| syst + trust + social.group | 103.96 | 2.51 | 0.032 |
| syst + tech + trust + social.group | 104.49 | 3.04 | 0.025 |
| syst + tech + trust + values + social.group | 104.70 | 3.25 | 0.022 |
| syst + confl + trust + social.group | 104.93 | 3.48 | 0.020 |
| syst + tech + trust + educ | 104.99 | 3.54 | 0.019 |
| syst + trust + values + educ + social.group | 105.07 | 3.63 | 0.018 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + educ | 105.08 | 3.63 | 0.018 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + values + educ | 105.10 | 3.65 | 0.018 |
| syst + confl + trust + educ | 105.17 | 3.73 | 0.018 |
| syst + confl + trust + values + educ | 105.20 | 3.75 | 0.017 |
| syst + confl + trust + values + social.group | 105.26 | 3.82 | 0.017 |
| syst + trust + educ | 105.39 | 3.94 | 0.016 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + social.group | 105.78 | 4.33 | 0.013 |
| syst + tech + trust + values + educ + social.group | 105.91 | 4.47 | 0.012 |
| syst + trust + educ + social.group | 106.29 | 4.84 | 0.010 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + values + social.group | 106.56 | 5.11 | 0.009 |
| syst + confl + trust + values + educ + social.group | 106.91 | 5.46 | 0.007 |
| syst + confl + trust + educ + social.group | 107.19 | 5.75 | 0.006 |
| syst + tech + trust + educ + social.group | 107.33 | 5.88 | 0.006 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + values + educ + social.group | 107.71 | 6.26 | 0.005 |
| syst + tech + confl + trust + educ + social.group | 108.05 | 6.61 | 0.004 |
| syst + tech + confl + values + educ | 108.58 | 7.13 | 0.003 |
| syst + tech + confl | 108.84 | 7.40 | 0.003 |
| syst + tech + confl + educ | 108.99 | 7.55 | 0.003 |
| syst + tech + confl + values | 109.40 | 7.96 | 0.002 |
| syst + confl + values + educ | 110.20 | 8.75 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + values + educ | 110.41 | 8.97 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + values + educ + social.group | 110.68 | 9.23 | 0.001 |
| syst + confl + values | 110.79 | 9.34 | 0.001 |
| syst + values + educ + social.group | 110.90 | 9.45 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + confl + values + educ + social.group | 111.05 | 9.60 | 0.001 |
| syst + confl + educ | 111.18 | 9.74 | 0.001 |
| syst + confl + values + educ + social.group | 111.26 | 9.81 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + confl + social.group | 111.53 | 10.08 | 0.001 |
| syst + confl + values + social.group | 111.84 | 10.39 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + confl + educ + social.group | 112.01 | 10.57 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + confl + values + social.group | 112.03 | 10.59 | 0.001 |
| syst + tech + values | 112.14 | 10.69 | 0.001 |
| syst + confl + educ + social.group | 112.62 | 11.17 | 0.000 |
| syst + confl | 112.68 | 11.23 | 0.000 |
| syst + values + educ | 112.93 | 11.48 | 0.000 |
| syst + confl + social.group | 113.14 | 11.69 | 0.000 |
| syst + tech + values + social.group | 113.26 | 11.81 | 0.000 |
| syst + values + social.group | 113.79 | 12.34 | 0.000 |
| syst + tech | 114.22 | 12.78 | 0.000 |
| syst + tech + educ | 114.31 | 12.87 | 0.000 |
| syst + tech + educ + social.group | 114.66 | 13.21 | 0.000 |
| syst + tech + social.group | 115.24 | 13.79 | 0.000 |
| syst + educ + social.group | 115.28 | 13.83 | 0.000 |
| syst + values | 115.92 | 14.47 | 0.000 |
| syst + educ | 118.73 | 17.28 | 0.000 |
| syst + social.group | 119.70 | 18.26 | 0.000 |

| | | | |
|------|--------|-------|-------|
| syst | 125.37 | 23.93 | 0.000 |
|------|--------|-------|-------|

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Table E3. Effect of process outcomes on learning (syst: case study, rep: representativeness, ind: independence, inf: influence, early: early involvement, social: social group).

| MODEL | AIC | deltaAIC | Akaike W |
|---|--------|----------|----------|
| syst + early | 142.43 | 0.00 | 0.171 |
| syst + inf + early | 143.23 | 0.80 | 0.115 |
| syst + inf | 143.94 | 1.50 | 0.081 |
| syst + ind + early | 144.43 | 2.00 | 0.063 |
| syst + rep + early | 144.43 | 2.00 | 0.063 |
| syst + rep + inf + early | 144.73 | 2.30 | 0.054 |
| syst + rep | 144.97 | 2.54 | 0.048 |
| syst + ind + inf + early | 145.19 | 2.76 | 0.043 |
| syst | 145.50 | 3.07 | 0.037 |
| syst + rep + inf | 145.70 | 3.27 | 0.033 |
| syst + ind + inf | 145.74 | 3.31 | 0.033 |
| syst + inf + early + social.group | 146.15 | 3.72 | 0.027 |
| syst + early + social.group | 146.19 | 3.76 | 0.026 |
| syst + rep + ind + early | 146.43 | 4.00 | 0.023 |
| syst + ind | 146.57 | 4.14 | 0.022 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early | 146.68 | 4.25 | 0.020 |
| syst + rep + ind | 146.76 | 4.33 | 0.020 |
| syst + inf + social.group | 146.92 | 4.48 | 0.018 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf | 147.59 | 5.15 | 0.013 |
| syst + rep + inf + early + social.group | 147.73 | 5.29 | 0.012 |
| syst + ind + inf + early + social.group | 148.11 | 5.68 | 0.010 |
| syst + rep + early + social.group | 148.16 | 5.73 | 0.010 |
| syst + ind + early + social.group | 148.17 | 5.73 | 0.010 |
| syst + ind + inf + social.group | 148.29 | 5.86 | 0.009 |
| syst + rep + social.group | 148.57 | 6.14 | 0.008 |
| syst + rep + inf + social.group | 148.64 | 6.21 | 0.008 |
| syst + social.group | 149.32 | 6.89 | 0.005 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early + social.group | 149.70 | 7.26 | 0.005 |
| syst + rep + ind + social.group | 150.06 | 7.63 | 0.004 |
| syst + rep + ind + early + social.group | 150.13 | 7.70 | 0.004 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + social.group | 150.15 | 7.72 | 0.004 |
| syst + ind + social.group | 150.23 | 7.80 | 0.003 |

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Table E4. Effect of process outcomes on values (syst: case study, rep: representativeness, ind: independence, inf: influence, early: early involvement, social.group: social group)

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| syst + rep + ind | 120.22 | 0.00 | 0.202 |
| syst + ind + inf | 120.36 | 0.14 | 0.188 |

| | | | |
|---|--------|-------|-------|
| syst + rep + ind + inf | 120.58 | 0.36 | 0.169 |
| syst + ind + inf + early | 121.27 | 1.05 | 0.119 |
| syst + rep + ind + early | 122.22 | 1.99 | 0.074 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early | 122.52 | 2.30 | 0.064 |
| syst + ind + early | 123.78 | 3.56 | 0.034 |
| syst + rep + ind + social.group | 123.96 | 3.74 | 0.031 |
| syst + ind + inf + social.group | 124.18 | 3.95 | 0.028 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + social.group | 124.28 | 4.05 | 0.027 |
| syst + ind + inf + early + social.group | 125.02 | 4.80 | 0.018 |
| syst + ind | 125.31 | 5.09 | 0.016 |
| syst + rep + ind + early + social.group | 125.95 | 5.73 | 0.011 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early + social.group | 126.21 | 5.99 | 0.010 |
| syst + ind + early + social.group | 127.43 | 7.21 | 0.005 |
| syst + ind + social.group | 128.85 | 8.63 | 0.003 |
| syst + inf + early | 134.68 | 14.45 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + inf | 136.45 | 16.23 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + inf + early | 136.51 | 16.29 | 0.000 |
| syst + inf | 137.16 | 16.94 | 0.000 |
| syst + inf + early + social.group | 138.29 | 18.07 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + inf + social.group | 140.03 | 19.81 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + inf + early + social.group | 140.15 | 19.93 | 0.000 |
| syst + inf + social.group | 140.49 | 20.27 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + early | 140.70 | 20.48 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep | 140.84 | 20.62 | 0.000 |
| syst + early | 141.99 | 21.77 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + social.group | 143.38 | 23.16 | 0.000 |
| syst + rep + early + social.group | 143.43 | 23.21 | 0.000 |
| syst + early + social.group | 143.88 | 23.66 | 0.000 |
| syst + social.group | 153.82 | 33.59 | 0.000 |
| syst | 154.35 | 34.13 | 0.000 |

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Table E5. Effect of process outcomes on trust (syst: case study, rep: representativeness, ind: independence, inf: influence, early: early involvement, social.group: social group).

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|---|--------|-----------|----------|
| syst + ind + inf | 124.26 | 0.00 | 0.35 |
| syst + ind + inf + early | 125.13 | 0.87 | 0.22 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf | 125.92 | 1.67 | 0.15 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early | 127.12 | 2.86 | 0.08 |
| syst + ind + inf + social.group | 127.34 | 3.08 | 0.07 |
| syst + ind + inf + early + social.group | 128.25 | 3.99 | 0.05 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + social.group | 129.02 | 4.76 | 0.03 |
| syst + rep + ind + inf + early + social.group | 130.24 | 5.98 | 0.02 |
| syst + inf | 132.39 | 8.13 | 0.01 |
| syst + rep + ind | 133.63 | 9.37 | 0.00 |
| syst + inf + early | 134.26 | 10.00 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + inf | 134.28 | 10.02 | 0.00 |
| syst + inf + social.group | 134.66 | 10.40 | 0.00 |
| syst + ind | 134.83 | 10.58 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + ind + early | 134.97 | 10.72 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + ind + social.group | 135.52 | 11.26 | 0.00 |
| syst + ind + social.group | 136.13 | 11.87 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + inf + early | 136.24 | 11.98 | 0.00 |

| | | | |
|---|--------|-------|------|
| syst + ind + early | 136.30 | 12.05 | 0.00 |
| syst + inf + early + social.group | 136.51 | 12.25 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + inf + social.group | 136.55 | 12.29 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + ind + early + social.group | 137.12 | 12.86 | 0.00 |
| syst + ind + early + social.group | 137.53 | 13.27 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + inf + early + social.group | 138.50 | 14.24 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + social.group | 143.20 | 18.95 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep | 143.81 | 19.55 | 0.00 |
| syst + early + social.group | 143.94 | 19.68 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + early + social.group | 144.65 | 20.39 | 0.00 |
| syst + rep + early | 145.40 | 21.14 | 0.00 |
| syst + early | 146.16 | 21.90 | 0.00 |
| syst + social.group | 147.55 | 23.30 | 0.00 |
| syst | 151.05 | 26.80 | 0.00 |

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Table E6. Effect of social outcomes on technical quality (syst: case study, educ: learning, values: values, social.group: social group).

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| syst + educ + social.group + values | 84.49 | 0.00 | 0.689 |
| syst + educ + social.group | 86.13 | 1.64 | 0.304 |
| syst + social.group + values | 94.34 | 9.85 | 0.005 |
| syst + social.group | 96.17 | 11.68 | 0.002 |
| syst + educ + values | 103.37 | 18.88 | 0.000 |
| syst + values | 107.59 | 23.10 | 0.000 |
| syst + educ | 107.89 | 23.40 | 0.000 |
| syst | 114.77 | 30.28 | 0.000 |

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Table E7. Effect of social outcomes on conflict resolution (system: case study, trust: trust, social.group: social group).

| MODEL | AIC | Delta AIC | Akaike W |
|-------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| system + trust + social.group | 130.75 | 0.00 | 0.58 |
| system + trust | 131.41 | 0.66 | 0.42 |
| system + social.group | 153.38 | 22.63 | 0.00 |
| system + 1 | 160.72 | 29.97 | 0.00 |

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