UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

Conceptualisation and evaluation of participation in danish state forest management

Boon, T. R. E.

Publication date:
2000

Document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (APA):
Boon, T. R. E. (2000). *Conceptualisation and evaluation of participation in danish state forest management.*
Copenhagen: Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Danish Forest.

1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Democracy is not a universal and pre-existing condition of society. We continuously challenge each other in the question about how we want to govern and be governed, and democracy is continuously changed and developed in interaction with society developing. Some people regard democracy primarily as a set of procedures to aggregate a plurality of interests into policy on which society can be governed (Ross 1967), whereas others regard democracy as a way of life (Koch 1981) that is exercised and kept alive through citizens' active participation and construction of political life (Kristensen 1998; Sørensen 1995).

The premises of democracy changes. The Danish society has changed from the 1950-60s' economic growth and technology optimism to the 1970s' oil crisis and pollution problem, financial restrictions on private consumption in the 1980s and modernisation of the ever growing public sector, to the 1990s' debate about sustainable development. Our knowledge base and technological opportunities have increased tremendously over the last 50 years. This causes a range of options, each of which is connected with more or less well-known risks, where someone has to make the necessary choices, with its more or less well-known distributions consequences. The main challenge by year 2000 seems to be how to ensure a qualified but also democratic decision process for making these choices.

In the same period, political participation has changed. The grassroots movements of the 1960s and 1970s were gradually replaced by corporate safeguarding of interests along with the public sector's introduction of user boards and enhanced freedom of choice to ensure a more efficient public

service. By the end of the 1990s, political focus groups, consensus conferences and deliberative polls appear to enter the stage to assess the 'common citizen's attitude towards concrete political questions.

But how do the Danes participate today, and what do they think about it?

Danish state forest management is an interesting example for investigating political participation and the development of different discourses on 'participation', i.e. how 'participation' is given meaning and content by different stakeholders through time. It is interesting for two reasons:

First, participation and public involvement was specifically given priority in the 1994 ministerial strategy for sustainable forest management, apparently in order to fulfil international forest policy obligations (Miljøministeriet 1994). Same year, the Forest & Nature Agency established user councils at all state forest districts with the aim to enhance local users' influence on state forest management and utilisation. These user councils provide an opportunity to study participation in an institutionalised setting.

Second, forestry is characterised by forests being of immediate interest to people while the forest sector as such is professionalised and expected to be rather distant in people's mind. One the one hand forest and nature is an integral part of all people's every-day life, as a physical element but also as a part of our mind set. Forests cover around 10 % of the land area and only a few hectares originate from pristine forest. Still, they create room for half of all threatened species in Denmark (Asbirk & Søgaard 1991), they are considered important for groundwater protection, to avoid soil erosion and as carbon sinks. Forestry contributes only by 0.1 % to GDP (Statistics Denmark 1997) and the financial situation of the 20,000 forest owners is poor, the 1996 average surplus from forestry per se only being 312 DKK per ha for private forests and –489 DKK for state forests (Dansk Skovforening 1997; Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1997). Instead, forests are considered of major recreational value to society, as e.g. 90 % of the population between 15 and 76 years visit the forest at least once a year, the median Dane visiting the forest 10 times per year (Jensen & Koch 1997). The multiple values of forests have been captured and, partly, articulated through the all-encompassing concept of sustainable forest management, as reflected in

international and national forest policy agreements and strategies.

From that perspective, forests should hold good opportunities of being of public concern. Also, it becomes clear that forests by today are claimed to be of legitimate, but also potentially conflicting interests on local and national as well as global scale.

On the other hand, forest management is a professionalised, physically and administratively delimited sector. It operates with complex decision processes where silvicultural management is characterised by a long time horizon of 'production', up to 200 years, and a high degree of uncertainty conditioned by the internal bio-physical dependencies between forest stands as well as fluctuations in climate and other environmental factors (Helles et al. 1984). At the same time, the market demand for wood and other products as well as the social/political demand for non-market benefits, has proved to change within a few years. The short-term ability to adapt forests to meet the changing demands is therefore quite restricted, whether it is a demand for high quality-wood or a demand for, e.g. more biodiverse forests.

However, considering the numerous potential - and often conflicting – interests in forests, operationalisation of sustainable forestry cannot be based on the assumption of consensus between utilisation and protection of forests. There is no 'one best way' to ensure sustainable forestry. There is likely to be disagreement not only on what the output should be, but also on what processes and structures are agreeable and appropriate, and who should bear the costs and have the benefits, respectively, from forest resources management. Therefore, the concept of sustainable forestry implies forest policy formulation. Operationalisation of the concept provides a common framework for discussing the distribution of scarce resources within forestry and in relation to society.

From that perspective, the question is who should take part in decision-making related to forest resources management. Who is perceived to have a legitimate interest in participating, who actually participates, how, and why, and what strategies do they use to gain influence. What is perceived as opportunities and barriers?

1.2 Aims of the dissertation

One aim of the present dissertation is to develop a conceptual framework for participation as a phenomenon and policy instrument by year 2000, with Danish state forest and natural resources management as an example. A second aim is to evaluate the user councils' function and whether they fulfil the aim of enhancing local users' influence on state forest management and utilisation.

Participation in state forest decision-making is investigated in two cases and a survey: (1) Analysis of a state forest user council. This case was chosen to study the particular form of participation called 'user democracy' in a formerly closed management bureaucracy; (2) Analysis of participation in relation to a planned state afforestation project. This case was chosen to study participation across the sectoral and administrative borders between forestry and agriculture/the countryside, and between state forest district, county and municipality. Also, the case represents major investments and major change in the landscape, but with a long time horizon of realisation; (3) Analysis of a user council survey carried out by the Forest & Nature Agency among all state forest user councils. Together with the user council case, this survey analysis serves to evaluate the state forest user councils' function.

The dissertation is based on understanding 'participation' as a dynamic, changeable concept, where the meaning is partly derived from the context. Throughout the dissertation it is therefore sought to uncover and understand the meaning and how meaning is constructed, rather than aiming at discovering 'facts' in a (nature) scientific sense. The dissertation is based on three types of studies to conceptualise participation in a theory, policy and practice based context, respectively: (1) A literature review of participation in forest and natural resources management as well as in other social contexts. The aim is to provide an overview of the different theoretical approaches to understand, interpret and evaluate participation; (2) Analysis of conventions, strategies and other documents in Danish and international forestry to uncover the development in the meanings that are derived from and ascribed to the concept 'participation'; (3) Empirical case studies of a state forest user council and a planned state afforestation project. The aim is partly to establish an empirically founded understanding of 'participation' as a practice in forestry, partly to evaluate whether state forest user councils have worked to fulfil the aim of enhancing local users' influence on state forest management and utilisation.

1.3 Delimitations

The empirical part of the present study has been designed to gain the broadest possible understanding of participation in relation to state forest management and afforestation, as perceived by the participants. The case studies have been chosen as 'critical case studies', examples that each can tell something different about the research questions. Similarly, the case study informants were selected with the aim at maximum variation, gaining most possible information relevant to the research questions. This means, on the other hand, that the study does *not* aim at a socio-demographically representative picture of perceptions of participation in state forest management and afforestation. The evaluation of the user councils is restricted in this context. The user council survey provides a representative picture of the user council members' perceptions of success, whereas it cannot tell anything about what the average Dane thinks about the state forest user councils or whether he/she is aware that they exist. The case studies provide a few indications about this, but again, the main focus has been on those who actually participated.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured in three parts, framed within a problem formulation and methodology outlined in Chapters 1, 4 and 6, as outlined in Table 1.1. The first part is devoted to conceptualising participation as it appears in theory, policy and practice, Chapters 2, 3 and 7, respectively. The second part is devoted to evaluate user councils' effect on local users' influence, using the afforestation case for comparison. This is carried out in Chapters 5, 8, 9 and 10. The third part, Chapter 11, concludes on each of the two aims of the dissertation and provides recommendations.

Chapter 1 presents the background for our research objectives and the aims of the dissertation. Chapter 2 is a review of public participation literature. Chapter 3 outlines the emergence of public participation as a concept in the international and national forest policy discourse. Chapter 4 presents the methodology of the empirical studies. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the state forest user councils based on a survey. Chapter 6 introduces the two case studies. Chapter 7 conceptualises participation on the basis of the two case studies. Chapter 8 analyses the case studies in terms of representativity. Chapters 9 and 10 provide an analysis of the case studies in terms of power, as

Chapter 9 is specifically devoted to studying the relationship between knowledge and power in participation. Finally, Chapter 11 compares the different ways of conceptualising participation and resumes the findings in relation to whether participation, mainly user councils, accomplish to gain influence. Based on this, we draw conclusions about opportunities and premises of participation in forestry and give recommendations based on the insights of our research.

	Research strategy	*Conceptualisation*	*Evaluation*
1. Introduction	Research problem		
2. Literature review		Participation in theory	
3. Pp emergence in policy		Participation in policy	
4. Methodology	Case study methodology		
5. User council survey			Influence in all forest user councils
6. Case study description	Case study descriptions		
7. Participation in practice		Participation in practice	
8. Representativity			Perceived representativity of part.
9. Knowledge & profession			Knowledge as a source of influence
10. Power & participation			Influence in case study participation
11. Conclusions		Conclusions	Conclusions

2

Review of public participation literature

The aim of the present chapter is to make a review of literature related to public participation in forest and natural resources management and in relation to the Danish society. Based on this, it is the aim to develop a research framework for analysing the different views of the nature and content of the concept participation, that are brought forward in the selected case studies.

2.1 Participatory planning versus participation in planning and policy making

Broadly, research on participation can be divided into normative research on participatory planning (e.g. Kangas et al. 1996; Loikkanen et al. 1999), and descriptive research on participation in planning and policy decision-making. Research approaches can be inductive, trying to conceptualise participation, based on empirical observations (e.g. Jakobsen 1998; Tuler & Webler 1999), or research can be deductive in terms of hypothesis-testing particular theories applicable to participation (e.g. Moote et al. 1997; Renn et al. 1995a; Sköllerhorn 1998; Pelletier et al. 1999). Eventually, the research approach can be a combination of both.

During this chapter, the aim is threefold. First, to characterise and categorise the concept participation as it is defined in existing research literature. The second aim is to provide an overview of literature on participatory planning methods. Third, it is aimed to provide a brief overview of five sets of theories that have been applied in recent research on participation in planning and policy decision-making, with particular focus on forest and environment decision-making. The five perspectives are: (1) power perspective; (2) democracy perspective; (3) efficiency perspective; (4) empowerment perspective; (5) regulation perspective. Finally, we shortly resume the five perspectives in order to provide prospects for future research. Outline of these theories reveals that some of them are fundamentally opposed to each other due to different basic

assumptions about, e.g. the nature of interests, whether consensus is an opportunity or not, the relationship between state and individual, etc. Consequently, participation cannot be understood as an objective phenomenon to study or grow such as 'a forest' or 'a tree'. Participation is, what the analytical framework puts into it or takes out of it.

2.2 Conceptualisation of participation

2.2.1 Definitions of participation0
According to Arnstein (1969, p. 216), (citizen) participation is *"a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future"*.

This is well in line with Verba & Nie (1972:2) and Barnes & Kaase (1979:42), who define participation as *activities* that directly or indirectly are *aimed at influencing the political authorities*. That is, merely having an opinion, an attitude, or a belief does not suffice. This definition is close to Potter & Norville (1983) stating that public participation can be viewed as the participation of any person in purposeful activity directed at a governmental decision-maker with the intention of influencing his/her decision or action.

However, as Andersen et al. (1993) note, participation may not always be directed at political authorities and may not always be a matter of influence, as that way of perceiving participation is linked to an instrumental perception of politics, i.e., where interests are assumed to be exogenously given, individual preferences, and where politics is merely an arena for negotiating these predefined interests. Taking an institutionalist perspective, interests are being modified and new may emerge in a political process, so that politics can be considered as goal oriented action aimed at caretaking of interests as well as communicative action oriented towards mutual understanding, expectations and binding, and normative principles. Consequently, (political) participation can be defined as *"activities that affect formulation, adoption and implementation of public policies and/or that affect the formation of political communities in relation to issues or institutions of public interest"* (Andersen et al. 1993:32).

To Andersen et al. (1993), participation also has communicative objectives, and a political learning effect, as far as participation teaches citizens to become more/better capable of understanding and taking a position towards political issues. Additionally, new, common understandings may emerge through participation. In addition to this, Andersen et al. (1993) claim that participation can have non-instrumental purposes and motivations, e.g. belonging to a group, solidarity, feeling responsible to participate (moral).

The above definitions of participation take a citizens perspective, whereas, from an administrative perspective, participation can be considered an instrument for the achievement of administrative goals (Glass 1979; Renn et al. 1995b). The interest lies here with the institutionalised forms of participation, i.e. where a decision-maker deliberately aims at involving actors in decision-making, e.g. defined as

"Public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental decision-making. Public participation is two-way communication, with the overall goal of better decisions, supported by the public...public participation is a mechanism by which the public is not only heard before the decision, but has an opportunity to influence the decision from the beginning to the end of the decision-making process" (Creighton 1992:2-3).

As opposed to the citizens' and administrative perspective being concerned with the outcome of the participation process, Renn et al (1995b) are concerned with the qualities of the participatory process as such, and whether it manages to be fair and competent to all participants, specified into a number of requirements (Webler 1995). Hence, they adopt a definition of public participation as:
"...forums for exchange that are organized for the purpose of facilitating communication between government, citizens, stakeholders and interest groups, and businesses regarding a specific decision or problem" (p.2). Hereby they exclude, e.g. protest activities and expert workshops, whereas they include models for citizen participation like hearings, public meetings, focus groups, surveys, referendum, etc.

ILO (2000:9) aims at an interpretation combining all perspectives: *"Public participation is a voluntary process whereby people, individually or through organized groups, can exchange*

information, express opinions and articulate interests, and have the potential to influence decisions or the outcome of the matter at hand". However, an additional number of demands and, mainly, restrictions are required for the process to be qualified as participation. The process should be inclusive, fair, transparent and based on participants acting in good faith, similar to Webler (1995). Moreover, participation, as well as the initiation of the process and the implementation of its results, should be voluntary and cannot conflict with legal provisions, ownership or user rights (ILO 2000:9). One the one hand, these additional claims refer to an ideal of a participatory design while, on the other hand, they do not acknowledge the role of participation as, ultimately, policy-making and an arena for negotiation and alteration of current ownership, tenure and use rights. This reveals that, basically, ILO (2000) still takes the administrative perspective.

The different definitions of participation reveal that the particular meaning of participation is context-dependent, depending on the perspective and particular goals of participation. The synonyms used for participation further reveal the different meanings and contexts associated with participation, as outlined below.

2.2.2 Synonyms for participation

The term 'participation' can be associated with specific roles given to citizens: Popular participation, people's participation and citizens' participation indicate the non-professional, ordinary citizens participating in a system dominated by professionals, be it a political or a political-administrative system. User participation relates to the participation in a political-administrative system of clearly delimited groups of users of a given service/utility in the administration of that service, e.g. school boards. Finally, grassroots participation is confined to bottom-up participation, e.g defined as *participation in collective, political activities open for everyone and not reserved particular groups or organisations. The scope of the activity is partly to formulate demands towards the public authorities, partly to influence the attitudes of the participants and the public as such. Finally, the social aspect may be an important part of the participation* (Togeby 1989:10).

Participation may also be divided into political and social participation, as "*..social participation deals with more or less formalised organisations or associations that exist to meet public or social needs, where commercial profit is not of primary importance and which are not performed in the service of government...If the goal of the organisation..is clearly political, then the term political*

participation will be used..in all other cases, these activities will be labelled social participation (van Deth 1997:2-3). This distinction is the foundation of much research on the relationship between social participation and social structures on the one hand, and political participation on the other hand. Examples of this are mobilisation theories (e.g. Togeby 1989) and social capital theory (e.g. Putnam 1995) to explain participation. An overview is provided by van Deth (1997).

The term 'participation' may be substituted by the particular form of participation applied and the intended intensity, e.g. public consultation, collaboration, co-operation, joint management, or partnership. These particular forms of participation are outlined below. Similarly, management systems containing participatory elements and more or less delegation or public control of ownership, may be connotative with the word 'participation', e.g. community forestry and social forestry, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The words 'involvement' and 'participation' are used interchangeably, often considered synonymous. Some, however, define 'involvement' as the administrative, top-down approach and 'participation' as the citizen's bottom-up approach (Gernow 1995; Langton 1981; Glass 1979).

2.2.3 Categorising participation
Participation can be categorised and classified in various ways, depending on the perspective. The citizen's perspective (Andersen et al 1993; Buttoud 1999) focuses on the different channels of influence and communicative action. A power perspective would focus on the potential power redistributive effects of different participation methods (Arnstein 1969). An administrative perspective (e.g. ILO 2000) focuses on participation at the various levels of decision-making.

Categorising participation based on a citizen's perspective
Andersen et al. (1993:38-39) suggest a framework for measuring the extent and intensity of participation among the public, based on a citizen's perspective, see Table 2.1.

On the one hand, there is participation related to institutions, such as voting at elections, being a member of a party or another non-governmental organisation. This *institutional participation* can be subdivided into participation according to membership of (a) organisations of primary, economic interest; (b) role based organisations, e.g. house owners organisations; (c) political organisations,

e.g. environmental organisations or the Social Democrats; (d) humanitarian organisations, e.g. charity or an organisation to combat cancer, and (e) leisure time organisations, e.g. sports associations, boy scouts, theatre associations etc. A similar, but somewhat simpler model for forestry is presented by Buttoud (1999) suggesting to only distinguish between organisations of economic interest, and citizen interests groups promoting ethic considerations about the role of forests in society in general, typically environmental questions.

Table 2.1 Categorisation of participation

		Examples from forestry
Institutional participation, in terms of membership of..	Organisations of primary, econ. Interest	Wood industries organisation, forest owners association
	Role based organisations	House owners organisation, forest owners association, farmers association
	Political organisations	Danish Nature Conservation Association
	Humanitarian organisations	
	Political manifestations, collectively initiated: demonstrations, strikes, petitions	do.
Participation	Political contacts, e.g. to public authorities, politicians, associations, lawyers, etc.	do.
determined by	Political discussions with family, friends and colleagues	ProSilva, forest excursions
the situation	Public communication, e.g. reader's letter, articles in newspapers/journals, presentations at meetings	do.
User democracy	Participation offered to 'users' of a public institution, i.e. selective group of citizens	Forest user councils, advisory committees,

Based on Andersen et al. (1993)

On the other hand, there is *participation determined by the situation*, (a) political manifestations, being collectively initiated, e.g. participation in demonstrations, strikes, petitions. These are all typical 'grassroots activities', as surveyed by Togeby (1989); (b) political contacts, e.g. to public authorities, politicians, associations, lawyers, etc.; (c) political discussions with family, friends and

colleagues. This one is included because of the communicative aspect in the chosen definition of participation; (d) public communication, e.g. reader's letter, articles in newspapers and journals, presentations at meetings.
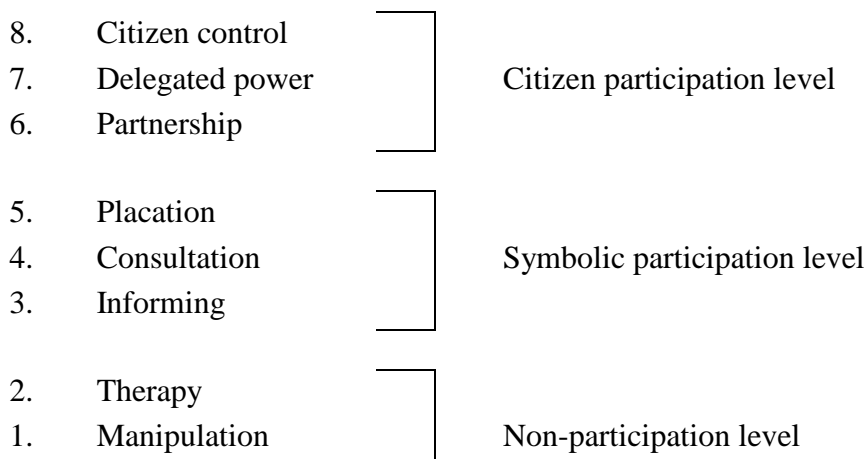
Finally, Andersen et al. (1993) identify a category of participation in locally based democracy, mainly 'user democracy', i.e., where a group of citizens receiving a service or otherwise being affected by a public institution ('users') are given the opportunity to participate in decision-making at some level.

The broadness of participation is characterised by the various forms of participation, whereas the intensity of participation is characterised by the frequency of various forms of participation. This could, e.g. be measured as the number of meetings attended in relation to the total number of meetings invited to.

Categorising participation according to degree of power redistribution
Another way of categorising participation is in relation to the degree of power redistribution that takes place between the decision-maker and the participants, as suggested by Arnstein (1969). Arnstein suggests a typology of participation, according to the level of power redistribution, ranging from non-participation and tokenism to increasing degrees of citizen power, see Figure 2.1.

Figure 2. Fejl! Ukendt argument for parameter. **- Levels of citizen participation from Arnstein (1969)**

8.	Citizen control	
7.	Delegated power	Citizen participation level
6.	Partnership	
5.	Placation	
4.	Consultation	Symbolic participation level
3.	Informing	
2.	Therapy	
1.	Manipulation	Non-participation level

Rungs (1) *Manipulation* and (2) *Therapy* are both non-participation levels substituting genuine participation, actions aimed to enable the powerholders to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants. Rungs (3) *Informing,* (4) *Consultation* and (5) *Placation*, degrees of tokenism, bear the opportunity that participants may hear and be heard but without their having the power to make sure that their views will be incorporated in the decision-making process.

At rung (6) *Partnership* power is actually redistributed, as decision-making and planning responsibilities are shared, e.g. in boards with decision-power. At rung (7) *delegated power*, the citizen power may be dominant, e.g. by having the majority of seats in a governing board. (8) Citizen control, where the participants take over control of public property.

An intermediate between Andersen et al. (1993) and Arnstein (1969) can be found by Buttoud (1999), that distinguishes between various strategies to represent interests: (1) Co-management; (2) Co-operation where the interest groups accept a role in educating their members and the public in order to have the decisions implemented in the better conditions; (3) Lobbying/pressure; (4) Confrontation/demonstration; (5) Violence/civil disobedience, where there is total deny of legitimacy of the rules of the game, and some stakeholders decide to play separately from the system.

Categorising participation from an administrative perspective

Finally, participation can be classified according to the planning and policy level at which it occurs, as e.g. suggested by ILO (2000) in comparing participation efforts in forest policy and planning among the European countries, see App. 3.1.

2.3 Planning for participation – Literature on participatory planning

Literature on participatory planning deals with the overall planning design, methods, the appropriate choice of method, and/or on technologies and techniques to facilitate the participatory process, e.g. the expression, comparison and evaluation of opinions and preferences.

2.3.1 Overall planning design

Guides and handbooks are concerned with designing participatory planning in forestry and environmental decision-making (Canadian Standards Association 1996; CIFOR 1999a; 1999b;1999c; Creighton 1992; Loikkanen 1994; Loikkanen et al. 1999; Ministry of Forests 1981; USDA 1993; ILO 2000). The handbooks as well as the more specific literature typically focus on the following issues related to participation:

- What are the objectives of the participation process?
- Who is the public, how are participants identified, and who should participate?
- How, when and where should the process be organised and initiated?
- What is the usefulness and the limitations of specific methods of participation?
- How can data input be analysed and evaluated?
- What feed-back methods and eventually debriefing of participation can be applied?
- What are possible barriers or limits to participation, e.g. lack of public interest, professionals' resistance against participation, lack of skills or resources?
- What requirements can then be set to the process, to extension of staff etc (e.g. Shindler & Nebraska 1997).

2.3.2 Choosing the appropriate level and method of participation

Based on assumptions of rational causal relationships between particular participatory methods and their outcome, authors have suggested models to determine the appropriate level and method of participation, given the objective. A group-decision model of Vroom and Yetton (1973) has been

further developed by Thomas (1990; 1993) and for forestry decision-making, Daniels et al. (1996), Sample (1993), into a model for deciding what degree of public participation is appropriate, given the attributes of the particular decision-making process. Similarly, matrices of compatibility/relationships between the scope of participation and specific participation methods and techniques have been developed (Glass 1979; USDA Forest Service 1993; Loikkanen 1994; Loikkanen et al. 1999; Thomas 1993).

A comprehensive review of empirical studies of public meetings, workshops and community advisory committees (Chess & Purcell 1999) shows, however, that the form of participation (public meetings, workshops, citizen advisory committees) may not determine process or outcome success. Different forms of participation sometimes yielded similar outcomes, whereas identical forms of participation sometimes yielded different outcomes. Attempts to develop a typology of public participation efforts is therefore problematic, even though some general 'rules of thumb' may find empirical support (Chess & Purcell 1999).

2.3.3 Specific methods and techniques

Participatory planning is associated with numerous methods and techniques to accomplish the objectives of the participation process.

Information feedback

From a citizen's perspective, gathering of public opinion by means of, e.g. surveys, may not be considered a participation method, following e.g. Arnstein (1969). From an administrative perspective, it can be an efficient means of data collection and an integral part of a broader participation strategy (Dennis 1988; Ministry of Forests 1981), e.g. social (Clark & Stankey 1994; Burdge & Robertson 1990) or environmental impact assessment. Surveys and/or impact assessments may be used to refuse the need for more intense dialogue with the public. For instance, the Danish EIA process and associated hearing process has been examined by Bramsnæs (1997) who finds that EIA barely has had any effect on the management practice, and Jensen (1997), who finds that the EIA merely legitimises an already made decision. On the other hand, a case from tourism development in the Czech Republic showed that the EIA procedure with its limited participation fuelled an NGO-driven parallel public participation procedure that managed to affect the decision outcome significantly (Richardson et al. 1998).

Surveys have been carried out to monitor people's use of forests (Koch 1978; 1980; 1984; Jensen & Koch 1997), people's preferences to the design of forests and landscape (Berg et al. 1998; Koch & Jensen 1988; Tahvanainen et al. 1996), opinions on forest management (Kangas & Niemeläinen 1996; Kearney et al. 1999) and the effect of information on these opinions (Jensen 2000). Surveys have been carried out to investigate the opinion of particular stakeholder groups, such as private forest owners' values and objectives (Karppinen 1998) and reasons for managing the forest or not (Amdam et al. 2000), and public officials' opinions and values towards environmental conservation. Finally, surveys have been carried out to monitor people's general level of knowledge and attitudes towards wood and forestry (IFO 1997) and agriculture (Gallup 1999).

Quantitative surveys based on extracts from the national register have the strength of ensuring demographic representativity of the public and, by the size of the sample, also (statistically) representativity in opinions (Hansen 2000). Moreover, quantitative surveys are easy to analyse for decision-making support. The potential weakness of surveys is that the questions are detached from the particular decision-making context (Lauber & Knuth 1998; Satterfield & Gregory 1998; Zinn et al. 1998). Moreover, people do not necessarily have an advance opinion on the particular subject at hand. Therefore, surveys may illustrate current media and newspaper treatment of the issue rather than individual/autonomous reflected opinion on the subject (Hansen 2000).

Consultation

Consultation relates to those forms of participation where the decision-maker asks a group of stakeholders to give their opinion and/or provide advice on some topic, without delegating any decision authority to the stakeholders.

Consultation methods can be divided according to whether they aim at reaching consensus or at using constructive conflict to stimulate debate (Buttoud 1999). Some participation methods are directly aimed at promoting co-operation among actors and reach at common points of agreements. Among these methods are 'collaborative learning' (Daniels & Walker 1996a; 1996b; 1998), 'mutual gains method', 'the community of interests' method (Daniels & Walker 1998; Sirmon et al. 1993), and 'consensus conferences'/ 'informed consensus approach' (Andersen & Jæger 1999; Coninck et

al. 1999; Joss 1998). Other participation methods aim at treating disputable issues and create a debate from opposite arguments. Among these are scenario workshops (Andersen & Jæger 1999), 'the environmental mediation method', 'the 4R method' (Buttoud 1999), and 'the constructive confrontation method' (Burgess & Burgess 1998; Buttoud 1999; Daniels & Walker 1998). The methods are briefly described in App. 3.2.

Some methods specifically aim at bringing together citizens' preferences, political and stakeholders interests, and the expert knowledge of specialists into a coherent outcome, e.g the deliberative poll (Hansen 2000; Price & Neijens 1998), citizen panels (Crosby et al. 1986), planning cells (Dienel & Renn 1995), consensus conferences and the informed consensus approach (Andersen & Jæger 1999; Coninck et al. 1999). The first three methods are also distinguished by the aim at ensuring representativity as well as deliberation (Hansen 2000).

Co-operation

Co-operation involves some sort of shared decision-making. It can be divided into collaborative management and co-management (Buttoud 1999). Collaborative management typically means, where an advisory board can make decisions that are implemented by the administration (usually as a majority with a veto from the state representatives).

Co-management is where stakeholders participating in decision-making at various levels manage the forest together with the public authorities, with shared responsibilities and related authority. This means that (a) the compromise is fully accepted by all participants who engage themselves in getting it implemented and that (b) every participant fully agrees on every aspect of the solution which is a real consensus; (c) the public authority is not able to implement the solution alone with sufficient effectiveness, efficiency, and equity (Buttoud 1999). Co-management appears in different forms. For instance, a public authority may want a private land owner to take part in nature conservation (Carskadden & Lober 1998; Daniels & Walker 1998), implying bilateral co-operation and voluntary agreements (Carskadden & Lober 1998; Glasbergen 1998).

Self-governance initated or stimulated through top-down initiatives

Public authorities may have an interest in stimulating and facilitating governance mechanisms at

local level, 'community action' or 'partnerships', which do not involve the state as such, but which aims at fulfilling governmental ambitions, such as rural development or environmentally friendly behaviour. Within the participation framework, it can be considered a top-down effort at initiating bottom-up participation, grassroots participation. The means to stimulate this can be professional advice, institutional or maybe financial support to establish self-governing groups such as, e.g. Australian Landcare groups formed by local people in farmer communities to deal with rural development of specific land areas (Curtis 1998; Curtis et al. 1999).

Institutionalisation of consultation and co-operation
Consultation and co-operation can be informal as well as formalised in institutions. Examples of institutions are expert advisory boards (Frentz et al. 1997), citizen advisory boards (Knaap et al. 1998), user boards associated with specific public institutions (Sørensen 1995; Kristensen 1998), focus groups (CIFOR 1999a), or hearings associated with a specific project or document.

Specific techniques to collect, analyse and compare data
Participation literature may also concern specific participatory techniques to collect, analyse and compare data in a (participatory) planning process. Participatory assessment methods are mainly related to tropical forest management (e.g. CIFOR 1999a;1999b;1999c; FAO 1989; Stephens 1988). They aim at mapping, e.g.

- locality specific perceptions on present and future resources distribution and scarcity, e.g. using 'the histo-ecological matrix' or the 'pebble distribution method' (CIFOR 1999a)
- perceptions on the distribution of management and use rights and responsibilities to local resources, e.g. using 'participatory mapping' or 'pebble distribution method' (CIFOR 1999a).
- the respective involvement of local stakeholders in forest management and the level of interaction among stakeholders locally, e.g. using 'participatory card sorting' (CIFOR 1999b).

Techniques to facilitate participation can be qualitative, such as nominal group technique (Glass 1979; Loikkanen et al. 1999) and delphi technique (Kweit & Kweit 1987; Loikkanen et al. 1999), or they can be based on mathematical modelling, e.g. bayesian belief networks (Cain et al 1999), metagame theory (Jeffers 1997), analytical hierarchy processes (Kangas et al. 1996), numeric decision analysis (Pykäläinen & Loikkanen 1997), initial decision analysis (Bonnicksen 1985) and multi-criteria decision analysis (Behan 1994; Brukas et al. 1999).

2.4 Research on participation in planning

Studies of participation in planning and policy making can broadly be divided into descriptive and explanatory/experimental research, as well as research aimed at understanding and conceptualising participation.

Descriptive research aims at describing the amount and intensity of participation, by means of surveys, e.g. Andersen et al. (1993), Togeby (1989).

Explanatory research aims at explaining the factors causing participation, i.e. why people participate. For instance, Togeby (1989) uses grassroots hypothesis (Goul Andersen 1980), mobilisation theory, supplementing theory, value theory (as developed by Inglehart 1979; 1981) and 'aggressions due to frustrations' theory to explain grassroots participation. Other studies aim at explaining social structures and social participation in voluntary organisations and associations as factors enhancing or decreasing political participation, e.g. the social capital theory (Putnam 1995; van Deth 2000), reviews being provided by van Deth (1997) and Sullivan & Transue (1999). Yet other studies aim at actor-oriented behavioural explanations, e.g. rational choice theory to explain collective action (Ostrom 1998), statistical analysis to predict the likelihood that private land-owners would undertake co-operative management programs (Stevens et al. 1999), and surveys to explain motivations and barriers for joining partnership agreements (Williams & Ellefson 1997).

Explanatory research may also aim at explaining the particular effects of participation. For instance, there are experimental studies on the effect of deliberation on participants' viewpoints of the policy domain, such as food policy (Pelletier et al. 1999) and health system (Hansen 2000), as well as studies of the effect of participation on managerial efficiency (Thomas 1993).

There are studies aimed at understanding and conceptualising participation, through inductive case study research (Jakobsen 1998; Tuler & Webler 1999), or through review of existing theories e.g. Wengert (1976), Arnstein (1969) on power, Hampton (1999) on environmental equity, and Wellman & Tipple (1990) on direct democracy. Finally, there are evaluation studies based on deductive

testing of theories, e.g. communicative action theory (Renn et al. 1995a) and participatory democracy theory (Moote et al. 1997).

2.5 Five theoretical perspectives on public participation

In this section, we will discuss and compare five perspectives to be used as a theoretical framework for better understanding and analysing public participation. These theoretical perspectives include (1) a power perspective; (2) a democracy perspective; (3) an organisational efficiency perspective; (4) an empowerment perspective; and (5) a regulation perspective.

2.5.1 Power perspective

Participation is frequently analysed from a power perspective, as it appeared from the conceptualisation of participation above (Arnstein 1969; Andersen et al 1993).

Power can be said to have four dimensions (Christensen & Jensen 1986), where the three first fit with Arnstein's ladder: (1) Direct power, exercised directly in the particular decision process in terms of access to process, access to put issues on the agenda, decision competence, budget authority, possess relevant knowledge etc.; (2) Indirect power exercised, e.g. by public officials by 'filtering' what issues are allowed to enter the decision arena, being considered 'irrelevant', or considered too resource demanding to pick up, as well as filtering what decisions are actually being implemented afterwards. Ambiguous decisions as well as use of framework decisions typically enhance this indirect power of those to implement the decision; (3) Consciousness controlling power, assuming that power can be exerted in the hidden, manipulating people's objective (or at least 'reflected') interests into some other, perceived interests that correspond with the interests of the manipulator. This can be done by use of authority, manipulation or collective pressure/influence; (4) Structural power, as the routines, norms, institutional settings impose power on all actors as they regulate behaviour while simultaneously unreflected being produced and reproduced by that same behaviour. It can be argued, that you cannot escape this 'institutional prison', as anything you do is a result of, or is reflected by, the institutional setting. In simple terms: 'you are a product of your surroundings'. However, recent sociologists, as e.g. Giddens (1991) have tried to overcome this dichotomy between an actors versus a structure perspective to power. Modern society implies ever changing premises for action, and individuals face multiple roles in relation to all the different

institutional settings they pass every day, as parents, as employees, as consumers, as members of various organisations or religion societies etc. Consequently, the individual is constantly forced to reflect on his/her particular situation in society - 'what setting am I in', 'what are the rules of game here', 'how am I expected to act?'. A sense of self-reflexivity (reflection on being reflective) evolves that questions the given institutional framework, and exactly that reflexivity can be said to create the link between actors/agency and structures. So when Andersen et al. (1993) talk about the political learning effect of participation, this may be seen as a strategy to empower the powerless, not necessarily by taking away power from others, as implied in Arnstein´s idea of power redistribution, but by increasing the absolute amount of power. On the other hand, once you start debating the structure, once you start argue for changing existing norms, values and structure, power redistribution is likely to take place. In this sense, the ideas of reaching mutual understanding through communication, Habermas´ theory of communicative action, can be argued to be a strategy for a more civilised form of power struggle.

Finally, Christensen & Jensen (1986) suggest that in decision-making processes in loosely coupled systems of a garbage can character (as opposed to rational decision-making structures) (Winter 1991), other participatory strategies are important than for the traditional four dimensions. Where there is a flow of decision opportunities, solutions, problems and participants, power becomes a question of: (1) keeping on, decisions rejected today are made tomorrow; (2) let others get the honour as long as you get it your way; (3) overload the system in order to have something to bargain with; (4) create many decision opportunities. This view of power has substantial potential in explaining some of current forest policies and premises for participation, particularly in so far as forests are considered unambiguous goods to society, no matter the setting. Current Danish afforestation politics at a national level seems to be a good example, where an arbitrary goal of doubling the forest area has been forwarded by shifting means, in shifting arenas and with shifting argumentation, but always with 'more forests' as being the solution to any problem, be it groundwater protection, recreation, or excessive agricultural production.

2.5.2 The empowerment perspective
Empowerment means - through deliberation - to enable lay people to participate in policy forums where more competent and skilled actors have already positioned themselves. The objective of empowerment is to spread and extend the influence of lay people into new areas and to enhance

their control with the social and political spheres that affect them (Korten & Klauss 1984). The empowerment perspective does not understand participation as the endeavour to reach aggregate compromises of individual, conflicting interests. That means, participation is not only an arena for negotiating conflicting interests, but also, or rather, a forum where common values are shaped and transformed through simultaneous (political) learning (Macpherson 1977).

The idea of empowering the participants is to give them the feeling that they can make a difference and that they have a say. In that way, they may become more committed. Thus, the empowerment perspective focuses on the issues that could motivate the participants to become active political participants. This process may be analysed and divided into four stages, as suggested by Andersen et al. (1997).

The first stage concerns the participants' understanding of policy and democracy, which depends on their way of looking at and perceiving the world. This can be analysed by investigating e.g. the participants' democratic ideals, their basic ideologies and values, and their understanding of communication.

The second stage concerns the participants' will or desire to act politically, which may depend on the identity, interests and goals of the participating individuals and communities. The motives for political action may include fighting for interests, moral obligation, legal obligation or social desire.

The third stage concerns the resources and capacity to participate. The ability to be politically active depends on the resources and capacity of the participant relative to the demands of the decision process. This ability may depend on a range of factors, including participants' (1) access to the decision process; (2) communicative skills; (3) technical knowledge; (4) understanding of the 'rules of the game' in decision-making (e.g. how to co-operate, how to establish confidence, and how to exploit a bargaining position); (5) political network with influential actors and institutions; (6) access to financial resources for bargaining; (7) availability of time and money to participate.

The fourth stage concerns agency, which depends on individual and collective obligations and incentives. Such incentives might include influence, handling of interests, knowledge, the feeling of

belonging and identity. Obligations might include the obligatory participation of organisations in councils and boards or legal obligations of citizens to participate (Andersen et al. 1997).

2.5.3 The democracy perspective

Public participation in forest management is often associated with strengthening democracy. The basic meaning of democracy is 'rule by the people', however, in reality democracy is understood in different ways. As a result, the interpretation and evaluation of public participation varies according to the democratic principles that are applied. In order to understand the democratic perspective, it is useful to distinguish between the *substance of democracy* and the *democratic procedure*.

Substance of democracy

The substance of democracy concerns the understanding of people's interests, the type of regulation, legitimacy and the role of participation. The *aggregative* viewpoint of the substance of democracy assumes that the interests of the people are predefined and exogenous to the political process. In that way, democracy is primarily an institutional arrangement to negotiate conflicting, individual interests (as suggested by Schumpeter 1943). Adding to this some basic individual rights, protecting the individual from the state equals the liberal tradition (Mill 1967). The aggregative viewpoint also assumes that goal formulation (input) and regulation (output) are separable. Consequently, regulation should be a result of rational exchange between individuals, majority rule and bureaucratic implementation of decisions made by elected leaders. The success criterion of regulation is an efficient and optimal distribution of scarce goods. The legitimacy of political systems is created through the existence of a set of procedures regulating the competition for votes between political elites (Sørensen 1995).

The *integrative* viewpoint (Republican tradition), on the other hand, rejects that people's interests are predefined. Instead, it assumes that the substance of democracy concerns the modification of people's interests and the emergence of new, common interests and understandings through dialogue. Democracy becomes a way of life. Within this position, there are different interpretations:

(1) *The communitarian perspective* (e.g. Barber 1984; Etzioni 1995) assumes a common good, based on certain substantial interests, moral motivations and values, e.g. striving for a just society;

(2) *The participatory approaches* (e.g. Pateman 1970; Macpherson 1977; Arendt 1958) regard participation as having a value in itself, as a precondition to democracy, stimulating political learning and sense of political efficacy by which individuals can better enhance own interests (Pateman) or realise individual autonomy (Arendt) (Kristensen 1998);

(3) *The discourse-democratic perspective* regards a common good as such being incompatible with a pluralistic society. Rather, it focuses on a common political identity, a political community based on agreed, common democratic principles and procedures for dialogue (Habermas 1984; Kristensen 1998).

Furthermore, the integrative perspective assumes that goal formulation and regulation cannot be separated, and so cannot the regulator and the regulated. Rather, it should be a dynamic, two-way process of influence and dialogue between citizens and society, and the criteria of successful regulation is the ability to solve defined problems. Legitimacy of the political systems is achieved when citizens regard themselves as being an integral part of the community, so that they actively support the norms and values constituting society (Sørensen 1995). Consequently, participation becomes essential to create and maintain legitimacy of the political system. Note that the three interpretations of the integrative perspective have a common understanding of regulation and legitimacy, but different interpretation of the people's interest, and, consequently of the scope of participation.

Democratic procedure

Ideals of democratic procedure vary as well, from direct democracy, over strong popular control of representatives, to substantial delegation of decision-making competence to elected representatives.

Direct democracy has been criticised for leading to totalitarianism, in so far as (1) individuals become transformed to full-time 'citizens' being full time engaged in public decision-making; (2) all activities should be based on consensus leaving only little/no room for individual choice; (3) full participation in all decisions would make efficient governance impossible (Sørensen 1995).

The alternative is democracy based on either mandate or delegate representation:

Mandate representation: Representatives are granted very limited autonomy, as they are elected to advocate the viewpoints of the people who elected them. This ensures strong, popular control but may counteract holistic governance.

Delegate representation: When people elect representatives they also agree to delegate substantial decision-making competence to the representatives, who are then free to make decisions based on their own judgement. This relative independence of representatives is conceived to enhance a more holistic attitude towards governance, as representatives are not tied up to defending the particular interests of those who elected them, as is the case by mandate representation. Rather, representatives are expected to govern in the general interest of society as a whole. However, the aim of enhancing regulatory efficiency and a belief in professional solutions to political problems may tend to take over and advance dictatorship, either in form of technocracy or ever growing, centralised political leadership. Also, it is feared that delegate representation leads to uninformed decisions, as politicians are assumed to lose contact with those being involved and affected by the decisions and, hence, not get the necessary information (Sørensen 1995).

Obviously, the role of public participation varies according to the type of representation. In the case of direct democracy, active participation becomes the core of democracy. In the case of a mandate representation, participation is also essential from an integrative perspective (Pateman 1970), whereas from an aggegative perspective (Mill 1967) it is only necessary in so far as it strengthens individuals' chances of promoting own interests. In the case of delegate representation, public participation may be considered necessary to mitigate uninformed decision-making and technocracy, and, from an integration perspective, it is also essential in order to create and maintain legitimacy of actions.

Only few studies have explicitly used the democratic theories as a foundation for research on public participation in natural resources management. Among these are Moote et al. (1997) considering the implications of participatory democracy for public land planning, Wellmann & Tipple (1990) discussing the potentials for using direct democracy in public forestry, and Renn et al. (1995a) and Sköllerhorn (1998) using Habermas' theory of communicative action to, respectively, develop a model for evaluating public participation and to study environmental policy, and Pelletier et al.

(1999) testing the effects of deliberative democracy principles on participants viewpoints on the local food system before and after engagement in a participatory process.

2.5.4 The efficiency perspective

When we evaluate public participation we need to know what are the criteria of success. Whereas there may be agreement on the need for participation, there is most likely disagreement as to what is actually the goal of participation and how that goal can be measured. From a manager's perspective, it is interesting how public participation can be used to optimise forest management. As noticed by Lund (1997) this has been a vital part of the discourse forwarding participatory developing projects in the Third World, uncritically assuming a positive correlation between level of participation and successful development. Such assumptions should be challenged, e.g. in relation to current European forest policies forwarding participatory regional forest strategies or in relation to the extensive use of user boards in Danish society. For instance, Sørensen (1995) studied school boards to investigate whether there was a trade off between effective democracy and effective regulation. She found no trade off when taking a strict aggregate perspective where after democracy equals influence. On the other hand, she found an increasing institutional egoism, on the possible expense of sense of responsibility towards common societal interests. Moreover, she emphasised the need to involve the user board members more actively in the governing process. If this does not happen, she fears that the end result will be a strengthened administrative and professional system on behalf of the political system, i.e. weakening democracy.

We argue that efficiency of forest management can be measured both in terms of (1) the outcome (goods and benefits), (2) the related ecological, technological, social, and organisational processes (e.g. habitat disturbance, machinery failure, participation, working injuries), as well as (3) the structures determining forest management (e.g. professional skills, level of technology, financial resources, knowledge, vertical co-ordination with nursery or wood industries) (Boon and Helles 1999). In addition, we also believe that there is no 'one best way' to ensure sustainable forestry. This means that the participants or actors in a network related to forest management may likely disagree on the output of forest management, but also on the appropriate processes and structures to rely on. This basically implies that the end-means rationality is not sufficient when planning for sustainable forest management. Consequently, we need to broaden our definition of efficiency from conventional instrumental efficiency to also include institutional efficiency, based on value

rationality (Jørgensen & Melander 1992). Survival of the organisation (or, broader, the forest sector) may then become a value in itself, and where legitimacy is the keyword in relation to the surrounding society. Following this line of thought, output is not only: 'are we producing the right amount and quality', but: 'are we producing the right things?' Similarly, processes are not only 'having an optimal process in relation to producing output', but 'using acceptable processes, based on acceptable values'. Finally, structures are not only 'having optimal structures, considering our surroundings and the aimed output', but 'are our structures based on acceptable norms and values?' (Boon and Helles 1999). Table 2.2 provides an overview of different forms of forest management efficiency. If we want to evaluate how participation affects forest management efficiency, we could relate it to each of these forms of efficiency.

Table 2.2 Forest management efficiency

	Instrumental efficiency	Institutional efficiency (historical, legal, political legitimacy)
Output	*optimal output* wood, economy, recreation, biodiversity, groundwater, soil erosion, landscape aesthetics	*legitimate output* Marketable goods legitimated via market Immaterial goods required through law/rules, legitimated via pp/discourse
Process	*optimal process* Efficient use of time, money, labour, knowledge (including local), minimise failures and conflicts in order to have optimal output reach consensus/compromise	*legitimate process* Legitimacy of using pesticides, ploughing afforestation areas, work injuries, etc. Representative in relation to own organisation, to 'public', to law, transparency
Structure	*optimal structure* Efficient organisation structure in relation to exogenous factors and aimed output The right amount/quality of capital, knowledge, skills, technology, etc.	*Legitimate structure* Using the right technology, the right knowledge, the right values, the right capital, having right ownership, right interpretation of law, right certification

From the instrumental efficiency perspective, public participation in forest management is (1) a means to reach an optimal output of goods and services, e.g. by use of preference surveys; (2) a means to avoid resource demanding conflicts; (3) a way of acquiring (local) knowledge on the forest area or volunteer assistance in daily work, all in order to have an optimal output of forest goods and benefits.

From the institutional efficiency perspective, public participation in forest management planning (4) serves to provide a legitimate and maybe optimal output of goods and benefits; (5) can be a means to reach legitimate processes (e.g. discussing whether the use of pesticides, and size of clear-cuts, etc. is acceptable); (6) becomes an end in itself, when participatory structures provide legitimacy to society.

Stepping out of the manager's perspective we may want to know, not the effect of participation on forest management efficiency, but the efficiency of the participation process as such (Chess & Purcell 1999). In a sense, it is included in the forest management efficiency perspective, as far as it

is part of an *optimal/legitimate forest management process.* However, in order not to blur the picture, it should be mentioned separately. Efficiency of the participation process would focus on issues like representativity, fairness, information exchange, group process and procedures for communication (Chess and Purcell 1999). Research on this topic within environmental politics is new, but rapidly growing (e.g. Tuler and Webler 1999; Renn et al. 1995a; Renn 1999; Burkardt et al. 1998; Sköllerhorn 1998).

2.5.5 The regulation perspective - how to implement a mode of behaviour?

The regulation perspective focuses on how to implement a particular mode of behaviour and how to make a legitimate regulation. As discussed for efficiency above, one can distinguish between an instrumental and an institutional perspective to forest management. Moreover, one can think of regulation in various ways. Sørensen (1995) distinguishes between (1) *regulation by self adjustment* and maintenance of equilibrium within closed systems, and (2) *intentional regulation* with an intentionally acting subject as the driving force behind the regulating activity. By combining these two types with the instrumental versus the institutional perspective she ends up with a typology of four different types of regulation, as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Typology for different types of regulation

Form Substance	Regulation as self adjustment	Intentional regulation
The instrumental perspective	The Invisible Hand Model (Adam Smith)	The Top-down Model (Max Weber)
The institutional perspective	The Community Model (Habermas)	The Bottom-up Model (B. Hjern and C. Hull)

Source: Sørensen (1995:50)

Regulation by self adjustment from an instrumental perspective is represented by Adam Smith's theory of the regulating capacity of the market economy, where actors with goal-oriented rationality strive at reaching goals optimally with efficient use of resources. Relevance of participation is here limited to eventually communicating the non-marketed benefits of forests into the market, as through certification of wood from sustainable managed forests. Ideally then, citizens gains influence on forest management by choosing what products to consume, as 'political consumers'.

Jürgen Habermas' theory about communicative rationality is taking an institutional perspective, but is also based on an idea of self adjusting systems, however focused on the production of social norms in the life world (Habermas 1984). Here, participation is the core element in regulation, as it assumes citizens ability and will to enter a 'sincere and deliberate dialogue'.

Max Weber's top-down model represents the classical view on regulation in political science, developed as a tool with which political leaders can implement their goals. Legal authority is seen as the key to transform political authority into administrative sets and hierarchies of rules, a bureaucracy. Bureaucracy institutionalises a separation of policy formulation and policy implementation, and it formalises and rationalises the implementation process to the extreme. The ideal model of a bureaucracy is a machine: all actions should be predetermined through a detailed distribution of tasks and controlled through a strictly hierarchical distribution of competence (Sørensen 1995). The problem is that reality is not strictly rational, so bureaucratic control happens to be at the expense of reaching the desired goals. Therefore, it has been tried to develop a regulating apparatus that is better at solving policy problems, at actually reaching the goals. This is what is also increasingly seen in European forest management by, e.g. the use of voluntary agreements between public authorities and private land owners.

Clearly, the role of public participation within such a top-down system is limited in terms of power redistribution, whereas it may have prospects for improving the system's ability to reach the goals, partly by creating and sustaining public support of the system as well through local or scientific advice to the system.

As the ultimate alternative, Sørensen (1995) suggests a bottom-up model of regulation, taking an institutional perspective and relying on intentional action. As opposed to the top-down model, the bottom-up model relies on the individual, not the organisation, as the basic unity of action, and intentionality is not tied to leadership but is linked to every single individual involved in the process of regulation. This fourth category of regulation seems to have less firm theoretical grounding than the other, but it is relevant to study, as it seems to quite well characterise today's types of regulation, also in European forestry, as they mostly take place in co-operation between a number of

organisations at various levels, and not one autonomous organisation. Further, informal phenomena such as motivation, mutual understanding and normative integration in an organisation become crucial for the realisation of successful regulation. As proponents of this type of regulation, Hjern & Hull (1984) claim that goal formulation and selection of means should be produced in a dialogue between all those involved in the regulatory process. Hierarchical relations may still exist, not a priori related to formal organisational features, but emerging in the informal relationship between the individual members of an organisation. Where the other three types of regulation rely on each their type of rationality, this bottom-up mode of regulation is suggested to advocate the use of empirical studies of actual regulation processes to uncover the many conditions and causes influencing a specific regulatory process.

Each of the four models of regulation and the related rationalities may continuously be justified within the particular social subsystem for which they have been developed. It is the application of one particular rationality and model of regulation to all societal spheres that could be criticised. On the other hand, choosing a bottom-up model of regulation with no standard 'rules of regulation', no basic rationality, implies the risk that it never moves beyond tradition.

2.5.6 What can we learn from the different ways of approaching public participation?

In this chapter, five different types of analytical framework for studying participation have been presented, each of which contains internal contrasts. At the same time, all the perspectives presented are related, and the contrast between an instrumental versus an institutional perspective appears in all of them: The democracy perspective inevitably deals with power and efficiency, as the aggregative democracy perspective is closely related to the instrumental efficiency perspective, whereas the integrative democracy perspective is closely related to an institutional efficiency perspective and a structural power perspective. Similarly, the regulation perspective focuses on the 'output' side of democracy and is also comparable to the efficiency perspective.

Still, it may be beneficial to take the different perspectives in order to also recognise the differences. One example: Voluntary agreements are increasingly used as a means in current Nordic forest policy, e.g. to enhance biodiversity of private forests as in Sweden or to enhance private

afforestation as in Iceland. From a regulation perspective, voluntary agreements between public forest authorities and private forest owners may improve bureaucracy's chance of reaching the political goals. However, from an integrative democracy perspective, voluntary agreements tend to privatise what should be public decision-making and management of public funds and hence makes it inaccessible to participation by the public at broad.

Considering the different perspectives for studying public participation in forest policy and management, our ambition has been (1) to show the major potential for gaining interesting, new knowledge on the nature of participation, by deliberately drawing on political theory, (2) to stress the need for public participation researchers to identify their own values and ideological positions and how it relates to their research approach and implications for results. By doing so, the potential for comparing different studies across political cultures, nations etc. is greatly improved. As suggested by Shannon et al (1996) science advocacy is inevitable, so we should deal with it. A first step could be reflection of own political attitudes and beliefs before designing the next research project.

Appendix 2.1 Categorisation of participation according to level of planning and policy making

Figure Fejl! Ukendt argument for parameter. **- Types of public involvement processes**

	1. Forest policies programmes, plans	2. Promotion of specific forest projects	3. Public audits of projects/practices	4. Advisory boards / permanent councils
National level	– National forest programmes or strategies [**E**, **F**, **FIN**, **IRL**] – Definition of National SFM Standards [IRL UK] – Forest Council of the Forest Act [DK] – Framework for public involvement in forest management [**RUS**]	– Forest education and awareness raising projects [**P**]	– Environmental or/and Social Impact Assessment [DK, IRL, UK, USA] – The Nature Complaints Board [DK] – Public audits of private enterprises [P] – Citizens' Juries [UK]	– Forest council and advisory boards or commissions [DK, E, F] – Round table with forest industry, environmental groups [FIN] – User Councils (State level) [**DK**]
Regional Level	– Long-term regional forest planning [B, **CH**, F, FIN, H, P] – Regional natural resources planning [F, **FIN**- state forest] – Landscape ecosystem-level planning [FIN-state forest, USA]	– Planning and implementation of afforestation programs/projects [DK, **IC**, IRL, **SK**, UK]	– Allocation of public grants and subsidies for specific forestry operations [IRL, UK]	– Advisory boards for specific projects or areas [DK, FIN] – Regional forestry commission [F] – Permanent advisory councils on forests and nature [B]
Local level	– Management planning at FMU level [B, FIN, SK] – Nature protection and recreation planning [FIN] – Estate planning for the use of local state owned shore [FIN] – Management of community woodlands [F, FIN, UK] – City and communal land and forest use planning [**FIN**]	– Grouping of private forest owners [B] – Regulation for forest contractors/ round-wood merchants [B] – Creation of new forest zones in urban areas [**B**] – Partnership for the provision of local amenities [**IRL**] – Prevention of forest fires [**P**] – Crofters forestry schemes [**UK**]	– Allocation of public grants and subsidies for specific forestry operations [IC, IRL, UK]	– Partnership with users' organisations [**B**] – Case of public discontent [UK] – Community based management [F, FIN-Sami I, UK]

From: ILO (2000:22).

34

Appendix. 2.2 Brief description of different consultation methods

Collaborative learning

The collaborative learning method aims at establishing consensus solutions through participation. The method is founded on the *integrative* viewpoint (republican tradition) assuming that the substance of democracy concerns the modification of people's interests and the emergence of new, common interests and understandings through dialogue. Hereby, a real consensus solution becomes an option.

Buttoud (1999) notices that the public authority is socially in charge of leading to this consensus product. Further, he finds, that the approach is used for planning formulation by regional and local forest services when they have to propose or make decisions that need legitimisation from a sufficient degree of stakeholders' participation.

The method is to promote an open discussion through asking everybody to express his or her own opinion on principles, analysis of the present situation, needs for changes, and new objectives and means. The ambition is to give all participants full access to information and the opportunity to participate in dialogue about the resolution of issues. Public enquiries are the main technique for collecting additional information from people. It can be completed by workshops where participants discuss this information, acting as advisory committee. Buttoud (1999) argues that the method is much used when the main objective of the public authority is to restrict the participatory process to an information bow, as he finds that it is theoretically and practically impossible to draw decisions for a compromise using such a method.

Literature about collaborative learning: Buttoud (1999), Daniels & Walker (1996a; 1996b; 1998), Wilson & Morren (1990).

'Mutual gain' method

Buttoud (1999) describes a 'mutual gains' method based on the hypothesis that co-operation among actors is the only way to get a compromise, and that only gains (or benefits) are additive. This means that the best solution for the community is the situation when the sum of the individual gains is the most important. Buttoud writes: " in this approach participants are invited to consider what they can effectively gain from the implementation of possible alternative compromising (or not compromising) solutions proposed by the administration. On the basis of positions expressed in a participatory way and discussed in workshops, the facilitator submits to the representatives some alternative decisions which can bring a compromise, and asks each of the participants to consider the benefits drawn from the related solutions. The final solution is that on which most of the participants draw benefits. This method is successful when the problems to solve are very concrete ones (especially at the local level) and when the related needs for changes are not all expressed by formal interest groups (as for the role of forest in rural development). The constraints and limits are numerous: a) first, it may lead to a very directive management of workshops by facilitators (especially when they come form administrative structures), who are in an easy position to give the answers instead of asking the participants: b) this approach is not relevant as soon as the problems to be discussed concern public goods and services (externalities,

abstract or ethic, anyway unappreciable gains) which is the case in forestry field, especially concerning the environemntal benefits. The method is sometimes used to explain to participants - considered as passive ones - the benefits which can be drawn by the community in case of retaining a solution previously conceived by the public authority solution and proposed for discussion through the workshops" (Buttoud 1999:8).

'The community of interests' method
The 'community of interests' method is based on an aggregate perspective to democracy, where participants' motivation to participate stem from the opportunity to look after individual interests. The method is initiated with an expert study to clarify and express the various interests in a comprehensive and systemic way, based on enquiries of the main representatives from the interest groups. Based on this, workshops identify the common interests from the various positions, and the strategic lines for policy and planning are defined, based on these common interests. Buttoud (1999) finds that the method is easy and rapid, but its weakness is, that it often relies on typologies of interests, on principles, and not on real life positions and facts. Moreover, often participation in such a procedure is conceived in a way that can restrict the concrete role of stakeholders and, hence, they may be less likely to accept/acknowledge the resulting solution.

Literature: Daniels & Walker (1998), Sirmon et al. (1993).

The environmental mediation method and the scenario workshop
The idea of the scenario workshop is to have a group consisting of policy makers, business representatives, experts and citizens, to discuss possible solutions to a specific problem, based on scenarios worked out in advance of the workshop (Andersen & Jæger 1999). The environmental mediation method can be considered a sector specific version of this. The aim of the environmental mediation method is to make people negotiate and agree on a long-term perspective a vision, that then also is officially approved by the forest authority as the goal of forest planning (Buttoud 1999). All disputable items related to different future scenarios are discussed by the various participants, but in an abstract way. Buttoud (1999) mentions the following possible topics in such seminars/workshops: (a) the future situation of forestry; (b) the related incidences of the way forest is managed; (c) the related incidences of the way the decisions are to be taken, e.g. empowerment of some (new) stakeholders. In theory, the negotiation and the solution is therefore not related to present problems but to prospective viewpoints. Buttoud notices that it can be a problem for participants to keep apart present and future problems and issues and that such abstract discussions require a skilled facilitator.

The '4R method'
The '4R method' is based on the assumption that co-operation among actors only come from a balance in power among these actors and any imbalance is identical with a conflict, either leading to a situation of competition (dependence or domination) or disengagement (escape or passive, objective agreement). The aim of the method is therefore to analyse the role of each interest group in a given decision process/system, where the main variables to characterise the role of

each interest group are: rights, responsibilities, revenues, and relations. By comparing the different roles for each interest group and their interrelationships, eventual incoherences are identified as the problems to focus at. Usually, this is done as an expert analysis. Hence, the method can be used in case of unexpressed positions or absence of formal representation of local groups. However, as noticed by Buttoud (1999) the concept of balance is very subjective and therefore may give the public authority a central role in ordering the solution.

The 'constructive confrontation' method
Buttoud (1999) outlines the method in brief:

This method is based on the hypothesis that divergences in opinion are more important in a negotiation than common positions for determining the solution. Consequently, the method aims at making each participant separately express their viewpoints, so that the various disputable issues are listed and treated separately. Hereafter, the issues and the various viewpoints are discussed at meetings among all participants, ultimately leading to negotiating a compromise on each of the disputable issues. Technically, each viewpoint expressed by individual participants is classified into a typology that distinguishes between positions which are commonly compatible, positions that may be compatible under certain conditions and, finally, positions that seem incompatible. Some framework conditions for the method are established and agreed upon prior to the process and typically, cards on boards are used to facilitate the process, in order to guarantee that everybody gets a chance to express themselves. The procedure for choosing issues is that the issues expressed but not disputed in meetings are considered as admitted as possible solutions by the community of participants, independently of their coherence with other issues. Incompatible positions are generally excluded from the discussion and left out of concern. Buttoud (1999) finds that the method may be relevant where all participants agree with the public authority on the need for change, as it deals concretely with the problems to solve. However, in case of many disputable issues, it can become a resource demanding process and negotiation of the individual issues does not necessarily lead to a coherent, final solution.

Literature: Burgess & Burgess (1996), Daniels & Walker (1998)

Consensus conferences, the informed consensus approach
The consensus conferences is a process that allows ordinary citizens to be involved in the assessment of complex issues, e.g. technology assessment. The conference is based on a dialogue between experts and citizens, resulting in a written report on the consensus or non-consensus achieve. The conference is open to the public and the media. A citizen panel of about 14 people is introduced to the topic by a professional facilitator. The panel formulate the questions to be debated at the conference, and they take part in selecting the experts to answer them. The expert panel is composed in such a way that opposing views and professional conflicts can emerge and be discussed at the conference. During the conference, the experts provide answers to the questions, followed by questions and discussion among participants. Hereafter, the citizen panel write their report and, finally, present it to the experts and the audience, in order to correct any factual errors. The process is governed by an advisory/planning committee, who has the overall responsibility of

making sure that all rules of a democratic, fair and transparent process are followed (Andersen & Jæger 1999; Agersnap 1992; Coninck et al. 1999).

Deliberative polls, Citizen Panels, and Planning Cells
Deliberative polls (Hansen 2000; Price & Neijens 1998), Citizen Panels (Crosby 1986), and Planning Cells (Dienel & Renn 1995) are similar methods, all aimed at bringing together citizens' preferences, political and stakeholders' interests, and the expert knowledge of specialists into a coherent outcome. The methods aim at ensuring representativity as well as deliberation (Hansen 2000). In the following, deliberative polls are described.

Deliberative poll is a representative sample of the population being gathered in a forum (eventually paid), where they, based on common information and facilitated by a moderator, can discuss with each other, politicians and experts about a given subject. Participants are asked their opinion on the subject before entering the poll, at the beginning of the poll, and at the end of the poll (Hansen 2000).

In detail, the poll is structured as: (a) A representative sample of the population (demography) is chosen and they are posed a number of questions on a given subject. This can be by telephone interview or interview by visit; (b) A representative (demography and opinion) sample of these informants are invited to participate in a debate, and, if accept (c) the participants are provided with background information in advance of the debate/meeting; (d) When participants enter the meeting, the answer to yet a second survey; (e) group debates at meeting, among citizens, with moderator, (f) plenum debate where citizens can ask politicians and experts; (g) at end of meeting/poll, the participants fill out the third survey, including also evaluation of the process as such; (h) communication of results, keep the process as open to public as possible, in order to counteract skewed information or debate, etc. (Hansen 2000).

- The deliberative poll provides an expression of the whole populations' viewpoints as they would have looked like, if all citizens had been through a similar process. However, the deliberative poll is artificial as it creates an idealised forum for informed, deliberate, equal etc. debate among ideally composed participants. This is not the case in daily life.
- Moderators play a crucial role to facilitate a deliberate debate in such a forum. That is, a debate that advances responsiveness, mutual understanding, argumentation based on fairness more than nurturing own interests, and the opportunity to change opinion even it goes against a common norm about consistent argumentation. To be avoided is: manipulation, paternalism, groupthink, conformity during process.
- It may be hard to have enough individuals willing to participate in such a debate unless/even if they are being paid to participate. This was experienced by Hansen (2000).
- The information provided should be balanced, as it affects opinion.
- The poll can have an educative effect on participants.
- The poll may have an empowering effect on participants, maybe even recruit them to local politics.

- The poll may enhance the sense of responsibility among participants afterwards, either because they increasingly understand the arguments behind current policy, or because there have been built up some common values, that strengthen the feeling of being part of a local society (Hansen 2000:27).

- It should be noticed that the sample of participants may be representative to the population as such. They are, however, *not* the representatives of the population as there is no direct link between the population and the participants, such as is the case with elected politicians.

- It is argued (e.g. by Habermas) that deliberation creates consensus. This was also found by Hansen (2000), both within the individual groups of participants debating as well as among participants as a whole. This could partly be explained by participants having read the same background information, but only partly.

Literature: Crosby et al. (1986); Dienel & Renn (1995); Hansen (2000); Offerdal & Aars (1998); Price & Neijens (1998).

3

The emergence of public participation in Danish and international forest policy

Chapter 3 analyses how 'public participation' has emerged as a concept in Danish forest policy formulation. We will show that public participation in Danish forestry results from a top-down as well as a bottom-up process. Section 3.1 describes the history of public participation in international forest policies, which were gradually introduced in Denmark, resulting in a top-down introduction of public participation in Danish forestry policy, as outlined in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 describes the bottom-up process, as the Danish grassroots organisations and the public gradually became more involved in Danish forestry policy. Section 3.4 summarises and concludes on the converging trends of the three developments.

3.1 The emergence of participation in international forest policy

The first efforts to introduce public participation as a concept in forest policy were related to tropical forest policies. Until about the 1970s, tropical forest policy concentrated on industrial forestry and plantations. These management forms were also seen as means to improve welfare in less developed countries, including the welfare of the poor. According to Hobley (1996), however, this policy failed for several reasons. First, the oil crises in 1973 and the subsequent economic crises showed that industrialisation does not necessarily lead to social or economic development in developing countries. As a result, development policy shifted its focus towards rural and urban poverty, and especially on the sustenance of basic needs. Second, energy dependence revealed the linkages between people's need for fuelwood and the rapidly decreasing forest resources, predicting a future disastrous lack of fuelwood and, consequently, a serious threat to millions of people's livelihood. Third, the modernisation theories of that period increased the gap between rich and poor rather than improving the welfare of the poor (Hobley 1996).

UN Conference on the Human Environment

As a parallel to this, the first UN conference on the Human Environment in 1972 focused on sustaining the environment for the well-being of present and future generations, as reflected in the Stockholm Declaration (UNCHE 1972). The Stockholm declaration does not consider participation as a distinct means or end in environmental policy. It is considered that the environmental goal should be reached through local and national governments' large-scale environmental policy and action (preamble 7) by means of rational planning (principles 2, 13-15) carried out by appropriate national institutions (principle 17) and supported by science and technology (principles 18, 20). Moreover, it is considered, that international co-operation among nations and among international organisations is needed to solve the global problems. The task of citizens and communities is only commented as the need for "acceptance of responsibility by citizens and communities and by enterprises and institutions at every level; all sharing equitably in common efforts. Individuals in all walks of life as well as organizations in many fields, by their values and the sum of their actions, will shape the world environment of the future" (preamble 7). Finally, environmental education and environmental information in the mass media are considered "essential in order to broaden the basis for an enlightened opinion and responsible conduct by individuals, enterprises and communities in protecting and improving the environment" (principle 19).

In the 1970s, however, a range of international policy initiatives began to introduce concepts of public participation.

Social forestry

In the late 1970s, Westoby (1979) proposed a new approach to forest management, known as 'social forestry', embracing notions of communal action by rural people. FAO also supported the model of social forestry, which it entitled 'Forestry for Local Community Development'. According to FAO (1978), its objective of 'Forestry for Local Community Development' is "to raise the standard of living of the rural dweller, to involve him in the decision making processes which affect his very existence and to transform him into a dynamic citizen capable of contributing to a larger range of activities than he was used to and of which he will be the direct beneficiary". Accordingly, FAO introduced a major programme to help the development of community forestry programmes around the world. Likewise, World Bank-projects increasingly focused on forestry that could fulfil local needs rather than industrial forestry (World Bank 1978). Thus, participatory forestry emerged as a new practice for

tropical forestry development, and was promoted by international organisations as social forestry and community forestry or joint forest management. The participatory content in the implementation varied a lot, though. Some early social forestry programmes reduced participants to provide paid labour. Also, the concepts had overlapping meanings and a concept like community forestry had different meanings in different contexts, e.g. Nepal and Tanzania. It is therefore inadequate to try and separate the different concepts in distinct categories (Fisher 1995).

UN Conference on Environment and Development

In 1992, the United Nations held a Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, based on the Brundtland Report 'Our Common Future' (UN 1987). UNCED was the successor to the first UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 and was likewise concerned about an environment that will sustain the needs of present and future generations, reformulated as a 'sustainable development'. Both conferences put human beings at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. However, whereas the Stockholm Declaration of 1972 relied much on rational planning, the UNCED documents (Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, Forest Principles, Biodiversity Convention, Convention on Climate Change) revealed a much stronger emphasis on the role of people's participation to reach the environmental goal. For example, the Rio Declaration (UNCED 1992a) stresses the need for public access to environmental information and to participate in decision-making processes in general (principle 10 in the Rio Declaration); the role of women (principle 20); and indigenous people and communities and their related knowledge and traditional practices (principle 22).

Agenda 21

Another important result of the UNCED was the Agenda 21, which is a global action plan for sustainable development (UNCED 1992b). Agenda 21 emphasises participation and local action, including co-operation among actors and the participation of various actors to ensure sustainable development. Agenda 21 also mentions various benefits of participation (see Appendix 1a for an overview of these benefits). Agenda 21, chapter 11 is especially concerned with people's participation in relation to the combat of deforestation. The basic ideas is that participation may enable local communities, forest dwellers and indigenous people to defend their legal and traditional land use and tenure rights as opposed to timber concessionaires that have an agreement with the state. In addition, participation may help to

combat deforestation and forest degradation caused by local communities, assuming that power redistribution will enhance communities' responsibility towards forest conservation (see also Appendix 3.1a).

Forest Principles

The non-legally binding 'Forest Principles' (UNCED 1992c) concerns the institutional arrangements, such as participation, to facilitate sustainable development of forest resources. The Forest Principles especially refer to the distribution of costs and benefits of forest management at a local level among indigenous people communities and other communities, and the distribution of costs and benefits at a local, national and international scale. Also, the Forest Principles notice the value of indigenous capacity and local knowledge as a means to sustainable forest management (see Appendix 3.1b for more details).

Biodiversity Convention and Convention on Climate Change

Participation is briefly mentioned in the Biodiversity Convention (UNCED 1992d) and the Climate Convention (UNCED 1992e). The Biodiversity Convention is concerned with the distributional consequences of biodiversity conservation and management (e.g. gene resources transfer) at a national level. Also, the Biodiversity Convention deals with the importance of knowing the relationship between local knowledge and forest management practices and biodiversity conservation. Nevertheless, actual participation of stakeholders at a local level is only mentioned briefly in the Biodiversity Convention. Basically, the Convention recognises the relationship between indigenous and local communities, local knowledge and biodiversity conservation, and the need for full participation of women at all levels of policy making and implementation for biodiversity conservation. However, the Convention is very little specific about how participation can be achieved (see Appendix 3.1c). The Climate Convention is mainly concerned with participation and environmental awareness as a means to manage and counteract climate change.

Summing up on UNCED declarations

Apparently, participation has taken a major step from the 1972 Stockholm Declaration towards the various 1992 UNCED declarations. Participation was genuinely introduced on the political agenda and became an integral part of many UNCED agreements. Nevertheless, in binding conventions, such as the Biodiversity Convention and the Convention on Climate Change, participation is primarily considered as a means to inform and advice the public and

make them accept and adopt the 'necessary' changes to conserve biodiversity, mitigate climate change, respectively, rather than true participation in forest or environmental policy.

Intergovernmental Panel on Forests

As a global follow-up to the UNCED, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) established an Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF) for the period 1995-1997. The task of the IPF was to promote national progress in implementing the Forest Principles and the forestry aspects in Agenda 21. IPF aimed at "an open, transparent and participatory process involving governments and all interested parties, including major groups, particularly indigenous people and local communities" (UN-CSD 1995). The final report recommended a number of participatory mechanisms for all interested parties in the development and implementation of National Forest Programmes and in the development of strategies to combat deforestation. In addition, IPF also recommended decentralisation and empowerment of regional and local governments, recognition and respect for traditional rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, forest dwellers, forest owners, secure land tenure arrangements, and establishment of effective co-ordination mechanisms and conflict-resolution schemes (IPF 1997)(For more details, see Appendix 3.1d).

The IPF was followed by an Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF), working towards the formulation of a global forest convention. The preliminary recommendations of these meetings (IFF 1999) can be found in Appendix 3.1e. Contrary to the aforementioned intergovernmental conferences, both the IPF and IFF documents are concerned with partnership, i.e. co-operation among stakeholders with a more balanced distribution of power and resources than is indicated by 'participation'.

Other tropical forest policies

Participation is also a constitutive element in efforts towards operationalisation of sustainable forest management and certification systems, such as the initiatives of the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) and Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) to develop criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management. ITTO was established in 1983 with the International Tropical Timber Agreement. This agreement did not mention any kind of participation for indigenous people or local communities (ITTO 1983). In 1990, however, ITTO developed guidelines for sustainable management of tropical forests, even before the UNCED was held (ITTO 1990). In 1992, ITTO developed criteria and indicators for

sustainable forest management (ITTO 1992), which were revised in 1999 (ITTO 1999). These criteria and indicators also include considerations about the relationship among actors, including participation (see Appendix 3.1f).

In 1994, The Forest Stewardship Council issued its first set of principles and criteria for forest areas to be certified as sustainably managed (FSC 1994). They were slightly revised in 1999. These principles and criteria have a concern for local communities and indigenous people, maintaining control with legal or customary tenure or use rights, for mechanisms to resolve disputes over these rights, and grievances caused by loss or damage affecting the legal or customary rights, property, resources, or livelihoods of local peoples. According to the FSC principles and criteria, forest management plans and monitoring systems should be established and summaries should be made publicly available.

European follow-up to the UNCED
The UNCED documents were not limited to tropical forests only, but concerned all types of forests in the world, including European forests. In the European follow up to the obligations following the UNCED, public participation was also part of the task. Already in 1990, the European ministers on forestry agreed to co-operate on the protection and sustainable use of European forests (Strasbourg conference). This co-operation was mainly initiated by the growing decline of European forests. The ministers passed six resolutions and a general declaration, all concerned with the technical-environmental improvement of forest health and vitality. However, social aspects were not considered.

In 1993, following the Strasbourg conference as well as UNCED, the second ministerial conference in Helsinki adopted four resolutions, known as H1-H4, concerning the protection of forests in Europe. Participatory aspects are found in H1, about sustainable management of European forests, and in H2, about conservation of biodiversity. H1 and H2 were mainly devoted to improving the biodiversity of European forests, by introducing more 'close to nature' forest management. The societal concerns are restricted to efforts supporting improved biodiversity and improved financial conditions within forestry (MCPFE 1995a) (See Appendix 3.1g).

The third ministerial conference on the protection of forests in Europe, in 1998 in Lisbon, focused on the social aspects of European forestry (MCPFE 1998a; 1998b). The Conference

adopted two resolutions, known as L1 and L2, based on the work made in the FAO/ECE/ILO report 'People, Forests and Sustainability. Social Elements of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) in Europe' (ILO 1997). The expert group behind this report pointed at five essential social elements, because "current trends alone are most unlikely to yield outcomes conducive to SFM" (ILO 1997:29). One of these five elements concerns participation: "to create a climate of trust and confidence with people, listen to them, raise their awareness of forest issues, re-establish their contacts with forests and trees and foster communication and participation" (ILO 1997:29).

Resolution L1 ('People, forests and forestry enhancement of socio-economic aspects of sustainable forest management') refers to the relationship between forests and society, and how forests may contribute to the quality of life, in particular the role of forests in rural development (MCPFE 1998a). The resolution emphasises the need for increased dialogue between the forest sector and the general public to define widely accepted objectives for forest policy. Also, resolution L1 points at the need and obligation to enhance participation, transparency and education in order to raise awareness about sustainable forest management and the role of forests/forestry in sustainable development. (See Appendix 3.1h).

Resolution L2 ('Pan-European criteria, indicators and operational level guidelines for sustainable forest management'), however, refers only slightly to participation. None of the quantitative criteria and indicators or the suggested operational level guidelines for forest management demand for participation (MCPFE 1998b). Only one operational level guideline states that "Forest management practices should make the best use of local forest related experience and knowledge, such as of local communities, forest owners, NGOs and local people". A guideline about public participation at a local level was included in the preparatory material (MCPFE 1997), but is not present in the final version[1]. At an overall level, however, the signatory states commit themselves to "encourage the adaptation of the "Pan-European Level Operational Level Guidelines for Sustainable Forest Management" to the specific national, sub-national and local economic, ecological, social and cultural conditions, with the participation of the interested parties." (See Appendix 3.1h).

---

[1] Proposed guideline:"With due regard to the decision making of the land owner, the public participation and transparency should be encouraged in forest management planning, where appropriate" (MCPFE 1997)

Forestry strategy of the European Union

The EU forestry strategy barely mentions participation. It is concerned with the role of forests in rural development, following the intentions of the Agenda 2000. The relevance of participation is only mentioned in relation to developing countries' forest management, designation of protected areas, and forest certification (EU 1998).

Convention on access to environmental information and public participation

In 1998, the European Ministers on the Environment met in Aarhus, Denmark to agree on a Convention on access to environmental information and public participation in environmental decision-making. The convention encompasses a broad definition of the environment. That makes the convention relevant to forestry, even though forests are not specifically mentioned. However, the convention is vague and complicated to read, even say understand, which must be considered unfortunate for a convention arguing for access to information and transparent policy processes!

The so-called 'Aarhus Convention', is entirely devoted to obliging the signatory states to "guarantee the rights of access to environmental information, public participation in environmental decision-making, and access to justice" (Article 1) in accordance with a number of specified rules.

The convention is divided in three main parts.

- Articles 2.3, 4, and 5 oblige the public authorities of the signatory countries to actively collect, make available and disseminate information about the environment, the latter understood in a very broad sense.

- The second part demands access for citizens to participate in environmental decision-making in relation to specified activities, as well as in general in relation to plans, programmes, and policies related to the environment.

- The third part relates to the right of citizens to appeal decisions and/or have them tested by the court. This right pertains to three situations, (1) the access to public information on the environment; (2) questions pertaining to the right to participate in decision-making about establishment of new activities that may be polluting; (3) a general declaration about the access of citizens to raise a case or appeal questions related to legislation on environment, nature and planning, where the individual nations decide who is to have this right. That is, the convention as such does not automatically give all citizens a right to raise a case or complaints (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999a).

Summing up

From international forest policy, there are very few legally binding international obligations for Danish forest policy to involve public participation as an explicit element. There are many recommendations for participation that could be referred to, though. The different objectives of participation mentioned in the international declarations and agreements are outlined in Table 3.1 and summarised below.

The need for participation in tropical forestry is motivated by an aim to ensure development and improved livelihood for those worst off, along with nature conservation, sustainable development. In other words, it is believed that it is possible to find an overlap between improved livelihood of the individual and sustained natural resources for society. Industrial forestry and rational, expert-based planning appeared not to provide the key to the solution. Instead, four assumptions paved the way for participation. It was assumed that involving people to manage the environment, including access to decision-making about environmental use, facilitates wise use of resources, as, firstly, resource users are likely to follow environmentally benign practices when they have decided on, or at least consented to, resource management regimes. Second, as resource users people often have valuable local knowledge which can contribute to environmentally appropriate management practices. Third, it was assumed that development and conservation goals are not necessarily antagonistic. Fourth, it was assumed that local people are ready to commit themselves to some level of participation or collaboration in environmental management.

Finally, the whole problem complex in tropical forestry derives from major shifts in tenure rights. In many countries, traditional (indigenous and local) tenure systems abruptly shifted to state control, as e.g. the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand (Poffenberger 1990, Fisher 1995). With the emerging global environmental policy, new global actors claimed tenure rights to the tropical forests as sources of biodiversity and as sinks for carbon dioxide. From that perspective, the introduction of participation could be considered an opportunity for local users to regain control over lost rights, and in its continuation, participation can be considered a forum for negotiating and compromising among the different (claims for) tenure rights to a given land.

The possible role of participation for negotiating and redistributing tenure rights may explain why the appearance of participation in the international conventions and agreements may best be described as "the non-legally required good intentions on participation". The Agenda 21, the Forest Principles, The Intergovernmental Panel on forests are all concerned and explicit about people's participation. The legally binding conventions, however, i.e. the Biodiversity Convention, the Convention on Climate Change, the European Helsinki and Lisbon resolutions on European forests, are vague and barely set any requirements for participation. Whereas the former resolutions are concerned with policy content, the 1998 Convention on access to environmental information and public participation in environmental decision-making is specifically concerned with the environmental policy process, and it is legally binding, once it is ratified.

Table 3.1 International forest policy objectives and motivations for participation

Objectives/motivations for participation	References
Process-oriented objectives	
Enhancing participatory democracy through NGOs participation	(Ag21 27.1)
Ensure an open and non-discriminatory decision-making process	(IPF IV124, IV133 c&v)
Ensure a transparent decision-making process	(EU D4 on forest certification)
Tenure rights, distribution of costs and benefits	
Along with delegation of decision-power	(Agenda 21 8.5g)
Defend & recognise rights of local communities, indigenous people	(Ag 21 26.3) (ITTO action 34) (FSC 2.2, 3.1-3.4) (L2 suggested indicators 6.5, 6.25)
- and rights of women, i.e. a gender perspective	(Ag21 24.2-24.4, 8.5 g-h, FP 4b)
Ensure equitable distribution of incentives, costs and benefits among participants and, hence, ensure sustained timber production	(ITTO ch.4, pr.34).
Resolve disputes & grievances over legal, customary, tenure rights	(FSC 2.3, L2 suggested indicators 6.5)
Local knowledge and knowledge exchange	
Take into account traditional lifes-styles, local needs and values	(Ag21 11.13i, IPF ID46d)
Take account of local, traditional, forest-related knowledge	(IPF IA17e-g, IF58b vi)
- when developing new man. systems coping with techn.change & economic pressure	(IPF IC33, IC35, IC40)
Recognise, respect, record, introduce indigenous & local capacity & knowledge in SFM,	(FP 12d)
- authorities learn from local people through knowledge exchange	(Ag21 28.2-3)
- to facilitate exchange of information and technology	(BC art17, art18)
- to involve local people as their knowledge, practices affect biodiversity conservation	(BC art.8)
To enhance technology transfer & capacity-building	(IPF IIB77f)
And integrate research in forest planning	(IPF IA17e-g)
Environmental awareness	
Public and environmental awareness and support to sust. dev., forest or biodiversity conservation	(Ag21 8.10, Ag21 28.2-3, BC art. 13a-b, IFF IIDi8, IFF IId iii7, H1 12, L1 G guidelines 1, L1 part II Fut. act. 1-2, H2 7, L2 suggested indicators concerning public awareness 6.17-20)
- eventually by NGOs 'educating' the public	(Ag21 27.4)
Consensus-building	
Identify/create common purpose/widely accepted objectives of	
- environmentally sustainable development	(Ag21 27.2)
- forest policy	(IFF IId iii 7; L1 preamble D)
Sustainable forest management: development and nature conservation	
To promote a holistic approach to sust. dev. and SFM	(Ag21 11.1)
And ensure the integration of socio-economic and environmental issues	(Ag21 8.3)
To diversify the roles and functions of forests, promote non-wood forest products a.o. forms of forest resources apart from fuelwood, develop alternative management systems, offset pressures on fuelwood, old-growth forest, etc., and thus enhance SFM and environmental conservation	(Ag21 11.22 f)
	(Ag21 11.3, IPF ID46d)
To enhance SFM, combat deforestation, forest degradation, and strengthen fragile forest ecosystems	(IFF IIDi8, IFF IIDi2 & 4)
Resources, attract them and use them in effective way	
Attract resources for forest conservation	(IFF IId iii7)
To promote effective use of financial resources	(IFF II A6)
Other instrumental purposes, such as:	
- to ensure forest conservation	(Ag21 11.13)
- pp in planted forests & agric. crops to offset pressure on old-growth forests	(FP 6d)
- to choose research priorities	(IPF IIIB93b)
- to develop national C&I	(IPF IIID115 a-b)

- in certification schemes		(IPF IV124, IV133 c & v, EU section D 4)
- in international forest policy dialogue		(IPF V139 & 143 & 145)
- in National Forest Programmes		(IFF I9 e-g)
- in forest related technology development		(IFF IIC4)
- for biodiversity conservation		(EU section D 1B)
- to implement Pan-Europ. Operational Level Guidelines for SFM		(L2 7)

Abbreviations:

AG21	Agenda 21
AG21 11	Agenda 21, chapter 11 'combating deforestation'
IPF	Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, report from its final (fourth) meeting
IFF	Intergovernmental Forum on Forets, report from its third meeting
ITTO	ITTO Principles and Criteria for sustainable forest management, 1992
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council Principles for sustainable forest management 1994
L1 Lisbon Resolution L1	
L2 Lisbon Resolution L2	

The different objectives of participation can be categorised according to how they affect management efficiency, similar to Table 2.2 in Chapter 2, on participation as a means to reach instrumental versus institutional efficiency.

Table 3.2   International objectives of participation, related to forest man. efficiency

	Instrumental efficiency	Institutional efficiency (historical, legal, political legitimacy)
Output	*optimal output* PP to enhance sustainable forest management, combat deforestation, ensure forest and biodiversity conservation, choose research priorities, develop national criteria and indicators, NFP, to diversify the multiple roles and functions of forests	*legitimate output* PP to create a common purpose towards Sust. Development/ SFM/forest policy. (close connected to creating environmental awareness/support)
Process	*optimal process* PP for effective use of financial resources PP to integrate/use local knowledge and research in forest planning PP for conflict resolution	*legitimate process* PP to defend rights of indigenous p., local communities, women etc. PP to enhance participatory democracy, to ensure a fair, open, non-discriminatory, transparent process. PP as an end in itself: pp in developing national criteria and indicators, in NFP, in certification schemes, forest related technical development, etc.
Structure	*optimal structure* PP to create public awareness and support for forest conservation PP along with delegation of decision-power. PP to attract (public) resources PP to get local knowledge, to strengthen technology transfer and capacity-building	*legitimate structure* PP to recognise and respect local, traditional knowledge, take account of traditional life-styles and of local needs and cultural values PP to have a legitimate NFP, certification scheme etc.

3.2 The emergence of participation in Danish forest policy debate

-1970s Production forests

The earliest Danish forest related regulations appeared during the 17th century's late autocracy. It was often quite detailed rules about silviculture, thinning, illegal cutting, goat management, taxes on farmers' pasture pigs in the forest, or employment of gamekeepers and forest officers. Together, these rules expressed the autocracy's forest policy (Fritzbøger 1994).

It was, however, the Forest Reserve Act of 1805, that today is considered the *constitution* of present forest policy, as it defines the relationship between forest as a private property and the forests as a collective good (Fritzbøger 1994). The fundamental rule was, that existing forests should remain as such. To ensure this, no grazing was allowed. Since then, Danish forest policy has traditionally been based on production oriented forestry, implemented by an increasingly well-educated and professionalised group of forest officers, forest rangers and forest supervisors (Fritzbøger 1994). As a consequence, the Act of 1805 formed the basis for gradual increment of the Danish forest area from 2 per cent of the land area towards around 10 per cent today.

Forest affairs belonged under the Ministry of Agriculture since its establishment in 1896. In 1911, a Directorate for State Forestry was established. In 1935, a production oriented Forest Act was launched and it was in force until 1989. In 1973, public forest affairs and administration of the Forest Act was transferred to the newly established Ministry of Environment. In 1975, the State Forest Directorate was renamed the Forest Agency, and a parallel Nature Preservation Agency was formed to deal with nature protection issues.

1970s-1980s Multiple use forest policy and corporate participation

During the 1970s-1990s, Danish forest policy changed from a production oriented perspective to a multiple use perspective. The Danish Nature Conservation Association made claims for conservation of the beech area, and the political party 'the radical left' in 1982 proposed a parliamentary decision on the issue, without success, however. Also, the political party 'socialistic peoples party' failed twice, in 1985-1986 to propose a new forest act. Finally, in

1989, a new Forest Act was adopted, that specifically emphasises the multiple-use concept of Danish forestry (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1990). The 1989 Forest Act should ensure that forests were managed to increase and improve wood production as well as concerns related to landscape, nature history, environment and recreation, in particular in public forests. Also, the 1989 Forest Act specified detailed production-oriented rules for 'good and multiple use forest management'. Bio-diversity concerns, however, were limited to the conservation of particular biotopes such as lakes, moors and oak shrub. This policy change was reflected in institutional changes already in 1987, when the two agencies, the Forest Agency and the Nature Preservation Agency were merged.

Along with the change from production-oriented forestry towards multiple use forestry, participation emerged as an issue in Danish forest policy debate. Initially, the concern was restricted to the need to inform the public to gain increased understanding and accept of forestry as a business. Also, it was recommended to establish a board of experts to advise the Minister on forestry affairs (Landbrugsministeriet 1986).

In 1987, The Ministry of Environment operationalised the need to inform the public by developing a system of nature guides, nature schools, visitors' centres, who issued information folders, and put up new shields and signs to direct the traffic in nature (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1990). Also, the state forest management planning process introduced a hearing of main contributors (i.e. national representatives of Danish Nature Conservation Association and the Outdoor Council and affected counties, since 1992 also municipalities) (Driftsplankontoret 1990; MR211097). In 1989, the Forest Act introduced Forest Councils to provide advice to the Minister on National forest policy making and on the administration of the Forest Act[2]. Also in 1989, the Nature Management Act introduced voluntary agreements between the authorities, private landowners and organisations concerning nature conservation and nature management. In 1990 a forest information programme, 'Skov-Info' aimed at forest owners' and forest managers' extension, was initiated by the Forest & Nature Agency (FNA), the Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute, Danish Forest Society, Danish Forestry Extension and Danish Land Development Service.

---

[2] The Forest Council replaced the Forest Board from the 1935 Act that was originally involved in administrative decisions but whose role had gradually changed to general, professional advice. The Forest Council have representatives from The Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries; Danish Forest Society; Danish Forestry Extension; Danish Land Development Service; Danish Nature Conservation Society; the Outdoor Council; and four members to represent forest and nature sciences, the Forest & Nature Agency, and the state forest districts.

NGO, business, ministerial and research representatives were gradually involved in advisory boards associated with legislation and schemes affecting forestry. Besides the Forest Act, this included nature management schemes (Board on Nature Management), administration of the Act on Nature Preservation (later Act on Nature Conservation) (Nature Conservation Board, later replaced by the 'wise men' in the Nature Council), and game management (Board on Game Management). Each Act included rights to appeal decisions made according to the Act, the rights being restricted to a narrow group, however.

1990s Sustainable forest management and biodiversity concerns
The international discussion about 'sustainable forest management' in the early 1990s (Rio declarations 1992, Helsinki resolutions 1994) gradually changed the perception of environmental conservation towards a 'close-to-nature-management' perspective, focusing on biodiversity. This is reflected in the 1994 Danish strategy for sustainable forest management (Miljøministeriet 1994; Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999b: 243-244). According to this strategy, biodiversity conservation should be integrated in forest management in terms of using indigenous, site adapted species, rely on natural regeneration, avoid or limit drainage and soil preparation, and leave wood for decay (Boon & Hollender 1996).

In 1996, the Ministry of Environment revised the Forest Act to better take into account the new view of 'sustainable forest management'. The Forest Act maintained the concept of 'good and multiple use forestry', because it "already today is synonymous with sustainable forestry" (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1996:243-244). The concept 'good and multiple use forest management' is further specified, in that the revised Act has been supplemented with rules giving priority to nature and environmental concerns. Obviously, it was perceived as if a stronger concern for biodiversity was the only thing lacking to ensure sustainable development. In other words, it was implicit, that the social dimension was taken into account already.

Again, the legal changes came after preceding institutional change, which provided the occasion for what had originally been labelled as a 'technical revision' of the Forest Act. In 1995, the remaining forestry affairs under the Ministry of Agriculture were transferred to what is now the Ministry of Environment and Energy. This included a range of subsidy schemes regarding afforestation, product innovation and improvement, and subsidies for

professional advice regarding forestry. Moreover, other affairs regarding private forestry, the education of forest technicians, and the Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute were tranferred to the ministry. Today, The FNA is responsible for administration and policy making on forestry, nature, raw materials, leisure and conservation of historical sites and buildings. The Department seems primarily to have a controlling and co-ordinating function, whereas serving the Minister and strategic development of forest policy and administration takes place at Agency level. Daily administration of the Forest Act takes place at the Forest Policy Division of the FNA and draft forest policy strategies are formulated here. The Forest Policy Division shares responsibility of international forest policy with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Administration of the Act and forest policy formulation take place with the help of the national Forest Council, see Section 3.1, and ad hoc groups of invited national stakeholders. The 25 State Forest Districts are responsible for looking after forest owners´ observance of the Act.

As compared to earlier, the present institutional structures are expected to enhance the possibility of formulating and implementing coherent national plans and programmes on forestry. On the other hand, there is a risk that negotiation and balancing of conflicting interests, i.e. policy making take place in a less open and transparent manner, enhancing the need of public insight and participation at a political-administrative level to counter-balance this.

1990s participation in forest and environmental policy –from user democracy to partnership
During the 1990s, a growing political ambition emerged to more actively involve the public, in order to fulfil the international obligations and intentions in the UNCED agreements and Helsinki resolutions (Miljøministeriet 1994). The governmental forest policy statement from 1994 summarises the Danish efforts towards sustainable development of forests into twelve items. One of the aims is to initiate extension and information campaigns "to extend awareness about sustainable forest management and understanding/accept of the use of wood products" (Miljøministeriet et al. 1994:10), and to enhance the dialogue about (state) forest management. Another aim is to further the work towards a global forest convention, by showing the way with Denmark as the role model for sustainable forest management (Miljøministeriet et al. 1994). Obviously, this also includes international obligations and recommendations concerning participation.

The governmental statement was based on a strategy for sustainable forest management, published by the Ministry of Environment in 1994. The strategy included objectives to enhance participation of the public and NGOs in decision-making related to forest and afforestation policy, planning and management (Miljøministeriet 1994: 43, 120) as well as in relation to strategic environmental planning (Miljøministeriet 1994: 117). The strategy especially considers information as a means to enhance and improve the dialogue on forests (Miljøministeriet 1994:120). The strategy does, however, not consider what the benefits of participation could be, beyond being an end in itself. Not surprisingly, therefore, the strategy for sustainable forest management finds it impossible to set up indicators to characterise the state-of-art on participation. At the same time, however, the Ministry of Environment assesses that "public involvement in decisions related to afforestation is already ensured via existing legislation and practices", referring to the existing public hearings and meetings (Miljøministeriet 1994:215).

The strategy for sustainable forest management has an institutional approach to participation insofar as participation is simply wanted to comply with international forest policies. On the other hand, the discussion about indicators for evaluating participation reveals an instrumental approach. Participation is here considered a means to efficient decision-making, as it is suggested to evaluate "the effect of the Danish forest policy" (Miljøministeriet 1994:215), and to investigate "to which extent the public feel that they are being involved in forest policy decisions" (Miljøministeriet 1994:215).

As mentioned above, state forest management planning was added a formal hearing component in 1987 and extended with affected municipalities in 1992. The 1992/93 work of an internal Forest & Nature Agency commission on modernisation of forest management planning concluded this to be an appropriate process, but that it could also be extended with local, public meetings. Such meetings could "make the district and the Agency visible in local society and contribute to their demystification, and they could ensure taking local interests into consideration" (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1993:30). In 1994, the state forest districts introduced an annual open-house arrangement, 'Day of the Forest'. Also, state forest districts aimed to publish popular versions of their forest management plans (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995a: 11, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995b:40).

More recent reports from the FNA provide objectives for participation, namely participation as a prerequisite for sustainable development and as a means to provide the forest district with good ideas and detailed knowledge about the areas they manage (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995a: 11). In 1995, all state forest districts have established user councils. The aim of these user councils is to "enhance the involvement and influence of local users on the management and utilisation of public forests" (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c:1).

While the Ministry started formulating and designing participation efforts at a regional level, NGOs continued to participate at a national level. They participated in national advisory boards associated with legislation, as well as in ad hoc panels established by the FNA or Danish Forest Society to, e.g. develop the strategy on sustainable forest management, develop guidelines for sustainable forest management (Nepenthes Consult 1996) etc. Also, they participated on own terms. A range of Danish wood industry organisations joined to carry out an information campaign, 'Wood *is* environment', to enhance the sales of wood products. The Outdoor Council made efforts to affect outdoor life and -policy, e.g. campaigns and formulation of a common outdoor policy, and the Danish Nature Conservation Association continually worked to ensure nature conservation, nature experience and communication about nature, to their members and society.

The close-to-nature-management dimension fuelled the participation of new NGOs with expertise in this matter, mainly World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Nepenthes. They took part in the ad hoc panels on various policy efforts. More importantly, though, they joined in 1996, to establish a Danish working group under the auspices of the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) with the aim of developing guidelines for certification of Danish forests. Here, the FNA was reduced to a spectator, as FSC did not allow for members from public agencies. The FSC committee did not agree on the final draft when it was ready in 1998, and new certification efforts followed. However, the WWF and Nepenthes managed to put themselves on the forest policy map. Even more so, when in 1995 and again in 1998, the WWF published a report on the state of European forests (WWF 1998). The 1998 report created much discussion, as Denmark had the record low of all European countries. The debate took place mainly within the Danish forestry profession, (e.g. Einfeldt 1998; Fodgaard 1998; Feilberg 1998; Koch 1998) but also managed to reach the public media (Steensgaard 1998).

By the end of the 1990s, the FNA states that user influence and dialogue is extensive, but that future co-operation also aims at public-private partnerships, i.e. "private people acting as the public authorities' partners and as those practically implementing projects" (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). The FNA aims at closer co-operation with private landowners, industrial organisations, nature and outdoor associations, as well as with other public authorities. In addition, FNA aims at "delivering balanced solutions considering all involved stakes" and finds itself "obliged to systematically and actively involve all stakeholders in the countryside" [decision-making]. The aim is co-operation among private associations about nature restoration projects, eventually initiated, co-ordinated and counselled by a public authority. Another suggestion is to have private land owners and farmers initiate extensive management systems, e.g. private afforestation. The FNA stresses that such private initiatives presuppose that current nature conservation legislation is maintained and combined with active communication about the current rules and opportunities. Legislation should be enforced, so that a change from public to private conservation efforts does not imply deterioration of current conservation, but rather, improved/strengthened co-operation. Information and dialogue with land owners is considered a precondition for effective enforcement of the legislation, as good management requires extensive knowledge of current law and distribution of responsibilities (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

By 1999, the FNA can be said to consider participation from four perspectives:

(1) Partnership with landowners, NGOs and other authorities to save and use nature management resources efficiently and to reach broader agreement on the actions undertaken by the FNA (Forest & Nature Agency 1999). For example, partnership in outdoor policy implies that "the task is to inspire, influence and motivate others [to act] rather than being directly in charge of the matter"(Forest & Nature Agency 1999). One of the clear objectives is to develop a model for co-operation among counties, municipalities, and water companies to enhance afforestation (Forest & Nature Agency 1999: Section 5.1.3). In addition, co-operation among FNA, the state forest districts, municipalities, counties and other actors should be strengthened through specified co-operation concerning: landowner information via internet; strategy for future nature management and conservation and distribution of responsibilities; a national forest programme with extended, local involvement; information material to municipalities about childrens' understanding of nature, a plan for FNA contributions to the local Agenda 21 activities; and some more issues (Forest & Nature Agency 1999: Section 5.2.3).

(2) Open dialogue with users to cope with the changing demands to forestry (Forest & Nature Agency 1999: Section 4.1);

(3) Public participation to maintain and enhance public commitment in forest and nature management and the other issues within FNAs jurisdiction (Forest & Nature Agency 1999: Section 5.2.3); and

(4) Improved access to environmental information and access to participate, through extensive use of internet, in order to fulfil the requirements of the Aarhus Convention (Forest & Nature Agency 1999: Section 5.2.4).

Appendix 3.2 provides an overview of current forms of participation related to forestry.

Summary

Within three decades, Danish forestry has changed from production oriented forestry under the Ministry of Agriculture towards a multiple use oriented forest policy under the Ministry of Environment & Energy. Forestry has changed from a strongly professionalised forest agency into still being professionalised units embedded in one ministerial Forest & Nature Agency (FNA). This agency is responsible for administrating state forest areas as well as laws concerning most of the different, conflicting interests related to management of forest reserves, i.e. outdoor life, environmental conservation, production of wood and other forest products.

In the same period, the sector has aimed at more openness towards society. First of all, the private as well as the public forest sector has aimed at enhancing the information level, in order to enhance public understanding. Second, corporate networks have developed in relation to all legislation pertaining to forests. Third, the 1990s brought along ambitions to fulfil international recommendations on participation. Efforts were made to involve the broader public, reflected in open house arrangements, public meetings and – user councils. As the user councils are comprised by NGOs and public representatives, they are, however, largely to be nominated as corporate as well. Fourth, by the end of the century, the policy increasingly focuses on participation and partnership as means to attract resources to solve nature management tasks in the most efficient way. Finally, introducing 'participation' as a

formalised policy issue can be considered as part of a battle about defining who actually has leadership in forest policy, in the sense that the one who establishes 'participatory programmes' considers himself in charge of policy formulation.

Table 3.3 summarises the Danish forest policy objectives on public participation, put in the context of forest management efficiency.

Table 3.3   Danish forest policy objectives of participation, related to forest management efficiency

	Instrumental efficiency	Institutional efficiency (historical, legal, political legitimacy)
Output	*optimal output* PP to enhance sustainable forest management, to enhance afforestation, to make a National Forest Programme (1999) PP to ensure balanced solutions (1998) PP for increased awareness on Sust. for. Man. and accept of the use of wood products (1994)	*legitimate output* PP to reach broad agreement on actions undertaken by the FNA (1999) Open dialogue to cope with changing demands to forestry (1999)
Process	*optimal process* PP for effective use of financial resources and partnership where non-public implement environmental policy (1999) PP to provide local Agenda 21 activities with input from the FNA (1999) PP to provide access to environmental information and access to participate (1999) User councils for local users' influence (1995) Information on legislation as precondition for efficient enforcement of legislation (1998)	*legitimate process* PP to fulfil international obligations, including the Aarhus Convention (1999) PP as an end in itself (1994)
Structure	*optimal structure* PP to create public understanding of forestry as an industry and its related nature (1986) PP to attract (public) resources (1999)	*legitimate structure* PP to create public commitment in forest & nature management and other FNA activities (1999)

3.3 Participation in a general Danish policy context

Sections 3.1 and 3.2 discussed the emergence of participation as a concept in respectively international and Danish environmental and forest policies from a top-down perspective. This section will concentrate on the general development of participation in the Danish society.

In Denmark, political participation is based on strong historical traditions. Today, participation in elections seems more or less to be a moral obligation of every citizen. More than a century ago, however, only 30 per cent of all citizens participated in elections. Since then, participation has gradually increased to about 89 per cent in the 1970s, and about 83 per cent today (Goul Andersen 1993: 48). On the other hand, the percentage of electors that are member of a political party has declined steadily from 27 per cent in 1947 to 7 per cent in 1990 (Elklit 1991, Goul Andersen 1993: 52).

Participation may also encompass communicative aspects and in that sense, democratic participation in the Danish society can be dated back to Grundtvig in the 19th century, when the first 'Folkehøjskole' was founded. 'Folkehøjskole' is a place for adult education to

enhance public enlightenment ('folkeoplysning'). This public enlightenment was oriented towards improved self-consciousness of common people, peasants, and hereby counteracting that democracy would be reduced to negotiation between particular interests (Læssøe 2000: 224). The labour movement, aiming to develop its culture and contribute to Denmark as a welfare society (Læssøe 2000: 224), adopted adult education. Along with the development of the welfare society, Læssøe (2000) notices the initial perception of public enlightenment has been replaced by enlightenment as 'public information from above', from state to citizens.

1960s-1970s: grassroots participation
Historically, Denmark has had a strong environmental movement. The late 1960s and the 1970s were characterised by the emergence of numerous grassroots movements. Grassroots activities were concentrated on issues such as peace, equality of gender, membership of the European Community, and nuclear power. In the 1980s, these issues have partly been replaced by more local and tangible issues, such as environmental problems and public service problems (Togeby 1989:124).

The major social changes that took place in the 1960s and 1970s may explain the emergence of the Danish grassroots activities. These changes include a declining agricultural sector, a growing public sector and public employment, increasing women's employment, and a higher general educational level. These social changes induced political changes, where the traditional major parties lost momentum to the advantage of new parties. Grassroots activities mobilised the new groups of citizens without traditional political affiliations (the so-called 'middle layers' of young, well-educated people, employed in the public education, social or health sector (Svensson & Togeby 1986; Togeby 1989).

1980s: corporatism and professionalisation of the environment debate
By the 1980s, grassroots activities increasingly supplemented other political activities, as they were a fast and efficient way of expressing demands towards the public sector (Togeby 1989:128). The large national NGOs were less suited to handle such issues. Instead, different types of participation could supplement each other. Læssøe (2000) notices the same development within environmental participation. During the 1970s environmentalism gradually became institutionalised in public institutions and more professionalised (e.g. the establishment of the Environment Agency in 1973). Grassroots organisations were less

suitable at managing this institutionalisation, and their role was gradually taken over by organisations better geared at matching the new conditions, such as the Danish Nature Conservation Society, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Greenpeace (Læssøe 2000). These organisations probably managed better to enhance environmental awareness among the broad public than grass roots organisations did. On the other hand, the same organisations tended to reduce participation to passive membership more than active participation, reducing citizens to 'the worried observer' (Læssøe 2000). This is confirmed by Andersen et al. (1993) who argue that most members of environmental organisations only are 'supporters'. The percentage of the Danish population being member of an environmental organisation increased substantially from 5.8 per cent in 1979 to 19.4 per cent in 1990. However, the activity in relation to environmental organisations has not increased. In 1990, 1.0 per cent of the population said to have participated in meetings of an environmental organisation during the last year, compared to 1.3 per cent in 1979. This tendency is also found for other organisations, such as political organisations (Andersen et al. 1993: 59-60). Compared with other organisations, a larger percentage of the Danish population are members of an environmental organisation, but a lower percentage of the population was active in an environmental organisation.

So, grassroots participation on environmental issues encompasses two tendencies. Some may participate in grassroots organisations because they are concerned about major questions such as global pollution and sustaining the Earth. Others may participate because of their own experiences, protesting against actual local environmental problems (Togeby 1989: 119). Thus, along with institutionalisation of environmental issues, NGOs have taken over the global questions, whereas grassroots participation often is the result of concrete, local problems (Goul Andersen 1993).

Late 1980s -1990s: modernisation of the public sector evoking user participation
Togeby (1989) argues that growth in the public sector increases grassroots participation. A large public sector with extensive public services creates a basis for new conflicts, as grassroots may more efficiently look after interests, rather than the traditional, organisational structures. At the same time, the population is increasingly well educated, providing them with individual resources and changing values that increase the propensity of behaviour that is less tied up to hierarchical organisations (Togeby 1989).

From a critical perspective, growth of the public sector has transferred policy decision-making from the political-parliamentary level to the political-administrative level, implying a risk of eroding democracy. As an increasing number of institutionalised 'user councils' were established during the late 1980s and 1990s (Indenrigsministeriet 1998), this could be considered a way to re-strengthen democratic links. However, user democracy can be labelled as a 'fragmented citizenship', as it is limited to discussion of particular issues, irrespective of general concerns within society. Also, only the 'users' of the specific public service can participate, not the elected representatives of all citizens, such as municipal councils or the parliament (Torpe 1990:12). From this perspective, the spreading of user councils is considered to be motivated by an attempt to modernise and reform the public sector, make it more efficient, rather than an attempt to strengthen democracy, public participation, or sense of community (Kristensen 1998: 14).

Both the republican and the liberal tradition regard political participation as an activity initiated from civil sphere to induce change in the political system. User democracy, however, goes the other way. The political system defines 'roles' for citizens, related to the political-administrative institutions, and participation is limited to these roles (Kristensen 1998:26). Accordingly, participation is increasingly oriented towards output (i.e. regulation) rather than input (policy formulation).

1990s: publicly defined and initiated participation from below
Surveys on political participation in Denmark were carried out in 1979 (Damgaard 1980) and in 1990 (Andersen et al. 1993). These two surveys are compared on several issues, such as participation in elections, membership of and/or activity in political parties and organisations, and grassroots participation. The comparison reveals that 1990 is characterised by a decline in active participation in politics as well as a decline in active participation in organisations, as compared with 1979. Participation in elections has also declined, political parties have less members, and grassroots activism has dropped. At the same time, however, NGOs have more members and the number of petitions has increased. Goul Andersen (1993: 72) argues that participation as such possibly not has decreased, but that participation has shifted from collective towards individual means of influence, from participation on the input side towards participation on the output side, from the 'big' context towards the near local context.

The decline in participation cannot be explained by any particular group of the population. Rather, there is a tendency towards equalisation of many of the differences in political participation among various groups. Differences between gender as well as between people with different educational background have diminished, and in relation to participation in organisations and grassroots activities, differences between classes have also diminished (Goul Andersen 1993:72).

The political commitment has not declined, the population is involved in political questions and Goul Andersen (1993) demonstrates that the political consciousness has increased in some sense. In this sense, a 'spectators democracy' is being developed, where citizens are politically conscious at an observatory level, as also discussed by van Deth (2000). The decline in participation need not be a threat to democracy. The challenge is how to ensure efficient and qualified two-way communication between citizens and government, considering the change in patterns of participation.

Top-down initiated participation to implement environmental policy goals
While active participation declined, public authorities increasingly urged participation in environmental matters. The aim of participation is to stimulate the behavioural change considered necessary among citizens to ensure sustainable development. The aim at participation is linked with the EU subsidiarity principle, i.e. highest possible degree of decentralisation in decision-making, as decentralisation is also considered to benefit a meaningful, locally adapted implementation of the various political goals (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999b: 64).

The governmental aim is "to create public understanding and involve the public in the formulation of future nature and environmental policy. The public participation in the debate and the resulting feed back to the politicians and administration is the individual citizens' responsibility. The public's commitment is decisive for a democratic process within nature and environmental policy. Future environmental efforts should be an expression of the political will of the population to go through the change of production and consumption necessary for a sustainable development" (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1995: 55-56). To enhance this, provision of information about the environment, publicity about the decision-

process and openness on all levels about problems and possible solutions is considered a prerequisite (e.g. Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1995: 55).

The aforementioned UNCED introduced the local Agenda 21 thought, and the Danish government accordingly urged municipalities and counties to facilitate Agenda 21 actions (e.g. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Kommunernes Landsforening & Amtsrådsforeningen 1997; 1998). Green guides were employed to facilitate citizens' participation and change towards more environmentally sustainable behaviour. In 1994, a Green Fund was established to finance citizens' and NGOs' activities for the same purpose.

The Aarhus Convention provided another impetus to stimulate participation and access to environmental information. In 1999, the government states that "Denmark will work for even more countries signing the convention and all following it up" (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999b: 11). The government commits itself to put forward a plan for the application of the Aarhus convention. Specifically, the government commits itself to enhance public involvement in decision making, to enhance openness/transparency, dialogue and subsidiarity/proximity in public communication and improved access to information, knowledge and data on the environment (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999b: 606). The Aarhus Convention was implemented through slight modifications of the existing environmental legislation (Act no. 447/2000; Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000), see also Appendix 3.2b.

Summing up
To summarise, the tradition for active participation is founded in 19th century efforts at public enlightenment, initiated by 'Folkehøjskoler' and, later, the labour movement. Today, most adult citizens are active participants in Danish elections, as compared to a narrow group of participants a century ago. During the second half of the 20th century, however, the relative rate of membership of political parties declined steadily. New forms of participation appeared along with the major social changes that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. A new group of young well-educated, publicly employed people used grassroots participation to articulate demands for new policy formulation within the public sector. One of the new policy areas was environmental policy. Gradually, during the 1970-1980s, the new policies became institutionalised and professionalised, and participation shifted accordingly towards more corporative forms of participation where professional NGOs more or less gained access to

dialogue and co-operation with the public sector in defining policy goals and ways of ensuring their implementation. Environmental NGOs experienced increasing numbers of members, as opposed to the political parties, whereas the percentage of active members decreased. The public sector went through a 'modernisation' during the late 1980s and the 1990s. In practice, that meant a decentralisation of a number of functions with transfer of decision making power from parliamentary-political to political-administrative levels. User councils, school boards, etc. were established to create the dialogue between the public service suppliers and the users, in order to ensure efficient delivery of services. These forms of participation were initiated by the public sector to narrow groups of citizens in their roles as 'users' of public services, i.e. participation in relation to policy output. Also, the public authorities initiated participation aimed at citizens' changing towards environmentally friendly behaviour. Gradually, participation seems to change towards a spectators democracy, where the focus of interests has shifted from collective towards individual interests together with the shift in focus from policy input to policy output. This opens up for new forms of participation suited at affecting policy output, e.g. the political consumer.

3.4 Comparing the trends with focus on participation in Danish forestry

The government aims at fulfilling international obligations in relation to forests, (Miljøministeriet et al. 1994) as well as the Aarhus Convention (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1999b:11), in order to serve as the good example towards other countries. Looking through the international forest policy agreements and the Danish tradition of participation, it is clear, that the background as well as the objectives for participation differ.

There are interesting similarities as well, though, as it appears from Table 3.4. Basically, the Danish and international forest policies contents converge: multiple use, biodiversity, sustainable forest management, afforestation and combating deforestation, respectively. Also, the policy instruments tend to converge:

Requirements to the participation process as opposed to participation to ensure content
The forest related conventions and agreements are bound by context and history. Consequently, participation is often motivated as an instrument to reach particular policy contents: sustainable forest management, combating deforestation, afforestation, forest and

biodiversity conservation, criteria and indicators or national forest programmes, technology development etc.

International as well as Danish forest policies are very little concerned with the achievements that participation and/or information may bring to the policy process as such. The Agenda 21 aims to enhance participatory democracy and the IPF aims to ensure an open and non-discriminatory decision-making process. The EU forest strategy aims at a transparent decision-making process in relation to forest certification. As opposed to these sporadic requirements, the entire Aarhus Convention is aimed at general rules on policy procedures. Consequently, it is expected to affect future European policies to fulfil the obligations of this convention.

From post-war industrial forestry to participatory forestry
The post-war technological-rational industrial forestry approach was replaced by different efforts. In Denmark, new tenure rights (multiple use, environmental conservation) were claimed by NGOs towards the government. In tropical forests, however, obvious conflicts over existing, but not formally institutionalised or publicly recognised tenure rights were gradually taken into account by introducing participatory management systems, such as social forestry and community forestry. The major differences between Denmark and the tropical forestry context are (1) the dependency of tenure rights on people's livelihood in tropical forestry; and (2) the level at which negotiation of tenure rights takes place. In Denmark, the negotiations resulted in legal changes, whereas community forestry, etc. aimed at managing conflicts over tenure rights at a local level, without necessarily changing existing legislation or institutions causing the conflict.

Tenure rights
In the tropical forestry context, and reflected in the UNCED declarations, participation is considered relevant as an instrument to negotiate and defend the legal and traditional land use and tenure rights of local communities, forest dwellers and indigenous people, as opposed to timber concessionaires, state agencies, and/or the government. In many tropical countries, tenure rights are not formally settled and recent state control of forest land has resulted in a controversy between people's access to exercise their traditional rights and governmental use of the land. As opposed to this, tenure rights and property rights to Danish forest areas were separated already by the 1805 Forest Reserve Act. On the other hand, new tenure rights to

Danish forests are continuously being claimed, negotiated and institutionalised in acts, by different stakeholders. Examples are public access to forest areas (Nature Preservation Act 1969), forest owners' obligation to multiple use forestry (Forest Act 1989) and to be concerned with nature and biodiversity conservation (Nature Preservation Act, Nature Conservation Act 1992, Forest Act 1996). Most recently, there has been a debate on improved public access to forests and the country-side, which may result in new legislation as well.

Power delegation is assumed to enhance environmental responsibility
In the tropical and international forest policy context, participation is considered a means to combat deforestation and forest degradation as perceived caused by local communities, assuming that power redistribution will also enhance communities' responsibility towards forest conservation. This assumes that development and environmental conservation can be combined, and that the local communities are willing to participate. But also, it assumes, that the existing institutional arrangements allow communities to act environmentally responsibly. This may not be so, following the discussion about democracy and efficiency in Chapter 2.

In fact, a similar assumption can be found in the Danish environmental policy. The Agenda 21 is based on the idea that people themselves should develop environmentally responsible behaviour. The feasibility of this should be questioned. First, it assumes that other policies and institutions do not counteract environmentally friendly behaviour. Second, it assumes that people are provided the necessary instruments, knowledge and networks to build up lasting institutional arrangements to ensure behavioural change.

Participation to provide legitimacy, public understanding and environmental behaviour
In the European and Danish contexts, the governments motivate participation in forestry by the need to (1) enhance public understanding and accept of forestry as a business; (2) enhance public environmental awareness and sense of common responsibility towards environmental conservation; (3) create public commitment to state forestry and the FNA. These motivations reflect that Danish and European forest and environmental policy debates largely are based on nature/environment centred analyses of problems rather than also focusing on the subjective, human factor. Such an environmentally focused approach assumes people to stand outside the problem and it only studies citizens' practices in terms of the environment, i.e. 'environmental behaviour', 'environmental consciousness'. Consequently, solution strategies are rational-technological, and participation becomes a question of informing and advising citizens about

solutions or to have them accept and adopt solutions (Læssøe 2000). In this sense, tropical/international forest policies focusing on the relationship between local knowledge and management systems, on livelihood, gender aspects, tenure rights, etc. as, e.g. the Forest Principles or the ITTO principles, better reflect people and forests as equal parts of the eco-social complex called forestry.

The present review of participation in international and Danish forest policy and in Danish society as such pointed at some general aspects for further consideration.

When is participation in forestry likely to make any difference?

The general development in participation in Danish society has changed from public enlightenment and bottom-up participation towards top-down public information/involvement. People's focus of interest has changed from the 'big' context towards the local and near context, from the collective towards the individual. The active participation in NGOs is declining. Together, this may be labelled a spectators democracy, where people are increasingly well-educated and possibly aware, but where the actual participation depends on the perceived political saliency of the individual subject. This raises two questions in relation to participation in forestry matters:

- When are people likely to participate in forestry issues – when does it have political saliency?

- With the decline in active participation, are the environmental NGOs (still) considered legitimate players in environmental policy – and what happens when state forest user councils are added to this system?

Table 3.4 Overview of participation and policy characteristics, 1960s-2000

	Characteristics of forest policy, DK	International forest policy	Danish public adm, Forms of participation	Danish forestry: forms of participation
1960-1970s	Production focus, institutionalised, distinct property & tenure rights. Techn.progress, Professionalised, Nature protection	Industrial forestry Complex sets of informal and formal tenure rights to areas	Grassroots participation. Citizens protesting against the system inducing political change and new policies, e.g. on environment	Forest professionals advising the Ministry of Agriculture
1970-1980s	Multiple use Focus on recreation and beech area EU agricultural policy enhancing opportunities of afforestation	Social forestry, community for., joint forest management Tropical forest policy: ITTA, ITTO	NGO participation, Corporatism, Professional NGOs negotiating with professional, public administration	Governing/advisory boards with NGOs & experts Danish Nature Cons. Ass. debate on beech area conservation
1980-1990s	Forest decline Nature conservation Biodiversity concern, close-to-nature man. Afforestation Sustainable forest management International forest policy	European forest policies: Strasbourg, Helsinki resolutions Tropical: Participatory forest management International forest policy: UNCED, IPF, IFF, certific..	User councils. Modernisation and decentralisation of public sector. User councils introduced to provide better/efficient service. Agenda 21 'System induced grassroots participation' to enhance environmentally friendly behaviour/change	Inform and educate: nature guides &. schools, visitors' centres, folders State forest user councils (1995) and counties' Green councils (1992) with NGOs & officials Day of the Forest (1994) WWF forest scorecards
1990s - 2000	Forest certification standards Shrinking finances of FNA/MEE Private afforestation Public access debate	Forest certification standards Europe: Lisbon resolutions, Aarhus Convention Partnership: i..e. equal/autonomous partners sharing costs & benefits	Political consumer Aarhus Convention 'The every-day maker' participation irrespective of the system	Forest certification initiatives by FSC, WWF, Nepenthes, Forest Owners Society, etc. Partnership in afforestation, and in environmental conservation

Appendix 3 Stated benefits and purposes of participation in international agreements

Appendix 3.1a: The benefits and purposes of participation in Agenda 21

Chapter in Agenda 21	Benefit/purpose in general
27.1	To shape and implement a participatory democracy by involving NGOs
27.2	To create a common purpose towards environmentally sustainable development through participation, genuine partnership and dialogue, with a particular role of NGOs
27.4	To provide experience, expertise and capacity necessary for environmentally sustainable development by involving NGOs, i.e. NGOs are given an 'educative role' towards the public at large
26.3	To allow indigenous people and their communities to defend their rights
24.2-4, 8.5	To ensure women full and equal participation in issues and decisions on sustainable development through participation with a gender perspective
8.3	To enhance full integration of socio-economic and environmental issues
8.5	To delegate decision-making to the lowest possible level
8.10	To enhance public environmental awareness, by facilitating direct exchange of information and views with the public
28.2-3	To create a dialogue between local authorities and its citizens, local organisations and private enterprises to adopt 'a local Agenda 21'. Participation is expected to enhance local authorities learning from other, local stakeholders, as well as to increase household environmental awareness

Chapter in Agenda 21	Benefit/purpose in relation to combating deforestation
11.1	To ensure a rational and holistic approach to the sustainable and environmentally sound development of forests
11.3	To promote the multiple roles and functions of forests, supporting sustainable development and environmental conservation through participation by various actors (the private sector, labour unions, rural co-operatives, local communities, indigenous people, youth, women, user groups and non-governmental organizations) in forest-related activities. Other institutional arrangements mentioned are rationalisation of administrative structures, decentralisation, improving infrastructure, intersectoral co-ordination and improved communication.
11.13	To maintain and expand existing vegetation cover within well-defined "sustainable units in every region/watershed with a view to securing the conservation of forests"
11.13	To formulate, develop and implement forest related programmes and other activities, taking due account of the local needs and cultural values through better opportunities for stakeholders to participate
11.22	To promote/popularise non-wood forest products and other forms of forest resources, apart from fuelwood through participatory forest activities and social forestry activities
11.30	To establish systems to monitor forest resources and forest related activities through participation of especially rural people

Source: UNCED (1992b)

Appendix 3.1b: Participation aspects in Forest Principles

Forest Principle	Participation aspects
2d	Participation by interested parties in national forest policies
5b	Participation by women in all aspects of forest management and conservation
6d	Involvement of local inhabitants in planted forests and permanent agricultural crops to offset pressure on old growth forests
12d	Collaboration with local communities about recognising, respecting, recording and introducing indigenous capacity and local knowledge in sustainable forest management programmes

Source: UNCED (1992c)

Appendix 3.1c: Participation aspects in the Biodiversity Convention

Article	Participation aspects
8	Need to involve indigenous and local communities in in-situ conservation, as their local knowledge and practices affect biodiversity conservation efforts
14	Establish environmental impact assessment and allow for public participation in such procedures, where appropriate
13	Enhance public understanding for the necessary measures to conserve biodiversity
17-18	Facilitate exchange of information and technology relevant to biodiversity conservation, including specialised, technical and indigenous knowledge/technologies

Source: UNCED (1992d)

Appendix 3.1d: IPF recommendations for participatory mechanisms

Article	Participation mechanisms
I A 10, I A 17	National forest programmes that recognise partnership and participatory mechanisms as a key element
I A 17 e-g	Countries should develop, test and implement appropriate participatory mechanisms for integrating timely and continuous multidisciplinary research into all stages of the planning cycle. Also, countries should elaborate systems for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating National Forest Programmes, also involving broad participation of indigenouspeople, forest dwellers, forest owners and local communities, include training and extension services, and taking due account of local, traditional forest-related knowledge
I A 29b	Develop mechanisms to improve open, participatory policy formulation, e.g. EIA
I C 33, 35 & 40	Participatory approaches to forest and land management in order to draw on local communities' sustainable life styles based on traditional forest related knowledge in the development of new management systems that cope with the technological change and economic pressures
I D 46d	Participation in order to (take account of traditional lifestyles and) develop management systems that support fragile ecosystems and combat desertification
I F 58 b vi	Participation to take full advantage of the traditional knowledge regarding countries with low forest cover
II B 77 f	Participation to enhance technology transfer and capacity building
III B 93 b	Participation in choosing research priorities as well as research on participation
III D 115 a-b	Participation of all interested parties in developing national Criteria and Indicators
IV 124 & 133	Participation of all interested parties, non-discrimination and open access in voluntary certification schemes
V 139, 143 & 145	Participation to be enhanced in international forest policy dialogue among all interested parties and major groups

Source: IPF (1997)

Appendix 3.1e: IFF preliminary recommendations for participatory mechanisms

Article	Participation mechanisms
I 9 e-g	Participation in National Forest Programmes
II A 6	Participation as a means to effective use of financial resources
II C 4	Participation in forest-related technology development
II D i 2&4	Participation needed in relation to combating deforestation and forest degradation
II D i 8	A number of measures to enhance sustainable forest management (combat deforestation and forest degradation, strengthen fragile forest ecosystems, etc.) are proposed to be undertaken in partnerships with the participation of all interested parties. Among those measures are procedures for effective participation, appropriate land tenure/law arrangements, capacity building in communities, and creating public awareness about deforestation and forest degradation.
II d iii 7	Participation to create environmental awareness, public support and resources for forest conservation. The means is to identify convergence between the interests of indigenous and

	local communities versus those of protected forest areas, that will allow the effective participation of all interested parties and, hence, forest conservation and protected forest areas
II d iii 10 b-d	Countries are encouraged to strengthen participation and forest management mechanisms providing for partnerships and participation

Source: IFF (1999)

Appendix 3.1f: Participation aspects in ITTO Criteria and Indicators

Principle	Participation aspects
1	National forest policy should be formulated in a process that seeks consensus among all involved actors: government, local population, private sector
34-36	Sustained timber production depends on an equitable distribution of incentives, costs and benefits among the participants. It also depends on compatibility with the interests of the local population. Timber concessions should have concerns for indigenous peoples
	Provisions should be made for consultation with local people, starting in the planning phase before road building and logging commence

Source: ITTO (1990)

Appendix 3.1h: Participation aspects in Helsinki Resolutions H1 and H2

Article	Participation aspects
N	A declared desirability to enable participation by local communities, forest owners and NGOs in forest policy formulation and implementering
H1, 12	Need for public awareness, as knowledge, skills and public opinion affect forest policies
H2, 7	Education and public awareness programmes to enable effective participation by local communities, forest owners and NGOs in bio-diversity conservation
Proposed, not adopted, voluntary descriptive indicators associated with the Helsinki process	Institutional support to enhance public participation (6.21-6.24)
	Institutional support to enhance public awareness (6.17-6.20)
	Recognition of customary and traditional rights of local peoples (6.5,6.25)
	Means to resolve disputes (6.5)

Source: MCPFE (1995a;1995b)

Appendix 3.1h: Participation aspects in Lisbon Resolutions L1 and L2

Article	Participation aspects
L1, preamble D	Need for increased dialogue between forest sector and the general public to define widely accepted forest policy objectives
L1 I 1, II 1-2	Need and obligation to enhance participation, transparency and education to raise awareness on sustainable forest man. and the role of forests/forestry in sustainable development
L2 guidl. 6.2a	Forest management practices should make use of local forest related experience and knowledge, such as of local communities, forest owners, NGOs and local people
L2, 7	Participation of the interested parties in the adaptation of the pan-european operational level guidelines for sustainable forest management

Source: MCPFE (1998a; 1998b)

Appendix 3.2a Overview of public information, participation and appeal procedures in Danish forestry 1999, see also Appendix 3.2b

	One-way information	Two-way communication	Consultation	Co-operation	Rights to appeal decisions
Relevant legislation	Act on Access to public information, Act on public administration, EU directive 90/313/EØF				From FA, NCA, PA, to Nature Complaints board
National, adm. acts	Ministries homepages, info on legislation & silviculture in 'Skov-info'	Forestry extension Survey on preferences and use of forests for recreation, 'Forest & People' 1975, 'Outdoor Life 1995'.	Forest Council (FA), Nature Management Board (NCA), Nature Council of four 'wise men' (NCA), Ad hoc boards associated with projects and policy formulation, e.g. sustainable forest strategy, State Forest Planning groups of major NGOs and affected counties/municipal. (not obligatory).	Board for Greenery Productions fund (FA), Appropriation committee for product development (FA)	Rights restricted to affected parties, local authorities and organisations, mainly DNCA and OC
Regional/ Local	No legal requirement for forest plans. A few state forest plans have been issued in popular versions.	Open-house arrangements in public & private forests, public meetings, nature schools & guided tours	Obligatory hearing on regional plans with designation of afforestation areas (PA) State forest user councils County's green council (NCA) Ad hoc state afforestation user councils	Nature Conservancy boards (NCA)	

Abbreviations:

FA = Forest Act, NCA = Nature Conservation Act, PA = Planning Act,

DNCA = Danish Nature Conservation Association, OC = Outdoor Council

Appendix 3.2b

Public information, participation and appeal procedures in Danish forestry 1999

Legal rights of public access to information

A number of Acts provide the public with rights of access to public records, including: Act on Access to Public Records (Act no. 572/1985), Act on Public Administration (Act no. 571/1985), EU Directive 90/313/EØF on the public access to environmental information and Act on Access to Environmental Information (Act no. 292/1994). The basic rule is, that any citizen from any country within the EU can ask for access to public records without giving a reason. The legislation pertains to public authorities on a national, regional and local level being responsible for or possessing information on the environment. The legislation also pertains to institutions with a public environmental responsibility and assigned to public control.

When a public authority is asked for information, it should respond within ten days, and provide information no later than two months after enquiry. The public authority has a right to ask the citizen to relate the call for information to a specified file or subject. Also, the public authority has a right to decide in what form information can be provided and to ask for payment of costs connected with distribution of documents. In some cases, the public authorities have a right to turn down an inquiry: If the information affects public security; if it relates to trials and lawsuits or is part of an ongoing investigation; if it threats intellectual property rights or business secrets; if it is information provided by third party without a legal obligation to do so; if disclosure of information on the environment is expected to affect the given environment negatively; if information relates to confidential personal data or documents; if documents are unfinished or internal messages. In principle, this leaves public authorities with wide opportunities to refuse to provide information. This does not seem to be practised, however (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1998).

Legal rights of public access to decision-making

Basically, the fundamental rights of Danish citizens are given with the Constitution Act (Act no. 169/1953). One of the cornerstones is the inviolable property right. However, regulating society to the common good inherently reduces the property rights of the individual. These regulations are institutionalised in terms of Acts. The basic rules for national policy making and passing of Acts, are provided by the Order of Business of The Danish Parliament, *Folketingets forretningsorden*.

A number of Acts directly affect forestry. Each of these acts are administered by public authorities and they often encompass boards of stakeholders to provide advice or make decisions according to the Act:

Forest Council

The Forest Council of the Forest Act (§§ 41-42) provides advice to the Minister on national forest policy making and on the administration of The Forest Act (Act no. 959/1996). The Forest Council has a chairman appointed by the Minister. Further eight members are representatives from The Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries,

Danish Forest Society (2), Danish Forestry Extension, Danish Land Development Service, Danish Nature Conservation Society (2) and The Outdoor Council. Finally, four members are appointed representatives of forestry science, nature science, The National Forest and Nature Agency and the State Forest Districts.

Appropriation Committee for Product Development within Forestry and Wood Industry
An Appropriation Committee for Product Development within Forestry and Wood Industry is administrating funds according to the Forest Act (§42a). The Minister of Environment and Energy designates members from Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, Danish Forest Society, Danish Forestry Extension, Danish Land Development Service, Danish Nature Conservation Association and The Outdoor Council, besides four members represententing forest science, nature science, the National Forest and Nature Agency and the State Forest Districts, respectively.

A Board for the Greenery Production Duties Fund
A Board for the Greenery Production Duties Fund established according to the Forest Act (§20a) is administrating the fund in order to enhance product development and marketing and information efforts within the greenery sector. The board has representatives from Danish Christmas Tree Growers' Association (2), Danish Forest Society, Danish Land Development Service, Danish Forestry Extension, Association of Danish Greenery and Christmas Trees Wholesalers, Danish Nature Conservation Association, Danish Labour Movement's Trade Council, The Agricultural Council of Denmark, Federation of Danish Agricultural Associations, Danish Family Farm society, Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute and The National Forest and Nature Agency. And an observer from the Nursery Association.

The Nature Management Board
The Nature Management Board of the Act on Nature Conservation (§61) provides advice to the Minister on major nature management projects, including public afforestation (Act no. 835/1997). The Board comprises members from the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, the Association of County Boards in Denmark, The Association of Municipalities, Danish Nature Conservation Association, The Outdoor Council, Federation of Danish Agricultural Associations, The Danish Hunting Association, Danish Forest Society, Danish Birdlife Society, Danish Angling Federation. Besides these, the Minister of the Environment and Energy appoints two members with expertise in science and cultural history respectively, a representative of Danish tourism, the head of Board and a number of representatives from the Ministry.

The Nature Council
The Nature Council of the Act on Nature Conservation (§64) is comprised by four "wise men", who e.g. will give advice to the Nature Complaints Commission and initiate environmental consequence analyses of projects and legislative proposals. The Nature Council is supported by a secretariat and 30 representatives of counties, municipalities, interest organisations and science. The Nature Council replaces the former *Nature Protection Council*.

The Green Councils

In each county, a 'Green Council' provides advice on the administration of The Nature Conservation Act (§64). This includes advice related to state afforestation. The Councils should be balanced in terms of representing business interests and organisations on nature and outdoor activities, but the Act does not specify which organisations should be represented.

The Nature Conservancy Boards

In each county, a Nature Conservancy Boards of The Act on Nature Conservation (§33,3) leads proceedings towards conservation of an area. Such proceedings can be initiated by municipalities and Danish Nature Conservation Society. Nature Conservancy Boards are comprised by a judge, a member of the county council and a member of the relevant municipality council). The Board also make the final decision as to whether to carry out a conservation action or not. During the proceedings, the conservation case is subject to at least one public meeting (§37) where owners and users of the relevant properties, affected state authorities and municipalities, and organisations with an expected interest in the case are invited as well as persons who have expressed a desire to be invited. The decision of a Nature Conservancy Board can be appealed by the above mentioned stakeholders to the Nature Complaints Commission (the financial part of it to the Commission on Valuation, but only by those expected to receive or pay compensation).

The National Board on Wildlife Management

The National Board on Wildlife Management provides advice to the Minister of the Environment and Energy on the administration of the Act on Hunting and Wildlife Management (Act no. 114/1997).

The National Commission for Reserves

The National Commission for Reserves providing advice on the establishment of wildlife and bird reserves according to the Act on Hunting and Wildlife Management.

Public hearing requirements

The Planning Act (BKG no. 518/2000) demands public hearings (§§22-33). The rules on public hearings also pertain to the designation of afforestation areas in the regional planning process. The actual afforestation projects do not require public hearings, unless they are larger than 30 ha and situated in areas where afforestation is unwanted. Then an environmental impact assessment is required, including a public hearing. The same goes for clearance of forest reserves older than 20 years and larger than 30 ha without afforesting an area of similar size.

The Departmental Order on public involvement in major nature management projects (BKG no. 836/2000) prescribes public involvement in nature management projects that have legal background in Chapter 8 of the Act on Nature Conservation, when the projects are of such a size and cost that they have to be brought to the Nature Management Board for approval. In that case, the decision authority should inform affected stakeholders about the main contents of the planned project at least two weeks before the submission to the Nature Management Board (§3). The 'affected stakeholders' are defined as: (1) affected land owners; (2) state and municipal authorities with interests affected by the planned project; (3) if requested: local associations with a significant

interests, national organisations with nature conservation objectives or taking care of recreational interests that are potentially affected by the planned project. If the project is approved financing, the authority is obliged to involve the affected land owners, local NGOs and representatives of local society in the planning process, e.g. through representation in commissions, advisory groups etc. (§5). The local state forest user council shall be involved in projects on land owned or getting owned by the Forest & Nature Agency during project implementation.

Legally binding public rights to appeal decisions related to forestry

Acts related to forestry include some rights to complain about administrative decisions. All decisions made by counties, municipality councils, and conservancy boards according to the Act on Nature Conservation can be appealed once.

The Nature Complaints Board

The Nature Complaints Board of the Nature Conservation Act (§79) is the authority for complaints regarding administrative decisions related to the Nature Conservation Act, the Planning Act and the Forest Act. The board has a chairman, two members appointed by the Supreme Court and a number of members appointed by parties represented in the Finance Committee. Before the implementation of the Aarhus Convention (during the case study period for the present dissertation) the right to appeal decisions was restricted to the addressee of the decision, affected public authorities and local organisations that can document significant interest in the decision. Moreover, Danish Nature Conservation Association had a legitimate rights to complain according to The Act on Nature Conservation and together with the Outdoor Council, the two organisations also have a right to appeal decisions taken according to the Forest Act related to the imposition (§8) or suspension (§9) of forest reserve declaration on land areas, as well as dispensations to the prohibition of building, establish installations or change the terrain (§12, rf. §10).

With the implementation of the Aarhus Convention, this access to appeal decisions was broadened for both acts to encompass: (1) the addressee of the decision; (2) anyone with a significant personal interest in the case; (3) all local associations with a significant interest in the decision; (4) national associations, with nature and environmental conservation as their main objective and organisations looking after affected, recreational interests (Act no. 447/2000). In the hearing on modifications of regulations to the environmental legislation, 'anyone with a significant personal interest in the case' is, first of all, also the owner of the property encompassed by a particular decision.

In practice, the law change means, that any organisation asking to be informed about the aforementioned decisions will receive them as they appear (Lassen, pers. comm.).

Non-legally binding initiatives on public participation in forest management

There are a number of non-legally binding initiatives on public participation. Some of these are described below, encompassing most initiatives taken by The National Forest and Nature Agency. However, other public

authorities, forest owners´ representatives, NGOs and other stakeholders may also carry out activities within the span from one-way information dissemination to leaving control of decisions to participants. Some of these initiatives are listed below.

User councils at each State Forest District

Since 1995, each State Forest District has established advisory user councils. User councils have several designated members, including representatives from The Outdoor Council, The Danish Nature Conservation Society, The Danish Federation of Sport, the affected counties and municipalities as well as the forest district supervisor. Other members are elected at public meetings. Generally, all members of a user council should have local affiliation. The user councils have no decision authority and their composition and meeting frequency (minimum one meeting per year) vary, see Chapter 5. With the aforementioned departmental order on public involvement in major nature management projects, the user council is provided its first legal rights of involvement.

Advisory board of "Vestskoven" a major afforestation project west of Copenhagen

A major afforestation project "Vestskoven" west of Copenhagen was initiated in 1967. In 1992, the Minister of the Environment and Energy established an advisory board with the purpose to provide advice to The National Forest and Nature Agency about purchase of areas to the afforestation project. The board is comprised by six members appointed by The National Forest and Nature Agency by nomination from the municipalities surrounding the afforestation area.

Advisory board of "Dyrehaven"

The most intensively visited forest and park area of Denmark is Dyrehaven situated north of Copenhagen. An advisory board provides advice on the management of the area, according to provision of 27 August 1996. The board consists of nine members, mainly experts, appointed by the Minister of Environment and Energy.

User councils of the forests of Aarhus municipality.

Following the establishment of the state forest user councils, the forest administration of Aarhus municipality forests also established a user council to provide advice on forest management.

Day of The Forest

Since 1994, all State Forest Districts and some private forest districts have held an open-house arrangement on the second Sunday of May, called "Day of the Forest". This provides an opportunity to exchange knowledge and views with the public on forest activities. In 1998 as well as 1997, the number of visitors was 27,000, that is, around ½ % of the population (Einfeldt 1998a).

Popular management plans

The National Forest and Nature Agency has issued popular summaries of the 15 years management plans for two State Forest Districts (e.g. Miljø- og Energiministeriet, Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 1996a).

Nature guides and nature information centres

A forest ranger scheme has been established, where rangers ("nature guides") based on extension centres provide information on forest and nature to the public. In 1993, 55 such centres had been established. The National Forest and Nature Agency is responsible for the continued education of these nature guides.

Campaign to promote the use of wood

A range of organisations in the Danish wood industry has recently joined to carry out an information campaign called "Wood *is* environment". The aim is to enhance the sales of Danish wood products. Initially a countrywide survey was made about people's knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in relation to forestry and to wood products as compared to substituting products (IFO 1997).

Forest Information programme

The National Forest and Nature Agency has since 1990 together with Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute, Danish Forest Society, Danish Forestry Extension and Danish Land Development Service been funding and running a Forest Information programme, consisting of a continuing professional information campaign targeted at forest owners, with the aim to improve forest management and the general awareness of forest management principles. The programme takes due consideration to the multiple values of forests, examplified by Koch and Kristiansen (1991).

Richer Forest

During 1995-1996, all employees at the state owned forests have been on a one week extension course, "Richer Forest" on how to manage the forest with due regard to environmental aspects. The same opportunity has not been provided to employees or managers in private forestry.

Projects "Skov & Folk" and "Friluftsliv '95"

A major survey 'Forest and People' has provided a detailed picture on a national as well as local level of people's preferences and use of forests for recreational purposes (e.g. Koch 1978). The survey has been repeated and extended in the 1990s (Jensen and Koch 1997). This survey may be the closest to obtaining the opinion of the unorganised Dane towards forest management (for recreational purposes) and could be regarded as a one-way form of user participation.

Initiatives by Danish Nature Conservation Society

Danish Nature Conservation Society has a campaign to enhance children awareness of nature and another campaign to enhance members' awareness of their rights to call for public information and to participate in environmental decision processes.

Public participation initiatives in natural resources management besides forestry

Advisory councils on the cultural environment

Since January 1998, each county can establish regional, professional councils on the cultural environment to provide advice to municipalities and counties according to Act on Councils on the Cultural Environment (Act no. 429/1997). The councils are to ensure that the cultural environment is taken into consideration in environmental policy-making and administrative decision-making. The councils will be involved in decisions related to conservation of buildings, city planning and projects to re-establish nature. Each council has 7-9 members. Two appointed by the Museum Council, one from the County Council, one from the Association of Municipalities, one from the Association of Local Record Offices, and one from Danish Nature Conservation Society.

User groups for wildlife and bird reserves

The Act on Hunting and Wildlife Management allows for designation of wildlife and bird reserves. The designation process is guided by the Reserve Unit (National Forest and Nature Agency) and carried out in co-operation with various stakeholders. There is a tradition, that is, no legal obligation of involving local user groups in the appointment of the specific reserve area and formulation of restrictions related to its use and protection. Danish Hunting Association, Danish BirdLife Association, Danish Nature Conservation Society and Danish Open Air Council are responsible for joining users whose interests could possibly be affected by a coming regulation. This results in a legal notice for the area.

4

Methodology

The aim of this dissertation is to conceptualise public participation in relation to Danish forestry as a basis for evaluating participation efforts. This conceptualisation is carried out in three steps. In Chapter 2 it was investigated how participation is phrased and investigated in research literature. In Chapter 3, it was studied how public participation evolves as a concept in the forest policy debate. In the following chapters, participation in forestry is conceptualised based on a context-dependent analysis of real-life practices. The aim of the present chapter, thus, is to outline the methodology used to conceptualise participation as it is expressed in real-life activities.

4.1 What is methodology-method-research design

4.1.1 Research as a craft where methodology is a guide to train research skills

Basically, we consider research as a craft, a process of training and exercising skills, craftmanship, to produce, in a systematic way, new, *trustworthy* knowledge *relevant* to a particular research problem and for potential use by someone. The present dissertation can be considered the first stage of a life-long learning process towards some level of expertise, eventually the intuitive expert, as suggested by Flyvbjerg (1991). *Research methodology* then, is concerned with the ways of scientific craftmanship, in terms of specifying the research problem in relation to theory, designing the research process, and choosing relevant methods to gather and analyse data and report the research findings.

It is tempting to consider research being similar to the baker baking bread, or the bricklayer building a house. The outcome is no better than the quality of the process and the choice of input factors. As

a novice social science researcher, we have to deliberately investigate what may characterise a high quality research process, in order to set standards for evaluating our own work and progress as a researcher. The overall determinants of successful research may be

- Scientific relevance: that the issue has been insufficiently assessed theoretically
- Scientific quality: validity and reliability measures considering rules of 'good scientific practice'

In applied research, additional criteria of success could be

- Practical relevance: that it takes a point of departure in a practical policy problem
- Practical quality: that the research can be applied for practical use in the future (Lund 1997).

This seems straightforward but is not.

4.1.2 Overview of methodology concepts

The planned process of generating, analysing and interpreting data can be called a *research design*: "A research design is a plan that guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting observations. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among the variables under investigation. The research design also defines the domain of generalisability to a larger population or to different situations". (Nachmias & Nachmias 1992: 77-78).

The components of a research design can be illustrated as in Figure 4.1 (Andersen 1990:171).

The way we perceive our research problem and, thus, how to generate relevant knowledge and what methods to use, in short, the *research paradigm*, is determined by our *ontology*, i.e., how we basically look at the world, and by our *epistemology*, i.e. how we can obtain knowledge about the world (Maaløe 1996).

A *methodology* is "a general approach to studying a research topic: It establishes how one will go about studying any phenomenon" (Silverman 1993:2). Also, methodology considers the underlying assumptions and what types of explanation are considered satisfactory (Rigby 1965).

Method is " a procedure or process for attaining an object: as **a** (1) **:** a systematic procedure, technique, or mode of inquiry employed by or proper to a particular discipline or art (2) **:** a

systematic plan followed in presenting material for instruction **b** (1) **:** a way, technique, or process of or for doing something (2) **:** a body of skills or techniques" (Merriam-Webster 2000).

Figure 4.1 Components of a research design

<div align="center">

Problem formulation

⇓

Ontology and epistemology

⇓

Personal experiences ⇒   ⇐Theory

⇓

Methodology

⇓

Method

⇓

Data analysis

(validity, reliability)

</div>
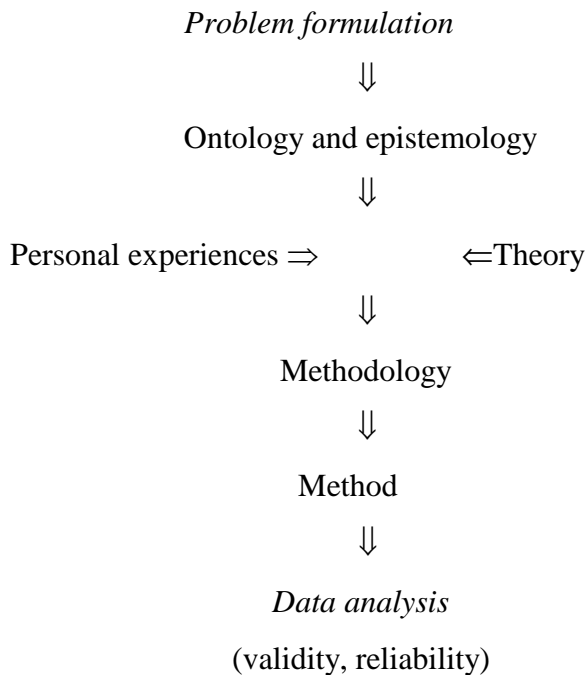
Surveys, experiments, case studies, are examples of different *research methods/strategies*. Each of these research methods relies on one or more *quantitative or qualitative data-gathering methods*, e.g. the qualitative methods: questionnaires, interviews, observation or document analysis (e.g. Yin 1994; Flyvbjerg 1991; Silverman 1993). Various *techniques* can be used to structure and analyse data, e.g. statistical analysis, putting information into different arrays, create data displays, e.g. flowcharts, or tabulate the frequency or chronology of events (Miles & Huberman 1984).

Together, the methods and techniques should be carried out in a way that ensures the *validity* and *reliability* of the produced knowledge and to what extent or how it can be *generalised* to a broader context. *Validity* refers to the extent to which our measures correspond to the concepts they are intended to reflect (Manheim & Rich 1995). *Reliability* refers to the consistency of the research findings (Kvale 1996).

4.1.3 Identifying the research problem

Applied research is oriented towards providing scientific knowledge to solve practical problems, as in this case related with forests and other natural resources. This is in contrast to fundamental research, where the main interest lies in the development of scientific theory and where 'forest and natural resources issues' may just be one among many cases to examplify, verify or maybe falsify theory-building efforts.

Basically, a problem is a question looking for an answer or remaining unanswered. A practical problem does not need to imply a research problem as well. But if we do not possess knowledge to solve the problem, we may point at a scientific problem.

In the present dissertation, the practical problem was that the Government had a particular goal of strengthening public participation in relation to forestry (Miljøministeriet 1994) without specifying the contents and by what success criteria it should be measured, as outlined in Chapter 3. Thus, there were two practical problems: (1) how to operationalise a goal of strengthening public participation and (2) how to measure progress in terms of strengthened participation. Analysis of the policy documents showed a vague and uncertain understanding and interpretation of the concept of public participation and what it meant to strengthen it in the particular context of forestry. Therefore, the first research problem appeared: *What is understood by participation in the particular context of Danish forestry?* This problem was reformulated to capture the dynamic nature of the creation and modification of concepts, to ask *How is participation conceptualised in the context of Danish forestry?* Accordingly, the second practical problem of measuring progress could possibly be answered, combining present theories on participation with the conceptualisation of participation in a Danish forestry context.

4.1.4 Ontology, epistemology and research paradigms - what knowledge can we have?

The basic ontological question is: Does there exist one true reality, independent of our ways of perceiving this reality? In a *positivist* (as well as *critical theory*) philosophy, knowledge is a reflection of the real world. Reality exists independent of our perceptions and is of a material character. This means that there is a singular *truth* about this reality which can be described by means of *objective* data, namely by using quantitative methods. Subsequently, we should try to

disclose this truth by means of social structures and social facts, e.g. by testing hypotheses and using quantitative methods (Maaløe 1996). The role of the researcher then, is the 'objective, disinterested scientist', informing decision-makers (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Launsø & Rieper 1997).

Critical theorists claim that knowledge is highly influenced by the researcher's values during the research, and knowledge is dynamic, depending on the historical and structural insights. Therefore research leads to a *value-mediated* perception of truth. Hereby the role of the researcher becomes the ability to perform transformative research, as advocate or activist (Guba & Lincoln 1994).

In a post-modern perspective, the conception of knowledge as a mirror of reality is replaced by knowledge as a social construction of reality (Kvale 1996; 1997). The extreme assumption held by *social constructivists* is that reality only exists through our perception. Therefore, there is not one true reality, but several competing 'realities'. In relation to research, all findings are subjective and scientific knowledge is *constructed* by the scientist based on the interaction between the researcher and the researched. Subsequently, the researcher aims at disclosing these social constructions and deriving meanings from them, namely by use of qualitative methods (Maaløe 1996). The consequence is that truth becomes relative and what is considered a 'fact' changes over time and space. Truth is constituted through dialogue. Validity of knowledge claims is discussed and negotiated among the members of a community, with the norms and debate being the court to evaluate knowledge claims. In other words, validity becomes the issue of choosing among competing and falsifiable interpretations, of examining and providing arguments for the relative credibility of alternative knowledge claims, 'intersubjectivity' (Polkinghorne 1983), involving three issues: (i) Focus on the process of producing facts rather than on the produced facts; (ii) Communication of knowledge; (iii) Pragmatic proof through action, as the positivist justification of knowledge is replaced by the ability of knowledge to perform effective and ethically right action (Kvale 1996; 1997). See also Boon & Helles (1999) for an application of validity and reliability criteria to the development of descriptive indicators of sustainable forest management.

In this project, we have chosen an intermediate point of view, where we acknowledge that part of the observed reality mirrors a material reality, whereas part of it is a social construct. Hereby the

purpose of research becomes twofold: to describe the 'factual' content, and to disclose the social constructions embedded in the field we are studying.

4.2 Choosing the case study method for the present study

Participation is context dependent. The mechanisms of participation should therefore be analysed in relation to the specific situation, in order to *understand* the mechanisms of participation in planning for forests and afforestation areas. By this approach, dialogue and learning become central aspects of the research process. The research questions *"What is understood by public participation in the context of Danish forestry"* and *"How is participation conceptualised..."* point towards a study aiming at understanding the phenomenon participation, i.e. a phenomenological study.

4.2.1 When is a case study an appropriate research method?

As outlined by Launsø & Rieper (1997) and Yin (1994), different types of research questions point towards different types of relevant research methods. A case study design, Yin (1994) argues, is most likely to be appropriate when investigating questions relating to 'how' or 'why', similarly to experiments, archival analysis or history. As opposed to this, statistical studies based on quantitative data may better answer questions of the form who, what, where, how much, how many. Following Launsø & Rieper (1997) case studies are also ideal to investigate questions of the phenomenological type 'what is x?' as the research question of the present dissertation. The case study approach is indeed appropriate in a phenomenological study, as it provides an opportunity to

- investigate the contemporary phenomenon 'participation' within its real-life context, especially as the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not evident
- capture the complex situations, the many variables of interest related to participation and forestry. The aim is to conceptualise participation in forestry in a way that captures the dynamics, i.e., the interaction on the borderline of what is considered as the 'forest sector' and what is considered as 'society in general', between those considered 'outside' and those considered 'inside' forestry, between those considered decision-makers and those considered participants, and between actors and structure.
- rely on multiple sources of evidence

- benefit from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin 1994).

4.2.2 Analytic generalisation of case studies

Case studies, like experiments, can be generalised to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study does not represent a statistical sample, as e.g. a survey, and the goal of the investigator is to expand and generalise theories, *analytic generalisation*, and not to enumerate frequencies, *statistical generalisation* (Yin 1994).

4.2.3 An integrative approach to case study research

A case study can be carried out with an inductive or a deductive research approach or a combination. The deductive study aims at testing a theoretical framework on reality (e.g. Yin 1994), whereas the inductive starts with investigating empirics and develops a grounded theory from empirical evidence (e.g. Strauss & Corbin 1990). We have chosen an interaction between these two approaches, called an integrative or, dialectic (Maaløe 1996) approach, in order to get a 'thick' understanding of the problem complex. We have reviewed various literature and theories of potential relevance to the issue of public participation. Within this theoretical framework we have developed a semi-structured interview guide for the case study research. The data generation and analysis will be determined partly by the theoretical framework, partly by the issues that emanate from the interviews. The aim is to generalise the results from the case studies to some broader theory on participation, *analytic generalisation*.

4.2.4 Establishing the quality of case study research

The present study relies on the idea of research as a craftmanship, where guidelines for establishing the research quality can support the novice researcher. As argued by Kvale (1996; 1997), validity and reliability is not restricted to the research context, as verification of information and interpretations is a normal activity in the interactions and routines of daily life. But, we would argue, social trust in the validity, reliability and generalisability of research based knowledge is the ultimate legitimacy of research as a discipline. The question is, whether this social trust is best

ensured by formalising the rules determining what good quality research is, and apply it as a 'quality insurance' to any research outcome. The alternative is to let the research outcome speak for itself. "Ideally..", Kvale says, "..the quality of craftmanship results in products with knowledge claims that are so powerful and convincing in their own right, that they so to say carry the validation with them, such as a strong piece of art" (Kvale 1997:246). These are the words of an intuitive expert, though, and do not suffice for the novice researcher or user of research, not knowing the ranges of research paradigms, methods and techniques.

Research quality should be considered throughout the research process. For this purpose, Kvale (1997:232) suggests validation of an interview study to be considered at seven stages of the research process, as outlined in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Validation at seven stages

1) *Thematising.* The validity of an investigation rests upon the soundness of the theoretical presuppositions of a study and upon the logic of the derivations from theory to the research questions of the study.

2) *Designing.* The validity of the knowledge produced by a research design involves the adequacy of the design and the methods used for the subject matter and purpose of the study. From an ethical perspective, the validity of a research design involves beneficience – producing knowledge beneficial to the human situation while minimising harmful consequences.

3) *Interviewing.* Validity here involves the trustworthiness of the subject's reports and the quality of the interviewing, which should include careful questioning to the meaning of what is said and a continual checking of the information obtained.

4) *Transcribing.* The question of what is a valid translation from oral to written language is raised by choice of linguistic style of the transcript.

5) *Analysing.* This involves the question whether the questions put to a text are valid and whether the logic of the interpretations made is sound.

6) *Validating.* This entails a reflected judgment as to what forms of validation are relevant in a specific study, the application of the concrete procedures of validation, and a decision on what is the appropriate community for a dialogue on validity.

7) *Reporting.* This involves the question whether a given report gives a valid account of the main findings of a study, and also the question of the role of the readers of the report in validating the results.

Source: Kvale (1997: 232).

Boon & Helles (1999) outlined specific criteria for research validity and reliability within the social constructivist conception of research, but based on traditional positivist conceptions of validity and reliability. The criteria were developed to fulfil requirements of construct validity (Yin 1994), communicative validity (Kvale 1996; 1997), pragmatic validity (Manheim & Rich 1995; Kvale 1996; 1997) and reliability (Yin 1994). With specific interest in developing descriptive indicators of sustainable forest management, they reached the following steps to ensure the research quality:

- Specify the propositions/hypotheses underlying the choice and interpretation of indicators.

- Specify what variables are focused on when analysing evidence in relation to each indicator.

- Specify sources of evidence that are being used.

- Have data generated for a given (set of) indicator(s) to reflect a picture of the competing realities.

- Take different perspectives on the same data set and discuss credibility and strength of the different interpretations.

- Specify what scale the data relate to.

- Have the draft research report reviewed by key informants.

- Check results obtained from use of the indicator against results obtained from use of another indicator that is known to be a valid measure of the concept, or test the *predictive validity* of the indicator.

- Have the final report discussed by a paneuropean panel of experts (Boon & Helles 1999: 28-29).

4.2.5 Two case studies chosen in order to provide maximum variation

In the present dissertation, two cases of decision-making in relation to forest resources management were chosen, along with the user council survey, in order to provide a broad perspective on the premises, opportunities and barriers to public participation in forestry and afforestation. As opposed to statistical samples, cases are often chosen, not to be representative of a particular population, but in relation to the information they are expected to provide. One alternative is to choose the extreme and deviating cases, e.g. the most problematic or most successful cases of participation. Another alternative is to use critical cases, which allows one to conclude that if a particular conclusion can (not) be made for the particular case, then it can for all (no) cases. A third choice can be the paradigmatic case, a case that can be used as a metaphor or create precendence for future practice in the specific area. Finally, the choice of cases can be aimed at maximum variation, in order to obtain information about the effect of different conditions on the case (Flyvbjerg 1991; Launsø & Rieper 1997). This can be either systematic comparison of one effect, following a replication logic as suggested by Yin (1994). Or, as in the present study, it can be deliberate choice of different cases to provide as broad and 'thick' understanding of the particular phenomenon to be studied.

In Chapter 6, the cases will briefly be described in terms of

- History of the case, i.e. how it originated and evolved

- Case context. Physical, social and political context in the local environment and how they are manifested locally, facilitated by what actors?! National context partly described in Chapter 2

- Decision-making structure, formal and informal
- Results of decision-making and distribution of costs and benefits from decisions
- Case activities and case behaviour
- Main conflicts (Flyvbjerg 1991).

4.3 Data gathering

The present study relies on semi-structured interviews, observation of/participation in meetings, document analysis and analysis of survey material as data sources. The following sections outline the applied data generation methods in detail. The two cases: Copenhagen state forest user councils and Afforestation at Ringsted, are presented in more detail in Chapter 6.

The only empirical study on the Danish state forest user councils so far is a survey of user councils function carried out by the Forest and Nature Agency. Basically, the survey tested the performance of the user council guidelines, more than the performance of the user councils, in enhancing their influence on forest management (Boon & Meilby 2000). Therefore, I found a phenomenological study useful to investigate the nature of participation in Danish forestry, the user councils and how they function. Accordingly, we have aimed at an integrative approach, with snowball sampling of informants and data material guided by informants and prevailing data, as well as by a framework of overall research themes/issues developed on the basis of the theory review in Chapter 2.

The present case studies rely to a great extent on interviews as a primary source of information, as the main focus lies on *perceptions* related with public participation more than *'objective facts'*. The 'facts' related with public participation, i.e. legislation and rules, planning procedures, sizes of NGOs, formal roles of the various actors (municipalities, counties, NGOs) are outlined in Boon (1998). Some questions like: "Did the user council lead to changed decision-making?" are very hard to answer unambiguously. From meeting reports and interviews it may be found that the user council supported a given decision to be carried out. The decision may or may not be executed. It cannot from the outside be judged whether it was really a result of the user council's opinion. Instead, the user council members, the forest supervisor or other actors involved in the decision could be asked. The meeting report contents can provide additional information in order to get a

thick description of the possible situation. But still, the aim is not to tell as a 'fact' whether they had influence, but perceptions whether the user council effected, or did not effect, the decision.

4.3.1 Interviews

We have used semi-structured, individual interviews based on one interview guide that was refined and revised during the round of interviews.

Informants

We have used a combination of strategic sampling and snowball sampling to identify my informants.

Part of the aim has been to describe and conceptualise a framework for analysing public participation. We have therefore deliberately chosen informants in order to have as many different perspectives as possible.

One case study is a user council established at Copenhagen State Forest District in 1995. It therefore seemed obvious to have a first interview with the forest district supervisor and thereafter continue with some of the other user council members, partly using snowball sampling (sampling based on accumulated information), partly considering strategic sampling, as the user council is composed of a number of interest groups.

The forest district supervisor would be a key informant that we could go back to, time after time. The forest district supervisor suggested who we should talk with, adding his perception of them.
We participated in two user council meetings in 1998 and again one in 1999, where we got a first impression of the participants. This has also affected the choice of informants.

On one hand, it is tempting to try and have 'representative informants', informants that are representative or typical of their organisation or of the situation they are in. Representativity in a statistical sense is not possible, however, even more so that the case study has not been randomly selected. And sometimes 'the typical' or 'the representative' are not those that provide most information, new perspectives on an issue. So rather than choosing informants that are considered

typical, I chose informants in order to maximise perspectives, seeking the extreme rather than the average. The aim was to continue interviewing new informants until we had the (subjective!) impression, that interviewing one more informant would not add significantly new information/new perspectives on the case.

In total, 11 informants were interviewed in the Copehagen user council case. This includes the forest supervisor, one ranger, two user council members from the Danish Outdoor Council, three user council members from Danish Nature Conservation Association (DN), one user council member from a municipality, one technical manager from the administration in the same municipality, one local NGO 'Friends of Farum Nature Park' non-member, and one Forest Planning official from the Forest Planning Division, the National Forest and Nature Agency.

We have used semi-structured, individual interviews with one core interview guide that was refined and revised during the round of interviews. It appeared, along the way, that the interview types differ, according to (1) whether the informant is a public official or whether he speaks as a private person representing himself, an NGO or perhaps the municipal councils; (2) whether the informant has solid knowledge on forestry and nature or not - as we tended to forget our own particular forestry background and how that affects the interview situation.

A similar approach was used in the afforestation case. A total of eight informants were interviewed. This encompassed two farmers, a DN chairman, a municipal official, an Outdoor council member, a county planning official, a state forest supervisor and a journalist. Two other interviews were planned but not realised, i.e. an interview with the mayor and one with a representative of a local business people network.

Place
The interviews took place at the informant's workplace or residence. Mostly, we were alone with the informant, but at one occasion, we had an interview in an office landscape, at another occasion the informant had invited a second informant, so that it became more like a group interview.

Transcription

All interviews were recorded on tapes and transcribed by ourselves. We have aimed at transcribing the interviews word by word. We did this for two reasons: (1) To analyse informants' language: I have assumed that participation partly depends on how people communicate, i.e., how they command and use language, what words they use, and what meaning they put into particular words. This is closely related to the phenomenological point of view, according to which reality is shaped through the things we say. This means, that what we say and how we say it, is a mirror of our individual realities; (2) To learn about the interaction interviewer - informant, study our own interviewing style, way of asking and how it affects informants and their way of answering.

After each interview, we briefly made some reflections, in order to grasp our intuitive sense of the situation, on (1) the interview situation; (2) the informants' role in the case study; (3) ideas for further selection of informants and modification of interview guide.

Interview issues

The main interview issues were:

- Informants' background and organisational affiliation, motivation to participate
- Informants' (organisations') connection to Copenhagen State Forest District (CSFD)
- Perception of interests, their relevance and present representation in connection to CSFD management.
- Questions specific to the user councils function
- Perception of what makes 'good co-operation', perception of 'participation'.
- Perception of opportunities of exerting influence: how
- Knowledge acquisition - how, what, where?

Particular questions that proved useful:

- What do you see as the major, future challenges to CSFD?
- What do you see as the major future challenges to your future work in relation to...(be in NGO-work, at district or..)?

Validity and reliability of interview data

The interviews have been recorded which should be enough to ensure the immediate validity and reliability of data. Not in terms of: "Are they telling us the truth?", but in terms of: "Did this informant put forward that viewpoint?" The continued processing of data may require a second level of validity testing, as we may have misunderstood the intended meaning of given statements. A way of overcoming this is to send out the case report to all informants in order to see if they recognise the points of views put forward. This involves the risk of informants 'denying' or not wanting in public statements, that they actually put forward, even if they are considered anonymous.

Anonymity and confidentiality

As a rule, we always started an interview with saying that interview data are confidential, and only our supervisor and ourselves will see them as they are. Informants will be anonymous in the final report, and in cases where it is apparent, who said and did what, we will contact them to ask for permission for citation. In principle, this seems very good. In practice, it provides a problem, as, e.g. anyone could find out in a minute exactly who 'the forest supervisor' is in the user council case study.

4.3.2 Observations

During the case study research we participated in the following meetings at Copenhagen State Forest District:

- User council meetings (two in January 1998, one in January 1999)
- Public meeting (in May 1999 and in June 1999),

Similarly, during the afforestation case, we participated in two local plant-a-tree-committee meetings, we had a meeting with municipal planners, and with two informants we went to see the landscape planned for afforestation, as well as afforestation realised elsewhere in the district.

For all observations, we used an observation context scheme with the following categories of registration: Surroundings, Who are present/who are absent, Who talks/who is silent. Eventually we have registered distribution of actors on age and gender, who is sitting/standing where, clothing, eye contact, attentiveness, etc. Immediately after each observation we aimed at writing down the

following: the observed occasion, place, time and date for observation, name and role of the observant, time and date of registration of observations, reflections about contents of observation and their usefulness.

We have aimed at enhancing the validity of observations by (1) being the observant ourselves, i.e. first hand information; (2) having co-observants validating our observation context scheme in terms of stating whether it corresponds with their perception of the occasion or not.

4.3.4 Documents

The following documents have been included as part of the Copenhagen case study, handed out from the Forest Planning Division, the Forest & Nature Agency:

- Meeting reports from all user council meetings at Copenhagen State Forest District.
- Copenhagen State Forest District Forest Management Plan 1995-2010
- Letters and other documentation collected in a Forest & Nature Agency file on the Copenhagen State Forest planning process.
- Newspaper articles, some of them handed out from the Forest & Nature Agency.

Besides this, we have used general documentation in terms of legislation, administrative rules and national strategies, obtained at libraries, via the governmental institutions and/or via internet.

The documents have been analysed individually, according to the content we were looking for. However, for each document not easily obtained from public libraries or the National Forest & Nature Agency (i.e., not books, national strategies, legislation) we have made a document context sheet with the following information: reference (how the document will be referred to in the literature list), who it was received from/associated with, when it was received, a brief summary of the context, reflections on the significance/importance of the document and on its contents.

Similarly, the afforestation case is supported by documents: municipal council meeting reports, county documents and files from the regional planning process to appoint afforestation areas, and documents from the state forest district.

4.3.5 Other sources of information

In 1997, The National Forest and Nature Agency evaluated the user councils of each state forest district by means of a survey. A total of 323 questionnaires were given to 303 persons, as some persons are member of more than one council. The number of respondents was 244, or 76 per cent. The material has been analysed by Boon & Meilby (2000) and will be used here as well, see Chapter 5.

5

User councils
a survey

Tove Enggrob Boon & Henrik Meilby

The aim of the present chapter is to examine to which extent the members of all 25 state forest district user councils perceive that the councils have enhanced the influence of users on state forest management. We also analyse whether the members' perception of their influence depends on factors such as organisational affiliation and affiliation to forest district.

The analysis is based on a survey to evaluate the function of the 25 state forest user councils, carried out in 1998 by the Forest & Nature Agency and as such, the data were given beforehand. The present chapter can also be found in Boon & Meilby (2000).

5.1 Introduction

Public participation has come up on the European forest agenda. The Lisbon Resolution 'People, Forests and Forestry' (1998) emphasises the need for "an adequate level of participation, education, public relations and transparency in forestry." Also, the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests recommends development of national forest programmes with participatory processes (IPF 1997) and, in particular, the 1998 Convention on access to environmental information and public participation in environmental decision-making has called attention to the issue (UN-ECE 1998).

Public participation in forestry has a long tradition in the US (for a bibliography see, e.g. Lawrence and Daniels 1996). In European forest management, public participation is a new issue (Solberg and Miina 1997). Denmark may be typical in this sense: Advisory boards are found at the national level of forest policy formulation and administration like, e.g. The Forest Council in Denmark, and various subject-specific advisory groups may assist in the formulation

and implementation of particular projects or policy statements, e.g. development of a strategy and operational guidelines for sustainable forest management (Ministry of the Environment 1994; Nepenthes Consult 1996). However, the members of these advisory groups are all easily identified stakeholders, such as major non-governmental organisations and public authorities, rather than representatives of the general public. Other forms of public participation at national, regional, and local levels have been concentrated at single points in time, and the involvement has mostly been at the later stages of the planning process. For instance, state forest planning has traditionally included hearings of major non-governmental organisations, municipalities, and counties within the particular state forest district. In these cases, forest users' real opportunity to influence the process is limited, as the problems to address and the possible solution alternatives have already been selected.

It therefore seemed as a bit of a breakthrough when the Danish Government in 1995 decided that all 25 state forest districts should establish one or more user councils. The main objective of these councils was to enhance the involvement and influence of local users in the management and utilisation of public forests (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c).

In total, 33 user councils have been established with up to 14 members each. Most are designated members from municipalities, counties, and a few major interest organisations, see Table 1. However, some councils also have members elected at public meetings as well as representatives from The Defence and from agricultural, hunting and tourist organisations. All members should have local affiliation.

The councils have now been active for more than two years, and the fundamental question is whether they have succeeded to enhance the influence of local users.

Table 1. Organisations represented in the 33 state forest user councils by July 1997.

Organisation	Number of members	Per cent of total number
Designated members		75.5
Municipalities	102	31.6
Counties	35	10.8
Danish Nature Conservation Society	36	11.1
Outdoor Council	37	11.5
Danish Federation of Sport	34	10.5
Other members	79	24.5
Total	323	100.0

Source: Driftsplankontoret 1997.

5.2 Initial assumptions

When we look at the initial position of the user councils and compare with similar experiences from the US and Canada, including Arnstein's (1969) characterisation of public consultations as tokenism, there are many reasons to expect that user councils will not enhance users' influence on state forest management:

- User councils only have an advisory function, whereas the decision authority is with the forest district supervisor. Hereby their role may range "from empty ritual to meaningful influence" as found by Knaap et al. (1998) in analysing the function of citizen advisory groups in relation to the US remedial action plans for severely degraded Areas Of Concern.

- Meeting frequency is low: Most user councils meet two or three times a year. Other councils only meet once a year, and sometimes council meetings are in fact part of a public meeting. This limits two-way information flow and thereby acts as a barrier to influence. This is supported by results from the evaluation of Ouachita National Forest advisory committees (Frentz et al. 1997), as well as Moote et al. (1997) evaluating the Coordinated Resource Management at the San Pedro River in Arizona.

- The forest district literally sets the agenda, as it calls in members' proposals for the agenda and prepares reports from user council meetings. Hereby the district can leave out 'troublesome problems' as irrelevant for the agenda, and troublesome comments may be left out of the meeting report.

- Major issues, such as tree species choice, harvesting schedule, or drainage, are principally not subject for discussion. These issues are outlined in the management plan which is being

prepared every 15 years by the central administration of The National Forest and Nature Agency. However, the local forest user council is consulted when the forest management plan is revised (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c).

- Only few user council members can be expected to have expertise on silviculture and economics, which are the principal foundations of forest management and planning. Discussions about increased multiple concerns at the possible expense of silvicultural ideals become a battle between different paradigms of knowledge and values. As far as the forest district supervisor has the full decision authority, one could expect the discussion to follow his premises. In addition, technical jargon may discourage the council member's expression of emotionally motivated values when presenting their perspectives on future resource management (Magill 1991).

- Council members may easily fail to represent local users if (i) they have to cover a large geographical area; (ii) they don't have sufficient dialogue with their base of support, and instead develop a group identity of their own, as found by Hendee et al. (1973). This is particularly expected to be a risk for municipality representatives, as they have to represent all municipalities within the state forest district area while, at the same time, forestry is an untraditional issue to discuss in a municipality context.

Immediately, user councils seem to be a neat solution to the political aim of public participation. Low cost, low influence, low risk - but what do the members think themselves?

This chapter examines to which extent the members perceive that the councils have enhanced the influence of users on state forest management. We also analyse whether the members' perception of their influence depends on factors such as organisational affiliation and affiliation to forest district.

5.3 Material and methodology

In 1998, The National Forest and Nature Agency evaluated the user councils of each forest district by means of a survey. A total of 323 questionnaires were distributed to 303 persons, as some persons are member of more than one council. The number of responses was 244, corresponding to a response rate of 76 per cent.

The Agency formulated 66 questions, mainly related to the user council guidelines. These guidelines were also included in the questionnaire (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998). The survey included questions about the member's perceived influence, the composition of the user council, the meeting frequency, the contents of council meetings, dissemination of information in advance of meetings, responsiveness of the forest district and other council members, involvement of non-represented stakeholders, and personal interest in various issues. The background variables comprised organisational and local affiliation, number of meetings invited to and attended, age, gender, and occupation.

The scientific use of the material is limited by deficiencies in the survey structure and contents:

- Some questions are ambiguous and/or too broad. Hence, the responses become ambiguous as well, and this may result in high percentages of don't know answers, e.g. for question 1 (see Table 2).
- Graduation of the responses using a Likert-scale would have provided a more detailed picture of respondents' perceptions, e.g. as regards perceived influence (1, 2) and attentiveness (42, 56, 43).
- The guidelines outlining competencies of the user councils are specified above each survey question. Hence, it is unsure whether the respondent answers according to the outlined competencies, or according to how the respondent would like things to be.
- Questions are posed in an inexpedient order, as some of the most sensitive questions, e.g. concerning the perception of influence (1, 2), are the first questions to be asked.

Bearing these deficiencies in mind, we focus on fifteen questions that deal with the perceived influence of the user councils, the meeting frequency, and the communication between forest district and council members. Table 2 lists these fifteen questions and the response rates. The question numbers are the same as in the original questionnaire. However, we have rearranged the questions into a more logical sequence for this chapter. Questions 1 and 2 concern the member's general perception of influence; questions 3, 4 and 55 are related to the member's interest in and dialogue on forest management; the following seven questions consider the communication between forest district and user council, and the last questions 62, 63 and 22 are concerned with the meeting frequency. In the first twelve questions the respondents could choose between the answers: 'yes', 'no' or 'don't know'. In questions 62 and 63 the respondent reports the number of meetings invited to and attended. The responses to questions 62 and 63 are

used to calculate the attendance ratio (63/62). In question 22 the response alternatives are: 'too high', 'appropriate', 'too low', and 'don't know', respectively.

Table 2. Survey questions analysed.

Question no.		Yes %	No %	Don't know %
1	Has the work in the user councils enhanced the influence of users on the management and use of the district areas in general?	50	22	28
2	Has the work in the user councils enhanced your/your organisation's influence on the management and use of the district areas?	49	32	19
3	Has the work in the user council enhanced your interest in the management and use of the district areas?	94	4	2
4	Has the establishment of the user councils enhanced the dialogue in your support base about the management of the state forests?	61	25	14
55	Have you, as a consequence of your work in the user council, carried on information about management of the state forest districts to your base of support?	86	9	5
32	Are the opportunities to have issues put on the agenda satisfactory?	84	3	13
33	Are the agenda and supplements sent out timely?	94	3	3
34	Is information provided by the district in advance or at the meeting sufficient?	90	5	5
42	Is the district attentive towards the viewpoints set forward in the user council?	86	3	11
56	Are the other user council members attentive towards your viewpoints?	71	3	26
43	Is the district's treatment of and reporting back on questions and suggestions from the council satisfactory?	85	5	10
35	Are the most essential points of view held by the user council members reported in the minutes from the user council meetings?	86	8	6
62	How many user council meetings and/or public meetings at the forest district have you been invited to?	-	-	-
63	How many user council meetings and/or public meetings at the forest district have you attended?	-	-	-
63/62	Attendance ratio (100% * number of meetings attended / meetings invited to).	-	-	-
22	The number of meetings is... (too high, appropriate, too low, don't know).	-	-	-

The survey shows that half of the respondents feel that they and/or the forest users have gained influence by virtue of the user councils. The vast majority (94 per cent) finds that user councils have enhanced their interest in state forest management. In addition, many respondents (86 per cent) state that they have passed on information to their support base, and 61 per cent finds that dialogue on forest management has increased at their support base, following the establishment of the user councils. Finally, the majority also considers the forest district (86 per cent) as well as the other council members (71 per cent) to be responsive. Nevertheless, about one fifth of the respondents do not feel that user councils have enhanced the influence of forest users, while one third does not experience that their own influence has increased. The respondents reported an average rate of 4.3 meetings during their participation period (end of 1995 to end of 1997).

Statistical analysis

Different groups of respondents may have different attitudes towards the achievements of the user councils or towards the communication between forest districts and user councils. Therefore we tested the homogeneity of contingency tables where each group of respondents, e.g. those representing a specific organisation, is considered a fixed-size population. For each population a multinomial distribution is assumed and the homogeneity assumption implies that the a priori probability of a specific response, e.g. 'yes', is the same for all populations of the contingency table. The homogeneity assumption might be tested by means of traditional Pearson χ^2 and likelihood-ratio tests (e.g. SAS 1990:865). However, in these tests the test quantities (Q and G^2, respectively) are only approximately χ^2 distributed, and in the majority of the contingency tables the number of cells with expected frequencies less than five proved to be high, implying that the tests might not be valid. Accordingly, it was decided to apply Fisher's exact test whenever it was practical in terms of computation time. In all other cases, the observed value of Pearson's Q test quantity was tested against the approximate distribution of Q under the null hypothesis (homogeneity). This distribution was generated by Monte-Carlo simulation (100,000 observations).

5.4 Analysis of survey results

Table 3 presents the distribution of the responses for various organisations. The first twelve questions are included in the table.

Table 4 shows the attendance ratio for respondents from various organisations, attendance ratio being calculated as the number of meetings attended (63) divided by the number of meetings invited to (62). Moreover, the table reports the distribution of responses for question 22 concerning the adequacy of meeting frequency.

Table 5 summarises the results of the homogeneity tests. The table shows whether the distribution of answers to a question appears to differ for various groups of respondents. The respondents are classified with respect to organisation, forest district, local affiliation, occupation, and gender.

Apparently, organisational affiliation does not influence the response of council members very much. Homogeneity is only rejected for question 33 (timeliness of information in advance of

meetings), question 22 (appropriateness of meeting frequency), the number of meetings attended (63), and the attendance ratio (63/62). In these cases marked deviations can be observed between the responses of members from public authorities (municipalities, counties) and, particularly, members from The Danish Nature Conservation Society and The Outdoor Council. For other questions, significant deviations from the common response pattern might appear for specific organisations, see Table 3. Some of these deviations should be mentioned: As regards questions concerning the influence of users and organisations (1 and 2, respectively), the only marked deviations are observed for the answer 'no', where The Danish Nature Conservation Society is above average in both questions. As regards question 3, members pointed out by municipalities and counties apparently have a relatively high tendency to state that the work in the user councils has enhanced their own interest in forest management. This fact, however, is not reflected in a more pronounced perception of enhanced dialogue on forest management among this group of respondents (question 4). Instead, such positive deviations from the common pattern are observed for The Danish Nature Conservation Society and The Outdoor Council. Council members from private companies, on the other hand, are less inclined to report enhanced dialogue than other groups of members. As regards the tendency to carry on information about the management of state forests (question 55), members from counties, The Danish Nature Conservation Society, and The Outdoor Council appear to be above average.

Questions regarding communication between forest districts and council members (32, 33, 34, 42, 56, 43, 35) are answered in almost the same way by all groups of members (Tables 3 and 5). However, leaving out question 56 (attentiveness of other council members) where all groups of members have high rates of 'don't know' answers, members pointed out by The Danish Nature Conservation Society (and The Outdoor Council) appear to be less inclined to answer 'yes' than other groups of members.

In contrast to the above observations, the homogeneity assumption is rejected for all questions regarding information from the forest district and communication between forest district and council members, when the respondents are grouped according to forest district (council). Apparently, the members of some user councils are more satisfied with the democratic achievements of the council (question 1) and the communication with the forest district than are some others. Not surprisingly, the reported numbers of meetings invited to and attended

(questions 62, 63), as well as the perceived adequacy of meeting frequency (22), depend on district affiliation.

The local affiliation of council members only seems to influence their answers to five questions (4, 33, 34, 35, and 63, Table 5), where non-locals have a higher tendency to answer 'don't know' (or 'no') than locals. In all other cases, this tendency is less obvious.

From Table 5 it appears that occupation has a marked influence on the respondents' attitude towards questions concerning the communication between forest district and council members (significantly in questions 33, 34, 42, 43, and 35). Analyses, not reported here, show that non-working respondents have a higher tendency to answer 'don't know' than respondents working in private or public enterprises. Similarly, respondents from private enterprises have a higher tendency to answer 'yes' than other respondents.

In a few cases the homogeneity assumption is rejected when respondents are grouped according to gender (Table 5). In both question 1 and 2 concerning the influence of users and organisations on forest management, the frequency of positive answers is lower for women than for men. In agreement with this, the tendency to answer 'no' and 'don't know' is higher. As regards the response obtained to question 33 it seems that women do not to the same extent as men think that the agenda and other material is received timely.

Table 3. Distribution of responses for respondents from various organisations*; *n* is the number of respondents in each category.

Question	Municipalities			Counties			Danish Nature Conservation Society			Outdoor Council			Danish Federation of Sport			Other Members		
	yes	no	*n*	yes	no	*n*	yes	no	*n*	yes	no	*n*	yes	no	*n*	yes	no	*n*
	%	%		%	%		%	%		%	%		%	%		%	%	
1	55	20	71	55	9	22	38	34	29	45	24	29	44	20	25	53	25	64
2	48	35	71	57	26	23	38	45	29	41	34	29	56	20	25	55	28	64
3	97	0	71	96	0	23	86	7	28	90	10	30	96	4	25	95	5	64
4	58	25	71	43	35	23	82	14	28	80	17	30	60	24	25	55	28	64
55	78	15	72	96	4	23	97	3	29	94	3	31	88	8	25	83	11	64
32	88	4	72	78	0	23	82	7	28	87	3	31	84	0	25	83	2	64
33	99	0	72	96	4	23	90	10	29	90	3	31	88	0	25	95	3	64
34	94	3	72	96	0	23	83	17	29	90	3	31	88	0	25	86	8	64
42	87	1	71	87	0	23	79	10	29	90	6	31	83	0	24	84	3	64
56	68	3	72	82	0	22	67	0	27	65	10	31	72	4	25	73	3	63
43	82	4	72	91	0	23	79	17	29	81	10	31	83	0	24	89	3	64
35	89	7	72	96	4	23	76	17	29	81	10	31	88	4	25	87	6	63

* The response category 'don't know' is obtained from the table by adding 'yes and 'no' and subtracting the sum from 100 % .

Table 4. Attendance ratio (63/62)* and responses to question 22 for respondents from various organisations; *n* is the number of respondents in each category.

Question	Response		Municipalities	Counties	Danish Nature Conservation Society	Outdoor Council	Danish Federation of Sport	Other Members
63/62	Less than 20 %	(%)	25	22	10	13	8	9
	20-40 %	(%)	6	4	0	0	0	0
	40-60 %	(%)	11	9	0	7	4	14
	60-80 %	(%)	28	35	17	19	12	27
	More than 80 %	(%)	30	30	73	61	76	50
		n	72	23	29	31	25	64
22	Too high	(%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Appropriate	(%)	90	78	62	62	68	69
	Too low	(%)	7	22	35	38	28	31
	Don't know	(%)	3	0	3	0	4	0
		n	71	23	29	29	25	64

* Attendance ratio is calculated as number of meetings attended (63) divided by number of meetings invited to (62) times 100 %.

Table 5. Results of homogeneity tests for contingency tables where respondents are grouped with respect to various criteria. Significant tests indicate that the homogeneity assumption has been rejected. The significance levels are: NS: not significant; *: 5 %; **: 1%; ***: 0.1 %.

Question no.	Organisation[1]	Forest district[1]	Local affiliation[2]	Occupation[2]	Gender[2]
1	NS	*	NS	NS	*
2	NS	NS	NS	NS	*
3	NS	*	NS	NS	NS
4	NS	NS	**	NS	NS
55	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
32	NS	*	NS	NS	NS
33	*	*	**	**	*
34	NS	**	**	**	NS
42	NS	*	NS	*	NS
56	NS	*	NS	NS	NS
43	NS	*	NS	*	NS
35	NS	**	*	*	NS
62	NS	***	NS	NS	NS
63	*	**	*	NS	NS
63/62	**	NS	NS	NS	NS
22	*	***	NS	**	NS

1) Pearson's Q quantity was tested against the approximate distribution of Q under the homogeneity assumption. The approximate distribution was generated by Monte-Carlo simulation (100,000 observations).

2) Homogeneity was tested by means of Fisher's exact test.

5.5 Discussion

Our initial question was to which extent the members of forest user councils perceive that the councils have enhanced the influence of users on state forest management. The survey did not show major differences between respondents from various organisations. Instead, considerable differences are observed between forest districts, as respondents from some districts are more likely to find that users in general, as well as their own organisations, have gained influence. Also, user councils at some districts apparently communicate better than councils at other districts, both among members and with the forest district supervisor.

Knowledge about the issue at hand is essential for being able to provide input to a decision process. Clearly, such knowledge can be obtained by receiving sufficient and timely information in advance of a meeting (questions 33 and 34). The survey shows that most respondents are satisfied in this respect.

However, in question 33 concerning timeliness of information, the response pattern varies significantly with organisational affiliation and forest district as well as local affiliation, occupation, and gender.

A χ^2 independence test not reported here was carried out for various pairs of questions. It showed a clear relationship between the perception of influence (1, 2) and the number of meetings attended (63). Hence, low meeting frequency may partly explain why 32 per cent of the respondents answered 'no' to having experienced increased influence of their own organisations.

Unfortunately, the survey does not allow us to investigate how respondents perceived the influence of their organisation before the user councils were established. Currently, the answer 'no' to the first two questions about influence may mean that: (i) The respondent is not satisfied with the influence of his/her organisation on forest management, and this situation has not changed since the council was established. (ii) The respondent represents an organisation which already had a lot of influence and, therefore, no significant improvement of the level of influence is perceived.

5.6 Conclusion
Based on the judgement by the respondents, the user councils are a mixed success. Apparently the guidelines of the user councils are followed in most cases, as reflected in the positive responses to questions 32, 33, 34, 42, 56, 43 and 35. But still, the main objective of the councils, which is to improve the involvement and influence of local stakeholders in forest management, is only partly achieved.

The structure and procedure of the user councils as it is conceived is quite well balanced and satisfactory, as no distinct stakeholder seems significantly more or less satisfied with the procedure, and people seem to be quite loyal to the guidelines. As the council has no legislative power, the success of the council strongly depends on the interest and enthusiasm of the local forest supervisor, who carries the main responsibility in the whole process.

6

Case descriptions

The present chapter introduces the two case studies. One case study investigates the function of the state forest user councils at Copenhagen State Forest District. The other case study investigates informal and formal participation in relation to afforestation in a peri-urban agricultural landscape. The aim of the case studies is to investigate the actual participation of various actors in relation to forest and afforestation management. More specifically, the aim is to outline who participates, the motivations to participate, objectives and strategies of participation, as well as the barriers and opportunities to participation as perceived by the informants. Additionally, the user council case study examines whether and how user councils have affected State Forest District management.

The aim of the present chapter, then, is to describe the historical, physical, social and political context in which participation takes place. This also includes the decision-making structures and process, case activities and behaviour, and the main conflicts of the case study. Section 6.1 provides a short introduction to the two cases and compares their main characteristics. Section 6.2 describes the state forest user council case more detailed, Section 6.3 describes the afforestation case, and Section 6.4 outlines and compares the types of participation taking place in the two cases.

6.1 Introduction to the two cases

6.1.1 Copenhagen State Forest District user council

The user councils at Copenhagen State Forest District are an interesting case for several reasons. First, user councils are a new and un-investigated concept in Danish as well as European forest management, where this will be the first close investigation of their function. Second, the district is situated in a densely populated area, covering three counties and more than 40 municipalities, including Copenhagen and its suburbs. This indicates a complex network of actors with potential interest in state forest management. Third, the district is one of the most intensively visited forests

in Denmark, indicating a massive group of recreational stakeholders. One of the main challenges is to prioritise different recreational interests as well as maintaining the balance between using and protecting the forest. Fourth, the main part of the forested areas of the district are in a mature or steady-state phase. The afforestation initiatives of the forest district are not included in the present study. Hence, the case study can focus on participation in and perceptions on management and utilisation of existing forests.

6.1.2 Afforestation around Ringsted

The history of the afforestation case, in brief, is about how a planned, major afforestation project within the municipality of Ringsted ended with a few hectares of privately funded afforestation. The aim of the present case is to investigate the actual participation of various actors in relation to state afforestation planning, in order to reveal the motivations to participate, objectives, and strategies for gaining influence, as well as how the opportunities and barriers to participation were perceived by different actors.

6.1.3 Comparison of the two case studies

The cases differ in a number of ways, as outlined in Table 6.1. The case of Copenhagen State Forest District relates to forest reserves, where conflicts are confined to conflicts over different management types and uses, and participation is formalised/institutionalised in user councils, established within a well-defined management bureaucracy with clear hierarchic relationships and detailed regulation for management practices. The other case is related to afforestation and therefore is about conflicts over different land uses, more than about forestry as such. Here, participation is more shaped as informal network efforts for or against afforestation.

Table 6.1 Characteristics of the two case studies

Characteristics of cases	Copenhagen State Forest District user council	Afforestation in the vicinity of Ringsted
Nature context	Forest reserves, mature forest	Planned afforestation in landscape dominated by agriculture
Location	Urban forest next to capital	Peri-urban landscape
Property rights	State forest, publicly owned	Private land
Management	Bureaucracy with hierarchic relationships, detailed regulation, clear distribution of rights & responsibilities	Network of public-private actors with dispersed distribution of rights, resources and decision power
Formalised participation	State forest user councils	Hearing of afforestation plan
Actors	Forest & Nature Agency, district staff, forest users, county, municipalities, NGOs, Cph water supply, Defence, media	Farmers and their associations, State Forest District, county, municipal council, local NGOs, Ringsted citizens, Nature Management Board, media
Local conflict issues	C. over different uses of the forest, less over different forest management types	C. over different land uses, over city versus agricultural concerns
Character of decision process	Rational decision-making determined by rule rationality	Garbage-can decision-making, as a result of individual actors' rationales and motivations in the decision process.

6.2 User councils at Copenhagen State Forest District

In 1995, Copenhagen State Forest District, like all other state forest districts in Denmark, established user councils. User councils are advisory groups, consisting of various interest groups or stakeholders, such as local authorities, NGOs and local individuals. The objective of user councils is to enhance local users' involvement in and influence on the management and utilisation of the state forests.

The guidelines for state forest district user councils state that the user council should "enhance the involvement and influence of local users on the management and utilisation of the forests owned by the population" (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c:1). That raises a number of questions: (1) Who are the local users of Copenhagen State Forest District and how are the forests utilised?; (2) Are the local users represented in the user council?; (3) Does the user council manage to enhance the involvement and influence of local users, or at least of the user council members, on the management of the forests?; (4) Does the user council manage to enhance the involvement and influence of local users, or at least of the user council members, on the utilisation of the forests?

The following background description is based on the forest district management plan, county regional plans, user council meeting reports, survey material, and some interview data.

6.2.1 Copenhagen State Forest District

Copenhagen State Forest District is situated in a densely populated area close to Copenhagen.

In total, the district administers around 5,800 ha, distributed on 2,400 ha deciduous forest, 900 ha coniferous forest, 1,100 ha lakes and 1,200 ha other areas (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). This means that only a little more than half of the area is forest. The district is divided into four ranger districts and physically distributed over about 25 areas. The district is state-owned and administered by the Forest & Nature Agency under the Ministry of Environment & Energy.

The district is intersected by roads, paths and railroads, so infrastructure is well developed, and people have easy access to the areas. From a biodiversity point of view, however, the intersections may be regarded as landscape ecological barriers.

Recreation

The district is intensively used for recreation by local people as well as people from Copenhagen and its suburbs. The district is the most intensively visited forest district in the country, in terms of how many per cent of all forest guests went to this district on their latest forest visit (Jensen & Koch 1997).

All public access to the forest is regulated, following the Act on Nature Conservation. The intensive use of the area calls for significant logistic co-ordination of the use of the forests, lakes and open areas. This co-ordination is based on a set of rules for prioritisation among activities, as outlined in the forest management plan:

- Unorganised activities go before organised activities.
- Children and young people use have higher priority than other age groups. Particular concern is given to activities for handicapped, to elderly people and to socially loaded young people.
- Activities affecting nature adversely as well as dominating, loud activities should be restricted, particularly if they can take place elsewhere or if they require facilities (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

As one consequence of this, almost 1,000 ha have been appointed as so-called B-forests where major organised arrangements, such as orienteering, are not allowed. Hunting is carried out by the district staff and no commercial hunting takes place. The district has established and maintains a number of recreational facilities, including parking grounds, camp sites and fire places, walking paths, horse tracks and a single playground. In particular, the district runs two nature schools in co-operation with surrounding municipalities and directed at primary school visitors. Six nature guides are responsible for the daily management of the schools and they also carry out a range of activities of nature presentation aimed at the broad public. Besides, the district distributes five information folders about the district, with maps, history of the areas and paths to follow (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). Finally, the lakes support a number of activties, namely angling, canoeing and kayak paddling. The district aims to restrict these activities to primarily one of the lakes in order to balance them towards nature conservation concerns and concerns of neighbours, as boat racing competitions can be rather noisy (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

Nature conservation and cultural heritage

The district has a variety of biotopes, preservation areas (300 ha in total), historical remnants and other cultural heritage to be conserved according to the Act on Nature Conservation (§3). Around 320 ha of forest has been appointed as untouched forest, forests to be managed as 'plenterwald', forests for pasture as partial fulfilment of the Strategy for Natural Forests (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1994). Accordingly, particular areas are assigned to various forms of nature conservation or preservation of nature or cultural heritage. Hence, the management is directed by various sets of guidelines pertaining to all areas managed by the Forest & Nature Agency (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). Indeed, around 1200 ha, i.e. 22 % of the district, has been appointed as EU habitat areas. Almost all of these areas are already encompassed by the conservation requirements of the Act on Nature Conservation (§3) or the Strategy for Natural Forests.

Economic structure

The District had the following financial statements for 1996:

Operating income (Net)	DKK
Commercial affairs	2,186,000
(wood, christmas trees and greenery, minor produces, forest maintenance)	
Other commercial affairs	422,000
(rent out areas for agriculture, hunting, husbandry, plant/seed production, other activities)	
Nature protection	-1,285,000
Recreation	-3,721,000
Administrative activities	-8,537,000
Total	-10,935,000
Capital activities	-94,000

6.2.2 Decision-making structures and planning procedures in state forest management

The daily administration of the forest district is carried out by a forest supervisor, an assistant forest officer and five forest rangers. Each forest ranger is responsible for a ranger district. One is also a wildlife specialist whereas two are responsible for the two nature schools. The district personnel furthermore encompass a so-called nature guide and a secretary.

The Forest Planning Division at the Forest & Nature Agency centrally works out the forest management plans for all state forest districts in Denmark. That means, Copenhagen State Forest District is only responsible for implementing the current management plan for the period 1995-2010, not for the actual planning. There is no general set of guidelines for the planning procedure, and they gradually change. Ideally, the planning process endures 1-2 years (Jensen, pers. comm.). Public hearings are not obligatory, but have been part of the procedure since the 1980s, following the tradition of the Planning Act (MR211097). The State Forest District is involved throughout the process. The following groups of actors are involved:

- A matrix group with representatives from different Forest & Nature Agency divisions.
- A meeting with permanent contributors, i.e., Danish Nature Conservation Association, the Outdoor Council and the affected counties and municipalities.
- A meeting with the state forest user council.
- The public is invited to provide input at a meeting or by written proposals (Jensen, pers. comm.).

See Appendix 6.1 for a more full description of a conventionalised planning process.

These were the ideals. In practice, the planning process for Copenhagen State Forest District took place over a period of 7 years (DS3PlanCph.doc; Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). The planning procedure was initiated in 1991 when a contributors file was distributed to permanent contributors, i.e. Danish Nature Conservation Association and the Outdoor Council. For reasons of personnel and administrative change, the process did not continue until 1996 and the final plan for 1995-2010 was endorsed in 1997.

The forest supervisor develops the one-year plans with timing of planned operations and working methods, within the budget restrictions set by the central administration. Each ranger is responsible for the more or less informal planning of how to implement the one-year plan, whereas the forest worker is the final conveyor.

The district has a number of functions besides management of own areas. Among other things, the district is responsible for other forest owners' observance of the Forest Act, and they provide advice on schemes related to the Forest Act.

Structure and contents of the forest management plan
The forest management plan is structured around three main elements:
- A detailed description and state-of-art of the forest district at the time of the planning process. The description encompasses data about wood production, recreational use and facilities of the district, cultural history, preservation and protection areas, areas for research and seed procurement, and data about the property as such, as well as county planning relevant to the district.
- Objectives of forest management in the planning period. The objectives are based on numerous guidelines to direct forest management at all areas pertaining to the Forest & Nature Agency, see Appendix 6.2 for an overview.
- Calculations and budgeting of costs and revenues from the planned forest management.

The main objectives of the forest management plan of Copenhagen State Forest District are:
- to continue and improve economic and ecologically sustainable forestry;

- to continue and improve initiatives to maintain and increase recreational, natural history, cultural history and landscape values (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

The management plan reflects due regard to the multiple objectives of state forest management, including recreation. However, the basic assumption is that the recreational value of forest goes along with wood production (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998). Thus, planning is basically founded on wood production objectives, measurement of total volume of wood and growth, and silvicultural and financial consequences of given harvesting and regeneration schedules. On top of this comes a huge number of legally and/or administratively binding concerns to recreation, cultural heritage, nature conservation and preservation, and landscape aesthetics. Some of the specific policies are outlined in the above background description of the forest district.

6.2.3 Participation procedures in state forest management

To summarise, there are no legally established procedures for participation in relation to state forest management, except for restricted *rights of DN and the Outdoor Council to appeal some decisions* made according to the Forest Act and the Nature Conservation Act.

Following guidelines from the Forest & Nature Agency, all state forest districts are obliged to have one or more *user councils* and obliged to hold at least one *public meeting* and an *open-house arrangement* per year.

The state forest districts make efforts to *inform and educate* the public about forests and nature, via *nature guides*, *nature school or visitor centre*, with *tour folders* available at libraries and at entrances to the forest, as well as via the *homepage* of the state forest district. The Forest & Nature Agency had planned to publish popular versions of the forest management plan at all state forest districts. After two issues, it was cancelled as a general strategy due to the costs of producing them. Copenhagen state forest district chose to provide an excerpt of the forest management plan to each of the user council members.

Besides these established procedures for participation and public information, the districts have informal contacts with individual forest users, NGOs, and other stakeholders in relation to state forest management.

"Yesterday a lady came to my office to talk about these role plays 'dungeons and dragons', in the forest Hareskoven...To me, she represents more than herself. Many people think the same. There is a treshold before people knock at my door, call me or write to me... We are contacted maybe every fourteen days about such things., about other users. It very seldomnly is about our management. It is what interests the individual...Often it is about mountain bikers...and sometimes people call us to tell that a stripped car is standing out there, or that they thought they saw a theft. Things like that" [IT2].

6.2.4 Brief characterisation of network of actors

The district functions within the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Environment & Energy. The district refers to the Minister of Environment & Energy, but it also co-operates with the divisions in the Forest & Nature Agency, either in relation to planning and management (Forest Planning Division, Trade Division, Division of Financial Affairs), in relation to administration of the Forest Act (Division of Forest Policy), administration of the Act on Hunting and Wildlife Management (Division on Wildlife Management), or in relation to conservation and protection (Division on Cultural Heritage, Ecology Division, Division on Nature Management).

The district is in touch with some of the municipalities within the district and with the three counties, as counties are responsible for regional planning (ground-water, roads, afforestation, etc.) and administration of the Act on Nature Conservation.

Through the user council, the district also has formal contact to some of the NGOs in the area. This includes some of the local committees of Danish Nature Conservation Association, Danish Federation of Sports, the county-wise committees of the Outdoor council and the organisations they represent: boy scouts associations, Danish Federation of Orienteering, Danish Canoeing Society, Danish Golf Union, the Council for aids and appliances for handicapped persons, Danish Association of owners of Icelandic Horses, and Danish Hikers' Society.

Examples of other NGOs not directly represented in the user councils but expected to having a stake in state forest management: Hunting associations and Danish Birdlife Society, farmers organisations, local residents associations.

Some of the districts' areas are being used by the Defence and they have a representative in the user council as well.

Forest users

Forest users encompass a broad group of people visiting and enjoying the forest and its presence in many different ways. The District also manages lakes and streams. Therefore, users such as canoeing and kayak sailers are also part of the concerns of the forest user council. Some users come individually, eventually with their dog, others in family groups or small clusters of horseback riders, mountainbikers, etc. and others again visit the forest as part of a bigger, organised group of, e.g. orienteering runners, boy-scouts, military training. Some users, like the wanderer, exercise low-impact activities unlikely to affect nature or other forest users significantly, 'soft activities' as they are called in the forest management plan. Other users exercise high impact activities ('hard activities') that affect the forest system as such, e.g. mountain bikers and orienteering runners using the forest floor and disturbing the habitats of plants and animals, or horse-back riders ploughing up the road. Yet other 'hard' users affect the quality of other uses in terms of creating noise, hindering free access on paths and roads, affecting the aesthetics or in other ways creating disturbance or stress in relation to other recreational uses.

Following the interviews, users can be categorised in different ways:

- The silent wanderer versus soft users of the forest versus the 'hard' users.
- The nature conservationists versus the recreationists.
- The unorganised users versus organised users, i.e. users being members of an organisation related to their use of the forest

Some users can be reached through an organisation whereas others are 'unorganised'

Some users are typically organised, such as boy scouts and orienteerers, whereas other users such as the family picnic, the wanderer, the dog owner, typically are not organised according to their use of the forest. This provides a distinction between the 'organised users' that the district or the user council can get in touch with through their organisation, and then the 'unorganised user' that can be hard to reach except by use of mass media or public meetings. But also within a user group, some may be organised whereas other not. For instance, canoers using the lakes can be divided into those being members of the local canoeing association versus those occasionally renting a canoe for an hour or a day.

Frederiksborg, Copenhagen and Roskilde Counties

The district administers areas within three counties. Each of these counties have launched regional plans in 1997 (Københavns Amt 1997; Frederiksborg Amt 1998; Roskilde Amt 1997). These regional plans affect district management as far as regards planning of land use in the countryside, including designation of afforestation areas, planning for recreation, ground-water protection and digging up gravel and other raw materials. For each of the following issues (of interests), the regional plans designate areas where the interests should be paid particular attention to: landscape aesthetics, recreation, landscape biodiversity, fragile biotopes, geology, cultural heritage, ground-water protection. Some of the guidelines for each of these designated areas put restrictions on forest management. In particular, most of the district has been appointed as areas for ground-water protection. This limits the opportunities of using pesticides in forest management, mainly production of Christmas trees and greenery. However, the district already only has 12.8 ha of greenery, as it is considered to conflict with the intensive recreational use of forests. (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

The district has limited contact with the counties. The county administers the Act on Nature Conservation, being responsible for providing permissions according to the Act. Each county has a representative in the state forest user council(s) and the State Forest District supervisory has a seat in the 'green council' in each of Roskilde and Copenhagen Counties, providing advice on the administration of the Act on Nature Conservation. Finally, there may be ad hoc co-operation in relation to particular projects/cases, e.g. maintenance of the lake 'Furesøen', or how to maintain a nature area as such (the Forest & Nature Agency becomes a potential buyer, or the county could consider to want to designate the area as a reserve).

Municipalities

The district covers more than 40 municipalities, 20 of which the forest district has regular contact with. Municipalities have planning authority pertaining to urban areas, implemented as municipal and local planning. Therefore, their main relations to the forest district are when they need dispensations from the Forest Act, e.g. concerning plans to build within the construction border along or into a forest area. Those municipalities that own forests have recently been affected by the Forest and Nature Agency registering all public forests (including municipality forest) as they are, legally, forest reserves and under the observance of the Forest Act. Among other things, this means, that forest areas owned by the municipality cannot be converted to other land uses. Municipalities that want to extend the city border into existing forest reserves, be state owned or owned by the

municipalities, need a dispensation from the Forest Act as well as arrangements of establishing compensatory forest reserve areas.

Also, municipalities may wish to use the forest for educational, pedagogical or recreational purposes, eventually 'forest kindergartens', i.e. kindergartens based on kids spending most of their day on outdoor activities in the forest. Also, they may have nature schools or co-operate with the state forest district about management of such nature schools.

In addition, municipalities may have a general interest in having an attractive environment, in order to attract citizens, particularly good tax payers. Considering this, the municipality chosen for interviewing was one with a high percentage of state forest reserves. An official as well as a politician were interviewed, as it was expected that they would each have their interests and points of view on co-operation with the State Forest District.

Copenhagen Water Supply

Copenhagen Water Supply (CWS) is another stakeholder, as Copenhagen State Forest District contains some of the water reservoirs to be used for supplying water to the capital. In practice, this means that CWS may want to establish water-boring facilities in forest areas, and it means that the forest district management potentially affects the quality of the ground water.

The media

There are a number of local, weekly newspapers in the area, but a lack of 'regional' newspapers. The forest supervisor notes that it is hard to get the attention of the nation-wide newspapers, unless in the case of a serious scandal [IT2]. Therefore he finds that the district has a more anonymous existence than other districts who have a regional daily newspaper. However, the local, weekly newspapers are generally very positive towards news from the forest district. The District use this as a way of informing the public about coming activities, felling or afforesting an area, etc.

6.2.5 User councils

At the time of the case study (1998), Copenhagen State Forest District had two user councils. The objective of the user councils is to strengthen the involvement and influence of local users on the management and utilisation of the forests owned by the public. The user councils have an advisory function, whereas they have no formal decision authority. Basically, the fifteen-year forest management plan is not for discussion in the user council during the plan period. However, the

forest user council is involved when the forest management plan is revised (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c).

Composition of the user council

The two user councils are comprised by forest district personnel and a total of 23 members designated from NGOs, counties and municipalities. Three out of four members are men. The members' age is not known, but the average is likely to be similar to the average of all state forest user councils, which was 54 in 1997.

Each of the two councils were composed of:

- Three representatives from the Outdoor Council (each of them representing another NGO within the Outdoor Council: two boy scouts, Association of Canoe and Kayak, Council for remedies assisting disabled people, Danish Golf Union, Danish Hiking Association)
- One representative from Danish Federation of Sports (incl. Danish Federation of Orienteering)
- Two representatives from Danish Nature Conservation Association, appointed by the county-wise coordinating committee
- Three representatives from the municipalities within the district, appointed by the association of municipalities in the particular county (three politicians)
- One representative appointed by the county (a public official)
- One representative from The Defence (only in one of the user councils).
- The forest supervisor (head of the council), the three forest rangers and the principal.

The user councils were evaluated in 1998, and one of the results was the merge of the two user councils into one (DS2), covering the whole district.

User council meetings - Meeting frequency

The Forest & Nature Agency user council guidelines prescribed at least one council meeting and one public meeting per year, perhaps at the same time. Since 1998 each council should have at least two meetings per year, whereas the public meeting is voluntary and could be replaced by other activities (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c).

At Copenhagen State Forest District, each of the user councils (Roskilde and Copenhagen county, and Frederiksborg county, respectively) have had six user council meetings and four public

meetings within a four year period (Sept 1995-Sept 1999). In addition to this, the Forest District has arranged a Day of the Forest on the first Sunday in May every year, similar to all other state forest districts and many private forests around the country.

User council meeting procedure

The forest district acts as a secretariat for the user councils, calling in members' proposals for the agenda and distributing minutes of user council meetings. No formal decisions are made, as the councils only have an advisory function. However, the meeting reports may contain recommendations from the council. The meetings are chaired by the forest district supervisor, who also takes on the responsibility of summing up on the discussion.

Who talks at the user council meetings

Participating in three user council meetings and one public meeting, I experienced some participants to be more active discussants than others.

As the forest district supervisor was providing information about the district, he tended to speak much of the time. When others asked for the word, he would listen to the different viewpoints and give feed-back afterwards. The Outdoor Council representatives tended to establish their own internal discussions/discourses. One of the representatives from the Nature Conservation Association was actively questioning what seemed to be predominant opinions about forest management and outdoor recreation. Representatives from municipalities tended to remain silent.

What is discussed at the user council meetings

The meeting reports provide an overview of what user councils are dealing with, what issues are on the agenda, as outlined in Appendix 6.3.

The meetings have covered a wide range of issues. *First* of all, the district has *informed* the user council about various issues. This includes decisions/policies and activities at the forest district level, decisions and activities at the level of the Forest & Nature Agency, as well as general information relevant to the forest district management and the user council function. *Second*, other members of the user council have *informed* the user council of activites relevant to the forest district, e.g. the outdoor policy of the Outdoor Council, a report made by local NGOs about the traffic on 'Mølleåen', a stream running through the district, as well as guidelines for protection of stone dikes, provided by the county representative. *Third*, the district has called for the *opinion* of

130

the user council on a number of issues. This includes regulating outdoor activities in the forests, establishment of recreational facilities, afforestation, the function of the user council as such, and contact with the public through public meetings and written information. Fourth, user council members have called for *discussion* of issues related to the forest district management, e.g. habitat conservation for specific plants, walking and biking paths, maintenance of horseback riding paths, public information about tracks accessible by wheel chair.

Most of the issues dealt with at the user council meetings are about outdoor recreation, i.e. facilities to support outdoor activities and regulation and management to minimise adverse recreational and ecological effects of recreation on forest resources. Very few issues are directly about biodiversity conservation, nature protection (soil/water) and hardly any are about production and/or economics.

6.2.6 Main issues of conflict as they appear from the user council meeting reports

Looking through the meeting reports from the user council meetings (Appendix 6.3), interviewing and observing meetings, the following key issues appeared:

- Use of pesticides. The Forest & Nature agency has a policy of abolishing the use of pesticides on their areas. The forest district supervisor agrees in principle, but is not keen to totally abolish them. It will cause an annual loss of income on Christmas trees plantations around 45.000 DKK. And it will make maintenance of the forest roads increasingly difficult. And finally, pesticides are used to fight the exotic hogweed. However, most of the district is designated as ground-water protection area and for that reason, Copenhagen county is actively against use of pesticides. One of the council members contacted a politician on the issue, who then contacted the Minister of the Environment & Energy. This resulted in an instruction to the district of abolishing the use of pesticides.
- What should be the balance between recreation and protection? The user councils agreed with the forest district supervisor that in some lakes, free angling from the bank should not be allowed, as anglers´ activities could disturb the vegetation too much. In another case, most of the council agreed with the district about a planned bird-watching tower near Farum Lake. The district received a permit (Nature Conservation Act) from the county to establish the tower in 1996 and the funding was approved by the Forest & Nature Agency. The local Danish Nature Conservation committee was against it and appealed the decision, but the Nature Complaints Board decided to allow the establishment of the tower. However, being out of the budgetary year 1996, the district did not succeed to get financial approval by the Agency again in 1997.

- Should there be a forest playground or not? The user council said no in harmony with the opinion of the forest district supervisor. Nevertheless, the district established a playground afterwards, in order to fulfil the obligations set forward in the Forest & Nature Agency's policy on outdoor activities (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995).

- How can the district manage the forest without too many restrictions and establishments being alien to the forest environment and still make the forests accessible and user friendly for the various user groups, including the majority of silent users? The councils have discussed (1) tracks for mountain bikers and horseback riders; (2) the need of physically disabled to have access via consolidated tracks and parking grounds, versus an aim to restrict these establishments, (3) forests where dogs can run around without a leash and training with dogs versus consideration for other forest guests.

- Restrictions on military use of forest areas. Local participants at the yearly public meeting of the district had expressed dissatisfaction with the intensity of military exercise in one of the forests. The issue was raised again by the user council of Frederiksborg and Roskilde county. This brought about a meeting between the district and the military, who subsequently agreed to limit the activities in the concerned forest.

- Regulating the canoeing traffic on Farum Lake.

Excerpt of user council survey

In 1998, the Forest & Nature Agency carried out a survey to investigate whether the user councils were functioning satisfactorily and to examine the perceptions of the user council members about their participation in forest management (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998). Some main results from the survey are analysed in Chapter 5. A comparison showed that the responses from Copenhagen state forest user councils did not deviate significantly from the average response pattern.

Follow-up report from the user councils on particular questions

The user council survey was followed by nine questions to be answered by the user council in common and reported by the forest supervisor to the Forest & Nature Agency. This resulted in a so-called 'white book'. The nine questions relate to whether the user council guidelines should be changed or not. Among the issues are: selection period, requirement of local affiliation, public meetings, representativity of the user council, gender, involvement of landowners, management plan, and a general assessment of the user council's function.

The resulting two reports from Copenhagen State Forest District were more or less identical. This may reveal great similarity among the two user councils. More probably, however, it reveals that the discussion and resulting recommendations were guided and reported by the same forest supervisor. Considering this, the value of the white book should be questioned as regards the degree to which it expresses the diversity and (not only) the sum of opinions of the user council members.

According to the report, the user councils at Copenhagen State Forest District supported a four-year selection period. They find local/regional affiliation a natural requirement. Too local affiliation is considered inappropriate, as sometimes concerns for different local forests will have to be weighed against each other. The public meetings have focused on individual forests, and the user council supports this as future practice as well. The user council finds it evident that it should ensure its representing interests at broad, also those not directly represented in the council. It is not desired to elect representatives directly from public meetings, as public meetings are not held in all forests. The organisations select their own representatives and therefore it does not make sense to require equal representation of men *and* women, although it could be recommended. It is recommended not to make particular rules concerning landowner involvement, as local councils should be established during eventual nature restoration project progress. It is supported that the conditions for forest management planning can be discussed at user council meetings. In total, the user council finds that it has worked well until now. Both councils suggest they merge into one, and instead have substitutes for each representative, in order to ensure better contact with the individual support bases (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998b).

6.2.7 Preliminary conclusions – perspectives for further analysis

Copenhagen State Forest District covers a big area, with many citizens. It is intensively used for recreation. As a consequence, production has been given lower priority as compared with other state forest districts. Conflicts are therefore expected mainly to be among different recreational uses, and maybe – between recreation and conservation interests, rather than between recreation and production interests.

Production interests as well as immaterial benefits/interests are institutionalised into numerous management guidelines and legislative regulations. Consequently, the district is regulated, monitored and managed in detail, as reflected in the forest management plan. This is expected to leave very little room for the user councils to really negotiate about interests and discuss

management strategies at a principle level. Also, the forest supervisor and district are expected to find themselves restricted in their management approach.

The district is the face of the Forest & Nature Agency as well as of the Ministry of Environment & Energy towards society. The expression of this 'face' is shared by all the employees at the district: forest district supervisor, principal, rangers, secretaries, nature guides, forest workers, etc.

Based on management plan excerpts and user council meeting reports, the following questions emerge:

- Who is considered the 'common public' as compared to 'the specialists'?
- Why is 'the common public' given priority over the 'specialists'?
- How is the forest management plan perceived as a tool in the user councils?
- The user council meetings appear to reflect the composition of the council. The members are interested in the aspects of forestry that are *not* silviculture, production and economics. Is it really so, or should the district try to actively involve them in silvicultural questions?
- Do any negotiations take place in the user council? Or is it merely legitimisation or information?
- Are demands of the user council rejected with reference to management or economics?
- How do the forest district officials look upon the user councils?

6.3 Afforestation case

6.3.1 Physical and social context of afforestation case

In 1993, a 600 ha area north of the city Ringsted was chosen by Odsherred State Forest District as a potential area for state afforestation. If the plan was adopted, it could mean future forest for multiple uses, paid by the Danish taxpayers and to the benefit of the 30,000 (1999) people living in Ringsted municipality. This initially appeared as a solution to many problems, or, at least, support to a desired development:

Ringsted municipality belongs to the county of Western Zealand. It covers 295 km^2 and is situated within Odsherred State Forest District. The municipality is located within an hour's travel distance from Copenhagen (64 km) and is connected with the rest of Zealand by a highway as well as a railway from Copenhagen through Zealand and via the bridges, to Funen and Jutland.

Ringsted municipality has about the lowest percentage of forest per land area, compared to other regions of the country. In the municipality plan, the municipal council specifically outlines an ambition to maintain nature areas close to the city border and to ensure opportunities for locations for playing and doing activities within nature areas (Ringsted kommune 1997:36). The municipal council has reasons to want this. The city Ringsted is designated as one out of 11 regional centres in Western Zealand county (Vestsjællands Amt 1997). This means that Ringsted should provide other parts of the county with services related to social affairs and health care, trade, education, culture and trade. The municipal council aims to utilise this opportunity as well as possible. As they say: *"The better opportunities Ringsted city provides, the more people become attracted to locating an industry or buying a residence in the area"* (Ringsted Kommune 1997:5). Further, the municipal council states that *"Development opportunities should be improved by a co-ordinated and goal-oriented effort within an array of sectors. The goal of the effort will be to profile Ringsted as an attractive place to invest or settle"* (Ringsted Kommune 1997:21).

Historically, agriculture played a significant role to many people in the area around Ringsted. Today, agriculture has a rather limited economic significance which is also a reason for Ringsted municipal council's concern with the need for new business development opportunities. Therefore, it is tempting to see afforestation as a means to make Ringsted attractive as a place to settle for workforce as well as firms. The question is, whether this perception is shared by people in and around Ringsted. The municipal council is concerned with ensuring the opportunities for agricultural business development. Countryside planning is within the jurisdiction of the county, not the municipality. Yet, the municipality plan refers to the county regional plan, stating that: *"In general, the country-side is reserved for agricultural purposes. The aim is to protect particularly valuable agricultural areas against designation of new urban areas and to ensure the necessary development opportunities of the agricultural business"* (Ringsted Kommune 1997: 10).

The initial state afforestation project was never realised. It was suspended for the immediate reason that all land around Ringsted was occupied by active, full-time farmers. Other actors were interested in afforestation, though, and urged the municipal council to go into public-private afforestation, resulting, in 1999, in a 4 ha forest/park. The participation during this process is interesting, as it involves actors and interests from national to local levels of governance, and across administrative borders. The case history is shortly presented in the following section, after which, the decision structure and actors are introduced.

6.3.2 Case history - genesis

The state afforestation programme

In 1989, the government set forward the goal to double the forest area within one tree generation, i.e. the coming 80-100 years. The target was presented by the Minister of the Environment, in comments on the 1989 Act on Natural Resource Management (since 1992 the Nature Conservation Act) which forms the legal basis for funding of state afforestation (Helles & Linddal 1996). The background is to be found in the emerging structural changes in the European agricultural sector and the ECE (now EU) regulations to improve the efficiency of the agricultural sector in the late 1980s. Afforestation was seen as an (economic) alternative to agriculture on land that presumably would become economically marginal because of changed European agricultural policy (Helles & Linddal 1996).

Half of the afforestation area should originate from private afforestation, the other half from public afforestation. In the period 1989-1998, DKK 398 mio. were spent on state afforestation projects (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998a). The effort to fulfil the objective has recently been fuelled by the 1998 adoption of the plan for water conservation and protection of water resources. In that context, afforestation is seen as an alternative to agriculture in terms of improved ground-water protection. An additional 175 mio. DKK have been set aside for afforestation, primarily for private afforestation, though.

A first step towards current afforestation was an ECE-regulation in 1985 that allowed forestry measures on agricultural holdings (Reg. 797/85). This had no real effect until the introduction of the 1989 Forestry Action Programme which included the possibility of obtaining forestry premium. The reform of the Common Agricultural Policy in 1992 provided another stimulus to afforestation. Accordingly, the EU member countries were obliged to launch national legislation on afforestation. Prior to afforestation, areas should be designated as to minimise conflicts between different land uses.

Designation of afforestation areas within the regional planning process

In the Planning Act the county authorities became committed to designating areas where afforestation is desirable (*plus areas*), in these areas the highest economic level of grants for private afforestation is given, *neutral areas* where afforestation is permitted and a lower economic level of

grants is given, and negative areas where afforestation is prohibited (*minus areas*). These appointments were guided by national criteria published by the Ministry of Environment (Miljøministeriet, Planstyrelsen 1990). The resulting appointments were outlined in afforestation maps covering the total land area of Denmark. The designated areas intend to control both private and state afforestation in the landscape. In comparing the afforestation plans for each county, Jensen (2000a) demonstrates significant differences among the counties as to how much of the area is designated for afforestations (2-7 %) and areas where afforestation is prohibited (10-35 %) (Jensen 2000a). She argues this variation to be a result of a complex political process with many, often contradictory, (sector) interests both at the national and regional level.

In the county of Western Zealand, to which Ringsted belongs, the reactions to this designation of land areas were strong. The proposed designation was brought into public hearing, as required in the regional planning process. This led to 239 responses. Broadly, the responses from landowners can be divided in at least two categories: (1) Many landowners objected against their land being designated as *plus areas*, as they thought that designation of afforestation areas implied their land had to be handed over for compulsory state afforestation, eventually by expropriation; (2) Somewhat fewer, and predominantly large landowners objected to the restriction on their lands use imposed by the designation of *minus areas.* They regarded it as a preservation 'coming through the back door'. The other responses related mainly to concerns of maintaining the open landscape, either for aesthetic/cultural reasons (e.g around churches), for business (electricity grid, wind mills) as well as recreational reasons (civil aviation) (Vestsjællands Amt 1991). The county held local, public meetings with the state forest supervisors' participation during that phase (MR040491), and meetings with municipalities and potentially affected interest groups (JB 1991-05-03). In total, 2/3 of all appeals to the plan proposal were complied with, whereas a 1/3 were turned down. The main consequence was, that the *neutral* areas increased by 5 % on the expense of the *minus* and *plus* areas (Vestsjællands Amt 1991).

State afforestation plans at Ringsted
The 1992 regional plan specifically points out three afforestation areas within Ringsted municipality: one area west and two north of Ringsted, one of which is around the village Benløse.

In 1993, Odsherred State Forest District presented an afforestation plan for an area north of Ringsted, next to the village Benløse, which is the biggest, connected residential area in Ringsted municipality, dominated by low and open settlements of one-family houses. The project proposal,

the location and overall design were prepared by the state forest districts. The process of state afforestation at Odsherred state forets district is outlined in Table 6.2, based on the forest supervisor's description.

Table 6.2 The state afforestation planning process at Odsherred State Forest District

---

The state afforestation planning process at Odsherred State Forest District

Overall designation of potential afforestation project
As a first step, the State Forest District made an overall identification and priority of afforestation areas within the district. Ringsted had second priority, after the city/municipality Kalundborg. The prioritised areas were sent to the central part of the Forest & Nature Agency, which accepted the priorities with a few comments.

The criteria for choosing the afforestation areas were, as outlined by the forest supervisor: (1) vicinity to urban areas; (2) ground-water protection. Vicinity to summer cottage areas was also considered. (3) The current forest coverage/citizen, as low coverage, particularly near urban areas, would increase the priority towards afforestation; (4) Current landowner structure and potential for land available for afforestation. A measure would be the number of properties and their location, as well as a consideration of the state of the agricultural production unit, including the need for land for spreading manure. If the farms are fully modernised, with expanding production, afforestation is not a likely option for those landowners, whereas farmers close to retiring, maybe less modernised, might consider selling land for afforestation. (5) Pragmatic concerns to support, e.g. other nature conservation projects in the area.

Monitoring local support and interest
After the initial approval by the Forest & Nature Agency, the district contacted organisations and authorities to monitor local support and interest in afforestation. Together with the county, the district held some meetings (MLJ 1990-04-04) and hearings about the afforestation plans, as they sent a letter for orientation. They received statements from the county, the municipality, the Outdoor Council, the Nature Conservation Association, and the Lands Commission ('jordbrugskommission'). They did not get any specific statement from the agricultural associations, but had a meeting with them instead. The forest supervisor explains: *"We maybe found it more appropriate. It can be difficult for agricultural organisations to express their opinion on paper, as it will always be in conflict with the opinion of some of the members."*[IT18].

Presentation, approval and funding of project proposal at Nature Management Board & Board of Finance
Based on this investigation of attitudes towards afforestation, the forest district prepared an overall afforestation project proposal, a frame, which was sent to the central Forest & Nature Agency and presented in the advisory Nature Management Board, where national level representatives of various NGOs are seated.

The project proposal was adopted by the Nature Management Board where-after it went to the parliamentary Board of Finance to get an appropriation.

During these phases of project formulation, the forest supervisor had numerous informal contacts with agricultural organisations, local farmers, local NGOs, etc. which continues in the following buying phase.

Buying phase
When the project is approved, the forest district can start looking for land to buy, the buying phase.

Planning phase
This is followed by the planning phase, i.e. how exactly the forest should be designed, once the land is available. The planning encompasses decisions about where to plant and not to plant, cancellation of drainage, places for wet areas or lakes, possible viewpoints and eventual shadow effects on adjacent buildings. Choice of tree species is based on test of soil properties, experience and demands for variation and recreational values. In those places where afforestation has been implemented, the detailed afforestation design has sometimes been presented at public meetings, eventually invited representatives of NGOs, residents' organisations, public authorities, etc. [IT18].

Agreement between Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Agriculture

In 1995, the Ministry of Environment & Energy and the Ministry of Agriculture made the agreement that purchase of land for public afforestation *can* be set aside in order to meet farmers' request for land for harmonisation purposes, following the rules of the Agricultural Act regarding trade of agricultural land. In practice, it had the effect, that any time a state forest district wanting to buy some farmland was met with farmers' requests, the district would withdraw its claims without further efforts. This also happened in Ringsted, as the history will show.

Land available for afforestation but farmers claimed their interest in purchasing the land

In 1996-1997, the municipality as well as the church council declared their willingness to sell farm land for public afforestation purposes, 50 ha in total. The Forest & Nature Agency was prepared to buy the land. However, a member of the municipal council contacted a farmer, who accordingly urged two farmers to claim their right to buy the land for harmonisation purposes. Consequently, the Forest & Nature Agency withdrew its interest in buying the land. Consequently, by 1997, the afforestation project was formally suspended.

Private afforestation initiatives

Other actors were interested in afforestation, though. In 1998 the church council decided to afforest their own land, assisted by the DanishLand Development Service. And, in 1998-1999, private business people from Ringsted, 'the Benløse Chain' (a group of representatives from local organisations, including residents organisations, boy scouts, sports associations, etc. (MR110399) and the residents' organisation 'The citizens' association of Benløse village' initiated a minor afforestation project at Ringsted. They suggested the municipality to start an afforestation project. Consequently, in Sept. 1998, the municipal council asked the NGOs to initiate a working group to analyse the opportunities for afforestation. In March 1999, the municipal council approved their co-financing of the project proposed by the NGOs, on the condition that the NGOs could raise private funds as well (Ringsted Kommune 1998-1999). The NGOs managed to raise 190,000 DKK, the municipality added 170,000 DKK, of which 95,000 DKK were support to communal afforestation from the Forest & Nature Agency (Ringsted Dagblad 02022000). The area was afforested during autumn 1999, and in spring 2000, the municipal council decided to guarantee financing of 120,000 DKK for afforestation of additional 6 ha, on condition that the Forest & Nature Agency supported the project with 115,000 DKK (Ringsted Dagblad 02022000).

Two days after the municipal council decision in March 1999 about private-communal afforestation, the local 'Plant a tree committee' held their annual meeting, with 'afforestation around Ringsted' on the agenda (MR110399). The meeting had been announced as an open meeting and the committee had specifically invited representatives from the Outdoor Council, Danish Nature Conservation Association and other NGOs, as well as a journalist from a national newspaper, the state forest supervisor, and the mayor of Ringsted. The aim was to present and discuss the current plans of afforesting 5 ha as well as the original aim of state afforestation.

The meeting resulted in an article in the national newspaper about afforestation around Ringsted. A few days later, the Minister of Environment & Energy sent a letter to the Ministry of Agriculture, saying, that the Ministry of Environment & Energy in urban areas/areas close to cities no longer intends to withdraw purchase of land for afforestation due to concern for farmers' need for land for harmonisation purposes (SNS 1996 201-0154).

In 1998-1999, the regional plan for designated afforestation areas was revised, including two hearings. This time, the protests were less, and landowner responses were mainly requests to change land status from areas where afforestation is not wanted to areas where afforestation is desirable (Vestsjællands Amt 2000). This is outlined in more detail in Chapter 7.

Still, however, there were farmers protesting against afforestation. Their motivations and objectives are studied in more detail in Chapter 7.

6.3.3 Decision-making structures and planning procedures related with state afforestation

As the history reveals, the decision structure related to state afforestation is divided among a number of actors, each having his resources and sources of authority. Some have the legislative authority, others the planning authority, others again have the financial authority and finally, some are in charge of designing and implementing the actual afforestation project, depending on landowners' willingness to sell land. The decision structure can be illustrated as shown in Table 6.3.

National level

At a national level, the government designates money on the National Budget for nature conservation and state afforestation. EU funds are available to support private afforestation.

The allocation of money designated to nature conservation projects takes place within the Ministry

of Environment & Energy, by a board of expert stakeholders, the Nature Management Council, following the Act on Nature Conservation. The Nature Management Council makes its decisions based on a number of project proposals developed by the officials within the Forest & Nature Agency in the Ministry of Environment & Energy.

Table 6.3 Decision structure related to state afforestation

	Legislation	Policy fora	Administrative/ Planning
International	- EU regulations	EU Commission	EU DG VI
National	- Nature Conservation Act - Forest Act - Agricultural legislation	Parliament/gov.ment Nature man. Board	F&N Agency
Regional	- Planning Act	County board	County adm., plann.office state forest district Lands Commission
Local		Municipal council	Municipal planning Landowners decision to sell land Farmers' claim for farm land

Regional level

The counties designate afforestation areas and areas where afforestation is prohibited (Vestsjællands Amt 1997), based on guidelines from the Forest & Nature Agency (Miljøministeriet, Planstyrelsen 1990; Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999c). These guidelines have been into public hearing among organisations and different public authorities.

The state afforestation project proposals, their location and overall design are prepared by the state forest districts. As a rule, the area should be within the areas designated in the regional plan as *plus* or *neutral* areas. The planning approach used at Odsherred State Forest District is outlined in Table 6.2 above.

Local level

There is no active regulation on the concrete location of afforestation projects. The municipal plans only pertain to urban areas and summer cottage areas, whereas country-side areas are only passively regulated by the regional plans, as outlined above. Therefore, the actual location of afforestation

depends on the landowner's decision. In case of state afforestation, the state forest district is the decision-maker in dialogue with the Forest & Nature Agency, the Nature Management Board and the county's Green Council, giving advice on the administration of the Nature Conservation Act. The decision factors were as outlined in Table 6.2, - vicinity to urban areas, areas needing ground-water protection, and – basically - where there is land available for afforestation. The state forest district is not legally obliged to make hearings on the afforestation project, although it is done anyway.

For private landowners, then, decisions of afforestation and its location is a private matter, without local plan and hearing obligations. Afforestation done with support of public schemes can be said to be indirectly regulated, as the donation of schemes is linked with a number of requirements as to tree species choice and location in relation to designated afforestation or ground-water protection areas.

6.3.4 Participation procedures in relation to afforestation

To summarise, the only formalised participation procedure in relation to state afforestation is (1) the public hearing of the regional plans on designation of afforestation and non-afforestation areas, (2) the evaluation of the state afforestation project proposal by the national *nature management board*. The further consultation and hearing procedures are carried out on a voluntary basis by the forest district supervisor, as outlined in Table 6.3.

6.3.5 Actors

The afforestation case involves numerous actors. All citizens are potentially affected by the state afforestation plans. Some are clearly more directly affected than others, however.

The farmers and their associations

The farmers in the area are affected, as some of them will have (the opportunity) to sell land for afforestation. Farmers are a rather heterogenous group. Some of them are (pig) farmers in a phase of expansion, where they have a continued need for more land for spreading manure in order to fulfil EU requirements of harmony between land area and number of animals on the farm.

Other farmers are maintaining current size of production and may be slowly gearing down, preparing for their retirement. Yet other landowners may be part time farmers, with a job in town to secure the household income. A few large-scale farmers have combined agriculture and forestry,

often in connection to a manor. Farmers are organised through different farmers' associations.

Lands Commission and Ministry of Agriculture

Each county has a three member Land Commission who make decisions according to the Act on Agricultural Properties (LB 598-1999) and assist the Ministry of Agriculture in looking after agricultural interests in spatial planning.

The municipal council

The Ringsted municipal council is evenly composed of representatives from left-wing and right-wing parties, mainly dominated by the socialist party 'Socialdemokratiet' and the liberal, (originally farmers') party 'Venstre'. The even distribution means that the rule easily changes from election to election. In the period 1994-1998, the mayor was a social democrat, whereas in the period 1998-2001, the mayor is from 'Venstre', the traditional farmers' party.

Urban residents –the residents NGOs

In the current case, the urban residents are represented by local residents NGOs. The village Benløse next to the planned afforestation areas, is the biggest, connected residential area in Ringsted municipality, dominated by low and open settlements of one-family houses (Ringsted kommune 1997).

The outdoor NGOs

Numerous (outdoor) NGOs are found at the local level, from sports association and boy scouts organisations to hunting associations, Danish Nature Conservation Assocation and the Plant a Tree Committee. The outdoor recreation NGOs have their common voice through the Outdoor Council, which, however, only has representatives at a county level, the nearest being seated in Kalundborg.

State Forest District

Ringsted municipality is located within Odsherred State Forest District.

County

Ringsted municipality is seated within Western Zealand county. A 'Green Council' provides advice to the county on the administration of The Nature Conservation Act (§64). This includes advice related to afforestation. The council should be balanced in terms of representing business interests

and organisations on nature and outdoor activities, but the Act does not specify which organisations should be represented.

Nature Management board

The national level Nature Management Board of the Act on Nature Conservation (§61) provides advice to the Minister on major nature management projects, including public afforestation. The Board comprises members from the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, the Association of County Boards in Denmark, The Association of Municipalities, Danish Nature Conservation Association, the Outdoor Council, Federation of Danish Agricultural Associations, the Danish Hunting Association, Danish Forest Society, Danish Birdlife Society, Danish Angling Federation. Besides these, the Minister of the Environment & Energy appoints two members with expertise in science and cultural history, respectively, a representative of Danish tourism, the head of Board and a number of representatives from the Ministry.

6.3.6 Main conflicts

The main conflicts appear to be between alternative land uses, i.e. afforestation versus farming, and extension of industrial area, respectively.

Another expectable conflict deriving from that would be a conflict between the interests of urban citizens and farmers. However, this is not clear-cut. Some farmers are keen to afforest areas around the city, whereas other farmers are keen to continue farming, handing their land over to the next generation.

6.4 Comparing the types of participation in the two cases

The two cases show that participation takes place in numerous ways and under numerous conditions, of which the established procedures for participation are only a few, and at the lower level of Arnstein's ladder (Arnstein 1969), i.e. not much power sharing beyond consultation. An overview is provided in Tables 6.4 and 6.5.

Table 6.4 Actual participation in relation to the two cases

	Types of actors' participation	Case: Ringsted	Case: Copenhagen State forest district
Institutional Participation, In terms of membership of organisations	*Organisations of primary, econ. Interest*	Farmers' association	(Copenhagen Water supply officials)
	Role based organisations	House owners organisation, farmers association, business peoples network	House owners' organisation
	Political organisations	Danish Nature Conservation Association,	Danish Nature Conservation Association The Outdoor Council, Danish Sports Ass. etc. (Municipalities and counties – politicians and officials?!)
	Humanitarian organisations (...)	The Soroptimists, Plant a Tree committees	
	National and regional advisory boards to adm. legislation, with NGOs, officials, researchers	Forest Council (nat.) , Green Council (reg.), Nature Management Board (nat.)	Forest Council (nat.), Nature Management Board (nat.), adv. board on forest man. planning.
Participation	*Political manifestations, collectively initiated: demonstrations, strikes, petitions*	Farmers' petitions against afforestation, used for hearing on regional plan's designation of afforestation areas	
Determined by	*Political contacts, e.g. to public authorities, politicians, associations, lawyers, etc.*	• Village network and business people network's contact to municipality for municipal afforestation • Same network's collection of private funds for municipal/community afforestation • Contacts to newspaper on failed state afforestation efforts • Contacts between municipality council and farmers on available land for harmonisation vs. afforestation purposes • Input into hearing process for regional plan. • Networking among NGOs, farmers, municipality politicans on afforestation around Kalundborg	• Attendance to public meetings and Day of The Forest • Contact to politicians to influence the Minister of Env. & Energy concerning pesticide use • Contact from 'Farum Nature Park Friends' to various public authorties on co-ordinated nature conservation • Ad hoc NGO efforts to co-ordinate recreational use of nature, e.g. Report on use of 'Mølleåen' • NGO published strategies and other input to public policy-making, including forest management and regional planning. Individual forest users contacting forest staff or NGO for questions or critics
The situation	*Political discussions with family, friends and colleagues*	'Solidarity' building among farmers against afforestation through dialogue	Forests an 'apolitical issue'!
	Public communication, e.g. reader's letter, articles in newspapers/journals,	• Newspaper articles about afforestation project • Plant a Tree meeting discuss afforestation	• NGO campaigns for behavioural change among recreational users of nature: e.g.'clap the

	presentations at meetings	• Farmer on afforestation in newspaper and TV	horse'.
User democracy	*Participation offered to 'users' of a public institution, i.e. selective group of citizens*	Forest user councils – but not from Ringsted	Forest user councils

Based on framework by Andersen et al. (1993)

Table 6.5 Established procedures for participation

	Case: Ringsted	Case: Copenhagen State forest district user councils
National	Parliamentary board of financing Nature management board*	Forest Council* Advisory contact group on forest management planning in general
Regional	Hearing in relation to designation of afforestation areas in regional plan* Hearing in relation to municipal planning in urban zones* (state forest supervisors land owner consultations on individual basis) (Bilateral, informal dialogue with NGO, municipalities a.o.) (Eventually public meeting about afforestation project) Rights to appeal decisions acc. to Planning Act & Nature Cons. Act*	User council Open-house arrangement every year: Day of the Forest Public meeting once a year Information: folders, homepage Education: nature guides & nature schools Rights to appeal some decisions acc. to Forest act* (DN & O.Council)

*The only procedures that are required by law. The others are governed by internal FNA (Forest & Nature Agency) guidelines or carried out on a voluntary basis, as decided by the individual forest supervisors

6.4.1 Bottom-up participation in relation to forests and afforestation

Institutionalised participation, initiated by public organisations wanting to involve the public, is only one dimension of participation. Much participation takes place on participants' own initiatives. For convenience it is here called bottom-up participation. This term may be misleading, however, as it presumes layers in a hierarchy, with some public decision-makers on the top and the public on the bottom. In some contexts, it is more appropriate to talk about public-private networks, where public as well as private actors all are participants, but with different sorts and amounts of resources. The broad range of actual participation is illustrated in Tables 6.4 and 6.5.

Afforestation initiated through participation

The Ringsted case showed how the efforts of village networks and business peoples networks resulted in afforestation carried out by the municipality, partly financed through private funds.

The nation-wide network of Plant a Tree committees continuously works on a voluntary basis to stimulate tree planting, particularly in urban areas. In Ringsted, the committee was also active, thanks also to the support of another NGO, the 'soroptimists'. Here, the Plant a Tree committee members would support those land owners and shopkeepers wanting to afforest an area or plant trees along their buildings, but they would not as such involve themselves in the afforestation debate [IT11].

NGO participation

NGOs participate in various ways in relation to state forest management. First of all, NGOs like DN and all the member organisations under the Outdoor Council provide a forum for exercising core activities, i.e. nature experiences, orienteering, canoeing, hiking etc. These activities may be educative as well as aimed at experience, e.g. in the form of guided excursions.

Second, the NGOs are a forum where people can unite efforts to take care of common interests, either through active participation or through passive, supporting membership. There are organisations of primary economic interest, such as the farmers' assocation at Ringsted, who became active players during the afforestation debate. There are role based organisations, such as the house owners' association and business peoples' networks, who also participated actively in relation to afforestation north of Ringsted. There are political organisations, such as DN and the Outdoor Council, and humanitarian organisations, such as the Soroptimists, who also took

responsibility of the local Plant a Tree committee, and hereby became involved in the afforestation debate.

At a national level, organisations such as World Wildlife Fund and Nepenthes have been active forest policy players, challenging and suggesting alternatives to current (state) forest management practices, whereas DN and the Outdoor Council have appeared more as co-players to state forest management and forest policy administration. At a regional level, however, DN and the Outdoor Council are the main players, as the other organisations have no regional and local organisation.

The NGOs join boards and committees, such as the user councils, the green councils in the counties, or the Forest Council and various forest certification initiatives, at a national level. They formulate their own policies, strategies and management paradigmas. One example of this is the Outdoor Council's national outdoor strategy (Friluftsrådet 1997), which gradually is also being formulated at a regional level [IT19].

The NGOs carry out campaigns to affect behaviour in relation to nature and outdoor recreation, e.g. the Outdoor Council campaign 'Clap the horse' to improve polite horse-back riding, and the DN campaign 'Tracks and roads' to improve public access to the country-side.

Third, NGOs may aim at affecting or co-ordinating public and private land management. One example is the organisation 'Friends of Farum Nature Park' that has as a main objective to ensure conservation of a particular area called Farum Nature Park, by furthering co-ordination among the different public authorities and private land-owners in that area.

NGOs as well as individual actors use various types of situational forms of participation:

Political manifestations - petitions
Land-owners made petitions against afforestation in relation to the hearing on the 1991 afforestation plan in Ringsted (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011).

Political contacts
A group of villagers-business-men contacted the municipal council to suggest public-private afforestation at Ringsted. Other actors contacted the media in order to stimulate a renewed dialogue [IT10]. And, finally, the local farmers' association's lawyer was an active player in the land owner protest against afforestation in 1991 (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011).

Political discussions with family, friends and colleagues

The massive land owner protests against afforestation were fuelled by the solidarity-building that took place among farmers in relation to the 1991 afforestation plan and afterwards. [IT11; IT20; IT18]. As noticed by the state forest supervisor *"The protest against afforestation was not that massive either... Some (farmers) kept a low profile, as they were actually interested in doing business. It was group pressure."*

6.4.2 Comparing the forms of participation in the two cases

In the case of Copenhagen State Forest user council, the user council appears, at the first glance, to be the most crucial form of participation in relation to state forest management at a regional level. However, this institutionalised form of participation slides into a network of ongoing participation and other public administrative bodies, e.g. the counties' green councils. The user council depends on the existence of NGOs and their and other user council members' active participation to contribute with knowledge as well as to represent and disseminate relevant information to their support base. Comparing the user council activity of two meetings per year with the other activities that the user council members are involved in, it becomes clear that user councils are only one among numerous participation activities related to forest and nature management. The special thing about user councils as compared to other activities is that they provide a formal forum for simultaneous dialogue among many different actors, specifically about state forest management. In particular, the user councils provides an opportunity for co-ordinating interests across administrative and geo-physical borders, i.e. state forest district-municipality-council, and forest-farm – land - urban areas. The other forms of participation are either carried out by individual groups of actors, as e.g. DN committees excursions for members, or they are not directly linked with public state forest management, as e.g. the Outdoor Council campaigns to change, e.g. horseback riders or dog owners' behaviour in outdoor life. Finally, the user councils have a public authority, a decision-maker at the table, whereas e.g. NGO efforts to co-ordinate different public authorities' activities depend entirely on the goodwill and voluntariness of the different actors.

The case of afforestation at Ringsted differs from the Copenhagen case in a number of ways. Afforestation relates to major change as compared to maintaining an existing state forest reserve as such. Also, afforestation involves a number of personally affected stakeholders, mainly the land owners currently using their land for other purposes. Many different interests are at stake with the view to risk losing from the change. This is reflected in active participation during the hearing process of the 1991 afforestation plan, and a few land owners' active protest and efforts to avoid actual public afforestation at Ringsted. A range of different forms of participation are used,

including petitions, contacting politicians, lawyers, organisations, etc. What may surprise is that the many potential beneficiaries of public afforestation, i.e. the citizens of Ringsted, as well as the municipal council on their behalf, remain silent. Rather, members of the municipal council are concerned about the rights of farmers to claim land for manure, as it has priority to state afforestation [IT20]. The only really active proponents of afforestation appear to be the DN committee during the hearing process of the 1991 afforestation plan, and, in 1998, a network of villagers – business people, aiming at public-private afforestation together with the municipality, and the Plant a Tree members as supporters of the effort.

Appendix 6.1 Conventionalised state forest planning process

The Forest Planning Division at the Forest & Nature Agency centrally makes the forest management plans for all state forest districts in Denmark. Public hearings are not obligatory, but have been part of the procedure since the 1980s, following the tradition of the Planning Act. The State Forest District is involved throughout the process.

A conventionalised planning process could be as follows, based on documents from the planning process of Randbøl State Forest District (Forest & Nature Agency 1998).

1. month

Introductory meeting between the Forest Planning Division (FPD) and the State Forest District. FPD (1) prepares a framework for the plan; (2) writes initial chapters, including general guidelines for the forest plan and management; (3) draws maps and generates data in relation to the multiple purposes of the forest plan.

3-6. month

FPD appraisement plan (volume of wood, growth) based on the existing central forest file (CSR) with the Forest & Nature Agency and field data collection. FPD appraisement of selected stands; preliminary calculations and budgets. Eventual questions are discussed with the district. Proof reading of maps by the district.

7. month

Information folder about the planning process is distributed on 'Day of the Forest' and later also to libraries and municipality offices.

8. month

Meeting with the district, discussing: contributor file, time schedule, disagreements and discrepancies regarding regeneration plans, sales and purchases of areas, production of greenery etc.

9. month

Distributing the contributor file to

- The so-called matrix group of representatives from the following divisions of the Forest & Nature Agency: Forest Policy, Trade, Nature Management, Ecology, Cultural Heritage, Outdoor Recreation, Marine and Raw Materials, Landscape.
- The permanent contributors, i.e. Danish Nature Conserveration Association and Danish Outdoor Council, and the affected counties and municipalities of the State Forest District.
- The state forest user council

Writing the plan.

11. month

Meeting with user council and public meeting.
Agree with district on regeneration plans, calculations in relation to planned fellings etc.

12-13. month

Processing input from contributors and the general public. Meeting with the forest district, FPD and the contributors.

14-..? month

Second proof reading of maps by the district.

Integrate input from contributors, user council and matrix group into the plan in co-operation with district.

Finalise maps, calculations etc.

Presenting the draft final plan at a meeting with participants from the FPD, the State Forest District and the deputy director of the Forest & Nature Agency.

Finalise plan.

Endorsement of plan by the deputy director of the Forest & Nature Agency and by the head of the FPD.

Appendix 6.2 Guidelines for areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency

The Forest Act (§1) prescribes that the multiple values of forests should be paid particular attention to in forests owned by the public.Therefore, all areas administered by the Forest & Nature Agency are managed according to a range of guidelines developed by the central administration. Together, these guidelines form a very detailed framework for management of state forest areas. The guidelines are planned to be compiled and revised into a consistent set of guidelines (Driftsplankontoret 1998). This can be part of a future national forest programme for the Danish forest sector.

General guidelines on forest planning

- *Guidelines for user councils*. Division of Forest Planning, The Forest & Nature Agency 1995.
- *Memorandum about planning procedures and use of matrix groups.* Division of Forest Planning, in preparation (by 1998).

Tree species choice

- *Policy on choice of tree species*. Division of Forest Planning, In preparation (by 1998).
- *Policy for the state forest beech area*. The Forest Agency, 1983.
- *Strategy on the production of greenery and Christmas trees in the state forests*. Division of Forest Planning and Department of Trade, 1991.
- *Strategy on the growing of greenery and Christmas trees in the state forests*. Division of Forest Planning, 1995.

Silvicultural methods

- *Strategy for sustainable forest management*. Report no. 1267. Ministry of Environment, the Forest & Nature Agency, 1994.
- *Strategy for the Natural Forests and Other Forest Types of High Conservation Value in Denmark*. Ministry of the Environment, the Forest & Nature Agency 1994.
- *Strategy for the use of pesticides on the areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Forest Policy, 1994.
- *Strategy for the use of fertilisers on the areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Forest Policy, in preparation 1997.
- *Guidelines for investments in regeneration in the State forests,* 1991
- *On 'dangerous trees' and the leave of coarse woody debris*. Division of Forest Planning, 1995.
- *Guidelines regarding Ips beetle species attacking larch in Northern Zealand*, Division of Trade, 1995.
- *Fight against Fomes annosus (root rot) in coniferous wood*. Division of Trade, 1997.

Agriculture

- *Guidelines for the management of agricultural areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Trade, 1995.

- *Environmentally friendly agricultural measures*. The Structure Directorate, Ministry of Agriculture, 1995.

Hunting, fisheries and wildlife management

- *Guidelines for hunting and wildlife management on areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Trade, 1994.

- *Strategy for the feeding of bird of prey on areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Wildlife Management, 1994.

- *Guidelines for fisheries on areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*. Division of Trade, In preparation (by 1998).

Immaterial concerns

- *Ecological principles in forest management*. The Forest Agency 1982.
- *Ecological guidelines*. Division of Forest Planning, in preparation (by 1998).
- *Guidelines on the registration of protected nature types*. Division of Ecology, 1993.
- *Draft strategy for Nature care*. Division of Forest Planning, in preparation (by 1998).
- *Biological diversity in Denmark. State of affairs and strategy*. Ministry of Environment & Energy, The Forest & Nature Agency, 1995.
- *Draft strategy for the use of seeds of trees and shrubs for forest and landscape purposes in Denmark*. 1997.
- *Ramsar-areas and EU-bird protection and habitat areas*. Division of Ecology.
- *Adventures in the State forests. The outdoor life on the areas owned by the Forest & Nature Agency*, Division of Outdoor Activities, 1995.
- *Rules on the organised use of the state forests*. Division of Outdoor Activities 1995.
- *Memorandum on the management of cultural and historical interests in the State Forest Districts* Division of History of Civilisation, 1992.,
- *Forest management planning guidelines regarding cultural remnants and traces of ancient civilisation*, Division of Forest Planning and Department of History of Civilisation. 1996.

Appendix 6.3 Contents of user council meetings and public meetings 1995-1999

Date	User council Copenhagen-Roskilde counties	User council Frederiksborg county	Issues on agenda
130995		Meeting	Council composition, guidelines, FMP, Outdoor policy, presentation of district
200995	Meeting, Cph county		Council composition, guidelines, presentation of district, motivation for participation
270995	Meeting, Roskilde county		Discuss tasks of the council, its composition, guidelines, presentation of district
240496	Meeting, Cph +Roskilde		Discuss number of outdoor facilities based on the outdoor policy of S&N, walking and biking paths, designate lakes for different types of angling, date for next meeting, "Richer Forest", discuss overall trend in draft forest management plan
290996	Public meeting, Vestskoven		
140197		Meeting	Inf: Bird watching tower postponed due to DN-claim, no popular version of FMP due to budget cuts, contents of FMP, on the future use of pesticides Dis: evaluate public meeting, horseback riding in Ganløse Ore, Defence activities in Tokkekøb Hegn [KK], plan for Day of the Forest, FLR meeting with horse back riders
290197	Meeting		Inf: Bird watching tower postponed due to DN-claim, no popular version of FMP due to budget cuts, Dis: evaluate public meeting, horseback riding outside riding paths to be prohibited, Day of Forest, meeting frequency Inf: FMP 1995-2010, future use of pesticides
110597	Day of the Forest	DoF, Fiskebæk nature school	
240897		Public meeting	(27 public + 3 csfd and 4 uc) rødmarv, Acer pseudoplatanus, untouched forest, natural regenerations, forest health, no public afforestation , use of forest (politce training motorbikes, removal of boy scouts orienteering posts, improve gravel paths), management (regeneration, fence, machine felling, birch intermingling, tree species mix, neighbour representaion in forest not possible but user council and district should become more visible, renting boy scout cabins by the county, game (killed in traffic, poachers) help from the public/forest guests when fire, fire wood thiefs a.o. law breakers, shooting range, request from Farum Naturparks Venner to become member of the user council
210997	Public meeting, Lille Hareskov and Jonstrup Vang		(40 public +3 cfsd and 4 uc) Inf: Introduction to district, outdoor policy of S&N, new FMP, natural forest strategy, Richer forest, pesticide strategy, water level increased in Parykmagermosen, oak forest management to avoid tillers, history of why horseback riding and other traffic has now been separated, Christmas trees man., solitaire tree man., natural forest area, grazing of bog, camping ground, pollard of trees in order to avoid human injuries Dis: regeneration, clearing, bogs, area for unorganised mountainbike riding, call for benches,
210198		Meeting	Inf: Jensen & Koch "Friluftsliv i skovene" in relation to CSFD practice Dis: Evaluate public meeting, "dog forest" in Tokkekøb Hegn to be reduced, FLR outdoor policy action programme [by FLR] and in relation to CSFD practice, cancel a parking lot by Dæmpegård, Tokkekøb Hegn, Angling at Farum Lake and St. Donsedam, State of art for recreational facilities (KB:naturstatus?), Day of Forest, Evaluate user council

280198	Meeting		Inf: pesticide use restricted due to Cph county and member of parliament, FLR outdoor policy action programme [by FLR] and in relation to CSFD practice, Jensen & Koch "Friluftsliv i skovene" in relation to CSFD practice, angling at Farum Lake, introduction to user council evaluation, number of recreational facilities and sale of Kroppedal to municipalities and instead establish new visitor centre by Herstedhøje, Day of Forest 1998, parts of FMP was distributed together with forest maps- Dis: Evaluate public meeting 210997, problem with mountainbike traffic, trimming path, lights along tracks, playground established opposed to user council recommendations, rowing boat traffic at Farum Lake Attached to report: FLR opinion on nature conservation and management, rules for dog training in Vestskoven
100598	Day of the Forest	DoF, Store Hareskov	
030698		Meeting	Dis: Evaluation of user councils, connect the walking path system in Farum Lillevang with the municipality's path system, reconsider public afforestation FMP (the habitat for the plant "Foldfrø" [KB], insufficient clearance of horseback riders paths after felling [FH for Natursamråd], request for handout/pamphlet about tracks suitable for wheel chairs [PEP], request about the planned bird watching tower [KK])
080698	Meeting		Dis: rules for dog training in Vestskoven. Evaluation of user councils, going through each members´ filling out of evaluation schemes, merging of the two user councils, reconsider public afforestation areas. FMP on afforestation of Kollekolle fields, concerns for "socially loaded" young people, concerns for historical remnants in the ground, appeal for giving up draining in Vestskoven, objections to opportunity of raising prices for motorboats at Furesøen, forest guests' waste and grafitti around the house "Madpakkehuset" by Mønterne, request for additional nature guide, shelter, new rules for horseback riding.
060998		Public meeting, Ravnstrup skov	
130998	Public meeting, Karlstrup skov		
200199	Meeting Cph-Roskilde-Fr.borg		Inf: merged user council composition and function, Green accounts 1997, Dis: evaluate public meeting, popular version of FMP, permanent orienteering-posts, bird watching tower in Vestskoven to be improved, traffic in Brede Enge, Farum, Day of the Forest, date for public meeting, Inf: reduce traffic with motor vehicles in Tokkekøb Hegn, sale of Kroppedal/new center by Herstedhøje, Mønterne in Vestskoven, a cultural/historic site will be modified in order to easen maintenance, rowing boat traffic at Farum Lake, NGO report about traffic on Mølleåen, Afforestation at Jyllinge, Vestvolden maintenance plan. Information about conservation of stone dikes (Act on Nature Conservation etc., handed out by county representative) Attached meeting report: horseback riding agreement postponed, meeting with mountain bike clubs,
090599	Day of the Forest,	Karlstrup skov	
260999	Public meeting, Store Hareskov	and Bøndernes Hegn	(15 public, 2csfd, 7 uc) Inf: Present district and user council members and function, DN trip in the forest [ABH],
101199	Meeting		

7

Participation in practice

The aim of this chapter is to conceptualise participation in forest and afforestation management, as it appears from the two case studies. The different forms of participation taking place in relation to management of forests and afforestation areas were outlined in Chapter 6. Here, we want to know (1) who participates; (2) what motivates them to participate; (3) what are the perceived purposes and effects of participation and, finally; (4) what are perceived as premises or barriers to participation.

7.1 Who participates in forestry decision-making?

The two cases showed that there is a 'the usual crowd' that participates in decision-making related to existing forests, whereas afforestation mobilises a broader group of potentially affected stakeholders, each with strong opinions about afforestation.

Few NGO representatives participate in many different fora related to forest and nature management, typically DN and Outdoor Council representatives, along with state forest district staff. The state forest user councils encompass this 'usual crowd' as well as involves new actors: municipality politicians, county officials and representatives from the Defense. The selected representatives from the NGOs have been active for years in the NGOs, often 20 years or more, and they typically also participate in a number of other committees related to nature management or outdoor/social activities. The Outdoor Council representatives, county chairmen, have many years' background in other organisations as well, such as boy scouts, canoeing or hikers associations, under the umbrella of the Outdoor Council.

The Danish Nature Conservation Association representatives were elected among those chairmen of local committees based in municipalities with most state forests. The same was the case for the municipality representatives.

The user council guidelines allow for representatives elected directly at public meetings. The forest supervisor chose *not* to use this opportunity, as he believed that the candidates at such public meetings would anyway be representatives from organisations who then urged them to get elected (MR200995).

The afforestation case revealed a bigger and more diverse group of participants. The afforestation plan in 1991 involved a hearing process with many participants, each with strong viewpoints. The process was repeated in 1998. In 1991, the county received 239 responses during the hearing process. Landowners, farmers and their organisations participated out of economic interest, to either have their land included in or excluded from the areas designated for afforestation. A number of potentially affected organisations participated in order to cater for their particular interests. The Ministry of Agriculture wanted to minimise the area designated for afforestation with reference to the agricultural qualities of the areas. Museums wanted afforestation areas to be cancelled, in order to avoid destruction of historical remnants in the ground. Power stations are concerned about space for putting up wind mills. The Outdoor Council was concerned about variation in nature types and in public access to new afforestation areas, giving priority to urban forests and public afforestation close to existing private forests.

Table 7.1 Overview of participants in hearing process on afforestation plan, 1991

Participants	Purpose of participation/demands to afforestation plan for Western Zealand County, 1991 (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011; Vestsjællands Amt 1991)
Landowners and the lawyer of their farmers association	Tranfer 'areas designated as desirable for afforestation' to 'neutral areas', fearing future obligatory afforestation, i.e. expropriation, some fearing lack of land for spreading manure, and landowners' restricted loan opportunities Protest against planning 'over the heads' of private landowners Asking for confirmation that expropriation will not take place
Landowners (primarily big)	Transfer 'areas where afforestation is not wanted' to 'areas desirable for afforestation' or to 'neutral area', as 'not wanted' is considered a restriction of property rights/foregone opportunities
Venstre, political party in Sorø	Reduce designation of afforestation areas to a size that corresponds to the funds available to subsidise afforestation. Designation of areas where afforestation is not allowed, is considered unacceptable, being 'non-compensated'
Ministry of Agriculture	Reduce designation of afforestation areas as well as non-afforestation areas to use the land for agricultural purposes instead
Forest owners association, southern Zealand	As above – and less focus on forests for recreation
Museums	Less afforestation areas, in order to preserve cultural remnants in the ground
The Church	Maintain scenic view to churches
Energy Agency and E. firms	Keep areas with much wind available for wind mills
Aviation club	No afforestation that restrict the opportunities of aviators to start and land
The Outdoor Council	Ensure variation in nature types and tree species choice, ensure public access to new afforestation, priority to urban forests and public afforestation close to existing private forests
Danish Nature Conservation Association (excerpt of responses)	Let nature concerns determine location of afforestation, e.g. to ensure landscape corridors and habitats for biodiversity, to conserve ground water, lakes and streams, to leave areas for natural evolution. Improve public access and recreational concerns in afforestation Ringsted: make urban forest, e.g. on areas owned by the Defense. Gørlev: No afforestation on good farm land, as it is not profitable to farmers
Municipalities (excerpt of responses)	Jernløse: unite the areas for afforestation with the neutral areas, not to restrict landowners' access to afforestation subsidies Høng: wrong to plan without informing landowners in advance Dragsholm: restrict afforestation areas to maintain opportunties for city expansion, and to maintain good agricultural land Ringsted: expand area not for afforestation west of Ringsted in order to ensure view to the town. Emphasise close co-operation with municipalities when planning for urban forests for recreation

In 1998, the afforestation plan was revised. The county received 65 responses during the first phase of the hearing process and 30 responses in the second, in 2000 (Vestsjællands Amt 2000). The responses of the first phase differed significantly from the 1991 hearing process, as the intense protest from farmers and their organisations about being located in 'areas where afforestation is desirable' had ceased. Two thirds of all responses in the first phase expressed a wish to change area status from 'non-afforestation' or 'neutral' towards 'areas where afforestation is desirable'. Five responses, mainly from the Nature Conservation Association, wished some areas to be designated as not desirable for afforestation, whereas the rest were general or no comments. One peculiar thing was that an entrepreneur expressed aims to change area status towards 'afforestation desirable' with reference to agreement with the three

different landowners on future afforestation. Evidence shows, however, that the landowners were not informed about this, nor did they agree (WZ County J 8-50-11-20-1006-1997).

The concrete plans about afforestation north of Ringsted involve a more narrow group of people, confined to the area. There are landowners who participate to defend their economic and agricultural interests, to maintain the access to land for spreading manure in order to fulfil EU requirements of harmony between the size of the land and the number of cattle/pigs on each farm. There are landowners participating to stimulate voluntary afforestation. Then there are a business people's network, and citizen groups aiming to enhance afforestation. There are NGOs representing the interests of recreation and nature conservation, i.e. the Outdoor Council and DN, and NGOs specifically aiming at enhancing tree planting in urban areas, called 'Plant a Tree', and associated with the humanitarian association 'the Soroptimists'. Journalists and the media participate as well, the municipality council is involved, as are municipal officials, and the state forest supervisor is the initiator of state afforestation efforts, whereas the user council associated to that state forest district is absolutely absent in the debate.

7.2 What motivates them to participate?

The two cases show that people are motivated to participate for numerous reasons, see Tables 7.2 and 7.3 for an overview. The two cases differed in the sense that user council members participated to defend interests on behalf of a wider group, whereas the afforestation case also involved personally affected participants.

7.2.1 Gaining influence and taking care of interests

Participants are often motivated to participate with the view to gain influence and have the opportunity to take care of some more or less general interests. A DN member in the user council wants *"to leave one's mark on big and small issues"* [IT8]. Similarly, The Outdoor Council representatives in the user councils aim at gaining influence [IT6] in order to improve public access to the forests, get better path systems, and expand some other facilities, including some more handicap friendly shelters and buildings (MR200995). One of the Outdoor Council representative recalls that he had wanted user councils already twenty years ago in order to get influence, have rules changed, and improve public access to the forest

areas, particularly for the organised users, e.g. boy scouts. He called the Preservation Agency at that time and made his claims for improved access. They referred to the Outdoor Council, and that guided him into their work [IT19]. One municipality politician motivated his interest with the fact that 75 % of his municipality was covered with forest and lakes administered by the Forest & Nature Agency, whereas another politician aimed at taking care of the interests of the municipalities he was selected to represent (MR200995).

7.2.2 Being personally affected - take care of personal, financial interests

The afforestation case revealed participants motivated by the opportunity to defend and take care of personal, finanicial interests. The 1991 hearing process in relation to the designation of afforestation and non-afforestation areas involved many landowner responses. Most of the landowners specifically asked to be exempted from afforestation areas, fearing a future expropriation, whereas a few asked for the opposite, not to be excluded from afforestation as an opportunity.

Yet, the landowner responses were obviously motivated by more and other things than pure caretaking of interests (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011-1991). Many expressed uncertainty about future governance of the afforestation plans, fear of private, financial loss, lack of public recognition and anger over not having been heard. Most probably these feelings have been motivating factors for participation, as outlined below.

7.2.3 Uncertainty about future governance

Landowners expressed uncertainty as to whether afforestation will be voluntary or obligatory, and whether it will involve expropriation as the Act on Nature Conservation allows for. This uncertainty is fueled by lack of confidence in the state and its governance.

"Officials and politicians have verbally assured me, that afforestation cannot be enforced without the consent of the individual landowner – but are verbal promises kept when the 'green environmental wave' really starts moving in the coming years?"

"I refuse that (to have land designated as suitable for afforestation) . *If the county office has nothing better to do, I vote for its abolition"* (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011-1991)

7.2.4 Fear of financial loss

Landowners fear personal, financial loss from the designation of afforestation areas, due to restricted management opportunities, which is feared also to result in less favourable loan opportunities associated with the particular farm.

"..It (afforestation) will be detrimental to the profitability of the farm, if big areas are afforested and get out of production, and as loan opportunities and the trading price of the property will be reduced"

"We are active farmers, 100 % depending on our farm. We have a mink farm and we just built a new pig stable. The municipality ordered us to spend many hundred thousind Danish crowns on environmental investments, so now we depend on being able to get rid of the liquid manure....(etc.)..We have understood that afforestation should be done with due consideration to business interests – and we surely think that we can refer to that. So please confirm, that afforestation is voluntary and that we will be exempted for this in all future". (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011-1991)

7.2.5 Lack of public recognition

The hearing responses as well as interviews with farmers in relation to afforestation at Ringsted reveal a landowners' perception that the county and the public do not acknowledge or recognise the real agricultural value of their property, nor the life and traditions associated with the farm, since the county apparently doesn't consider the farm worth better than giving up for afforestation.

"The land is among the best classified in the country, and very suitable for seed production. And we also want our investments to benefit the coming generation".

"Besides, I find it totally wrong, that good farm land should not stay as such"

"The basis for my living will be totally amputated, physically as well as mentally.."
(all: WZ County 1-50-11-8-011-1991)

"We are not shown any understanding. Peasants are just peasants. Either they make a mess, or - in principle, nobody likes us, to be honest. Just take a look at the current debate, the radio this morning – the action plan against Salmonella doesn't work, the food quality is poor. And it's true." [IT20]

"Try to imagine – if you had been used to watch trees for 30-40 years - Wouldn´t it be odd if you suddenly had to watch grain instead? One could get used to it, of course. But - as I usually say – to have a field without seed production is like having a pig production without sows" [IT20].

"It would be bitter [to give it up for afforestation], if my son could have continued this place...They have to pay for the fact that I am connected to this place, because of the nature, being so close to Ringsted, to town, etc. We live in the country-side and still not. Our only nuisance is the horseback riders riding over our field, forgetting to use the road. They say it's a fallow field, and then you have to go out and make a fuss, and then you come to quarrel. I think we are really happy about living here" [IT20].

7.2.6 Anger of not having been heard in advance

Landowners are angry that they have not been consulted on an individual basis in advance of preparing a regional plan proposal that implies changing status of private land and, maybe, reduced future opportunities.

"Forests are necessary and planning is a good thing. But this looks like a mess, and is not well considered...

We don't want to become part of an afforestation area. If we do, anyway, then we will claim for compensation or immediate expropriation of our property. So that also we can plan our future. No one can tell what the future brings. Where there is a will to force through afforestation, the means can always be procured, no matter what mr. xx (county official) might 'believe'.

Last, we accuse the way this case has been dealt with, and thereby also how we have been treated. It is absolutely unfair that we ourselves, more or less by accident, have to get

informed that we are part of a plan encompassing our property – without us even having been asked.

Moreover, it is unreasonable that we have to appeal in order to be exempted. This is 'reverse democracy" that we don't hope to experience again in the future. This is not a way to treat your fellow human beings. This will never lead to a positive dialogue" (WZ County 1-50-11-8-011-1991).

As opposed to the 1991 hearing, the 1998 hearing of the revised afforestation plan did not reveal these worries any more, as those landowner comments were primarily interest-seeking in terms of having their land designated as suitable for afforestation, as outlined above.

Basically all the worries expressed during the 1991 hearing of the afforestation plan were among the motivations for some farmers' active protest against afforestation north of Ringsted [IT20], during the 1990s.

7.2.7 Professional interest. Promote nature experience and knowledge to people

Professional interest in the subject is a motivating factor for user council members, as well as for some of these NGOs and officials involved in the afforestation case at Ringsted. The DN members in the user councils state that they participate out of interest, e.g. curiosity combined with an interest in Vestskoven and its history and an ambition to promote nature to the citizens in the neighbourhood, make them go out and watch it [IT8]. This interest in promoting nature experience and knowledge about nature to other people is a motivating factor shared also by other environmental NGO representatives, e.g. Outdoor Council representatives [IT19] and the association 'Friends of Nature Park Farum' [IT17].

7.2.8 Enhance social integration in the neighbourhood

One participant in the afforestation case is clearly motivated to participate by an ambition to enhance social integration in his neighbourhood, i.e. to make people know each other, to be in good company, to make things work for the benefit of the neighbourhood:

"It is informal...I don't make the big decisions. I used to be in the board of the bank, the board of the farmers' association, the board of the slaughtery. But that wasn't really me.

166

Theoretically, one was there to decide something, but in practice I didn't. There were leaders to take care of that... No, I have a local council, working for the local population here. I like that... We are going to give name to our new forest on Constitution Day, and there will also be a concert in the church on that day. And we will inaugurate our common playground.. I like to get things connected, make it work...I am curious, I like to know and take part in what is going on, and I can't, if I don't participate... "

" I like to make people meet...If we don't look after each other out here in the villages, we end up behind each our locked doors... The mentality of the capital has also entered the country side. When people move out here, they are invited for common dinner once a month" [IT11].

He finds that this ambition may collide with opportunities of furthering more particular interests, such as afforestation. As he says:

"If we go into the debate about afforestation, we get into conflicts that we can't afford. We want to be nice and neutral people here in town. If we start saying that now there should be forests, we will get enemies. We don't want to be breaking the waves. We come in the second phase, to support those who might wish to accomplish something [IT11].

7.2.9 Solidarity

The question of social integration among people in the neighbourhood relates to solidarity as a motivating factor for participation. A landowner recalls the establishment of a motorway in the district, and how he and other landowners opposed to it for similar reasons to those identified in the hearing process about the afforestation plan. In addition, it was a question of solidarity:

"It was a combination of many things – also solidarity with your neighbours. You can't say: 'yes thank you, it's fine', while all your mates sit around you at a big meeting, deciding something else. You were part of the group, and when a readers' letter was written, you were in it as well. That was just how it was!" [IT11.]

The landowner protesting against afforestation also refers to solidarity:

"If we don't talk together – in the beginning, our chairman of the farmers' association had a problem of understanding that our attitude was reasonable. He was actually positive towards afforestation...I called him and told him that he wasn't allowed to have that opinion...to express an opinion different from those who were affected. Because if he says okay, then it is just us others who are perceived as backward... He agreed in that" [IT20].

"It is up to each individual to decide. But until now we've agreed not to [sell land for afforestation]... And I would of course like us to stay in this agreement. And if anyone wants to sell, then you contact your neighbour first, to hear if he is interested in buying the land. This is a dream for me - that we stay shoulder to shoulder with each other.." [IT20.]

7.2.10 Urged by other to participate – push and pull

Apparently, many participants in NGOs were initially urged by others to participate, and then participation in relation to one issue leads to the other. A DN member explained how he became involved in DN and various organisations:

"Because I can't keep my mouth shut! If you stand up and talk about something, you will be elected. Then you become known in the municipality" [IT8].

From this, the impression is that anyone who wants to participate can become active participants in the NGOs. A public official expressed it as being the active people's democracy [IT14].

7.2.11 Participation as part of job fulfilment

Finally, some may participate as part of their job, either because it is compulsory, or because it is a means to reach something else, e.g. a good story in the newspaper [IT16], or more employment, as suggested by an informant:

"The farmers' association wants to make themselves indispensable as well. Give me a case, so my presence is justified. That is what counts. So their lawyer would inform the farmers about all the problems they were not aware that they had...and now they're a whole army down there, managing the problems of the farmers...And they were also coupled to the afforestation

project...They will tell them about their rights and demands. That is how the world turns...I may sound sulky.." [IT11]

Table 7.2 What motivates people to participate? Case Copenhagen state forest user council

Motivation for participating	DN1	DN2	Outdoor Council 1	Outdoor Council 2	Env. NGO	Municipal politician	Municipal official	Forest supervisor
To gain influence		X	x	x				
- improved public access to nature			x	x				
- have rules changed			x					
- look after the municipality's interests							x	
- improved access for organised users			x	x				
To promote nature experiences and knowledge to people		X	x					
They speak up and then they are dragged into particip.		X	x	x				
- "I can't keep my mouth shut, and then I become elected"		X						
- "Because I am the head of the committee/org./..."	x							
- "My neighbour got me into i, then he left as chairman, and I thought: somebody has to take over after him"					x			
Professional or personal interest in forestry	x							
Out of professional interest			x		x			
Out of personal interest in forestry								
People have opinons when it comes to change, e.g. afforestation, much less to existing forest								x
Issue has to be close to personal interests, every-day life							x	

Table 7.3 What motivates people to participate? Case Ringsted

Motivation for participating	Landowner	Farmers assoc. & Ministry of Agr.	DN	Outdoor Council	Energy agency, aviation club etc.	Plant a Tree member	Muni-cipal politic.	Muni-cipal offic.	Journa list	Forest supe-rvisor
Uncertainty and lack of confidence in governance of afforestation: voluntary or obligatory with expropriation?	x									
Fear of financial loss & reduced production opportun.										
Reduced space for production due to afforestation on land	x			x						
Reduced property value due to restrictions on land use +/-	x									
Lack of land for spreading manure – higher land prices	x									
Unclear implications on debt and loan opportunities										
Unclear impl. for inheritance of farm to next generation										
Use opportunity to maximise benefits and reduce costs	(x)									

Lack of public recognition											
-of the absolute quality of land for agricultural production	x										
-of the GDP value of agricultural production	x										
-of farms as bearers of traditions, a way of living	x										
-of private property rights and the right to be asked first!	x										
Gain influence – i.e maintain or improve opportunities for agriculture, aviation, scenic view to church, wind mills, public access, urban forests, nature conservation etc.	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x			x
Wanting to enhance afforestation next to Ringsted			X	x		x		x			
Being with and doing something good for other people											
- to come to know people and the neighbourhood				x		x					
- good company: women instead of men with cigars						x					
- it takes a good chairman with visions, and ours is						x					
- make something work for the benefit of neighbourhood						x					
- make people meet each other (matchmaking)						x					
They speak up and then they are dragged into particip.											
-I was asked to substitute the chairman at general meeting, and suddenly, I was elected				x							
Solidarity – with neighbours or fellow farmers	x					x					
A story that sells/tells: news, substantial conflicts in views/opinions, exemplary case for more general debate, preferably philosophical dimension and 'story character'									x		
Forests are joyful news, compared to agriculture									x		
Professional interest			X								
- in nature, birds											
- get political focus on environment as living quality factor								x			
- obligatory activities due to employment								x			x
Issue has to be close to personal interests, every-day life						x		x	x		x

7.3 What are the purposes/effects of the different types of participation?

Motivations to participate and the purposes of participation may be nearly identical. When participants are motivated to participate in order to defend some interests, the purpose is to influence decision-making to take these interests into account. They may also differ, however. Some may be motivated to participate for the good company and the view to come to know the neighbourhood, whereas the purpose of their participation is to influence decision-making, provide local knowledge or whatever.

The two cases revealed numerous purposes of participation, as outlined in Tables 7.1 and 7.4. Some of them are identical with the motivations to participate, whereas additional purposes and effects appeared as participation took place.

The official purpose of the user councils was to enhance the *influence* and involvement of local users on state forest management and utilisation. Based on experience, the forest supervisor and some council members found that the user council provides an *information flow* about forest district management to the participants, and hereby indirectly improve their opportunities of gaining influence. The forest staff considered the user councils less valuable in providing the forest staff with knowledge about users' demands, which they did not already have from national surveys. Rather, the user councils *confirm* the district that they are managing according to the wishes of the population. Some members found, however, that the user council as well as other forms of participation provided a potential for *gaining local knowledge and monitoring nature* that was not fully utilised by the district. The user council members disagree as to what level they should contribute with knowledge and opinions to forest management. Some, like the Outdoor Council representatives, found that the purpose of the user councils is to *discuss principles rather than particular cases*, whereas DN representatives tended to think the opposite and were therefore also more likely to see the potentials of user councils as providers of local knowledge to benefit forest management.

Some user council members as well as the forest supervisor recognised the opportunity of using the user council to *legitimise action* towards the Forest & Nature Agency, that might otherwise be difficult to have accepted by the Agency. Other members were, on the other hand, worried about

being reduced to *legitimise decisions that they had been informed about but not involved in*, and in which they might not agree.

More user council members found that, besides information exchange, the user councils have the biggest potential in establishing *mutual understanding of conflicting interests*, and establishing *new communication channels between municipalities, NGOs and state forest district*. Finally, the forest supervisor recognised, that user councils have a positive, *political signal function* worth the efforts.

Together, some of these purposes and effects of participation can be considered possible ways to enhance efficiency in forest management. Some may further instrumental efficiency, (referring to Chapter 2) e.g. having NGOs participate in nature monitoring, gaining local knowledge about habitats or cultural history, get complaints and proposals for improvement from forest users, and improve communication among different stakeholders. Other may further institutional efficiency, i.e. legitimising the production (producing the right services), the process (having a participatory process!) and the values on which the forest district operates.

Many of the identified forms of participation in the two cases were undertaken with some of the same purposes and effects as found for user councils. This is outlined in Table 7.1 for the afforestation case by Ringsted and in Table 7.4 for the Copenhagen case. The respondents in the public hearing of the afforestation plan in 1991 and 1998 clearly participated with the aim to influence decision-making to take into account their particular interests. Similarly, influence is a purpose to many other participants, as a means to reach other, more ultimate purposes, e.g. afforestation or nature conservation. An example: Some of the NGO initiated participation efforts were specifically aimed at *co-ordinating use and management of forest and nature resources among different users as well as among different public authorities and landowners*. The ultimate aim of this co-ordination was to ensure nature conservation through indirect influence. *NGOs like DN and the Outdoor Council participate with the purpose of enhancing other people's knowledge about and interest in nature* and make them use it, both with a motive to further nature conservation through enlightenment as well as improving the quality of life for other people. Finally, some participate with the primary *aim to be part of and strengthen the social network in their neighbourhood*, as discussed in Section 7.2 about motivations to participate.

Table 7.4 The purposes of participation, as according to case: Copenhagen

Purposes of participation	Type of participation	Initiators	Participants	Advantages	Disadvantages
Efficiency in forest management					
Gather information for more efficient forest management	NGO surveys in advance of for.man.planning, count birds, habitats	Forest district staff	Env. NGOs: Danish Birdlife Society counting birds, or DN	More effic. forest man., more focus on NGO interests	Not stable 'workforce' (forest staff). Untrustworthy? (DOFanklagen)
Provide forest staff with local knowledge about the forest, its use and users	Informal dialogue at school, in phone, at public meetings etc.	Forest staff or local people	Local people, school kids, NGOs as facilitators		
Watch and report on other forest users' behaviour and state of the forest as such	Self-initiated volunteering as 'forest guard', call the district	Forest guests		Forest staff save resources, early warning system	Risk of serious conflicts among forest guests, not stable workforce
Complaints over forest management	Self-initated personal contacts to district	Forest user	Forest user, evt. also NGO facilitating the contact	Fast and easy way of reaching the forest distrcit	No established procedures for complaints to rely on, neither for district nor for the complainant
Co-ordinate use & management of forest & nature resources					
Co-ordinate use & man. of forest/nature I: Regulate recreational use	NGO groups dev. a common strategy for recreational use of a given area, e.g. the stream 'Mølleåen' and assoc. lakes	Outdoor Council	NGOs related to the use of the 'Mølleåen' and assoc. with the Outdoor Council	Holistic plan for regulation of recreational use of a whole water course system, saves public resources for this work and may ease recreational and env. pressure on nature.	Risk of excluding interest groups, particularly the non-organised users in the planning phase. Enforcement of plan remains by the public authorities
Co-ordinate use & man. of forest/nature I: Regulate recreational use	Hearing over a horseback riding path system to be established by the forest district	Forest district	Local horseback riding groups, as 'organised h.b. riding' is defined as '3 horses or more'	Hearing assures accept and confirms plan appropriateness while allowing to involve many different groups of h-b. riders. Faster to prepare plan at district	Plan developed together with h-b.r.groups might suit actual needs better
Co-ordinate use & man. of forest/nature II: Co-ord. activities among different public authorities and evt. private landowners	Self-initiated. Co-op. with diff. public authorities and landowners in order to conserve 'Farum Nature Park' through coordinat.	NGO 'Friends of Nature park Farum'	'Friends of Nature park Farum', state forest districts, 6 municipalities, landowners,	Facilitates a holistic view for conservation of an area whose regulation & manag. is split among many different stakeholders.	Success depends totally on voluntary commitment and financing from involved stakeholders
Establish communication between municipalities and state forest district	User councils	State forest district	Municipalities	Establish co-op. between two adm. separated types of public authorities. Potentials in coop. on, e.g. path systems, nature	Municipality repres. may not be committed or not able/willing to represent all municipalities

					education, landscape planning	
Influence						
Influence I: To continuously put pressure on politicians to ensure progressive environmental policy	Self-initiated. Co-operation, campaigns, publish env. strategies etc.	DN, Outdoor Council	DN, Outdoor Council, media?			
Influence II: Local users influence on state forest man.	User councils	State forest district	DN, Outdoor Council, DIF, Counties, municipalities	Formalised forum for user influence on forest management	Not including the unorganised users, not problem-oriented	
Influence III: Facilitate communication between users and state forest district	Self-initiated. Users giving info to NGOs, who hand it on to forest staff, eventually through the user council	Local users contact NGO	Local users, where NGOs are the link between users and forest staff	Fast, easy contact	Forest staff cannot take users demands as representative. No legal procedures for giving in or handling complaints	
Information flow						
Establish communication between NGOs, public authorities and state forest district	User councils	State forest district	DN, Outdoor Council, DIF, Counties, municipalities	The state forest district opens up towards society. Makes it perceived more legitimate to contact the district in general.	Too few meetings to ensure smooth info flow	
Information about forest district management becomes available to stakeholders, e.g. about pesticide use	User councils	State forest district	User council members	Information is a prerequisite for influence and for giving competent advice	Takes time away from dialogue if done at few meetings. Better inform in advance and currently, e.g. through emails or homepage	
Exchange opinions – Building mutual understanding						
Enhance mutual understanding & recognition of conflicting interests among stakeholders	User councils	State forest district	User council members	Less adverse conflicts	Depends on forest supervisors capabilities of facilitation/conflict manag Risk of not getting beyond the user council, the u.c. members instead losing contact with their support base	
Discuss principles of forest management	User councils	State forest district	User council members	Possibly improved understanding of different principles for forest management among actors	Principles already outlined in detail in FNA guidelines and national NGO principles known by forest supervisor	
Discuss particular cases in forest	User councils	State forest	User council members	Locally adapted management,	Not all members have the	

mangement		district		based on local knowledge about nature, history, usage of forest and landscape	necess. local knowledge. Too low meeting frequency in u.c. to discuss cases
Inform/enrich other people with nature experiences and knowledge					
Enrich other people with nature experiences and share knowledge about nature Through information/education of people reduce conflicts and reduce deterioration of nature	NGO campaigns, tours etc.	NGOs	NGO members a.o. forest users?		
Legitimisation (of state forest district)					
User councils as legitimisation for action, by getting u.c. support for decisions	User councils	State forest district	User council members, the FNA	Get user councils support district decisions in advance of negotiations with the FNA	Depends on all u.c. members support. Failure, if decision is not accepted by FNA, and something else has to be implemented, e.g. with playgrounds
Positive, political signal function	User councils	State forest district	User council members	Established participatory procedures are politically desirable	Positive signal function requires that the user councils are also given content and positively evaluated
Confirm district they manage the right way	User councils	State forest district	User council members	Less risk of management considered illegitimate by users	No real news from the user council, as compared to current manag. practices

7.3.1 Influence

Participation takes place to gain influence at different national, regional or local levels. For instance, NGOs may influence the overall national policy in relation to a specific issue, as e.g. DN on nature conservation, and the Outdoor Council in relation to outdoor life. Similarly, an individual forest user may call the forest ranger in order to influence him to repair the bench he passes during his forest trip.

Influence may be aimed at affecting public authorities as well as at private landowners or other citizens' behaviour. The Outdoor Council aims to influence public authorities to take into account outdoor policies as well as make individual users exercise more outdoor life or exercise it in particular ways.

Influence may be aimed at taking care at personal, specific or more general interest, ranging from landowners' fear of financial loss from afforestation to the organisation 'Friends of Farum Nature Park' efforts to enhance conservation, knowledge about and interest in a specific area in Northern Zealand.

In fact, influence may be considered a driving force to reach any other purpose than just influence as such. Thus, influence can be regarded as the key to any of the other purposes and effects of participation. It will therefore be dealt with separately in Chapters 9 and 10.

7.3.2 Information about forest management that would not be visible

The user council meetings are a source of information. But, in addition, the user council has also made it perceived as more legitimate to ask questions and to question forest management at the state forest district. This is perceived by the NGOs themselves as well as by the forest supervisor [IT2, IT6, IT8, IT17].

A user council member tells that one of the positive aspects of the user councils has been that *"I get some knowledge and experience that I could not have gained outside the user council, because you learn a lot by sitting there. During the breaks you can talk with the rangers etc. and ask why they do things like they do, and they are good at answering"* [IT17].

During the user council meetings, a user council member learnt that Copenhagen state forest district uses pesticides on some of its areas. With this information, the member asked a local Social Democrat member of the Parliament to complain about this practice towards her colleague, the Minister of Environment & Energy. Subsequently, the Minister ordered the Forest & Nature Agency to stop with this practice at Copenhagen district. The forest supervisor, as well as the involved member find this to be an effect of the user council's existence. As expressed by the forest supervisor: *"I don't believe he would have had that information about our use of pesticides if he was not in our user council. So in that way, the user council is a source of indirect influence, as they get information that they would not have got otherwise. Well, they would, if they had asked. But they wouldn't have had the fantasy to ask, you know"* [IT2].

Similarly, a county official tells that the information about particular cases in relation to hearing processes on regional planning can have an effect in terms of more people becoming aware of their potential interests and, hence, more responses in the hearing process [IT14].

7.3.3 Confirm the forest district that they are managing the right way

The Copenhagen state forest supervisor finds that the user councils are meant to be a place for users giving advice on public interests related to forest management. Basically, however, the forest supervisor finds, that he already knew what different actors want, and that the council primarily confirms his impressions, and confirms that *"we're heading the right way"* [IT2]. This view is shared by another forest supervisor in relation to the afforestation case.

"The user council gives us too little. They tell us too little that we did not already know. But it can also be seen as indicating that we are actually quite well informed" [IT18].

7.3.4 To gather local information/knowledge for use in forest management

Participation serves to provide the forest supervisor with local knowledge that can improve management efficiency in various ways. Some of the communication takes place directly between individual forest users and forest district staff, some is communicated via the NGOs, eventually via the user council.

NGOs offer voluntary assistance in monitoring nature and cultural values in the forest.

Some DN representatives in the user council are disappointed that the state forest district doesn't more actively use the voluntary local resources to obtain local knowledge about nature and cultural history which subsequently can be integrated in forest management planning or daily forest management. During the forest management planning phase, DN members went through the forest areas, monitored habitats etc. and sent the material to the Forest & Nature Agency, but they never got a response [IT8]. They suggest that such voluntary monitoring could be a purpose of future participation. At the same time they also recognise the possible drawbacks of using voluntary resources, e.g. that the work may not be done properly, if at all. A forest ranger is aware of the possible disadvantage. He tells that ornithologists have been consulted to monitor birds' nests. But these people, he tells, do it as a hobby and not for their living. The disadvantage is, therefore, that it is not a stable workforce, so it has to be 'firesouls' before you can trust that the job will be carried out [IT12].

Individual users contact the forest district about specific needs or demands

The forest staff is regularly contacted by individual forest users with particular demands. A forest ranger tells that *"People call to tell me that a bench is broken and if we are going to repair it - or people need some plant material for making a triumphal arch. I don´t think the user council takes care of those users' interests, as it is at the detail level...But I can then tell that we do"* [IT12].

Individual users report or complain on other forest users' behaviour and the state of the forest

The forest supervisor at Copenhagen state forest district is contacted around every fourteen days by forest users, mostly expressing critique of other users' activities, frequently about mountain bikers. There are only rarely questions about silviculture/forest management as such, and then it is typically a school teacher or an educationist who wants to inform the children. And finally, some people call to inform about, e.g. a car that has been 'stripped' and left in the forest, or an assumed theft. At a public meeting, the forest supervisor specifically urged the forest users to take on that role: A woman told that she had seen another woman take a stone from one of the stone fences around the forest, and she had her that it was illegal. The forest supervisor thanked her for doing so, as the district didn't have the resources to keep an eye on everything. Therefore they needed the assistance of the public to maintain the forest (MR260999).

Obviously, this involves potential conflicts among forest users, as even the forest staff experience problems in making people follow the rules: *"The attitude towards authorities has changed. The forest workers say the same as I. Formerly people respected a man in uniform. They would stand up and politely excuse themselves for their infringement of the regulations. Today they say: 'And where does it say so? What has it to do with you?'. And they doubt you, when you explain how things are"* [IT12].

Some users may also contact the local NGO, e.g. DN, to complain about things going on in the forest, asking them to follow up the issue. This was the case, e.g. with tree felling close to a train station. The local DN chairman and member of the user council was contacted and brought on the complaints to the forest supervisor [IT5].

7.3.5 Discuss principles/overall strategy or discuss particular cases

Having a user council, there is disagreement among the members as to whether the scope of this participation is to discuss and give advice on overall strategies for forest management or whether they should discuss particular cases, requiring locality-specific knowledge. FLR tend to aim at strategic discussions, whereas DN members are more likely to also want to discuss particular cases. The forest supervisor believes that it is because the Outdoor Council representatives are professionals in the sense of organisations, like politicians, interested in the big lines, whereas DN members are professionals in specific subjects, and therefore want influence in detail and are ready to spend their time at it [IT2].

The different forms of participation also involve different types of debates. Individual users' contact to the forest staff is typically based on particular cases or particular interests, as are also individuals' responses in a hearing process like the one on the afforestation plan.

7.3.6 User council as a legitimisation for action

An Outdoor Council member compares the user council with another district's user council and finds that Copenhagen state forest district is better at using the user council as a legitimisation of action towards the Forest & Nature Agency [IT19]. Another member directly

encourages the forest supervisor to do so, at the user council meetings [IT6]. Also a DN member notices the potentials in getting the user council's support for a particular forest district decision [IT19] that could otherwise be difficult to make the Forest & Nature Agency accept. For instance, the forest supervisor asked for the user council's support to issue popular forest plan folders, whereby the central Forest & Nature Agency eventually would pay it (MR200199TEB).

"At the recent user council meeting, the forest supervisor actually wanted our support to make the Forest & Nature Agency issue a popular version of the forest management plan. And I could imagine other possible cases where he could need support. I mean, he can't tell them that they are stupid, that their solutions don't fit with the local conditions and traditions out here...That is what I think. I mean, he and the user council didn't want the forest playground, and anyway, he had to establish one at the district" [IT8].

On the other hand, a user council member is also slightly worried whether the user council's role may be reduced to legitimisation of decisions that have already been made, since the meetings are held so seldom and many decisions are only presented for orientation, not for discussion [IT8].

7.3.7 Enhance mutual recognition of conflicting interests among stakeholders

The forest supervisor finds that when he has a dialogue with a forest user wanting, e.g. a facility for athletics in the forest, the user often has difficulties in recognising why exactly his/her particular interests cannot be satisfied. Mostly, he says, the conflicts in forest management are between different recreational uses, different user groups. And here, the user councils make a difference. The forest supervisor says:

"I think the others [in the council] realised that we are making compromises that basically they are satisfied about. They can now listen to each other and there are open and fine discussions between the different user groups. That is where I see the big strength of the user councils" [IT2].

7.3.8 Positive, political signal value

The user councils were not invented by the Forest & Nature Agency itself. *"It was the Ministers' idea. It is directly taken from the Social Democrats' political programme that*

citizens should be more directly involved in decision-making", as a forest ranger says. A forest supervisor confirms that the mere establishing of user councils has a positive, political signal function worth the efforts [IT2].

7.3.9 Establish communication channels between NGOs, public authorities and the state forest district

One of the main effects of the user councils appears to have been the improved communication between the different actors in relation to state forest management. *"Before the user councils, there was vacuum"*, says one of the members [IT6]. A forest ranger says: *"The major advantage of the user council is that it creates contact. For instance, it is much easier to call up counties and municipalities if you know the face of the one you´re calling"* [IT12].

And a municipality official thinks there is a need for the forest user council and that it makes a difference: *"I have the impression that it has opened up the forest. The forest used to be a state within the state. They have been unapproachable... a former forest supervisor was of the old type of official saying: 'no one above, no one next to me, I decide' "* [IT9].

7.3.10 Establish communication between (individual) users and the state forest district

As outlined above, participation may enhance decision-makers local knowledge through communication with individual users. Public meetings, open-house arrangements and nature guided excursions are fora for people to meet the forest staff and express their demands or ask questions. These forms of participation are more or less popular.

The forest ranger is regularly in contact with users, but finds that time limits the opportunities as, e.g. nature guided tours take place in weekends, when he wants to spend time with his family. The forest ranger notes that apparently often people don´t know who to call. They may call the central Forest & Nature Agency before calling the forest district, because they don´t know the forest district [IT12]. Here, the members of the user council add an important function, as common users contact them. As noticed above, some of the user council members

are now and then called by other forest users, who have questions or critique to what is going on in the forest. A DN member tells:

"They started felling trees between the town and the railway station, an area with many people passing through. It resulted in some local reactions, even if only few, as they are incredibly orthodox. Local citizens call us and ask us to do something about it...I then call the forest supervisor, I even called him on a Sunday" [IT5].

7.3.11 Co-ordinate use and management of forest and nature – regulate recreation

The Copenhagen case shows participation efforts aimed at co-ordinating the use of forest and nature for recreational purposes. The Outdoor Council is an umbrella organisation for more than 100 outdoor organisations. One of their key functions is to co-ordinate different uses in order to reach a consensus which they can then present to the public authorities with so much more weight. In 1998, the Outdoor Council chaired the preparation of a report on the water system 'Mølleåen', a stream and a number of lakes in North Zealand, that are intensively used for recreation while also containing significant nature values. The aim of the report was to outline current use and regulation of the stream system, describe the associated problems, and present a plan for future, sustainable use of Mølleåen. The main recommendations were to standardise the rules for the whole water system, to produce maps of the system, not to increase the number of licences for hire boats, i.e. the access for unorganised users, and to establish a user council with local representative to monitor the development in the use of the system (Mølleåarbejdsgruppen 1998).

As there may be a need to co-ordinate the multiple uses of one area, there may also be a need to co-ordinate one use type in many areas. In forests, horseback riding and mountain bikers are current challenges. Horseback riding is allowed in public forests. It tends to create conflict though, as the horses 'plough' up the roads with their hoofs, making them less accessible to other forest users. Copenhagen state forest district is establishing a path system for horseback riding, in order to minimise conflicts between horseback riders and other forest users. The path system is planned by the district, based on experiences of where horseback riders usually go and considering routes of different length. Hereafter horseback riders will be asked to give their opinion on the plan. The district requires a contract for organised horseback riding, in

practical terms any horseback riding with 3 or more horses at a time. This provides the forest employees with a tool to manage and stay in contact with this group of users. The forest ranger would like to have horseback riders represented in the user council in order to improve contact and easier regulation. But as he says, there are many horseback riding schools in the area, and only few seats in the user council.

The mountain bike riders is the user group creating most conflicts and complaints from other users, the forest supervisor explains. However, it is almost hopeless to regulate their traffic, as they are practically allowed to ride anywhere. The problem is, says the supervisor, that a few bikers, not only mountain bikers, behave tough and impolite. They need to learn common politeness, and that is something the Outdoor Council and the biking associations have to learn them [IT2].

The Outdoor Council also aims at changing user behaviour, through the member organisations as well as through public campaigns. An Outdoor Council representative recognises the problems of reaching the unorganised users, where he perceives the biggest problems of inadequate behaviour to be. He finds that the Outdoor Council manages to represent the unorganised users while also trying to modify their behaviour through campaigns or agreements with, e.g. individual horseback riding schools [IT19].

7.3.12 Co-ordinate nature use & management among public authorities & landowners

The two cases provide many examples of participation with the aim to co-ordinate the activities of different public authorities and landowners, including

- The private business people and villagers' networks efforts to make public private afforestation in co-operation with the municipal council in Ringsted.
- The NGO 'Friends of Farum Nature Park' has a specified purpose to ensure conservation of a specified area, by enhancing co-ordination and co-operation among landowners and the different public authorities related to the management of that area.
- One of the Outdoor Council representatives in the user council finds that the future potential of forest user councils is to establish closer co-operation between the forest

district and the municipalities, e.g. to establish a contiguous net of tracks across administrative borders.

7.3.13 Enrich other people with nature experiences and knowledge about nature

As outlined in Section 7.2, the purpose as well as a motivation for participation is to enrich other people with nature experience and share knowledge about nature. This is closely connected to the purpose identified last, and described in section 7.2, - to strengthen social network. An Outdoor Council representative is concerned about the role of nature and organisations for democracy, and the good life as such:

"To be organised is a positive element for the maintenance and development of democracy. Investigations from universities show, that increasingly many young people become individualists. That is a threat to democracy. But in this context, outdoor life and recreation can be a rallying ground for democracy. There has to be room for individuality, I agree. But you should also aim at doing things together. It has a big value to democracy that association life flourishes, that the visions flourish, that the family thrives – but also that the community prospers – the housing communities, the communities within the firm. Therefore, I also find it important that firm communities find their way out in the Danish countryside. Because it is part of a personnel policy, just as a policy for the family. Therefore, the forest district should also cater for outdoor activities aimed at many participants...company outings with 100 persons, also where it has a recreational value" [IT19].

7.4 What are the perceived barriers to (reach the purposes of) participation?

The purposes of participation were outlined in Table 7.4. A number of barriers, or premises, to reach these purposes were also mentioned, as outlined in Table 7.5.

Representativity

It was questioned whether participants manage to represent all interests, in particular the 'unorganised users', 'the silent majority'. The question of representativity will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Information, knowledge and professions

One of the major achievements of user councils is an enhanced openness and higher information level about state forest management. There appeared to be consensus that information is a precondition for having influence. There were different opinions though, as to what information mattered, the access to information and how knowledge can be used in relation to participation in forestry decision-making. One viewpoint was that the forestry professionals base their arguments on a technical-economic rationality that leaves participants with diverging viewpoints powerless. The perceived relationship between knowledge, professions and power will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Governance – co-operation and co-ordination

One of the purposes of participation mentioned by many was to enhance co-ordination and co-operation among different actors – NGOs, users, different public authorities, landowners. This implies a number of opportunities and barriers, as discussed in the following chapters. For instance, in the user council there appeared to be wide-spread mutual understanding of the roles of the different members, their viewpoints and strategies. This does not mean, that they all agreed on neither the objectives of forest management, nor the 'rules of good co-operation'. The different perceptions about the premises of co-operation and the role of participation in forest management, are discussed throughout the following chapters.

Influence – sources and resources

Finally, different resources were considered as preconditions for participation, and different amounts of resources were devoted to participation. The relationship between resources and influence is discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Table 7.5 Premises of participation

Premises of participation	Commented by	Form of participation
Representation		
Unorganised users – who represents them, and how are they reached?		
NGO monopoly?		
Information		
Access to information	env. NGO	DN rights of appeal
Access to forest management plan		
Lack scientific/silvicultural knowledge	env. NGO	User council
Ways of acquiring knowledge		
Communication		
Forum for open discussion vs. retain info	DN, ranger	User council
Using different jargons – technical jargon a barrier	DN member	User council
Base arguments on different value systems, i.e. different discourses	DN member	User council
Unambiguous communication	Forest supervisor	User council
Ways of co-operating		
Bureaucracy vs. anarchy	DN, forest supervisor	Outdoor Council
Co-operation between politicians and public officials – rule rationality versus goal rationality	DN, forest supervisor, Outdoor Council	
Negotiation skills		
Knowing each other's positions & values		User council
Rights to appeal decisions		
Rights to appeal decisions	env.NGO, DN, OC	
Resources: network		
Network (DN nation wide local...)	OC, RiP, ..	
Link to Forest & Nature Agency		
Resources: Time	Forest supervisor	User councils.
Time		Other pp activities
Resources: Money		
Funds for recreation & nature man.	OC	
Funds for state forest management	Forest supervisor	
Funds for participation	Forest supervisor	
Forest district staff & guidelines		
Attitudes of forest district: Service-minded but not participatory	DN	
Lack of rules & procedures for participation, information and managing complaints	Forest supervisor	
Unsolved issues at higher levels are carried on to lower levels, where they are irresolvable?!		

8

Representativity

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate (1) who and what interests the different participants perceive themselves to represent; (2) how participants consider the relevance and representativity of other participants; (3) how the 'silent majority', the unorganised user is perceived to be represented; (4) what is the perceived internal representativity of the participating organisations; (5) what is the perceived relevance of participation as such, in relation to state forest management; (6) conclusions to different viewpoints on participation and representativity.

8.1 Introduction to representativity

Representativity can be considered in different ways. First, it can be analysed whether participants are representative of society (external representativity). Again, external representativity can be monitored in terms of socio-demographic representativity or representativity in terms of interests and values, or particular concerns to, e.g. local affiliation. Second, it can be analysed whether the participants are representative of their support base (internal representativity).

Obviously, the user councils are not representative in socio-demographical terms. The distribution of participants to gender, age, education, income, political and organizational affilitation is likely to be uneven. In total, 83 % of all state forest user council members are men. The average age is 54 years, and 51 % are public employees, 34 % are private employees or self-employed, and 15 % are not engaged in active employment (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998). Other relevant measures could be the income level, or education, which the survey does not show anything about.

Representativity in terms of interests and values is important when the aim of the user council is to make sure that state forest governance/management is in accordance with the will of the public. The representatives can then bring forward the aims and desires of different user groups and help the forest management to coordinate/weigh the interests against each other. It is crucial, then, that the

representatives actually represent their support base, e.g. indicated by the contact with their support base.

Also, the representatives will have an opportunity to learn about other interests and the need to balance conflicting interests. For this to have an impact, the representatives are expected to bring on to their support base the message about the conflicting interests and ways to balance them.

8.2 What interests do the participants think they represent?

The two cases showed that participants to some extent share the purposes of participating, e.g. to gain influence, to create opportunities for nature experiences, or to co-ordinate different uses or administrative activities. Beyond these agreed purposes, there are different visions about what good forest management and forest use is. In the present Section, we provide a brief overview of what interests the different participants think they represent in relation to state forest management and use (see also Table 8.1 of who/what the participants represent and Table 8.2 of what the participants consider to be the major challenges to future (state) forest management).

The interviews revealed conflicting viewpoints in relation to nature conservation versus recreation, the forms of appropriate forest recreation/use, accessibility to forest areas, the priority of users, design of recreational facilities, and representation of organised versus unorganised users.

Table 8.1 What interests do the participants represent?

Stakeholders / Interests	Copenhagen state forest user council							Case: Afforestation at Ringsted							
	DN1	DN2	Out 1	Out 2	Muni. politic	For. super	For. ranger	DN1	Out 1	Muni. off.	Journa list	Farm 1	Farm 2	County off.	For. super
Conservation of nature or culture															
Take care of the interests of plants and nature (conservation)	x		x					x	x						
Conserve traces of human activity		x													
Promote nature experiences															
Jungle experience: watch nature's processes	x		x												
Cultural history – conserve traces of human activity		x													
Inform about forests and nature diversity, incl. nature schools		x								x	x				
Access									x						
Access for everyone everywhere				x											
Opening up the B-forests would reduce pressure on A-forests				x											
Maintain access for organised users				x					x						
Okay not to expose all nice spots to people			x												
Have inaccessible areas	x														
Priority of users and recreational facilities															
'Soft' activities have priority over 'hard & noisy' activities						x									
People who only use the forest as a side wing for their activities ought to do it outside the forest	x														
Prefer nature's own playground above built playgrounds							x								
More facilities: playgrounds, camping sites to attract people				x					x						
More silence in the forests	x														
Children and young people have priority over other age groups						x									
Unorganised users & municipalities					x						x				
Represent organisations as well as the unorganised users			x	x											
The unorganised users are prioritised over the organised users						x									
The uninformed public, 'ordinary forest amateurs'											x				
Policy formulation															
Enhance explicit outdoor policies in public administration				x											
Consensus among outdoor NGOs on common outdoor policy				x											
The nature deserves huge 'apolitical' (NGO) support								x							
Enhance nature policy on the municipal policy agenda										x					
Private economic interests/farmers production															
Maintain farm production and related contribution to GDP												x			
Defend/respect private property rights												x			x

Source: interviews from the two case studies

Table 8.2 What are considered the future major challenges to (state) forest management?

Stakeholders / Future challenges	Copenhagen state forest user council								Case: Afforestation at Ringsted							
	DN1	DN2	Out 1	Out 2	Mun.off.	FNP	For. Ranger	For. super	DN1	Out	Munic.off.	Jour.nal.	Farm 1	Farm 2	County off.	Forest super.
Afforestation		x							x							x
That the state treats the affected farmers (economically) decently														x		
Community based afforestation										x						
Bigger, wilder and close-to-nature forests												x				
New forests don't have same biodiverse & aesthetic value as old	x															
Local plan and hearing requirement on afforestation						x										
Conserve traces of human activity, e.g. house and living fences		x														
Silviculture																
Close-to-nature management	x					x	x					x				
Due consideration to forest floor vegetation	x															
Promote nature experiences																
More nature education to avoid alienation											x					
More silence in the forests	x															
Improved access					x											
Improve access, and maintain organisations' access			x							x						
Avoid payment for nature access, e.g. for boy scouts											x					
Priority of users and recreational facilities																
- get more camping sites										x						
- co-ordinate the many, conflicting interests								x								
- fewest possible 'forest alien' recreational facilities						x		x								
- meet the individualised demands of unorganised				x												
- accomodate for also big arrangements, e.g. firm forest trips				x												
State forest management																
Customer satisfaction in terms of recreational users								x								x
Involve NGOs in forest management & planning		x														
Use participants for voluntary monitoring of nature		x														
Financial situation of state forest district																
Prioritise state forest tasks in times of budget cuts																x
Ensure the financial results					x	x		x								
External factors																
Avoid to take groundwater from forest covered areas	x															
Avoid privatisation in case of liberal political system shift				x												

Source: interviews from the two case studies.

8.2.1 Nature conservation versus public access and nature experiences

The DN and the Outdoor Council representatives both aim at nature conservation along with providing opportunities for people's nature experiences. However, the perceived optimal way to combine these two objectives differs.

A DN representative in the user council considers herself to represent the interests of plants and nature, as well as nature experience interests. She prefers that some nature areas are practically inaccessible, without tracks, in order to maintain the 'jungle experience'. In this sense, she represents the curious nature user, the user *"with the patience to listen, learn and watch nature's processes work"* [IT5].

As opposed to her, an Outdoor Council representative in the council wants virtually all areas made accessible to everyone, get more facilities into the forest and maintain or improve opportunities for organised users' access. He believes that preservation goes along with public access:

"It is not our policy to close areas. It is our policy to open up...to pass on as many experiences as possible. It is not our policy to destroy nature. But if there are no damages, I can´t see any reason to take on a restrictive attitude. It is the same in preservation cases. You may want to preserve an area in order to protect a rare herb. But – if you use public money for that, we also want to spend the money on ensuring public access. You may not want to lead the traffic directly over that rare herb. The specialists will find it anyway. Bur all the common people need better access, and then you can place the path in a distance from the herb. So – preservation together with public access – that is our policy" [IT6].

Therefore, the Outdoor Council representative [IT6] supported the establishing of a bird watching tower, whereas the DN representative was against it. Similarly, the DN representative, as most of the user council, was against establishing artificial playgrounds in the forest. The forest management plan prescribed the establishment of one playground before year 2000. The forest district staff initially did not want it, and DN representatives as well as Outdoor Council representatives also did not support the idea. A DN representative referred to the responsibilities connected to establishing playgrounds (MR240496). The playground was established anyway, at the demand of the Forest & Nature Agency, in order to reach the objectives of its outdoor policy, which included establishing 30 forest playgrounds before year 2000 (MR280198). As said by one of the staff: *"The playground turned out to be a success. But I prefer old, lying trees, throwing*

sticks in a ditch, - there are numerous opportunities for playing. Besides, it is costly to maintain such a playground and we take on a big responsibility as playgrounds require that safety rules are observed" [IT12].

An Outdoor Council representative, however, supported the idea of playgrounds, as he believes that it will make more families with kids wanting to use the forest and, hence, also get a nature experience [IT6]. This representative has the goal to "*get better facilities for the users, increasing the attractiveness (of the state forests) to people, and maintain organised users' access"* [IT6]. He finds that too many forests are designated for unorganised use only (B-forests), and believes that by opening up those forests for all uses, would reduce the pressure on the A-forests. And still, he believes the pressure would not increase on those B-forests located at a distance from the cities, so there would still be areas left undisturbed. And already now, the B-forests are not closed for, e.g. kindergartens or school excursions. Similarly, he supports to use benches rather than trunks, *as benches will provide a seat for the elderly people* whereas another Outdoor Council representative believes that people, kids especially, prefer trunks (MR200199TEB).

Other DN and Outdoor Council representatives stand somewhere in between these two viewpoints. Besides nature conservation, another DN representative is mainly interested in cultural history and in communicating/promoting cultural history and nature experience to other people [IT8]. For the same reason, he suggests that, e.g. some of the cottages within the young forest 'Vestskoven' are preserved together with some of the trees and hedges from the previous habitations:
"I would like to see that some of the old trees and hedges remain, even it is in a forest, - to show that there once was human activity here" [IT8].

The ambition to promote nature experiences is shared by Outdoor Council representatives [IT13; IT19]. One of them believes that it will add to families' values, make them think: 'this is good to our family'. Also, he emphasises information to the public and to organisations as a means of limiting damages on nature caused by forest use. At the same time he supports the idea of not necessarily exposing *all* the nice, nature rich spots to the public, but let them find the way themselves, and get the pleasure of finding the spot by incident. Therefore, some areas should explicitly be promoted in order to ease the pressure on other areas, valuable for nature conservation [IT19].

Basically, the viewpoint of all Outdoor Council representatives tend to be as expressed: *"If we can come out in nature, touch it, then we also better understand to protect it. That is why nature communication is so incredibly important"* [IT13].

8.2.2 Representatives of weighed interests

The Outdoor Council representatives diverge from the other members of the user council as they represent a number of organisations, including another user council member, Danish Sports Association. According to one of the representatives, the Outdoor Council aims at creating consensus among their member organisations in order to stand stronger in the efforts to promote outdoor political interests, including concerns to nature conservation. Through dialogue and pressure, the Outdoor Council aims at enhancing explicit outdoor policies in public administration, from national, to county and municipal level [IT13; IT19].

This has the effect that the viewpoints of the Outdoor Council are – and are perceived as - the weighed results of negotiation among many, partly conflicting demands to forest and nature for recreational purposes. As opposed to this, the DN members may be considered 'just' to represent nature interests. As one DN member says: *"Nature deserves huge, apolitical support"* [IT15], i.e. through DN. He believes the politicians call themselves environmentally conscious to please people but, by and large, it is pseudo-environmental policy [IT15].

Nevertheless, DN representatives can also be considered to present viewpoints that have been weighed more or less consciously. Here, the weighing is among the many different interests related to birds, insects, mammals, cultural landscapes, biodiverse landscapes, etc. As one DN representative says:
"One could leave the political level and just look after one's own narrow interests. It could be nature, or it could be even more narrow. One could prioritise butterflies – not to mention fish. That provokes me. I don't want things to become too narrow. ...It is too narrow-minded. I mean, there should be room also for those interests, but not for those only" [IT8].

The peculiar thing is that the Outdoor Council is expected to represent, e.g. Danish Birdlife Society, as it is one of their member organisation. This is not perceived as a problem, though, by an Outdoor Council representative [IT6].

8.2.3 Representatives of the unorganised users

The Outdoor Council representatives state that a main task of the Outdoor Council is to also represent the unorganised users (MR130995) [IT19].

The Copenhagen state forest supervisor expects the municipal politicians to be representatives of the common citizen. And both he and the forest ranger states, that the forest district under all circumstances gives priority to the unorganised user as compared to organised users [IT2; IT12].

In the afforestation case, a county official remarks: *"You can always point out a target group that doesn't express its viewpoints, because it is the democracy of the active. That is how democracy is"*. The role of the county in the regional planning process is expressed as: *"We are here to make sure that everyone has been heard and no interests have been forgotten* [IT14].

The journalist may be another representative of the unorganised users. She perceives herself to represent *"the general, uninformed public - 'forest amateurs' as I"*, while also providing them enlightenment and knowledge: *"Now listen, you can have something totally different [forests]"* [IT16].

8.2.4 Representatives of farmers' interests and private property rights defence

In the afforestation case the farmer misses someone representing his interests as well as farm production interests in general. He believes that the lack of afforestation success is caused by [the government] not having considered the consequences for *"us others"*, i.e. the farmers. He misses public understanding of the farmers' situation: "*The rest of society doesn't think that we need the agricultural sector...[I miss] a more relevant understanding of the significance of our agricultural sector to society, if we stop our production...I called the mayor and asked him if he had considered the tax income consequences of afforesting 300 ha [farm land], and he said: ' the citizens don't care at all, as long as they get their afforestation'"* [IT20].

Also he finds that the 'common good' doesn't encompass him. *"I went to this meeting where they said... they don´t plant forest so that part of the city cannot see the church...I said: 'now that's nice, but then I jolly can´t see the other church'. So it isn't meant for everyone"* [IT20].

In addition, the farmer found too little support from the farmers' association chairman, who tended to see the opportunities rather than the disadvantages of afforestation. *" I called him and said that*

he wasn't allowed to have that attitude, because...then it is just the others who are too stupid to understand how things really are. He has agreed to that now" [IT20].

The state forest supervisor recognises the farmers' situation. Referring to a national newspaper article about the afforestation project, he says: *"I think it was a somewhat manipulating article. I was considered the angel, and the farmer was the scoundrel. It is understandable [that the farmer is against afforestation], because he has to base his living on the farm...Sometimes the urban population lacks an understanding of the farmer's viewpoints, that he has to live from his farm"* [IT18]. Being asked whether he thinks it is fair that two farmers, with reference to their rights, block for public afforestation that could benefit a whole city, he says: *"I don't think it is unreasonable. It is said in the Constitution that the property right is inviolable...if you want to set aside the property rights you have to buy it, put preservation claims on it or expropriate the property. I cannot go out and talk to a farmer if I don't respect him and his property rights"* [IT18].

8.2.5 Low-impact users and high-impact users

Meeting the expectations of the population is a primary objective to the Copenhagen state forest supervisor, recognising the heavy recreational pressure on the forest areas [IT2]. The forest supervisor is oriented towards the demands of the average citizen. Telling about a planned afforestation project, he says:

"Illuminated tracks, circus, etc. is not what the average citizen, the population want, so that is not what they will get, even if locally it would be asked for. Also they (people, ed.) don´t thrive in forest with only broadleaves, so they will get variation, an amount of coniferous forest, whether they want it or not" [IT2].

This is in line with the Copenhagen forest management plan. Here, concerns for the recreational demands of the 'common population' are prioritised over the wishes of the 'specialists'. This means that the unorganised user is prioritised over the organised user, soft activities (like the silent wanderer or the family trip) above 'hard' and noisy activities, as those will be strictly regulated. The forest management plan states that the request for 'hard activities' as well as for outdoor facilities will be considered, as to whether the performers depend on the forest for their exercises or if these could take place anywhere else. Finally, children and young people use are prioritised over other age classes (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998).

The DN representative specifically aims at more silence in the forest and, as mentioned, to move those activities where the forest is only used as a wing [IT5]. This partially conflicts with the Outdoor Council representatives' aims at providing and maintaining opportunities for organisations' use of the forest [IT6], for major groups on firm picnic [IT19], for mountain bike tracks [IT13], although it is considered that *"there are lots of areas left for silence seekers"* [IT6].

8.3 The perceived relevance and representativity of other participants

8.3.1 The perceived representativity of the user council in terms of interests & values

The Copenhagen state forest supervisor noticed a significant difference between the two former user councils as one council was critical towards the forest district management whereas the other council tended to be uncritically positive.

Better representation of nature conservation and landscape aesthetics interests
The forest supervisor approves the current composition of the user council, as it reflects the fact that most conflicts are among the different uses of the forests, and hardly about forest management and silvicultural practices as such [IT2]. However, more members find the user council imbalanced and needing a strengthened representation of conservation as opposed to user interests. A DN member finds that all other members than DN represent *'someone that attacks the forests, use them'* [IT5] and that, consequently, most of the discussions are about forest usage and how to facilitate this. The perceived problem is that few users know about plants and nature, whereas most users 'wear out' nature, or merely use the forest as a wing for activities that could as well take place elsewhere [IT5]. However, the DN representative also acknowledges the forest district's unwillingness to allow activities where the forest as such is only considered a wing.

Also an Outdoor Council member specifically calls for more nature conservation representatives. He says: *"In the former council there was only one DN representative and now, in the new, there are two, and they did not agree. I like it when there are different perspectives, a dialogue based on different backgrounds"* [IT19].

The DN representative also misses representation of landscape aesthetics interests, beyond what DN or other manage to take upon them [IT5]. The Outdoor Council is supposed also to represent Danish Birdlife Society, but they never have mentioned anything about birds, according to the DN member [IT5]. Danish Sports Association is considered less relevant as, according to the DN

member, its interests are the same in any forest, i.e. maintenance of tracks, whereas nature interests require local knowledge. As the Forest & Nature Agency also has a natural forest strategy and a biodiversity strategy, representatives of the Botanical Association or Enthomological Association are also considered of possible relevance [IT5].

An Outdoor Council representative notices that other organisations might find the user council relevant, and is somewhat surprised that e.g. Danish Birdlife Society has not expressed its interest in participating. At the same time, however, he finds that the Outdoor Council is capable of representing its interests as well [IT6].

More active municipal representatives required
Another Outdoor Council representative finds that the municipality representatives can become crucial partners in future co-operation between the state forest district and municipalities, in order to create better coherence between the countryside and the forest areas. Therefore, the current representatives should be more serious about their active participation than they have been so far [IT19]. The DN representative prefers municipality politicians rather than officials, as he considers himself a "part time politician" as well, and as he can reach the officials in other ways [IT19].

The Copenhagen state forest supervisor finds that the role of municipality representatives is to represent the interests of the common citizen, Mrs. Hansen, rather than represent the interests of the municipality. *"We co-operate with 28 municipalities, and it does not make sense with extra close co-operation with those 6 municipalities represented in the user councils. It is the opinion of people, that should appear".* For the same reason, he prefers politicians as municipality representatives. *"Public officials are more likely to think of the interests of the municipality [as an organisation]"* [IT2].

There is also a user council at the state forest district in the afforestation case. The forest supervisor finds that, basically, the user council has the same opinion as he/the district. *"Maybe not in the beginning, but after a while. The diverging opinions in the beginning were due to lack of knowledge. Knowledge about other people's viewpoints, other influential factors, other weighing of interests. It is so incredibly easy when you walk around in blinkers, only seeing things from one point of view. Then things are so wonderfully black-white"* [IT18].

The Outdoor Council representative of this user council finds that the municipal representatives in the beginning were very locally oriented, persistently fighting for own viewpoints, whereas by now, they have become easier to co-operate with, more constructive and less 'either – or' oriented [IT13]. He believes that the municipal representatives differ from the rest of the council because they usually have to consider the whole and not particular issues, as is the case in the user council and for him. *"When we are in the user council, we are not there to discuss politics, whether a liberal and a social democrat are seated next to each other. That is not our task"* [IT13]. Also, he is aware that the municipal politicians lack all the background information that the other participants, mainly DN and the Outdoor Council, have [IT13].

"The user council is made for those using the areas owned by the state. The farmers don't have any interests in the user council, as they don't own the land. The politicians are there to represent the citizens, and we are there to represent the organisations. You could ask if the ornithologists should participate. Then the hunters should, too, but there is no commercial hunting on the state areas [IT13].

8.3.2 Relevance of participants in state afforestation

The forest supervisor of the afforestation case doesn't see any role for the state forest user council in afforestation projects. *"The user council is the usual crowd. And if we make afforestation in one place, the municipal representatives couldn't care less. I don't think it is the user council we should talk to. We have to go local, instead"* [IT18]. The regional Outdoor Council representative has been involved in more afforestation projects. Besides him, the district aims at involving the individual interest organisations, e.g. horseback riding organisations, horseback riding schools and ornithologists. The forest supervisor notices that not many people are concerned about the work of the Outdoor Council as an umbrella organisation [IT18].

The Outdoor Council representative regrets the lack of co-operation between the municipal council and the state forest district: *"They spent 270.000 DKK on afforestation. But they didn't co-operate. If they had co-operated with the Forest & Nature Agency they might have got 20 ha instead of 4...The fact is, that the mayor didn't know much about the project, and at the end [of the Plant a Tree meeting about afforestation] he could see that maybe it wasn't such a bad idea"* [IT13].

A DN representative notices that *"the politicians often say they want nature. But they just aren't ready to pay for it. That's the reality in most municipalities. It has low priority. There are made no investments in nature restoration and access to nature"* [IT15].

The forest supervisor states that *"the municipal council can't find their feet"* in relation to afforestation, and he judges that the equal division of liberal and social-democrats in the council may be a reason, noticing also that the liberals used to be recruited among farmers. The forest supervisor understands the municipal council, although he may miss some visions, as 4 ha of forest doesn't solve the problems. He notices that the municipal council states they are interested in and not against afforestation, but they are worried about the future development of the city and how afforestation will affect the opportunities. *"I have therefore now written the mayor a letter and asked him to take a clear position, also to help them. It is not in the municipality's interest to have afforestation as an iron belt around the city...The mayor said it might last 1-2 years [to decide how the city should develop]. But then we will wait that long, because I find that extremely important"* [IT18].

The Plant-A-Tree-committee aimed to support the afforestation project without directly entering negotiations. Instead, they held a general meeting with afforestation as the key topic:

"With the meeting about afforestation in the Plant-A-Tree-Committee we aimed at affecting the municipal council towards granting the money for afforestation, to push the project to become realised. We therefore invited the mayor to participate. The meeting was two days after the municipal council decision, so maybe he would find it harder to reject the granting of money when he had to face the citizens afterwards...Anyway, the aim was to initiate a debate...One thing is this little 4 ha project. Something else is to realise the big afforestation project. There, we would like a more intense debate with the farmers and in general. And the journalists could contribute to that" [IT10].

One of the Plant-A-Tree-members, a municipal official, has a more overall goal of making the municipality focus more on the green environment, as he finds himself employed to base his work on his professional expertise:
"My aim with this project [of furthering afforestation] has been to focus on the environment. Sometimes our municipal politicians tend to forget that people more or less consciously seek houses where there are green areas. There is no doubt that house prices are highest where there are

urban, recreational areas next to the houses. The municipal council wants many people to live in Ringsted. But it is of no use to just parcel out all the land, without considering the structure, the whole, without thinking of what people should do in their leisure time – where to walk the dog, etc... Unfortunately, this debate is absent, and that is why I want to introduce it. The municipality designates a small nature area in its municipal plan...but they forget to put it on the budget, to account for time and action – and then it remains an ambition in the municipal plan, until some citizens [as now] start asking for action..." [IT10].

8.3.3 Local affiliation and its perceived relevance to user councils

The guidelines for user councils are aimed at 'local users', but with 25 state forest districts covering the whole country, all users are local users to one or another district. The user councils are not representative in terms of local affiliation either. The user council survey revealed that 87 % of the respondents live within the boundaries of the forest district. But besides that, the council members tend to be recruited from those areas within the district's field of responsibility, where there already are state forests. Municipality representatives as well as local DN representatives tend to come from municipalities with highest percentage of state forest/area. This makes sense as long as the purpose of the user council is confined to the existing state forests. But the state forest districts are also responsible for identifying state afforestation projects, as e.g. the case of Ringsted. There, it could possibly have made a difference if Ringsted had a municipality and eventually DN representative in the user council.

There is a dilemma between the size of the district and the aim to have representatives of the *local* users in the user council. A local organisation 'Farum Naturparks Venner' has asked to get a seat in the council but was turned down, due to too few seats. The forest supervisor used the argument, that he wanted to avoid too narrow interests feathering its own nest (MR240897). A forest ranger explains it in another way:

"It may seem funny, that this organisation has a seat in another district's council but not in ours. The reason is that we have to cover so many counties and municipalities that no seats are left for the local representatives" [IT12].
"Even municipality representatives are not appointed locally, but by the association of municipalities, and the representatives from Danish Nature Conservation Association and the Outdoor Council are also appointed at a regional level" [IT12].

But is it important that the user council has local affiliation? If user councils aim to discuss at a strategic level, local affiliation is less important than if they aim at discussing particular cases, where local knowledge is required. DN members tend to aim at discussing particular cases, where local knowledge is required in relation to nature interests, whereas Outdoor Council members find local affiliation less important, as they hold that the user council should discuss at a strategic level (MR130698TEB). This does not surprisingly fit with the structure of the two organisations, where the Outdoor Council only operates on a regional and national level, whereas DN operates on national, regional and, particularly, a local level. A DN member recalls that she became a member of DN instead of other environmental organisations exactly because it was more locally oriented, whereas the others were more internationally oriented [IT8].

As expressed by an Outdoor Council member:

"DN is more influential than other organisations because it has a local network...by which it can affect things in the small...DN is nature's eye, watching what is going on. We can't do that in the Outdoor Council, as we are an umbrella organisation. We can do things together with representatives of the local associations. But we can never reach the individual group of boy scouts or football players...And that isn't the idea, either"[IT13].

Parallel to this, a DN member finds that representatives of recreational interests need not be local, as they can still give advice on tracks, recreational facilities, etc. whereas representing nature interests requires local knowledge, also in order to discuss issues with the local support base.

"For Danish Sports Association, it may be indifferent whether they run in one forest instead of another. It is a question about what the tracks are like. But from a nature view point, local knowledge is important." [IT5]

Further, the DN member questions the representativity of the Outdoor Council as well as of the municipality representatives:

"In principle, the municipality representatives represent all municipalities in the area, but they can't really find out by themselves, if they are municipality representatives or if they are local politicians. I normally experience them to act like local politicians [i.e. only representing own municipality, ed.]... The same with the Outdoor Council members...they are recruited from other

organisations, and it is the view of those organisation they have".[IT5] An Outdoor Council representative share this view of the municipal representatives [IT6, at MR130698TEB], whereas a municipal representative doesn't see any problems in representing all the municipalities he was elected among. At the same time, though, he recognises that the main focus is on the municipalities with high forest cover. Also, the municipal representative believes he represents the public, as citizens contact him regularly, something he finds less likely for county politicians [IT7].

A meeting among Outdoor Council representatives from all state forest user councils also involved the discussion about local affiliation. A representative from a user council in Jutland found that user councils become weaker [less influential], the more local they get, as the members then will have a less strong anchoring in their organisations, get less information from there and less knowledge about what interests they are actually seated to represent. They are more likely only to represent themselves (MR 130998). Another argument against too local representation was given in the Copenhagen state forest user council evaluation report, mentioned in Chapter 6. There, too local affiliation is considered inappropriate, as sometimes concerns for different local forests will have to be weighed against each other. Instead, it is supported to also in the future let public meetings focus on individual forests (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998a).

The ranger remarks that the local users can be met at public meetings and guided excursions. But, as he says: *"If I spend 10 weekends per year doing this, it will be on the expense of my family, and who wants to do that?"* [IT12].

8.4 Perceptions on the silent majority – and why people do not participate

8.4.1 Perceptions on why and when people don't participate

In both cases, some informants were concerned about all those people who do not participate. They are called 'the silent majority', 'the unorganised user', 'Mrs. Hansen', etc.

The general opinion was that people don't participate unless it has their personal interest, unless they are somehow personally affected [IT14; IT18]. As expressed by an informant:

"I think it is only a fashion that people absolutely have to participate. To me, it is just as important to have some NGOs who really know something about the issue. I don't want to waste my time on it. I want others to do it for me. I might spend time on school boards, boards in the nursery, the things

very near to me. But not more than that. Then I would become a member of an organisation to take care of my interests instead...I don´t want to spend my holidays running around saving the world. I want professionals to do that for me" [IT16].

Another informant who participated in concrete afforestation regards people's lack of participation as a problem. People engage themselves in what goes on in television, but not in their own neighbourhood:

"Not many people were engaged in the afforestation next to our village. I went over the area with a metal detector, together with a friend [to find cultural remnants], just before the ploughing. A fence was put up, everyone knew what was going to happen. And still, we were only contacted by 3-4 persons. People passed us on the road. They saw us, and then they just drove on. We have too many people not showing interest. Walking in Denmark, in town, you don't get eye contact with anyone. Everyone drop their eyes when they pass each other. And I think this is related with the afforestation project. We miss the old attitude: 'This interests me - I am interested in what is going on!' – I mean – people do engage themselves. They know all the TV-speakers, all the entertainment in television. They know it, and can talk about that" [IT11].

A forest supervisor doesn't share this worry. The original aim of the user councils was to involve the common citizen, Mrs. Hansen, as he says, - but Mrs. Hansen doesn't participate, because she doesn't care. He says:

"As long as people still can walk where they want, and no major changes take place, then people are content. Things just have to be as they remember it from when they were kids, or, at least, as it was last week. If they are dissatisfied, they will let us know and contact us. I think that is positive" [IT18].

For instance, establishing a lake is more likely to wake people's interest than afforestation, due to the immediate changes that take place [IT18]. Also, the forest supervisor guesses that people don't participate, simply because *"decision-making isn't fun, but experiencing a nature school is"* [IT18]. Finally, though, the forest supervisor notices that NGO representatives are used to express themselves, whereas 'Mrs. Hansen' remains silent at meetings, feeling a bit stupid to stand up and talk. But she might do it, if she meets the ranger in the forest.

A county official has a similar opinion based on experience from the regional planning hearing process. *"You don't get any response from the common citizen, unless they are personally affected.*

And if you have an interest, you will join an organisation" [IT14].   However, she also notices that when the county provides more information to the public about a particular issue, windmills, they expected less complaints. But the opposite happened. *" We thought that the success criterion was to have least possible complaints, and then we ended up with even more complaints"* [IT14].

A municipal official shares the experience that only if a public meeting is about hot stuff, it may attract more than 20 people. And 'hot stuff' is day care. *"Day care [problems] brings people on the barricades immediately. If it is about schools it may take a couple of days more to mobilise people. If the hospital doesn't work it may take a month. If the municipality doesn't work, well that's just normal. Afforestation then, must be for those [participants] that have spare time"* [IT10].

To summarise, many informants find that people will only participate if they are personally affected, if it is an issue close to their daily lives, such as schools, or if significant changes take place in their environment, as, e.g. the establishing of a lake or the felling of an old tree next to their common walking path. And if they have a particular interest, they will join an organisation to take care of that interest. One informant, though, regards people's lack of participation as a social problem, and that people ought – but don't dare - to engage themselves in what takes place in their neighbourhood.

8.4.2 User councils representing the unorganised users

The state forest user councils are atypical forms of user democracy as the 'users' are, in fact, the whole Danish population. As outlined in Chapter 3, (state) forests are today considered to provide so many material and, mainly, immaterial benefits that cannot be confined to use by a particular group of citizens. In principle, the whole Danish population can be considered users of the state forests, as forests provide common goods, e.g. room for recreation and biodiversity, provide shelter, affect the landscape and protect the groundwater.

So, when the Ministry of Environment & Energy had an aim of establishing local user councils, they should, from a representativity point of view, in fact make real elections, similar to the Church governing boards. The problem is, then, that when the elections for the Church governing boards have low attendance rate, 17 % at the election in 2000 (Kirkeministeriet 2000), it is even more likely to be so for forest user councils.

Already at the time of the establishment of the state forest user councils, the then head of the forest planning division expressed his worries as to how user councils can represent the unorganised citizen: *"..do we have to leave it to the organisations, authorities and associations to represent the common citizen?"* (Jensen 1994).

The Forest and Nature Agency and the state forest districts are much concerned about managing to serve the common population. As expressed by a forest ranger, his goal is *"not to do something that would offend the public"* [IT12] and the forest supervisor states that his primary challenges as a supervisor are *"to deliver the goods to the public, to ensure the financial results, and to have the personnel liking their working place"* [IT2]. The forest supervisor adds that the district may have the most demanding forest users. *They are well-arguing customers, our forest guests...and they are not as orthodox as I would believe they are in Jutland"* [IT2]. As outlined in Chapter 6, the forest management plan prioritises the unorganised users over the organised users, the 'common users' over the 'specialists', in state forest management as well as state afforestation.

The original idea of the user councils was to create a forum for the local citizens to influence state forest management, although it ended up as yet another corporate channel. At the first user council meeting, the state forest supervisor stated that the user council deliberately had been composed to best possibly cover the unorganised users' interests, and that he believed it had succeeded. Anyway, he continued by stressing that *"any district decisions have to reflect the fact that the major user group is the group of unorganised users"* (MR200995). This leaves the user councils' advice in a vacuum. On the one hand, the individual participants can only be expected to represent the interests of their own organisations. On the other hand, the user council as a whole is expected to reflect a broader group of also unorganised users. Hereby, the user councils' advice can at any time be rejected with the claim that their opinions do not truly reflect the aims of the local users, but rather the aggregated/integrated interests of the participating organisations.

At the same time, the forest ranger doubts that the user council caters to the unorganised users. The contact with unorganised users often has a strictly local, detail-specific character. They call the forest ranger to tell that a bench is broken, or that they need some material for a decoration. *"People call us when they need something specific...I don't think the user council caters to these people, because it is so detailed requirements"* [IT12].

The forest supervisor points out different sources of finding out the opinion of the 'unorganised user'. He believes, that individuals contacting the district on specific issues represent more than themselves, as it requires overcoming a barrier to contact the district. Also, the municipality representatives (politicians) are considered to express the voice of common people. This viewpoint is shared by some user council members [IT19] whereas others find that the municipality representatives do not know by themselves who they represent, and often they end up looking after own municipal interests, rather than the interests of all municipalities [IT13;IT5].

Finally, the forest supervisor sees NGOs to have a role in 'educating' the unorganised users to polite behaviour. The mountain bike riders is the user group creating most conflicts and complaints from other users, the forest supervisor explains. He considers it almost hopeless to regulate their traffic, as they are practically allowed to ride anywhere. The problem is, says the supervisor, that a few bikers, not only mountainbikers, behave tough and impolite. They need to learn common politeness, and that is something the Outdoor Council and the biking associations have to learn them [IT2].

8.4.3 Is it a problem that there is a silent majority?

The lack of participation by the 'silent majority' is not necessarily a democratic problem, if it is in fact just due to low political saliency of the issue forest management as compared to other issues considered more vital, as also suggested by van Deth (2000). But the low political saliency of forestry may, of course, be a problem to the Forest & Nature Agency, if it also indicates that they will find it hard to get public support for their policies and financing, as compared to, e.g. the health sector, but also in the interministerial priorities between 'pollution combatement' and 'nature conservation'. On the other hand, the state forest districts can exactly be considered the ambassadors, the 'flagships', of the Ministry of Environment & Energy. They have all the popular aspects of environmental management: forests with public access, conservation of rare species, conservation of cultural remnants, buildings etc. whereas, e.g. the Environmental Agency represents pollution, restrictions and regulations to the Industry and consumers. Forests as such are also perceived very environmentally friendly among the public. In fact, forestry is considered the most environmentally friendly nature management, ahead of fisheries and agriculture (Gallup 1999). From this perspective, user councils are a potential means of ensuring a positive anchoring of the Ministry in the consciousness of the public.

The lack of participation may, however, also be explained by lack of resources, e.g. information. The county official noticed that enhanced information increased the degree of participation in relation to windmill planning. Similarly, an informant told that she used to think of forests as just 'forests', someting unchangeable and permanent. Reading the WWF scorecard report on the state of European forests (WWF 1998) gradually opened up a new, exciting understanding of forests as something that is being managed, that they can be managed in several ways following different opinions [IT16].

8.5 The perceived representativity of the participating organisations

How do participants know if they represent their support base. What are other participants' view of this?

A DN representative admits that it is difficult to know when DNs interests are taken care of, particularly as DN both wants to promote conservation and make people come out in nature.

The Outdoor Council representatives state that a main task of the Outdoor Council is to also represent the unorganised users [MR130995], [IT19]. One of the representatives remarks that he often takes a basis in his daily work where he has close contact with many children and their families. These families, he says, have very different needs and demands [IT19].

Not getting any negative responses is considered an expression of content by the support base, as stated by one Outdoor Council representative [IT6]. Another Outdoor Council representative tries to ensure contact with his support base by sending out meeting reports to the county representation and now and then taking an ideological discussion in the board. Basically, though, he finds it essential to form his own opinion based on what he hears and notices from societal development. If people then are discontent with him, they can choose not to elect him for the next two years [IT13].

The forest supervisor finds that Danish Nature Conservation Association has a problem with its organisation, since the opinion and practices of the local committees are much determined by the local chairman and not by the main organisations [IT2]. This viewpoint is also reflected in the Forest Planning Division's debate with DN and the Outdoor Council on the contributor process in forest management planning, as the Forest Planning Division asked the organisations for *"A strict co-ordination within DN and the Outdoor Council to make sure that the received contributions reflect the official opinion of the organisations, whether they come from one of the user council*

members, a local member of the organisations or a person in the central office". To this, the Outdoor Council stated that it would have a person in the secretariat co-ordinate responses, whereas DN to higher extent would educate people locally to take part in the contributor process (MR211097).

The informants not being seated in the state forest user councils were either not aware that such user councils existed, or they were aware of it, but knew nothing about who was seated there or what was going on. For instance, a municipal official knew that one of the municipal politicians was seated in the user council but did not know that his seat had been replaced by one of his fellow politicians already a year ago [IT9]. A DN representative is in the regional consultation committee, together with the DN member, seated in one of the state forest user councils, but he can't remember ever to have heard about the work of that council [IT15]. This is not sufficient evidence to suggest that the user councils fail to broaden their efforts to their support bases, but it gives an indication that for some reason, state forest user councils are not the first topic to be discussed, not by the user council members among themselves, either. *"I guess that most forest users do not know that there is a user council. So if the state forest has a problem, it is likely to be a communication problem"* [IT 9].

8.5.1 Internal democracy effect

An Outdoor Council representative is concerned with the role of organisations in shaping democracy, i.e. the internal democracy effect of organisations:

"To be organised is a positive element for the maintenance and development of democracy. Investigations from universities show that increasingly many young people become individualists. That is a threat to democracy. But in this context, outdoor life and recreation can be a rallying ground for democracy. There has to be room for individuality, I agree. But you should also aim at doing things together. It has a big value to democracy that association life flourishes, that the visions flourish, that the family thrives – but also that the community prospers – the housing communities, the communities within the firm. Therefore, I also find it important that firm communities find their way out in the Danish countryside. Because it is part of a personnel policy, just as a policy for the family. Therefore, the forest district should also cater for outdoor activities aimed at many participants...company outings with 100 persons, also where it has a recreational value" [IT19].

The development of organisations into passive memberships makes the internal democracy effect less likely. So in this sense, we cannot rely on organisations. But, from a pluralist point of view, the value-based/ideological NGOs play a vital role in formulating and aggregating interests, i.e. the external democracy effect. And with the low barriers of entry, citizens can afford being members of different organisations as they please. As an informant said: *"If I want influence, I will become a member of an NGO to have it look after it for me"* [IT16].

8.5.2 External democracy effect

The NGOs possess more resources than the unorganised users. That makes them better equipped for defending interests towards the professional public, environmental administration, i.e. the Forest & Nature Agency. Accordingly, both DN and Outdoor Council representatives perceive their organisations to have been decisive for the public environmental policy we have today, as they regard NGOs as valuable and indispensable counterparts to the state and the public sector [IT5; IT13; IT15; IT19].

It can be a problem though, if the organised users (NGOs) fail to represent also the unorganised users, or if the selected NGOs are not representative to all NGOs. A concrete case of an organisation's monopoly to use rights demonstrates the problem:

A law from 1949 prescribes that only members of clubs affiliated with the umbrella organisation "Dansk Kano og Kajak Forbund" are allowed to use Farum Lake for sailing. However, two canoeing clubs at Farum Lake find that "Dansk Kano og Kajak Forbund" is too focused on competitive/elite canoeing, whereas the two clubs want to have canoeing sport for a broad range of users. Therefore, the clubs want to change to the umbrella organisation "DGI", as it is perceived to better serve their needs. However, if they leave "Dansk Kano og Kajak Forbund" they are excluded from access to Farum Lake, following the 1949 law.

The state forest district aims to maintain the Farum Lake as a peaceful lake and finds that the rules have ensured that, as opposed to the conditions at the neighbouring lake "Furesøen". They fear that if the regulations are abolished, it will become difficult to regulate the traffic at Farum Lake (Lindberg 2000a). The forest ranger says that the practices will remain unchanged unless other instructions are given from the Forest & Nature Agency, i.e. the Minister of Environment & Energy, in terms of new regulations (Lindberg 2000a).

The two canoeing clubs and DGI are not satisfied with the canoeing monopoly of 'Dansk Kano og Kajak Forbund' and aim at getting the rules changed. The leader of DGI's own magazine compares it with the idea of an NGO having monopoly to traffic on a motorway. *"There may be peaceful on that motorway, but there will be queues on the highways"* (Radmer 2000).

The question is, if it is fair to compare a nature area with a highway. The idea of having a peaceful lake is not only to please those canoers who do have access to the lake, but also to protect the habitats around the lake from too heavy traffic. From a nature conservation point of view, the restriction seems desirable. From a recreational point of view, it seems undesirable.

The point is that restricting user rights to those being members of NGOs may help ensure regulated user behaviour. But it may also mean that some potential users are excluded, unorganised users as well as users being organised outside the relevant NGOs, as is the case of canoeing at Farum Lake. A democratic problem appears if participation is confined to those NGOs (representing NGOs) with user rights.

The Outdoor Council representatives are supposed to represent both organisations. The question is, if they manage to do so, where conflicts arise. In the particular case, the Outdoor Council at the national level supported the claim for change of rule. A member of the board said: *"We support that traffic is regulated in order to protect flora and fauna, but we don't like that the access is restricted to particular members of particular organisations"* (Lindberg 2000b).

In fact, the rules were discussed at a user council meeting in 1998, as a club from a neighbour municipality applied for access to canoeing on the lake. An Outdoor Council representative expressed the same concern as the above-mentioned member of the board. At that time, the forest supervisor concluded that a revision of the current rules possibly could result in conflicts and he expected it to become a major task. He found the district to have insufficient resources for that, and decided not to revise them (MR280198TEB). Instead, the application was met on a temporary basis (MR280198).

A DN representative sees a potential conflict between DN and the Outdoor Council, as they both aim at representing nature conservation. *"But the Outdoor Council has to cover so many interests, that their jaws are stuck...This results in watered-out recommendations from the Outdoor Council, as it is consensus of consensus. The problem with that is that every time nature is the loser. If you*

take a 100 % nature area and want to give place for different interests, you automatically end up with less than 100 % nature" [IT15].

The two organisations differ in other ways too. DN has a legal authority to raise preservation claims on areas, whereas the two organisations share rights to appeal some decisions according to the Act on Nature Conservation and the Forest Act. DN has an internal democracy founded on local networks of local committees, regional consultation committees, and a national board and president, whereas the Outdoor Council is, as mentioned, an umbrella organisations, where the representatives are indirectly elected through the participating organisations. Both organisations have a national secretariat that to some extent can assist in the local and regional consideration of cases.

Both the DN and the Outdoor Council representative consider Danish Birdlife Society to be less interested in forest policy and more concerned about birdlife in wetlands and lakes [IT13; IT15]. As opposed to DN, Danish Birdlife Society is not organised to ensure local democracy concerns, but according to professional interest, which has the advantage of concentrating expert knowledge [IT15]. They, as well as the forest supervisor, find that if Danish Birdlife Society should participate in the user council, the hunter associations need to be present as well [IT13; IT15; IT18].

Apparently, the functions of the NGOs also depend on who their counterparts are. Two DN representatives from the Copenhagen state forest user council tell, that the municipality they live in is environmentally very progressive, so they feel that they don't themselves *"have to fight the environmental battle"* [IT8]. The municipality itself is strict about its environmental approvals of business activities. Rather, the DN representatives find themselves to have a more communicative role and an opportunity of gathering observation data. And yet, one of the representatives remarks that DN may provide the municipality with the needed technical arguments to refuse some business activities that might otherwise be difficult to refuse from a financial perspective [IT8].

8.6 Decision competencies and risk of fragmented citizenship

Neither the forest supervisor nor the forest ranger sees an opportunity in providing user councils with decision competencies. First of all, the user councils are not democratically composed, as that would require local, direct elections to the user councils [IT2]. Second, by providing user councils decision competencies they might take decisions that went against the central strategies of the Agency, impeding their realisation [IT2; IT12], and, hereby, impeding also the fulfilment of the international obligations that the strategies were part of. *"The Agency can't live with that... It is the*

213

same problem we see with the municipalities who are not ready to take their part of housing the refugees, so now the state has to force them to do it" [IT2]. Third, the forest supervisor fears that a few rabid members could totally paralyse the district's work, as he doubts that the members would feel the corresponding responsibility, also for the finances. *"I mean, our finances don't at all reflect the public demand. People would gladly accept an even bigger budget deficit, at least at this district...If you gave the user council decision competencies, there is no doubt that we would get much more management expenses"* [IT2].

A fear with user democracy is that particular interests are catered at the expense of general concerns for society, in so far as the user councils are not forced to consider the relationship between their own decisions and the consequences for society at broad (Kristensen 1998; Sørensen 1997). As part of this, it has been suggested that user boards with budget competencies tend to be budget optimising (Kristensen 1998), a worry shared by the forest supervisor. Nevertheless, the user council members appear to have an understanding about the costs of nature management versus other societal expenses, as some of them specifically recognise the district as a business that has to be financially sustainable (IT6; IT17). Similarly, two DN representatives find that environmental concerns of their municipality should not be at the expense of the social services:

"Our municipality has an environmental profile, probably the first municipality with its own nature plan, which has cost a lot of money. And then I feel a bit like – we shouldn't pay consultants 100,000 DKK to do investigations if it is at the expense of the elderly people" [IT8].

Talking about the function of the user council as compared to other state forest districts' user councils, the DN representative continues:

"…We should not go as far as wanting to further our own interests at any price. We still have to be citizens as well and think broad. I don´t like the approach where you are only concerned about getting your own little business through and not caring about the consequences. I heard a researcher ...discuss it in the radio the other day, - that in the 90s people are only concerned about their own little business. That could be about nature as well..prioritising butterflies, for instance. And that provokes me... I don't like when it becomes too narrow" [IT8].

On the other hand, the participants are disappointed that, e.g. the forest district refuses to spend man hours on a Sunday-excursion with reference to lack of available staff, and that they require payment for some services, as reflected in the following:

"For many years I have arranged bustrips for the elderly people at our residential homes, also in the forest. I used to drive all the way to the top of "Herstedhøje" (a hill). There, the bus driver would turn the bus so the rear end would hang out in the open, and the elderly would gasp, and that they think is wonderful. Otherwise they don't have the opportunity to come up on that hill. Then, two years ago I ...suddenly ...[had to] pay 1000 DKK to get the access... to pay the forest staff to open the gates...That rule was introduced at the district during our time in the user council. Still, it was never brought up or discussed" [IT8].

At one user council meeting, the present municipal representative expressed his frustrations of not being given any decision competencies, and he finds the composition of the user council totally wrong:
"The user council has the wrong composition. You should never bring politicians and NGOs together, as we discuss at different levels... We [the municipal politicians] are used to make and implement decisions. Here, we just have to accept that you establish a playground [although the user council was against it]. That is frustrating" (MR280198TEB). Also, he finds that *municipal politicians are not 'users' in that sense"*.

This viewpoint is challenged by the others, as one finds that *"a council with both officials and politicians ensures a broader debate"* [IT6/ MR280198TEB] and another municipal representative finds it *"beneficial that also politicians have to go out and touch reality and take part in the more detailed issues"*. The municipality she represented was also keen to have afforestation and green areas. A third municipal representative added that they ought also to provide advice to the district (MR280198TEB). None of the interviewed informants express a clear interest in getting actual decision competencies. An Outdoor Council representative deliberately finds it inappropriate:

No [the user councils should not have decision authority]. It must always be the Minister of the Environment who has the competence. As an NGO representative you have to be aware that you must conform to the political system, as we [user council representatives] can't represent all interests. We can always ask for more forest, but in the end, the politicians have to decide where the

money should come from. Also the forest supervisor can't make that decision. He is also subordinate to a forest management plan and, ultimately, a minister [IT13].

8.7 Conclusions to different viewpoints on participation and representativity

Many participants and the forest supervisor as well find the user councils balanced as they are now. Some, however, ask for more nature interests to be represented and one also landscape aesthetics. In addition, there are diverging viewpoints as how to take care of nature conservation along with recreation.

Seen from the outside, there is also a lack of members representing production interests and financial interests. Clearly, it is a *user* council. As a member said on a DN seminar about the forest user councils: *"Why isn't it called a nature conservation council?"* (MR200997TEB). Obviously not, because it is focused at providing the optimal services to forest users, not to be an all-encompassing advisory council on forest management.

The different interests may likely fail to reach a common ground for discussions, as the common perception is that nature conservation representatives tend to discuss locality specific, concrete issues, whereas the outdoor representatives aim to discuss overall strategies. Similarly, a municipal representative perceives himself to discuss at a more overall, generic level than the other members of the council.

Some participants are primarily concerned with the horisontal relations of participation, i.e. building sense of community, sharing knowledge with others, etc. To them, the internal democracy of participating organisations then becomes crucial. DN is outstanding in this sense, as compared to most other environmental organisations. For example, Birdlife Society is organised according to professional interest, not in local committees, and the Outdoor Council is an umbrella organisation without direct elections to the governing boards, and without local representation. Other participants are more straightforward, aiming at the vertical relations, taking care of interests in relation to a political system. Here, the internal democracy is less important, whereas the resources and ability to further interests become crucial. In this sense, the Outdoor Council has a strong organisation, whereas the force of DN may sometimes be halted by the internal democracy, - as in principle, all initiatives come from below. The criterion of such an external democracy is that the barriers to entering or exiting NGOs are low, e.g. low membership costs. But also, that access to

decision-making can be characterised by a plurality of interests, and not by monopoly, as was the case for the canoeing at Farum Lake.

But is it necessary to have user councils in order to ensure a representative (fair) balancing of interests in state forest management?

User council members say yes, e.g. because *"it is human to overlook some interests"* [IT17], or because it is feared that without the user councils *the forest district [of the afforestation case] would tend to focus on silviculture* [IT13].

The forest supervisors say no. The user councils do not contribute with anything they did not know already. But they councils confirm them that they *are* on the right track [IT2; IT18].

These are not surprising news. First, former research results by Jensen (1993) show that there are more similarities than differences in the experts' perceptions of what the populations' forest and landscape preferences are and what they actually are. Misperceptions are found in relation to a third of the issues. The experts believe that development of recreation facilities, as well as more unmanaged forests with dead trees and gnarled stems, has stronger support among the population than is actually the case. An exception was, however, the forest managers, whose perceptions of recreational facilities preferences were in line with the actual preferences (Jensen 1993). The recommendations from this survey are, however, closer contact between forest managers and the general public, rather than to base forest management on 'the average visitor', as that will only satisfy few visitors. Also, Jensen (1993:93) stresses as a problem, that *"the contact to the general population mostly is a contact between managers and what could be called 'a professional general population'…"*, i.e. representatives of different NGOs. Thus, the user councils have not solved that problem.

Second, each user council has to cover such a big area that the representatives *cannot* be truly local. Hence, the debate will also tend to be of a more generic, strategic character and less specific. And coming to strategic discussions, members tend to rely on the policies of their organisation, as well as research on the specific issue (e.g. Jensen & Koch 1997). The Forest & Nature Agency base their policies and management guidelines on the same research results, [and they are developed in co-operation with the national NGOs]. The more specified these NGO and Forest & Nature Agency policies are, in terms of strategies, e.g. "Outdoor life for everyone" by the Outdoor Council, the

more predictable are the outcomes of user council debates. The real contribution in such debates, then, is (1) when the specific problems go beyond the existing policies and knowledge; (2) when new stakeholders enter the arena, with new viewpoints and new knowledge, or; (3) when conflicting knowledge or use of research results appear.

(1) When the specific problems challenge the existing policies among the involved organisations. There appear discrepancies between the opinion of different local committees of Danish Nature Conservation Association. It annoys the forest supervisor, who prefers unambiguous messages from the different NGOs, apparently in order to maintain rule rational management. Similarly, the case about canoeing at Farum lake brought the Outdoor Council into a conflict as how to balance equal access to recreation with nature protection concerns. These discrepancies can reflect policies that are not thought through as well as they can reflect an inevitable, ambiguous trade-off between recreational and environmental objectives and local/pragmatic concerns. And exactly the presence of such ambiguous problems provides the legitimacy of the user councils at the local level.

(2) When new viewpoints are brought forward, e.g. by new stakeholders. The municipalities represent the 'new blood' in the user councils, in the forestry network of key stakeholders. As some informants noticed, they may provide an important step stone to future co-operation between state forest district and municipalities [IT13; IT19]. The question is whether the municipality representatives are ready to take on that role and whether they are perceived to do that. The user council survey provides disappointing results in this respect: municipality representatives appear to be less active and more uncritically content members than other user council representatives. Similarly, the present chapter showed that other informants were critical about the contribution of municipality representatives. They are perceived to be less active than other members, they discuss 'politics' (i.e. left/right wing), not nature management, and it is not clear whether they represent the ordinary citizen, their own municipality, or all the municipalities they were elected to represent.

In theory, the municipality representatives provide an opening for improved co-operation between state forest districts and municipalities. In practice, this has to take place outside the user council, as most municipalities cannot have a seat in the council, and the few appointed municipality representatives tend to represent their own municipality less than the municipalities at broad. Obviously, they are interesting partners to the district staff as well as other members in the user council because they possess a potential source of influence, having the political mandate. But considering the current restricted role of user councils to merely dealing with, exactly, state forest

use, it might seem just as relevant to bring in, e.g. representatives of those schools and kindergartens that regularly use the forests for educational purposes. It is likely, that those representatives will find forests to have a higher political saliency than the current municipal politicians do.

(3) When conflicting knowledge, research results or interpretation of research results appear. To illustrate this, we will refer to a case mentioned in Chapter 3. On a national level, Nepenthes and WWF were proponents of a new view of forestry. They introduced it with the first WWF Forest Scorecard Report in 1995 and again in 1998, in which Danish forest policy was compared with forest policy in other European countries, leaving Denmark at the bottom of the list of scores.

...*"They are the dreamers, setting up a vision"* as a journalist remarked. And she would trust them to represent her in a forest user council *"in order to rock the boat"* [IT16]. From such a perspective, the role of user councils is to act as change agents, stimulate change and renewed management policies. Then the councils should not be composed by all those NGOs with well-known view points that are already integrated in Forest & Nature Agency policies at a national level. Rather, the user councils should be composed in order of creating maximum room for constructive conflict, i.e. bring those together with most differing viewpoints and ideas as a 'think tank' to the forest district.

Exactly WWF is irrelevant in a local context as neither they nor Nepenthes have any local or regional anchoring and, e.g. WWF bases its environmental activities on financial support through passive membership and employing professionals to do the work. The lack of anchoring among a broad, active group of members is their major weakness for WWF and Nepenthes in relation to being considered legitimate participants in national forest policy. In comparison, DN also has a secretariat of professionals, but besides this, it is anchored in active local committees and regional co-ordination committees, with a total of around 250,000 members (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1997). The problem of DN appears from the interviews to be difficulty in recruiting active members. The Outdoor Council, on the other hand, has regional representatives, but members are recruited indirectly through appointment in the individual organisations within the 'umbrella' of the organisation. WWF and Nepenthes may be even better capable than DN and the Outdoor Council in taking care of specific interests, bargaining with professionals in national and international fora. But DN is the organisation currently best suited to ensure the local anchoring of environmental decision-making and implementation while also providing opportunities for lay-men's political learning in environmental policy-making. The challenge to DN is, as said before, to ensure a continuous flow of new, active members at the local and regional level.

9

Knowledge, professions and power

Chapter 6 investigated who the local users of Copenhagen State Forest District are, and how the forests are managed and utilised. Chapter 7 investigated who are actually seated in the user councils, what motivates their participation and what the purposes and effects of participation are. Chapter 8 took at a look at the equity dimension in terms of analysing who the participants are perceived to represent, and whether some interests are considered not being represented.

The present Chapters 9 and 10 are devoted to studying whether, when and how participation in state forest management and planning is perceived to enhance participant influence, with particular emphasis on state forest user councils. The overall analysis of influence is provided in Chapter 10. The aim of the present chapter is to investigate the role of knowledge as a resource as well as a barrier to gaining influence on forest management decision making, thereby providing a foundation for the analysis in Chapter 10. Based on the two case studies, the aim is to investigate (1) what knowledge is being used and valued in the participation process; (2) how, when and where relevant information is obtained; (3) in what way knowledge is perceived to play a role in the decision process and, specifically (4) the perceived role of the forest district staff as a profession. A particular section is devoted to the percieved role of the forest management plan in participation.

Everytime we are faced with a problem, we seek knowledge to solve the problem. The available knowledge affects the way the problem is solved. Hereby, knowledge becomes a source of power. The present Danish participatory tradition is also intimately linked with enlightenment, as outlined in Chapter 3.

Professions are often representatives of different forms of knowledge, whereby they become the link between power and knowledge (Freidson 1986). As described by Fritzbøger (1994) Danish forestry was gradually professionalised during the 18. - 20. Century and can by today be characterised as a highly professionalised sector. This makes participation in forest management a particularly interesting issue as compared to participation in other, less professionalised sectors. It provides the opportunity to investigate the relationship between knowledge, power and participation, to analyse the question: "How much knowledge does it take to be able to participate?"

9.1 Foresters as a profession

Until today, the forest sector has been highly characterised by forest professionals. Ninety per cent of the Danish forest area is under some form of professional administration, either by forest engineers or by graduates in forestry (Forest & Nature Agency, Statistics Denmark 1993). Moreover, the graduates in forestry have also possesed many (core) administrative functions in public administration (Forest & Nature Agency, counties, The Structure Directorate) as well as in NGOs (Danish Nature Conservation Association, The Outdoor Council, Nepenthes). The two groups of forest professionals form a network across organisations within the forest sector.

Forest engineers and, in particular, forest graduates are typical 'professions', being educated in a similar way (many obligatory subjects, small classes), taught by people with the same education as themselves, being in close connection to practical forestry during the study, having more or less monopoly on a range of jobs (Freidson 1986; Torgerson 1994).

Accordingly, in the administrative network, widespread consensus is expected on norms and values and how to handle a given issue. Until recently, these norms have been characterised by technical-economic rationality centered around the primary objective of income generation and wood production. Common norms and values can be a stabilising factor in the sense that conflicts are solved more easily. But it is also expected to be a major barrier to adapting to change induced from the environment, be the members of the organisation one represents, be the politicians or the general public. The present section investigates the perceived role of the Forest & Nature Agency and the related forest professions.

9.1.1 The role of the Forest & Nature Agency and the district staff

The forest supervisor finds that the role of forest supervisors and the Forest & Nature Agency has changed from emphasising technical skills towards social skills: Today, to be a forest supervisor it is not enough to have technical skills. He believes that the Forest & Nature Agency now aims at an open attitude. Consequently, a forest supervisor should possess managerial skills, delegate responsibilities to his employees, be able to reason his decisions/opinions, and to manage conflicts and critique in a constructive manner [IT2].

The forest supervisor perceives his task at Copenhagen State Forest District to deliver what is expected from the public. First, the public should be content with the way the district is managed. Second, the district should provide some financial results (towards the Forest & Nature Agency), and third, the district should be a pleasant place of work for the employees. Similarly, the forest ranger finds his own role to be *"implementing the Forest & Nature Agency policies on the district's areas"* [IT12].

The forest districts as the face of the Forest & Nature Agency
The ranger notices, that the Forest & Nature Agency deliberately uses the state forests to strengthen their overall popularity among the population. It has the consequence that the state forest districts locally become more anonymous. It is within their information/publishing guidelines not to make a particular 'Copenhagen State Forest District profile'. Instead, they consider themselves an integrated part of the Forest & Nature Agency and the Ministry of Environment & Energy. As stated by the ranger: *"Forest and nature is an unambiguous 'good' and adds to a positive profilation of the Forest & Nature Agency"* [IT12]. In practical terms it means that material from the district refers to the Forest & Nature Agency and not to the address of the district.

The police role of the forest district is down-scaled. The policy is to take a nice approach to people and avoid getting into conflicts. Also, the forest ranger experiences that people are not as orthodox towards the foresters as a police authority as they used to be [IT12].

9.1.2 Participants' perceptions of foresters and the Forest & Nature Agency

More user council members express that there used to be, and still is, a somewhat orthodox attitude towards the state forest district and the forest supervisor. For instance, a DN member emphasises that in general, a forest district supervisor has a tremendous, local authority, more than the present forest supervisor is willing to recognise. It is compared with the traditional authority of a doctor [IT5]. As an indication of the common expectations to forest district staff, an informant noticed that the forest ranger is a *"Nice fellow. Doesn't look like a ranger at all. He's got a ring in his ear and you never see him wearing a uniform. But he's a real nice guy and also very sensible"* [IT17].

However, the DN representative perceives the present forest supervisor to be more indulgent than the former forest supervisor, e.g. in terms of being only passively defending the construction border along forests against municipalities' building plans, or other neighbours' encroachment of the forest fringes and dikes. However, she ascribes it to be a sign that times have changed, and that the forest district is too busy to keep up with non-income generating activities as, e.g. reporting broken stone dikes. Today, she notices, forest management in an urbanised area is determined by the needs and desires of the city. Still, however, she regards the forest authorities, the Forest & Nature Agency, as having a very functional, production oriented view of the forest. *"They think of the construction border along forests only as a question of whether there is a passage for their machinery, instead of considering it as the image of the forest, making it visible from outside"* [IT5]. Also, she fears that the Forest & Nature Agency would permit her municipality to build a motor-cross course right next to the forest.

Partly opposed to this, a municipality official finds that in many ways the Ministry of Environment & Energy is ahead of the population, to some extent due to the present Minister. At the same time, though, he perceives a difference in attitude towards forests and in time horizon between the general public and the forest professional:*"People don´t like old forest to be felled. They want the forest to be eternal. Whereas forest supervisors have another relationship to trees than the population. They are not sentimental towards a tree, whereas the population is extremely conservative towards trees"* [IT9]. Other informants also notice that the foresters work with a much longer time horizon than the common population, and that may cause some conflicts. For instance, an environmental NGO representative was called up by several people being horrified about thinning in their nearby

forest. *"Trunks all over, it looked like I don't know what"*. Taking the forest district's view, though, the NGO representative explained them that it would look much different in a year from now [IT17]. Another member had contacted him to tell about a 'beautiful forest fringe that the forest district now had destroyed totally, -it looked awful'. *"I called the ranger and ..he said: 'That fringe was about to be killed by the shadow from the old beeches, so we removed some of the beeches and cut down the hazel so it can thrive again'. That gave me a good explanation that I could hand on [to my member]"* [IT17].

The municipal official thinks that there is a need for the forest user council and that it makes a difference.*"I have the impression that it has opened up the forest. The forest used to be a state within the state. They have been unapproachable"... [a former forest supervisor] was of the old type of official saying: 'no one above, no one next to me, I decide'"* [IT9]. Two DN members agree: *"The Forest & Nature Agency – that is the old hierarchy. The forest district supervisor and the Agency are on top and 'only we know' - they dictate downwards [in the system]"* [IT8]. And a county official adds to this view: *"They are so incredibly forest minded, only letting each other into their world. Looking at the district staff, it is all foresters. They ought to think a little broader"* [IT14].

Two DN representatives find that the forest district staff is very service oriented, but they are not participatory. Similarly says a municipal official: *"The forest does a lot for us. But I can't say that they involve us"* [IT9]. On the one hand, the district is always willing to provide support for arrangements held within the forest district, e.g. establish fireplaces, supply firewood, or allow jogging arrangements. *"If you call the forest supervisor and ask, if this or that is possible, -then he is always ready and nice"* [IT8]. On the other hand, two DN representatives find that the forest district and the Forest & Nature Agency have to *"start acting as serious co-operation partners, open up towards the environment. That may take some years"* [IT8]. They miss a will to co-operate in relation to the more specific silvicultural management, e.g. what species to plant and how to use a particular area. More specifically, they would like to see a responsiveness and use of voluntary work made by DN representatives, e.g. biotope registration:

"[I wish] that the forest supervisor would say: 'now I would like to know more about the badger and its burrows. Let's all go out and find some'. This would be an interesting task for all of us and we would be proud and glad to be asked by the forest service to do it" [IT8].

The two DN representatives fear, that former bad experience with voluntary establishing of a small pond with poor results may have caused the forest district to become more reserved towards such co-operation. As a parallel to this, a forest ranger explains that ornithologists have been consulted for assistance in monitoring birds' nests. These people do it as a hobby and not for their living. The disadvantage is, therefore, that it is not a stable workforce, so it has to be 'firesouls' before you can rely on the job being carried out (IT12).

9.1.3 Summarising views of foresters and the Forest & Nature Agency

To summarise, the participants and the forest staff seem to agree that the state forest sector used to be closed and technically oriented, but that today the state forest districts aim at more openness and, at the particular district, they have the main aim to meet the needs of the public. Still, some find the Forest & Nature Agency to be very hierarchical, regarding itself as standing above the public. The forest district is considered service-minded but not participatory. There is more disagreement about the environmental profile, where some find the district too production-oriented and indulgent towards other requirements, whereas others find the Ministry of Environment & Energy to be more environmentally progressive than the public. Finally, more informants point out a difference between foresters and the public: the public is sentimental/conservative about forests and trees, whereas foresters have a more functional view of trees and, most of all, they think in a much longer time horizon than the public. This creates conflict for some silvicultural treatments that may seem drastic to the public on the short term, but by foresters are perceived to benefit the forest in the long term.

9.2 Knowledge in the participation process

The central issue in participation is communication, the dialogue between stakeholders. To have a fair process, stakeholders should be equally able to communicate their points of view. This implies some level of communicative skills as well as some level of technical knowledge, as knowledge

becomes a source of power when the dialogue is established. From an aggregative viewpoint, dialogue and information exchange provides the opportunity to articulate and learn about the different interests related to the decision process and the related legal and structural constraints. Surveys have not surprisingly shown that forest and landscape managers' own preferences or perception of visitors' preferences do not always agree with the visitors' actual preferences (e.g. Hendee & Harris 1970; Jensen 1993). However, two Danish surveys showed that information on why a given forest management practice has been implemented (e.g. fencing) can make that specific practice more acceptable to the forest visitor (Jensen 2000). In the dialogue, the information exchange is two-way, so that also forest managers may learn more about the local interests related to forest management. From an integrative viewpoint, dialogue furthermore provides a learning opportunity whereafter interests may be modified and new, common interests may emerge.

Technical knowledge constitutes a significant component of decision-making, all the way from problem formulation, seeking and choosing among alternative solutions and to the monitoring of decisions efficiency. However, technical knowledge is used along with common sense. As Flyvbjerg (1991) argues, technical knowledge can rationalise political decision-making by providing a more qualified basis for decision-making. But politics can also eliminate technocracy, using technical knowledge to legitimise decisions already taken with other rationales. Taking a social constructivist perspective, existing knowledge systems are ultimately based on values. Even more so are choices of criteria and indicators for planning or for measuring the performance of a system, as they relate to different perceptions of efficiency, also referring to Chapter 2 (Jørgensen & Melander 1992). Hereby, the planning as well as monitoring system can be regarded as institutionalised domination of interests above others. This dilemma between technical knowledge and common sense, between decisions based on technical rationality versus policy, is particularly interesting in relation to public participation, as one can expect great variation with regard to possession of technical knowledge and ability to acquire new knowledge. Also, one can expect some interests to be articulated and represented in forest management planning and monitoring systems in terms of indicators or parameters, whereas others are not. Hereby, the means for bargaining become uneven among actors.

9.3 Access to information

As outlined in Chapter 3, the 'Aarhus Convention' obliges the public authorities of signatory countries to actively collect, make available and disseminate information about the environment, the latter understood in a very broad sense (Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999a). Already, a number of Acts provide the public a legal fundament for demanding evironmental information, as outlined in Appendix 3.2. But legal rights are one thing, - the actual access to information when it is needed in a decision process is something different.

More informants notice that DN has the advantage compared to other NGOs that they automatically receive public decisions on cases related with the Acts on which they have a right to appeal decisions (including the Act on Nature Conservation and the Forest Act[1]). The Outdoor Council is also well-informed, although with less information about public, environmental decisions [IT13], whereas other NGOs have to actively seek information about cases of interest, or they can try to rely on a good contact with DN to inform them on upcoming cases [IT17]. And it is noticed that, in general, the municipal politicians lack all the background information that the other participants, mainly DN and the Outdoor Council, have [IT13].

However, DN's right to information does not extend into what can be perceived as internal management practices within the state forest district. As noticed by a user council member, forest districts were inaccessible to the local NGOs until the user councils appeared [IT6]. The user council provides access to information that members did not previously have access to, and did not know existed, e.g. about use of pesticides [IT2; IT7].

Moreover, the user council has made it perceived as more legitimate to ask questions and to question forest management at the state forest district. This is perceived not only by the NGOs themselves [IT6; IT8] but also by the forest supervisor [IT2]. The forest supervisor finds it important that 'people feel they get the necessary information'. But, as he says, it is hard with only two meetings per year. A lot of things happen between these meetings [and it may be hard to communicate all that information during a short meeting] [IT2].

This is confirmed by an Outdoor Council representative who regrets that some discussions, e.g. angling in the district lakes, are based on insufficient information, whereas, e.g. a discussion about boating on the lakes had been preceeded by the relevant correspondence in advance of the meeting (MR130698TEB). Another Outdoor Council representative with seats in user councils at two forest districts concludes that Copenhagen State Forest District provides by far the best information level, e.g. providing overviews of planned activies, and the district deliberately uses the user council for decision-support. The other district is more outward and publicity-oriented but forgets to use the user council as a partner [IT19].

A colleague Outdoor Council representative in a user council from another district had experienced to be confronted with a choice between a bird watching tower and a bridge by a lake. On the prevalent information, the user council had voted for the tower. Only afterwards, she had found out that the choice opportunity was part of a hidden agenda of the forest district not wanting any traffic by the lake at all. Afterwards, she missed sufficient information and professional background. Still, she concludes: *"Besides that, things work out fine at ... District, and I don't want to ruin the relationship of trust to the forest supervisor by mentioning it"* (MR130698TEB).

The demand for information is also experienced by the county official in the afforestation case. She experiences a demand from land owners to be able to check the county documents on their particular land via internet. Moreover, she experiences many citizens calling and expecting a personal service that she doesn't have the time to provide [IT14]. A land owner in the county, on the other hand, finds it ridiculous that he has to first read in the newspaper about the regional afforestation planning process, go down to the county office and then he even had to pay for the plan. *"I went to the county office to get a map...I laughed afterwards – It is the public sector at its best, I guess. Because they asked me to pay 25 DKK for the map. I find it reasonable that each of us who are affected by the plan are being sent a map. I never paid those 25 DKK"* [IT20].

Both DN and the Outdoor Council have held seminars for their own user council representatives. This is considered valuable by the members and worth repeating [e.g. IT19].

---

[1] DN as a whole receives around 6,000 administrative first-hand decisions per year (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening

To sum up, the informants experience different access to information depending on affiliation, as DN has far the best access, while e.g. municipal polticians and farmers may miss or not know the channels of environmental information. The user councils are perceived to have increased the user council members' knowledge about state forest management from zero to some, but more and a more even flow of information is also desired.

9.4 Participants' ways of acquiring knowledge/information

Participants acquire information in different ways, depending on the situation and the type of knowledge considered relevant. Studying the cases, it appeared that knowledge/information acqusition can be categorised to different parameters. Table 9.1 provides an overview of the different parameters identifed, looking at the informant responses as a whole. An understanding of these parameters is essential to know more about knowledge as a resource of power in the participation process. But also, it may have implications as to how we think of future participation and provision of environmental information, as requested by the Aarhus Convention. As suggested by a DN representative, information and motivation are main barriers for getting the broad public to participate [IT15]. Having an indication of knowledge acquisition and valuation, we may get closer to providing information in a way, through channels and with a diversity, that will meet and mobilise the target group: the potential participants in environmental decision-making.

9.4.1 (Expected) Use of information

Information-seeking depends on the expected *use of the information*. A ranger distinguished between information needs related to administrative questions versus concrete management problems [IT12], both *problem-oriented*, whereas an Outdoor Council representative was concerned about having a basis for *forming one's own opinion* [IT13], after which it is up to the other participants to convince you that you are wrong.

1998). For an overview of DN appeal rights, see Danmarks Naturfredningsforening (1997:29)

Table 9.1 Ways of acquiring information/knowledge

Parameters	Informants	Context examples
1. Use of information/knowledge	(not complete)	
1.1 Background information		-*The knowledge needed depends on the problem* [IT9].
1.1.1 Platform for understanding	IT17; IT15	-*The most important is to form your own opinion and then it is up to the*
1.1.1 Opinion formation, policy/problem formulation	IT13; IT5; IT16	*others to convince you that you are wrong* [IT13]
1.2 Problem solving		
1.2.1 Administrative, procedural questions	IT9; IT12; IT18; IT20	-*For administrative problems I call the forest supervisor, for management*
1.2.2 Concrete management issues	IT9; IT12; IT18	*problems I call my colleague rangers* [IT12]
2. Types of information/knowledge		
2.1 Physical, financial, legal, historical...facts	IT5; IT9; IT17	-*I have a biological basis but no knowledge of judicial issues – the*
		secretariat assists me in that [IT14]
2.2 Opinions, attitudes and behaviour	IT6; IT9; IT11; IT19	-*I investigate the public opinion, talking with landowners in the aff. area* [AJ]
3. Relationship/occasion for acquisition of information		
3.1 Via working place	IT2; IT5; IT9; IT10	-*I have my educational background, and then I also get informations through*
3.2 Via educational background	IT5; IT10; IT15; IT19	*my daily work* [IT5].
3.3 Via organisational context (NGO)	IT5; IT6; IT8; IT13	-*The municipal representatives don't receive all the background information*
		that DN and the Outdoor Council do" [IT13]
3.4 Private sphere	IT2; IT11; IT19; IT20	-*It's a question of listening – to your kids, and to people in general* [IT11]
3.5 User council	IT6; IT9; IT17	-*I get information that I wouldn't have got outside the council - you learn a*
		lot by participating [IT17]
4. Sources of information		
4.1 Colleagues, boss, contacts at work (e.g. customers or partners)	IT9; IT12; IT19; IT20	- *I learn from listening to the parents and kids I meet in my daily job* [IT19]
4.2 Public authorities: FNA, county, municipalities, ministries	IT5;IT10;IT13;	-*I receive environmental decisions & subscribe to mun. council reports* [IT5]
4.3 Extension, education institution	IT18;IT20	
4.4 News media	IT15; IT12; IT17; IT19	-*I participated in the course 'Richer Forest'* [IT12; IT17; IT18]
4.5 Research institutes	IT11; IT10; IT16;	-*I read about afforest. in the newspaper and then I went to the county*
4.6 Family, friends, neighbours, acquaintances at kids' school, etc.	IT12; IT13; IT14; IT16	[IT20]
4.7 Own observations and sense perceptions	IT2; IT11; IT19	-*Scientific reports are good but summaries* [videnblade]*are worth gold*[IT13]
	IT11; IT16; IT19	-*I used to learn from my neighbours on the public's view of forests* [IT2]
		-*My perception depends on whether I have been on location or not* [IT16],
		- *I learn by observing what others do* [IT11]
5. Forms of information		
5.1 Spoken - dialogue and listen	IT2;IT6; IT13; IT18;	-*I listen curiously to the people from Institue of Future Research* [IT19]
5.2 Written	IT19	- *First of all, I read a lot* [IT10]
5.3 Visual and sensing	IT5; IT9; IT10; IT14	-*There's a major challenge in visualising the effects of afforestation* [IT15]
	IT15; IT16; IT19	

9.4.2 Types of information/knowledge

A municipal official found that information needs can be divided into need of *political* information, *'what is being agitated'* versus need for *concrete facts* [IT9]. Some informants mainly associate to how they obtain *concrete facts* about biology, legislation, silviculture, whereas others are more – or also - concerned with the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of other people. Both forest supervisors are quite concerned with this political/attitudinal dimension, e.g. by spotting the public opinion among land owners in advance of an afforestation project [IT18] or learning about public demands to forest management through the neighbours or individuals calling them at office [IT2]. But even more so, some of the participants pay attention to this. This can be as part of networking to achieve a decision, e.g. afforestation [IT19] or it can be as the main aim of participation to, e.g. enhance social integration [IT11] or to enhance public use of forests in order to improve the quality of people's lives [IT19].

9.4.3 The occasion or relationship in which information/knowledge is acquired

Some participants get knowledge relevant for participation via their *educational background*, a knowledge base that may be updated through their *jobs* as, e.g. teachers or biologists. An Outdoor Council representative tells:

"One of our aims is also to take care of the unorganised users' interests...That is an art...to find out what they need... I can base it on my private experiences or I can base it on what I experience from my work as a leader of a kindergarten" [IT19].

Many participants get information via their *organisations*. Particularly DN and the Outdoor Council provide their members/representatives with relevant background information and environmental decisions, as also discussed earlier in the present chapter. Information may come from, e.g. a national secretariat as well as through dialogue with fellow members. A number of participants also emphasise their private life as sources of essential knowledge, as e.g. expressed by a farmer:

"My daughter is the best teacher I have ever had. She was only 10 years old when she joined Greenpeace. When she was 11, she gave me a big sweatshirt with the Greenpeace logo on, for

Christmas. And when I bought BASF tapes she said: 'Don't buy them Dad, that firm is polluting and destroying [nature]'. You have to listen to people, and to your kids in particular" [IT11].

Finally, the *user councils* have had significant impact on the information level about state forest management, as *"it was closed country"* [IT6] before their establishment. In Chapter 7, it was outlined how participation provided a municipal representative with knowledge about pesticide use which he used to make a parliamentary politician complain about pesticides, whereafter the Minister of Environment and Energy banned pesticide use on the district areas. As expressed by an informant, the user council members *"get information that I [they] would not have received outside the user council...You learn a lot by attending the meetings. And during the breaks you can talk with the rangers and ask them why they manage as they do..."*. He learns from those who 'knows more than he does'. Being member of a forest user council, he participated in the extension course 'Richer Forest' about close-to-nature management, and he has read some professional forestry literature [IT17]. If he misses specific information he may also call the local forest ranger, as he *"knows that they won't laugh"* of his questions. Still, though, he would like a more even information flow about the forest district management [IT17]. Another participant on a 'Richer Forest' course recalls that whereas he was the expert on birds, he learnt about silviculture as, e.g. the forest workers had some rational knowledge about forest management, manpower needs and what pays, knowledge that not even the forest ranger had [IT15]. Thus, the user council provides access to new information and also, the council makes it perceived as more legitimate to ask questions and to question forest management at the state forest district [IT6; IT8; IT17].

9.4.4 Sources of information

Participants, and not at least forest staff, get their information by talking with *colleagues* [IT9, IT12]. The forest ranger gets information by calling those persons with the professional competence to solve his actual problem. If it is a managerial problem he calls his colleague rangers, if it is an administrative problem, he calls the forest supervisor. He may also call the Agency's offices or the Forest & Landscape Research Institute. He misses time for absorption and getting updated with all new information and prioritises news from the Forest & Nature Agency [IT12]. Similarly, a municipal official tells that the abstract information and ideas comes from politicians asking him questions and citizens writing to the municipality, letters to the editor, etc. But the concrete

information comes from seeking facts about state-of-art and needed actions, about which he may ask other officials [IT9].

Other participants as well as forest district staff read the reports, decisions etc. coming from *public authorities*, such as the Forest & Nature Agency, the county or the municipality [IT5; IT10; IT13; IT18; IT20]. For instance, an Outdoor Council representative read the outdoor policy strategy of the forest district as soon as he was selected for the user council. Asked how he gains knowledge about forest management he says:

"You can´t. You get it at the meetings, and at the excursions – but directly about the state forests' management – it doesn´t have my interest, either. I am informed that they manage it as a business, obviously. I believe I am moderate when it comes to that...When you run your own business and know that it takes money, and that the wheels have to turn – then you basically have another attitude than expecting permanent rendering" [IT6].

Some participants learn from the aforementioned *extension courses*, be it 'Richer Forest' or the DN and Outdoor Council's own arrangements about user councils [IT19].

News media as well as *research institutions* are also sources of information – reading the newspaper, calling the *research institute* [IT2; IT14] or, more often, reading about some research results. The Outdoor Council administers funds for research purposes and, in that way, they are close to relevant research results as well as the decisions as to what future research issues should be. An Outdoor Council remarks that*"We need that [scientific] documentation when we are in a negotiation... Scientific reports are good, but 'videnblade' [short popular version excerpts of the reports] are worth gold. Without that information we are too easy to fool"* [IT13]. He, as other informants, indicates the lack of time to get informed as a barrier that necessarily results in some prioritisation of information. A forest supervisor describes this *mainly as a negative selection procedure*, as only the most urgent information given the situation is achieved [IT18].

As mentioned above, participants may also draw lessons from private life, learning from family or friends, or through their own experiences, listening, watching, sensing [IT11; IT15; IT16; IT19]. For

instance, a journalist explains that her perception of a particular case depends on whether she has been on the location or not [IT16]. One DN representative has monitored birds for 25 years, and another DN representative would like more user council meetings to be held out in nature [IT5].

9.4.5 Forms of information

Finally, the informants' description of what information they acquire and how, also reflects different emphases on information provided through voice/audio, by text/written, in pictures/visualised and by sensing. As an Outdoor Council representative discussing aesthetics: *"What aesthetic experiences should they [the silent wanderers] have? [To find out] I talk with people, but besides that, I also see life in pictures. I observe a lot...[asking myself] 'what is beautiful about this place?' It's indiscussable, but I have some deep-seated experiences...that I use"* [IT19].

9.4.6 Summarising the different knowledge/information parameters

To summarise, different types of information/knowledge are acquired from different sources, in different ways and forms, and used in different ways. Some knowledge is 'fact' oriented, whereas other is about other people's opinions, attitudes and behaviour. Information may be acquired via educational background, at work, via organisational affiliations, including the user council, or in the private sphere. Consequently, the sources of information vary from colleagues, public authorities, education or research institutions, families and friends, to own personal experiences and observations. The knowledge may be acquired via reading, listening, observing or sensing.

9.5 The forest management plan

The forest management plan provides the basis for forest district management. Although it is only revised every 15 years it is expected to play a significant role in relation to participation. The present section is devoted to investigating the perceived role of the plan in participation in existing forests.

9.5.1 Does the forest management leave any decision competency to the district?

In the user council case, the decision authority remains with the state forest supervisor, as he and his staff operate within the rules of the Forest & Nature Agency and the budgetary restrictions given by the Governmental Board of Finance. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the forest management plan is quite detailed and expected to leave only little room for decision-making at the forest district, for the forest supervisor as well as for the user council. The forest supervisors do not share this opinion, though [IT2; IT18]. The forest management plan always has to be modified during the plan period, the district takes active part in forest management planning, and design of state afforestation projects remains at the district, however in dialogue with the Agency. A forest supervisor says:

"With all respect for the Agency, I am content that afforestation planning remains a district responsibility. Because the Agency solutions to afforestation tend to be somewhat schematically, square areas. There are lots of elbowroom for the districts who want is…also within forest management planning" [IT18].

The user council participants perceive an ambiguity in decision authority. They are unsure where the decision competency lies, and hence, through which channels they are most likely to gain influence. Two user council participants discuss this:

A: "They introduced a new rule, without even presenting it to the user council. The answer to my question on this was that 'it had just been decided".

B: "Maybe sometimes one should write this Forest Planning Division in the Forest & Nature Agency a letter…"

A: (interrupting) "Yes, - but we don't want to become enemies with the forest supervisor – we want to maintain a decent relationship with him."

B: "Yes, of course – but what if he just has to do what he is being told? – We have actually experienced that he asked for the user council's support, - to popular versions of the forest management plan… and how about the playground that was forced down, although also the forest

supervisor and the user council was against it? Then, I mean, you start wondering if it is someone else you should contact instead" [IT8].

The forest ranger prefers forest planning to remain a task of the central Forest & Nature Agency, *"so the overall strategies and policies are considered. Then you avoid that each district makes its totally own policy"* [IT12]. This is in line with the Forest & Nature Agency policy. But it may conflict with the user council objective of providing local users influence on the management and utilisation of state forests. For instance, as remarked in Chapter 7, a forest playground was established at the district in order to fulfil the overall outdoor strategy objectives, although it was against the will of the user council and the forest district staff (MR240496).

On the other hand, the forest management plans *are* modified during the planning period, to conform to upcoming objectives and revisions of current guidelines for the state forest areas. This is specifically remarked by the Copenhagen state forest supervisor at one of the user council meetings (MR290197). Nevertheless, user council members may experience that reference to the plan is used to reject their demands. At a meeting among Outdoor Council members of all state forest user councils, an Outdoor Council representative tells that in his user council, *"the forest district tells us that our Outdoor Council wishes belong to the forest management planning. Unfortunately, the plan is not going to be revised within the next ten years, and that is a long time to wait for a primitive camping site. It can be used to pacify us"*(MR211097).

An official in the Forest Planning Division responds to this:*"Of course, the management plan can be modified"* (MR211097), and an Outdoor Council representative from Copenhagen state forest district user council adds: *"The outdoor strategy of the Forest & Nature Agency encompasses a doubling of the primitive camping sites before year 2000, so of course they have to act beyond the forest management plans"* (MR211097).

9.5.2 Accessibility and availability of the forest management plan

The Forest Planning Divison agrees with representatives of DN and the Outdoor Council that the forest management plans are designed as working tools for internal use, which makes them inaccessible to people without any forest professional skills. *"Any user involvement therefore*

demands some 'translation' of the text to make it comprehensible to more people" (MR211097). The Forest & Nature Agency aimed to make popular versions of all management plans, already in 1993 (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1993). It was initiated but stopped again, however, with the reason that the price of the first popular plan of around 125.000-150.000 DDK was considered out of all proportion to the experienced low demand (MR211097).

The members of Copenhagen state forest user councils also missed a popular version [IT8]. Therefore, the forest supervisor had excerpts of the original plan made for each user council member (MR280198) and discussed with the user councils how to issue a popular version for a broader audience, although he *"could hardly find the available time and money for it...also considering that a management plan is outdated after five years"* (MR200199TEB). The idea was to make a folder for each forest, rather than a plan. This idea was supported by the user council members. A DN representative suggested also making the forest management plan available at libraries, which the forest supervisor rejected, considering it too costly to produce more copies of the present plan. Another DN representative suggested the folders to contain more information about planned 'drastic changes', such as thinning the forest 'Hareskoven' next to a railway station, whereas production parameters were not interesting to read about. The forest ranger pointed out that the purpose of making such folders are exactly *"to explain that we don't consider that as a drastic change. If you don't like it, you have to vote on people who don't like it either. But when a plan is adopted, I intend to follow it, and not involve my private person. If I don't follow the plan, I can be judged for dereliction of duty"* (MR200199TEB).

The DN representative argued that it isn't indifferent what you do and where you do it. The forest supervisor agreed in this and said that normally they would go to the press with events such as felling in 'Hareskoven', but that particular week the newspaper chose not to include the press announcement until the following week. And, *"those people complaining were fundamentally against any thinning in that forest, anyway"* (MR200199TEB).

9.5.3 How is the forest management plan perceived as a tool in the user councils?

The form of the plan is a reason why it is perceived difficult to use at user council meetings. "*It is impossible to read all that. It requires a detailed knowledge, also of the areas"* as an Outdoor

Representative [IT6] said at a seminar (MR130698TEB). Similarly, a DN representative misses a visualisation of the plan, i.e. where and how the forest will be modified during the plan period. Also, she misses more subtle planning with different degrees of silvicultural management, and not only what she perceives as the three categories 'without forest, special concerns only', 'nature forest' and then 'production forest' [IT5]. Basically, the DN representative perceives the forest management plan to be used as a fundamental silvicultural – production oriented reference to reject other, more biological or aesthetically founded demands to forest management: *"It is very hard to come up with arguments when the forest supervisor says 'economy' or refers to the forest management plan, saying 'the trees have to be felled here, or nothing new can come up'. Then, instead, it has to become part of the management plan that in this particular areas, the goal is not to maximise production"* [IT5]. Being asked whether she misses counter arguments to the financial arguments, she says no: *"We have enough counter arguments, but we don't have a plan that we can refer to, which requires these elements to be considered. You ought to locate the urban areas and not point out the trees to be felled. Instead, the trees that should remain for aesthetical and visual reasons ought to be identified for conservation"* [IT5]. She concludes that there is a need to make visible exactly what considerations form the basis of the management plans. She expects to find that the multiple use concerns are realised on those areas where production is marginal anyway. And to her, that is a problematic way of prioritising [IT5].

9.5.4 What is the user council's perceived influence on forest management planning?

The forest management plan for Copenhagen State Forest District was formulated during a seven-year period, due to various delays. A DN member recalls that his local committee provided a thoroughly prepared input, but they hardly ever got an answer as to whether it had been used or not, whether they had influence or not. *"We made a forest management plan suggestion together with students from the Veterinary & Agricultural University, in co-operation with the official from our secretariat. The response of the forest supervisor at that time was: 'This is going into trifles, this has got nothing to do with the big lines, so we can´t use that!' ...That was all the response we got... And the finished management plan, we never really discussed it...Okay, we did maybe get some influence...we wanted more forest and less plain...they followed our wishes in that matter"* [IT8].

Asked what he would like different next time, the DN representative says: "*We missed the response. The dialogue during the process, with the forest about the things that had been done. We didn't even have an evaluation meeting about the forest management plan. Nothing besides the little we were allowed to say at the user council meeting. Because, the fact is, that the forest supervisor is very strict about the user council only being advisory, not a place for decision-making. So we only make decisions about very subordinate issues*"[IT8].

A second DN representative adds that the forest district is very hierarchic in contrast to the co-operation they have with their municipality, who invites them to participate and to contribute with registrations of habitats and animals for planning purposes, as also discussed in Chapter 7.

"*Yes, and that is so in contrast to the other half of our municipality [outside the state forest], as the Department of Planning at the municipality is much more interested in co-operation. This summer we made some registrations about a golf course and handed it to the municipality. And they took it into account, they considered it as the serious work it really was*"[IT8].

"*We do actually have very different roles in relation to the municipality as compared to the forest system. We go to the municipality and they ask us what we would like, what we want, and how*" [IT8].

"*– Yes, we come with our ideas, they have theirs, and then we discuss and co-operate about the ideas. And if we want to work, then we make field studies, collect data and that will be used as well*" [IT8].

The demand for individual responses to each contributor to the planning process is a general demand by the DN that was also put towards to the Forest & Nature Agency at a meeting between the national, permanent contributors (i.e. DN and the Outdoor Council) and the Forest Planning Division (MR211097). At the meeting, the appropriate hearing process on forest management planning was discussed. The Forest Planning Division rejected the demand of individual responses, finding that it "*would require a use of resources [money] that isn't sufficiently motivated...the Agency does not see a need nor the opportunity to increase the use of resources on the contributor process. Also, the Agency finds that forest management planning is incomparable to other public*

planning due to the big areas that are administered, the detailed planning level and the multiple benefits being managed" (MR211097).

Involving the unorganised users and user councils in forest management planning
At the same contributor meeting, the Forest Planning Division remarked that it had aimed at unorganised users' involvement through public meetings, material provided at libraries and at open house arrangements. They conclude, that the public input from this has been scarce and "*most of them have focused on the behaviour of other user groups and not forest planning themes"*, so *"they have not been of any use to the planning process"* (MR211097). The Division agreed with DN and the Outdoor Council that the user councils should be involved more in future forest planning, being provided the same material as the permanent contributors. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the Forest Planning Division therefore asked the organisations to co-ordinate their answers internally.

One of the environmental NGO representatives within Copenhagen State Forest District but not seated in those user councils, finds that *"the public doesn't know anything about forest management plans. Maybe the user council can have some influence, once they have been there for a while and learnt something about forestry. But you can't, e.g. go out and demand a spruce stand to be felled if it isn't ready for felling...before it is economically beneficial, that must be the point of departure... But then instead, you can ask when the stand is to be felled, and whether the regeneration could be with oak instead of spruce"* [IT17]. The same representative finds, though, that there ought to be local planning requirements on afforestation, as it is a drastic change in the landscape [IT17].

In fact, local planning requirements on state forest management plans, equal to the Planning Act requirements, were considered by the 1992/93 commission to modernise state forest management planning (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1993). The commission did not make clear conclusions but *"were sceptical to such a procedure for various reasons. For instance, it was considered that such a procedure would make plan changes increasingly difficult and time consuming, which would then significantly reduce the action opportunities and flexibility of the Agency"* (Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1993:31). A DN representative called for local planning requirements as well as forest councils (Wium-Andersen 1990; 1994a: 1994b) but the Minister of Environment refused the proposal of hearing requirements with the argument that state

forest management plans are comparable to the bus firms' traffic plans or the farmers' management plans. All are subordinate to the county regional plans, and should not also be open to hearing procedures at this very concrete level (Auken 1994).

Local plan requirements of forest management plans are, however, still recommended by DN (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1998), whereas the Outdoor Council considers state forest management planning to involve a sufficient hearing procedure already:

"To ensure citizens' involvement, forest management plans for public forests should be presented, following a public procedure. That is, a full citizen involvement based on sufficient information before the plans are adopted. The state forest service makes such plans and implements such public procedure. Similar procedures ought to be done for other public forests and urban areas (Friluftsrådet 1997:50).

9.5.5 Summarising perceptions of the state forest management plan

To summarise, the forest management plan is perceived to be technical and difficult to read and understand, both by participants and the forest staff. Participants would like popular versions of the plan and visualisation of their consequences, whereas the Forest & Nature Agency is unwilling to spend the money needed. A participant finds a need for specification of the considerations underlying the management plan as she, e.g. finds that the considerations of multiple benefits are confined to productionally marginal forest land and not to places most appropriate for the multiple benefits.

The forest supervisors find enough elbowroom in the forest management plans, also for change during the plan period. On the other hand, a ranger remarks that planning should stay a centralised task to ensure the fulfilment of national policies and strategies. Therefore, he intends to follow the plan and not local people's individual demands. It therefore seems relevant that some user members doubt as where to get most influence – via the district or through the Forest Planning Division.

Participants are not content with the experienced involvement in forest management planning. They miss responses to their input and being invited to take active part in the planning process, e.g. monitoring habitats and having meetings about the plan. Some, like DN, ask for local plan

requirements on the state forest management plan. The Forest & Nature Agency as well as the Minister disagree on this, arguing that forest management planning equals to planning for, e.g. a farm, not for a region, like a municipality or a county. Also, the Agency finds the input from public meetings mostly being about other uses and not about management as such.

9.6 How is knowledge used in the decision process?

In various ways, language presents a barrier in participation. Basically, the technical jargon of forestry is a barrier, as considered in relation to the forest management plan. But also, even if we use common words, we may ascribe different meanings to the same words. For instance, a user council member only after a while found out that when the former forest supervisor said 'animals', then he meant 'roe deers' and not 'insects, birds, mammals, etc.' as she did [IT5].

Obviously, the way we use language, the words we use and the meanings we ascribe to them reflect different knowledge systems, different value systems, different discourses and that may provide one of the major barriers to reaching mutual understanding but also be one of the ways to maintain domination. On the one hand, it takes a lot of knowledge to be able to communicate on an even level. On the other hand, it seems necesssary to be reflective about these different value systems and lines of argumentation in order to break their domination. And still, it may not suffice to obtain influence.

9.6.1 Communication and co-operation in the user council

There seems to be agreement among the council members as to what constitutes opportunities of good co-operation, even if there is disagreement on the contents of co-operation. The basic concepts of openness, honesty, clarity are mentioned by various members [IT2; IT10; IT12], and the virtue of the user council being a forum for discussion where one is allowed to and dares to come up with ideas without fearing to be laughed at.

Communication in the user council
In communication, the forest supervisor prefers to be straight and provide clear opinions, in order to avoid later fights over competencies and not give rise to expectations that may not be met. Another

reason is, that *"everything that you say and do comes back to you"* when working in a system like the Forest & Nature Agency, in particular when openness becomes a policy of the organisation. To him, it is *"...important to agree on disagreements - To disagree is not the same as being enemies. But it is stupid to quarrel. Those two things can be kept apart"* [IT2]. He believes that openness and honesty in communication is primarily a question of daring "to do it right" rather than wanting to please people, no matter what. At the same time he recognises the risk that people may perceive him as being arrogant or cocksure. But he thinks it is a question of making them realise that he may change his opinions if the argumentation is good enough. This is recognised by some user council members agreeing that the forest supervisor is eager to make clear the limited competencies of the user council whereafter he is open to listen for advice: *"Every meeting he starts by saying that what we are now going to say won't have any influence. Now I don't even comment it, because I know that he will listen to us anyway"* [IT6].

More Copenhagen state forest user council members find that the user council is a forum for free and open discussion, where ideas can be put on the table without the risk of being made a fool of [IT2; IT5; IT17]. At the same time, a ranger recognises that the NGO representatives are seated in the council to cater for their particular interests. So although he believes that good co-operation is built on honesty and mutual trust, *"that one can put things on the table and not hide something"* as at the forest district, then when it comes to user councils, he hesitates. *"It is different, an external body. I won't lie, but I won't tell everything, either"* [IT12]. A DN member finds that the user councils provide opportunities for good, open discussions. *"No one bites at each other"*, as the members are about to know each others viewpoints now, and it is legitimate to come up with 'wild ideas'. But on the other hand, they are met with the 'production-economics argumentation/discourse'. The forest district supervisor and his assistant are praised for not having *"all those formalistic blocks"* and it is seen as positive that the forest rangers participate as well [IT5].

Co-operation
There seems to be one major challenge facing the co-operation between on the one hand public officials such as the forest supervisor and the county representative, and on the other hand politicians, be it NGOs or municipality politicians. The forest supervisor as well as the NGOs discuss this.

The forest supervisor finds it both difficult and challenging to co-operate with municipality politicians, particularly those also engaged in parliamentary politics. As a forest district supervisor he has to act as an efficient business man (administering public money in an efficient way) but as a public official representing the Ministry of Environment and Energy he also has to be very careful not to create an occasion for critizising the Ministry and the sitting Minister for harassing the municipalities [IT2].

A DN member described an example of good co-operation, where they had the meetings out in the open, and not around a table. Walking around out there, they would discuss and come up with different ideas on an informal basis, as opposed to a traditional bureaucracy, where the leaders have blocks every time ideas are presented, as they have to go back and check with the opinion of their superintendents. The DN member also noticed a problem, that she as an NGO would use a direct, non-diplomatic language. But that, she found, doesn't fit in a bureaucratic system as the public authorities [IT5].

The discussion can be summarised as: The officials have to act 'rational' within the bureaucracy and budget restrictions, whereas the very role of the 'politicians' is to be innovative, reform the rules, change the budget and the organisation structure. Therefore, the 'politician' is frustrated with the officials being reluctant to be innovative and always wanting to go back and confirm and reconfirm before giving a clear answer. On the other hand, an official like the forest supervisor is confused that 'politicians' within a group may officially disagree and have no clear hierarchy, e.g. that local DN members can subordinate the national secretariat, or that two local DN members disagree on an issue. Consequently, he perceives it as an organisation having 'problems with competencies' [IT2].

At the same time, however, the forest district supervisor as well as some user council members [IT6] think that communication with the politicians rather than with public officials is most likely to open up for influencing the opinion of the county and for facilitating financing [IT2; IT6]. The officials (per definition) tend to be loyal towards their budget and the system they are in. An official, also as a forest district supervisor, sometimes has to restrict expectations, knowing that prioritising and funding one project means less priority and funding to another project. It is easier to make a

politician devote him/herself to one particular project and fight for that one. It both indicates that politicians are more focused on individual cases than on considering the overall picture, but also that politicians are more sincerely devoted, once they go into a case, than are officials [IT2]. The forest district supervisor is glad to have politicians from the municipality in the council for the same reason. Being an official himself, he almost knows in advance the opinion of other officials. He divides politicians into two groups: the professional parliamentary politicians, and the local politicians, whom, he thinks, are less 'politically thinking' than the parliamentary politicians, in the sense of not limiting themselves to the opinions of the party and acting from that perspective. Rather, local politicians tend to act as/represent 'local people', also when they are in the user councils. He ascribes it to the fact that local politicians are only part time politicians, having their own lives and jobs beside the political career, whereas parliamentary politicians are full time politicians [IT2]. A municipality official makes a similar division, although calling them 'concrete' versus 'attitude oriented', i.e. politicians who work on opinions and use them to influence the public. For example, that one should not use pesticides. Such values, he finds, often comes from national politics to the municipal level [IT9].

For good co-operation, a municipal official [IT9] finds it important not to be either-or, with a fixed view of what things should be like, as that is unlikely to serve the environment. He finds the opportunities for co-operation being best where things are discussed without feeling, but with engagement, with an open attitude towards each other [IT9]. This view is partly shared by Outdoor Council representatives [IT6; IT19]. *"As long as it moves in the right direction it is more important to have a lot of people pushing it through too, than getting it you own way alone"*[IT6]. However, one of them finds that in some environmental issues there is no possible compromise: *"Some create conflict by going to the extremes. But sometimes you have to. For instance, we can't accept any use of pesticides if we want to protect the groundwater. But the conflicts emerge where things become so restrictive that you cannot combine nature protection/conservation and utilisation experiences, If you have a professional explanation to particular restrictions, e.g. on angling, then it is ok. But there should also be space for, e.g. the 12-year-old kid to go fishing in the lake"* [IT19].

The forest supervisor in the afforestation case finds that good co-operation requires respect for each other's viewpoints, respect for property rights as well as for the person. Also, time and patience is

an important factor. A view shared by more informants [IT2; IT6; IT13; IT19]. Talking with a farmer, you need to take your time, be able to talk about the weather and know about agricultural issues. Farmers need time to think it over and talk with family and neighbours. *"It is a lengthy process [whereas] if you talk to business people and city people, they will be much closer to making a decision"* [IT18].

Taken together, the informants mention the following added-up list of characteristics of good co-operation: Be committed to the idea/issue [IT10; IT13], keep on [IT13; IT15], understand the counterpart's needs [IT19; IT16; IT 18], share common understandings [IT17] and eventually also visions, goals and opinions [IT10; IT12].

9.6.2 Instrumental versus institutional ways of using knowledge

Just as participants acquire knowledge in different ways and in different forms, they also have different ways of using knowledge in the participation process. Comparing the case study findings with the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, there appears to be two main approaches of using knowledge: an instrumental ('objective-rational') and an institutional ('political') approach.

The instrumental, 'objective-rational' approach perceives decision-making as a rational process aimed at optimal solutions based on true knowledge. The participation strategy therefore involves a search for the most 'true' knowledge to describe the given situation and to provide the solution in the decision process.

The institutional, 'political' approach perceives decision-making as a negotiation process among conflicting interests and values, where knowledge is used as a means to support the different interests. The participation strategy therefore involves scientific knowledge in a form useful for negotiation. Also, it emphasises knowledge about opinions, attitudes and behaviour as a means to reveal the different interests and their resources in the decision process.

Among the interviewed participants, the institutional approach seems the most prevalent, but some also to a certain extent have an instrumental understanding of the decision process, according to which, basically, there is one truth that is perceived as more true than the others. The most prevalent

example of an instrumental understanding is represented by a user council member studying silvicultural literature and adapting the silvicultural jargon, believing that it takes a lot of studying to be able to participate, in order not to ask 'silly questions' [IT17].

The most distinct description of the role of knowledge in the negotiation process is provided by and Outdoor Council representative with a long history of participation in environmental decision-making but without any related professional background. To repeat, he remarks that *"We need that [scientific] documentation when we are in a negotiation… Without that information we are too easy to fool"* [IT13]. In this sense, scientific knowledge is being used to not only document but also legitimise the relevance of interests in the given decision context. As an example, the same Outdoor Council representative mentions new research results showing that many tracks and paths in the countryside have been cancelled in the past years. Such knowledge, he says, provides them the necessary tool to bring 'tracks into the countryside' on the agenda [IT19]. What happens is that the Outdoor Council manages to transform an issue from being a private matter of the individual landowners into becoming a political issue of concern to society. And this is exactly what also the conflict over afforestation is about – to what extent land use is a private matter of the landowners as compared to being an issue of societal concern. There, the landowners insist on maintaining farming as a private matter, while, on the other hand, they claim for the societal legitimacy of farming by referring to the contribution of agriculture to GDP (see Chapter 7).

In fact, the research results on the cancellation of tracks in the countryside were presented at a national conference about access in the countryside (DS130600). In advance of this occassion, the agricultural associations made their own survey among landowners to demonstrate that the situation isn't as bad as the research results indicate – arguing that many farmers have established new roads since 1992 (De Danske Landboforeninger 2000). Obviously, knowledge and counter-knowledge is being used in the struggle over conflicting perceptions of rights and opportunities of access to the countryside. Similarly, the aforementioned WWF scorecard on the state of European forests can be considered counter-knowledge to challenge the dominating (professional) understanding of what forestry is about, as outlined in the following section.

Also within the Forest & Nature Agency, knowledge is perceived to be used as a legitimation for change. A forest supervisor found that the 'Richer Forest' extension courses did not really provide a new way of thinking, as this more close-to-nature management had already been practised at the district level. *"I guess it was more like a legitimisation of having to start thinking in a different way. We already did many of these things without really being permitted to do it. The difference is, that now we won't be locked up, if they [the Forest & Nature Agency] find out"* [IT18].

An intermediate between the instrumental and institutional approach may be represented by the DN representative who doesn't miss any knowledge but feels powerless, as any nature conservation arguments are counteracted by the *"production/economy argumentation of the forest supervisor"* [IT5]. As mentioned earlier, the DN representative misses a plan to refer to, when having to argue for environmental concerns against what was perceived as a forest management plan based on economic optimisation. The Outdoor Council representatives may have been thinking the same, when they adopted a common outdoor policy strategy in 1997. A representative argues that the strategy was needed as an instrument to profile the organisation's opinions in the public debate, making sure that it was one organisation, voice, and not just the opinions that might come to the head of each individual representative. This became particularly important with the Act on Planning and its guidelines for public hearing. The Outdoor Council representative confirms that the national strategy may sometimes conflict with regional or local interests. Normally, he would then follow the national interests, being a representative for a national organisation. Rather, however, he aims at bending the different interests towards each other, into a compromise, before it comes to conflict. He mentions a NGO working group report on the usage of the stream "Mølleåen" as an example to counteract such conflicts [IT6].

The Outdoor Council (with their regional outdoor policy strategy) triggered the Frederiksborg County to initiate the making of an outdoor strategy to be included in the coming regional plan for the county. The strategy will be worked out by the "green council" of the county. The county finances meetings and assistance from a process consultant. As expressed by an Outdoor Council representative:*"It is not enough to have physical planning, you also need physical planning for man. This is physical planning for/with a (hu)man view"* [IT19]. He foresees that within not too

long, also municipalities will work out their own outdoor strategies and that it may become the stepstone to closer cooperation with the state forest user councils.

To summarise, knowledge is being used as a tool for legitimisation and negotiation of interests in the decision process. Also, it is used to transform apolitical issues into political issues, by demonstrating an interest to be of concern to society.

9.7 How much knowledge does it take to participate?

An Outdoor Council representative and DN member notices the professionalisation of environmental politics and how it changes the requirements to participants. Participants need sufficient knowledge to be able to argue against professionals and they need to dare entering the arena:

"As one of the few in DN, I am not an academic. Today, many people are afraid of entering this working with cases, as it actually is. I mean, we are faced with people who are professionals. And there is an extensive staff of professionals in the counties as well as the municipalities, which you have to argue against, - this is the same in relation to outdoor issues" [IT13].

A DN representative confirms that participation requires knowledge. He explains that his local committee only deals with environmental decisions that they have the needed knowledge about. Therefore, all decisions according to 'environmental legislation' [as opposed to nature conservation and n.m. legislation] are expected to be dealt with properly in the county administration. By sending a copy to the DN national secretariat, the local committee hopes that the secretariat will study and eventually appeal the decisions. *"But afforestation is science fiction, so there I feel we can allow ourselves to participate"* [IT15].

The Outdoor Council representative with a past in DN recalls that *"Being in DN provides you a good schooling of working with outdoor life. That is, study plans, know the legislation and their administration"* [IT13]. He finds that *"Although you are not an expert, you can still form your own opinion based on common sense and logical thinking…If you have an opinion, then it is up to the others to show you that you're wrong"* [IT13].

Another informant finds that there is a need to pick up some knowledge before being able to participate. In the user councils *"I didn't dare to say a word in the beginning. And if I asked anyway, I could get the feeling that maybe my question was too stupid, and that I should have got myself better informed before speaking up"* [IT17]. Therefore, he also finds that the longer he can be in the user council, the better he will become at participating and, hence, benefit his association as well as the district.

It also appears that information enhances participation. As expressed by a county official: *We thought that information would lead us to receiving fewer appeals, but it had the opposite effect* [IT14]. Similarly, the forest supervisor in the afforestation case remarks that participants expect some information. He experiences that people can't make their opinion about afforestation if they are not being presented for a draft plan. Then they think something has been hidden for them [IT18].

An informant finds that people should not uncritically just be given the type of forest they ask for. She believes that national surveys on public behaviour and preferences such as the 'Outdoor Life 1997 (Jensen & Koch 1997) are an insuffient basis for determining what people want. From her viewpoint the user councils should be critically informed about the different ways in which forests can be managed and what the advantages are, referring to research results showing that people value a nature forest more when they have been told that it is a nature forest. *"It is not manipulation. It is a question about you not knowing [the opportunities]. You think that forests look just like forests do..and that it is natural for them to look like they do. Therefore, you don't know what you can possibly get... I don't think ignorants should be allowed to decide what the forests should look like. At least it takes treatment of opinions"* [IT16]. She bases this opinion on own experience by reading the WWF scorecard report on the European forests, in which Denmark had the record low of the fifteen countries involved. *"I wondered how you could judge forests...after what parameters...because to me, the forest seems so unchangeable, ancient – all the wrong ideas. Then I learnt about Nepenthes and...we went together into some [different types of] forests. That was virgin land to me, that you can actually have such a conscious attitude to forests.. This is something people don't know – that you can relate to nature in so many different ways ... and then there are*

all the conflicts of interest". For the same reason, she was inclined to have a progressive organisation as Nepenthes to represent her in a user council, in order to 'rock the boat' [IT16].

This viewpoint is partly opposed to how a forest supervisor looks at it. First of all, he finds that the preference surveys provide some of the best foundation for taking multiple concerns. Second, he experiences that the public just doesn't want change. If he takes them to a forest spot and *"asks them what it looks like, they will say that it looks allright. And asking if they want change, they will say no. Except maybe in the virgin forest Suserup. There the immediate opinon was: 'What a mess!' They don't like that...because it differs from what they are used to look at. They just don't want change"* [IT18]. Third, he basically finds, that the user council is of the same opinion as he. That is, *"Not from the beginning, as they then had lack of knowledge about other viewpoints, other affecting factors, balancing of interests"* [IT18].

Even the necessary knowledge and negotiation skills may not suffice, where there is lack of resources to deal with all relevant cases. DN as an organisation expresses this concern, seeing the organisation as the major opponent to the many environmental decisions that are being made every year at local, regional and national level (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1998).

To summarise, participants agree that it takes knowledge to be able to participate, particularly in order to be able to argue with environmental professionals, be in counties, municipalities or the Forest & Nature Agency and its forest districts. There is disagreement as to how much knowledge is needed to participate in relation to forest management decision-making. Afforestation is considered an accessible issue, as it is future-oriented, whereas management of existing forests is considered less accessible, also due to the technical forest management plan. Some find they need to adopt silvicultural knowledge to participate, whereas others are more concerned with knowledge to legitimise and support their particular interests in relation to forestry, e.g. the outdoor strategy of the Forest & Nature Agency. An informant finds that participants should be critically informed, not only about prevalent silvicultural management regimes, but also about all the other forms of forests and forestry that are possible choices.

9.8 Conclusions

To conclude, participants agree that it takes some knowledge to be able to participate, particularly in order to be able to argue with environmental professionals, be in counties, municipalities or the Forest & Nature Agency and its forest districts. Different types of information/knowledge are acquired from different sources, in different ways and forms, and used in different ways. Some find they need to adopt silvicultural knowledge to participate, whereas others are more concerned with scientific knowledge and documents to legitimise and support their particular interests in relation to forestry, e.g. the outdoor strategy of the Forest & Nature Agency. In this context, the forest management plan is perceived too technical and difficult to read. It is noticed that there is different access to information depending on your affiliations, as DN has far the best access, while e.g. municipal politicians and farmers may miss or not know the channels of information. Moreover some, like the Outdoor Council, have access to affect what research is being carried out, whereby knowledge to support the formulation of an issue on the political agenda can be created. Thus, knowledge provides a basis for participation. Being seated in the user council for a longer period provides more knowledge and insight, an advantage that, however, has to be balanced against the risk of becoming too familiar with the forest district on the expense of contact with the support base.

The forest staff finds that input from public meetings are mainly about other people's uses of the forest and mostly the main viewpoint is that the forest just has to remain unchanged, a view also shared by some participants. This is challenged by an informant who finds that participants should be critically informed, not only about prevalent silvicultural management regimes, but also about all the other forms of forests and forestry that are possible choices. The different viewpoints can be ascribed to different ideas of what the aim of participation is. To the forest staff, the aim is obviously to enhance public understanding of forest management as it is, whereas to the informant wanting critical information, participation is expected to include a transformative aspect, challenging and changing the existing norms and values underlying state forest management.

Participants are not content with the experienced involvement in forest management planning. They miss responses to their input and being invited to take active part in the planning process, e.g. monitoring habitats and having meetings about the plan. Some, like DN, demand local plan

requirements on the state forest management plan. Until now, this is rejected with the argument that forest management planning is a technical matter on the level of a farm, and not as e.g. a county.

10

Power and participation

The aim of the state forest user councils has been specified as to *"enhance the involvement and influence of local users on the management and utilisation of the forests owned by the population"* (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c). Following this, the user councils should be evaluated as to whether they succeed to enhance the influence of local users on forest management and utilisation. Chapter 5 provided a first indication of the perceived influence, in terms of a user council survey. It showed that the goal is only partly achieved. By use of case study method, we can now study more closely the perceptions of influence in user councils and how it relates to other forms of – maybe less formal – participation, as revealed in the afforestation case. As expressed by one of the informants:

"I would like to know if the user council members have real influence or if they are only there for the staffage, while the forest supervisor decides everything. Because, then it's a farce. ...It sounds so typically Danish: Joint influence everywhere, people talk and talk, drink litres of coffee, but what the hell comes out of it? That is what I would like to know!" [IT16].

"...There is no doubt that individuals can have an enormous influence. A few, committed persons can raise a forest. They just don't need to be forced into a state authorised user council to do it" [IT16].

Chapter 6 investigated who the local users of Copenhagen State Forest District are, and how the forests are managed and utilised. Chapter 7 investigated who are actually seated in the user councils, what motivates their participation and what the purposes and effects of participation are. Chapter 8 took at a look at the equity dimension in terms of analysing who the participants are perceived to represent, and whether some interests are considered not being

represented. Chapter 9 studied the relationship between knowledge and power. The aim of the present chapter is to analyse whether, when and how participants perceive that they gain and exercise influence in state forest and afforestation management.

The chapter is structured as follows: Chapter 10.1 presents a general picture of perceived forest user council influence and 'success' as it appears from national surveys, seminars and articles. Chapter 10.2 investigates perceptions of influence in relation to the afforestation case. Chapters 10.3 and 10.4 study user council influence in terms of resources, strategies and barriers to gaining influence, drawing on the experiences from the afforestation case in Chapter 10.2. Chapter 10.5 discusses the potentials of influence in local participation as compared to the overall forest and afforestation policy, respectively and Chapter 10.6 provides a conclusion.

10.1 Does user council success equal influence?

10.1.1 The opinion about the state forest district user councils in general

There were big expectations to the user councils at the time of their establishment. At least the newspapers wrote about 'a forest of democracy' (Landsbladet 1994), 'democracy should also grow in the forests' (Preisler 1994), 'we will gain influence on forest utilisation' (Ringsted Dagblad 1994), and 'the users should take part in forest management' (Odgaard 1994).

Several times since then, it has been stated that *"User councils are a success"*, e.g. by the Minister of the Environment & Energy (Auken 1998) and in newspaper articles (e.g. Voigt 1998) following the user council evaluation. Also, the Forest & Nature Agency in 2000 held a conference about the future forest policy with participants from several NGOs, private forest owners, state forest districts, and user council members. One of the conclusions of the conference was that 'user councils are a success' (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000) and some even asked for user councils also in private forests.

Nevertheless, looking only at success in terms of 'gained influence' the picture is more ambiguous. The user council survey analysis in Chapter 5 showed that only half of the respondents answered yes to having gained influence, depending on the meeting frequency and the district, and significantly related to the perceived communicative quality of the user

councils. In 1997, DN made a survey among its own representatives in the forest user councils. The survey showed that out of 14 respondents, no one found they had 'much influence on forest management', 3 found themselves to have 'influence', 10 thought they had 'little influence' and one of them perceived to have no influence on forest management. On the other hand, 10 out of 15 representatives found that the function of the user councils was good, only 5 found it poor, whereas no one found it optimal nor very critical (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1997a).

After the evaluation, the Outdoor Council representatives from all state forest user councils discussed the user councils at a seminar (MR130698TEB). Some were critical as to whether the user councils had gained any influence at all. The Forest & Nature Agency's own user council survey (see Chapter 5) was criticised for leading to biased answers: *"It is easy to answer 'yes' to having gained influence, but difficult to answer 'no', because there is a risk that it will then be interpreted so that 'when they don't see any effect on influence, we might as well suspend the user councils again'. The question should rather have been as regarding what issues we perceive to have gained influence on"* (MR130698TEB). Another representative agrees in this. A couple of representatives shared the view that too much time is spent on one way information and that, often the agenda is dictated by the Forest & Nature Agency: *"9/10 of the user council's time is spent on district information and 1/10 on dialogue. Therefore, I can't tell if I have gained any influence"* (MR130698TEB). It is agreed by the Outdoor Council representatives that some of the user councils are well functioning, providing options for influence, whereas some few are absolutely dysfunctional (MR130698TEB).

Obviously, there is a distinction between the meaning of the word 'success' and the perception of having gained influence, as was the main purpose of the user councils. From the above figures and debate it appears, that the mere existence of state forest user councils are considered a benefit, 'a success', because it provides new, potential opportunities for achieving more particular goals of participation in state forest management, including influence, as outlined in Chapter 7. Just as forests tend to be considered unambiguous goods to fulfil changing goals, as mentioned in Chapter 2, so do state forest user councils among participants and the Minister of Environment & Energy.

At the time of the user council's establishment, a reader took another standpoint, though: He found it a waste of time and money to arrange 'Day of the Forest' in order to drag people out in the forests *"that are already being overloaded by visitors"*. Even more, he found that the user councils are totally unnecessary as the Danish forest staff *"are some of the best here on earth"*, *"they work with a time horizon of a couple of hundred years"* and *"...they also have families, friends and acquaintances expressing what the ordinary citizen expects from the forests in terms of recreational values"*(Nielsen 1994).

10.1.2 The opinion about state forest user councils in the two cases

Asking the forest supervisor in the afforestation case what it takes for user councils to be a success, he responded: *"I must say as my Minister: They ARE a success!"* Later he was asked what the achievements of the user councils were and if anything had changed: *"No. Yes, I spent another 3 three weeks. And okay I met some new people from those organisations I already knew...The user councils are used to try out some ideas that we are uncertain about... But, frankly speaking, they are of the same opinion as we"* [IT18]. On the other hand, he is sure that the user councils made a difference to its members: *"They tell us that they learnt a lot about our work, facts and contexts that they would never have thought of"* [IT18]. An Outdoor Council representative from the same district admits that: *"I wouldn't say that we have changed a lot, and that isn't the idea, I guess"*. He argues, that the most significant achievement of the user councils to him is that he meets the forest staff and also create network with the other members, in particular the opportunity to get into dialogue with municipal representatives [IT13].

A forest ranger from Copenhagen state forest district is a little more positive. He finds that the user councils' main effect are that they *"...change my point of sight a little in everything I do"* [IT12], whereas they don't take any part in the management as such.

An Outdoor Council representative answers ambiguously to a question of whether the user councils gained any influence: *"Well yeah, I guess we do have some influence. But we have some good discussions whereby we come to know the 'forest people'. What type of human beings are they, what type of forest professionals are they, and what is their way of thinking"*[IT19].

Being asked if the user councils provided any influence that he wouldn't have got without them, he says: *"That is difficult to answer. A lot of positive things take place in state forests, many facilities, agreements with the organisations and nature protection efforts. Not that we can't use more of it. But it is more a question of strategy and policy...I would like to see a strengthened co-operation between the individual municipal councils and the state forest districts in order to connect the forest and the countryside...Here, the user councils can get a co-ordinating role. It is important to get contiguous tracks throughout the forest and the countryside, because that will also be a way to reduce the pressure of horseback riding and other uses in the forests by moving it out in the countryside. The future role of the user councils will be to go beyond the forest fence"* [IT19].

Another Outdoor Council representative finds support to his organisation's viewpoints in the Forest & Nature Agency's outdoor strategy. He finds that *"when the objectives are in the same direction as your own, it is much easier to make people adhere to their objectives than having to bring up new objectives yourself"* [IT6].

On the other hand, two DN representatives find that, basically, they are only allowed to make decisions on very subordinate issues [IT8]. As mentioned in Chapter 8, a municipal politician is frustrated not to have any decision competency at all, whereas a fellow politician finds her participation relevant as her municipality considers afforestation as well.

 From these viewpoints it appears, that some are much concerned with the influence they get on the forest management as such, e.g. the DN representatives and the dissatisfied municipal politicians, whereas others are more concerned with influencing the opportunities of creating bonds between the forest district activities and its environment, i.e. the municipalities.

10.1.3 Summarising the general opinion about user council success versus influence
To summarise, the user councils are considered as a success, by NGOs as well as the Minister of Environment & Energy. The results of the Forest & Nature Agency evaluation of the user councils also showed an overall satisfaction with the function of the user councils, following the guidelines. But, as the purpose of the user councils were to enhance the influence of local

users on state forest management that must be the main criterion of success. And still, only half of the respondents stated 'yes' to having gained influence. From that point of view, the user councils are not successful. But as an informant said, - it is hard to answer 'yes' or 'no' to having gained influence, as influence can be so many things. The present Chapter therefore seeks to investigate in more detail how influence is actually exercised.

10.2 Influence in the afforestation case

As mentioned by the state forest supervisor, state afforestation planning remains at the forest district level. But as opposed to managing existing forests, state afforestation requires a lot of different actors working together to ensure its realisation, as outlined in Chapter 6. At the initial stages, therefore, afforestation decision-making may better be explained as a network of actors co-operating, in a garbage can like decision process, than as a rational decision-making process with a unitary decision-maker. The theory about a garbage can decision process is that there are loose couplings between participants, problems, solutions and decision arenas/opportunities. Solutions may seek problems to be solved, the participants may come and leave the decision process or the problem (or solution) may jump from one decision process to the other. Hereby the outcome of the garbage can process depends much on how the four categories meet over time (Winter 1991). Taking the perspective of EU agricultural policy aiming to reduce agricultural production, the decision process is structured, with afforestation as one of the means. But from the perspective of the Minister of Environment & Energy, aiming to double the forest area within a tree generation, afforestation exactly becomes the solution to shifting problems, in shifting arenas, from alternative use of marginal farm land, protection of groundwater resources and to meet recreational needs close to cities.

First of all, afforestation depends on the designation of afforestation areas in the regional plan. This process was outlined in Chapter 6 and the hearing contents in Chapter 7. In the first designation phase in 1990-1991, the floor was open to locating the afforestation areas, however within the guidelines of the Ministry of Environment. In the revised designation of afforestation area in 1999, the county found itself as well as the hearing process with restricted opportunities of influence. As an official expresses it: *It is a bit difficult to act [Within the allowed % plus areas we are allowed to designate]. We manage according to the current afforestation plan, which also encompass areas close to cities, so it's quite okay in that sense.*

Together with the state forest district we currently try to locate the already afforested areas and then take them out of the account...The problem is, that some landowners may not like that we remove the designation as plus area from their land.." [IT14]. Therefore, the official also hesitates to let people get the impression that the hearing process involves good opportunities of influencing the plan: *"It is important that we don't pull the wool over people's eyes and give them the [wrong] impression that things can be changed totally"* [IT14]. On the other hand, it was considered desirable to meet the wishes of those landowners wanting their land appointed as *plus* areas. *"Then, at least there is a good chance that it will be afforested"* [IT14].

During the first designation of afforestation areas, farmers at Ringsted made a petition and sent it as a response during the hearing process. As it appears from Chapter 7, part of the farmers' protest was caused by pressure to stay shoulder to shoulder with the other farmers. Looking back, though, a farmer didn't find it to have *"any effect in practice"* [IT20]. Being asked how he would have liked the farmers to be heard, he answers:
"I don't believe that would have changed a lot, because they had a set subject, i.e. afforestation close to cities. The problem, and the reason for nothing happening is, that they considered afforestation without considering the consequences to us others" [IT20].

Second, a state afforestation project takes approval from the Nature Management Board as well as an appropriation on the National Budget via the Parliamentary Board of Finance. In the Nature Management Board are seated representatives from several NGOs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, counties and municipalities associations, as outlined in Appendix 3.2b. This provides opportunities for co-operation among representatives of the same organisations and public authorities at national and regional level. The board has to allocate money to afforestation as well as nature restoration projects. In case priority is given to major restoration projects then, there are less money to afforestation. This was seen from e.g. 1999 when the major restoration of the stream 'Skjernå' was to be financed through the existing funds.

Third, an actual state afforestation project takes landowners willing to sell land. At the time of the case study at Ringsted, farmers had the opportunity to veto in case they could argue for the need of additional land for spreading manure. Two farmers using this veto right were the

initial reason why the state afforestation project around Ringsted was not begun. One farmer tells:

"The lands commission also stated, that the soil around Ringsted was too good for afforestation. Then we assumed that things would calm down again. Until two years ago, when I was contacted, - no, I was told by two members of the municipal council, that the Plant a Tree committee plus I don't know who more were involved, that they were planning to make the Church council sell its farm for afforestation purposes... I then contacted the two neighbours to that farm. Both of them have harmonisation problems, but particularly one of them. I therefore suggested him: 'Would it not be relevant for you two to state the need for supplementary land [for harmonisation purposes], in case they start doing something [i.e. selling for state afforestation]?'..." [IT20].

However, the state forest supervisor explains the outcome by a more overall relationship between property structure and propensity to sell:

"[When we investigate afforestation opportunities] we look at the owner structure, the number of properties, the location of the buildings – whether they are modern, efficient farms or old-fashioned farms...and maybe it is tactless, but we also look at the age of the owners... The Ringsted project was given lower priority because the landowners' ages were between 30 – 50 years, whereas in other planned afforestation areas it was just the time, a generation shift was around the corner, the farms were small and the buildings poor. And then we look at the problems of harmony between animals and farm land" [IT18].

The protest against afforestation at Ringsted, he ascribes to farmers' age as well as the fear of expropriation:

"They expect to stay on they property until they are 65 – and today they are 40. And everyone formerly – and still maybe – feared expropriation. Also they may fear for the opportunities of expanding their farm: '..what if all the neighbour farms have been afforested, so I can't expand'. That is also a natural thought" [IT18].

The forest supervisor takes this into consideration, both because he knows the farmers' associations will take that perspective, and because he thinks it is the most long-term efficient:

"When the farmer has invested several million crowns on his fully functional stables, it would be wrong of us [to interfere]. Also I don't want to become enemies with the agricultural interests, as that would be poison to our own future efforts. Then I prefer to use exchange of land as a method instead" [IT18].

The forest supervisor adds about fear of expropriation:

"I shouldn't wonder if it is connected to [farmers experience with] dealing with public authorities. 'If you don't get your will in one way, you will the other – by expropriation'. There are so many forms of expropriation, - for roads, sewers, cables and wires" [IT18].

The forest supervisor's viewpoints reflect quite precisely the farmers' hearing responses (see Chapter 7) and the two interviewed farmers' opinion about their own situation.

The farmers have power resources in owning the land that could potentially be afforested and by having the right to veto on sale of farmland for afforestation. The forest supervisor on the other hand works with a long time horizon, adapts his behaviour to the prevailing structures and actors' resources, knowing that it is a precondition for reaching the ultimate goal of afforestation. As mentioned in Chapter 8.3, the forest supervisor had urged the municipal council of Ringsted to consider how their city should develop, seen in relation to future afforestation near the city. He was ready to wait 1-2 years for an answer.

An Outdoor Council representative from one of the places where they managed to get state afforestation believes that the reason why they have a forest today and the Ringsted citizens not, is networking and local support:

"Here, we managed to turn afforestation into a positive thing, we made some farmers join the idea. You need to make this network function, or you won't succeed…The farmers didn't want forest. But I knew the forest supervisor and suggested him to talk with a particular farmer, as he was willing to sell part of his property… He was a respected farmer, efficient with a big

pig production. It started that way, and people saw that maybe it was quite good... This could just as well have happened in Ringsted, if there had been the local support [IT13].

As mentioned in Chapter 8.3.2, the Outdoor Council representative finds the municipal council in Ringsted much too defensive in relation to afforestation and ascribes it to lack of awareness. That could be one explanation. A supplementary explanation could be that the municipal politicians with roots in the farm society prefer not to take up the conflict between urban needs for green recreation areas and farmers' need for elbowroom in farm management. Both issues are given priority in the municipal plan (Ringsted Kommune 1997). Apparently, some of them deliberately gave priority to the latter, as they informed the farmers about their right to veto on the Church council wanting to sell land for afforestation.

An NGO from the Ringsted area partly share the opinion of positive networking as a reason for afforestation success in the other place mentioned by the Outdoor Council representative. However, he also remarked that most probably, there were also farmers ready to sell land in that place, as the soil is much poorer there as compared to Ringsted. Also, he believes the forest supervisor was more open towards gradual buying up and afforestation of land than in Ringsted. [IT15]. Neither the Outdoor Council representative nor the forest supervisor [IT13; IT18] share this opinion.

The Ringsted NGO is critical towards the forest supervisor's strategy of only involving the landowners at the initial stages. *"Instead of contacting the landowners, the forest supervisor ought to invite all people living in the area to a huge public meeting, - because they are also users of the forest, - they also have rights... At least afterwards, he should call for a public meeting to explain the situation, because sooner or later the citizens will find out and ask why there will be no afforestation out here"* [IT15].

The forest supervisor disagrees in this approach which he finds too pushy, *"so pushy that people back off"* [IT18]. In order for the forest supervisor to get influence, it takes time and patience and the potentially affected landowners should be heard before informing anyone else. Drawing a line on a map over their land and saying 'here will be afforestation' is about the worst you can do, he says [IT18]. In another afforestation area, the forest supervisor made

alliances with the municipality, and made them call for the meeting with landowners, in order to avoid a potential conflict with a particular landowner [IT18].

Direct confrontation is also avoided by the Plant-a-Tree-committee. Rather, they use networking to promote their aim, i.e. to have trees planted. As a member of the committee says: *"That is why you need to change the board now and then so the networks can extend"* [IT11]. In the afforestation case, the committee played a discrete role. As mentioned in Chapter 7.2, the committee cannot afford getting into conflict over afforestation, as they survive on the profile of being nice and neutral. However, they aimed to influence the process. One of the members suggested the Church council to afforest its own land, and by the time of the municipal council decision on afforestation, the committee held the general meeting with afforestation on the agenda, *"aimed at affecting the municipal council towards granting the money for afforestation..."* [IT10], also mentioned in Chapter 8.3. One of the members aimed at influence through awareness raising, aiming to stimulate a general debate in the municipal council and the municipality as such about forests and the green environment. As a municipal official he found himself in conflict between the political decisions, the restricted budget and his professional, environmental background.

In order to stimulate public debate, members of the Plant a Tree committee invited journalists to take part in the meeting about afforestation. This resulted in local newspaper articles as well as a front-page article in a national newspaper. The national article basically explained the lack of afforestation around Ringsted as caused by the right of farmers to veto against sale of land for afforestation. A few days later, the ministerial agreement underlying this right was officially cancelled. Apparently, the article influenced the decision process. The journalist agrees in this: *"In this particular case there is no doubt that I influenced the process by writing about the case. The minister knew about the case for long and suddenly, after the article, the rules were changed. No doubt that journalists can have enormous influence, particularly if they write about concrete issues…specify the problem and make clear what has to be changed. And the national daily newspaper will give the biggest effect"* [IT16].

The forest supervisor and an Outdoor Council representative though, find that the decision was made prior to the article, although the article might have been a provoking factor. Following the Outdoor Council representative, already during winter, the Agricultural

Associations contacted the Ministry of Environment & Energy, having heard that the Outdoor Council worked for abolishing the agreement. The Minister of Environment & Energy wrote back to the director of the Danish Agricultural Associations that the practice was changed so that in the future, strong interests for urban forests or groundwater protection would come in advance of farmers' need of land to solve harmonisation problems [IT13].

The Outdoor Council representative tells that the Outdoor Council more times had called attention to the issue telling the minister that it was wrong to let farmers' harmonisation problems become a barrier to urban forest. For this purpose, the Ringsted case was frequently used as a good example of the problem. He recalls himself having said it in the Outdoor Council's county representation, and the issue as well as the particular Ringsted case, was also raised by one of their well-known members of the national Outdoor Council board on a conference about afforestation, held in 1998 [IT13]. Coming back to the influence of the press, though, the same journalist reported on this conference and, in fact, that influenced the decision as whether to go down to Ringsted, when the invitation to the Plant a Tree committee meeting came. Being asked, what determines the journalist's choice of news, the answer is:

"The case has to be big, being able to sell. When they call me, they should be able to explain me why it is an interesting case and demonstrate substantial conflicts between different world views, different views on the forests, on the meat, or whatever the topic is. And the case preferably also contains a proceeding history that can be told. The person from Ringsted managed this very well, explaining how the big afforestation project ended as a city park. If the history can be used to tell about something more general, it is even better. For instance, the Ringsted case is an example showing conflicts taking place elsewhere too"[IT16].

The local business peoples network managed to make the municipal council pay part of a minor afforestation project by contributing with private financing as well. At the Plant a Tree meeting on afforestation, the NGO representative from Ringsted regretted that they had to pay with private and municipal money, 'whereas in other places, people get state forests for free' [i.e. paid with state tax money]. The business peoples representative agreed in principle, but found it to be the only way to ensure action. *"This area [owned by the municipality] has been bare for 25 years and were likely to stay as such, because the municipality has to prioritise.*

But if the citizens want forest and want to use it, they also have to contribute to it" (MR110399), i.e. it is a question of give and take.

To summarise, there are diverging opinions as to what sources and types of influence were determining for the citizens in Ringsted not getting a major state afforestation project but instead a municipal park. Some, like the forest supervisor explains the lack of success with structural factors, whereas the NGOs tend to explain it by actors behaviour. The Outdoor Council NGOs as well as the forest supervisor agree though, on the need of network, time and patience in order to reach your objective. The informal dialogue with landowners is emphasised by the forest supervisor, whereas another NGO finds that the forest supervisor should initiate planned afforestation projects with a major meeting for all citizens, as they are also potentially affected and therefore have a right to be informed and heard. The forest supervisor perceives this confrontation strategy to have the opposite effect, i.e. that the landowners withdraw their eventual interest in afforestation. Different strategies were used to enhance participation. The local business people' s network used a give and take strategy, whereas e.g. members of the Plant a Tree Committee used the strategy of displaying the decision-making situation through use of third party, i.e. presenting the afforestation case at a general media and inviting journalists to take part in the meeting. Also within the committee, the strategies varied, as another member preferred the more discrete networking with neighbours and friends to enhance tree planting and afforestation.

10.3 User council influence – with comparison to the afforestation case

In the present section, the potentials of user council influence are discussed and illustrated through cases from the user council meetings, and supplemented with viewpoints from the afforestation case.

10.3.1 Who participates?

Chapter 7 showed that the local participants in state forest management and planning are primarily the state forest district staff and now also the user councils. Obviously, there is only access for a few actors in the user council. Besides DN and the Outdoor Council, the user councils include county officials, municipal politicians and representatives from Danish

Sports Association. Participants tend to be elderly and men, rather than young, and women, also following the user council survey in Chapter 5. The perceived representativity of participants was discussed in Chapter 8.

As discussed in Chapter 8, it is perceived that forestry as such has a low political saliency in people's mind. As long as things are as they use to be, people don't care. The low attendance to public meetings at Copenhagen State Forest Districts appear to confirm this impression. For instance, a public meeting on a sunny Sunday afternoon in September only had 24 participants (MR260999TEB). The forest supervisor takes it as an expression that people are satisfied with the current way forests are managed [IT2].

As expected then, afforestation makes more people participate. Many potentially affected land owners took part in the hearing process on the regional afforestation plan, together with different potentially affected interest groups, e.g. aviation clubs, agencies representing windmill interests, churches and archaeological interests. The private - municipal afforestation was initiated by a group of local business-people, fire-souls, which took on the responsibility of collecting private financing and prepare afforestation plans for the municipality. Similarly, the local church council decided to afforest some land. But as noticed by a farmer participating, - it did not catch common people's attention.

From participating in three meetings in Copenhagen state forest user councils it appeared that the forest district supervisor spoke much of the time, although also being open to listen to viewpoints and respond to them. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the Outdoor Council representatives tended to establish their own internal discussions, whereas one DN representative actively questioned what seemed to be predominant opinions about forest management and outdoor recreation. Representatives from municipalities tended to remain silent. The main issues were about outdoor recreation and very few issues were directly about biodiversity conservation, nature protection (soil/water) and hardly any were about production and/or economics.

10.3.2 Who has the decision authority?

In the user council case, the decision-authority remains by the state forest supervisor, as he and his staff operate within the rules of the Forest & Nature Agency and the budgetary restrictions given by the Governmental Board of Finance. As discussed in Chapter 9.5, the forest management plan is quite detailed. The forest supervisors find that it to gives sufficient elbowroom, whereas user council members are unsure as to exactly how much competence the district has and whether influence is more efficiently exercised by staying in good relations with the forest supervisor or by contacting the Forest Planning Division instead. Another problem can be which of different decision arenas to choose. For instance, an Outdoor Council representative from another forest district felt unconfident as where to seek influence, as his user council was only among a number of advisory groups at the forest district he belonged to (MR130698TEB).

The following case demonstrates how the *elbowroom* of Copenhagen State Forest District and, hence, the user council, *is limited by the (detailed) national strategies* and policies for state forest management, here in relation to establishing a forest playground.

The forest playground - Fulfilment of national goals versus local demands
The user councils have no formal decision competence. However, the forest supervisor asked for their opinion regarding the eventual placement of a playground in one of the forests. Both user councils as well as the forest staff were against establishing a playground at all (MR240496). At the next user council meeting, however, the forest supervisor announced the establishment of a forest playground, with reference to fulfilment of the obligations set forward in the Forest & Nature Agency's policy on outdoor activities (Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995). This decision was disapproved by more members (MR280198). The DN member recalls *"…that everyone was against it. And then it was just steamrolled through anyway. What influence do we then have?"*[IT8].

An Outdoor council member, however, was quite satisfied with the outcome:
"I thought it was okay, it was just like I wanted it. I really don´t understand how people can bet worked up over that. That occurs if one has a too rigid view of nature, saying: 'oh, when people visit the forest, they should study beetles and stare at fine trees and- oh, how funny, I can climb a branch' – really – the children would love a playground and, at the same time,

they will have a nature experience… Facilities in the forest can attract a lot of new people, families with kids, in particular...That can't destroy my nature experience anyway" [IT6].

10.3.3 Who defines what issues are subject for decision making?

As mentioned in Chapter 2, power is not only being exercised in the particular decision process. For some, problems may never reach the decision arena, whereas to others, decisions may well be taken but never implemented, or they may implemented to a less degree or differently than agreed upon. Such "filters" are important sources of power as well. Examples are

- when too much energy is spent on the democratic process and too little on implementation
- when a problem is rejected from agenda, as being private or too concrete
- when framework decisions are made and the implementation is left for officials
- when decisions are ambiguous in order to flexibility in implementation phase

Overcoming such 'filters', that in public systems may typically be guarded by officials, demands that participants have time, energy, ability to speak up, knowledge of procedures, and what position they have in the system. Consequently, we should study whom the gatekeepers are, where such filters appear, and whether actors have sufficient resources to overcome these filters (Christensen & Jensen 1986).

Access to setting the agenda

At the first user council meeting, the forest supervisor specified the competencies of the council and invited the members to suggest issues to put on the user council agenda, as well as to ask for additional meetings if considered needed (MR200995).

The national survey evaluation of the user councils also showed that the vast majority of council members were content with the access to setting issues on the agenda. Two members from Copenhagen state forest user councils were not, though. At the following user council meeting, the forest supervisor referred to these two answers. The meeting report, written by the forest district, says:

"The answers...surprised the forest supervisor, who made it clear, that those who wants a particular item on the agenda will get it – unless the forest district judges it unreasonable to spend the user council's time at discussing the subject, when the subject an be decided

through bilateral discussion/clarification. If anyone is dissatisfied with the judgement of the forest district, the item can, of course, come on the agenda.

No one stated to be dissatisfied – that is – to have answered in the survey not to be able to get items on the agenda" (MR080698).

Apparently, the forest supervisor is keen to have an open process, while at the same time, the direct way he aims at this may have the opposite effect. The forest supervisor can in principle use his authority to hinder issues on the agenda by referring to their being too detailed or solvable in bilateral discussions. From the present studies there is no evidence of this being practised in advance of decision-making. The problem is rather, that there is so long time between the meetings, that many decisions are made in between the meetings. A DN representative finds that only issues of secondary importance may eventually become objects for decision-making in the user councils. Many issues are only presented as announcements, not even for debate. This is supported by another DN representative:

"I went to the forest supervisor during the announcements. Two issues were announced. One was a fine architect plan for a nature guide centre. Here, I could see, that the final decision had already been made, so I concentrated my efforts to the other case, reestablishment of the (cultural-historical site, ed.) 'Mønterne'. So I wanted to talk with the forest supervisor about that. But he said something like: "That is under the item 'announcements', so you don´t have any influence on that!". And yet we talked about it. I guess he wanted to have our opinion anyway. That was actually weird... I wonder what legislation is behind this user council...I mean, if we are not allowed to express our opinion about the announcements, then we are merely legitimising decisions that have already been made" [IT8].

From that perspective, there is a perceived risk that the forest district may co-opt the user council, make them co-responsible for and legitimise already made decisions. As mentioned in Chapter 7, more members suggest that the user council can constructively be used to legitimise forest district decisions towards the Forest & Nature Agency, experiencing it already in relation to the publishing of popular forest management plans

Although the user council members have an opportunity to suggest issues for the agenda, they may lack resources for doing so. For instance, a DN representative tells that he seldom

suggests items for the agenda, as he is seldom in time (to have a meeting with other DN members), from the agenda arrives 8-14 days in advance of the meeting and to the meeting takes place [IT8]. A municipal representative though, recalls to have brought more than a few issues on the agenda. One issue was how to maintain the biking paths, another issue was on how to regulate the mountain bike traffic in the forest [IT7]. Also, the Outdoor Council strategy has been on the agenda as well as input from the county on the Act on Nature Conservation. Rather than time, the agenda setting may be determined by whether participants feel confidential enough about the council to bring an issue up for debate. In this sense, participation can be divided into the reactive and the proactive participation. The reactive participants support or protest against other participants'/the forest district's initiatives, whereas proactive participants take initiative and actively consider how the user council can be used as a means to further their purposes of participating, e.g. by bringing issues on the agenda.

The infrequent meetings provide a practical problem of agenda setting, though. At a seminar for Outdoor Council representatives in the state forest user councils, a member from another forest district's user council experienced the forest district staff to change opinion according to the issue. He suggested the following strategy: *"Listen to their viewpoints. Then ask the forest staff to make a note on it and postpone the case to the following meeting. In that way you lock them on their viewpoints..."*(MR130698). The risk is, however, that by the following meeting half a year later, the decision is made long ago.

The same Outdoor Council representative suggests his fellow representatives to make notes about particular issues and bring them upon the meeting agenda. *"I recently made a note about harmless traffic within the ... State Forest District, based on a review of legislation. I sent it to the forest supervisor. He got so scared that he sent it to Copenhagen [i.e. Forest & Nature Agency]. And now it was on the agenda on our recent user council meeting. But problem number one was that there was almost no time to go through the note, as the forest supervisor speaks 95 % of the time. Problem number two was that two out of three members have just started in the user council. Problem number three was that I couldn't figure out what was the forest supervisor's hidden agenda. The forest supervisor went through the note and came with a 'Salomon conclusion' that now we'd better go for an excursion to[a particular nature area] and talk it over...The fact is, that he is not keen about a nearby*

horseback riding school where up to 50 horses at a time may enter the nature area. It may be justified that the policy is different in that nature area. But as a public authority he has to argue on the basis of the real problem, following the Act on Public Administration. He has to argue professionally and demonstrate a relationship between the problems to solve and the means to use" (MR130698). In fact, his strategy to gain influence is to document and also display the decision-making system.

Meeting reports and ambiguous decisions

The national user council survey showed that most members find the meeting reports to reflect the main viewpoints brought forward at the user council meetings, see Chapter 5. By participating in three user council meetings and a public meeting it became clear that not all viewpoints are included in the meeting reports, although each topic and conclusions are. A municipal representative expresses the same opinion, i.e. that the meeting reports do not always contain all the viewpoints presented. But he *"is used to that, so it is perceived as a minor thing. Basically I [he] believe that the user councils have had a good start and they can become even better"* [IT7].

The user councils do not make decisions, but the advice they give are used by the forest supervisor to conclude on future actions, as it appears from the meeting reports. In most cases, the recommendations are clear, hereby also making it easier for the user council members to judge the accountability of the district. However, in a case about reducing the size of a forest where dogs can run without a leash, the recommendation was vague, obviously because it was also a contentious issue with a risk of not being able to implement the recommendation:

The dog forest – regulating 'hard' activities and user council competence

The district had considered to reduce the size of a 'dog forest', i.e. a designated forest area in which dogs are allowed to run around without a leash. This was discussed at a user council meeting, where *"There was a consensus that in general, dogs without a leash present a problem; that the owners have problems of controlling their dog in the dog forest; that there is a need for 'dog forests'"* (MR140197). The user council had agreed in the need to reduce the area designated as dog forest. In the user council meeting report it was expressed as: *"It was not decided that the dog forest in Tokkekøb Hegn should be reduced. But if the district finds it favourable to reduce the area, then the user council will support the decision"* (MR140197).

The forest area was next to an urban area, and the plans of reducing the size of the area for 'free dogs' resulted in loud protests. The forest supervisor decided to call in for a public meeting. At the following user council meeting he reported: *"Around 140 people came. We did not vote about it, of course, but 5 people supported the original decision to reduce the dog forest to half its original size. The rest thought it was a catastrophe. Therefore we decided to maintain the original size of the dog forest area. Only one person has afterwards called to complain about this... If the local people decided to have dogs without a leash it is all right. Then the roe deer will also be regulated and that will solve our problems with grazing in our new tree plantings"* (MR210198TEB).

An Outdoor Council representative argued that she thought it was also best not to force through the decision of reducing the area and, moreover, she found it hard to see how it should be effectuated. This made the forest supervisor ask her if she really meant it was a good decision to maintain the original size of the dog forest. To him, it was a lesson *"that we have to think it over before allowing the 'hard' activities, as it is difficult to take away rights again, once they have been given* (MR210198TEB). Looking back, he *"came as a new forest supervisor and found that this dog forest was in the wrong place [right next to a residential area]. But as the local people say it is okay, I can just say that this is what the users want. So I will write in the report that we maintain the original size of the dog forest"* (MR210198TEB). Another conclusion from the dog forest affair was that the Forest & Nature Agency misses some formal rules for public involvement that the forest supervisor could adhere to [IT2].

Another Outdoor Council representative considers the dog forests and the unorganised dog owners to be problematic and he supported the planned reduction, as the whole user council did [IT19]. He explained that the story started with readers' letters in the local newspaper and also sent to the forest supervisor, protesting against the dog forest. This initiated the call for a public meeting, where *"200 baying dog owners and 5 frightened non-dog owners"* came. He characterised the result as *"a 'Petterman-effect', i.e. where a public opinion is raised against the established systems, the organised associations etc. 'All you people from Copenhagen go home – don't come here and decide for us'. It was just like the cases we have also seen in Jutland, concerning [nature restoration of the stream] Skjernå, and the demonstration on [the island] Rømø [against regulation of activities in the Jutland Wadden Sea]... User council*

members also talked at the meeting, but we had to realise that it was not possible to change, due to the public pressure" [IT19].

The dog forest case has more implications. First, the essence of the story is that the user council apparently is not considered sufficiently representative or 'strong' enough to represent local interests when it comes to manifest conflict. Rather, those shouting loudest, the dog owners in the local area, will get their will through public protest. Second, the story reveals that the forest district misses tools or rules to manage such manifest conflicts. Third, the dog forest case indicated that the restricted conflicts in the user councils and in state forest management as such may be due to the recent Forest & Nature Agency policy to deliberately restrict the 'hard' activities and to prioritise the unorganised and soft users. The lesson learnt for the forest supervisor is to consider it much before enhancing the access of 'hard' activities. That is connected with a DN representative's main worry of a slide effect [IT5], i.e. that by giving way to one type of activity would lead to the other and, ultimately, to destroying the nature and silence qualities of the forest. The slide effect was discussed in relation to establishing the bird watching tower (MR240496; MR290197), establishing permanent stations for orienteering (MR200199TEB), and in relation to establishing permanent mountain bike tracks with the fear of enhancing the use of the forest for that purpose (MR210997).

10.4 What resources and strategies do the different participants have and use?

The opportunities for gaining influence can be considered in relation to participants' resources to act. Decision-authority remains by the state forest districts and Forest & Nature Agency as discussed above. Money and budget authority are other resources, as are also knowledge, negotiation skills, time, and network to other actors with resources. The different resources are discussed below, as they appear from the two cases. Knowledge is devoted particular attention as a resource in and barrier to participation, as outlined in Chapter 9.

With the available resources, participants use and experience various strategies to gain influence, as also demonstrated in the afforestation case in Chapter 10.2. Such strategies could be to

- make interests visible
- make conflicts of interests invisible

- mobilise others via. e.g. public debate (risk of diffusion of problem in more general debates)
- delimit the cause of the problem, the solution, privatise it
- co-opt participants, - make experts responsible
- include third party, e.g. make experts responsible
- deliberately delay a case, namely if part time participants (Christensen & Jensen 1986).

10.4.1 Time

As outlined in Chapter 5, perception of influence among all state forest user council members, was positively dependent on the number of meetings the respondents had participated in, obviously because influence basically requires access to the decision process.

None of the interviewed user council members spend much time on the user council at Copenhagen State Forest District, as there are only two meetings a year. The forest supervisor evaluates that considering the major, positive political value of having a user council, the time spent is very little. By having some of the active NGO representatives in the council, he saves time otherwise to be used for communicating with them, outside the council. In general, though, he thinks that the district is not dimensioned to all the contact with local users, each of them expecting individual treatment [IT2].

The DN representatives find that there are too few meetings. They find that the long time between each meeting results in a lot of decisions, which they are not involved in, not even just as advisors [IT8]. They prefer to be asked for advice during the decision processes, during the development of projects, rather than being informed about the final decisions. The current information could be via small informative letters, inviting the members to call the district, send a letter or meet them in the wood. As they say: *"Why not use the local resources, if you have some people who are interested in nature and possess some knowledge?"* [IT8]. Besides this current dialogue, the representatives would prefer 3-4 user council meetings per year, besides the public meetings [IT8].

As opposed to this, an Outdoor Council representative find the present meeting frequency adequate. The major challenge in his overall work in the Outdoor Council is to find the

strength to take on all the tasks coming up, because *"There is a tendency to establish councils everywhere, and the Outdoor Council is such a broad organisation that we are often automatically invited"* [IT6]. Another Outdoor Council representative notices, that *"…if you want influence, you also have to accept that it takes time"* [IT13].

The forest supervisor recognises the differing viewpoints. He believes that in particular 'the professionals', i.e. the full-time 'politicians' from the Outdoor Council and the municipality politicians, are busy people not wanting a higher meeting frequency, whereas he believes that DN would like more frequent meetings. This makes him conclude that two meetings per year suffice [IT2].

Obviously, the different perceptions of how many meetings are required are related to the scope of participating and what alternative sources of influence the participants have. For those participants aiming to influence state forest management at the local level, the user council meetings provide a legitimate and crucial occasion to question and affect current management practices, particularly to those members not having other connections to the forest district or the Forest & Nature Agency. For those participants aiming to improve opportunities for outdoor life in general, as e.g. the Outdoor Council, state forests are only one among different land owners and authorities to be affected, and outdoor life can be affected without going through the forest district, e.g. via campaigns or by affecting the counties to include outdoor life as part of their regional planning process, as in North Zealand [IT19].

Time as a strategy - Keep on - what is rejected today is adopted tomorrow
As the afforestation case showed, the time horizon may be decisive for success in reaching your goals or not. The forest supervisor took a long-term perspective on the afforestation opportunities around Ringsted, as to him it was no defeat having to wait 3-5 years or more to initiate afforestation, also because there were alternative areas appropriate to afforest. But also the Outdoor Council Representative finds that participation success requires a long time horizon, patience and keeping on. He says: *"After many years with this type of work you know that it doesn't suffice to say things once. You have to say it maybe ten times, and then suddenly you succeed. You may think: "Now do I really have to repeat myself once again. But that is the only way to participate. That is, to have some things you believe in, and you don't give up before the opposite has been proved"* [IT13].

10.4.2 Budget authority and access to money

The possibility of implementing user council advice is restricted by the budget of the district, as discussed in Chapter 8.6. To repeat, the forest supervisor finds that *"...our finances don't at all reflect the public demand. People would gladly accept an even bigger budget deficit, at least at this district...If you gave the user council decision competencies, there is no doubt that we would get much more management expenses"* [IT2]. However, the user councils may also be sources of additional funding, which then becomes a source of influence. For instance, the Outdoor Council allocates receipts from the State football polls to be used for research and activities to support outdoor life. Although there is no direct link between the county representatives and the board allocating the funds, this still may increase the influence of Outdoor Council representatives, also in the state forest user councils. For instance, these funds may support the establishing of nature schools, shelters or camp sites for boy scouts [IT13]. Similarly, the municipal politicians have potential influence with the political power they hold, including access to influence the municipal budget. As opposed to this, local NGOs as well as local DN representatives don't hold any potentials of contributing with additional funding, making them less attractive as compared to the Outdoor Council representatives and municipal politicians.

10.4.3 Formal rights related to the public system

As discussed in Chapter 8, participants possess different rights and resources each considered potential sources of influence. With big differences in the distribution of these resources, asymmetrical power relationships appear. Some of these resources are related to formal rights in the public system. For instance, the municipal politicians have decision power in relation to their own municipality, but the potential influence depends on whether the particular case affects their municipality. Similarly, DN representatives have the advantage as compared to other user council participants that they have a right to appeal decisions in relation to environmental acts, including the Forest Act and Act on Nature Conservation. The following case demonstrates one example of asymmetrical power relations between the user council members. The user council except for one DN representative supported that the district should establish a bird watching tower. The necessary dispensation from the Nature Conservation Act

was given, where after the disagreeing DN representative used the DN right to appeal decisions made according to the Act, although without success.

Bird watching tower – balance between recreation and conservation
As mentioned in Chapter 6, the district received a permit (Nature Conservation Act) from the county to establish a new bird-watching tower by Farum Lake in 1996 and the funding was approved by the Forest & Nature Agency. The tower had been discussed in the user council in advance, resulting in most of the user council members supporting the plans. The local DN representative was against it, though (MR240496), and used the DN right to appeal the decision to the Nature Complaints Board. The appeal was rejected and the tower allowed (MR290197). However, being out of the budgetary year 1996, the district did not succeed to get financial approval by the Agency again until 1998.

The forest supervisor's response to this appeal is that he 'expected the appeal and doesn't find it disloyal'. *"If the DN representative listens to but disagrees with the other members finding it to be a good idea, then the representative has a right to appeal the decision. Because it is not a deal/decision as such that is being made [in the user council]. On the other hand, you could have expected that the consensus among the 21 other user council members had made some impression, changed the other's viewpoint, but it didn't"* [IT2]. Besides, he finds the DN main office [secretariat] to let the case get out of all proportions by appealing the bird watching tower to the Nature Complaints Board: *"They couldn't point to any detrimental effects. I mean, if there had been some bird species that would disappear from the area or something like that. But they just didn't like the tower, they found it to disturb the forest. But DN also has to work for people coming into nature and enjoy it, and that was why we wanted the tower, - to give people a view into the forest of reeds"* [IT2]

The DN representative is aware of being the only one against the tower. Even the other DN representative supported it. The perceived problem wasn't the tower as such, but the particular location, as it was to be placed in a B-forest, right next to a EU-habitat area. *"And in spite of that [location] they thought that now people should have the tower, just to have something to walk to, not necessarily because they look for peace and silence, listening to birds and watching the flowers. Now people should just have a good trip because that bird watching tower is there* [IT5].

An Outdoor Council representative was satisfied that the appeal was rejected. *"I am against doing a lot for the birds and then keeping people far away not to allow them to see the birds. That DN doesn't want traffic in that part of the forest – let it be reserved for...[nature?] I don't follow that at all"* [IT6].

A municipal representative uses the case as an example why the user councils shouldn't have decisions competency, as he foresees several huge conflicts in prioritising among the recreational facilities. *"Most of us recommended the tower, whereas the local DN representative was against it...The argument was that it would attract more traffic, also depending on how broad the track to the tower would be. And that could, of course, be a point"* [IT7].

10.4.4 Negotiation skills

In Chapter 9 it was found that there seems to be agreement among the interviewed user council members as to what factors are needed to ensure good co-operation, even though the members disagree on the contents of co-operation. Informants find that the user councils provide a forum for open discussion. On the other hand, members as well as the forest supervisor point to the difficulties of some members having a political background whereas others have a more professional/administrative background, whereby they negotiate in different ways.

The informants were asked whether they could be interested in participating in a course about negotiation skills. But this had not much interest. As a DN representative said: *"We would rather let the arguments speak for themselves"* [IT8]. DN held its own seminar for user council representatives around the country. The DN representatives miss, however, a permanent staff from their own secretariat to assist them in relation to the user councils, rather than shifting personnel [IT8].

An Outdoor Council representative also rejects the idea of bringing people on a course to make them skilled in participating. *"The most important thing is, that people are committed to the thing they are elected to represent. And they should form their own opinion on what they*

are working to achieve". Simultaneously, though, the representative admits using a negotiation experience from his work, the so-called funnel method, based on keeping on asking until people can only answer yes or no. *You may be able to sell the idea [that way].* *But still, you need co-operation partners to make things come into reality* [IT13].

Although negotiation skills as such are not considered needed, a new DN representative stills sees a strategy to gaining influence by making alliances with the other DN representatives in the user councils. She suggests that in the future, the DN members should discuss the agenda in advance and agree on a common position towards the different items in order point out their viewpoints and to avoid mistakes during the meeting that would make them stand weaker [IT8].

10.4.5 Authority

Authority can be another resource to gaining influence. As an example, a DN representative believes that the forest supervisor is less responsive to the user council members than to other authorities, e.g. the museum being heard in relation to forest management planning, as well as the district's own nature guide:

"There is something stiff about the user council... For instance, the bird watching tower was only modified because the nature guide says so. That is how I perceive it. I don't believe they would have changed anything if only we had written to them and asked them to change the tower"[IT8]. This is continued by another DN representative: *"sometimes other boards appear to have more influence than we. Copenhagen Museum's Board, for instance, appears to have been listened more to than the user council in relation to forest management planning. They had influence on where to plant, whereas we were not able to get through with our viewpoints...[It is because…] they are also an authority, just like the Forest [district]"* [IT8].

10.4.6 Network

Some, like the forest supervisor, the Outdoor Council representative and, eventually, the DN representative also meet in the county's Green Council, whereas some DN members are active in relation to their municipalities. These members belong to organisations that also take part in forest policy making at a national level, and they can get support from their national boards and secretariat . These lateral and vertical relations are likely to provide them with stronger

indirect sources of influence than, e.g. the local, environmental NGO without a national bond, or the NGO without activity in national forest policy making. The municipal representatives also miss direct activity on the national level of forest policy, as the national federation of municipalities have not been active in those matters. Rather, the municipal representatives have strong, local influence potentials, whenever the state forest or other participants depend on the municipality's co-operation, e.g. in establishing contiguous networks of hiking tracks, or in stimulating/regulating the use of forests for children's nature education. This is materialised in, e.g. co-operation between state forest districts and municipalities on nature school management.

An Outdoor Council representative emphasises network as a precondition for obtaining your goals: *"I wanted camp sites for boy scouts in the new afforestation area. The forest district supported the idea and pointed out this place. I know the local boy scouts associations, as my son is also a boy scout. In this sense there is a contiguous network – in almost everything you do. That is a precondition to get things off the ground. If you have a network and everyone agree that it is a good idea, then things succeed pretty fast"* [IT13].

As mentioned formerly, DN representatives are unique in the sense that they have the nation-wide organisational, local network, 'being nature's eye', as an informant said [IT13]. If used, this provides the organisation with extensive knowledge and documentation of what is going on, also in relation to state forest management. Depending on the resources to gather this knowledge, DN can then use this information nationally to affect the policies of the Forest & Nature Agency.

More user council members find that the major accomplishment of user councils is that they have made acquaintance with the forest district staff. In continuation of this, some members also find that they can most efficiently influence state forest management or otherwise reach their objectives by taking personal contact to the forest supervisor [IT6; IT13].

The following case demonstrates how a user council member manages to use information from a public meeting together with his political network to further a general aim of abolishing pesticides use, by making the Minister of Environment & Energy abolish the use of pesticides at Copenhagen State Forest District.

Abolition of pesticides use

The Forest & Nature agency has a policy of abolishing the use of pesticides on their areas. The forest district supervisor agreed in principle, but was not keen to totally abolish them, foreseeing a loss of income on Christmas trees and increased difficulties of maintaining the forest roads and fighting hogweed (MR290197). However, most of the district is designated as groundwater protection area.

During a public meeting (MR210997), a municipal politician, member of the user council, learnt about this use of pesticides on the district areas. He brought the information to a local Social Democrat member of the Parliament and asked her to complain about this practice towards her colleague, the Minister of Environment & Energy. She did, with the result that the Minister ordered the Forest & Nature Agency to stop with this practice at Copenhagen district. The municipal politician tells: *"We were on an excursion with the ranger. Already at the start of the meeting I told them that I was aware of the Forest's use of pesticides and that we wanted it to be abolished. The ranger said ' we will look at it', and we went on. We then arrived at a Christmas tree plantation where you could smell the pesticides, and the ranger said honestly that here they had to use Round Up in order to be able to grow nordmann fir. I took up the case, and sent a letter to our member of the parliament. The reason I did was that from that plantation you literally had a view to the biggest drinking water reservoir in the county, i.e. 'Søndersø'. Our opinion is why take the risk of using possibly harmful pesticides a few hundred meters from there? Fortunately, the Minister changed the practice"* [IT7].

The action was part of a more comprehensive strategy to abolish all use of pesticides:
"The pesticide case has many citizens' interest but they may not consider where to raise the issue. For many years, the Social Democrats in our municipality have tried to halt the use of pesticides in the municipal area management... We have now finally succeeded but that is not enough. Then the Forest should stop, then the nearby airport, the golf course, and the farmers renting municipal farm land. That is the strategy" [IT7].

The forest supervisor finds the ban of pesticides use to be an effect of the user council's existence. As expressed by the forest supervisor: *"I don't believe he would have had that information about our use of pesticides if he was not in our user council. So in that way, the*

user council is a source of indirect influence, as they get information that they would not have got otherwise. Well, they would, if they had asked. But they wouldn't have had the fantasy to ask, you know" [IT2].

10.4.7 Knowledge of procedures, of law and professional knowledge

Two DN representatives find, that the most efficient way to influence is to be as informed as possible, and to keep on protesting, e.g. against use of pesticides on leased farm land owned by the state forest district. They consider their representation in the user council as very important, as the only information they get about the forest district is through the user council, as they do not have any personal contacts to the Forest and Nature Agency [IT8].

The issue of knowledge and information as sources of influence was discussed in detail in Chapter 9. From that analysis it became clear that some knowledge is difficult to obtain. For instance, the forest management plan is considered too technical, even by the Forest & Nature Agency. On the other hand, the Agency is not ready to spend money on producing a popular, more accessible version. At Copenhagen district, though, the forest supervisor decided to provide the council members with excerpts of the forest management plan and got the user council's support to continue efforts to produce a popular version of the plan. To the nature interested participants, the forest management plan is important whereas to, e.g. Outdoor Council representatives focusing on the overall strategies to improve public access, the plan as well as silvicultural insight is considered less interesting. These differences also reveal that different user groups discuss different issues (e.g. nature versus outdoor activities), on different levels (principles versus actual cases) and with different terminologies (e.g. silviculture vs. biology). Although some groups may have enough knowledge to participate, they may fail to benefit from it, if the rest of the group discusses at another level or about different issues. A DN representative sighed that sometimes it seemed like a hard task to take care of the environmental issues. First, *"I think that we are the only ones representing nature interests...we get much closer to management practices. I guess we consider the management as nature... [Therefore] we get much easier in conflict with the forest service as we think that everything has to be or could be more natural. It takes much more communication at user council meetings, if you really want the other members to understand. You have to be prepared to explain people that 'here is some very unique nature because this particular*

seldom plant grows here, and the other there, and therefore it isn't indifferent how you manage the area...' Having to explain that, I think is a heavy burden" [IT8].

As a parallel to this, an Outdoor Council representative pointed to the need of scientific documentation to support decision-making, as discussed in Chapter 9. On the other hand, he found that the absolute amount of knowledge wasn't decisive for the ability to participate and gain influence. From his viewpoint, the most important is to form your own opinion and then let it up to the others to convince you that you are wrong. As opposed to him, another user council members found that it took a lot of reading and listening on silvicultural knowledge to dare to and be able to participate. Again, it depends on what type of interests the participants take care of, as well as whether participants consider knowledge as a resource in negotiation or as a source of universal truth on which to found decision-making.

10.5 Local influence in a national and international context

The aim of the previous sections in this chapter has been to study whether, when and how participation in state forest management and planning is perceived to enhance participant influence. The present section is devoted to discussing this influence in a national and, even, international perspective. First, it is discussed how local conflicts over afforestation emerge from international construction of the problem. Second, the user councils' role is briefly considered in relation to national forest policy making.

10.5.1 Afforestation –conflicts created at international and national levels to be solved again at local, implementation level?

One of the rationales for participation in planning is to ensure local commitment and 'sense of ownership' to plans, hereby enhancing the likelihood of their actual implementation. For instance, Burby & May (1998) demonstrated gaps in local commitment to the environmental goals of higher level governments in US and Australia, and suggested build-up of supportive local political constituencies, e.g. by collaborative planning with affected stakeholders. Sometimes, however, the problem can be considered the opposite: There may be local commitment, but the manifest local problems originate from unsolved, higher level governmental conflicts, i.e. lack of common 'political ownership' at a higher level. For

instance, Hein (2000) argues that unsolved problems and conflicts between environmental, economic and social concerns within international forest policy, as reflected in the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF) and Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF), are caused by these conflicts not being solved at the level of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD). From this perspective, forest policy problems have to be solved at the level of CSD, within the frame of the Biodiversity Convention or, even, among World Bank (WB) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Hein 2000).

The afforestation case can be considered in a similar perspective. The conflict between farmers' need of land for spreading manure and the afforestation ambition is, basically, a result of EU agricultural policies to restrict excess agricultural production, as outlined in Chapter 6. At the Danish ministerial level, the harmonisation requirements are managed by the Ministry of Agriculture, whereas the afforestation policy today is managed by the Ministry of Environment & Energy. The Ministry of Agriculture and its associated regional Lands commissions use their influence to ensure best possible business opportunities for farmers', whereas the Ministry of Environment & Energy uses its influence to ensure best possible environment. The Ministry of Agriculture regulates agriculture including harmonisation requirements at a property level, but with a non-governable implementation at a regional level. The Ministry of Environment & Energy regulates afforestation on a regional level, but with a non-governable implementation on a property level. As a result, this creates conflicts as well as opportunities for the individual landowner.

The question is whether public participation presents a resource in itself, - if it is a potential source for innovative problem solving, an essential factor for developing strategies for environmentally sustainable development as suggested by Læssøe (2000). Taking an integrative perspective, it seems relevant to use participation to help solve the conflict, as it provides a potential for new, common interests emerging. This was the viewpoint of the Outdoor Council representative in the afforestation case. He believed that the farmers decided to sell land, because he convinced them of the advantages. The protesting farmer in Ringsted, though, merely considered it as a battle of interests, from an aggregate perspective. And to him, the problem belonged to the parliamentary level, not having considered the costs of afforestation to the farmers.

10.5.2 Locating user council influence on the national forest policy map

Although a power elite as such cannot be identified, the stakeholder representation in the various boards and institutions associated with forestry does give us a hint about the potential power resources that actors may possess (See Appendix 3.2). Looking through the different permanent, advisory and governing boards at regional and national levels, the main players in relation to forest and afforestation management are Ministry of Environment and Energy (Forest & Nature Agency), Ministry of Agriculture (Directorate for Food, Fisheries and AgroBusiness) and associated Lands Commissions, Agricultural associations, Danish Nature Conservation Association, and the Outdoor Council. Danish Forest Society, Danish Land Development Service and Danish Forestry Extension are main actors in relation to private forest owners, together with the business interest representatives in the committees to support wood product and greenery innovation. Moreover, the Danish Forest & Landscape Research Institute and the Veterinary & Agricultural University also occupy seats as 'experts' in various councils, e.g. the Forest Council and the Nature Council.

Looking at the more recent national initiatives to renew the forest policy debate, World Wildlife Fund as well as Nepenthes play a significant role, although they don't occupy any seats in the aforementioned permanent boards and councils. They have managed to gain influence through co-operation in ad hoc advisory boards and certification processes, and through confrontation, with active use of counter-knowledge, as discussed in Chapter 9, and use of the news media to question current forestry paradigms.

From this perspective, national forest policy (also affecting state forest management) can best be characterised as a corporate network of NGOs and public authorities, with WWF and Nepenthes as new, environmentally progressive members of the club. The different actors disagree on some issues, e.g. type and the criteria to be contained in a certification process, whereas they join efforts to defend other issues towards the rest of society. This became clear by the end of 1999, when the Danish forests suffered from comprehensive stormfelled forest areas. This led the forest owners to claim for public, financial support to recover from the damages and to plant new forests, efforts that gained broad support also from WWF and Nepenthes. Similarly, at a Forest & Nature Agency conference about the future forests (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000) with broad participation of NGOs, public and private actors, a speaker suggested, that the battle should not take place between actors within the forest sector, as

everyone there were more or less green. Rather, they should stand shoulder by shoulder to defend forests towards society. The Director General of WWF accordingly suggested tax exemptions to compensate private forest owners' investments in nature conservation, rather than to tax the added amenity value of the property, as it is currently exercised.

A workshop at the same conference revealed consensus between private forest owners and state forest management, on the current difference in access rights to public and private forests. The private forest owners (repr. by Danish Forest Owners' Society) have no interest in increased public access to their forests, as that is expected to reduce their elbowroom. The Forest & Nature Agency, on the other hand, consider the widened public access rights to public forests to be a major legitimisation for existing. Meanwhile, user council members from two state forest districts kept on asking, without getting an answer: *"what will it take to make private forest owners open their forests to the same extent as public forests?"* (Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000).

Taking the user councils at Copenhagen State Forest District as an example, the state forest user councils have the DN and Outdoor Council representatives in common with the national forest policy network. The rest are 'outside' the national forest policy network, i.e. the municipalities, the counties, Danish Sports Association and the Defence. Obviously, this provides some potentials as well as some weaknesses. From one perspective, the user councils' role may be considered confined to affecting state forest district output, whereas the national forest policy network is concerned with forest policy formulation. In forestry, however, the 'machinery' and the 'output' is to some extent identical – i.e. the trees, the forest. Similarly, the multiple use 'factory', i.e. the forest, cannot be considered isolated from its physical (landscape) and administrative (counties, municipalities) environment. As long as the user councils only discuss location of benches and forest playgrounds this is not actual. But it is for those wanting to discuss the biological or production aspects of state forest management, as well as those discussing public access to contiguous tracks across forests, countryside and the cities. Therefore, also the premises of the 'production', i.e. the underlying forest policy, necessarily affect the nature and character of the benefits and services that the user councils are asked to consider, whether it is biodiversity or outdoor recreation opportunities. From that perspective, the user councils are not merely taking standpoints on forest output, but also on the forest policy content. Then, user councils could potentially

provide empirically based input to forest policy (re-)formulation by pointing at concrete problems and conflicts in current forest management and use them to point at more general conflicts and new ways of solving them. The ban of pesticides was one example where as participant thought beyond the geographical and administrative forest district boundaries. To stimulate such more interaction between considering policy output and input could be stimulated through a more interactive, problem-oriented dialogue in the user councils than are currently experienced.

10.6 Conclusions

In the present Chapter, it was demonstrated that state forest user councils at their outset provide quite restricted opportunities of influence. The user councils are only advisory, the meetings are infrequent and to some, only subordinate issues come upon the agenda. In this case, those managing to think beyond the geographical and administrative forest district boundaries gain influence. To them, user councils may be sources of information and network building to be used to exert influence in a more long term perspective or via other channels.

As an indirect effect of its policy, the Forest & Nature Agency is unwilling to share any power with the local users over state forest management and utilisation. The policy is, as also the forest supervisor expressed it, 'to deliver forests of a certain standard', adhering to the central rules and regulations of forest management as well as outdoor facilities, as the example with the forest playground showed. The influence that participants gain therefore depends on the willingness of the forest supervisor and the proactive strategies of the participants.

It is difficult to point out what actors actually gain influence and who doesn't. Some actors are provided with more resources from the outset. For instance, DN representatives have a right to appeal decisions according to the Nature Conservation Act and the Forest Act. Similarly, the private land owners could veto against sale of land for afforestation. Municipal politicians have political power, Outdoor Council representatives have the mandate from their member organisations, and some participants may possess special knowledge. The case studies showed that these resources were used, but their usefulness depended on the participation strategy as well. Having a right to appeal or veto against decisions points towards reactive participation that may not be the most efficient way to gain influence in the long term. An alternative strategy was based on co-operation in networks, long term visions and keeping on. The

afforestation case demonstrated that particular results are likely to be caused by many different sources of influences and occasions, and in such cases, the determinant of success in getting influence is to keep on in the different arenas to which you have access. What is rejected today may be adopted next year. And what may be an end result in the present situation may appear to be an opening for a new decision process in the future. In this concrete cases the Outdoor Council representatives seem to be the most trained in using such a strategy, both because each of them have several years of background in NGO activities, and their position is based on the ability to network and create consensus or compromise among the many different organisations within the Outdoor Council umbrella. This ability more than the difference between DN representatives concern for nature management and Outdoor Council representatives' concern for outdoor activities seem likely explanations to their perceptions of having gained influence or not.

11

Conclusions

The purpose of the dissertation was twofold:

(1) To develop a conceptual framework for participation as a phenomenon and policy instrument by year 2000, with Danish state forest and natural resources management as an example.

(2) To evaluate the user councils' function and whether they fulfil the aim of enhancing local users' influence on state forest management and utilisation.

11.1 Conceptualisation of participation

The conceptualisation of participation in forest and natural resources management was based on analysis of participation as a concept in theory, as a policy concept, and as a practice. In Chapter 2, it was studied how participation is conceptualised in theory. Chapter 3 provided an overview of how participation has evolved as a concept in Danish and international forest policy, and Chapter 7 presented an empirically grounded conceptualisation of participation.

Participation in theory – and related to the empirical dissertation studies

Participation is defined in different ways depending on whether we take a citizen or an administration perspective. From a citizen perspective, participation is linked to the power redistributive or communicative effects, e.g. as *"activities that affect formulation, adoption and implementation of public policies and/or that affect the formation of political communities in relation to issues or institutions of public interest"* (Andersen et al. 1993:32). From an administration perspective, participation is defined according to its relationship and contribution to a given management process and outcome, e.g. *"public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs, and values are incorporated into governmental decision-making...with the overall goal of better decision-making"* (Creighton 1992: 2-3). This distinction is decisive for what is

considered participation and what is not. For instance, protest actions are considered participation from a citizen perspective, whereas it is not from an administration perspective.

Literature on participation is either prescriptive, in terms of describing ways of doing participatory planning, or it is descriptive, studying participation in planning/policy/practice as in the present dissertation. Studies on participation can be descriptive in the sense of aiming to understand and conceptualise participation as a phenomenon. This can be done through an inductive, qualitative research approach as exercised in Chapter 7 or it can be done by measuring the diversity and intensity based on an existing theoretical framework, e.g. through surveys. Explanatory studies on participation may aim to explain what factors cause participation. For instance, through survey analysis it has been found that the grassroots participation in Danish society during the 1970s can largely be explained by the mobilisation of the new middle-layer of young, well-educated people, whereas, e.g. the value theory used by Inglehart to explain participation in Sweden did not find empirical support for Danish conditions. Chapter 7 provided an understanding of the motivation factors causing participation, whereas no attempts were made to explain the exact causal relationships between motivation and actual participation.

Other explanatory studies investigate the causal relationship between participation and its effects in relation to specific issues. Theory based evaluation studies belong to this category, as these studies assume a relationship between participation and the investigated effect. Five different theoretical perspectives to understand and evaluate participation were presented in Chapter 2, i.e. a power perspective, a democracy perspective, an empowerment perspective, an efficiency perspective and a regulation perspective. Recalling the citizen versus the administration definitions on participation, the citizen perspective would tend to focus on power redistribution and democracy effects, whereas the administration perspective would tend to focus on how participation affects managerial efficiency and regulation capacity. The user council survey analysis presented in Chapter 5 is such a study, assuming particular relationships between participation and influence. However, evaluation studies can also be based on the participants' own criteria, i.e. asking them by what criteria their participation should be measured. This has not been the focus of the present dissertation. Some indications of participants' own success criteria are given in Chapter 7, however, as participants' purposes of participating are outlined: (1) Some purposes are aimed at the horisontal relationships

with other people, aiming to affect other people's understanding, preferences and/or behaviour. For instance, a purpose was to inform and enrich other people with nature experiences. Another purpose was to be together with other people, and to enhance social integration in the neighbourhood; (2) Other purposes are to influence decision-makers somehow, a vertical relationship. Besides influence, people participate in order to reach specific objectives, e.g. to co-ordinate use and management of forests and natural resources among users as well as among different public authorities. From that perspective it should be evaluated whether they find that these specific objectives are furthered through their participation. The empirical evaluation studies in the present dissertation are devoted to evaluating participation in relation to opportunities of gaining influence, but also referring to the other theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2. This was carried out in Chapter 5 and in Chapters 8 - 10, studying perceptions of representativity, and perceptions of resources and strategies to gain influence through participation, paying particular attention to knowledge as a premise for gaining influence.

Participation in Danish forestry to serve as the internationally good example

Studying the general development in participation in Danish society, Danish forestry can be considered to adapt to the general trends as, e.g. user boards and user councils became widely used in the modernisation of the public sector during the 1980s and 1990s in order to ensure efficient public service. Studying the governmental policies on forests, though, the need for participation is not legitimated with reference to Danish societal trends, say citizen rights. Rather, the main reason is an ambition to meet the requirements laid down in international conventions and agreements, as outlined in the sustainable forest strategy from 1994. Here, the Ministry of Environment & Energy declared the political goal to 'enhance public and NGO participation in forest and afforestation policy, planning and management', aiming to serve as the good, Danish example towards other countries, including the tropical countries. In Chapter 3, the historical background for enhancing participation is considered in relation to an international/tropical as well as Danish forest policy context. The conclusions are, that the forest policy contents converge, insofar as Danish as well as international forest politics are all concerned with multiple forest benefits, economics, bio-diversity conservation, groundwater and soil protection, and forests as CO^2-sinks. Also, the policy instruments tend to converge, e.g. the extensive debate about use of certification. In this context, participation comes in as a phenomenon, partly being considered a policy instrument to reach

instrumental as well as institutional purposes of forestry, i.e. to ultimately improve the optimal output as well as to provide legitimacy to the system, and provide not only the optimal output but also the right output as perceived by the affected parties in forest management.

Recalling the efficiency framework presented in Chapter 2, from an instrumental perspective, international forest policy documents consider participation to contribute to more efficient output by integrating local knowledge in management regimes, enhance technology transfer and capacity-building, avoid adverse conflicts, and create public awareness about the need for environmental conservation. From an institutional perspective, participation is considered to enhance the build-up of a common purpose of forest management and conservation, legitimacy by enhancing equitable access to decision-making in terms of gender, indigenous people, local communities, etc. Hereby, the process also can take into account and respect the local, traditional knowledge, life-styles and needs.

In comparison to the multiple, international recommendations on the value of participation, participation only recently was considered a necessary instrument in Danish forest policy. By the 1980s there was a perceived need to enhance public awareness and understanding of forestry as a business. Later on, participation was motivated with the need to enhance public, environmental awareness and sense of responsibility towards environmental conservation, as well as an ambition to create public commitment to state forestry and the Forest & Nature Agency.

The policy on participation in Danish forest politics cannot legitimately serve as the good example in relation to, e.g. tropical forestry, simply because the historical context is different. The introduction of the forest reserve regulations around year 1800 and the physical separation of forests from the environment by means of fences at that time, made it possible to exclude communities' tenure rights to the forests and restrict the use rights to those of the land owner. As compared to this, tropical forests are eco-social complexes, where people live by and, to some extent, from the forest. As mentioned in Chapter 3, many countries nationalised their forests in the second half of the 20. Century, causing controversy between people's access to exercise their traditional rights and governmental use of the land. In this context, participation can be considered a way to partly regain control over lost rights of significant importance to livelihood.

That Danish forestry fails to serve as the good, international example does not necessarily mean that participation in forest management is considered an irrelevant issue.

Participation as a practice in relation to Danish state forest management

Studying the two different cases of participation, a state forest user council and an afforestation process, it is characteristic that participation takes place in numerous ways and under numerous conditions, of which the established procedures for participation are only a few, and involving quite limited degrees of power sharing. At the same time, though, the intensity in participation is low. In relation to forest management at a local/regional level, it is the same old crowd (mainly DN and Outdoor Council representatives) participating to defend interests towards decision-makers. But even more, they participate with the aim to affect user behaviour, share nature knowledge and experiences with fellow citizens and co-ordinate activities among different public authorities. A broader range of potentially affected stakeholders participates in relation to afforestation, including, e.g. land owners, windmill associations, and churches. In the hearing process, they participate to defend their interests, whereas some also participate, e.g. to enhance afforestation for the common good or even to enhance social integration in the neighbourhood. State forest user councils deviate from other forms of participation by providing a formal forum for simultaneous dialogue among different actors specifically about state forest management. On the other hand, the user councils depend on the NGO and other user council members' active participation to contribute with knowledge as well as to represent and disseminate relevant information and opinions to their support base. The forest staff is mainly concerned with participation as a means to enhance managerial efficiency, by providing input in local demands to forest management, by enhancing participants' mutual understanding of the conflicting demands to forest management, by providing feed back on the legitimacy of current forest district management. The user councils as such are also considered to strengthen legitimacy, having a positive signal function.

11.2 Evaluation of participation in terms of power redistribution

The state forest user councils were started in 1995 with the aim to enhance user influence on state forest management. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 3, forests are both close and distant to people's daily life. Forests are frequently used for outdoor activities and they are an integral part of our

worldview. Moreover, the population ultimately owns the state forests. On the other side, forestry as a sector is professionalised, dealing with complex decision processes due to biological interdependencies and a disproportionate relationship between the long 'production' horizon versus the short term demands for the multiple, material and immaterial forest benefits. In the evaluation of participation, specific attention was therefore given to the issue of power and how it links to the use of knowledge, as it becomes a key to understanding and acting in a professionalised, complex environment as forestry decision-making is.

In Chapter 10 it was concluded that the user councils are considered as a success, by NGOs as well as the Minister of Environment & Energy. There is a general satisfaction with the existence and function of the user councils, following the guidelines. As opposed to this, the perceived opportunities of gaining influence on state forest management are considered sparse. The perceived problems are by some too few meetings, that too much time is spent on one way information, and that only subordinate issues are brought up for discussion. Clearly, the DN representatives are most critical in terms of whether they gain influence or not. The main accomplishment of user councils in terms of influence is, that they (1) provide participants with new information about state forest management; (2) provide a forum for simultaneous dialogue among different interests in forest management and utilisation, also providing opportunities for networking. The participants have different amounts and types of resources that may help them in gaining influence, e.g. rights to appeal decisions, special knowledge, or access to additional funding. This is not sufficient to judge what actors gain most influence, though. Participation strategies may be just as important. Two main strategies of participation were identified, i.e. a reactive and a proactive participation. The reactive participation depends much on resources, e.g. to counteract the effect of decisions, whereas the proactive strategy sets out a target and continue to forward it by given occasions, in different arenas, relying on network and patience as partners. Being seated in a user council without decision competence, the proactive strategy becomes more essential than the reactive strategy. From this it seems that the most successful participants are those who manage to think beyond the geographical and administrative borders of the state forest district and consider user councils as only one among various places to exert influence to reach specific objectives.

From a democracy perspective, the user councils are not considered a threat to equitable forest management, in so far as they are not given any decision competence and in so far as any significantly deviating demands are rejected with reference to the detailed Agency policies. Looking at the user council composition, they may be balanced, as suggested by the state forest supervisor, but they are not representative, neither in a socio-demographical context nor in terms of interests. More members find a lack of nature conservation interests, and one also misses landscape aesthetics representation. From an outside view, there is also a lack of members representing prodution and financial interests. The question is whether user councils are of any relevance at all. In Chapter 8, three situations are given, through which user councils are legitimated: (1) When the specific problems go beyond the existing policies and knowledge, thereby providing a potential for feed-back to the political system; (2) when new stakeholders enter the arena, with new viewpoints and new knowledge, as currently the municipal politicians; (3) when conflicting knowledge or use of research results appear, as demonstrated at a national level by WWF in scorecards and forest books. The future potentials of state forest user councils as advisory councils are to be found in developing one or more of these three options, either by changing the composition of the user councils or by actively designing the user council meetings to stimulate participants' agenda setting, interactive dialogue among all participants on concrete problems, and use of knowledge taking different perspectives on forest management. Fundamentally, it has to be reconsidered what the purposes of the state forest user councils actually are. As it is now, the purpose to provide local users with influence on state forest management and utilisation is not possible to meet, given the demands may deviate from the Agency guidelines and regulations pertaining on state forest management.

References

Act no. 169/1953. *Danmarks Riges Grundlov (Grundloven), Lov nr. 169 05/06 1953.* [Constitution Act].

Act no. 571/1985. *Forvaltningsloven, Lov nr. 571, 19/12 1985* [Act on Public Administration].

Act no. 572/1985. *Lov om offentlighed i forvaltningen (Offentlighedsloven), Lov nr. 572 af 19/12 1985* [Act on Access to Public Records].

Act no. 292/1994. *Lov om aktindsigt i miljøoplysninger, Lov nr. 292, 27/04 1994* [Act on Access to Environmental Information].

Act no. 959/1996. *Bekendtgørelse af Skovloven, Lov nr. 959, 02/11 1996* [Forest Act].

Act no. 114/1997. *Bekendtgørelse af lov om jagt- og vildtforvaltning, Lov nr. 114, 28/01 1997* [Act on Hunting and Wildlife Management].

Act no. 429/1997. *Lov om regionale faglige kulturmiljøråd, Lov nr. 429, 10/06 1997* [Act on Councils on the Cultural Environment]

Act no. 835/1997. *Bekendtgørelse af lov om naturbeskyttelse, Lovbkg. nr. 835 1. November 1997* [Act on Nature Conservation].

Act no. 447/2000. *Lov om ændring af visse miljølove. Implementering af Århuskonventionen m.v., Lov nr. 447 af 31. maj 2000* [Act on change of certain environmental acts].

Agersnap, T. 1992. Consensus conferences for technological assessment. *Proceedings of the 3rd European congress on technology assessment, technology and democracy*, Vol 1, 4-7 November 1992. Teknologinaevnet, Copenhagen. Pp. 45 –53.

Amdam, J. J. Barstad & G.M. Olsen 2000. *Kvifor skal vi avverke skog? Om årsaker til manglande skogavverkning på Vestlandet* [Why should we fell forest? Reasons for lack of thinning of forests in Vestlandet]. Møreforsking Volda & Høgskulen i Volda, Volda.

Andersen, I. (red.) 1990. *Valg af Organisationssociologiske metoder - et kombinationsperspektiv* [Choosing methods of organisation sociology – a combinatory perspective] Samfundslitteratur, København.

Andersen, J., A-D. Christensen, B. Siim & L. Torpe 1993. *Medborgerskab. Demokrati og politisk deltagelse* [Citizenship. Democracy and political participation]. Systime, Herning.

Andersen, J.G., J. Hoff, H.P. Bang, L. Torpe, E. Sørensen, J. Torfing, B.M. Christensen & M. Madsen 1997. *Demokrati fra neden - hverdagens politiske praksis. Projektbeskrivelse* [Democracy from below - everyday political praxis. Project description]. Demokratiprojektet. Arbejdspapir 1/1997. Københavns Universitet, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Aalborg Universitet, COS, Handelshøjskolen i København.

Andersen, I-E. & B. Jæger 1999. Danish participatory models. Scenario workshops and consensus conferences: towards more democratic decision-making. *Science and Public Policy* 26: 331-340.

Andersen, J. & L. Torpe (red.) 1994. *Demokrati og politisk kultur. Rids af et demokratisk medborgerskab* [Democracy and political culture. On democratic citizenship]. Systime, Herning.

Arendt, H. 1958. *The human condition*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. (Cited in Kristensen 1998).

Arnstein, S.R. 1969. A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 35: 216-224.

Asbirk, S. & S. Søgaard (Eds.) 1991. Rødliste ´90- særligt beskyttelseskrævende planter og dyr i Danmark. [The 1990 Red Data List of threatened species in Denmark]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Auken, S. 1994. Høringsregler også for statens arealer. [Hearing procedures also for state owned areas]. *Morgenavisen Jyllandsposten* 2 March 1994: 8.

Auken, S. 1998. Brugerråd for skovene er en succes [The forest user councils are a success]. *Kalundborg Folkeblad* 4 March 1998.

Barber, B.J. 1984. *Strong democracy. Participatory politics for a new age*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Barnes, S.H. & M. Kaase 1979. *Political Action. Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Sage Publications, London.

Behan, R.W. 1994. Multiresource Management and Planning with EZ-IMPACT. *Journal of Forestry* 92 (2): 32-36.

Berg, A.E. van den, C.A.J. Vlek, & J. F. Coeterier 1998. Group differences in the aesthetic evaluation of nature development in plans: a multilevel approach. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 18: 141-157.

BKG no. 518/2000. *Bekendtgørelse af lov om planlægning, Lovbkg. 518, 11/06 2000* [Act on Planning].

BKG no. 836/2000. *Bekendtgørelse om offentlighedens inddragelse ved store naturforvaltningsprojekter, Lovbkg. nr. 836, 4.September 2000* [Regulation on public involvement in relation to major nature management projects].

Bonnicksen, T.M. 1985. Initial decision analysis (IDA): a participatory approach for developing resource policies. *Environmental Management* 9: 379-392.

Boon, T.E. 1998. *Pilot Report Denmark. SNS project 59 Public participation as a means to sustainable forest management*. Royal Veterinary & Agricultural University, Frederiksberg. (Unpublished working paper).

Boon, T.E. & F. Helles 1999. Descriptive indicators of sustainable forest management. In: Helles, F., P. Holten-Andersen, & L. Wichmann (eds.) 1999. *Multiple use of forests and other natural resources. Aspects of Theory and Application*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. Pp. 23-33.

Boon, T.E. & K. Hollender 1996. *Bæredygtigt skovbrug i Norden. Oversigt over forskning om og retningslinier for bæredygtigt skovbrug* [Sustainable forestry in the Nordic Countries. Overview of research and guidelines for sustainable forest management]. Nord 1996:27. Nordisk Ministerråd, København.

Boon, T.E. & H. Meilby 2000. Enhancing public participation in state forest management: a user council survey. *Forestry* 73: 155-164.

Bramsnæs, A. 1997. *VVM i Praksis. Evaluering af VVM-redegørelser – og perspektiver for udvikling* [EIA in practice. Evaluation of EIA-statements and perspectives for development]. Videncenter for miljøvurdering og planlægning, Kunstakademiets Arkitektskole, København.

Brukas, V., N. Hjortsø, P. Tarp & T. E. Boon 1999. Public participation in forest management planning supported by multi-criteria decision-making techniques. In: Helles, F., P. Holten-Andersen, & L. Wichmann (eds.) 1999. *Multiple use of forests and other natural resources. Aspects of Theory and Application*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. Pp. 122-136.

Burby, R. J. and P.J. May 1998. Intergovernmental Environmental Planning: Addressing the Commitment Corundrum. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41 (1), pp. 95-110.
Burdge, R.J., & R.A. Robertson 1990. Social impact assessment and the public involvement process. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 10 (1): 81-90.

Burgess, H. & G. Burgess 1996. Constructive confrontation: A transformative approach to intractable conflicts. *Mediation Quarterly* 13: 305-322.

Burkardt, N., D. L. Lamb & J.G. Taylor 1998. Desire to bargain and negotiation success: lessons about the need to negotiate from six hydropower disputes. *Environmental Management* 22: 877-866.

Buttoud, G. 1999. Negotiation methods to support participatory forestry planning. In: Niskanen, A: & J. Väyrynen (eds.) 1999. *Regional forest programmes: A participatory approach to support forest based regional development*. EFI Proceedings no. 32. European Forest Institute, Joensuu. Pp. 29-45.

Cain, J., C. Batchelor, & D. Waughray 1999. Belief networks: a framework for the participatory development of natural resource management strategies. *Environment, Development and Sustainability* 1:123-133.

Canadian Standards Association 1996. *A guide to public involvement*. Technical Committee on Public Involvement, Canadian Standards Association, Ontario.

Carskadden, H. & D.J. Lober 1998. Environmental stakeholder management as business strategy: the case of the corporate wildlife habitat enhancement programme. *Journal of Environmental Management* 52: 183-202.

Chess, C. & K. Purcell 1999. Public participation and the environment: Do we know what works? *Environmental Science & Technology* 33: 2685-2692.

Christensen, S. & P-E. D. Jensen 1986. *Kontrol i det stille. Om magt og deltagelse* [Control on the quiet. On power and participation] Samfundslitteratur, Copenhagen.

CIFOR 1999a. *The BAG: Basic assessment guide for human well-being.* The Criteria and Indicators Toolbox Series no.5. CIFOR, Jakarta.

CIFOR 1999b. *The Grab Bag: Supplementary methods for assessing human well-being.* The Criteria and Indicators Toolbox Series no.6. CIFOR, Jakarta.

CIFOR 1999c. *Scoring and analysis guide for assessing human well-being.* The Criteria and Indicators Toolbox Series no.7. CIFOR, Jakarta.

Clark, R.N. & G. H. Stankey 1994. FEMAT's Social Assessment. Framework, Key Concepts and Lessons Learned. *Journal of Forestry* 92 (4): 32-35.

Coninck, P. de, M. Séguin, E. Chornet, L. Laramée, A. Twizeyemariya, N. Abatzoglou, & L. Racine 1999. Citizen Involvement in Waste Management: An Application of the STOPER Model via an Informed Consensus Approach. *Environmental Management* 23 (1): 87-94.

Creighton, J.L. 1992. *Involving citizens in community decision-making. A guide book.* Program for Community Problem Solving, Washington D.C.

Crosby, N., J.M. Kelley, & P. Schaefer 1986. Citizen Panels: a new approach to citizen participation. *Public Administration Review* 46: 170-179

Curtis, A. 1998. Agency-Community Partnership in Landcare: Lessons for State Sponsored Citizen Resource Management. *Environmental Management* 22 (4): 563-574.

Curtis, A., A. Britton & J. Sobels 1999. Landcare Networks in Australia: State-sponsored Participation Through Local Organizations. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 42: 5-21.

Damgaard, E. (ed.) 1980. *Folkets veje i dansk politik* [Ways of the people in Danish politics]. Schultz, Copenhagen.

Daniels, S.E., R.L. Lawrence & R. J. Alig 1996. Decision-making and ecosystem-based management: applying the vroom-yetton model to public participation strategy. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 16: 13-30.

Daniels, S.E. & G. Walker 1996a. Collaborative Learning: Improving Public Deliberation in Ecosystem-Based Management. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 16: 71-102.

Daniels, S.E. & G. Walker 1996b. Using collaborative learning in fire recovery planning. *Journal of Forestry* vol 94 (8): 4-9.

Daniels, S.E. & G. B. Walker 1998. Rethinking public participation in natural resource management: concepts from pluralism and five emerging approaches. Paper prepared for the *FAO Working Group on Pluralism and Sustainable Forestry and Rural Development Rome, 9-12 December 1997.*

Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1997. *DN-håndbog 1997.* Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, København.

Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1997a. *Hvordan fungerer skovbrugerrådene...* [How do the forest user councils work] Results of a survey among 17 DN representatives in state forest user councils. Carried out by the secretariat of Danish Nature Conservation Association, Copenhagen. Unpublished.

Danmarks Naturfredningsforening 1998. *Offentligheden og miljøet. Status og perspektiver for offentlighedens adgang til miljøoplysninger, deltagelse i beslutningsprocesserne samt administrativ og retslig prøvelse.* [The public and the environment. State of the art and perspectives for public access to environmental information, participation in decision processes and administrative and juridical scrutiny]. Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, København.

Dansk Skovforening 1997. *Regnskabsoversigter for dansk privatskovbrug 1996* [Accounts for Danish Private Forestry 1996]. Beretning nr. 51. Dansk Skovforening, Frederiksberg.

De danske Landboforeninger 2000. *2 ud af 3 har åbnet privatskov for færdsel. Pressemeddelelse.* [2 out of 3 have opened their forest for public access. Press announcement]. De danske Landboforeninger, København.

Dennis, S. 1988. Incorporating public opinion surveys in national forest land and resource planning. *Society and Natural Resources* 1: 309-316.

Dienel, P.C. & O. Renn 1995. Planning cells: A gate to 'fractal' mediation. In: Renn, O., T. Webler, & P. Wiedemann (eds.) 1995. *Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse.* Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. Pp. 117-140.

Driftsplankontoret 1990. *Procedure, disposition, indhold og tidsramme for de nye driftsplaner* [Procedure, contents and timeschedule for the new forest management plans]. Note by N. Bundgaard Jensen, head of Forest Planning Division, 25 April 1990, Forest Planning Division, Forest & Nature Agency, Copenhagen.

Driftsplankontoret 1997. *Brugerråd på Statsskovdistrikterne. Aktuel sammensætning* [User councils at the state forest districts. Actual composition]. Note, 10 July 1997. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Copenhagen.

Driftsplankontoret 1998. *Notat. Retningslinier for Skov- & Naturstyrelsens arealforvaltning* [Note on Guidelines for management of areas administered by the Forest & Nature Agency]. J.nr. SN. Ref. BEA/KTM. Driftsplankontoret, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Miljø- & Energiministeriet, København.

DS2. Københavns Statsskovdistrikt 1998. Letter from Københavns Statsskovdistrikt to the Forest Planning Division, the Forest & Nature Agency. J.nr. Kø 1996-2110, dated 23. June 1998. Ref. KSL

DS3PlanCph.doc. *Sagsnr. SN 2111/KØ-0001. Driftsplan, planoplæg m.v. for Københavns Statsskovdistrikt. Gul sagsmappe for 1991-1996 & Blå sagsmappe for 1996-.. (1996-2111/KØ-0001)* [Document sheet with overview of documents in the file on the forest planning process for Copenhagen State Forest District].

DS130600. *Various documents and press announcements from the conference "Er lovgivningen om offentlighedens adgang i pagt med tiden" [Is the legislation about public access up to date?], held at 'Kolle Kolle', Værløse, 13 June 2000.*

DSK no. 11006/1991. *Datasammenskrivning af forvaltningslov, 11006, 14/06 1991.* [Act on Public Administration with revisions of 1991].

Einfeldt, M. 1998. Generalforsamling 1998: Hensigten bag karakterbogen [General Meeting. The Intention behind the Scorecards]. *Skoven* 30: 286-289.

Einfeldt, M. 1998a. Sådan gik Skovens Dag 1998. [This is how Day of the Forest was in 1998] *Skoven* vol. 30, pp. 234-236.

Elklit, J. 1991. Faldet i medlemstal i danske, politiske partier. Nogle mulige årsager [Decline in membership of Danish, political parties. Possible reasons]. *Politica* 23:60-83.

Etzioni, A. 1995. *Rights and the common good. The communitarian perspective*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

EU 1998. *A forestry strategy for the European Union*. European Union, Bruxelles. Available at internet: http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg06/fore/index_en.htm

EU Directive 90/313/EØF on the public access to environmental information.

FAO 1978. *Forestry for Local Community Development*. FAO Forestry Paper No. 7. FAO, Rome.

FAO 1989. *Community forestry. Participatory assessment, monitoring and evaluation*. Community Forestry Note 2. Forest, Trees and People. FAO, Rome.

Feilberg, P. 1998. WWF gav Europas skove karakter [WWF gave marks to the forests of Europe]. *Skoven* 30: 329-331.

Fisher, R.J. 1995. *Collaborative Management of Forests for Conservation and Development*. Issues in Forest Conservation. IUCN & WWF, Gland, Switzerland.

Flyvbjerg, B. 1991. *Rationalitet og Magt. I. Det konkretes videnskab, II. Et case-baseret studie af planlægning, politik og modernitet* [Rationality and power. Part I. Science of the concrete, Part II. A case study of planning, politics and modernity]. Akademisk Forlag, København.

Fodgaard, S. 1998. Danske skove på sidstepladsen [Danish forests had record low]. *Skoven* 30: 266-270.

Forest & Nature Agency 1998. *J.nr. SN 1996-2111/Ra-0001*. File of documents related with the planning process for Randbøl State Forest District. Forest & Nature Agency, Copenhagen.

Forest & Nature Agency 1999. *Resultatkontrakt for Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1999* [Result Contract for the Forest & Nature Agency 1999] Forest & Nature Agency, Copenhagen.

Forest & Nature Agency & Statistics Denmark 1993: Skove og plantager 1990 [Forests and Plantations 1990]. Copenhagen.

Frederiksborg Amt 1998. *Regionplan 1997* [Regional Plan 1997].Frederiksborg Amt, Hillerød.

Freidson, E. 1986. *Professional Powers. A study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Frentz, I.C., D.E. Voth, S. Anderson & W.F. Pell 1997. A Talk in the Woods. An Impartial Advisory Committee Eases Conflict on the Ouachita. *Journal of Forestry* 95: 26-31.

Friluftsrådet 1997. *Friluftsliv for alle. Friluftspolitisk handlingsprogram* [Outdoor life for everyone. Outdoor policy action programme]. Friluftsrådet, København.

Fritzbøger, B. 1994. *Kulturskoven. Dansk skovbrug fra oldtid til nutid* [The scientifically managed forest. Danish forestry from past to present]. Gyldendal, København.

FSC (Forest Stewardship Council) 1994. *Forest Stewardship Principles and Criteria for Natural Forest Management. Board Approved Version, June 1994.* Forest Stewardship Council. Oaxaca, Mexico.

Gallup 1999. *Natur og Landbrug. Gallup CAPIbus undersøgelse.*[Nature and Agriculture. A CAPIbus survey]. Gallup, København.

Gernow, K. 1995. *Public Involvement in State Forest Planning and Management. American experiences and Danish prospects.* Master Thesis. The Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Frederiksberg.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and self-identity.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Glasbergen, P. 1998. Modern Environmental Agreements: A Policy Instrument Becomes a Management Strategy. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41: 693-709.

Glass, J.J. 1979. Citizen Participation in Planning: The Relationship Between Objectives and Techniques. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 45: 180-189.

Goul Andersen, J. 1980. Deltagelse i græsrodsaktioner [Participation in grassroots actions]. In: Damgaard, E. (ed.) 1980: *Folkets veje i dansk politik*. Schultz, Copenhagen. Pp. 102-140.

Goul Andersen, J. 1993. Politisk deltagelse i 1990 sammenlignet med 1979 [Political participation in 1990 compared to 1979]. In: Andersen, J., A-D. Christensen, B. Siim & L. Torpe (eds.) 1993. *Medborgerskab. Demokrati og politisk deltagelse*. Systime, Herning. Pp. 45-74.

Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. 1994. Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage, London.

Habermas, J. 1984. *The Theory of communicative action.* Beacon Press, Boston.

Hampton, G. 1999. Environmental equity and public participation. *Policy Sciences* 32: 163-174

Hansen, K. M. 2000. Folkehøringen som ny demokratisk metode [Deliberative Poll as a new democratic method]. *Metode og Data* 82: 10-31.

Hein, J.S. 2000. *International skovpolitik på vej mod bæredygtighed. Den skovpolitiske proces i IFF om dannelse af en global skovinstitution* [International forest politics on its way to sustainability. The forest policy process in IFF on the formation of a global forest institution. Speciale. Den Kgl. Veterinær- og Landbohøjskole, Institut for Økonomi, Skov og Landskab, Frederiksberg.

Helles, F., S.F. Jensen & J. Risvand 1984. *Den danske skovsektors samfundsmæssige betydning* [The social importance of the Danish forest sector]. DSR Forlag, Frederiksberg.

Helles, F. & M. Linddal 1996. *Afforestation Experience in the Nordic Countries*. Nord 1996: 15, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen.

Hendee, J. C. & R.W. Harris 1970. Foresters' perception of wilderness user attitudes and preferences. *Journal of Forestry* 68: 759-762.

Hendee, J.C., R.C. Lucas, R.H. Jr. Tracy, T. Stead, R.N. Clark, G.H. Stankey & R.A. Yarnell 1973. *Public Involvement and the Forest Service: Experience, effectiveness and suggested direction*. US Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.

Hjern, B. & J.C. Hull 1984. *Going interorganizational: Weber meets Durkheim*. Scandinavian Political Studies no. 3.

Hobley, M. 1996. *Participatory forestry: The process of change in India and Nepal*. Rural Development Forestry Study Guide 3. Rural Development Forestry Network. Overseas Development Institute, London.

IFF (Intergovernmental Forum on Forests) 1999. *Report of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests on its third session, Geneva, 3-14 May 1999*. Available at internet: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/docsiff3.htm [Cited 01-07-2000]

IFO (Instituttet for Opinionsanalyse) 1997. *Træ er miljø. Undersøgelse af kendskab, holdninger og adfærd* [Wood is environment. Investigation of knowledge, attitudes and behaviour]. Instituttet for Opinionsanalyse, København.

ILO 1997. *People, Forests and Sustainability. Social Elements of Sustainable Forest Management in Europe*. International Labour Office, Geneva.

ILO 2000. *Public participation in forestry in Europe and North America: Report of the Team of Specialists on participation in forestry*. Report of the FAO/ECE/ILO Joint Committee Team of Specialists on Participation in Forestry. WP 163. International Labour Office, Geneva.

IPF (Intergovernmental Panel on Forests) 1997. *Report of the ad hoc Intergovernmental Panel on Forests on its fourth session.* Commission on Sustainable Development. Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. Fifth session. 7-25 April 1997. E/CN.17/IPF/1997/12. Available at internet: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/ipf.htm [Cited 01-07-2000]

Indenrigsministeriet 1998. *Brugerbestyrelser. En undersøgelse af erfaring* [User boards/councils. Analysis of experiences]. Indenrigsministeriet, København.

Inglehart, R. 1979. Political action. In: Barnes, S. H. & M. Kaase (eds.) 1979. *Political action. Mass participation in five western democracies*. Sage, Beverly Hills.

Inglehart, R. 1981. Post-materialism in an Environment of Insecurity. *American Political Science Review* 75: 880-900.

ITTO 1983. *International Tropical Timber Agreement*. ITTO, Yokohama. Available at internet: gopher://gopher.law.cornell.edu/00/foreign/fletcher/BH837.txt). [Cited 01-07-2000]

ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organisation) 1990. *Guidelines for the sustainable management of natural tropical forests*. ITTO Technical Series 5. ITTO, Yokohama.

ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organisation) 1992. *ITTO Criteria for the measurement of sustainable tropical forest management*. ITTO Policy Development Series No. 3. ITTO, Yokohama.

ITTO (International Tropical Timber Organisation) 1999. ITTO Criteria and indicators for sustainable management of natural tropical forests.ITTO Policy Development Series No. 7. ITTO, Yokohama.

Jakobsen, C. H. 1998. *Folkets park - parkens folk. Forvaltning af fælledparkens trivsel med udgangspunkt i tilknytningsforhold og brugerdeltagelse* [Park of the people - people of the Park]. Den Kgl. Veterinær- & Landbohøjskole, Frederiksberg.

JB 1991-05-03. Indkaldelse til lukket møde om skovrejsning d. 10/4 1991. Stilet til Jordbrugskommissionen [Invitation to closed meeting on afforestation]. Written by J. Birkedal, Western Zealand County.

Jeffers, J.N.R. 1997. Conflict analysis and resolution: a computer based approach. In: Solberg, B. & S. Miina (eds.) 1997. *Conflict management and public participation in land management*. EFI Proceedings No. 14. European Forest Institute, Joensuu. Pp. 99-108.

Jensen, F.S. 1993. Landscape managers' and politicians' perception of the forest and landscape preferences of the population. *Forest & Landscape Research* 1: 79-93.

Jensen, N.J.B. 1994. Brugerråd på statsskovdistrikterne [User councils at the state forest districts]. *Bladet* 1994, no. 3: 3.

Jensen, F.S. 2000. The effects of information on Danish forest visitors' acceptance of various management actions. *Forestry* 73: 165-172.

Jensen, F.S. & N.E. Koch 1997. *Friluftsliv i skovene 1976/77-1993/94*. [Outdoor life in the forests 1976/77-1993/94]. Forskningsserien nr. 20, Forskningscentret for Skov & Landskab, Hørsholm.

Jensen, H. W. 1997. Århus havn - VVM som legitimering [The harbour of Aarhus - EIA as legitimation]. *Byplan* 6/97: 242-246.

Jensen, L. M. 2000a. *Afforestation Plans – new challenges.* In: Carsjens, G.J. (ed) 2000. Fragmentation and land use planning: analysis and beyond. Proceedings, third international workshop on sustainable land use planning. June 19-21, 2000, International study group on multiple use of land (ISOMUL) and land use planning group, Wageningen. CD-rom.

Joss, S. 1998. Danish consensus conferences as a model in participatory technology assessment: an impact study of consensus conferences on Danish Parliament and Danish public debate. *Science and Public Policy* 25: 2-22.

Jørgensen, T. B. & P. Melander (eds.) 1992. *Livet i offentlige organisationer. Institutionsdrift i spændingsfeltet mellem stat, profession og marked* [Life in public organisations. Institutional change between state, profession and market]. Jurist- & Økonomforbundets Forlag, København.

Kangas, J., T. Loikkanen, T. Pukkala & J. Pykäläinen 1996. A participatory approach to tactical forest planning. *Acta Forestalia Fennica* 251: 1-24.

Kangas, J. & P. Niemeläinen 1996. Opinions of Forest Owners and the Public on Forests and Their Use in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research* 11: 269-280.

Karppinen, H. 1998. Values and Objectives of Non-industrial Private Forest Owners in Finland. *Silva Fennica* 32: 43-59.

Kearney. A. R., G. Bradley, R. Kaplan, & S. Kaplan 1999. Stakeholder Perspectives on Appropriate Forest Management in the Pacific Northwest. *Forest Science* 45 (1): 62-73.

Kirkeministeriet 2000. *Stemmeprocenten steg ved menighedsrådsvalg*. Pressemeddelelse [The poll increased at the church council elections. Press release]. Kirkeministeriet, København. Available at www.km.dk

Knaap, G.J., D. Matier, & R. Olshansky 1998. Citizen Advisory Groups in Remedial Action Planning: Paper Tiger or Key to Success? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41: 337-354.

Koch, H. 1981. *Hvad er demokrati?* [What is democracy?]. Gyldendal, København.

Koch, N. E. 1978. Skovenes friluftsfunktion i Danmark. I. del. Befolkningens anvendelse af landets skove [The outdoor function of the forests in Denmark. The population's use of the Danish forests]. *Forstlige Forsøgsvæsen Danmark* 35: 285-451.

Koch, N. E. 1980. Skovenes friluftsfunktion i Danmark. II. del. Anvendelsen af skovene, regionalt betragtet [The outdoor function of the forests in Denmark. The population's use of the forests, in a regional perspective]. *Forstlige Forsøgsvæsen Danmark* 37: 73-383.

Koch, N. E. 1984. Skovenes friluftsfunktion i Danmark. III. del. Anvendelsen af skovene, lokalt betragtet [The outdoor function of the forests in Denmark. The population's use of the Danish forests, in a local perspectve]. *Forstlige Forsøgsvæsen Danmark* 39: 121-362.

Koch, N.E. 1998. WWF's undersøgelse af de europæiske skove [WWFs investigation of the European forests]. *Skoven 8/98*, p.32.

Koch, N. E. & F.S. Jensen 1988. Skovenes friluftsfunktion i Danmark. IV. del. Befolkningens ønsker til skovenes og det åbne lands udformning [The outdoor function of the forests in Denmark. The population's preferences to the design of forests and the country side]. *Forstlige Forsøgsvæsen Danmark* 41: 243-516.

Korten, D.C. & R. Klauss (eds.) 1984. *People-centered Development*. Kumarian Press.

Kristensen, N.N. 1998. *Skolebestyrelser og demokratisk deltagelse. Støvets fortælling* [School boards and democratic participation. The tale of the dust]. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, København.

Kvale, S. 1996. *Interview. An introduction to the qualitative research interviewing*. Sage, London.

Kvale, S. 1997. *Interview. En introduktion til det kvalitative forskningsinterview* [Danish version of Kvale, S. 1996.] Hans Reizels Forlag, København.

Kweit, M.G. & R.W. Kweit 1987. Citizen participation: enduring issues for the next century. *National Civic Review* 76: 191-198.

Københavns Amt 1997. *Regionplan 1997 for Københavns Amt. Redegørelse, Retningslinier, Bilagskort* [Regional plan 1997 for County of Copenhagen. Report, Guidelines and Maps (3 reports in total)]. Københavns Amt, København.

Landbrugsministeriet 1986. En fremtidig skovpolitik. .Betænkning nr. 1086 [A future forest policy] Landbrugsministeriet, København.

Landsbladet 1994. En skov af demokrati [a forest of democracy]. *Landsbladet* 19 August 1994.

Langton, S. 1981. Citizen participation in the United States. In: Birch, J.C., & H. Christoffersen (eds.) 1981. *Citizen participation and local government in America and Scandinavia*. Erling Olsens Forlag, Gentofte [Cited in Gernow 1995].

Lauber, T.B. & B. A. Knuth 1998. Refining Our Vision of Citizen Participation: Lessons from a Moose Reintroduction Proposal. *Society and Natural Resources* 11:411-424.

Launsø, L. & O. Rieper 1997. *Forskning om og med mennesker. Forskningstyper og forskningsmetoder i samfundsforskningen* [Research about and with people. Research types and research methods in social sciences]. Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, København. 195 p.

Lawrence, R.D. & S.E. Daniels 1996. *Public Involvement in natural resource decision making. Goals, methodology and evaluation*. College of Forestry, Forest Research Laboratory, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

Lindberg, K. 2000a. Kampen om adgang til en sø [The battle about access to a lake]. *Ungdom og idræt* no. 22/2000. Available at: http://www.dgi.dk/redaktionen/dui/22-2000

Lindberg, K. 2000b. Friluftsråd bakker DGI op. *Ungdom og idræt* no. 22/2000. Available at: http://www.dgi.dk/redaktionen/dui/22-2000

Lisbon Ministerial Conference on People, Forests and Forestry 1998. *People, Forests and Forestry - Enhancement of socio-economic aspects of sustainable forest management.* The Lisbon Ministerial Conference on People, Forests and Forestry.

Loikkanen, T. 1994. *The Applicability of Public Participation for the Finnish Forest and Park Service.* Master's Thesis. Oregon State University, Department of Forest Resources, Corvallis.

Loikkanen, T., T. Simojoki & P. Wallenius 1999. *Participatory approach to natural resource management. A Guide Book.* Metsähallitus, Forest and Park Service, Vantaa.

Lund, S. 1997. *Participation? A question of praxis. A discussion of the 'theories' of participatory development based on experiences from a sand dune fixation project in Mauritania 1982-1990.* Ph.D. dissertation, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Roskilde.

Læssøe, J. 2000. Folkelig deltagelse i bæredygtig udvikling. Erfaringer fra det sidste årti og udfordringer for det kommende [Public participation in sustainable development. Experiences from the last decade and challenges for the coming]. In: Holten-Andersen, J., T.N. Pedersen, H.S. Christensen & S. Manninen (eds.) 2000. *Dansk naturpolitik – i bæredygtighedens perspektiv. Temarapport nr 1, 2000.* Naturrådet, Copenhagen.

Maaløe, E. 1996. *Case-studier af og om mennesker i organisationer* [Case studies about and with people in organisations]. Akademisk Forlag, København.

Macpherson, C.B. 1977. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Magill, A.W. 1991. Barriers to effective public interaction. *Journal of Forestry* 89: 16-18.

Manheim, J.B. & R.C. Rich 1995. *Empirical Political Analysis. Research Methods in Political Science.* (3. ed.) Longman Publishers, White Plains.

McComas, K. A. & Scherer, C. W. 1999. Providing balanced risk information in surveys used as citizen participation mechanisms. Society & Natural Resources 12: 107-119.
MCPFE (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe) 1995a. *Sound Forestry – Sustainable Development. Documents.* Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe, Liaison Unit in Helsinki.

MCPFE (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe) 1995b. *Descriptive indicators.* Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe, Liaison Unit in Helsinki.

MCPFE (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe) 1997. *Annex 1. Proposal for pan-european operational level guidelines for sustainable forest management.* Fifth Expert Level Follow-Up Meeting of the Helsinki Conference and Third Preparatory Meeting of the Lisbon Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe 8-9 December 1997, Palais des Nations, Geneva.

MCPFE (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe) 1998a. *Resolution L1: People, Forests and forestry: Enhancement of socio-economic aspects of sustainable forest management.* Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe, Lisbon.

MCPFE (Ministerial Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe) 1998b. Resolution L2. Pan

European Criteria, Indicators and Operational Level Guidelines for Sustainable Forest Management. The Lisbon Conference on the Protection of Forests in Europe, June 1998, Lisbon, Portugal.

Merriam-Webster 2000. *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary*. Can be found at: http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary

Miles, M.B. & A.M. Huberman 1984. *Analyzing qualitative data: A source book for new methods*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

Miljøministeriet 1994. *Strategi for Bæredygtig Skovdrift*. Betænkning nr. 1267 [Strategy for sustainable forest management]. Miljøministeriet, København.

Miljøministeriet, Landbrugsministeriet & Udenrigsministeriet 1994. *Resumé af Redegørelse til Folketinget om en samlet dansk skovpolitik i lyset af Rio- og Helsinkikonferencerne* [Excerpt of the governmental forest policy statement to the parliament in the light of the Rio- and Helsinki conferences]. Miljøministeriet, Landbrugsministeriet and Udenrigsministeriet, København.

Miljøministeriet, Planstyrelsen 1990. *Skovrejsning og områder, hvor skovtilplantning er uønsket. Et vejledende materiale i regionplanlægning* [Guide to designation of afforestation areas and areas where afforestation is unwanted]. Miljøministeriet, Planstyrelsen, København.

Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1990. *Skovloven. Lov nr. 383 af 7. Juni 1989. Lensafløsningsloven. Lov nr. 384 af 7. Juni 1989* [The Forest Act, Act. No. 383 of 7. June 1989]. Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1990

Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1993. *Planlægning af anvendelsen af Miljøministeriets arealer. Modernisering af driftsplanlægningen – et udvalgsarbejde 1992/93* [Modernisation of forest management planning – the work of a commission 1992/93]. Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1994. *Strategy for Natural Forests and Other Forest Types of High Conservation Value in Denmark*. Strategi for de danske naturskove og andre bevaringsværdige skovtyper. Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1995. *Natur- og Miljøpolitisk redegørelse 1995* [Nature and environmental policy statement 1995]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet , København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999a. *Århuskonventionen - konventionen om borgernes miljørettigheder. Ret til viden. Ret til at deltage. Ret til at klage* [Aarhus convention. The convention about citizens' environmental rights. Rights to knowledge. Rights to participate. Rights to appeal decisions]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999b. *Natur- og miljøpolitisk redegørelse 1999* [Nature and environmental policy statemenet 1999]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet 1999c. *Planlægning for skovrejsning. En vejledning til amternes regionplanlægning* [Guide to regional planning on afforestation]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Kommunernes Landsforening & Amtsrådsforeningen 1997. *Lokal Agenda 21. En introduktion til amter og kommuner* [Local Agenda 21. An introduction to counties and municipalities]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Kommunernes Landsforening & Amtsrådsforeningen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Kommunernes Landsforening & Amtsrådsforeningen 1998. *Lokal Agenda 21. En fælles sag* [Local Agenda 21. A common case] Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Kommunernes Landsforening & Amtsrådsforeningen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995. *Oplevelser i statsskovene. Friluftslivet i Skov- & Naturstyrelsens arealer* [Experiences in the state forests. Outdoor life at the areas of the Forest & Nature Agency]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1996. *Sortebog. Lov nr. 392 af 22. Maj 1996 om ændring af Skovloven (Lov nr. 383 af 7. Juni 1989)* [Black paper about Act no. 392 to change the Forest Act, Act no. 383]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1996a. *Bornholms Statsskovdistrikt. Driftsplan 1994-2009*. [Bornholm State Forest District. Forest Management Plan]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1997. *Årsberetning 1996*. [Annual Report 1996]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998. *Driftsplan for Københavns Statsskovdistrikt 1995-2010* [Management Plan for Copenhagen State Forest District 1995-2010]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000. *Opfølgning af lov nr. 447 af 31. maj 2000 om ændringer af visse miljølove (Implementering af Århuskonventionen mv.) Høring over regler om underretning af klageberettigede på naturbeskyttelseslovens og....samt konsekvensændring af campingreglementet"*.[Hearing of rules to follow up legal changes to fulfil the obligations of the Aarhus Convention]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, 8. kontor. Brev af 3. juli 2000. J-nr. 1996-885/59-0001.

Ministry of Forests 1981. *Public involvement handbook*. Ministry of Forests, Province of British Columbia, Victoria.

Ministry of the Environment 1994. *Strategy for Sustainable Forest Management*. Ministry of the Environment, National Forest & Nature Agency, Copenhagen.

Moote, M.A., M.P. McClaran, & D.K. Chickering 1997. Theory in practice: applying participatory democracy theory to public land planning. *Environmental Management* 21: 877-889.

MR040491. *(Referat af) Skovrejsningsmøde i Ringsted d. 3/4 1991* [Meeting report from public meeting on afforestation in Ringsted, 3. April 1991]. Western Zealand County, Sorø.

MR130995. *Meeting report from first meeting in user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Frederiksborg County. 130995*. Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR200995. *Meeting report from first meeting in user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 200995.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR240496 *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 240496.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR140197. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Frederiksborg County. 140197.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR290197. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 290197.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR240897. *Report from public meeting 240897 in Ganløse Ore, Copenhagen State Forest District.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR200997TEB. *Report from meeting among all Danish Nature Conservation Association representatives in the state forest user councils.* Held at the Freshwater Centre, Silkeborg 200997. Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR210997. *Meeting report from public meeting in Ll.Hareskov and Jonstrup Vang, Copenhagen State Forest District 210997.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR211097. *Møde mellem repræsentanter for Skov- & Naturstyrelsens Driftsplankontor og repræsentanter for de faste bidragydere ved planprocessen* [Report from meeting between the Forest Planning Division and representatives of the permanent contributors to the forest planning process]. The Forest & Nature Agency, Forest Planning Division, Copenhagen.

MR210198TEB. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Frederiksborg County 210198.* Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR280198. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 280198.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR280198TEB. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 280198.* Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR080698. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County 080698.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR130698TEB. *Report from meeting among all Outdoor Council representatives in the state forest user councils.* Held at Nature Centre, Amager. Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR200199TEB. *Meeting report from user council for Copenhagen State Forest District within Copenhagen County. 200199.* Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR110399. *Referat af offentligt møde i Ringsteds Plant et Træ-komite, d. 11. marts 1999* [Report from public meeting in Ringsted's Plant a Tree Committe, 11. March 1999.] Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

MR260999. *Meeting report from public meeting at Copenhagen State Forest District, 260999.* Copenhagen State Forest District, Værløse.

MR260999TEB. *Report from public meeting at 'Bøndernes Hegn', Copenhagen State Forest District, 9. September 1999*. Reported by Tove Enggrob Boon.

Mølleåarbejdsgruppen 1998. *Redegørelse fra Mølleåarbejdsgruppen til Friluftsrådet. November 1998* [Statement from the working group on the water system 'Mølleåen' to the Outdoor Council] Friluftsrådet, København.

Nachmias, D. & C. Nachmias 1992. *Research methods in the social sciences*. St. Martin, New York.

Nepenthes Consult 1996. *Projektrapport. Projekt bæredygtig skov* [Project report. Project sustainable forest.] Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Nielsen, C.H. 1994. Skovens Dag spild af tid og penge [Day of the Forest is a waste of time and money]. *Berlingske Tidende* 24 August 1994.

Odgaard, J. 1994. Borgerne skal være med til at styre skovenes drift [Citizens should participate in forest management]. *Politiken* 13 May 1994.

Offerdal, A. & J. Aars 1998. Deltakelse og deliberasjon: Rapport fra en deliberativ høring i Nordland fylke, Norge. [Report on a deliberative hearing in Nordland county, Norway]. *Kommunal Ekonomi och Politik* 2 (3): 27-41.

Order of Business of The Danish Parliament, *Folketingets forretningsorden*.

Ostrom, E. 1998. A behavioral approach to the rational choice theory of collective action. Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 1997. *American Political Science Review* 92: 1-22.

Pateman, C. 1970. *Participation and democratic theory*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Pelletier, D., V. Kraak, C. McCullum, U. Uusitalo & R. Rich 1999. The shaping of collective values through deliberative democracy: An empirical study from New York's North Country. *Policy Sciences* 32: 103-131.

Poffenberger, M. (ed.) 1990. *Keepers of the forest: Land management alternatives in South-East Asia*. Ateneo de Manial University Press, Manila.

Polkinghorne, D.E. 1983. *Methodology for the human sciences*. SUNY Press, Albany.

Potter, H. & H.J. Norville 1983. Citizen's participation and effectiveness in environmental issues. In: Daneke, G.A., M.W. Garcia, & J.D. Priscoli (eds.) 1983. *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment*. Westview Press, Boulder. Pp. 35-44.

Preisler, M. 1994. Demokratiet skal også gro i skovene [Democracy should also grow in the forests]. *Århus Stiftstidende* 13 July 1994.

Price, V. & P. Neijens 1998. Deliberative polls – Toward improved measures of informed public-opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 10: 145-176.

Putnam, R. D. 1995. Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of democracy* 6: 65-78.

Pykäläinen, J., J. Kangas, & T. Loikkanen 1999. Interactive decision analysis in participatory strategic forest planning: experiences from state owned boreal forests. *Journal of Forest Economics* 5: 341-364.

Pykäläinen, J. & T. Loikkanen 1997. An application of numeric decision analysis on participatory forest planning: the case of Kainuu. In: Solberg, B. & S. Miina (eds.) 1997. *Conflict management and public participation in land management*. EFI Proceedings No. 14. European Forest Institute, Joensuu. Pp. 125-132.

Radmer, K.B. 2000. Alle skal være medlem [Everyone has to be a member]. *Ungdom og idræt* no. 22/2000. Available at: http://www.dgi.dk/redaktionen/dui/22-2000

Renn, O. 1999. A Model for an Analytic-Deliberative Process in Risk Management. *Environmental Science and Technology* 33: 3049-3055.

Renn, O., T. Webler, & P. Wiedemann (eds.)1995a. *Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

Renn, O., T. Webler, & P. Wiedemann 1995b. A need for discours on citizen participation: Objectives and structure of the book. In: Renn, O., T. Webler, & P. Wiedemann (eds.) 1995. *Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. Pp. 1-15.

Richardson, T., J. Dusik, & P. Jindrova 1998. Parallel public participation: an answer to inertia in decision-making. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review* 18: 201-216.

Rigby P.H. 1965. *Conceptual Foundations of Business Research*. New York.

Ringsted Dagblad 1994. Vi får indflydelse på skovenes brug [We gain influence on how to use the forests]. *Ringsted Dagblad* 11 July 1994.

Ringsted Dagblad 02022000. Betinget tilskud til ekstra skov [Conditioned grants to additional afforestation]. *Ringsted Dagblad* 2. February 2000.

Ringsted kommune 1997. *Kommuneplan 1997-2008. Hovedstruktur og rammer for lokalplanlægning* [Municipal plan 1997-2008. Main structure and framework for local planning]. Ringsted kommune, Ringsted.

Ringsted kommune 1998-1999. *Referater fra møder i byrådet, i kultur- og boligudvalget, teknik- og miljøudvalget, hhv. økonomiudvalget* [Meeting reports from Ringsted municipal council and associated boards]. Can be found at www.ringsted.dk.

Roskilde Amt 1997. *Regionplan 1997. Retningslinier. Redegørelse. Kortbilag* [Regional Plan 1997. Guidelines. Report. Maps]. Roskilde Amt, Roskilde.

Ross, A. 1967. *Hvorfor demokrati?* [Why democracy?]. Ejnar Munksgaard, København.

Sample, A. 1993. A Framework for Public Participation in Natural Resource Decisionmaking. *Journal of Forestry* 91 (7): 22-27.

SAS 1990. *SAS/STAT User's Guide, Version 6, Fourth Edition, Vol. 1*. SAS Institute Inc., Cary.

Satterfield, T. & R. Gregory 1998. Reconciling environmental values and pragmatic choices. *Society & Natural Resources* 11: 629-647.

Schumpeter, J. 1943. *Capitalism, socialism, and democracy*. George Allen & Unwin, London.

Shannon, M., E. M. Meidinger, & R.N. Clark 1996. *Science advocay is inevitable: Deal with it.* Paper presented for the annual meeting of the Society of American Foresters, November 11, 1996.

Shindler, B. & J. Nebraska 1997. Public Participation in Forest Planning: Eight Attributes of Success. *Journal of Forestry* 95 (1): 17-19.

Silverman, D. 1993. *Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analysing talk, text and interaction*. Sage Publications, London.

Sirmon, J., W.E. Shands & C. Leggitt 1993. Communities of interests and open decision-making. *Journal of Forestry* 91 (7): 17-21.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1990. *Skov og Natur 1989* [Forest and nature 1989]. Miljøministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995a. *Skov og Natur 1994* [Forest and nature 1989]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995b. *Oplevelser i statsskovene. Friluftslivet i Skov- og Naturstyrelsens arealer* [Outdoor policy for areas administered by the Forest & Nature Agency]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1995c. *Retningslinier for brugerråd* [Guidelines for user councils]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, 5 May 1995, SN-2110-0010, Copenhagen.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998. *Alle tiders natur. Perspektiver omkring årtusindskiftet* [Nature of all times. Perspectives at the turn of the century]. Miljø- & Energiministeriet, Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 1998a. *Naturforvaltning gennem ti år 1989-1998* [Nature management 1989-1998]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, København.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen 2000. *Skov i Danmark – Hvorfor og hvordan? Conference held at Kolle Kolle, Værløse 10 December 2000, arr. by the Forest & Nature Agency.* Proceedings forthcoming. Information can be found at http://www.sns.dk/skov/skovdebat/konference.htm

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998. *Evaluering af brugerråd. Opgørelse af spørgeskema* [Evaluation of user councils. Statements on survey]. Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret, Copenhagen.

Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret 1998a. *Evaluering af brugerråd. Opgørelse af spørgeskemaaundersøgelse blandt brugerråd* [Evaluation of user councils. Statements on survey among user councils] Skov- & Naturstyrelsen, Driftsplankontoret.

Sköllerhorn, E. 1998. Habermas and nature: The theory of communicative action for studying environmental policy. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41: 555-573.

SNS 1996 201-0154, akt nr. 1. *"Kære Svend..."*. Letter to the Minister of Environment & Energy, from the Minister of Agriculture. Dated 16041999. Can be found at MEM J.nr. SN 1996 201-0154, dated 20-04-99.

Solberg, B. & S. Miina, S. (eds.) 1997. *Conflict Management and Public Participation in Land Management*. EFI-Proceedings No. 14, 1997. European Forest Institute, Joensuu, Finland.

Statistics Denmark 1997: Landbrugsstatistik 1996 [Agricultural Statistics 1996]. Danmarks Statistik. København.

Steensgaard, P. 1998. Tilbage til urskoven [Back to the virgin forest]. *Weekendavisen* 12-18. June 1998.

Stephens, A. 1988. *Participatory monitoring and evaluation: Handbook for field workers*. FAO Regional office for Asia and the Pacific (RAPA), Bangkok.

Stevens, T.H., D. Dennis, D. Kittredge & M. Rickenbach 1999. Attitudes and preferences towards co-operative agreements for management of private forestlands in the North-eastern United States. *Journal of Environmental Management* 55: 81-90.

Strauss, A, & J. Corbin 1990. *Basics of Grounded Research - Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Sage, Newbury Park.

Sullivan, J.L. & J.E. Transue 1999. The psychological underpinnings of democracy: a selective review of research on political tolerance, interpersonal trust, and social capital. *Annual review of Psychology* 50: 625-650.

Svensson, P. & L. Togeby 1986. *Politisk opbrud. De nye mellemlags græsrodsdeltagelse: Årsager og konsekvenser belyst ved en ungdomsundersøgelse* [Political change. Grassroots participation by the new middle-layers. Causes and consequences]. Politica, Århus.

Sørensen, E. 1995. *Democracy and regulation in institutions of public governance*. Licentiatserien 1995/2, Institut for Statskundskab, Københavns Universitet, København.

Sørensen, E. 1997. Brugeren og demokratiet [The user and the democracy]. *Grus* 53: 81-96.

Tahvanainen, L., L. Tyrväinen & I. Nousiainen 1996. Effect of Afforestation on the Scenic Value of Rural Landscape. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research* 11: 397-405..

Thomas, J.C. 1990. Public Involvement in Public Management: Adapting and Testing A Borrowed Theory. *Public Administration Review* 50: 435-445.

Thomas, J.C. 1993. Public Involvement and Governmental Effectiveness. A Decision-Making Model for Public Managers. *Administration and Society* 24: 444-469.

Togeby, L. 1989. *Ens og forskellig. Græsrodsdeltagelse i Norden* [Alike and different. Grassroots participation in the Nordic countries]. Politica, Århus.

Torgerson, U. 1994. *Profesjoner og offentlig sektor*. TANO, Oslo.

Torpe, L. 1990. *Det demokratiske medborgerskab - fornyelse af en tradition* [The democratic citizenship – renewal of a tradition]. Institut for Økonomi, Politik og Forvaltning, Aalborg Universitet. [Cited in Kristensen 1998]

Tuler, S. & T. Webler 1999. Voices from the forest: What participants expect of a public participation process. *Society and Natural Resources* 12: 437-453.

UN (World Commission on Environment and Development) 1987. *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

UNCED 1992a. *The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development from the UN Conference on Environment and Development*. United Nations Conference on the Environment. Available at internet:
http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/texts/RIO-DECL.txt [Cited 01-07-2000]

UNCED 1992b. *Agenda 21. United Nations Conference on the Environment.* Available at internet: gopher://gopher.un.org/11/conf/unced/English [Cited: 01-07-2000]

UNCED 1992c. *Non-legally binding authoritative statement of principles for a global consensus on the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests*. Available at internet: gopher://gopher.un.org/00/conf/unced/English/forestp.txt

UNCED 1992d. *Convention on Biological Diversity*. Na.92-7809. Available at internet: http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/texts/BIODIV.txt [Cited: 01-07-2000].

UNCED 1992e *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate change*. Available at internet: http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/texts/CLIMATE.txt [Cited: 01-07-2000].

UNCHE (United Nations Conference on the Human Environment) 1972. *Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment*. Available at internet: http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/texts/STOCKHOLM-DECL.txt [cited: 01-07-00].

UN-CSD (United Nation's Commission on Sustainable Development) 1995. *Programme of work of the intergovernmental panel on forests. E/CN.17/IPF/1995/2*. Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Panel on Forests First Meeting11-15 September 1995, New York. UN-CSD. (Source: http://www.un.org/esa/documents/esc/cn17/ipf/session1/ecn17ipf1995-2.htm)

UN-ECE (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Committee on Environmental Policy) 1998. *Convention on Access to Environmental Information and Public Participation in Environmental Decision-making.* United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Committee on Environmental Policy, Geneva.

USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) Forest Service 1993. *Strengthening Public Involvement. A National Model for Buidling Long-Term Relationships with the Public.* USDA Forest Service, Washington D.C.

van Deth, J.W. 1997. Introduction. Social involvement and democratic politics. In: van Deth, J. W. 1997 (ed.) *Private groups and public life. Social participation, voluntary associations and political involvemenet in representative democracies.* Routledge, New York. Pp. 1-23.

van Deth, J.W. 2000. Interesting but irrelevant: Social capital and the saliency of politics in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 37: 115-147.

Verba, S. & N.H. Nie 1972. *Participation in America. Political democracy and social equality.* Harper and Row, New York (cited in Andersen et al. 1993)

Vestsjællands Amt 1991. *Hvidbog. Behandling af indsigelser og bemærkninger. Regionplan 1989-2000, Tillæg 4, Forslag til skovrejsning* [White book. Hearing on proposed afforestation plan, 1989-2000]. Vestsjællands Amt, Sorø.

Vestsjællands Amt 1997. *Regionplan 1997-2008* [Regional Plan 1997-2008]. Vestsjællands Amt, Sorø.

Vestsjællands Amt 2000. *Regionplan 1997-2008, Tillæg 6. Skovrejsningsplan for Vestsjællands Amt* [Regional plan 1997-2008. Afforestation plan for Western Zealand County]. Vestsjællands Amt, Sorø.

Voigt, S. 1998. Brugerråd i folkeskoven stor succes [User councils in the peoples forest a big success]. *Berlingske Tidende* 4 April 1998.

Vroom, V. & P. Yetton 1973. *Leadership and decision-making.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.

Webler, T. 1995. 'Right' discourse in citizen participation: an evaluative yardstick. In: Renn, O., T. Webler, & P. Wiedemann (eds.) 1995. *Fairness and competence in citizen participation. Evaluating models for environmental discourse.* Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. Pp. 35-86.

Wellman, J.D. & T. J. Tipple 1990. Public forestry and direct democracy. *The Environmental Professional* 12: 77-86.

Wengert, N. 1976. Citizen Participation: Practice in Search of Theory. *Natural Resources Journal* 16: 23-40.

Westoby, J. 1979. Forest industries for socio-economic development. *Commonwealth Forestry Review* 58 (2): 107-116.

Williams, E.M. & P.V. Ellefson 1997. Going into Partnership to Manage a Landscape. *Journal of Forestry* 95: 29-33.

Wilson, K. & G. Morren 1990. *Systems approaches for improvements in agriculture and resource management.* MacMillan, New York.

Winter, S. 1991. Udviklingen i beslutningsprocesteori: en introduktion. *Politica* 23: 357-374.

Wium-Andersen, S. 1990. Høringer om vore skove [Hearings about our forests]. *Frederiksborg Amts Avis* 31 August 1990: 8.

Wium-Andersen, S. 1994a. Enevælde i naturforvaltningen [Absolute monarchy in nature management]. *Morgenavisen Jyllandsposten* 1 February 1994: 8.

Wium-Andersen, S. 1994b. Åbenhed og demokrati i stedet for enevælde! [Openness and democracy instead of absolute monarchy!]. *DN-kontakt* 2/94: 17.

World Bank 1978. *Forestry Sector Policy Paper*. World Bank, Washington D.C.

WWF 1998. *European Forest Scorecards 1998. Report*. WWF, Geneva. available at http://www.panda.org

WZ County 1-50-11-8-011. *Høring/udsendelse af forslaget, modtagne indsigelser og bemærkninger, samt behandling af dem. Tillæg nr. 4, regionplan 1989-2000: Skovrejsning. Journal nr. 1-50-11-8-011* [Documents from hearing process, afforestation plan]. Vestsjællands Amt, Sorø.

WZ County J 8-50-11-20-1006-1997. *Skriftlige henvendelser i forbindelse med revision af skovrejsningsplan 1997-2008, tillæg 6. Enkeltsvar og sammendrag. Journal nr. 8-50-11-20-1006-1997* [Responses and summary to the first hearing of the proposal to an afforestation plan for Western Zealand Zounty]. Vestsjællands Amt, Sorø.

Yin, R.K. 1994. *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*. (2.ed.) Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Zinn, H. C., Manfredo, M. J., Vaske, J. J. & Wittman, K. 1998. Using normative beliefs to determine the acceptability of wildlife management action. *Society & Natural Resources* 11: 649-662.

Personal communication
Jensen, O.E. 1999. Forest Planning Division, Forest & Nature Agency.

Lassen, E. lawyer, Forest & Nature Agency, Forest Policy Division, October 2000.

ITx = Interview Transcript no. x

MRxx = Meeting Report + date of meeting