

**Forest Policy and  
Rural Landownership in Nova Scotia**

by

Douglas Reid

A Thesis Submitted to the  
Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Faculty of Architecture,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

**MASTER OF URBAN AND RURAL PLANNING**

**DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY-DALTECH**

Halifax, Nova Scotia

1998



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

0-612-39695-9

**Canada**

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	viii
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Principal Argument.....	1
1.2 Methodology.....	3
1.3 Purpose of study.....	5
2 PLANNING AND FOREST POLICY.....	7
3 THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATE WOODLOTS.....	12
3.1 The development of the private resource landownership pattern.....	13
3.2 The role of small private woodlots in sustaining industrial production.....	20
3.3 Survey of the private woodlot sector.....	28
4 FOREST POLICY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.....	35
4.1 Coordinating rural development through natural resource based activities.....	36
4.2 Assessing present provincial rural development policy.....	40

**TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd)**

5	FOREST POLICY AND THE COALITION PROCESS.....	50
5.1	Past public initiatives at improving private forest land management .....	51
5.2	The shift from an incentive-based forest management policy.....	56
5.3	Recommendations of the Coalition document.....	63
5.3.1	Buyer Registry .....	63
5.3.2	Forest Practice Code .....	67
6	CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS.....	75
6.1	Recommendations.....	77
7	REFERENCES.....	83

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1-1	1994 Percentage of private forest land ownership in Canada.....	1
Figure 3-1	1991 NS Forest Industry Consumption by Sector.....	17
Figure 3-2	Present Age-Class Distribution of NS Forest.....	21
Figure 3-3	1990 Source of NS Industrial Wood Supply.....	21
Figure 3-4	Softwood Harvest by Tenure, 1980-1995.....	22
Figure 3-5	Ownership Activity versus Distance to Property (MacQuarrie).....	29
Figure 3-6	Ownership Activity versus Distance to Property (G-M).....	30
Figure 4-1	Generalized goals of the NS government.....	45
Figure 4-2	Related priorities - Natural Resources.....	46
Figure 4-3	Related priorities - Economic Development & Tourism.....	47
Figure 5-1	Delegation of Resource Management Advantages / Disadvantages.....	70

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 3-1	1990 NS Forest Land Ownership.....	21
Table 3-2	NS Softwood Production / Capacity Alternatives.....	25
Table 3-3	Identified Contributors to Private Woodlot Management.....	32

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

*A number of texts / terms are referred to repeatedly within the text of this document. For the sake of brevity, they have been assigned an abbreviation:*

AAC	Annual Allowable Cut
APR	A Public Response to the Coalition of NS Forest Interests
CAFD	Can/NS Cooperation Agreement for Forestry Development 1991-1995
CED	Community Economic Development
ECRA	Enterprise Creation in Rural Areas
EDA	Can/NS Cooperation Agreement for Economic Diversification
EDT	Department of Economic Development and Tourism
FIA	Forest Improvement Act
FRDA	Can/NS Forest Resource Development Agreement 1982-1989
GBD	Government by Design
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
G-M	Griffiths-Muecke survey
HA	Hectares
NFS	A New Forest Strategy for Nova Scotia
NSFMS	Nova Scotia Forest Management Strategy
NSFR	Nova Scotia Forestry Report
RDA	Regional Development Agency
SoCF	State of Canada's Forests
TSF	Toward Sustainable Forestry

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There were many people without whose help this thesis would have been impossible and to them I owe (and hopefully have offered) my heartfelt thanks in person.

I particularly would like to thank Dr. Susan Guppy for her considerable guidance as my thesis supervisor. Thanks also to Dr. Eldon Gunn and Mr. Ian Millar who acted as my advisors. I am most appreciative of the valuable time all three afforded me to conduct my defense. I must also express my significant appreciation to Jodi for her involvement, editing, support, and her renowned patience in this and other matters.

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis argues that provincial forest policy substantially affects the pattern of rural landownership in Nova Scotia.

A provincial forest policy is recognized as being a “use-oriented strategy,” and as such, must conform to land use planning principles. This thesis concludes one necessary primary principle is to incorporate the interests of small private woodlot owners in the policy development process. This particular landownership sector is recognized since they as a sector own the majority of forested land in NS.

After establishing the rationale for this argument, this thesis will conclude by assessing whether two of the strategy recommendations resulting from the 1996 Coalition review process are of significant consequence for the private forest landowner.

This thesis examines past and existing initiatives of the provincial government in its establishing a responsible forest management policy. It surveys the ongoing encroachment of public regulation over the use and cultivation of privately-owned forest land. The thesis will also recommend that the province reconsider whether its current regional development strategies adequately reflect the resource-oriented concerns held by existing rural private woodlot owners.



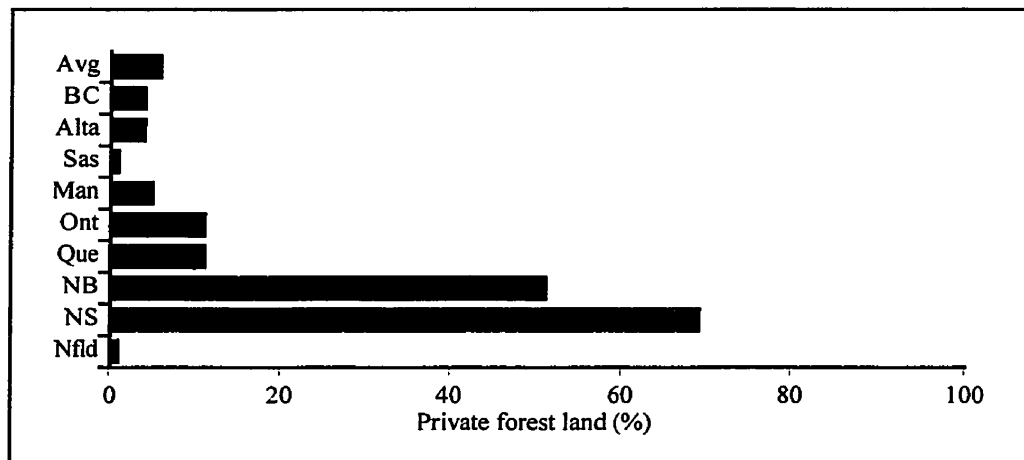
## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Principal Argument

This thesis is concerned with how a specific provincial resource development policy affects the existing pattern and future use of private forested land in rural Nova Scotia.

It argues that **the interests of private woodlot owners should be more centrally incorporated and clearly advocated at the forest policy development table.**

In comparison to how most of the forested land is owned and cultivated in other Canadian provinces, the present NS land pattern is significantly distinctive. See Figure 1-1.



**Figure 1-1**  
**Percentage of private forest landownership in Canada (1994)**

	Nfid	NS	NB	Que	Ont	Man	Sas	Alta	BC	Avg
<b>Public</b>	99	31	49	89	89	95	99	96	96	94
<b>Private</b>	1	69	51	11	11	5	1	4	4	6

taken from 1995-1996 SoCF

This pre-existing landownership pattern has played a decisive role in how the NS forest has developed. It should continue to play an important role in how it will be developed in the future. Note that of the 70% total of privately-owned forested land, small woodlots (parcels less than 400 hectares) presently account for over two-thirds of the total private land area, and involve approximately thirty thousand individual rural landowners (NSFR). In view of these facts, a provincial forest policy in consultation with the small private woodlot ownership sector needs to be developed.

Of course, this thesis recognizes that the provincial government must manage the use of all its forested lands in the best combination of economic, environmental and social interests as put forward by all NS residents. This thesis does not suggest that a particular public resource management policy concentrate on conforming to the interests of a small percentage of landowners within the total population, especially if their interests are found to be in conflict with what would be best for the community as a whole.

One of the associated issues to be considered in this paper (in Chapter Three) is whether maintaining the existing pattern of small private woodlots holds any discernible benefits for the greater rural community. This salient point is again considered (in Chapter Six) in examining if there were such “greater merits” in the recent Coalition review process.

The provincial government recently appointed a *Coalition of NS Forest Interests* to consider various forest management alternatives available to the province in meeting its long-term objectives. It is questionable whether this Coalition process sufficiently represented all interested parties so as to have been able to draft a new forest management strategy (“**A New Forest Strategy for NS,**” August 1996) for the province.

As such, this thesis will conclude that the NS government must reconsider its current policy making process so as to integrate fully the interests of its private woodlot owners.

## 1.2 Methodology

The methodology in which this thesis establishes its principal argument is as follows:

**Chapter Two defines the planner's role and the basis for their involvement in the provincial forest policy development process.**

This chapter outlines the “advocate” role of the planner in the development of provincial forest policy. It argues that resource development strategies are to be considered as land use-related policies, and therefore must comply with certain planning principles. One such planning principle advocates that the interests of affected landowners be adequately reviewed before any changes to a land use policy are initiated.

As such, Chapter Two considers the theoretical rationale establishing the planner's role and the planner's perspective on provincial forest policy.

**Chapter Three establishes the importance of the small private woodlot ownership sector.**

This chapter examines the significance of private woodlots in the historical development of rural NS communities, and the increasingly important role of small private woodlots in sustaining the local industry. The facts presented in this analytical chapter support two major conclusions: that small private woodlots occupy an important role in the development and preservation of rural NS communities, as well as occupy a critical role in the maintenance of the existing industry.

Both these conclusions validate the argument that maintaining the interests of small private woodlot owners has appreciable benefits that are applicable to the greater rural community. This argument only serves to reaffirm that the interests of landowners are to be strongly advocated during any forest policy review process.

**Chapter Four argues that forest policy is a principal component in a comprehensive rural development strategy.**

This chapter argues that forest management is to be considered as a priority, rather than as a potential option, in the establishment of a successful provincial rural development policy. The prospects for sustained rural development in NS are seen as being directly contingent on the application of any resource-related management strategies.

In this aspect, Chapter Four identifies forest policy directly with the concept of “rural development planning.” It reveals the evident lack of any such correlation between provincial forest management and the present set of NS rural development strategies.

**Chapter Five reviews the government’s growing role in public forest management, the initiation of the Coalition review process, and the recommendations found within its drafted “new” forest strategy.**

This chapter surveys the evolution of provincial forest policy over the last two decades. It identifies the increased “developmental” role of government through subsidy measures to meet the various economical and environmental demands being placed on all its forested land holdings.

The chapter then summarizes how and why the recent provincial forest policy review process was initiated. It assesses whether or not the Coalition process was considerate of existing landowning interests. It evaluates two specific recommendations of the Coalition draft document, and determines how these drafted policies will affect the small private resource landownership pattern, should they be incorporated as provincial strategies.

### 1.3 Purpose of study

Note that there is a clear purpose driving this study. For the last two years, forest policy makers in NS have been at a crossroads, hesitant as to where they can or should proceed after the withdrawal of their supportive federal financial lifeline and the termination of the CAFD in 1995. The initial intent of the Coalition review process was to advise the provincial government on viable forest management alternatives to replace the earlier, subsidy-based COOPERATION development agreements.

This thesis concludes that the Coalition's unfortunate concentration on buyer-oriented, regulatory-based solutions, palatable only to the focused interests of major industry, led instead to clearer lines of divisiveness among the many interested parties in the NS forest community, and, subsequently, to further policy stalemate.

This ongoing and well-evident immobility in the revision of an important provincial resource strategy makes the issue of forest management a timely planning topic to study. It is recognized as being a "planning topic" since the policy review process itself is to be identified as falling under the larger scope of "rural development planning."

Rural development planning has been defined as:

..a term which embodies planning and economic development and forms the basis of an appropriate local response to agriculturally derived issues (Caldwell, 1993).

Where Caldwell (Director of Planning for Huron County, Ontario; also Professor of Rural Planning at the University of Guelph) considered the local and provincial roles in determining the development of agricultural-related policies in Ontario and Saskatchewan rural communities, this thesis sees a similar correlation in the development of a primary resource policy affecting privately-owned forest land in NS.

In reviewing this thesis' arguments, the reader may consider these questions:

In whose interests are the trees to be publicly regulated and managed?

Should there be a different policy dependent on ownership?

What are the necessary changes to forest management policy the NS government should be considering at present?

What consequences will any policy modifications hold for both the individual private woodlot owner, and for the many small and diverse rural NS communities to which they belong?

The forest remains Nova Scotia's most important renewable resource. There are 30,000 private woodlot owners, 7,000 industrial workers, and a further 15,000 people indirectly employed by the revenues generated by the use and/or the cultivation of its many resources (FRDA and CAFD). The forest industry itself represents nearly 22% of the total provincial manufacturing GDP, with 70% to 85% of its products exported (NSFR). But beyond its important role in underpinning the NS economy through export revenues, the many recreational, environmental and socio-cultural values of the NS forest are not as easily translated into numbers on a mill spreadsheet. The provincial government must construct a long-term public management strategy which can properly satisfy all multi-use concerns.

This thesis is founded on the theory that private forested land is a valuable social component in the rural NS landscape. It is a land use element whose proper regulation means as much to the rural community and to its landowning residents as any industrial land use functioning within the urban environment. The implementation of any newly-revised forest management policies will have a substantial effect on both the geographic composition and the resident demographics of many of the smallest and most isolated rural NS communities. For this reason, it should be considered essential that the provincial government - through responsible planning - identify the interests of these residents within the development process of its strategies.

## **2 Planning and Forest Policy**

This chapter establishes why planners are to be involved in the development and application of provincial forest management policy. It defines the planner's role as **an advocate** for the small private woodlot sector. It argues that since the application of provincial forest policy affects the use of private rural land, certain planning principles are to be considered relevant in the policy making process. These principles include:

- (1) identification of the affected "community";
- (2) inclusion of their interests in the review or development process.

In the specific case of provincial forest policy, the most profoundly impacted community to be affected by any proposed policy changes is the small private woodlot sector. This sector owns the majority of forested land in rural NS. Recognition and advocacy of their interests should therefore be central during the development of any new forest strategies. This section begins by outlining the planner's role in the development of applicable land use policies. It then relates how this role is connected with forest policy making.

A general definition of planning is "the establishment of goals, policies, and procedures for a social or an economic unit." A planner works to "...identify alternative courses of action to reach specified objectives, comparing these proposed actions on the basis of expected effectiveness" (Laarman, 1994). This classical and broadly-defined interpretation of the role of the professional planner accurately outlines the planner's responsibility to: (1) a specified social sector, and (2) a socially accountable policy development process.

**(1) Sector identification:** Planners are typically assigned public administrative duties (or operate in such a context as private consultants) over a social unit based on the divisions of existing political geography. These sectoral units - generally referred to as communities - are variable in definition. They may be fixed entities (a municipality or province) or identifiable in more flexible and overlapping terms (a subdivision, a particular street segment, a collection of farmers or woodlot owners in a specified area).

Numerous planning texts have outlined the issues surrounding the variable definition of community (Fagence, 1993; Cloke, 1983). Since this thesis refers repeatedly to the “rural NS community,” clarification of the concept seems at this point essential. For the purposes of this paper, a “rural” community is identified as a locality where:

- (1) primary resource uses (agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining) are distinguishable and recurring in the physical environment;
- (2) residential properties are dispersed over a wide area and/or are separated from other collections of residences by significant distances;
- (3) there is a similar or a shared historical context between residents and the local land area.

In whatever variety of community they function, planners are fundamentally concerned with overseeing proposed changes to local land uses. Planners typically use regulatory or subsidy-based mechanisms to direct new development, or, conversely, to restrict the way in which property can be altered within their jurisdiction.

Furthermore, this designated control over land use activities should reflect the established interests of the subject community towards its ongoing development and/or preservation. Land uses are to be seen as “a varied representation of the changing economic, social and environmental considerations that exist in a community” (Nelson and Faulkner, 1996). A provincial resource planner, a city park planner, and a transportation planning consultant may have widely separate mandates in suggesting land use, but they are all professionally linked in that they share an advocacy of a particular community’s interests in shaping land development.

It is only by defining the sectoral unit to which they are accountable (a clear “recognition of the community’s interests” - Rufelds, 1995), that a planner can properly assess and coordinate whatever issues are at stake during the development process. These interests can be further evaluated and contrasted with differing opinions that may also exist.



**(2) Policy development:** The second important principle to any planning process is that the associated official policy documents affecting land use and development are fashioned in the proper procedure in relation to the identified community.

Whether all-encompassing provincial legislative acts, guiding departmental policies, or locally-based setback regulations - planning strategies are determined by involving the affected members of the public in the review process. It does not matter if the proposed policy is to affect all properties generally (such as in a heritage study), or applies to a particular type of land use (such as provincial forest strategy): a planning strategy may only be considered effective if it has been fashioned through a participatory procedure involving those who are most concerned with potential changes regarding the land's use or its potential development (Rufelds).

The responsibility of a planner in the development of land use-related policies is therefore twofold: identify the interests of the community being affected, and ensure that the review process facilitates their proper participation. These two principles are also referred to in Stacey and Needham's analysis (1993) as "an understanding of context" (identification of community affected by policy) and "the mobilization of community" (development of policy towards a common purpose).

A straightforward example is the community development planner in Bedford, who is involved with overseeing the preservation or alteration of several hundred property parcels within a highly concentrated area. This type of planner generally prepares a regulatory strategy influencing (or explicitly restricting) any changes in local land uses. The development strategy is only first formulated by reviewing the opinions of all interested citizens of the municipality, and by integrating these private concerns with whatever long-term objectives are considered necessary for sustaining the entire community. Such a planner may also pro-actively determine what revitalization options, or which "areas of growth" (either natural or subsidized), will co-ordinate a community's present interests with feasible future development possibilities.

The development of provincial forest management policy is a less obvious, but by no means less important, planning-based issue. Its effects are more significantly dispersed, with the area and the number of communities affected by any proposed policy changes scattered throughout the province, rather than concentrated in a single and identifiable boundary. Further, there is a vast discrepancy in the development pressures affecting potential land use. There are literally thousands of forested land parcels covering millions of undeveloped rural acres. In comparison, the hundreds of municipal lots face varying degrees of well-acknowledged but well-apparent urban pressures.

That said, there is still an indisputable correlation between how provincial forest management policy is formulated and those thirty thousand rural landowners whom it substantially affects.

The province must consider why it develops a forest policy. Is it a set of policies focused on achieving particular industrial objectives, with landownership and any alternative use-related issues considered incidental to the end target? Or is provincial forest policy a use-oriented strategy, with any of the goals (or any regulations) related to the forest's development or management identifiable only through a wider policy making process?

In the first alternative, the views of small private woodlot owners are not taken into account. Such a policy is not necessarily beneficial to them, nor will it enable landowners to meet their own objectives. While the policy still substantially affects them, it does not allow for their interests to be incorporated. This thesis argues that a provincial forest policy must therefore be identified as a use- rather than as an industrial-based strategy.

Certainly all Nova Scotians have the responsibility to voice their concerns in how the NS forest should be managed. It is critical that the provincial government assure that all interests are acknowledged and considered. However, it must also be noted that over half of the forested land is directly controlled by private individuals who have placed forward an economic stake, and have thus assumed the important role of proprietary stewardship.

To question whether or not any new forest management policies are to satisfy the common interests of this large and important group of rural landowners is, by some fair analogy, to question similarly whether the property owners in Bedford would be at all concerned with a new transportation policy revising servicing along Highway #2.

Likewise, any consultative efforts made by the provincial government to secure the public's interests in managing all NS forest land (public and private) effectively - whether it is done through subsidization efforts or by more coercive regulatory measures - is again comparable to the planner in Bedford determining how to coordinate a proposed redevelopment plan on a specific property site without the involvement of its residents.

The planner's role in all these various cases remains notably constant: it is to assess and describe the advantages and disadvantages of any proposed policy changes on the private interests of those on whom the policy is seen to have the most effect. The policy review process must therefore properly facilitate, and hopefully integrate, the opinions of the most interested and affected parties within the identified community.

### **Conclusions to Chapter**

This chapter defined the two principles that form the basis of a planner's involvement in public policy making, particularly their involvement in the development of any land use-related policies.

These two principles (identification of affected community; adequate consultation process) necessitate that the planner adopt an advocacy role for private woodlot interests, as they represent the community most affected by any proposed forest management policy changes.

It is from this hypothesis, sanctioning the involvement of planners as advocates in the provincial forest policy review process, that further investigation into the subject of forest policy and private ownership proceeds.

### **3 The Importance of Private Woodlots**

This chapter establishes that there are discernible, community-centred benefits in maintaining the segmented private resource landownership pattern as presently found in the rural NS landscape. These “greater benefits” are identified as being additional incentives for advocating the interests of the private woodlot sector in the development of provincial forest policy. These benefits give further reason beyond the initial, principle-based argument (reviewed in Chapter Two) which is that the community most affected by changes to land use be included in the policy making process.

This chapter concludes that there are two such conditions:

**Private woodlots occupy an important role in the ongoing development of the small rural NS community.** Continued support of traditional rural land use design through the advocacy of private woodlot interests is congruent with the preservation / development of existing rural communities. While such a strategy may not be necessarily desired by all Nova Scotians, it is certain that the residents of such communities appreciate how it benefits their interests.

**Proper management of the private woodlot sector is necessary to sustain current levels of industrial demand.** The existing forest industry is increasingly dependent on improving the production capacity of small private woodlots. There is both a necessity and an advantage to all Nova Scotians in ensuring that provincial forest management strategies are responsive to the interests of this vital landownership sector.

These conclusions are presented through a detailed analysis of the historical context of small private woodlot development (3.1), the present role of private woodlots in maintaining current levels of industrial production (3.2), and a review of the most recent surveys of the private woodlot sector (3.3).

### 3.1 The development of the private resource landownership pattern

This section surveys the historical development of private woodlot ownership in rural NS. It argues that the transfer of the majority of resource land to individual settlers over the last three centuries has resulted in the establishment of many rural NS communities. This section also identifies the increasing discrepancy in scale between small local woodlot suppliers and their industrial demand counterparts during the last half century.

Extensive use of the NS forest largely began with European contact (Johnson, 1986). The best and tallest trees were initially cut to provide for ship masts. A substantial amount of prime forest land was further cleared to make way for private farms established during the various waves of immigration. The majority of early settlers quickly discovered that the thin layer of soils found throughout the province effectively ended any ambitious or large-scale agricultural prospects. Except for those located in the most fertile areas, these colonists soon identified farming as an activity that could sustain a single family, but would generally provide little more in terms of a substantial economic income.

As such, to supplement their family's earnings, many men left their farms during the winter for extended periods of time to find harvesting work in the woods. Fishermen also depended on the inland forests for whatever additional off-season income they could acquire. Whether in camps operated by a local processor, or alone with family members on their own small woodlots, these early rural settlers were responsible for the rapid development of a sawlog industry during the nineteenth century (Johnson). The manner in which the NS forest was first harvested was as equally important. The scattered, small-scale, and generally independent-minded nature of the early industry - what has been labelled as a "cut and run" industry - was still in evidence up until the Second World War.

Consequently, there exists a distinctive and an important heritage of rural Nova Scotians performing a variety of resource-based tasks so as to maintain their livelihoods. Also apparent, and as important, is **the local scale in which the forest has been harvested.**

These results were due to the transfer of large tracts of forested land to private interests early in the settlement process. Without this widespread shift to private landownership, community development in NS would not have occurred to as great an extent as can be seen today, nor would the current provincial population be nearly as large. Note there was, and still remains, a lack of any similar community development in the Crown-owned interior of Newfoundland. The current population of Newfoundland is, incidentally, approximately half that of NS. It may also be pointed out that much of the forest land found in western Quebec has been repeatedly harvested during the same time period as the NS forest. The majority of land in western Quebec was not distributed to individual settlers, but rather cut over by larger-scaled industrial operations. In comparing the extent of rural community development in NS to that found in western Quebec, it is clear that NS has benefited in terms of acquiring a larger population and infrastructure base.

**A strong correlation can therefore be made between the existence of private resource landownership and the development of rural communities in NS.**

International circumstances also supported the early and rapid development of a forest industry in NS. A colonial timber trade with Great Britain was first initiated out of the necessity for warships and supplies during wars with France and the United States. When British trade routes were later expanded, and foreign markets made accessible with a reduction in protective trade barriers, the demand for commercial supply ships carrying British-made goods also increased. In each case, the convenient location of NS - relatively safe from enemy blockades, and well-situated halfway along the major Atlantic trading routes - made the harvesting of its forests both an externally valued and an internally profitable development. Sawmills and shipbuilding operations consequently became the essential elements of almost every small rural NS community by the mid-nineteenth century (Johnson). At the time of Confederation, there were reportedly 1400 sawmills in existence. By then, the "colony" of NS held one of the largest commercial shipping fleets in the world, and was responsible for the construction of many of the wooden trade ships being used by other nations.

The first half of the twentieth century saw a steady decline in the prosperity associated with the sawmill industry, and with it, consequential economic implications for rural NS communities. The advent of new technologies had made the greatest consumer of NS sawlogs (wooden ships) largely obsolete. The early industry's decline may have also been an inherent by-product of its single-product, export-oriented dependency:

While single resource extraction can yield generous state revenue and electoral support in periods of boom, the prospects for long-term development are tenuous...The 1920s were a period of absolute and relative bust in the region, with the lumber market crashing in 1921. (Sandberg (1), 1992)

Such an analysis is important to consider, given that the present industry - less than a century after its first major economic collapse - is equally as dependent on the production of two primary export-based commodities. The difference is that the industry now uses 70% of the wood to produce pulp, rather than sawlogs to build ships. Nevertheless, there exists a strong precedent in arguing against having the cultivation of the province's forest lands directed towards its major industrial use. Any new or "revised" NS forest strategy should therefore be concerned with establishing objectives that are far more diverse than what can possibly be assembled through any industry-based consultation process.

The 1920s de-evolution in sawlog prices caused hundreds of local mills to cease operating as the vital economic engine in the small rural community. The more aggressive sawmill operations survived by expanding their production capacity, or by increasing the territory from which they harvested. While sawlogs continued to be the primary industrial product until the 1960s, and the consolidated industry even enjoyed a mini boom during the early 1950s (NSFMS), the sector's sharp decline had allowed for the entrance of pulp export companies. American-owned "groundwood" mills were the first companies to use NS land for pulp-related purposes. The forest land harvested by these absentee owners was processed in a fashion similar to the "cut and run" operations of the earliest sawmills, but with noticeably fewer benefits to the local community (Sandberg (1)).

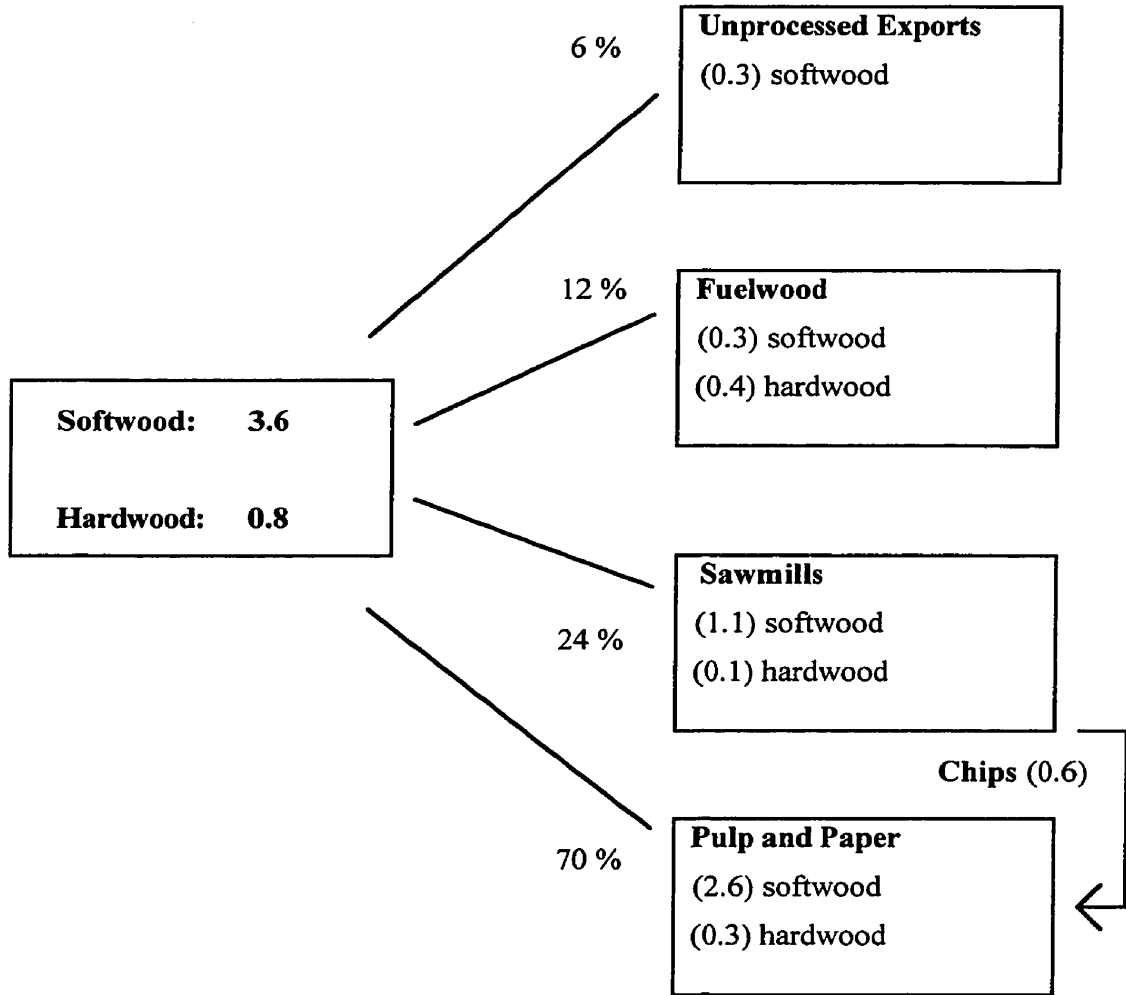
During the inter-war period, most NS pulpwood was shipped untreated to be processed in New England. Early legislative attempts to ban this form of raw material export (such as Bill 151) were generally unsuccessful. Such regulatory failure was a result of the political clout held by certain pulp company executives with important officials in the government (Sandberg (2), 1992). The continued losses in revenues generated by local mills was another contributing factor. Without any economic recovery in the sawmill sector, the provincial government saw little meritorious argument against its accommodating for the development of a NS pulp industry. Such a view allowed for the forest resource to be exported in an unfinished state, or harvested in such a manner that it failed to ensure its constructive, long-term restoration.

Given this supportive atmosphere in public policy, the industrial market share of foreign-owned pulp processing mills increased rapidly, going from 7,500 cubic metres in 1915 to over 315,000 by 1925 (Johnson). However, the swift appearance and disappearance of these early groundwood operations from the local scene was also evident to many rural residents. Continued disapproval on the part of many private woodlot owners to any recommendations made in relation to government policy by the present pulp industry (seen in the “Public Response Document” to the NFS) may be regarded as a remnant carried over from the inter- and post-war periods, when speculation and over-cultivation by absentee pulp companies occurred at the expense of the small rural landowner.

The consolidation of the NS forest industry into a few major and powerful participants transpired in the 1960s. An expansion of the existing Mersey (Bowater) pulp processing plant, and the completion of new Stora and Scott (now Kimberly-Clark) facilities, saw the industrial demand for pulpwood increase from one million cubic metres to over three million (NSFMS). Any “control” of the market was irrevocably passed from the more diversified sawmill sector to three multinational pulp and paper corporations. In the thirty years since this transition, this hegemony has only solidified. See Figure 3-1. This shift in the industrial consumption patterns during the last half-century has subsequently brought a challenge to the pre-existing small private landownership pattern.



**Figure 3-1**  
**1991 NS Forest Industry Consumption by Sector**



all figures in m<sup>3</sup> (millions)  
adapted from 1993 NSFR

Since it was first developed in the early nineteenth century, the NS forest industry has been oriented on meeting predominant commodity, export-oriented demands. However, the shift from supplying an export market from hundreds of small local sawmills found scattered about the province, to serving only a few pulp and paper plants owned by foreign corporations, was a momentous change. The traditional market in which both the industrial use and landownership of the forest resource functioned at the same local level has been replaced during the last forty years by a relatively less harmonious structure, in which the two forces are now seen as widely opposing interests. There now exists a large-scaled multinational demand outlet versus a small-scaled and local private supply source.

This present discrepancy in scale between the industrial buyers and their local suppliers makes the intermediary role of provincial forest management policy most critical.

As an advocate of continued NS private rural landownership, this thesis contends that in coordinating the two opposing sides towards a satisfactory and workable economic arrangement, the provincial government must be predisposed towards **securing the position of its many small-scaled and segmented private suppliers in their dealings with the large-scaled, export-oriented demand outlet.**

This contention can be supported by this section's analysis of: (1) the historical pattern of rural community development in NS; and (2) the precarious nature of both the past and present NS forest industry:

(1) In analyzing the pattern of past rural community developments in NS, this section concludes that it was the widespread dissemination of resource-related land holdings into many private hands which led to the successful establishment of many small communities within the rural NS landscape. Any adverse public policies which threaten the extent of the traditional private resource landownership pattern can therefore also be seen as being antagonistic towards the ongoing process of community development in rural NS. This argument is analyzed further in section 3.3.

(2) In reviewing the nature of the NS forest industry (from its past over-dependence on sawlogs for shipbuilding, to its present reliance on pulpwood production), this section also concludes that any revision in public policy that favours altering the small-scale and segmented supply framework so as to meet more productively the interests of a large-scale demand outlet (70% of which is directed towards the pulp industry), is to be seen as a reckless and short-sighted manoeuvre. Continued reliance on the marketability of an export-based commodity is by no means a secure basis on which to construct the province's long-term forest management strategy.

This thesis would instead argue that the role of the provincial government in its resource management is to adapt the external and highly variable pressures of industrial demand to the localized and more diversified objectives found among existing suppliers (the many thousands of small private landowners who have collectively maintained their presence in rural NS communities for over the last two centuries). By doing so, the NS government can forge a stable environment in which the forest industry can remain a valued and sustained part of a local rural economy.

It is questionable whether any such argument can be made for a management strategy constructed from a demand-based perspective. Certainly, both sets of interests (both landowner and industry) may be considered transient over time. That said, it is certain that the many thousands of small private woodlot owners who are also residents of the province have a greater long-term attachment to their individual property investments than any multinational firm has towards obtaining a NS resource for industrial purposes. This conclusion is borne out by a survey of the departure of many past participants in the NS forest industry (Sandberg (1)).

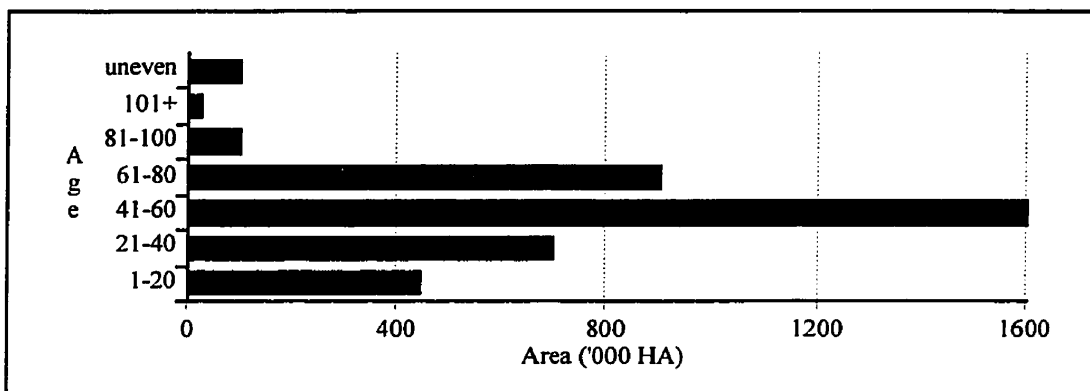
### **3.2 The role of small private woodlots in sustaining industrial production**

This section establishes the important correlation between the small private woodlot ownership sector and the maintenance of the NS forest industry. It argues that without the continued participation of the majority of small private woodlot owners with provincial management objectives, the current levels of industrial consumption are not sustainable. This section begins with a review of recent industrial statistics:

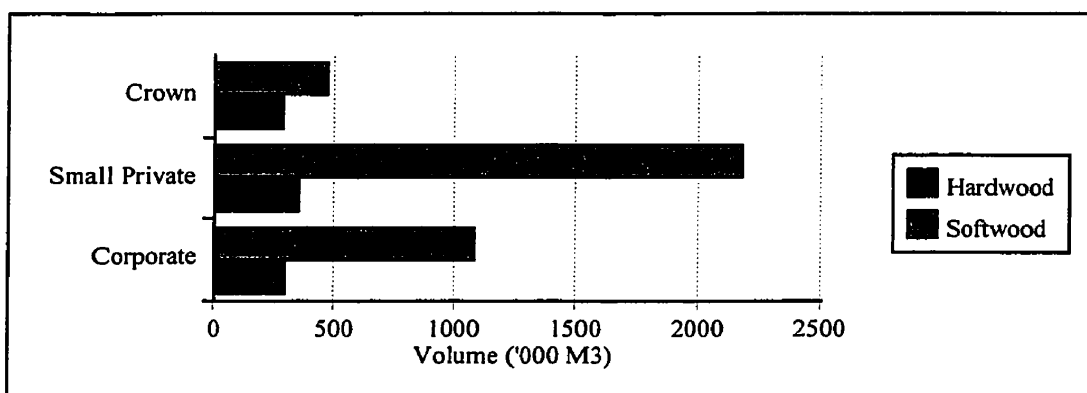
Small private woodlots are without question the predominant feature of the rural NS landscape. 75% of all NS land can be classified as forest. 70% of the forest is privately-owned. Approximately 50% of the forest is made up of lots smaller than 400 hectares.

While the composition of the NS forest is changing constantly, the present percentage of softwoods (46%), hardwoods (31%) and mixed woods (23%) is still a much more diverse assortment than what typically appears in the western Canadian provinces. Over thirty different types of deciduous and coniferous species are present in NS. Such variety is a result of the province's various micro-climates, soils, and longer history of resident harvesting practices. Of all tree species currently found in NS, the most prevalent in terms of commercial harvesting volumes are: the spruce (87 million cubic metres); the balsam fir (41 million m<sup>3</sup>); and the red maple (36 million m<sup>3</sup>). It should also be noted that a critical majority of the present growing stock - a figure of 2.6 million hectares, or sixty per cent of all the NS trees in existence - are within the 40 to 100 year old (or harvestable) age classes. See Figure 3-2 (NSFR, NSFMS, SoCF, and/or NFS).

The NS government also compiles information to determine what percentage of the wood harvested for industrial use is obtained from each of the various landownership sectors (small private, corporate, or Crown). See Figures 3-3 and 3-4. This figure shows that the greatest pressure for fibre production is presently on privately-held softwood stocks, with a low demand for any of the province's hardwood supply.



**Figure 3-2**  
**Present Age-Class Distribution of NS Forest**  
 taken from 1993 NSFR

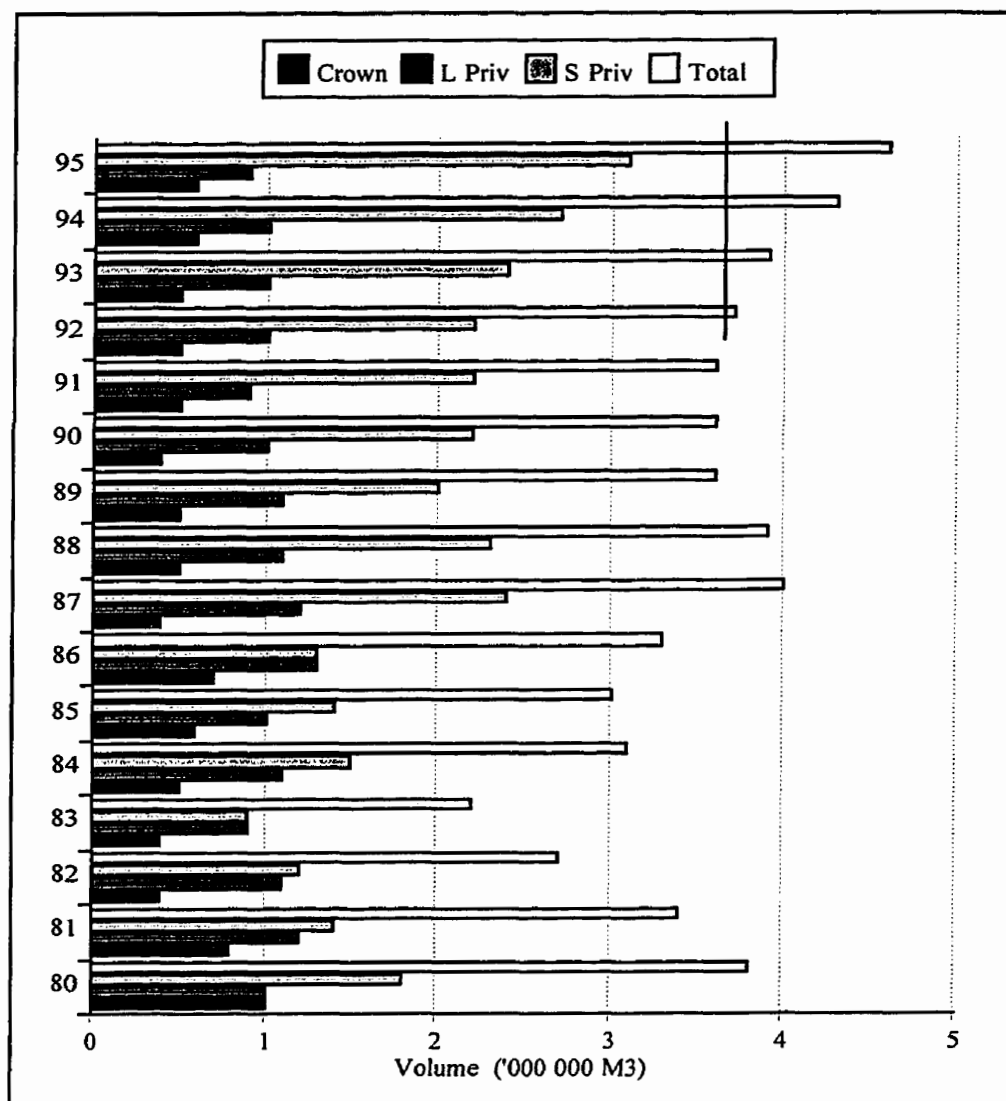


**Figure 3-3**  
**1990 Source of NS Industrial Wood Supply**  
 taken from 1994 NSFMS

**Table 3-1**  
**1990 NS Forest Land Ownership**

Small Private (less than 400 HA)	1,909,000	48
Large Private (corporate)	920,000	22
Provincial Crown	1,154,000	27
Federal Crown	123,000	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,106,000 HA</b>	<b>100 %</b>

taken from 1994 NSFMS



**Figure 3-4**  
**Softwood Harvest by Tenure, 1980-1995**  
 taken from 1997 TSF paper (line denotes sustainable harvest level)

When comparing data with the landownership pattern (see Table 3-1), it can be argued that the majority of softwood within the harvestable classes must be disproportionately located on small private woodlots, since a larger percentage is presently being cut than is their actual rightful sector share.

The NSFMS table shows small private woodlots presently account for 48% of the total forest land area (both hardwood and softwood), while the TSF graph shows that small private woodlots account for approximately two thirds of the industrial softwood supply.

The compilation and monitoring of such technical statistics is only the first step taken by the provincial government in its assessing what should then be the annual allowable cut (the "AAC") of trees harvested in NS. The AAC is an important calculation when reviewing any of the more comprehensive provincial forest management policies. The AAC is further determined by the amount of silviculture activities, fire protection, and disease prevention programs which work to improve the yields of future forest stocks.

The AAC figure may be best interpreted as a theoretical figure as to how much NS wood can be cut on a continuous basis using a particular set of circumstances. The provincial government adopts a five-year AAC projection so that it may advocate an official level of harvesting from participants on the demand side of the forest industry. This sort of back-handed tactic is seen as being - at least at the present time - as a much more politically acceptable method of controlling harvesting, rather than having the government place any unpopular "command measures" directly on the wood suppliers. Historically, it has not been in the NS government's prerogative (nor in its best political interests) to use the AAC quota so as to restrict any individual private woodlot owner from harvesting the trees off their land in any given year, or in its instructing them as to which of the secondary industrial sectors they are allowed to sell their wood to.

However, the provincial government is still quite rightly concerned with protecting the long-term environmental and economic interests of this province, and is compelled to try to contain the present level of industrial exploitation of its forest resources with any future needs. Maintaining the proper AAC projection is thus an indirect method consistent with achieving the greater policy objective of achieving "sustained yield" over the forest resource (Drielsma, Miller & Burch, 1990; also Lee, 1990).

In the early 1990s, the AAC was allocated at approximately 5.3 million cubic metres. The actual annual harvested volume during those years amounted to an average between 4.6 and 5.0 million cubic metres, with softwood consumption obviously much greater than that of the hardwood supply. In assessing AAC calculations, many NS forest strategy documents of the early 1990s have repeated one critical concern: growing industrial demand for NS softwood is outstripping the province's available supply (NSFMS, CAFD). Furthermore, these strategies have all suggested that a critical supply shortfall was simply a matter of time, if not a guaranteed certainty, if **the majority of NS forest landowners** did not presently follow through on an “intensive management” program.

It is obvious that there can be no constructive management actions taken by the majority of NS forest landowners without first confirming the participation of a large contingent of small private woodlot owners. All of the cited figures shown above only serve to confirm this conclusion, as the recent growth in softwood demand has been exclusively borne by an increase in harvesting of small private woodlots. The current conditions of both landownership and production therefore dictate that, in order to sustain the continued demands of local industry, the provincial government has three choices:

- (1) aggressively acquire enough private land so that it can manage the NS forest resource directly;
- (2) inform industry that it must buy and maintain enough land holdings if it wishes to meet its own long-term cultivation purposes;
- (3) ensure the small private woodlot owner's continued participation with public management policies in maintaining current production capacities.

The NS government can only realistically consider how it can achieve the third alternative. It is therefore argued that **satisfying future industrial demand is largely dependent on the constructive actions of the small private woodlot owner**, and whether the provincial government can either coerce or induce their continued cooperation in maintaining their individual holdings in a manner suitable for long-term industrial use.



If the NS government does not take the necessary steps now to establish an intensive management program on private forest land through either (1) continued subsidy-based incentives, or else (2) by new and universally-accepted regulatory methods, the predicted softwood shortfall is inevitable by its very own calculations. See Table 3-2.

**Table 3-2  
NS Softwood Production / Capacity Alternatives**

<b>(figures in millions m<sup>3</sup>)</b>	<b>1991-95</b>	<b>2021-25</b>	<b>2051-55</b>
Demand Forecast:	3.75	5.3	6.0
Supply Forecast:			
under Passive Management	2.5	3.0	3.1
under Basic Management	2.7	3.4	3.6
under Intensive Management	3.75	5.3	6.0

taken from 1991 CAFD

As any sort of “intensive management” proposal can only be successful if it can entice the participation of small private landowners (the CAFD document, for example, places the necessary rate of woodlot owner participation at 85%), it is therefore to be considered a priority of the NS government that it first identify whatever principal demands or policy-related interests this majority landownership sector collectively holds.

It is on this line of reasoning that this thesis stipulates **any NS forest policy review process must consider the interests of the small private woodlot owner**. Note that such a perspective is not new. It was outlined in the strategy principles that supported the development of past Can/NS forest management agreements:

“Incentive programs must accommodate a spectrum of owner preferences, consistent with the overall objectives of the Agreement, if the required levels of silviculture are to be realized.” (CAFD)

The AAC calculation is the appropriate first step in protecting the future integrity of this province's forest resources. That said, its value is only akin to that of a barometer: while it can offer a useful appraisal of the present situation, it remains an ineffective technical tool without the adoption of the properly responsive management actions. It should also be noted that the AAC projection has not on past occasions prevented a degree of softwood over-cutting from taking place (NSFR, TSF). It is therefore most impractical to believe that a worse environmental predicament is not ahead for NS if the AAC calculations become seriously contrary with the conditions of actual industrial demand, or with the levels of forest management activity.

How this province will augment its softwood supply so as to meet the forecasted industrial projections - an objective that was clearly outlined in its 1986 **NS Forest Policy**, and was being met satisfactorily by the various development agreements of the past two decades - is a critical uncertainty for both the industry and the NS environment. For the many accompanying rural communities and landowning residents whose interests journey within this forested environment, it is a concern which may eventually become severe without continued efforts through public policy to maintain the current capacity of the NS forest through the properly responsive resource management programs.

This section has concluded that **protecting the natural capacity of the NS softwood supply remains largely in the determining hands of the small woodlot owner and the intensive forest management practices that are undertaken.**

The section has cited a variety of recent government documents to point out how current industrial demand is highly dependent on fibre production from small private woodlots. The long-term production capacity of the small private woodlot sector is itself dependent on how effectively it is being managed by the many thousands of individual landowners. As a result, a correlation can be made between sustaining the levels of present industrial demand and ensuring that the desired management activities on small private woodlots is taking place.

A priority of the provincial government during any consultative process in revising its forest management strategies must therefore be to assemble and to build on the interests of this important landownership sector.

Without the continued participation of the majority of small private woodlot owners with provincial forest management objectives - which is unlikely to be obtained should their interests be excluded (or inhibited) during the policy review process - there can only be negative implications for the entire forest industry down the road.

The previous section reviewed how the private landownership pattern supported the development of many small communities within the rural NS landscape over the last two centuries. Sustaining these communities (or, at the very least, ensuring that the interests of these communities are well-represented) in the development of any applicable public policies can be considered the rural planner's primary concern. This section has further examined the important role of the private woodlot sector in sustaining the existing NS forest industry through the necessary and ongoing proper management of their lands. It is evident that without the sector's continued participation with provincial management objectives, the long-term sustainability of the NS forest industry is highly questionable.

Both conclusions help in justifying the planner's role as an advocate for the small woodlot owner in the development of any new provincial forest management strategy.

The next section reaffirms both of these initial arguments through an examination of three recent surveys outlining the demographic, marketing, and management characteristics of the small private woodlot sector.

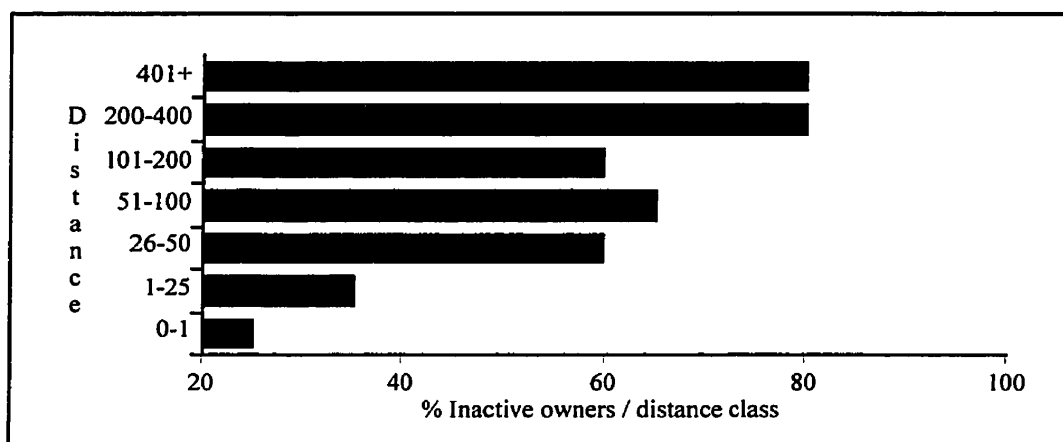
### 3.3 Survey of the private woodlot sector

This section describes a number of conclusions based on three recent surveys of the private woodlot sector. These facts support the previous arguments that: small private woodlot owners are an important consideration in maintaining both (3.1) the rural NS community and (3.2) the existing NS forest industry.

The first section of this chapter concluded that the development of rural NS communities was substantially assisted by the wide-scale transfer of small tracts of resource land to private interests early in the settlement process.

This conclusion leads to the assumption that any reduction in the present percentage of woodlot owners subsequently will have a negative effect on existing rural communities. The contention is that any provincial forest policy adverse (or indifferent) to the interests of small private woodlot owners is adverse to the interests of the rural community to which these landowners belong. Since forest policy affects the ongoing use of land parcels within these communities, it is important from a rural planner's perspective that the affected landowners are adequately represented in the policy development process.

Results taken from the 1979 MacQuarrie survey prove that such an assumption is true. Of the estimated thirty thousand small woodlot owners in NS, more than half live on or within one mile from the location of their woodlot. Approximately 78% reside within one to 25 miles of their property. As such, it can be argued that private woodlot ownership remains predominantly an undertaking of rural NS residents. Furthermore, MacQuarrie's survey revealed that the proximity of a small woodlot owner to his/her resource property positively affected the owner's inclination to engage in forest activities (management or harvesting practices). The rate of potential forest-related activity for landowners who live further than 25 miles was significantly lower than for those residents who lived in closer proximity. See Figure 3-5.



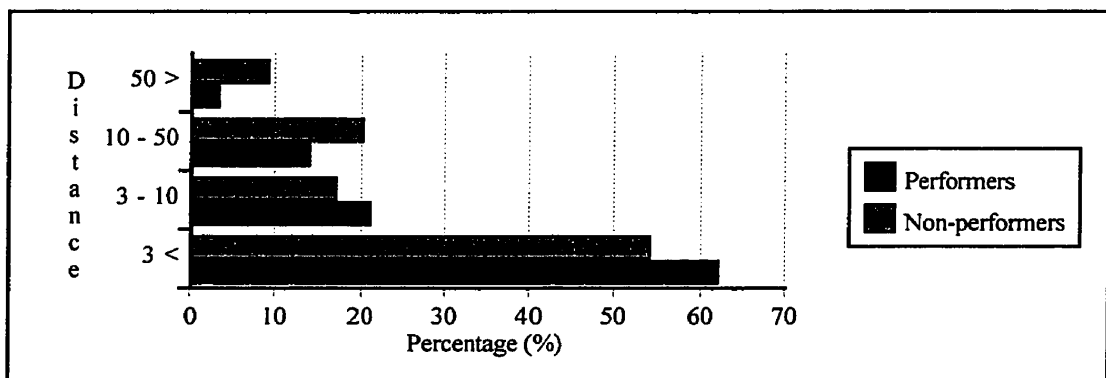
**Figure 3-5**  
**Ownership Activity Versus Distance to Property (MacQuarrie)**

The conclusion to be made as a result of this survey is that private woodlot owners typically live in close proximity to their woodlots, and engage in forest management practices or harvesting activities depending on that proximity. Thus, rural NS residents who are most affected by adjacent forested land uses are more inclined to be (1) owners and (2) better users of those properties. From both a community planning and a land use perspective, it is critical that the provincial government identify this correlation in the development of its forest management strategies: **that the ownership and use of forest land is integrated with residency in rural NS communities.**

This predominance of small private woodlot owners residing near their resource property is a positive element on which to construct provincial resource development policies. While speculative thoughts exist as to the important role of the “community” in the management of natural resources in other provincial strategies (see, as example, Ontario Lands for Life program discussion paper, 1997; also Harvey and Usher, 1996), the lack of private resource landownership works as an impediment against the development of any such proposals in these jurisdictions. In rural NS, this impediment does not exist, since those who live in rural communities are, as well, the majority of those who own the surrounding forest.

As such, there is a stable relationship between how property is owned by residents in rural NS and how natural resources are cultivated. This socio-geographical structure is referred to as a “managed countryside” (Newby, 1996). It is contrary to the typical North American rural design of “undeveloped natural landscapes,” in which a central authority retains exclusive claim over land development. To deconstruct the prevailing private landownership pattern would weaken what is one of the strongest links between residents of rural NS communities and the landscape they occupy.

The 1979 MacQuarrie figures were corroborated in the 1989 Griffiths-Muecke survey (it is unfortunate that one of the questions omitted from the most recent 1993 Wellstead survey was the issue of landowner proximity). The G-M study was primarily concerned with assessing the participation rate of woodlot owners in the Private Lands Management program. In particular, the G-M report focused on the demographic similarities among “non-performers” (woodlot owners who engage in initial management practices but who do not follow up with further management or industry-related activities), and the economic impact of non-performers on provincial forest management programs. This survey found that (among other things) the likelihood of performance increased with proximity. See Figure 3-6. The “performance” percentages themselves indicated that there had been no substantial changes in the proximity patterns of private woodlot owners in the ten years between the two studies. The 1989 figures revealed 59% of small woodlot owners live on or within 3km of their property, and that 78% reside within 10km.



**Figure 3-6**  
**Ownership Performance versus Distance to Property (G-M)**

The second section of this chapter concluded that without continued (if not increased) participation of small woodlot owners in provincial management objectives, the current levels of industrial demand could not be sustained. This argument is substantiated by one of the three concluding recommendations found in the Wellstead survey:

There is every indication that Nova Scotia's forest economy will require an increased supply of products from small private woodlots well into the future. The industrial segment already produces "full-out" as it were, ... and it is problematic whether [the industrial segment] can, for reasons of sustainability, be the sole answer to future supply needs from the sector.

The 1993 Wellstead survey focused on the intentions of the small woodlot ownership sector to manage and to "market" (perform industrial activities on) their woodlots in the future, and how such intended activities were affected by past ownership actions and/or the potential use of any government programs. The survey covered and compared most of the ownership demographic characteristics previously undertaken in MacQuarrie. The Wellstead survey was more comprehensive than MacQuarrie (or G-M) in that it offered a comparative analysis of the sector's past activities and "intended" future behaviour.

The Wellstead study found that there was a considerable discrepancy between past and "intended" forest management activities. Approximately 60% of landowners surveyed had practised some form of management activity in the past five years. 42% indicated that they intended to perform any similar activities in the next five. Both aspects (the low percentage of intended managers, the spontaneous approach to forest management by 18% of landowners) were seen as major concerns. While it was clear that the subsidy-based nature of existing programs (in place for a decade in 1993) had increased the number of small woodlot owners who practised forest management activities, it was also evident that the programs themselves had not resulted in any evolution of landowner "intent." A decade of extensive information programs and funding incentives encouraging the woodlot owner's participation had not seemingly brought about any increase in the number of landowners who planned to engage in such management activities in the future.

As recently as 1993, it is clear that the willingness of private forest landowners to manage their properties in accordance with provincial management objectives was **still very much dependent on the availability of funding**. While there had been an increase in the “intended” marketing activities of the private woodlot ownership sector during the time that the management programs had been in effect (the percentage of “marketing” in 1993 was 38.2%, up approximately 10% from MacQuarrie), the majority of private woodlot owners were still not prepared to manage their lands for industrial use without continued subsidization. This thesis can therefore conclude that inattention to the present mind set of private woodlot owners in the development of NS forest management policies can only have a **negative impact on the future sustainability of the entire industry**.

In addition, the 1993 Wellstead study asked small woodlot owners who they believed contributed the most financial resources to the forest management activities on their property. While it may not be considered too surprising, small woodlot owners not only considered themselves the primary cost-bearers, they also believed that their sector should be the least likely to increase their financial commitment. See Table 3-3.

**Table 3-3**  
**Identified Contributors to Private Woodlot Management**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Current Primary Contributor</b>	<b>Should Increase Contribution</b>
Woodlot owners	459 respondents	236 respondents
Provincial government	460	381
Federal government	348	320
Industry / Wood Buyers	64	333

taken from 1993 Wellstead

Interestingly enough, this survey’s results were produced at approximately the same time that the federal and provincial governments were eliminating funding for forest programs, and at the same time that the Coalition review process was being established.



## **Conclusions to Chapter**

This chapter concluded that there are two applicable “greater benefits” identifiable with the proposed advocacy of private woodlot interests in provincial forest policy making. As such, these conclusions are found to be supportive of the paper’s principal argument: that the interests of private woodlot owners are to be more centrally incorporated in the development of provincial forest policy. Furthermore, these two conditions are to be considered as additional incentives in support of the principle-based argument which necessitates the advocate role of the planner.

This chapter’s first conclusion is that the existence of communities in rural NS has been, and remains, largely supported by the small-scaled private resource landownership pattern.

This chapter considered the traditional role of private forested land in rural community development. It outlined how the ownership of private woodlots is still to be very much associated with rural NS residency. As such, this chapter concluded that there is a correlation between the interests of the private woodlot sector and those greater interests concerned with sustaining the small (and typically isolated) rural communities in which the majority of these landowners reside.

That the interests of the individuals in the private woodlot sector may not be reflected, or shared, by the entire province is, at least within the confines of this paper, uncontested. That said, it is certain that the residents of existing small rural communities in NS would not actively promote or would they tolerate their own community’s deconstruction (and the subsequent erosion of their own economic self-interests) through inattentive or adverse public policies.

This chapter’s second conclusion is that the long-term sustainability of the NS forest industry is directly related with the management actions of small private woodlots.

This chapter established the importance of small private woodlots in maintaining the increased levels of industrial demand for NS softwood. It described the necessary role of public funding in support of private woodlot management in making these industry-related objectives possible. It reported the private woodlot ownership sector's present disinclination to manage for industrial use without such funding being available to them.

The conclusion reached by Wellstead was that: **"...the health of the NS forest economy depends upon continued and indeed increased productivity in the small woodlot sector."**

This chapter therefore concluded that the interests of private woodlot owners are to be associated with the greater interests shared by all NS residents in maintaining a productive forest industry for some time well into the future. Assuring that private woodlot interests are represented in the provincial forest policy review process not only makes the review process credible; there is also a greater likelihood that the landownership sector will be responsive to any drafted management strategies, which in turn protects the long-term sustainability of the industry.

The conclusions established in this chapter, along with the principles outlined in Chapter Two's argument, justifies the planner's interests in provincial forest policy making and the promotion of a specific agenda (advocacy of private woodlot interests) within the review process. However, it must be reiterated that in no way is this thesis arguing that this adopted "vision" be seen as the absolute or exclusive perspective on how provincial forest policy is to be properly developed. Like all public administrative policies, forest policy is recognized as being an integrated concept, in which numerous stake holders are to be considered and whose interests are to be harmonised.

The next chapter takes a step back from the specifics of NS forest management strategy to consider whether or not the provincial government has adequately incorporated its natural resource policies in with the larger context of rural development planning.

#### **4 Forest Policy and Rural Development**

This chapter argues that the true worth of rural NS land lies in the sustainable utilization of the renewable natural resources that have been traditionally derived from it. Based on this, the principal goal in the ongoing development of the rural NS landscape should therefore be the strengthening of any existing agricultural and forestry-related land uses. The role of the provincial government is to contribute whatever legislation, programs, or financial support it can towards those development programs that would help to secure this primary objective.

This chapter will conclude that all other rural/regional economic development policies and programs are to be considered secondary in priority and complementary in intent to those strategies which promote the full and sustainable utilization of rural resource land uses.

The implementation of a subsidy-based private forest land management program should be instituted by the province before funding is offered in conjunction with any other, less critical regional development programs.

The first section of this chapter (4.1) determines why rural development planning is to be strongly linked with natural resource-based activities. It proposes that rural planners and other development agents must comprehend **the differential nature of assessing land value within the rural environment** in order to understand what crucial value is to be placed on the supportive maintenance of primary resource lands.

The second section (4.2) assesses whether the present provincial government has established any linkage between the development of its forest management policies and a more generalized rural development policy. Without any such link, it is argued that the province's approach towards regional development is not comprehensive enough to meet the requirements of existing rural NS communities.

#### 4.1 Coordinating rural development through natural resource-based activities

First, the concept of “worth” in appraising rural land value must be properly defined. Worth may be seen as a situational condition of consequence only to interested parties. A private rural woodlot holds no value if a person cannot perceive a necessary use for it themselves, or if they cannot readily exchange it for something they alternatively desire. The value of a plot of land, therefore, is only measurable by what utility it holds for those who are (1) interested or are (2) influenced by its operation.

Those in immediate proximity to the land are naturally more concerned with determining its value, and are subsequently going to use their own particular judgment system to define its worth. It is for this reason that the role of determining which sort of land use is to be allowed on a specific site (zoning regulations) falls to municipalities. Those surrounding residents who are most influenced are then afforded the most crucial say. This is the basis of community planning.

If land value is an indeterminate variable dependent on the perceptions of whoever owns it, whoever wishes to make use of it, and whoever else is significantly affected by its operation, what assumptions can be made concerning the differences (if any) between urban and rural land use values? This thesis contends that private rural land value is determined primarily by **the stable maintenance of its performed capabilities**, whereas the worth of private urban land is arrived at through **an assessment of its possible future capacities**:

(1) **Urban:** Private land situated within an urban setting ultimately holds value because of the “development potential” it perpetually maintains; that is, its potential to be turned into something else that is seen to be of greater use to the many surrounding residents who are influenced by its operation. Urban investment decisions are made on the theory that the location of a particular property, combined with the development of a potential future land use, will be more profitable to the landowner than what presently exists.

**(2) Rural:** In contrast, private rural land successfully sustains value by ensuring that its traditional natural resource use can be repeatedly capitalized on by the few surrounding residents concerned with receiving an economic return for maintaining its continued stewardship. If the surrounding land is not worth being repeatedly used for its natural resource-related uses, there is no compulsion for residents to remain or to own private property within an isolated, sparsely-populated community. A rural community can therefore only be considered sustainable if its surrounding natural resource lands operate as a **supportive economic element in its ongoing existence.**

By such standards, a valid question when discussing any suitable development initiatives within a rural community is: “how can land be correctly managed through the use of its natural resources in order for it to achieve sufficient value to keep resident landowners within the community?” This perspective is a far different approach to the concept of urban development of: “how can the land be successfully converted for more proficient use to community residents and possibly greater profit to its owner?”

The rural NS environment would be better served if these straightforward assertions were more widely adopted by those employed to regulate its local land use management, as well as by those who direct the development of provincial policies aimed at administering the long term evolution of rural communities.

This would include those policy makers concerned with the review and analysis of provincial forest management, as well as those regional development agencies involved with the implementation and use of community development funding projects.

It is inappropriate to advocate that any other community economic development (CED) strategies (such as the subsidized development of any tourist-based, manufacturing, technologically-related, and/or service-related employment activities) are capable of ensuring rural NS interests as sufficiently as would any management or funding programs devoted to the strengthening of existing natural resource uses.

While there is undoubtedly some attractiveness in developing these other economic development activities in certain locations and circumstances, these strategies can be identified as falling short of **meeting the traditional expectations of land use within existing rural communities.**

Instead, these alternative CED strategies theorize that in order to survive, a small rural community must accept new forms of economic development and/or land uses, rather than continue to try to sustain itself through the supportive management of existing land use activities. Such a strategy is, in my view, misguided. Nor is it consistent with the provincial government's own recent study which reveals that over half of the commercial enterprises established in rural NS communities are dependent on resource-related activities (ECRA, 1997).

The assumption that a rural community must economically diversify in order to survive - that it is through advocating **further land conversion**, rather than through supporting **continued natural resource cultivation** - is inherently speculative. Furthermore, it is an urban-based answer to land development that is contrary to the rural community ideal.

Certainly, there is a limit as to the capacity of the natural resource base in supporting a community. This thesis acknowledges that the strategy of diversification is a valid economic growth strategy. That said, there is recognisably little merit in the province promoting a **growth** strategy for its rural communities before adopting a strategy aimed at **sustaining** the existing, and recognizably critical, natural resource base.

Previous chapters examined how the development of many small and distinctive rural NS communities was a direct result of the extensive private resource landownership pattern, and how the protection of this land pattern can be directly related to existing rural community interests (see sections 3.1 and 3.3). This section has further contended that the maintenance of this land pattern is in turn dependent on maintaining the continued viability of the natural resource base.

Without maintaining the dominant natural resource land use structure through supportive (and when possible, financially beneficial) public management policies, the future for small rural NS communities has obviously less promising options to consider:

- (1) Eventual deterioration through the continued neglect of its interests;
- (2) Possible survival by acting as a distant residential extension of an urban community, with the steady incorporation of urban-based land values.

Regional development agencies working in rural areas should instead seek to optimize those primary resource land uses consistent with sustaining traditional communities. This would include using any provincial funding initiatives at their disposal. The unfortunate prominence given to non-primary resource related development in NS is well-illustrated in the newly-consolidated **COOPERATION Agreement for Economic Diversification**. The EDA serves as the major funding document for RDAs located across the province. If the strategy of “economic diversification” means the neglectful deterioration of a valuable natural resource base within rural NS, current provincial regional economic development policy is proposing little that will serve to strengthen the existing rural community, or protect its important natural resources in the long-term.

This section proposed that maintaining the productivity of natural resource land uses is a fundamental component when forming a regional development strategy for rural NS. It concluded that the differential conditions allocated to land uses in rural areas be identified in the production of any applicable rural development strategies.

As such, the provincial government and the local RDAs must consider channelling available public funds into resource-related development programs before pursuing secondary alternatives that do not serve as sufficiently the interests of existing rural communities. In such a manner, **the existing interests of private resource landowners who reside in rural NS can be adequately reflected and incorporated in their province’s rural development policies.**

## **4.2 Assessing present provincial rural development policy and related programs**

This section analyzes two recent provincial government documents and assesses whether there is a constructive link between forest management policy and a more generalized rural development policy in NS.

This thesis argues that without a consistent agenda demonstrating a more preferable development option, it remains the responsibility of the provincial government to protect the traditional, private forest landownership pattern as found in the existing rural NS landscape. This section will concentrate on the one remaining federal-provincial funding document associated with regional economic development. It will also survey the annual provincial government business plan, which sets out in some detail the province's public administrative priorities.

In spite of the recent cutbacks in public spending, both the provincial and federal governments have continued to recognize their important role in promoting rural economic development. One recent policy document related to business development in rural areas identified this role as being one which can provide rural communities with (ECRA):

- (1) the provision of financial incentives;
- (2) improved access to information and service delivery; and
- (3) the maintenance of a supportive management infrastructure.

From 1986 until 1995, the two levels of government worked quite successfully in fulfilling these objectives under a cost-shared framework of 14 separate COOPERATION development agreements. Each of the agreements was targeted on a specific area (or sector) of regional development. The forestry development agreement (CAFD) was but one rural development-related objective significantly aided by shared financing.



Consequently, while there were an abundance of government programs in NS that were well-disposed to a variety of rural issues during the previous decade, there may have also been **a lack of coordination in any large-scale CED policy direction**, since each of the 14 separate funding agreements held individual policy goals and implemented their management programs exclusively under different departmental guidelines.

This sector-specific aspect to regional development fundamentally changed in 1996, when all of the programs were consolidated into a single agreement - the **“COOPERATION Agreement for Economic Diversification.”** In the NS government’s interpretation, the development of one “umbrella” organizational structure for CED funding under the NS Economic Renewal Agency was superior to the segmented approach of past federal-provincial regional economic development initiatives in two pivotal ways:

First, a consolidated organizational structure meant that any funding put towards regional economic development programs would be less likely to be diverted into supporting an oversized bureaucracy performing duplicate administrative tasks. Second, a streamlined funding agreement was identified as being more “client-friendly” in its allowing for more “flexibility” in meeting specific development objectives by allowing the clients (in effect, the local RDAs) to determine which programs were most applicable to their interests.

These (somewhat disputable) operational-related considerations aside, the principal and unstated motivation in constructing a single agreement remained financially-oriented. Funding could be significantly cut through the process of amalgamating 14 separate agreements into one comprehensive strategy. Only \$240 M was allocated to be spent under the EDA. This number is substantially smaller in comparison to the many hundreds of millions of dollars that had gone into the earlier sector-specific COOPERATION programs (note \$98 M budget for the CAFD alone). Thus, while a move towards one consolidated agreement allowed for **a comprehensive approach to regional economic development policy formulation**, its inducement was really to cut the amount of public subsidization allotted to existing CED-related programs.

A reduction in public spending on regional economic development programs is not necessarily a bad thing. However, upon a review of the principles and guidelines found in the one remaining development planning agreement, this thesis takes significant issue with the absence of any supportive policies or funding programs directly related to natural resource management, and more specifically, to private forest land management.

Previous chapters have identified the unique circumstances between private resource landownership and rural communities in this province (3.1). These sections also have considered the critical role of private woodlots in maintaining supply for the current industrial demand (3.2). This thesis would therefore argue that any consolidated regional development agreement should inherit from its CAFD predecessor those subsidy-based programs designed to encourage private forest land management. In this aspect, the EDA fell short.

Instead, the criteria adopted by the agreement favoured programs aimed at establishing new commercial enterprises in “emerging sectors” of the NS economy. The EDA’s operational guidelines were centred on five key “Building Blocks.” All proposals (community level projects to be carried out by the local RDAs through EDA funding) were to “contribute to.....and take direction from these Building Blocks (EDA).” Not one of the five Building Blocks specified the importance of sustaining the NS forestry resource (or, for that matter, sustaining any agricultural-related activities) as being a vital component in the province’s overall regional economic development strategy.

As such, the adopted provincial strategy was to promote regional growth through greater economic **diversification**, (somewhat obvious by the Agreement’s name), as opposed to trying to **consolidate** those existing aspects which presently supported the province’s various local economies. The **EDA** focus was evidently not designed to be conducive for any more funding to go towards primary resource management projects. This lack of interest in subsidizing natural resource development is further apparent from statements found within the Agreement’s preamble (EDA):

Fundamental changes are occurring in Nova Scotia. Changes are occurring in product demand, natural resource supply, price and quality competitiveness, and in the relative prices of inputs. Industries traditionally based on harvesting and selling of our resources no longer provide the same opportunities for continued growth in jobs and income.

Admittedly, procuring economic growth for rural NS communities through the support of private forest management activities has limited potential. That said, there is little merit in arguing that because: (1) there is little opportunity for substantial growth within the primary resource sectors that therefore: (2) provincial funding would be better spent on subsidizing alternative CED projects aimed at economic diversification. The two concepts are, in my view, completely unconnected.

If the provincial goal is to make the various regions of NS more “diversified” by being less dependent on traditional industries (those related to resource cultivation), it will certainly accomplish this task by abdicating the long-term management of its primary resources. But is the neglect of a strategic economic sector really a valid planning strategy for rural development? Rather than proposing (and subsidizing) change as being the most attractive answer, this thesis would again argue that **a better development alternative to consider is the constructive defence of what already exists in the present landscape.**

The productive use of natural resource lands has been and remains the primary basis in maintaining the existence of many small rural NS communities. If this basis is threatened and/or is diminished sufficiently through inattentive public policies, it is reasonable to propose that the majority of these communities could no longer survive. Alternative funding projects aimed at rural development are therefore insubstantial, and certainly not cost-effective, without first having in place those programs which help to sustain the existing natural resource land use framework. This is the inaccuracy of the EDA diversification strategy: it assumes that the original foundation upon which the rural community rests (resource cultivation) no longer requires public funding support.

Ensuring that the existing supply of primary resource land (or agricultural lands) will be adequately managed seems not to have been considered at all within the **EDA** document. Despite the inclusion of some generalized objectives within the agreement such as: “encourage the practice of sustainable development,” there is no outlined procedure illustrating the province’s willingness to put any funding towards natural resource-related development programs to ensure that sustainable development in a major industry such as forestry is taking place.

The **EDA** document was supposed to represent a broad-based, consolidated approach (read: an agreement which could cross over departmental policy lines) towards the challenge of economic development. The evident lack of connection between resource management and the province’s regional funding programs is critical. The current provincial approach to natural resource management lacks any connection with the province’s regional economic development activities.

The **EDA** is one standard to measure the NS government’s rural development planning policies. The Agreement is well-suited for analysis since it clearly relates what **CED** programs are supported financially. Another important policy document to consider is the provincial government business plan. The 1997 plan, entitled **Government by Design**, outlines the current provincial public agenda. It establishes: (1) what the government sees as its goals and responsibilities; (2) how it should set about achieving these various objectives; and (3) designated indicators (called outcome measures) used in evaluating whether it is successful in meeting its annual targets.

The business plan can be further broken down into two parts. The first part offers an overall view of the government’s objectives, outlined under strategic aims. Priorities are categorized under four major headings - “Social Responsibility” “Economic Growth” “Responsive Government” or “Fiscal Stability.” The second part adopts a similar approach in establishing the specified agenda for each of the departments. See Figures 4-1 to 4-3 for an edited adaption of the relevant strategic measures.

**Figure 4-1**  
**Generalized goals of the NS government**

<b>priority statement</b>	stewardship of NS natural heritage (Social Responsibility) “Protecting the environment and ensuring resources are managed for sustainability are government priorities. The province will support sound resource stewardship and the health and diversity of the natural environment.”
<b>strategies</b>	(i) The province will support sustainable forest management by implementing programs to encourage a level of silviculture commensurate with the level of harvest on forested lands, and by updating forest/wildlife guidelines to reflect new information and better protect wildlife communities that depend on forests. (ii) A new system will be implemented for reporting forest harvest and production data.
<b>priority statement</b>	creating new wealth, exploring new opportunities (Economic Growth) “NS is regaining its historic place among the world’s great traders. Optimizing benefits from resource development, including those offshore, adding value to traditional exports, and marketing emerging products and services will create new wealth and jobs at home.”
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Adding value to traditional and resource-based sectors of the economy.
<b>priority statement</b>	viable communities - building on strength (Economic Growth) “The first economic challenge facing NS is to seize the opportunities that are within our grasp. The next, and in some ways more daunting challenge, is to ensure people living in every part of our province share in the opportunities.”
<b>strategies</b>	(i) Provincially funded regional development authorities, working with local community and business leaders, will implement strategic plans in each region. A province-wide database will be developed to identify community economic opportunities and needs. (ii) The Community Business Loans Program will be expanded to increase support to new businesses after they receive loans. Expanded support will also be available to cooperatives. Training opportunities available to small business operators and community economic development and business support personnel will be enhanced and expanded.

**Figure 4-2**  
**Related priorities - Natural Resources**

<b>priority statement</b>	achieve sound natural resources stewardship and sustainable development “The department will continue with initiatives designed to maintain the health and sustained availability of the province's resources. A sound resource base will provide opportunities for economic development and health and recreational benefits essential to our quality of life.”
<b>strategies</b>	(i) Develop a Code of Forest Practices in cooperation with stakeholders and the NS Coalition of Forest Interests, in order to ensure sound forest management through which a variety of forest benefits can be produced on a sustainable basis. (ii) Implement programs to encourage a level of silviculture commensurate with the level of harvest on all forest lands. (iii) Expand the focus of integrated resource management (IRM) activities to include consideration of a broader range of resource and land management issues on both Crown and private lands, and develop stronger relationships with other departments, levels of governments, and community and stakeholder groups.
<b>priority statement</b>	maintain the economic base for jobs and incomes in NS “The department will undertake initiatives to encourage a competitive business and economic climate supported by effective policies and regulations for the management and use of NS's natural resources.”
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Develop and implement a system for the timely and accurate reporting of forest harvest and production data, in order to assess the sustainability of the forest resource, to determine the long-term resource management needs, and to identify opportunities for product development including higher value added products.
<b>priority statement</b>	improve the quality of life for Nova Scotians “The department will emphasize activities that support communities and citizens by providing them opportunities for input to resource management decisions and with a sound resource base and infrastructure to support economic and recreational pursuits.”
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Pursue further opportunities for community-based partnerships involving outdoor recreation and nature tourism development initiatives.

<b>priority</b>	ensure the effective use of financial and human resources
<b>statement</b>	“The department will continue to improve processes and procedures to enhance client service, improve the efficiency of internal operations, and reduce costs to meet expenditure targets.
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Work closely with other departments to coordinate activities related to environmental and resource management, occupational health and safety, business service delivery, trade and markets, nature based tourism and outdoor recreation and community development.

**Figure 4-3**

**Related priorities - Economic Development and Tourism (EDT)**

<b>priority</b>	create a diversified, export-driven economy in Nova Scotia
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Establish a public-private trade partnership team to develop and implement aggressive export strategies for specific industries and individual companies.
<b>priority</b>	stimulate economic growth throughout Nova Scotia
<b>strategies</b>	(i) Ensure direct community involvement in all action strategies developed through the Economic Development Strategy. (ii) Encourage a cross-sectoral approach to community economic development issues and implement a plan to build awareness and involvement in CED at the community level.
<b>priority</b>	ensure that economic development is a priority for all provincial government departments and agencies.
<b>strategy</b>	(i) Partner with other departments in the development and implementation of individual departmental strategies aimed at sectoral development and increased economic growth.

taken from 1997 GBD

In reviewing these priorities, it is clear that the “generalized” provincial goals related to forest management or rural community development are reproduced effectively in the agendas of the two line departments. Natural Resources sufficiently details its plans for protecting the sustainability of the forest resource. Their priorities also include the “effective economic use” of forested land through whatever regulations or programs are considered necessary. EDT documents its role in “coordinating development activities with all other departments” in order to arrive at the most constructive CED strategies. The two departments also outline their support for procuring community involvement *during the determination of any respective strategies.*

This thesis would therefore conclude that there is no insufficiency in the provincial government’s generalized rural development policy statements; nor in its having these important policies reflected at some departmental level. The necessity of ensuring sustainable resource management; the coordination of economic development activities across departmental lines; the importance of involving affected communities in the policy decision making process: all of these strategies are to be found in the GBD document. The difficulty may be that in delineating its objectives, the provincial government has not adequately ensured that there is a sufficient integration between the goals and various responsibilities of the two departments responsible for economic development and for natural resources. There is, for example, no commonly-held objective between the two expressing a shared priority in sustaining the province’s natural resources as a legitimate economic development strategy.

The lack of any forest management-oriented direction in the province’s CED policies is critical. Since the 1960s, rural communities have become more prone to the misfortunes of unsustainable harvesting practices. While it has remained relatively easy for industry to find new resource lands to cultivate, it has been left to governments to answer (and to finance) how existing communities could survive both economically and environmentally when industry depletes the local resource supply (M’Gonigle, 1993).



With the consolidation of all the COOPERATION agreements into one program, there was a significant failure to secure the interests of rural resource landowners as one of the necessary priorities within the EDT rural development planning structure. In this aspect, it may be argued that EDT is not adequately fulfilling its designated mandate in partnering with other provincial departments to secure proper community economic development. This absence of such integration between departments is an even greater threat when the consequences affect the long-term sustainability of the province's natural resource lands.

Regional development agencies should therefore be held more accountable to the existing interests of the landowners of the local rural communities they serve. Local RDAs in rural NS are to be financially assisted in their role of: "...implement[ing] community investment and development projects that have municipal support, private sector champions, and have been identified as regional priorities in the strategic plan" (EDA). This thesis concludes: Shouldn't one of the outlined priorities be sustaining the existing local private sector investment (private woodlot ownership) in the forest industry?

### **Conclusions to Chapter**

This chapter concluded that forest management policy is an important element in provincial rural development. It concluded that the strategy for community economic development in rural areas must first be linked to the protective maintenance of existing resource land uses before considering alternative strategies based on "potentialities."

A provincial management program targeted on improving the production capacity of private woodlots is therefore identified as a primary candidate for development funding. This chapter noted that there is a lack of any interdepartmental coordination in ensuring that private forest management is incorporated into the present set of provincial rural development policies and funding agreements. This conclusion is linked to this paper's principal argument in that it suggests that the interests of woodlot owners have not been sufficiently integrated in the policy development process.

## **5 Forest Policy and the Coalition Process**

This chapter analyzes the increasing role of public management over private forest land, the shift in provincial forest strategy as a result of the recent review process, and the implications of the recommendations found in the Coalition draft policy document.

As argued in previous chapters, the development and application of provincial forest policy has a substantial impact on small private woodlots. This landownership sector owns the majority of forested land in NS. It has also been previously concluded that the interests of private woodlot owners hold “greater benefits” given the related role of the private woodlot sector with the development of small rural NS communities. There was an apparent lack of any similar “benefits” resulting from the Coalition process.

This chapter argues that **the lack of an accountable process in which the interests of small private woodlot owners could be better accommodated** resulted in the recent production of a publicly unpopular and potentially ineffective draft document. It further contends that the Coalition document was entirely outside its mandate to suggest the government accept its proposals in the development of a new provincial forest strategy.

This chapter begins with an analysis of provincial forest policy up until the Coalition review process (5.1). The direction of past provincial strategies is identified as taking a “developmental” approach to forest management. The second section of this chapter subsequently surveys the Coalition review process in which the NFS document was created (5.2), and considers whether the provincial government could review its forest policies in a manner more suited to meet applicable interests.

The final section reviews two of the Coalition draft document’s principal strategy recommendations (5.3). It assesses the consequences these proposed strategies will have on the existing rural NS landscape and the small private woodlot ownership sector should they eventually be incorporated as provincial policies.

## 5.1 Past public initiatives for improving private forest land management

It must be noted that other social concerns do exist for the forest policy maker beyond controlling industrial cultivation. The emergence of these various competing agendas and proposals (conservation for conservation's sake; increased demand for the development of recreational and tourism-related forested land uses; greater watershed and wildlife management; various scientific or institutional research activities; etc.) have all necessarily compelled that **a multi-use and a multi-disciplinary approach to public forest management become increasingly adopted in NS.**

This changing orientation in provincial forest management policy reflects both the evolution in societal values towards the monitoring of industrial development, as well as changes within resource consumption patterns (Hays, 1990). At one time, the emphasis of any sort of public forest policy was largely fixed on identifying how resources could be extracted for consumptive purposes.

This single-minded purpose in public forest management policy on the attainment of industry-related objectives has since been substantially replaced by a more embracing concept of "integrated" resource management. The forest is now identified as a source of diverse amenities - not all of which are seen as being product-oriented. As such, it is now "...increasingly accepted that a forest is a complete environment in which timber harvesting and management can no longer be isolated from other aspects of land and resource management" (Harvey and Usher). Any future provincial forest strategies must therefore be capable of satisfying a varying social agenda beyond those issues surrounding industrial use and cultivation.

This section first considers (in a very compressed review) the theoretical basis for the development of public forest management over the last number of decades. It then proceeds in outlining the particular evolution of NS forest management towards a more favourable "developmental" approach.

There are three sequential “stages” of provincial forest management policy (Pepler, 1970):

(1) **Protective** policies are the simplest priorities in public forest management. The intention of protective management regulations is to prevent any initial loss or needless damage to the existing forest (programs against disease, fire, severe over-cutting, rules against inappropriate access, etc). The aim, as such, is **custodial**.

(2) **Supervisory** policies establish the next management step in that they ensure the forest’s long-term survival. Supervisory policies seek to coordinate industrial use so that it complies to a “sustained-yield” basis - that exploitation does not exceed beyond the capacity for perceived future needs. This goal is achieved through more elaborate methods of protection and monitoring (enhanced regulations in harvesting practices, provision of silviculture programs aimed at more immediate restoration, better information gathering, etc). The aim of supervisory policies can best be described as **maintenance**.

(3) **Developmental** policies are created in response to the increasing pressures placed on the forest to provide for alternative future needs in a more effective manner than that which presently exists (Muth, 1990). Rather than simply committing to a long-term renewal, “developmental” policies are concerned with coordinating the forest’s evolution with specified social objectives. Such objectives would include the planning and coordination of alternative or multi-user demands beyond industrial cultivation. The third stage of public management is considerably more progressive than preceding approaches. The aim is the **transformation** of the forest to suit socially-determined needs.

These three stages are unquestionably a generalized description of resource policy. That said, their conciseness is useful when indicating how government management has greatly progressed in recent years. Any attempts by the NS government to reduce its role in the future - a retreat from acting in an advanced “developmental” capacity in compliance with a variety of interests, to it fulfilling only the most basic of “protective” functions for industry - may be criticized through the use of these appropriate terms.

During the last 30 years, NS forest policy has moved increasingly from a protective to a developmental role. Most notably, the province engineered three major funding agreements with the federal government which improved the state of private forest land management. Prior to these jointly funded initiatives, the vast majority went without intensive management, since any sort of “pay-off” in pursuing their proper management was identified as being beyond the life expectancy of individual private woodlot owners (FRDA). The government had remained largely unconcerned with advocating private forest land management through any regulatory measures since: (1) the idea (“fear of regulation”) remained unpopular with landowners; and (2) the link between private forest land and the sustainability of local industry was not as readily evident as is seen today. NS forest policy therefore remained largely custodial throughout most of this century, with few exceptions. The significant role of “public management” in improving the state of all resource land ownership sectors only evolved as the public’s interest in monitoring the harvesting practices of major industry for any environmental abuses increased during the 1960s and 1970s (Salazar, 1990).

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that subsidy-oriented management programs were only launched after the continued failure to regulate management of private lands through protective legislation. The inability of the **NS Forest Improvement Act** (first initiated as a regulatory proposal in 1962) to gain any major lobbying support, or obtain the compliance of local industry, led to its continued delay in being passed into law; and to its subsequent ineffectiveness once proclaimed in 1976. The continued inoperability of the FIA led to its being rescinded in 1986 (Sandberg (2)). What the provincial government could not succeed in accomplishing through legislation during the 1960s and 1970s, it then attempted through the development of federally-supported subsidy programs in the late 1970s. Note that the guiding policies for these management agreements superseded an earlier piece of provincial policy concerned with forestry-related expenditures (of relatively insignificant amounts) entitled **the Agricultural and Rural Development Act**. It is interesting that back in the 1970s, the NS government had no difficulty linking its spending on resource management as an item of its rural economic development policy.

Since it was first introduced, public funding has evidently proved more effective than restrictive legislation in meeting provincial forest strategy requirements. The 1977-1982 **Subsidiary Agreement for Forestry** was the first major federal-provincial agreement of any significant monetary amount (\$60.6 M). Its intentions were to promote “through public provision” the long-term management of the forest in support of perceived growing industrial needs. The Agreement offered approximately 2500 private woodlot owners technical support, educational advice and, most importantly, financial incentives, in improving their property in compliance with industrial uses. The Agreement was also the first resource development program to foster “group management ventures.”

The group venture program may be considered one of the more effective policy measures resulting from past provincial initiatives. While only eight group ventures were developed under the 1977 agreement, their number would rise to 18 under the ensuing 1982-1989 **Can/NS Forest Resource Development Agreement** (\$93.4 M - FRDA). These venture programs would continue to be well-supported under the 1989-1991 and 1991-1995 **Can/NS COOPERATION Agreements for Forestry Development** (\$45 M and \$98 M respectively - CAFD). The federal and provincial governments also constructed a **Forest Renewal Agreement** (\$25.5 M) that operated from 1984 to 1987.

This thesis contends that an organizational structure in which private woodlot owners share financial, technical, and silviculture resources through a local management network is highly effective in its allocation of a large measure of participation in forest development to each particular rural community over local forest land uses.

The creation of the group ventures program through a subsidy-oriented strategy is therefore to be considered as an important “developmental” step in provincial forest management. The government can be identified as having acted as a facilitator rather than as a determining authority in improving the capabilities of a community-based collection of small woodlot owners to meet their own chosen forest-related interests.

It is clear that neither industry nor the majority of private forest landowners have - to this point in time - held any desire to see the government's role augmented so that it acts as the controlling agent in determining the use of all forested lands. Past and continued controversy over the use of any "command and control" measures (seen with the FIA or in the recent response to the Coalition document) would bear out this conclusion.

At the same time however, the provincial government has been effective in establishing its management objectives over private land through a series of spending programs. It may therefore be concluded that by the 1990s, the NS government has successfully formulated an extensive role for itself through subsidization, with an agenda that extends beyond industry-related objectives. This publicly-accepted, multi-dimensional role for public forest management includes the development of privately-owned forest lands - a concept that was largely resisted when broached through regulatory measures twenty years ago.

The belief that "regulations do not correct problems, but only create new ones" (Laarman) led the NS government to an economic incentive structure in order for it to obtain its forest resource management objectives. Such an accomplishment is no easy task, given the conflicting and multiple interests of both the diverse supply sources and demand outlets. The provincial government should be commended for its accomplishments. The province should also be commended for developing a particular organizational framework that was most conducive to the interests of landowners. The group ventures program structure allowed for small private woodlot owners to direct their own management activities and interests in the particular section of the province's forest that they themselves possess. This idea of formulating a **community-centred agency** which can influence both **the use and the impact of land development** (in this case, large tracts of private resource land) is a positive step in the evolution of NS forest policy. Such an approach offered the small private woodlot owner the opportunity (in many instances for the first time) to become involved in forest management to a degree previously unobtainable. In short, the ventures program gave those owners of a small piece of the NS forest a measure of certainty that their interests were - in a collective sense - valuable to the province.

## 5.2 The shift from an incentive-based forest management policy

In late 1993, both the federal and provincial governments began to reassess the **CAFD** to determine if it should be extended after its expiry in 1995, or, alternatively, whether its priorities were to be re-examined and possibly replaced. The federal government revealed that it would no longer be involved with subsidizing any resource development programs with the various provinces. This termination of any federal commitment to resource development must have seemed quite unbelievable to NS policy makers. For the first time in twenty years, provincial governments would be left to formulate and (even more importantly) to finance their own independent forest management decisions.

The impact of terminating the **CAFD** may eventually prove to be more far-reaching for the rural NS environment than what may have been initially anticipated by the federal government when it announced its withdrawal. Yet even the cautionary bureaucratic recommendations found in the subsequent “**Federal Government’s Response to the Standing Committee on Natural Resources**” (advising against ending the resource agreement), were not convincing enough to change the minds of the then budget-conscious federal policy makers. That said, the federal dismantling of a supportive funding program directed at improving private forest land management was inattentive to the circumstances of landownership unique to NS. While the loss of funds to assist private woodlot owners in Ontario or BC may have been an insubstantial measure with insignificant costs to their respective governments; the scope of, and the industrial dependence on the small private NS woodlot owner made the federal decision a notable concern for this province. There subsequently has loomed a critical problem in NS as to how the provincial government could continue with its own resource management priorities. The objectives outlined in the **1986 NS Forest Policy** and the more recent **NS Forest Accord** had been largely built on the presumption of federal revenue. Neither of these two provincial strategies were particularly feasible without assuming that some considerable level of benevolent public funding would be present. In NS, “benevolent public funding” really meant continued federal financial sponsorship.



As late as 1994, the NS government was still outlining the need of establishing an increasingly “intensive management program” to improve stand tending and stand renewal on the majority of both public and privately-owned woodlots (NSFMS). Such a management strategy - no matter how necessary it may have been in sustaining future industrial demand in this province - was clearly proceeding in the opposite direction from the path being taken by federal financiers. Thus, it was the unanticipated change in federal policy, and all subsequent refusals to reevaluate their decision, which eventually forced the province to reconsider seriously its own set of tenuous forest management priorities.

Of most importance was whether the provincial government would consider continuing any incentive-based programs for small private woodlot owners through a substantial increase in their own spending. It has been explicitly repeated in many provincial strategies (such as the NSFMS) that without increases in the production yields from this sector, the conditions of both local industry and the environment would eventually fall into crisis. With these ominous conclusions in mind, the NS Minister of Natural Resources advised that a group representing the “**diverse voices**” of the NS forest industry would meet and discuss what were the province’s “most essential” forest management policy objectives for the future (APR). The “*Coalition of Nova Scotia Forest Interests*” was first formed in October 1993. The appointed Coalition members were:

***industry:***

- Bowater Mersey Paper Co. Ltd.
- Kimberly Clark
- Stora Forest Industries Ltd.
- Maritime Lumber Bureau
- NS Forest Products Association
- Wood Products Manufacturing Association

***landowners:***

- Forest Group Venture Association
- NS Landowners and Forest Fibre Producers Association
- NS Woodlot Owners and Operators Association

***unions, related management associations:***

- Association of Consulting Foresters of NS
- Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union
- NS Christmas Tree Council
- NS Forestry Association
- Silviculture Contractors Association of NS

Note that at the time the Coalition was commenced, there were more than two years left in the **CAFD** program. It can be argued that the Coalition was a modest and cautious step undertaken by the NS government at a time when it was still denying the eventual curtailment of federal funding of its forest management programs.

This chapter is directly concerned with the eventual fruits of the Coalition consultation process. In August of 1996, the Coalition produced a draft policy paper entitled: “**A New Forest Strategy for Nova Scotia.**” This Discussion Paper may one day be observed as a *critical watershed in the ongoing evolution of provincial forest management policy.* Despite the presence of three members on the Coalition, the group did not adequately represent the primary interests of the woodlot owners in the province.

While possibly only conceived out of the necessity to document industry’s willingness to cooperate on funding alternatives with the provincial government, the NFS document became a harbinger of a much more sweeping public policy shift. The Discussion Paper’s own suggested drafting of a new provincial forest strategy so as “...to address the long-term sustainability of the forest resource” (NFS) consequently generated a broader discussion than what may have originally been intended. In this aspect, the end vision of the Coalition process went far beyond the mandate originally assigned to it by the provincial government. The preliminary perspective (what the Coalition process was for) and the end results (the NFS document) were inevitably disparate.

If the province was not willing to finance a large percentage of its private landowners independently, there was indeed an urgency to reexamine its existing priorities, as expressed in the 1986 **NS Forest Policy**. This policy had outlined the importance of the private forest landownership sector in sustaining local industry. It also had referred to the necessity of using financial incentives in order to improve the productivity of this sector. By initiating the Coalition process, the NS government may not have asked for, but nonetheless may well have anticipated, that it would be necessary as well to consider the adoption of an entirely new forest policy.

That said, this thesis disagrees with the process in which the NFS document's findings were formulated, and argues that **it should not serve as a potential model for a new NS forest policy**. By its lack of an inclusive organizational structure, the Coalition only exposed more clearly the many divisive predicaments and new challenges presently facing provincial forest policy; it did not adequately resolve them. Certainly the NFS document revealed more conflict than solidarity among the interests of the forest community since it was first made public in 1996. The supply-oriented focus of its recommendations generated an unexpected level of public activity and criticism through the news media (*Chronicle-Herald*, 1996). There have also been a number of articles documenting the inadequacy of existing policy measures to counterbalance the increases in industrial harvesting pressures. The majority of these articles question whether the NS government is being sufficiently responsible in protecting the province's natural environment.

Beyond general public reaction as surveyed through media sources, a response document also exhibited the prevailing skepticism of NS residents in accepting the recommendations arrived at through the Coalition process. **"A Public Response to the Coalition of.."** was prepared by the Voluntary Planning Board at both the Coalition's and provincial government's behest during October 1996. Its intention was "...to serve as an objective party to facilitate public input" (APR) in rebuttal to the NFS document.

**"A Public Response"** was explicitly critical of the narrow fibre supply focus of the NFS document. Most important was the fact that its twelve member public panel would not endorse the Coalition's recommendations as being comprehensive enough for the creation of a new provincial forest policy. This lack of an endorsement through the VP review process is of considerable importance, given the customary favour of VP to act as a friendly consultative network for the voice of organized businesses such as the pulp industry (Clancy, 1990). Whether the NFS document was really meant to go quietly and effortlessly through the VP process, to reappear without sensation in some similarly worded format later on as official government policy without controversy, may have been effectively closed by the lack of a strong VP endorsement.

Further public criticism was evident in the majority of comments documented during VP's nine-stop public meeting tour across the province. A number of these comments expressed outright concern over the inherently industry-oriented structure of the Coalition. Its composition was seen as either:

- (1) ineffective in ensuring that the views of all stakeholders would be properly processed through a Coalition representative;
- (2) a corrupted, exclusionary process that did not allow for any of the more "diverse voices" to be heard.

This criticism of the appointed Coalition as being too industry-oriented to adequately shape a new provincial forest policy is well-founded. Note again the list of organizations assigned by the government to serve as participating representatives. Only three representatives promote the interests of over thirty thousand private landowners. This nominal representation effectively minimizes their long-term concerns in maintaining the (economic and environmental) viability of their land holdings. Instead, the majority of Coalition members represent the interests of buyers who profit only from the harvesting of the forest resource. A review process controlled by these members will inevitably recommend only those policies related to securing their own particular economic interests. Such a structure is insufficient in representing the entire NS forest community, since **those positioned to economically benefit are not necessarily those concerned with maintaining the existing natural environment.**

It may be argued that the Coalition process went beyond its mandate in proposing a new provincial forest strategy, and that the NFS document need not be criticized if its recognized intent is limited to industry-related management alternatives. However, this thesis has already established (refer to page 58) that the province's development of the Coalition review process inevitably lead the group to reach the conclusion that a new forest strategy was necessary, since many of the conditions that supported the 1986 NS Forest Policy were (by 1995-1996) were effectively dismantled.

Furthermore, it can be identified that there was evidently little public faith in an industry-oriented forest strategy being capable of guaranteeing long-term stability to the greater NS community without securing a more substantial involvement from other interested members. One public commentator noted:

A reference to the paper's endorsement of management practices based on sound ecological principles was discussed. It would appear, however, that the Coalition's paper is really based on the principles of profitability. It was observed that with the exception of the public, all the players are profit-driven....It was noted that money has no morals. (APR)

These conclusions point to the general failure of the NFS document. It did not measure up to the VP review or to public scrutiny. Its recommendations, while worth an objective appraisal, should not be considered acceptable without a more substantial review process. Further, it is argued that the Coalition process lacked any "greater benefits" appreciable to the wider NS community. There are evidently more Nova Scotians distressed with the state of our forest management policies, and the manner in which our publicly or privately owned forests are being cultivated, than were represented by the Coalition.

Within this fleeting window of resistant public opposition to the industry-driven Coalition Discussion Paper, this thesis argues that the provincial government could embark on a genuinely new and community-centred direction to develop its strategies. Undoubtedly public interest will move quickly enough to another issue in time, if it has not already done so. The other alternative is for government to sit out the debate until the NFS recommendations can be effectively carried out. Private woodlot owners deserve better than to be placed on policy hold for a couple years, only to have the proposals ultimately adopted. And while the **NS Forest Policy** and the **NS Forest Accord** may be well-intentioned, they are no longer applicable strategies to follow given the more recent withdrawal of federally funded programs. This province must adjust to present realities by setting out a new plan of action for its now largely independent management of the resource. As stated in the "Panel's Observations" section of the APR document:

“This is not an endorsement of the Coalition’s Discussion Paper but a recognition of the fact that they have started the public, the members of this province’s forest industry, and other stakeholders down a road towards a strategy. There is no turning back.” (APR)

This thesis proposes that the most preferable way the NS government can review its forest policies is through a **community-centred approach**, as opposed to organizational-based methods of evaluation. By directing the development of policy to a local level, the NS government can allow those landowners most affected to indicate clearly which sort of management programs and/or which regulatory measures they would likely accept.

From a planner’s perspective, reviewing forest policy through a community-centred process has two other distinct advantages: (1) it concedes that the province’s resource management priorities are tied in with local land use activities, and are therefore obligated to reflect the interests of affected residents; and (2) it can effectively link any resource management objectives with CED funding programs. In contrast, an organizational-based review (such as what was adopted in the Coalition process), will naturally favour only those interests compatible to a corporate structure. It is doubtful that such a structure can, at this point in time, reflect the priorities shared by thousands of woodlot owners.

Any consultative process that does not adhere to these planning principles may eventually lead to the development and the adoption of ineffective management policies, since the necessary participation of the large contingent of affected private landowners for whom the strategy is being developed is in no way assured. With this point in mind, this chapter now turns to an assessment of the NFS document’s recommendations.

### **5.3 Recommendations of the Coalition document**

This section considers the impact of the Coalition Discussion Paper's two principal strategy recommendations (organization of a comprehensive Registry of Buyers; adoption of a Forest Practices Code) on both the industry and on the forest landownership pattern should they eventually be adopted as provincial policies.

#### **5.3.1 Registry of Buyers**

The Coalition's first recommendation proposes that the provincial government develop more extensively its current information holdings on wood cultivation and production.

The principal role of government as defined by the Coalition's initial strategy is its provision of "complete, reliable and timely" information to any interested members of the public. The proposed action recommended by the Coalition is to organize a comprehensive registry of all NS wood buyers. Each Registered Buyer would then be committed to report annually on the quantity, type, and the origin of primary forest products purchased for export or for secondary use in production.

The province has surveyed the local industry and reported on the state of industrial production in NS for nearly sixty years, so the Discussion Paper's proposal of a more complete database centring on the wood buyers' actions is not altogether new. The latest CAFD funding agreement allocated close to \$6 M to accelerate the creation of a fully-computerized inventory regarding the state of the forest resource. The rush to establish such a thorough system ten years ahead of schedule suggests that the province has been intent on offering to the public (and to industry) the latest and most complete analysis as is technologically possible. Despite these commitments, however, the NFS document identified the potential in improving both the full recovery of, and the time delay in, processing the latest available information.

Quite separate from any indictment as to the completeness or speed of the present provincial inventory, is the more important question of whether or not the proposed Buyer Registry is really the proper step forward in data collection and reporting.

Acquiring and processing resource-related information is and always will be one of the major responsibilities of the provincial government. It should not, however, be regarded as one of the most pressing or fundamental of management priorities. This is especially true when the information already collected has established the fact that a substantial increase in intensive management on private forested land is critical, if not necessary. Furthermore, this thesis argues that **any information being collected through public funding is only as important as the reasons for which it is being processed.**

A Buyer Registry could improve the public's appraisal of many necessary and immediate forest management priorities. A clear attribution as to the quantity of wood harvested in a specific region, as well as from which category of landowner the resource is primarily being purchased, are good examples of valid public concerns that any worthwhile Registry system should (and does) address. At worst, however, an improved Registry system could simply act as a publicly sponsored means by which the major industrial buyers could more closely monitor the actions of its smaller competitors, or use as an aide in undermining the price demands of their various and largely segmented private suppliers.

There is another important consideration not sufficiently addressed by the Coalition's Buyer Registry proposal. Given the current intensity of industrial pressures being placed on the forest resource, the provincial government is compelled to find better ways that can assure the environmental sustainability of the forest, while at the same time obliging the continued increases in consumption from industrial users. This thesis proposes that in tracking information related to Buyers, why not consider better protecting the resource base from any potential environmental abuses by imposing certain restrictions on **the corporate buyer as to exactly how and from whom the cultivated resource may be purchased?**



NS wood buyers would be compelled to purchase the raw resource from those “proper suppliers” who qualify under publicly approved criterion. Any information system that monitors from where the wood is being purchased could furnish this data as well. The criteria used in defining any “proper suppliers” may be developed so as to address the long-term environmental and economic needs for the resource. Given its **general** interests in protecting forest land through the monitoring of buyers’ actions, the NS government can then secure certain regulatory standards over how the wood supply is being cultivated without attacking **specific** suppliers. In such a manner, there are no direct imposition or restrictions on each landowner. Rather, it is the corporate buyers who are inhibited from purchasing from other than those woodlot owners who have followed the appropriate provincially-approved criteria that ensure the long term sustainability of the resource.

No “inviolable rights” are being taken away from NS landowners - they can grow trees and chop them down and are free to choose whom they wish to sell to. Once, however, a woodlot owner seeks to enter into an economic arrangement with a buyer - it is then that they are no longer operating as simply a landowner, but rather as a supplier. And just like in any other social contract, both the vendor and the buyer may be obligated to obey certain provincial regulations that are created to protect a greater public mandate.

Of course, even initiating the term “proper suppliers” is a highly interpretative concept meaning various contentious things to various people, including a number of landowners. For the corporate wood buyers, any admission of the idea is often condemned as being an offensive notion, and seen as interfering with the essential “need for unrestricted access to available markets by all landowners and producers” (NFS). Such a criticism is off-target. Public regulations as to how (and where) a product is supplied is a recurrent, legitimized pattern seen everywhere in society - from controlled retail access to protective standard associations, to the monitoring of certain industrial methods of production. Defining public regulations that can circumscribe the supply of any sort of item or commodity - be it a primary resource or a finished good - is definitely not some sort of radical idea beyond the unwilling capabilities of present NS society to accept.

How such a concept is accepted is a different matter. The failure of the FIA illustrates how direct “command and control” measures over the development of private forest land is a difficult option (5.3.2 will examine the idea of any regulatory code further).

A more acceptable alternative would be to place the onus of regulatory compliance squarely on the Buyers. Any lack of responsibility to ensure that they are acquiring the cultivated resource in the correctly proscribed manner can thus become **usable data** for the provincial government. Simple carelessness or indifference on the part of the Buyer to obtain the resource properly can be met with the appropriate financial penalties. It can also be pointed out that there are a substantially fewer number of Buyers than there are thousands of individual private woodlot owners who collectively act as the primary supply source.

It is in such a manner - or through such an “orientation” - that a comprehensive information system can lead to greater policy objectives being fulfilled. This expectation of justifying information retrieval with a greater strategic goal is in contrast to simply having the provincial department act as a depository of merchandizable data for the industrial sector to consume at their own benefit. As such, while the Coalition’s principal recommendation of ensuring a more comprehensive Buyer Registry is an acceptable idea, this thesis proposes that it is necessary for the provincial government to re-examine the proposal to see what it is to gain from collecting the data.

Specifically, the provincial government may wish to use a Buyer Registry to verify that the proper environmental controls and management activities which ensure the long-term sustainability of the forest are correctly followed during all industrial transactions. Instead of having information records which simply display what is occurring within the forestry sector, the government can work as **an active agent through its data collection** to pursue the greater objective of linking industrial activity to those standards desired by the greater community.

### 5.3.2 Forest practices code

The second recommendation of the NFS document suggests the provincial government prepare and implement a Forest Practices Code. An all-encompassing, province-wide Practices Code would “provide a mechanism for sound forest management” by outlining in one source document the regulatory principles affecting all the key elements pertaining to the protection, utilization, and management of all NS forested land.

*The elements identified in the Coalition’s draft Code follow particular issue-driven labels such as “integrated resource use,” and “special management areas.”* The Coalition’s recommendation of a Code fulfils industry’s own immediate concerns of ensuring that there will be a steady supply of available wood for harvesting for the next few decades. One of the goals of the draft Code submitted “...improving the productivity of all forested land for forest resource production” as being one “general” provincial target.

However, it may also be concluded that the Coalition representatives did not wish for any onus of compliance to affect or to hamper the actions of industrial buyers. Instead, it was suggested that as a condition of Buyer registration, Buyers would only be obligated to “...promote and encourage the use of the Code by all NS suppliers with whom they do business” (NFS). Compliance with the Code by all forest landowners was therefore the responsibility of the provincial government to enforce directly with the suppliers. The actions of Buyers were not obligated to meet any required standards, but rather, it was solely the suppliers who would be regulated and monitored.

There was a predominantly critical but confused public response to the proposed Code. It was notably criticized as being little more than a “self-serving fibre extraction plan” that would succeed only in looking after industry’s interests, and not in ensuring the proper environmental protection or any potential multi-use aspects of the province’s forest. There was also some debate and extensive complaints as to whether a Code would be either:

(1) too **intrusive** on the rights of private landowners to do what they wished with their land; or else

(2) too **ineffective** without strict government enforcement of total compliance with the proposed Practices Code on all types of land holdings (including corporate and all Crown lands currently under cultivation agreements).

This considerable range in public perspective (APR) as to the official role of government in securing (or interfering with) best management practices on private forest land through a potential regulatory Code initiates another question: whether a proposed Practices Code should be an all-encompassing provincial strategy, or one that allows for deviation in protecting particular regional, biodiversity, or landownership concerns. This thesis proposes that there is great potential in this latter option. A provincial-wide, regionally-directed Code - akin in structure to the NS Planning Act and local development strategies - might adeptly address the concerns (economic and environmental) of forest land use within local rural communities, while also giving a greater measure of responsibility in how the resource is cultivated to those who specifically own the land. Making allowances for local priorities to shape provincial regulatory measures to their own interests is inherently more viable than the province trying to establish a wide-scaled Practices Code.

A more extensive Code runs a number of risks. It could be perceived as some critics have suggested: a profit-driven, extraction-based industrial development strategy with few measures actually put towards the forest's long-term environmental protection or its multi-use management. Or, alternatively, the Code may be so stringent as to impede proper cultivation practices to the point that non-compliance with the proposed regulation by the majority of suppliers and buyers inevitably occurs. In either case, the province might best be hesitant before trying to enforce another command-based forest policy after the previous rejection of the FIA. For these reasons, this thesis proposes that the provincial government determine whether there is any merit in **delegating a share of the management authority over forest land use and cultivation practices to a more localized level.**

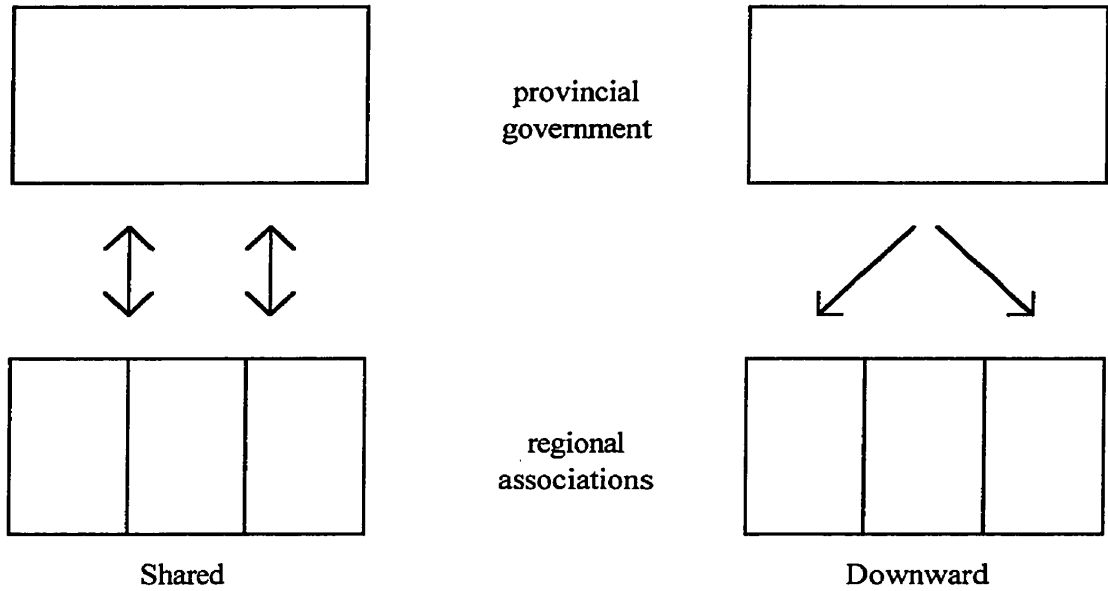
Note that Municipal Affairs designs general land use principles to oversee the zoning, subdivision, and development control policies that are specifically formulated by the various NS municipalities. In a similar manner, Natural Resources may consider adopting a generalized Practices Code that supervises (but does not dictate) regional-based groups of woodlot owners, and allows them to determine what specific and potential multi-use management strategies work in their local scenario.

By delegating part of the management authority to a smaller collective, the government can effectively minimize the non-compliance factor as seen in the failed FIA. As well, instead of giving in to a **monitoring** regulatory-approach to resource management, the province can maintain its **cooperative** basis with forest landowners, even if there is a continued shift away from providing them with financial incentives to improve their management practices.

Admittedly, one recognized drawback of a Practices Code that has shared priorities (one with both locally-designed and provincially-administered management objectives) is that it would require a long and substantive administrative process. See Figure 5-1.

In whatever form it takes, the provincial adoption of an effective Forest Practices Code would be a significant step in the ongoing encroachment of public policy onto private forested land. This thesis contends that such a step is not necessarily a bad thing. Perhaps at one time little public protection of forest land was deemed necessary by Nova Scotians, and was generally disapproved of by the rural NS landowner. There was an inaccurately-perceived inexhaustibility of wood supply available in the province, and there were recognizable limits as to the technology capable of its extraction. Such a view, while perhaps still held in some corners, is now largely archaic.

**Figure 5-1**  
**Delegation of Resource Management**  
**- Advantages / Disadvantages**



inclusion of interests;  
 consensus-building

scaled to meet diversified  
 needs; local objectives

more adaptive to social  
 changes in community

---

outcome might not easily  
 meet various expectations

“over-administration” or  
 confusion to operators

potential lack of clear goals

clearer definition of issues,  
 targets of management

functional in existing  
 government structure

consistent tenure

---

lack of reference to  
 localized interests

responsibility placed on  
 landowner

non-participation

Greater environmental awareness on the part of the public, past mismanaged cultivation practices, and the increased strain on the present forest resource to supply the escalating demands of existing industry: all have amounted to the NS government seeing its public role in interfering with private resource land increase very rapidly, and it is becoming an identifiably greater concern with each passing strategy document:

(1) In the 1986 **NS Forest Policy**, the aim was to “encourage and assist private landowners to make the best use possible” of their resource land.

(2) In the 1991 **CAFD Agreement**, government strategy was more clearly strident in its desire to inform the public of the greater objectives behind its management programs. The goal was “to encourage the application of approved silviculture techniques on all forest land classes.”

(3) By the time of the 1994 **NS Forest Management Strategy**, the government had deemed it necessary to implement an “intensive management” approach in order to sustain both the industrial supply and to ensure the proper environmental protection for the long-term. Such a strategy relied on the assumption of having between 70% to 85% of all small private woodlots participating with the NS government in forest management programs.

In the same manner that the development of urban land slowly came under increasing regulatory measures in order to accommodate the greater community’s interests, so too the development of provincial resource policies should evolve so that they fit a broad spectrum of interests, including the particular interests of local rural communities of private woodlot owners.

A proposed Practices Code is only effective if it could ensure landowner compliance. This section has contended that the necessary measure of compliance would be better realised if the provincial government was willing **to coordinate** rather than **to monitor** the “development control” over resource management land uses at a regional level with affected woodlot owners. The record of past attempts to implement province-wide regulatory measures would attest to the potential inoperability of the idea.

It has also been suggested in this section that the province consider that the prominent onus of responsibility for ensuring the forest is being properly managed (compliance with the Code) not be placed directly on the property owners, but rather reached at indirectly through the industrial buyers.

Rather than have the provincial government confront thousands of woodlot owners and inform them that they must submit to a province-wide regulatory Code that dictates the use of their resource land, the province may consider cultivating an on-going relationship with those landowners most willing to engage in industry-related management practices, with the understanding that their cooperation would mean a greater likelihood of their lands profiting from future harvesting. Of course, not all NS woodlot owners need ever belong to, for lack of a better term, regionally-based group ventures. But as discussed previously in section 5.3.1, if Registered Buyers were significantly penalized for obtaining the resource from those sources other than the designated “proper suppliers” (landowners in compliance with the province’s management standards, in other words, the Code) the province could use its information system to ensure that the industry is inevitably directed towards those landowners who manage their woodlots correctly, or else they would suffer financially.

This section therefore concludes that the Coalition’s recommendation of a Practices Code is, again, a commendable suggestion in the evolution of provincial forest management policy if - and once again only if - **the NS government is capable of ensuring that the strategy’s orientation can fulfil a greater policy objective.** The “greater benefit” in relation to any Practices Code is to pass on a supportive measure of management authority to the woodlot owner. Beyond simply safeguarding industry’s continued accessibility to the resource (the priority of the Coalition’s recommendation), there is the more critical need of implementing a Forest Practices Code that can assure the long-term sustainability and (if desired) diverse use of the NS forest. Such a management strategy can be identified in turn as being more supportive to the development interests of rural NS communities.



## Conclusions to Chapter

This chapter concluded that the Coalition review process and subsequent Discussion Paper (“**A New Forest Strategy for Nova Scotia**”) represented a evolutionary shift in provincial forest management policy. This chapter also argued that the Coalition review was too exclusive and insubstantial a review process to have provided an acceptable or appropriate draft policy document.

The production of a draft strategy to address such a substantial policy shift was certainly not in the original mandate of the Coalition. That said, this thesis argued that the NS government should have anticipated that a “new” forest strategy would be the necessary conclusion reached by whatever review process was undertaken. As such, the provincial government must share in the resulting “failure” of the NFS document to not meet with greater public acceptance, as well as in its initial “failure” as an inadequate review process.

This chapter specifically examined three issues

The first section concluded that provincial forest policy has evolved over the last twenty years to reflect a varied social or “developmental” agenda beyond industrial use. It argued that the NS government was effective in establishing an extensive management role over private forested land through subsidization programs. These increases in private forest management practices were recognized as a necessity in sustaining industrial demand.

The second section examined the provincial government’s shift away from the previous “developmental” subsidy-based approach to forest management through the Coalition process. It argued that the Coalition’s lack of accountability with landowners and affected communities can be attributed to its flawed organizational-based “process.” This review process resulted in the production of an unpopular and potentially ineffective document. The section also identified the advantages (accountability, compliance, link to community development) in reviewing provincial forest policy through a community-centred process.

The third section examined two of the Coalition Discussion Paper's recommendations. These recommendations were identified as the principal components in the Coalition's new draft forest strategy. The section argued that both recommendations were potentially useful measures in meeting provincial forest management objectives. It further concluded that any perceived conflict with the NFS document's proposals lay in ensuring that its recommendations would be oriented to suit a wide range of socially-determined forest management goals beyond the Coalition's explicit industry-driven objectives.

*Specifically, this section concluded how a Buyer Registry could assure desired forest management practices through increased monitoring of the wood buyers. This section also concluded that any proposed Practices Code would be considerably more effective in obtaining the necessary landowner participation if the provincial government developed the Code through a locally-based management network.*

As such, these two key recommendations of the NFS document were conditionally supported. It must be noted, however, that any of the Coalition's conclusions were also identified as having been processed through an improper policy making procedure, and as such, are in need of further substantial review before any suggested adoption as official forest management strategies.

## **6 Conclusions and Final Recommendations**

This thesis proposed as its principal argument:

**The interests of private woodlot owners should be more centrally incorporated and clearly advocated at the forest policy development table.**

This argument was initially identified given the distinctive circumstances of private resource landownership in rural Nova Scotia. The majority of forested land in NS is privately-owned. Recognizing the interests of landowners most particularly affected by proposed changes to policy is crucial from a planning perspective, as the policy influences (and possibly even regulates) the use of their land holdings.

In investigating this principal argument, this thesis established that:

**There is an advocacy role for planners in the forest policy making process.**

Through an examination of specific planning principles, Chapter Two confirmed the necessary role of planners as advocates for the interests of private woodlot owners in the development of provincial forest policy. These principles included an identification of the community affected by proposed changes to land use-related strategies, as well as the assurance of an open accountability in the policy making process.

**There are benefits to the greater community resulting from this advocacy.**

Chapter Three outlined how advocating the interests of small private woodlot owners has appreciable benefits that are applicable to the greater rural community. It concluded private woodlots are an important consideration in the development and preservation of communities in rural NS, as well as in the ongoing maintenance of the existing forest industry. These related arguments reaffirm the role of the planner in promoting the sectors interests in the policy review process.

**Forest management is linked to rural development planning.**

Chapter Four argued that forest management is an important component in support of provincial rural development. The prospects for sustained rural development in NS are seen as being directly contingent upon the application of resource-related management strategies in protecting existing land uses. In this aspect, forest policy is linked directly with the concept of rural development planning. The chapter further concluded that there is a lack of any such correlation between provincial forest management and the present set of NS rural development strategies.

These three principal conclusions above were the underlying basis in analyzing the merits of the recent Coalition review process in Chapter Five. This final Chapter argued that:

**The proposed recommendations of the Coalition lacked a critical accountability to the private woodlot ownership sector. This inaccountability in the policy making process suggests current provincial forest strategies may be rendered insignificant.**

The Coalition review represented a significant shift in forest management planning away from a “developmental” approach. This developmental strategy had been promoted by the provincial government through the use of various funding programs for the last two decades. It was concluded that the continued success of forest management objectives on private land would require continued subsidization. The Coalition process was devised to establish industry’s perspective on possible funding alternatives.

Instead, the Coalition review proceeded beyond its mandate to suggest the province adopt a “new” forest strategy. Chapter Five concluded that the organizational-based nature of the Coalition process was unsuitable in accommodating the interests of affected landowners in drafting any such strategy. It argued that the proposed policies, while not unserviceable in meeting some provincial objectives, would require substantial review. In particular, the chapter concluded two of the recommendations (Buyer Registry, Forest Practices Code) be “re-oriented” to service greater forest-related development objectives.

## 6.1 Recommendations

Based on the evidence outlined above, a few brief conclusions regarding the future development of provincial forest management policy have been formulated.

These recommendations have been constructed with the intent of assisting in the ongoing review of provincial forest policy, and in response to the drafted strategy recommendations found in the NFS document.

It is hoped that the brevity of these recommendations will allow policy makers in the provincial government to consider how it may revise both its resource management policies **and** its rural development priorities in an alternative yet more constructive manner than what was accomplished by the Coalition review process.

All three recommendations serve this paper's initial principal argument that **the interests of private woodlot owners should be more clearly advocated at the forest policy development table.**

The evidence has shown that there is sufficient principle-based reasons for this advocacy. The paper has also concluded that there are "greater benefits" to the wider NS community that extend from this advocacy. In short, this thesis has proved sufficiently that the development of provincial forest policy must be identified as a "use-oriented strategy," with those in the community most affected by any proposed changes - the landowners - being a necessary part of any policy review process. It has taken exception to the merits of any approach that envisions provincial forest management to be an industry-based issue. In analyzing the Coalition review process, it was concluded that an approach incorporating the interests of private landowners was not effectively recognized.

The following three recommendations extend from this conclusion that provincial forest policy must be a "use-oriented" strategy:

### **Identify forest management with land use planning principles.**

Public management of private forested land must be clearly recognized as a land use issue. Admittedly, many of the public strategies focused on forest “management” are concerned with maintaining the resource in the manner best suited for industrial purposes. But the issue as to how to generate the land’s potential **economic** production (which, it must be added, is not limited to industrial harvesting, but includes various alternative uses of the forest as well) is only one of three major factors involved in determining its development.

The second critical factor is the government’s role as **environmental** protector. As much as land development is instigated for economic reasons through public policy, it is also carefully monitored for environmental constraints through the adoption of publicly-sanctioned criteria affecting cultivation, and by the advancement of protected areas.

The third critical factor - identified as a combination of the economic and environmental concerns - is the **social** circumstances which frame development. These “public interests” elements (property ownership, community impact, even whether the policy is socially desired) must serve as equal a part in determining land development strategies.

The combination of such principles in the process of land use policy making is not to be considered particularly innovative.

For example, the strategy as outlined in a recent large-scale industrial project (Maritimes & Northeast Pipeline) determined that in developing the particular land use (construction of a pipeline affecting hundreds of rural NS property owners) the decision-making process and the final proposal must comply with what was the best agreement from an overall “engineering, environmental and lands” perspective. For “engineering,” read the development strategy which best suits the industry’s own economic and constructability (production capacity) motivations, and for “lands,” read those identified factors related to landowner conditions and community impact.

These standards used in considering the development of a pipeline across 300 km of NS and the strategies affecting the development of privately-owned forested land may not be as immediate as urban zoning regulations in their control over land use; it is nevertheless clear that both impact the development of private property, and should therefore comply with planning principles. These principles include the integration of landowners interests in the policy making process.

**Identify forest management as a rural development planning priority.**

Provincial policy makers - and the public at large - must recognize the valuable role of the private woodlot sector in sustaining an export-driven products industry. This industry has been and remains a critical component in the provincial economy.

How satisfactorily private woodlots are managed in their sustaining future industrial demand therefore has a consequential impact on the economic well-being of all Nova Scotians. As a consequence, those public policies directing forest management on private land are recognized as being part of a larger, more comprehensive set of interrelated government economic development strategies. This set of strategies can be referred to as the basis for rural development planning.

The provincial government should immediately rethink how it is spending its limited regional development funding dollars, and whether sustaining the necessary natural resource base economy of rural NS (through continued subsidization of private woodlot management) may be a more rewarding option to consider than funding diversification programs. Preservation of the present pattern of private resource landownership through funded management programs is proposed to be the most appropriate and constructive form of economic development program for small and isolated rural NS communities. An economic development strategy should not always be the promotion of change; one alternative to consider is the constructive defence of the existing landscape.

Further, there should be a greater consistency between (i) the economic development course as outlined in the government's various funding agreements and business plan; (ii) the official forest policy and development strategies as adopted by the provincial government; and (iii) the government's actions as a result of its evaluation of various information reports. There should be no irregularity or inconsistent plan of action between the analysis, the proposed objectives, and the eventual financial or regulatory support of provincial strategies. As such, this thesis recommends greater integration between those departments responsible for regional development planning.

**Identify existing regional development structures to allow for inclusion of local influences on forest policy objectives / management activities.**

It is proposed that the provincial government consider the implementation of community-based programs and management structures capable of achieving provincially-desired forest management goals.

The history of past province-wide regulatory measures aimed at private forested land management is one of non-compliance and policy ineffectiveness. This precedent should be well-remembered before the provincial government attempts to enforce the Coalition's recommended Forest Practices Code directly onto private woodlot owners. While the stated goals behind drafting a Practices Code is certainly legitimate (assure the long-term sustainability of the forest), this legitimacy is lost if: **(1)** the process in which the Practices Code is developed does not involve the parties most affected, and **(2)** adoption of the Code may not be effective in producing the desired results due to the difficulties surrounding enforcement.

There is an alternative to counteract the complications of non-compliance: that is to incorporate the interests of private woodlot owners by including them much more substantially in the administrative process.



Furthermore, as a planner, a structure that allots a degree of authority over land use to those whom it affects the most is the basis for all ideal land use and development control activities.

This thesis does not dispute that the parameters and the general direction of forest management policy must certainly be organised around a blueprint designed by a central authority. This common basis is similar to the manner in which provincial forest policy does not deviate from the national standards proposed by the federal government in various Accords and international agreements.

De-evolution does not mean, however, that the “big picture” will necessarily be lost, and that competition between local interests will lead to critical mismanagement of the forest resource. Rather, it is argued that further de-evolution will better coordinate the obvious disparate concerns of private woodlot owners, since the principals of management can be more easily adapted to suit local interests through the maintenance of a local authority network.

This thesis recommends that a more substantive review into the compatibility of existing regional development structures to accommodate local woodlot concerns be considered. The existing RDAs have established a mandate for themselves through providing a constructive and communicative network between local commercial interests and the provincial government in the provision of business grants and related development programs.

This thesis concludes that such a structure may also be considered in pursuit of resource development interests, specifically in facilitating the interests of group management ventures. In such a manner, the operation of private forest land in the rural community can be effectively allotted the same importance as control over industrial and commercial uses within the urban setting.

While plainly not meant to be comprehensive enough to answer sufficiently all related NS forest management concerns, it is hoped that this thesis' conclusions may nevertheless be considered as a constructive starting point for further discussion. What is most important to consider is the evidence offered by this paper arguing in favour of the interests of small private woodlot owners being more prominently advocated in any future provincial forest policy developments.

## **7      References**

*Note: References have been divided into two sections (texts and articles). As the majority of articles are found in certain texts cited in the first section, in those specific instances only the author of the text is cited in reference to the article ("..in text ed. by..").*

*Some documents listed under CFS were published under its departmental forerunner, Forestry Canada. Similarly, some documents listed under NS Dept of Natural Resources were issued first through the NS Dept of Lands and Forests.*

### **Texts**

Brand, David G. ed. 1995 Forestry Sector Planning (Canadian Forest Service)

Bruce, David & Whittle, Margaret eds. 1993 Community based Approaches to Rural Development: Principles and Practices (Sackville, Mount Allison Univ.)

Canadian Forest Service 1990 Maritimes Region Strategic Plan 1990-1995

Canadian Forest Service 1991 Forest Resource Development Agreement [Summary Review of 1982-1989 Agreement]

Canadian Forest Service 1993 Nova Scotia Forestry Report

Canadian Forest Service 1994 Federal Government's Response to the Standing Committee on Natural Resources (Canadian Forest Service)

Canadian Forest Service 1995 International Dialogue on Forests: Approaches, Opportunities and options for Action - Background Papers (Canadian Forest Service)

Canadian Forest Service 1996 State of Canada's Forest 1995-1996

Cloke, P. 1983 An Introduction to Rural Settlement Planning (London, Methuen)

Coalition of Nova Scotia Forest Interests 1996 A New Forest Strategy for Nova Scotia (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

COOPERATION Agreement for Forestry Development 1991-1995 [Overview]

COOPERATION Agreement for Economic Diversification [Operations Manual]

Griffiths-Muecke Associates 1989 Participation in the Private Lands Management Program: A Survey of NS Woodlot Owners (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

Hundert, Eric L. 1987 Management for the Small Woodlot Sector: The Case for Group Ventures in Cape Breton (Halifax, Dalhousie Univ.)

Johnson, Ralph S. 1986 Forests of Nova Scotia (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

Kreuger, Ralph R. ed 1970 Regional and Resource Planning in Canada (Toronto, Holt, Rinehurst & Winston)

Lee, R.G, Field, D.R. & Burch, Jr. W.R. eds. 1990 Community and Forestry (San Francisco, Westview)

MacFarlane, Derek D. 1993 Socio-Economic Impact of the Private Woodlot Silviculture Program in New Brunswick (Canadian Forest Services)

MacQuarrie, Peter 1981 Nova Scotia Private Woodlot Owner Survey (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

M'Gonigle, M & Parfitt, B. 1994 Forestopia: A Practical Guide to the New Forest Economy (Madeira Park (BC), Harbour Publishing)

NS Dept of Natural Resources 1994 Nova Scotia Forest Management Strategy

NS Dept of Natural Resources 1997 Towards Sustainable Forestry

NS Priorities and Planning Secretariat 1997 Government by Design

Ontario Dept of Natural Resources 1997 Lands for Life: Great Lakes - St. Lawrence  
Planning Area [Information Document]

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1997 Policies for Enterprise  
Creation in Rural Areas

Sandberg, L. Anders ed. 1992 Trouble in the Woods: Forest Policy and Social Conflict  
in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Fredericton, Acadiensis Press)

Voluntary Planning Board 1996 A Public Response to the Coalition of NS Forest  
Interests (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

Wellstead, Adam & Brown, Paul 1995 1993 Nova Scotia Woodlot Owner Survey  
Report (NS Dept of Natural Resources)

### Articles

Bissex, G & Sandberg, L.A. "The Political Economy of Nova Scotia's Forest Improvement Act, 1962-1986" in text ed. by **Sandberg...**

Caldwell, Wayne "Rural Development Planning: An Examination of the Provincial Role" in text ed. by **Bruce...**

Clancy, Peter "The Politics of Pulpwood Marketing in Nova Scotia, 1960-1985" in text ed. by **Sandberg...**

Drielsma, J.H. & Miller, J.A. & Burch, Jr W. "Sustained Yield and Community Stability in American Forestry" in text ed. by **Lee...**

Fagence, Michael "Genius Loci: A Catalyst for Planning Strategies for Small Rural Communities" in text ed. by **Bruce...**

Faulkner, Don & Nelson, James "Social Responsible Neighbourhood Design: Meeting Human Needs in the Community" Plan Canada (v. 36, no. 2, p. 12-13)

Fortmann, L. & Starrs P. "Power Plants and Resource Rights" in text ed. by **Lee...**

Fowle, David C. 1990 "Sustaining the Forest Community" Sustainable Development and Forest Management: National Forum Proceedings (Halifax, Canadian Council of Forest Ministers)

Halifax Chronicle-Herald "Strategy paper lambasted: little guy in forest industry being ignored, critics say" (October 12 1996, p. A4)

Halifax Chronicle-Herald "Coalition's forest policy draft gets chilly reception at meeting" (October 19 1996, p. A8)

Halifax Chronicle-Herald "Woodlot owners, landowners reject forestry blueprint"  
(October 25 1996, p. A11)

Halifax Chronicle-Herald "New forest strategy imperative, Norrie: minister urges  
competitors to ignore difference, find solution" (January 17 1997, p. A5)

Halifax Chronicle-Herald "Trouble in the woods: forestry will go the way of fishery  
unless clear cutting by big out-of-province companies stops, woodlot owners warn"  
(March 15 1997, p. B7-B8)

Harvey, Stephen & Usher, Anthony 1996 "Communities and Natural Resource  
Management: Bridging the Gap" Plan Canada (v. 36, no. 6, p. 34-38)

Hays, S.P. "Human Choice in the Great Lakes Woodlands" in ed. text by Lee...

Laarman, J.G. "Forestry Planning: New Challenges after Two Centuries" in text ed. by  
**Brand...**

Lee, R.G. "Sustained Yield and Social Order" in text ed. by Lee...

Muth, R.M. "Community Stability as Social Structure: The Role of Subsistence Uses of  
Natural Resources in Southeast Alaska" in text ed. by Lee...

Newby, Howard 1996 "Social Change in Rural England" Town and Country Planning  
(v. 65, no. 4)

Pepler, W.A. "Review and Assessment of Present Forest Policies" in text ed. by  
**Kreuger...**

Rufelds, C.H. "Give and Take - Communities Contributing to National Forestry  
Planning" in text ed. by **Brand...**

Salazar, D.J. "Counties, States, and Regulation of Forest Practices on Private Lands" in text ed. by **Lee...**

Sandberg, L.A. (1) "Dependent Development and Client States: Forest Policy and Social Conflict in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick" in text ed. by **Sandberg...**

Sandberg, L.A. (2) "Forest Policy in Nova Scotia: The Big Lease, Cape Breton Island" in text ed. by **Sandberg...**

Stacey, Cynthia & Needham, Roger "Heritage: A Catalyst for Innovative Community Development" in text ed. by **Bruce...**

Tunstall, G. "Using the Forest for Many Purposes" in text ed. by **Kreuger...**