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INSTITUTIONALIZING SOCIAL ANALYSIS AT THE WORLD BANK

Paul Francis and Susan Jacobs

World Bank

This paper considers the ways in which social analysis has developed and been institutionalized in the World Bank. It briefly sketches a history of the ways in which social factors have been taken into account in Bank operations and assesses the extent to which conditions have been met for successfully integrating a social perspective within this particular institutional context and culture. The paper concludes that considerable progress has been made in increasing awareness of social issues, introducing policies in certain key areas, operationalizing social assessment procedures, and increasing social science staffing. Current management interest in social development presents a strategic opportunity to consolidate the gains already achieved. However, substantial challenges remain. Most importantly, a clearly articulated and integrated social policy is lacking, and the circumstances in which social analysis should be required have yet to be codified. © 1999 Elsevier Science Inc.

1. Institutionalizing a Social Perspective

Development is by its nature social.^{1,2} Its ends embody social values. Its means are social processes and institutions. Its benefits and costs are distributed across communities, social groups, and organizations. However, although social scientists have long insisted on the pervasiveness of the social dimension of development, the integration of this realization into development practice has not been a simple matter.

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² The word "social" has a broad range of meanings in the development context. It is used to refer to specific sectors such as health and education; policy goals (e.g., social welfare or social development); the institutional context of economic and cultural change; disciplinary or analytical perspectives or data collection methods, or sometimes merely the residual, inexplicable, or problematic aspects of development.

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This paper is concerned with the World Bank's attempts over the last 25 years to institutionalize social analysis in its operations. The unique scale and reach of the Bank has made this process of institutional change a complex one, with potentially far-reaching implications for development planning and practice. Here we document the progress that has been achieved to date and the challenges that remain.

Policy Foundations

Robert McNamara's accession to the World Bank's Presidency in 1968 brought with it a new emphasis on poverty alleviation and rural development, and a number of social scientists were recruited to the Bank's staff to support these initiatives. The first anthropologist to work at (though not for) the World Bank was Glynn Cochrane, who, on his own initiative, spent several months in the institution in 1972-1973. His report reviewed the portfolio of the time and identified a broad range of potential roles for social scientists, concluding that: "Although there was an increasing awareness among Bank staff that more attention should be paid to the social aspects of projects, this awareness had not been translated into a uniform policy or systematic method" (Cochrane 1973).

The first social scientist to join the World Bank staff was Michael Cernea, in 1974. During the subsequent decade, collaborating with a small number of other new social scientist colleagues, Cernea worked toward the institutionalization of social issues at both project and policy levels. At the project level, entry points for social analysis were identified at the various stages of the project cycle. As a result of this internal advocacy, in 1984, the World Bank adopted a directive for project appraisal that included guidance on the sociological appraisal of projects (previous versions had included only economic, financial, commercial, and technical appraisal).³ The key elements of social appraisal included the social characteristics of the affected population, the social organization of production, the cultural acceptability of the project, and the project's social strategy (Cernea 1993).

Two of the major sociological questions addressed during this period were those of populations displaced by projects, and indigenous groups. The Bank issued a policy statement on involuntary resettlement in 1980; this was the first to be issued by any international development agency on the subject.⁴ An Operational Manual Statement also was introduced, with the objective of protecting the interests of indigenous peoples and ensuring that they received culturally appropriate benefits from Bank projects.⁵ So-

³ Operational Manual Statement (OMS) 2.20. Project Appraisal, 1984.

⁴ OMS 2.23, *Social Issues Associated with Involuntary Settlement in Bank Financed Projects*, February 1980. Subsequently revised as Operations Policy Note (OPN) 10.08, *Operational Policy Issues in the Treatment of Resettlement in Bank-financed Projects*, October 1986, then as Operational Directive (OD) 4.30, *Involuntary Resettlement*, June 1990.

⁵ OMS 2.34, *Tribal Peoples in Bank Financed Projects*, 1982, OD 4.20, *Indigenous Peoples*, September 1991.

cial scientists also brought their perspective to bear on sector-specific policies developed in the 1970s and early 1980s. These included the policies for forestry, irrigation, and urban development.

During these years, social scientists, along with other constituencies from within and outside the Bank, drew attention to a host of other social issues. For example, gender concerns were increasingly recognized and promoted since the 1980s, and in 1984 they became embodied in a statement of policy on the gender dimension of development.⁶ The markedly increased involvement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Bank operations over the last two decades resulted in a directive on operational collaboration between the Bank and NGOs.⁷ Subsequently, the Bankwide Learning Group on Participatory Development was to achieve remarkable success in bringing participation into the mainstream of Bank thinking [culminating in the report on *The World Bank and Participation* (World Bank 1994a)], as well as laying the foundations for a *Participation Sourcebook* (World Bank 1996).

In sum, by the 1980s, diligent operational work, research, and internal lobbying had resulted in the establishment of a general policy on the social appraisal of projects, together with specific ("do not harm") directives in two areas of social impact—involuntary resettlement and indigenous peoples. Attention to social issues was concentrated on these specific directives, in part because of the small number of social scientists working in the Bank, and, arguably, because these were the most pressing, visible problems both to management and to external constituencies. However, the general requirement for social appraisal in project design took a back seat. As was later observed, "compliance with the new guidelines [i.e. OMS 2.20 on the sociological appraisal of projects] was far from general and the institutional mechanisms for absorbing them in practice were insufficient. Simply placing new rules on the Bank's internal guidebooks proved not to be enough for triggering the profound changes in staff work patterns that meeting the new demands implied" (Cernea and Kudat 1997, p. 6). In fact, when the Bank's operational policies were issued in a new format in 1994, the requirement for social appraisal disappeared without explanation.

Organizational Developments

The first social scientists in the World Bank were located in a multi-disciplinary central operational unit. However, by 1987, when regional environmental units were created, there were sufficient social specialists for each region

⁶Operational Policy (OP) 4.20. *The Gender Dimension of Development*, April 1994.

⁷OMS 5.30. *Collaboration with Nongovernmental Organizations*. Replaced by OD 14.70. *Involving Nongovernmental Organizations in Bank-Supported Activities*, August 28, 1989. Subsequently replaced by Good Practice (GP) 14.70. *Involving Nongovernmental Organizations in Bank-Supported Activities*, March 19, 1998. (GP statements contain advice and guidance on policy implementation—for example, the history of the issue, the sectoral context, best-practice examples—which is not binding as such.) On nongovernmental organizations in Bank operations, see also Cernea (1988).

to establish a group working on social issues. In late 1992, a central unit devoted entirely to social development (the Social Policy and Resettlement Division) was created within the Vice-Presidency for Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development.⁸

These changes, together with the accession of a new President to the World Bank in 1995, led to an increasing prominence of the social development agenda. In February 1996, a Social Development Task Group was established and charged with taking "a considered look at the various initiatives and approaches that are underway within the Bank in the social development area so that more systematic use can be made of best practice concepts and findings." This group was an interdisciplinary one, including both economists and non-economic social scientists, and comprised relatively senior staff. As the Task Group's report acknowledged, its deliberations were not always easy. The Task Group's recommendations, which the Bank's Board discussed in November 1996, were aimed at integrating social policies and procedures, mainstreaming social analysis and participatory approaches in operational work, and adapting the existing project cycle and lending instruments to allow for diversity, flexibility, and innovation.

Further organizational changes followed. In July 1997, the Social Development unit was elevated to departmental level, now headed by a Director for Social Development. As with other professional and technical groupings in the Bank, a professional network was established linking non-economic social scientists in the central and regional units as well as the field offices. This group is coordinated by a Social Development Board, with representation from all operational regions. The Social Development Board has adopted the following objectives for 1998–2000:⁹

- Institutionalizing the use of social assessment in project preparation and monitoring,
- Promoting the use of social assessment in sectoral and macro-level activities,
- Building a knowledge base to record experiences and disseminate lessons learned,
- Providing practitioners with standard social assessment guidelines, tools, and skills,
- Communicating social assessment objectives, methods, results, and best practice to task teams, clients, and other practitioners.

Another recent boost for social development has come in the form of resources from the President's Strategic Compact. This 3-year plan for fundamental reform and renewal of the Bank's mission to reduce poverty

⁸Gender and poverty, along with the social sectors, were the responsibility of a separate Vice-Presidency for Human Development.

⁹"Social Development Update: Making Development More Inclusive and Effective." Internal Report, Social Development Department, World Bank, January 1998.

highlights social development as one of six key themes. The first year of that plan devoted significant incremental finances to social development activities.

2. Conditions for Institutionalization: Achievements to Date

To what extent have these organizational and operational changes enabled the Bank to move toward addressing social issues in an effective and systematic way? The following paragraphs consider several of the conditions we consider necessary for institutionalizing a social perspective—awareness, procedures, methods, and resources—and review progress against each.

Awareness

Only a few years ago, "social development" was most commonly thought of within the World Bank in terms of health and education services and safety nets (i.e., the social sectors). Since that time, the significance of the term has broadened. The opening sentence of the Social Development Task Group's report speaks of a "development paradigm which has evolved from an almost exclusive focus on bricks-and-mortar and investments in physical capital, to an approach that recognizes human and social capital as critical factors for sustainable development" (World Bank 1997, p. i). And indeed, discourse about development has changed markedly over recent years. In contrast to the closed technocracy of the past, public statements by Bank management now suggest an inclusiveness that sometimes borders on populism: "You can put a financial package together, but if you don't think about the social aspects, you have nothing. We shall be a much more effective organization if we just think of the impact of everything we do on people."¹⁰ Social capital is becoming mainstream topic for economists, and senior managers and speech writers have increasingly drawn on the vocabulary of social inclusion and exclusion: "Our goal must be to reduce these disparities across and within countries, to bring more and more people into the economic mainstream, to promote equitable access to the benefits of development regardless of nationality, race, or gender. This—the Challenge of Inclusion—is the key development challenge of our time."¹¹

Procedures and Guidelines

Following the organizational changes of 1992, a thematic team was established to work on the treatment of social issues in projects. This group developed brief guidelines for social assessment (available as World Bank 1995a), outlining a process for incorporating both social analysis and partici-

¹⁰"Wolfensohn Reports on Trip to Africa and East Asia." Internal World Bank memo, February 2, 1998.

¹¹"The Challenge of Inclusion." President's address to the 1997 World Bank Group annual meetings, Hong Kong, September 23, 1997.

pation into project design and implementation. The objectives of social assessment were given as including the following:

- Identifying key stakeholders and planning for their participation,
- Identifying and prioritizing social issues,
- Evaluating issues and options:
 - Identifying and minimizing potential adverse impacts
 - Assessing and maximizing positive impacts
 - Assuring flexibility where outcomes or capacity are uncertain.
- Evaluating institutional options in the light of project objectives and design,
- Developing indicators and mechanisms for monitoring,
- Incorporating findings into project design.

The social assessment guidelines thus went beyond the "do no harm" orientation that had characterized the earlier directives, stressing the positive impacts of stakeholder participation and the importance of social design, including the assessment of institutional capacities. They thus offered the possibility of providing a framework that would transcend the fragmented conceptions of social impact that, in practice, had hitherto characterized the treatment of social issues in the Bank.

In addition to the guidelines, a typology was proposed for classifying projects according to their need for social analysis (criteria include types of impact, levels of risk, and the need for stakeholder participation). The various regional social units have been adopting similar criteria for screening operations, and these have been institutionalized to varying extents.

Methods

A range of methods are associated with social assessments. The World Bank does not prescribe standard procedures, techniques, or reporting formats, and practitioners rely on well-established methods of social research, data collection, and analysis. In practice, methods are chosen in accordance with the objectives of the social assessment and project, the social context, and the resources and time available. A 1995 review found that the most common techniques for data collection were interviews, surveys, focus groups, and desk reviews (World Bank 1995b). Although these traditional methods are staples in almost all social assessments, most teams draw on, and in some cases rely entirely on, qualitative methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal or Beneficiary Assessment (Salmen 1987, 1995). Jacobs (1998) classifies the methods used loosely into three categories: consultation methods, workshop-based methods, and field-based methods.¹²

¹²For a review of origins, epistemology, and prospects of the main approaches to social analysis and participation in the Bank, see Francis (in press).

Resources

STAFFING. The number of non-economic social scientists in the Bank has grown markedly in recent years. In August 1998, there were 155 members of the World Bank's Social Development professional grouping (although not all of these have their primary training in the non-economic social sciences).¹³ These staff are located in the central Social Development Department, the social development sector units in each of the regional vice-presidencies, and the Bank's field offices across the world.

TRAINING AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT. Training courses at headquarters introduce task team leaders to social assessment concepts and methods. These courses also are taking place at resident missions around the world. Regular professional development workshops are held for Bank social scientists. An internal help desk and the Bank's Intranet have enabled the dissemination of good practice in social assessment, including sample terms of reference, best-practice case examples, and practitioner contact information. A CD-ROM electronic guidebook on social assessment is being developed for counterparts and consultants in the field.

FUNDS. Much early work on social development was supported by external trust funds, largely from bilateral agencies (including the Swedish International Development Agency grant, which supported the participatory development learning process). Subsequently, the Bank provided earmarked resources through the Fund for Innovative Approaches in Human and Social Development and Africa Region's Client Consultation Funds.¹⁴ In 1997, as mentioned earlier, funds were made available to social development through the Strategic Compact, an initiative that highlighted six priority areas of Bank activity for additional funding over a 3-year period. This mechanism made some \$12 million of incremental resources available for operational work and capacity building in social development in its first year (1997–1998).

Operational Outputs and Impact

The organizational, procedural and financial measures outlined above have provided the basis for substantial concrete operational achievements. Most markedly, an increasing number of social assessments are being undertaken as part of project identification and preparation. During the last fiscal year, 141 social assessments were reported to be underway.¹⁵ An analysis of these, together with a 1995 sample of 42 social assessments shows a fairly

¹³These are staff and consultants whose primary affiliation is to the Social Development Family (i.e., professional network). Another 75 staff members have social development as their secondary affiliation.

¹⁴The Fund for Innovative Approaches in Human and Social Development made available \$2 million in fiscal year (FY) 1995 (i.e., July 1994 to June 1995); \$1.5 million in FY96; and \$0.75 million in FY97. The Africa Client Consultation Fund disbursed \$776,000 in FY95.

¹⁵Figures are for FY98. See also World Bank (1998).

even spread across regions (though with some concentration in Latin America and Eastern Europe). About half of the social assessments were undertaken in sectors such as infrastructure, environment and private sector development where projects can be expected to have indirect social benefits and direct social costs. Since such projects often have clear winners and losers, the main task of the social assessment is to identify key stakeholders and vulnerable groups, minimize adverse impacts, and develop procedures for public involvement. A roughly equal number of social assessments were in sectors such as agriculture, health, education and nutrition where there are few losers, but where impact depends upon the involvement of large number of beneficiaries, and often their active participation in design and implementation. In these kinds of projects, social assessments identify key stakeholders, develop plans for their involvement in planning and implementation, identify appropriate institutions, and develop capacity for effective delivery (Jacobs 1998; World Bank 1995b).

Social assessments have resulted in tangible improvements to operational design. A recent review of progress in social development (World Bank 1998) shows how social assessments have contributed to:

- Making projects more inclusive by involving key stakeholders, including the poor and taking account of social diversity,
- Making projects more socially sound by minimizing or mitigating adverse social impacts, maximizing social benefits, and ensuring that projects are designed to "fit" the populations to be reached, and
- Helping to ensure project effectiveness and sustainability by increasing ownership and tailoring institutional arrangements to country conditions and local realities.

Examples of recent social assessments in World Bank projects given in the Appendix.

In addition to work at the project level, the reach of social analysis has been extended upstream to sectoral and national levels, with stakeholder participation and (though to a lesser extent) social analysis now routinely being part of the formulation of the Bank's Country Assistance Strategies (CASs) and economic and sector work. For example, a social assessment of the Russian coal sector was carried out in order to help understand the sociological context of sectoral policies and their social impacts and risks (Kudat et al. 1997).

3. Challenges for the Future

We should not underestimate the difficulty of institutionalizing the social dimension of development in the Bank's work and hence the achievement's already realized. Cernea (1993) has described the challenge of overcoming "technocratic," "econocratic," and "commodocratic" models of develop-

ment in this "economic fortress," and the Bank's "in-house culture unfamiliar with and resistant to this new socio-cultural knowledge and expertise." With the considerable progress already documented in mind, we now turn to the conditions yet to be met to ensure the systematic contribution of social analysis to the design and implementation of Bank-supported interventions.

Policy Conditions

SOCIAL POLICY FRAMEWORK. Although the Bank has successively institutionalized a number of policies aimed at achieving positive social impact, it never issued a general social policy that defines development goals such as equity and social justice. Although some of these social development objectives may be implied in policy and procedure, there would be value in an explicit, overarching social development policy. Such a policy might state that Bank-supported activities should:

- Benefit people.
- Not have adverse net impacts,
- Generate social and economic benefits that are culturally appropriate,
- Give special consideration to the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable groups of affected people, and
- Be designed and implemented with the informed participation of key stakeholders.

Debate continues within the Bank as to whether such a policy is needed, and what form it should take. Several formulations have been drafted and considered, but none has been adopted.¹⁶ Our view is that an overarching policy is overdue.

CLEAR DIRECTION ON WHEN SOCIAL ANALYSIS IS MANDATORY. At the operational level, although guidelines have been issued, there is no formal policy mandating social analysis in projects or sector work. The binding requirement for social analysis and planning in projects involving involuntary resettlement or indigenous peoples thus remains the exception. The absence of a mandatory requirement to consider the social impact of operations on a routine and systematic basis means that social scientists' recommendations are not backed by the institutional authority that, for example, endorses the recommendations of environmental assessment. Clear guidance is needed on when social analysis is a requirement. This will depend on agreement among practitioners on minimum standards as to what constitutes a social assessment.

¹⁶It is notable that an equivalent overarching statement of policy is also still lacking on environmental matters, although environmental *assessment* requirements and procedures (in contrast with those for social assessment) are codified.

Support from Key Stakeholders

MANAGEMENT SUPPORT AT ALL LEVELS. Ensuring that social assessments are both undertaken and used will require not only clear policy and operational guidance, but also the commitment and vigilance of management at all levels. The traditional sectoral structure of Bank operational units has always made it difficult for "cross-cutting" dimensions, sometimes perceived as going against the grain of the smooth commitment and disbursement of funds, to achieve a firm foothold. Despite senior management's championing of the social development perspective, the tendency for planning and budgeting to be structured along the lines of traditional sectors (which also is owed to the organizational structure of borrower governments) persists. Middle management has a particular challenge in this area.

As already noted, much social development work undertaken over the years has been "subsidized" by specially earmarked internal or external funding. These resources have supported many pieces of innovative work that otherwise would not have been undertaken. However, once they disappear, as they must, it is by no means certain that the demand from operational decision-makers for social analysis will be backed by operational budgets (particularly in a situation where these budgets are declining), if social assessment remains discretionary rather than routine. In this sense, soft funds may be exerting the perverse effect of habituating managers to cheap or free social development inputs.

BORROWER DEMAND. Borrowing countries are formally responsible for the preparation of World Bank projects, including the necessary social and environmental assessments. Levels of enthusiasm for popular participation and social assessment vary considerably between countries and regions and are rarely the highest political priority for governments. Building awareness and capacity for social analysis in borrowing countries, although a priority of the social development family, is still in its early stages.

Technical Advances

STANDARDS. The technical quality of social assessments has been questioned in some quarters, although there is little systematic evidence on this subject. Doubts may be less a reflection of failure to meet technical standards than of a lack of consensus about methods among different disciplines in the Bank, particularly with regard to the reliability, rigor, and generalizability of qualitative and participatory methods. Improved understanding of the potential and limitations of social analysis is likely to result from growing familiarity and experience with its methods and constructive interchange between the disciplines.

GUIDANCE AND PRECEDENTS. There remains a need to condense and disseminate recent experience in social analysis on a sector by sector basis as

was first done for the rural sectors in *Putting People First* (Cernea 1985). This process has just begun. There is also a need for convincing demonstrations of the application of social analysis outside the traditional project and sectoral context, for example, in the Country Assistance Strategy formulation, privatization, and adjustment.

FOLLOW-THROUGH. Very often, a social assessment is a discrete procedure undertaken just once during project preparation. However, information on stakeholders' perceptions and social impact can only contribute effectively to ongoing management and policy formulation if social analysis extends throughout and beyond the project or policy cycle.¹⁷ In this way, social analysis can provide a foundation for the accountability of implementing agencies, whether in the public, private, or voluntary sectors, by monitoring social impact and providing feedback from stakeholders. The establishment of such mechanisms often will require specific institutional measures.

Operational Outputs and Impacts

It remains difficult to generalize about the influence of social assessment on project quality. To have an impact, social assessments must generate results that are meaningful, credible, and operationally relevant. These results and recommendations must be incorporated into project design. Finally, this design has to be implemented so as to bring about the anticipated social impacts. Perhaps the only systematic attempt to date in the Bank to determine the impact of social assessment on project design is a review of a sample of 100 projects approved during 1997 by the Bank's Quality Assurance Group. This review concluded that:

Social aspects were treated adequately in only about half of the cases. The team concluded that despite previously expressed concerns, little visible progress has been made in integrating Social Assessments in Bank projects. Although the review disclosed a number of outstanding cases in which good Social Assessment had a significant impact on project design, the overall judgement is that the present use of Social Assessment is haphazard. This may reflect inadequate awareness of the importance of these assessments, as well as a lack of clarity from management about what is expected. Even when Social Assessments are carried out, the results are often not satisfactorily reflected in project design or even documented in the PAD or SAR [the Bank's standard project documents].

Future reviews of the impact of social analysis on Bank operations will need to assess more systematically which of the constraints identified here are the most serious. However, although these conclusions are not encour-

¹⁷The review by Cruz and Davis (1997) of social assessment in biodiversity projects, for example, underlines the need for ongoing social monitoring.

aging, they do indicate the problem to lie in the way in which social assessments are understood and used by managers and task managers, rather in the quality of the social analysis as such.

4. Conclusion

Progress in institutionalizing a social perspective in World Bank operations is tangible and recently has accelerated. Policies have been adopted in key areas; organizational changes have reflected the growing awareness among senior management of the importance of social factors; an increasing body of operational practice, applicable methods, and technical guidelines has been developed; more social scientists have been recruited; and resources have been earmarked for social development activities. However, safeguarding this progress will require its full institutionalization through a systematic articulation of social policy goals and of the operational circumstances where social analysis should be mandatory. Other conditions identified for success in institutionalizing social analysis include support from all levels of management and continuing technical and methodological advances.

Despite the progress documented, our general conclusion of significant achievement but persisting challenges remains strikingly similar to that drawn by the first anthropologist to pace the corridors of the Bank over a quarter century ago. However, the current level of interest in social development on the part of the Bank's senior management now presents a unique opportunity to secure the future of rigorous social analysis. But the opportunity is a bounded one, and without a thorough-going institutionalization of the social perspective in policy and procedure, the gains already made will only be temporary. If not secured, the tendency of the Bank to continue to add new goals and priorities but rarely to shed previous ones [termed the "sedimentary" approach to goal and policy formulation by Naim (1994)] presents the risk that the recent advances in promoting a social perspective on development will be buried by the continuing stream of new issues and priorities.

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Appendix

*Impact of Some Recent World Bank Social Assessments*¹⁸

Making projects more inclusive:

- **Ethnicity in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.** The Georgia Poverty Assessment demonstrated the relationship between ethnic membership and access to resources. Social assessments (SAs) in Bosnia and Azerbaijan pay special attention to ways of reducing interethnic tensions in project design and implementation. Similarly, SAs for the Russia Forestry Pilot Project revealed ways in which the resources and livelihood of indigenous people are at risk and recommended means to ensure that their interests are protected.
- **Côte d'Ivoire: Second Forestry Project.** This SA was conducted as a conflict management process to determine competing rights to the forest and forest resources. Social analysis aims to build partnerships between local communities and the forestry administration to ensure the rational comanagement of forest resources; resolve conflicts between the autochthonous groups and migrants who are settled in gazetted forests; build partnerships between local communities, local administration and logging companies to ensure an equitable distribution of forest-generated revenue; and ensure compliance with zoning regulations for gazetted forests.
- **Philippines: Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) Social Fund.** Several consultation workshops were conducted with the target clientele (ex-combatants and their families), local government units, and various government agencies, including the Department of Budget and Management, which led to better understanding, more cooperation, and better prospects for smooth implementation.
- **Ecuador: Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian Development Project.** Indigenous organizations were invited to be part of a Consultative Board for project preparation. The project has been prepared in a highly participatory fashion and includes components directed at strengthening grassroots social organizations, improving access to land, water, and investment resources, and regularizing the legal framework for indigenous peoples rights.
- **Yemen: Agricultural Land Privatization in the Southern Governorates.** An SA conducted by the World Bank before project preparation produced evidence that the land privatization program conducted in the south was detrimental to the former tenants (cooperative members under the socialist regime), resulting in their impoverishment and insecurity. The SA showed that, although cooperative land was returned

¹⁸This appendix is adapted from World Bank (1998).

to former owners, most tenants were not compensated. As a result, the Government has agreed to project conditions designed to ensure that the tenants will be properly compensated either in the form of land or alternative sources of income.

- **Jamaica: Demand-Side Management Project.** When NGOs raised objections to the project design, SA methods were used to facilitate problem solving between project and NGO staff and to determine generally acceptable project activities. Both parties came to agreement on the restructuring of their work program.

Making projects more socially sound:

- **Lesotho: Highlands Water Project.** As a result of working closely with civil society groups, project authorities and donors improved resettlement packages, enhanced the scope of rural development for the project area to include host communities, and began to restructure the use of project royalties to ensure that they are used more equitably for development across the Kingdom of Lesotho.
- **Brazil: Gas Sector Development Project—Bolivia–Brazil Gas Pipeline.** Extensive consultation with stakeholders took place and specific management and mitigation/compensation plans were developed. In addition, to ensure that indigenous groups would benefit from the project, Indigenous Peoples Development Plans were prepared for Bolivia and Brazil that included funding for land titling, management of a national park, and community development and natural resources management activities, amounting to an expenditure of more than US\$ 7.0 million.
- **Chad/Cameroon Pipeline Project.** Social impact assessment is being used to examine the potential social impacts in the oil field development areas in Chad and along the 1,050-pipeline route to the port in Kiribi-Cameroon. Such impacts include land acquisition for the oil fields development, pipeline route, and ancillary infrastructure development; potential massive influx of job seekers and attendant health impacts (especially sexually transmitted diseases/human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome); potential project impacts on transhumant pastoralists in the northern regions of the project and on pygmy population in southern Cameroon; and rapid monetization of a rural economy and the impacts of social and organizational structures.
- **Yemen: Seeds and Agricultural Services Project.** The SA contributed to changing the project from a seeds-focused investment project into a seeds and agricultural services project designed to meet the priorities and needs of the majority of target farmers. The spectrum of stakeholders was enlarged to include small farmers, the private sector, and farmer associations. This helped to break a seed monopoly, which, in turn, started to bring prices down and helped to improve the quality of the

seeds and other inputs and to increase their availability throughout the year.

- **Mesoamerican Biological Corridor.** The projects in this initiative include important attention to social development: land and forest property rights, rights of indigenous people and their management of biological reserves and community natural resources, municipal and community development, and demand-driven development fund mechanisms.

Increasing ownership and tailoring institutional arrangements to local conditions:

- **Russia: Coal Social Impact Monitoring.** Social impact monitoring (SIM) is continuously monitoring effects of restructuring on communities and preparing a follow-up to the sector restructuring program. The information base in coal areas has increased, and residents are able to get more timely and better information regarding coal sector restructuring and severance payments. Specific actions have been taken to ensure timely and accurate payment of severance, disability, and free coal entitlements.
- **Colombia: Afro-Colombian Communities Receive Land Titles on Pacific Coast.** Bank funds have been used to contract Afro-Colombian organizations to inform rural peoples about new laws, as well as to set the groundwork for the granting of collective titles. In February 1998, the President of Colombia presided over the award of land titles to some 50,000 Afro-Colombians in more than 100 communities in one of the most remote, riverine areas of the Choco region, representing a first step toward inclusion of this minority in the national development process.
- **India: Irrigation Rehabilitation Project.** A series of state-level loans for irrigation rehabilitation have integrated participatory irrigation management into the project, whereby the state government consolidates many of the diverse water-related agencies under a single Water Resources Department, while at the same time divesting much of the irrigation management functions to user organizations. Although there are difficulties working through the twin bureaucracies of the borrowing government and the lending institution, real potential exists for encouraging the reform process.
- **Brazil: Minas Gerais Municipal Development Project.** A cooperative housing association was created, which built new housing for resettled families that were comparable in quality and cheaper than contractor-built housing. Numerous other decisions and improvements were undertaken by the community organizations. Bank investment strengthened not only urban upgrading but also the creation of social capital.
- **Uzbekistan: Solid Waste Management.** The SA showed that poorly managed solid waste is a priority concern for more than half the popula-

tion of Tashkent and that the majority of those interviewed would be willing to pay more to obtain better service. These findings were immediately used by the mayor of the municipality to justify a decision to move forward on a long overdue tariff increase for solid waste management. The results also convinced the mayor to use SA for other decisions affecting his constituency.

- **Palestinian NGO Project.** Recognizing the embryonic stage of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the need to rely on NGOs to deliver essential social services, the project has established a trust fund to (1) deliver social services to the poor and marginalized, using NGOs as the delivery mechanism, (2) improve the institutional capacity of NGO grantees, and (3) strengthen the working relationship between the PA and the Palestinian NGO sector. Consultations with local and international NGOs and donors were an essential part of project preparation. A service delivery survey is being carried out to identify community needs and NGO capabilities, and more effective outreach.



ENVIRONMENT DEPARTMENT DISSEMINATION NOTES

TOWARD ENVIRONMENTALLY AND SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Public Consultation in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia

Consultations with affected populations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming standard practice in environmental assessments (EAs). The Bank recognized this fact by incorporating public consultation in its 1989 Operational Directive (revised in 1991 as OD 4.01 and to be released as OP 4.01) on EA. This directive requires public consultations shortly after the EA category for a project has been assigned; and, once a draft EA report has been prepared. For "meaningful consultation" to take place, the Borrower should share relevant information about the project and its potential impacts with affected populations and local NGOs. The following Dissemination Note describes the results of a 1995 review by ASTEN and ASTHR of experience in the East and South Asia regions in implementing these public consultation and information dissemination aspects of the EA process. The review looked at fourteen (14) projects requiring EAs in order to capture lessons for improving Bank and Borrower performance in this area.

Why Public Consultation in EAs?

Consultation is a two-way communication process by which the knowledge and views of affected peoples, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties are taken into account in development decision-making. In the case of EAs, the assumption is often made that such involvement is not necessary because of the often complex and highly technical nature of environmental impacts.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the knowledge of affected communities and NGOs can contribute to the quality of EAs, as well as provide a better understanding of the social impacts which accompany development interventions. The Bank and other development agencies have learned that if public consultation does not take place early in the project preparation process, it often leads to public misunderstandings, and unnecessary delays in project processing and implementation.

Bank Policies on Consultation

The Bank's Operational Directive on EA (OD 4.01) distinguishes between various types of projects based upon the potential significance of their environmental impacts. Category A projects are usually large (e.g., hydro-dams, roads, urban infrastructural projects, industrial facilities, etc.) and have widespread environmental and social impacts, including in some cases involuntary resettlement and effects on vulnerable popula-

tions such as indigenous peoples.

These projects require a full EA, including consultation with affected groups and NGOs. Consultations are required during the scoping of issues to be addressed by the EA, as well as once the draft EA report has been prepared. The Bank recognizes that good practice may demand that further consultations take place at other appropriate points during EA preparation, after finalization of the EA report and throughout project implementation.

Information dissemination is fundamental to "meaningful consultation." According to the OD, such information should initially contain a summary of the project, its objectives and potential impacts; and, following the preparation of the EA report, a summary of its conclusions in a form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted.

ASTEN-ASTHR Review

In 1995, ASTEN and ASTHR conducted a desk review and selected interviews with Task Managers and environmental staff of 14 projects which contained public consultations during EA preparation (see Box 1). Five (5) of these projects are in South Asian countries, while nine (9) are in East Asia. Energy/power and agriculture/water are represented by three (3) projects each; infrastructure, transportation and environment/urban are represented by two (2) projects each; and, there is one (1) natural resources and one (1) multisectoral project.

**Box 1:
Projects Covered in the EA Review**

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Project Name</u> | <u>EA Category</u> |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Bangladesh | Jamuna Bridge | A |
| China | Hebei/Henan Natl. Highway | A |
| | Inland Waters | A |
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| India | Madras Water Supply | A |
| | Tamil Nadu WRCP | A |
| Indonesia | Kabupaten Roads V | B |
| | Outer Island Sumatra and Kalimantan Power | A |
| | Korea | Ports Development & Environment |
| Pakistan | Balochistan Natural Resources Management | B |
| Philippines | Leyte Geothermal Power | A |
| Sri Lanka | Colombo Env. Improvement | A |
| Thailand | Lam Taknong Pumps | A |
| Viet Nam | Irrigation Rehabilitation | A |

The review's purpose was to identify best practice cases, as well as areas of relative weaknesses. The review posed a series of questions relating to information disclosure, consultation practices, and monitoring and evaluation of the consultative process (see Box 2). It also looked at the impact of the consultation on issues addressed by the EA and incorporated into the project design. Like any desk review, more consultation may have taken place than is revealed in the project documentation.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

There is significant variability in the formal consultation procedures among Borrower countries, as well as in their traditional practices. There are also wide differences between these national procedures, where existent, and those of the Bank.

Of the ten (10) countries included in the review, seven (7) have formal consultation procedures; while three (3) countries (Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have none. Even in those countries where consultation procedures do exist, they are often only vaguely mentioned in the environmental legislation or are linked to other subjects (e.g., resettlement and land acquisition) rather than to EAs. The review revealed that only three (3) of the projects reviewed followed both national and Bank consultation procedures. The others followed either national or Bank procedures only; or, carried out consultations without following either the Bank's or national government procedures. These findings demonstrate that there is no consistent pattern in using either national laws or the Bank's OD as guidelines for the structuring of the EA consultation process.

Public Consultation in the EA Process

Stakeholder Identification

While only one (1) of the fourteen projects had an explicitly designed consultation strategy, almost all of them consulted a broad range of stakeholders. These included representatives of government agencies, academia, NGOs, religious groups, and village and community leaders. Few of the projects, however, defined who the "key stakeholders" were; nor did the project documentation describe the means for identifying and weighing the relative participation in these consultations of "affected communities," "beneficiaries" and "other stakeholders." Only in three (3) projects were gender and ethnicity addressed in stakeholder identification and consultation.

Information Dissemination

The projects used a range of means for information dissemination: newspaper articles, TV and radio reports, videos and films, exhibitions, posters, and public meetings and hearings. Two (2) of the projects undertook systematic public information and dissemina-

Box 2: Basic Questions to Review Consultation Processes

Information Disclosure

- Were affected people and NGOs informed about the proposed activities?
- Was the project summary and objectives available to affected and interested groups?
- Were TORs for the EA available to the public?
- What mechanisms were used to disseminate project scope and objectives (press, bulletins, radio)?
- Was the draft EA report made available in a timely fashion?

Consultation Practices

- Does the country have a formal consultation procedure as part of the EA?
- Were the country procedures followed?
- Was a consultation strategy designed for the project?
- What criteria were used to identify stakeholders?
- How were the consulted groups selected?
- Who was consulted and when? (affected groups and other stakeholders)
- What were the consultation mechanisms used? (seminars, workshops, public meetings)
- What substantive issues arose from the consultation and how did they influence the project?

Monitoring & Evaluation

- Was a system designed to assess whether affected people and NGOs absorbed information from the consultative processes?
- Was a monitoring and evaluation system designed to measure the effectiveness of information disclosure and consultation strategies?

tion campaigns; another five (5) projects had newspaper reports and public meetings; and, seven (7) projects had no information dissemination strategy. It is unclear from the desk review whether there was any targeting of audiences in the information campaigns, whether materials were translated into local languages, or whether any assessments were made of public understanding of the information disseminated.

Consultation Mechanisms

The types of consultation mechanisms used in these projects included town and public meetings and workshops and seminars. There is, however, relatively little or no information in the project documents on the representativeness of the persons who attended these meetings. Only one of the projects used a systematic survey to elicit opinions of persons affected directly by the project.

There is a wide variety of effective techniques which could be used for consultation but apparently were not tested in the EAs analyzed in the review. These include public hearings, citizen advisory groups, focus groups, community opinion surveys, expert panels, etc.

Issues Identified for Project Design

During scoping sessions, stakeholders mainly raised issues concerning involuntary resettlement and the environment. In relation to resettlement, the key concern had to do with compensation; while environmental issues included the impacts of power plants on surrounding communities, the effects of noise and air pollution, and protecting historical and cultural property. The project documentation did not indicate whether there was any setting of priorities among issues; nor, how they were incorporated into the TORs for the EA.

Some of the issues raised during consultations resulted in changes in the project design; e.g., specific details of resettlement plans, modifications in engineering designs (see Box 3), and plans for protecting and monitoring threatened flora and fauna (see Box 4). There were no instances where consultations led the project proponent to seek alternative project designs or not proceed with the original project.

Review of Draft EA

According to OD 4.01, a summary of the draft EA conclusions, including the environmental management plan, are to be presented to affected communities and interested NGOs in a "form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted." There is great variability in the extent and ways in which draft EA summaries are being presented to the "general public," affected communities, and NGOs. Some projects provide the entire draft EA report to a wide range of stakeholders for public inspection and comment; others provide only summaries of the draft EA conclusions for public re-

Box 3:

Farmer Group Consultations in India Madras Water Supply Project

The Second Madras Water Supply Project provides treatment and transportation of water to the city by a transmission pipeline which carries water from a command area inhabited by 11,500 farmers. An EA was carried out which included a strategy to consult the farmers. Consultations covered farmers associations, local government and affected communities and were organized by a reputable NGO. The farmers showed an awareness of the need to incorporate new operating rules for releasing of water from another reservoir.

As a result of the consultations, the Government drafted new formal rules which were accepted by the farmers and villages. It also included a suggestion made by the villagers that the capacity of the local water tank be expanded to satisfy the irrigation needs of local farmers, as well as permit continuing offtake from the reservoir for the water needs of Madras.

view and often to a more limited range of stakeholders, such as local governments or affected communities. From the documentation, it is unclear to what extent the comments made are actually incorporated into the EA report submitted to the Bank.

Conflict Management and Dispute Resolution

Projects with environmental implications often generate conflicts between the project proponents and affected communities and other interested groups, especially concerning the siting of facilities (e.g., the so-called "Not-in-My-Backyard" or "NIMBY" syndrome). A public consultation strategy may therefore need conflict management and dispute resolution techniques, including the use of professional facilitators. The review found that EA reports seldom contain descriptions of such conflicts; nor is there much use being made, at present, of alternative dispute resolution techniques.

Process Documentation and Recording

The review showed there is a paucity of information in the project files or EA reports on the types of consultation activities and mechanisms used, the individuals and groups invited and participating in them, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact of such discussions upon subsequent decisions. However, there is increasing awareness of the need to improve documentation and recording and an attempt on the part of a number of divisions to remedy the situation. This should contribute to greater institutional memory and learning on the part of the Bank.

Box 4:
**Public Consultation in Korea Ports Development
and Environmental Improvement Project**

In the Korea Ports Development Project, the project proponent asked local people to review the draft EA report and asked for their views on the noise and air pollution that port construction might cause. Issues raised included the protection of historic and cultural properties, provision of adequate compensation for damages to inhabitants of the port area, and preparation of mitigation plans to deal with noise and air pollution. Affected people provided comments to the Ministry of Environment and it, in turn, prepared a management and monitoring plan to mitigate environmental issues identified.

Constraints to Conducting Effective Consultations

In general, the review found that there were constraints both within Borrower countries and the Bank to conducting effective consultations within the framework of the EA process. Many Borrower governments and their sectoral ministries view the EA as a purely technical exercise which will not benefit from public and community involvement. Despite the growing importance of NGOs and civil society, there is still a tendency in many countries to implement development projects in a non-participatory manner.

To respond to these constraints, there needs to be a dialogue with Borrowers, based upon concrete experience, about how public consultation can lower the transaction costs of projects. Borrowers need to be convinced that by consulting with people they can avoid delays due to public protest and be more responsive to the demands of interested parties and constituencies. Borrowers also need to be convinced that by drawing upon local knowledge and concerns, they can improve the quality of EA studies, mitigation plans and project designs?

Within the Bank, Task Managers need guidance for advising Borrowers about how to design and conduct information dissemination and consultation processes. TORs need to be more precise in defining what needs to be done in terms of identifying key stakeholders, providing them with adequate information, and structuring a consultative process which is effective and meaningful to project proponents, affected populations and interested parties.

Recommendations for Improving Performance

The review, as well as general experience in other regions and outside the Bank, provides several insights

for improving Borrower and Bank performance in public consultation. Among other things, the Bank and Borrower countries need to:

- Generate dialogue with project proponents on the ways in which public consultation can further their own project and sectoral interests. One approach is to show project proponents both "best" and "worst" practice in public involvement, including what may happen in its absence.
- Focus more attention on stakeholder identification, especially of affected people and communities, local authorities and decision makers, the media, the scientific community, NGOs and other interested groups or parties.
- Disseminate information early and in a culturally meaningful fashion, including using local languages, visual methods and, where appropriate, communication expertise.
- Recognize that disputes and conflicts are sometimes inevitable and therefore plan for conflict management and dispute resolution.
- Document the process of consultation including participants, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact upon subsequent decisions.
- Evaluate whether or not public consultation improved the quality of EA and the public acceptability of the project. This could include the use of indicators to measure absorption of information disseminated, public satisfaction with the consultation process and its effectiveness from the viewpoint of the project proponent.
- Recognize that sensitization and training on the objectives and methods of public involvement may be needed for project proponents, central and local government authorities, affected communities, NGOs and Bank Task Managers.

Resources:

Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues (EA Sourcebook Update, No. 5, October 1993)

People's Participation in Environment Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices by William Partridge (LATEN Dissemination Note, No. 11, November 1994)

Manual on Public Participation by Environmental Resources Management (Prepared for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, December 1995; Available Through ENVSP)

The Impact of Environmental Assessment: Second EA Review (World Bank, November 1996).





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Why Public Consultation in EAs?

Consultation is a two-way communication process by which the knowledge and views of affected peoples, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties are taken into account in development decision-making. In the case of EAs, the assumption is often made that such involvement is not necessary because of the often complex and highly technical nature of environmental impacts.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the knowledge of affected communities and NGOs can contribute to the quality of EAs, as well as provide a better understanding of the social impacts which accompany development interventions. The Bank and other development agencies have learned that if public consultation does not take place early in the project preparation process, it often leads to public misunderstandings, and unnecessary delays in project processing and implementation.

Bank Policies on Consultation

The Bank's Operational Directive on EA (OD 4.01) distinguishes between various types of projects based upon the potential significance of their environmental impacts. Category A projects are usually large (e.g., hydro-dams, roads, urban infrastructural projects, industrial facilities, etc.) and have widespread environmental and social impacts, including in some cases involuntary resettlement and effects on vulnerable popula-

tions such as indigenous peoples.

These projects require a full EA, including consultation with affected groups and NGOs. Consultations are required during the scoping of issues to be addressed by the EA, as well as once the draft EA report has been prepared. The Bank recognizes that good practice may demand that further consultations take place at other appropriate points during EA preparation, after finalization of the EA report and throughout project implementation.

Information dissemination is fundamental to "meaningful consultation." According to the OD, such information should initially contain a summary of the project, its objectives and potential impacts; and, following the preparation of the EA report, a summary of its conclusions in a form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted.

ASTEN-ASTHR Review

In 1995, ASTEN and ASTHR conducted a desk review and selected interviews with Task Managers and environmental staff of 14 projects which contained public consultations during EA preparation (see Box 1). Five (5) of these projects are in South Asian countries, while nine (9) are in East Asia. Energy/power and agriculture/water are represented by three (3) projects each; infrastructure, transportation and environment/urban are represented by two (2) projects each; and, there is one (1) natural resources and one (1) multisectoral project.

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| | Outer Island Sumatra and Kalimantan Power | A |
| Korea | Ports Development & Environment | A |
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| Philippines | Leyte Geothermal Power | A |
| Sri Lanka | Colombo Env. Improvement | A |
| Thailand | Lam Taknong Pumps | A |
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The review's purpose was to identify best practice cases, as well as areas of relative weaknesses. The review posed a series of questions relating to information disclosure, consultation practices, and monitoring and evaluation of the consultative process (see Box 2). It also looked at the impact of the consultation on issues addressed by the EA and incorporated into the project design. Like any desk review, more consultation may have taken place than is revealed in the project documentation.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

There is significant variability in the formal consultation procedures among Borrower countries, as well as in their traditional practices. There are also wide differences between these national procedures, where existent, and those of the Bank.

Of the ten (10) countries included in the review, seven (7) have formal consultation procedures; while three (3) countries (Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have none. Even in those countries where consultation procedures do exist; they are often only vaguely mentioned in the environmental legislation or are linked to other subjects (e.g., resettlement and land acquisition) rather than to EAs. The review revealed that only three (3) of the projects reviewed followed both national and Bank consultation procedures. The others followed either national or Bank procedures only; or, carried out consultations without following either the Bank's or national government procedures. These findings demonstrate that there is no consistent pattern in using either national laws or the Bank's OD as guidelines for the structuring of the EA consultation process.

Public Consultation in the EA Process

Stakeholder Identification

While only one (1) of the fourteen projects had an explicitly designed consultation strategy, almost all of them consulted a broad range of stakeholders. These included representatives of government agencies, academia, NGOs, religious groups, and village and community leaders. Few of the projects, however, defined who the "key stakeholders" were; nor did the project documentation describe the means for identifying and weighing the relative participation in these consultations of "affected communities," "beneficiaries" and "other stakeholders." Only in three (3) projects were gender and ethnicity addressed in stakeholder identification and consultation.

Information Dissemination

The projects used a range of means for information dissemination: newspaper articles, TV and radio reports, videos and films, exhibitions, posters, and public meetings and hearings. Two (2) of the projects undertook systematic public information and dissemina-

Box 2: Basic Questions to Review Consultation Processes

Information Disclosure

- Were affected people and NGOs informed about the proposed activities?
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- What mechanisms were used to disseminate project scope and objectives (press, bulletins, radio)?
- Was the draft EA report made available in a timely fashion?

Consultation Practices

- Does the country have a formal consultation procedure as part of the EA?
- Were the country procedures followed?
- Was a consultation strategy designed for the project?
- What criteria were used to identify stakeholders?
- How were the consulted groups selected?
- Who was consulted and when? (affected groups and other stakeholders)
- What were the consultation mechanisms used? (seminars, workshops, public meetings)
- What substantive issues arose from the consultation and how did they influence the project?

Monitoring & Evaluation

- Was a system designed to assess whether affected people and NGOs absorbed information from the consultative processes?
- Was a monitoring and evaluation system designed to measure the effectiveness of information disclosure and consultation strategies?

tion campaigns; another five (5) projects had newspaper reports and public meetings; and, seven (7) projects had no information dissemination strategy. It is unclear from the desk review whether there was any targeting of audiences in the information campaigns, whether materials were translated into local languages, or whether any assessments were made of public understanding of the information disseminated.

Consultation Mechanisms

The types of consultation mechanisms used in these projects included town and public meetings and workshops and seminars. There is, however, relatively little or no information in the project documents on the representativeness of the persons who attended these meetings. Only one of the projects used a systematic survey to elicit opinions of persons affected directly by the project.

There is a wide variety of effective techniques which could be used for consultation but apparently were not tested in the EAs analyzed in the review. These include public hearings, citizen advisory groups, focus groups, community opinion surveys, expert panels, etc.

Issues Identified for Project Design

During scoping sessions, stakeholders mainly raised issues concerning involuntary resettlement and the environment. In relation to resettlement, the key concern had to do with compensation; while environmental issues included the impacts of power plants on surrounding communities, the effects of noise and air pollution, and protecting historical and cultural property. The project documentation did not indicate whether there was any setting of priorities among issues; nor, how they were incorporated into the TORs for the EA.

Some of the issues raised during consultations resulted in changes in the project design; e.g., specific details of resettlement plans, modifications in engineering designs (see Box 3), and plans for protecting and monitoring threatened flora and fauna (see Box 4). There were no instances where consultations led the project proponent to seek alternative project designs or not proceed with the original project.

Review of Draft EA

According to OD 4.01, a summary of the draft EA conclusions, including the environmental management plan, are to be presented to affected communities and interested NGOs in a "form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted." There is great variability in the extent and ways in which draft EA summaries are being presented to the "general public," affected communities, and NGOs. Some projects provide the entire draft EA report to a wide range of stakeholders for public inspection and comment; others provide only summaries of the draft EA conclusions for public re-

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The Second Madras Water Supply Project provides treatment and transportation of water to the city by a transmission pipeline which carries water from a command area inhabited by 11,500 farmers. An EA was carried out which included a strategy to consult the farmers. Consultations covered farmers associations, local government and affected communities and were organized by a reputable NGO. The farmers showed an awareness of the need to incorporate new operating rules for releasing of water from another reservoir.

As a result of the consultations, the Government drafted new formal rules which were accepted by the farmers and villages. It also included a suggestion made by the villagers that the capacity of the local water tank be expanded to satisfy the irrigation needs of local farmers, as well as permit continuing offtake from the reservoir for the water needs of Madras.

view and often to a more limited range of stakeholders, such as local governments or affected communities. From the documentation, it is unclear to what extent the comments made are actually incorporated into the EA report submitted to the Bank.

Conflict Management and Dispute Resolution

Projects with environmental implications often generate conflicts between the project proponents and affected communities and other interested groups, especially concerning the siting of facilities (e.g., the so-called "Not-in-My-Backyard" or "NIMBY" syndrome). A public consultation strategy may therefore need conflict management and dispute resolution techniques, including the use of professional facilitators. The review found that EA reports seldom contain descriptions of such conflicts; nor is there much use being made, at present, of alternative dispute resolution techniques.

Process Documentation and Recording

The review showed there is a paucity of information in the project files or EA reports on the types of consultation activities and mechanisms used, the individuals and groups invited and participating in them, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact of such discussions upon subsequent decisions. However, there is increasing awareness of the need to improve documentation and recording and an attempt on the part of a number of divisions to remedy the situation. This should contribute to greater institutional memory and learning on the part of the Bank.

Box 4:

Public Consultation in Korea Ports Development and Environmental Improvement Project

In the Korea Ports Development Project, the project proponent asked local people to review the draft EA report and asked for their views on the noise and air pollution that port construction might cause. Issues raised included the protection of historic and cultural properties, provision of adequate compensation for damages to inhabitants of the port area, and preparation of mitigation plans to deal with noise and air pollution. Affected people provided comments to the Ministry of Environment and it, in turn, prepared a management and monitoring plan to mitigate environmental issues identified.

Constraints to Conducting Effective Consultations

In general, the review found that there were constraints both within Borrower countries and the Bank to conducting effective consultations within the framework of the EA process. Many Borrower governments and their sectoral ministries view the EA as a purely technical exercise which will not benefit from public and community involvement. Despite the growing importance of NGOs and civil society, there is still a tendency in many countries to implement development projects in a non-participatory manner.

To respond to these constraints, there needs to be a dialogue with Borrowers, based upon concrete experience, about how public consultation can lower the transaction costs of projects. Borrowers need to be convinced that by consulting with people they can avoid delays due to public protest and be more responsive to the demands of interested parties and constituencies. Borrowers also need to be convinced that by drawing upon local knowledge and concerns, they can improve the quality of EA studies, mitigation plans and project designs?

Within the Bank, Task Managers need guidance for advising Borrowers about how to design and conduct information dissemination and consultation processes. TORs need to be more precise in defining what needs to be done in terms of identifying key stakeholders, providing them with adequate information, and structuring a consultative process which is effective and meaningful to project proponents, affected populations and interested parties.

Recommendations for Improving Performance

The review, as well as general experience in other regions and outside the Bank, provides several insights

for improving Borrower and Bank performance in public consultation. Among other things, the Bank and Borrower countries need to:

- Generate dialogue with project proponents on the ways in which public consultation can further their own project and sectoral interests. One approach is to show project proponents both "best" and "worst" practice in public involvement, including what may happen in its absence.
- Focus more attention on stakeholder identification, especially of affected people and communities, local authorities and decision makers, the media, the scientific community, NGOs and other interested groups or parties.
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FROM IMPROVEMENT TO ENHANCEMENT: AN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL COMMENT ON THE AUDIT
CULTURE¹

MARILYN STRATHERN

New Era! – Efficiency, Responsibility and Accountability. This was the slogan that an incoming administrator to the University of California at Santa Cruz recently distributed to all his staff.² He imagined it as part of a drive against the debilitating years of self-scrutiny that had paralysed academic endeavours in certain quarters. The new regime was going to be productive, businesslike and transparent in its workings. Old-fashioned morality and cutting edge technology would combine in effective management. Now at the word accountability there springs to your mind both the financial keeping of accounts as a matter of good practice and the recent wave of more general exhortations to good practice in the conduct of academic affairs. Some of these have come to us from the [Cambridge University] General Board, in the wake of the 1992 Academic Audit of the University, but they are fuelled from the outside by national exercises that also have an auditing role, such as the Higher Education Funding Council's Teaching Quality Assessment and Research Assessment Exercises, and by the whole climate of quality evaluation. Audit and assessment seem the ubiquitous tools of accountability. Our American colleague is perhaps unaware of the rather intimate cultural connections that an anthropologist might see between the excesses of self-scrutiny that he excoriates and the accountability to whose sturdy values he appeals, but of that more anon.

I evoke a foreign presence to underline the obvious: however local and particular the effects of HEFCE in Britain or the General Board in

¹ The text of the 1997 Founders' Memorial Lecture given at Girton College. The phrase 'audit culture' is an ironic reflection on one of proliferating objects of self-scrutiny (these days 'culture' can be applied to any distinctive set of practices) that is the subject of the lecture; the 'anthropological' part of the commentary rests in making evident the processes of replication. In addition, I draw attention to certain moments where the analysis has been informed by analytical moves applied to quite different areas of knowledge; these are rendered in italics.

² The original is real; I have added some generic characteristics to render him a type for my purposes.

Cambridge, we are caught up in a phenomenon of global proportions. In fact there is a sense in which new protocols about professionalism and the rights embedded in promulgations of good practice have a distinctly American flavour. Yet 'human accounting', as it is called, did not begin there – indeed we might say as Europeans that we are borrowing back earlier exports. It is exactly such borrowings and crossing of domains on which I want to comment.

Given the occasion you would be forgiven for thinking that I was going to draw a contrast between the present day and the founding of the college. I am, but not as a simple tale of "from then to now". I want to talk about the sense in which the values that inspired the advancement of education in the last century are still very much present. Indeed we may try to do better with what many of us probably see as our technology-enhanced capacity to deliver more effectively – we do not just borrow values but improve on them. And that is just what the College's founders were doing. The cumulative consequences of some of that activity are worth reflecting upon. We shall find that what we think of as continuity also gives us our contrast: for what separates us from our founders are, among other things, the cascading *results* of their exertions.

Examination

At the annual congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1864, Emily Davies argued the case for putting onto a permanent basis the experimental admission of school girls to public examinations.³ Miss Davies did not of course read her own paper. But the argument was clear enough. Whereas other speakers dwelt on the consequences of competition between men and women, she dwelt instead on the moral benefits secondary instruction would bring to girls whom society had brought up, as she said, to be mere elegant triflers. In referring thereby to the improvement of girls' education, she was improving on the ambitions of the recently founded Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate itself. The syndicate's aim was to provide assessment through written examinations 'as a key means of raising standards in secondary schools of all kinds' (Sutherland 1994: 36). This set the scene for Emily Davies' aspirations, and her insistence a decade later that Girton students had to commit themselves to nothing less than the full Cambridge Tripos.

We should speak perhaps of the opportunity to be examined rather than the right to it. Women 'had to be seen to do exactly the same

³ Her target was the Cambridge Local Examinations, launched in 1858 (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975: 27).

things, within the same timetable, as men (Sutherland 1994: 37). And why were examinations so important? Because they were impartial instruments for making levels of attainment visible. They constituted, in Emily Davies's own words (quoted in McWilliams-Tullberg 1975: 31), an 'external agency' which could sustain teachers by being able to 'at once test and attest the soundness of their work'.

Now the authority of that external agency had itself to be created. Why were written examinations the vehicle for the formal testing of knowledge and ability in the first place? Some of the answer is given by an educationalist, Hoskin (1996), who, rather appositely as it will turn out, currently holds a post in Management Accounting, and I draw freely on his observations.⁴

The story begins at a familiar point. The development of written examinations for the Cambridge mathematical tripos in the 1760s was the English contribution to what was going on all over Europe: improving the oral scrutiny of students by demanding written answers as well. Cambridge colleges played their part. The student's result was interpreted as a mark of institutional as well as personal success, which led to colleges attempting to prove that their candidate was best. This culminated in 1792 in a proposal that all answers be marked numerically, so that, in Hoskin's (1996: 273) words, 'is and ought will be brought into proper alignment, and the best candidate will be declared Number One'. A particular performance became a register of a general truth about the candidate's ability. This application of measurement combined three already existing but distinct practices that between them put into the place the system as we know it. The idea of an examination as the formal testing of human activity joined with quantification, that is, a numerical summary of attainment, and with writing which meant that results were permanently available for inspection.

With measurement came a new morality of attainment. If human performance could be measured, then targets could be set and aimed for. What is became explicitly joined with what ought to be. This new morality was epitomised in the concept of improvement. 'Improvement' is wonderfully open-ended, for it at once describes effort and results. It invites one to make both ever more effective, a process from which the tests themselves are not immune: measuring the improvement leads to improving the measures.⁵ 'Not only new targets but new kinds of targets

⁴ I draw from Hoskin 1996, to which the reader is referred for references to the work in this field.

⁵ I am grateful to Simon Schaffer for his comments on measurement and calibration, and to Paul Slack for talking about the changing connotations of the term 'improvement' (see following).

may at any moment be constituted out of the debris of past successes and failures' (Hoskin 1996: 266, emphasis removed).

The very concept of improvement already presages this. Over the sixteenth century, the term had shifted from referring to land from which rent (profit) was taken to the capacity of all sorts of devices to bring benefit to the user or owner. It came to acquire the connotation of enhancement. It is a well known feature of language change that meanings spread out from their original location, and by the end of the century, it began to be used in its modern sense of improving the mind. However meanings do not just spread out from a source – they can also loop back. The development in turn of more positive attitudes towards land enclosure led in the mid-seventeenth century to the idea of 'improvement', in its new sense, being borrowed back. So what had once been a neutral register of the fact that a piece of land was profit-bearing, now meant land capable of yielding more because more had been done to it. The action of making something better, and thus *increasing* its value, elevating it in the sense of enhancement, had been built irrevocably into the term improvement.

When a measure becomes a target, it ceases to be a good measure,⁶ but targets that seem measurable become enticing tools for improvement. The linking of improvement to commensurable increase produced practices of wide application. It was that conflation of 'is' and 'ought', alongside the techniques of quantifiable written assessments, which led in Hoskin's view to the modernist invention of accountability. This was articulated for the first time around 1800 as 'the awful idea of accountability' (Hoskin 1996: 268).

Higher education in this country has somewhat belatedly joined the long line of public institutions that have, over the last twenty years, been subject to 'human accounting', and all that means in terms of new management procedures and financial targets. Yet if you thought that the practices of accountability with which we are now familiar – such as the quality assessment exercises introduced into higher education about a decade ago – have come out of the commercial world with its protocols of bookkeeping and calculations of resources, you would be only half right. Accountability did not (Hoskin argues) appear in work organisations until the nineteenth century. There were accounting practices in pre-nineteenth century business, but financial and human performance were not combined. So where did the combination come

⁶ The more a 2.1. examination performance becomes an expectation, the poorer it becomes as a discriminator of individual performances. Hoskin describes this as 'Goodhart's law', after the latter's observation on instruments for monetary control which lead to other devices for monetary flexibility having to be invented.

from? The answer you know. Commerce and business learnt human accounting from what was going on in education itself. Those 'writing, grading and examining practices, were inventions not of business but of the educational world' (Hoskin 1996: 268), and specifically the university world of Cambridge, and not long after Oxford. One eventual result of those new systems of university examination was the commercial ethos of accountability.

Here, then, we have just the same kind of extension and return, or loop through another area of activity, as in the modern formulation of the idea of improvement. It is a beautiful example of what anthropologists would call cultural replication. Values cross from one domain of cultural life to another and then, in altered form, back again. Now Hoskin has described the first two stages of such a trajectory – from education into the accountability practices of the business world. I simply complete the movement for the late twentieth century by commenting on the way they loop back into higher education itself. Such practices both return with new meanings from this other domain, to reinvigorate the old, while in another sense they never come back to their original source.⁷ Universities have not stood still in the meantime. In this borrowing, the transfer across domains is happening at the same time as each domain also follows its own history. So this borrowing back has not been to the benefit of the examination system as such. Written examinations have changed little since they were first instituted; however, the whole context in which they are administered has. Something else had become the object of examination.

Within one trajectory will be numerous others. The return, we might say, has happened (at least) twice over. Accountancy in its professional sense informs modern practices of financial management, and one of the instruments of management is *audit*. If principles coming out of education contributed to the development of standardised auditing procedures, these procedures in turn became routine for financial auditing in universities and colleges like anywhere else. Academic institutions were re-invented as financial bodies. But it is the more recent return that concerns me, and here accountancy becomes linked to a more general idea of accountability, and with it an expansion of the domain of auditing. Speaking of events over the last two decades, Power (1994) refers to the audit explosion; whatever had been set in train with the practice of written and numerically graded examinations returns as audit in a new and expanded sense. Education finds itself drawn into the rather bloated phenomenon I am calling the *audit culture*. Audit culture is audit enhanced.

⁷ A problem that exercised nineteenth century minds (Beer 1996).

The enhanced auditing of performance returns not to the process of examining students, then, but to other parts of the system altogether.⁸ What now are to be subject to 'examination' are the institutions themselves – to put it briefly, not the candidates' performance but the provision that is made for getting the candidates to that point. Institutions are rendered accountable for the quality of their provision.

That applies with particular directness in Teaching Quality Assessment (TQA), which scrutinises the effectiveness of teaching, that is, the procedures the institution has in place for teaching and examining, assessed on a department by department basis within the university's overall provision. This is a smaller element in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), and indeed the emphasis of the two exercises differs. TQA focuses on the means by which students are taught and thus on the outcome of teaching in terms of its organisation and practice, rather than outcome in terms of students' knowledge. The RAE, on the other hand, also carried out on a departmental basis (cost centre), specifically rates research outcome as a scholarly product. Yet here, too, means are also acknowledged. Good research is supposed to come out of a good 'research culture'. If that sounds a bit like candidates getting marks for bringing their pencils into the exam, or being penalised for the examination room being stuffy, it is a reminder that at the end of the day it is the institution as such that is under scrutiny. Quality of research is conflated with quality of research department (or centre). 1792 all over again! In both exercises, the institution (whether department or university) is given a distinct presence over and above the performance of individuals. In particular the institution as a whole is accredited with aims and objectives and its capacity to meet them.

The borrowing back and forth between educational assessment and business accounting can be taken as a true story – it could also be an allegory. I am thinking of it as an allegory for the relationship between auditing and a higher education that too can be considered in an expanded sense. If we look not just at the institutions of higher education but at certain trends in scholarship, that is, at the *content* of what is taught and researched, in some areas at least, we shall find fertile mulch for the late twentieth century audit culture. Audit has not just come in from outside; it also belongs here.

I talk of the audit of audit culture in order to draw attention to some of the runaway effects of this process that began, so to speak, with the pristine aims of educational improvement. An anthropologist would argue that ideas can acquire a momentum of their own. In this case,

⁸ The model in mind here are those marriage systems in which intermarrying groups replicate previous unions but with another segment of the social unit (take a spouse from subclan A1 of clan A and return a sibling to subclan A2 of the same clan).

improvement is not just any old idea – it summons the very momentum to which it refers.

Description

The annual return of Council for the last year (*Cambridge University Reporter* 17 December 1996) included a report from the Joint Committee on Academic Performance. The performance in question, and the desirability for improvement implied in the need for discussion, relates to different levels of success by male and female students in Tripos examinations. In retrospect this seems a rather charming if not positively parochial definition of 'academic performance'. For the report is proceeded by two others, noting successively the 1996 RAE, the tranche of TQA visits for the year, and then a further entry 'Teaching Quality Audit'. On top of the Higher Education Funding Council's exercises, which promote the (government) policy-driven division of university activity into research and teaching through the simple device of a divided funding formula, a separate body, the Higher Education Quality Council, asked if the university would like to have an audit visit all for itself.⁹ 'The purpose of this would be to verify that the University [as the overall institution] has effective means of achieving its educational objectives' (*Reporter* vol. 127: 300). (The University declined.) The note on the HEQC's invitation then commented on plans to integrate these three forms of quality assessment under the aegis of a national body, which is being put together this very moment by the Joint Planning Group for Quality Assurance in Higher Education. The proposal is that in addition to subject reviews (as in the present teaching and research assessments) there should be 'an institution-wide review' every five years.

While the Secretary of State for Education and Employment intends the integration to reduce the burden of external scrutiny, the chances are that it will devolve those burdens down. Audit mechanisms will be reproduced, like so many internal quality control bodies, *within* institutions. But what kind of mechanisms will they be and what kind of institutions will universities then become? The General Board already had a whiff in the conclusions of the 1992 Academic Audit: 'The protean nature of the [Cambridge] University's academic structures and system of governance is difficult to capture concisely in managerial language, or

⁹ The Higher Education Quality Council contributes to the maintenance and improvement of quality in the universities, a company limited by guarantee and owned jointly by CVCP [Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals] among others. It took over responsibility of academic audit from the CVCP itself. (The CVCP had carried out the 1992 Academic Audit of the University referred to above. Note that the 'academic' in 'academic audit' here refers to the attainments of the institution as an institution.)

by reference to a straightforward organizational model' (quoted in General Board's response, November 1993). As the Board drily noted, that does not prove that the system is unsatisfactory. No, but it shows us where the problem for quality auditors lies. The protean structures cannot be *described* in managerial language or *analysed* in terms of an organizational model. Whatever internal audit mechanisms are encouraged, they will be seeking for descriptions and analyses, that is, for representations, of a particular kind. And what will be the subject of such representations? Management processes and organisational modelling.

I want to leave aside the question of management. There is, I'm glad to say, a whole body of criticism emerging from scholars in management and accounting¹⁰ – I have cited only Hoskin, from a recent collection on *Accountability*, and Power, whose book *The Audit Society* will soon be out. This body of work addresses, among other things, the co-figuring of the auditee – how people's activities become auditable – the end of a long line of critique into governance and the way in which the state produces the individual person as a governable self. In observing that the auditee's own auditing methods are the principal subject of inspection, Power notes: 'What is audited is whether there is a system which embodies standards and the standards of performance themselves are shaped by the need to be auditable... audit become a formal 'loop' by which the system observes itself' (1994: 36–7). Of course, all the new quality control body will have to do is make sure that its clones, the quality control bodies replicated within each institution, respond appropriately to the parent body. Now that devolution of audit (from experts to community, so to speak) will in turn devolve down the need to render practices observable. Who will do the observing? Or, the same point: who will do the describing and analysing, the modelling, the representing; who will be the new ethnographers?¹¹ The General Board in 1992 knew that describing the formal structures of the university was not describing the university.

This brings me to organisational modelling, and to the assumption that what has to be modelled in order for an institution to be recognised as an institution performing adequately is the nature of its organisation.

¹⁰ I cannot reference this here. But just note that I have belatedly come to appreciate what former colleagues in the Roscoe Building at Manchester University were calling 'critical accounting' some ten years ago. Hoskin's chapter appears in a volume on *Accountability* one of whose editors is Rolland Munro, to whom I owe many thanks; his post is a Reader in Accountability in a Department of Management (Keele). Michael Power is in Accounting and Finance at the LSE.

¹¹ I draw here on comments made on an earlier version given to the Department of Anthropology in SOAS, London.

Now in one sense this is unexceptional: any set of social practices will have an organisational dimension. But in another sense we see here a further conflation of is and ought. The university's workings must be described through a set of social elements already recognisable to the auditors – if they are not there then somehow the university is not there.¹² Listen to this litany.

The Report of the 1992 Academic Audit undertaken then by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals is replete with statements of the following kind: 'the University appears not to have stated its aims and objectives in relation to academic quality'; [there is] 'an informal and uncodified understanding about academic quality'; [the Tripos system] 'does not readily lend itself to a tidy and straightforward procedure for programme design'; 'procedures appear neither to require, nor explicitly to encourage, programme proposers to state overall aims and objectives'; [in the University's 'monitoring culture' there is an] 'apparent absence of explicit aims and objectives, [or] statements of expected "learning outcomes"'; 'The Board ... has an exhortatory role ... [but] the team could not discern any other means by which the Board's expectations ... were being monitored in any detailed way'; and so on. (Published in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, 16 October 1992.) In short: the auditors could not see how Cambridge University worked.

There may be many things wrong with the University, and no cause for complacency. But it is the prescriptive nature of the analysis that gives pause for thought. It seems to me as an ethnographer quite extraordinary that there was no enquiry into *how* the University worked. Or, rather, not extraordinary at all. The auditors' interest is not in producing an 'organisational model' in the sense of a model of an ongoing organisation with its own characteristics, but in producing a model that would show how well Cambridge is organised to achieve its goals. And the *evaluation* of 'how well' is already taken care of by pre-existing measures. They measure the institution as an organisation according to pre-set criteria of what an efficient organisation would look like.

If, with the examining of students in mind, we had asked how does one actually 'examine' an institution, we have the answer. The answer is: the degree to which the institution conforms to certain standard models (representations) of organisations that achieve their goals. That is only the first part of the answer; the second is, the degree

¹² The question is how social forms are summoned into existence (reified) by representational practices. Only if they present themselves in a particular way will a set of people be regarded as a 'clan' or congregation'.

to which the institution looks like other institutions that fall into this class, and thus can be *described* as so conforming.

One would think therefore that, at the very least, the adequacy of the description might become an investigatable issue. Don't we teach students how to defend the basis on which their analyses is made? Doesn't research imply procedures by which we find out how things are? Where is the ordinary kind of academic self-scrutiny by which we approach other matters?

Part of that answer lies in the very nature of the audit exercise. It has pre-empted self-scrutiny.¹³ In other words, it already plays back to institutions the model of an organisation in self-scrutinising mould. That is why, for instance, we cannot simply ask the native speakers and listen to their account of the system. Audit got there first with the question. As part of the very process of examination, institutions have already been asked to describe themselves. And, as we have seen, their description of themselves as an organisation has to conform to existing models. Yet this does not seem quite fair. Audit does, after all, recognise the distinctiveness of institutions when it asks what their own aims are. Here seems an opportunity for institutions to speak with their own voice. Not at all. Because aims are conflated with objectives, that is, with how one *organises* oneself to achieve them.¹⁴

To an ethnographer, like any other enquirer into human affairs, analysis can only proceed on the basis of a theoretical model that makes evident what information is being selected for presentation. That process allows for conflict of interpretation and thus for competing models. There may well be disagreement as to the validity of the analysis; indeed such debate is a crucial component of the scholarly exercise. In the same way, one can imagine that an institution such as a university will not

¹³ *The enfolded nature of cultural process means that one encounters similar ideas at all scales of social life: worlds repeat themselves within worlds, and (explicitly in this paper) travel across domains, one reason why cultural practices persuade by the sense of 'at homeness' or 'familiarity' they create.*

¹⁴ This applies more directly to HEFCE's teaching than research exercise. How to assess the aims and objectives put forward by institutions have exercised TQA panels in terms of their realisability. 'Assessors are not asked to make an absolute judgement on the validity of subject aims and objectives themselves, but to draw on their own experience and expertise to make a relative judgement of their validity in relation to institutional aims and objectives, the student intake, and the needs and interests of stakeholders' (HEFCE Assessors' Handbook, October 1993). The 1996 RAE instead asked for research plans, including 'verifiable targets', a perfectly reasonable request on its own but one which also (its very reasonableness assists) helps feed the audit culture. *Elements taken alone may have a rationality that becomes something else when they are put into a wider context, as any student of gender relations knows of individual behaviour by men or women and its place within a larger field of power.*

only have diverse aims but may have conflicting and competing ones. It may wish to do several things at once and in different arenas: not only instruct persons but help them think independently; not only provide the backup for well established research projects that have visible outcomes but tolerate hidden niches for the unexpected maverick or the genius who could be lodged anywhere in the system; to foster both productivity and creativity, knowing that these sometimes go together and sometimes do not. Diverse social arrangements allow one over time to move in many directions at once, or allow persons to go off in different directions. Contradiction is the engine of the intellect. But turn aims into objectives, turn multiple possibilities into plans for action, and contradiction is banished.¹⁵ The institution becomes judged by acts that presume unity – by the degree of consensus by which it will achieve its aims, and thus by the effectiveness with which it has actually *eliminated* contradictions. The simple model is that 'one' organisation must be defined by one (coherent) mission. In other words, the institution is like a self defined by an identifiable singleness of purpose. Here the loop gets to throttling tightness: the 'self' in the invitation to self-scrutiny turns out to be already a particular kind of self – to be judged by criteria that agree what the self is, that is, the type of agency that propels persons/institutions towards their stated goals.

Self-improvement

Audit describes institutions as simultaneously self-organising¹⁶ and self-conscious: social and performative identity merge into a reflexive construction of self-identity. Institutions are understood as behaving as agents who, like so many individual students, are involved in an examination process that is also a 'self-examination. So where does this concept of the 'self' come from?

The self-governing self has been well described by the critics of human accounting.¹⁷ On the one hand, it summons a type of rationality that has been integral to the development of twentieth century governmentality, at once product and promoter of instruments of governance; on the other hand, self-scrutiny has become a *sine qua non* for certain kinds of scholarly pursuit. Applied to the practices of

¹⁵ *I am thinking of initiation rituals which may present an initiate with alternative possibilities of identity but then force him or her to some action; in order to act, diverse directions have to be resolved in to one, a precept also found as a folk model of human intentionality and social action.*

¹⁶ A companion paper explores the concept of 'self-organisation' in relation to some of this same material (Strathern n.d.).

¹⁷ It informs Hoskin's 1996 overview, as well as the work of Rose (e.g. 1990) and others.

representation, it gives us reflexivity. Over the last twenty years, scholars of many persuasions have been developing reflexivity as a tool in description and analysis. Indeed, reflexive practices are deeply informative of that very type of self-referential work that the Santa Cruz administrator unthinkingly dismissed.¹⁸ Reflexivity is the other face of his accountability. This is what I meant when I said that contemporary trends in scholarship provide fertile ground for the audit culture. The content of the knowledge with which some parts of the academy have been equipping themselves is thus relevant to our theme.¹⁹

The expansion of university disciplines over the last century was fuelled by, among other things, the systematic application of the axiom that knowledge was formed in finding out the reasons or pre-conditions for all kinds of social and natural facts. The scholar's skill was thus traditionally applied to rendering the implicit explicit. Articulated as 'reflexivity',²⁰ nowadays this very process of making-explicit is turned back on the producers of knowledge: they are asked to look within to find what they (or their discipline) have projected on to their objects of knowledge. Reflexivity, as it happens, comes easily to social anthropology: at once analytical stance, substantive knowledge and method, anthropological practice always was the expertise of being in two places at once, here and there, seeing 'ourselves' and 'others' at the same time. It depended on the perception of a divide that was constantly dissolving and reforming. Social anthropology is not alone – indeed its awareness of itself with that capability has been stimulated by other disciplines in the arts and humanities. Audit, we might say, is late company to sit down at the same table. We could call audit the supremely reflexive practice.

In this sense, audit does for institutions what protocols of self-scrutiny does for the scholar. The cultural potential is there for each to play back to and thus sustain the other, and I made mention of my own

¹⁸ In his essay on 'Reflexivity is the ethnographer of the text', Woolgar (1988) cites a Santa Cruz scholar among others.

¹⁹ I refer to the effects of certain styles of argument in the humanities and social sciences. Note that this re-describes the shift that Gibbons *et al.* record as between their two modes of knowledge production. They bracket 'social accountability' and 'reflexivity': and see reflexivity as a key characteristic of what they call Mode 2 (1994: 102–4). 'Operating in Mode 2 makes all participants more reflexive' (1994: 7). By this they mean, among other things, that individuals cannot function effectively without describing their own standpoints in relation to those of others.

²⁰ There are many renderings of this term. Beck (1994: 5–6) does it crisply by coining it as self-confrontation. Thus in his view 'reflexive modernization' means self-confrontation with the effects of a risk society that cannot be dealt with by the system of an industrial society.

discipline in order to underline the fact that scholarship is part of the accountability process, not beyond it. What makes audit different from this brand of enquiry, however, is the very linking of *is* and *ought* that rendered the self-examining doubts so administratively non-compliant in Santa Cruz. In audit, *self-examination* is linked to *self-improvement*. I speak briefly to two aspects of this, the perception of benefits and the perception of costs. Benefits and costs accrue to/fall on individuals and institutions alike.

Benefit: audit rewards the self-examining self. Listen to this sturdy statement of purpose from an Associate Director of the Quality Assessment Division of the Higher Education Funding Council of England.

The purpose is to ensure accountability for public funds; to demonstrate that money is being well spent; to give the 'customer' an indication of the relative quality of provision; to provide a basis for linking funding to enhancement of quality; and to enable the identification, sharing and publicising of best practice as a means of encouraging quality improvement. (Glasner 1996: 7)

She goes on to stress that what is being assessed is the provider's own analysis of what it does, and whether the level of attainment of its objectives means it can meet its aims. She was specifically addressing the 1994–5 TQA review of anthropology provision. The assessment, she said, 'has had the potentially valuable effect of making transparent the effectiveness of anthropology's delivery to diverse institutional missions, aims and objectives' (1996: 9). That in turn will yield results. For even if the discipline does not know it, it has after all the ability to impart skills to its students. It follows, in this view, that the teaching of anthropology will be improved if it can attend to these skills.

Here the axiom that education is about drawing capabilities out of people is being returned to education in a strong sense. HEFCE's spokeswoman makes it explicit: skills must be disembedded.

A lack of clarity about the multitude of skills which are embedded in anthropology's teaching and learning restricts the ability of graduates to identify clearly their marketability. (Glasner 1996: 9)

Drawing skills out of students and good practice out of institutions finds common measure in the market place. Audit occupies the modest position of enabler – assisting persons and institutions to compete better.

However, by now you will not be surprised to hear that the skills have already been defined. The skills in question have to match up to certain expectations. Nor will you be surprised to learn that – in certain respects – the expectations mimic the skills of audit presentation itself:

clarity (rather than logic), itemisation (rather than connection), bullet points (rather than paragraphs), and simplified organisation (rather than involution or evolution in argument). Above all no ambiguity, contradiction or hesitation. But more than that. It seems that 'skills' have a multi-site requisite built into them; aptitudes are not skills if they cannot be performed outside the initial context of learning. It is not just that they may be transferable but that they ought to be. The idea of 'transferable skills' thus implies a process of secondary elicitation, namely that skills developed in one context can be used in others – they can become disembedded or free-floating. This does not mean disembedded from the person, since it is persons who move from one context to another and take the skills with them, but from the original learning environment. So skills acquire wider utility, provided they are to this extent extractable.²¹ Transferability across learning environments suggests generic rather than specialised conditions for learning (learning environments become substitutable for one another) and thus lays the ground for de-disciplining of university subjects.²²

However, the HEFCE spokeswoman was not just emphasising the skills – equally important, it would seem, is awareness of them. What *really* has to be disembedded is reflexivity itself!

[w]hilst the embedded nature of the development of a wide range of transferable and marketable skills is a great strength, *inter alia* in enhancing their effective development, it is also a weakness unless the fact that skills are being developed is articulated and understood by those who develop them, and is done so in a way which enables graduates to articulate them and employ them to good effect in their future careers ... (Glasner 1996: 8-9).

The self-examining self is rewarded by discovering its realisable assets.

Of course the institution has to assist in this self-examination. ('The process of assessment is a collaborative process of review, based on the provider's critical self-evaluation' [Glasner 1996: 7].) Recall Emily Davies's reference to the moral benefit that girl's secondary education would bring. That kind of benefit was directed towards an individual as a self capable of self-improvement. In the same way as measures such as examinations were regarded as instruments to make attainment visible, so institutions such as the college Emily Davies founded were instruments of the educative process itself. They were the means to the

²¹ A good case of the implicit made explicit: a component of a process that was before taken for granted now becomes singled out for attention.

²² New Zealand is setting up a credits system whereby potential university students may acquire learning skills in a range of environments that will give exemption from substantive disciplinary training.

individual improvement of its members.²³ Some types of institutions are going to do a better job than others. Thus Emily Davies set her face against a separate university for women precisely because she had her ideas of what would work best as an institution. Latter day auditors also aim for the best environment for self-improvement. They may represent their practices as encouraging a move from the hidden to the open or else as putting in place management systems to do away with authoritarian structures imposed from above (outside) in favour of encouraging internal motivation from below.²⁴ Thus Power (1995: 8) criticises the professionalisation of agencies that leads to over-managed audit at the expense of individual autonomy. This chimes with the recommendations of the educationalist Cox (1996: 22) that adult learning should favour a move away from 'dependency' towards 'self-direction', so that the motivation to learn comes not from 'external pressures' but from 'internal, intrinsic' ones.

And how is self-direction to be assisted? Well, again, the method is in part pre-defined. And here we move into the costs. Only they don't sound like costs to begin with – they sound like more enablements.

Back to the TQA spokeswoman. '[The] overview report [on anthropology] highlights some areas for further attention of the institutions and of anthropologists. Whilst information technology (IT) provision is generally adequate to meet current needs, there is significant variation in the use made of IT and a lack of emphasis on IT skills development' (Glasner 1996: 8). IT is presented as an inevitable adjunct of educational progress. I mean inevitable: there is a (government) policy drive behind this across the education sector. On this issue audit becomes exhortation. Institutional reviews deliberately promote the use of office-like technology while also managing to suggest that knowledge itself is at stake: it is all contained in the phrase 'information technology'. Thus using IT in teaching has been one of the

²³ If women had to be treated in the same way as men, the college would follow the constitution of a men's college, an institutional solution to the question of higher education for girls that took its place among burgeoning institutions of all kinds. Thus the very possibility of higher education showed up the need for formal secondary school training, and the 1870s and 1880s saw the establishment of a network of secondary schools for girls. Institutions have their own runaway effect, both through the multiplication of organisations and through internal replication, each organisation containing smaller organisations – committees, subcommittees – inside itself (it would not be an organisation if it were not composed of such sub-elements). This means that institutions can be measured by institutions inside them: universities by the effectiveness of their separate cost-centres (disciplines/departments).

²⁴ On the collapse of the difference between (external) management and (internal) self-management, see Shore and Wright in press (after Emily Martin).

criteria of successful delivery in the TQA's evaluation procedures. What is being reproduced here are not just the machines (they pop up palely in offices like a mushroom sporing) but the possibility of improvement by such means. If IT means enhanced lecture presentation and independent learning, who could possibly object? It is regarded as empowering of both teacher and pupil, and allows teacher-pupil 'contact' in new circumstances (e.g. long distance learning). At the same time the view is hegemonic, for IT carries all the cultural signs of innovativeness and cutting edge stuff (provided we can get over the 2000 blip). Useful improvements thus do duty as 'proof' of improvement.

Why do I say office-like? Audit has its own material apparatus. Audit in its expanded form of bureaucratic monitor simply could not exist without the developments in office technology that have taken root over the last twenty years,²⁵ and I include here word processor, fax and photocopier, electronic mail. Between them these have introduced ubiquitous conventions of style and speed. New standards of presentation presume easily reproducible layout, the dissemination of paper, turnaround speed of response. Once again the instruments of improvement (that enable, for example, turnaround speed of response) mimic the auditing of the performance (speed of response proves the system is efficient). At the same time we can see how technology comes with the friendliest of epithets: it is enabling. For technology simultaneously assists the efficient running of the organisation, and – if the government gets its way – educational practices themselves. A prosthesis, an extension for the individual, IT is all about facilitation, all about providing people with the skills to find out information. Mimicking education in turn, technology and audit sit side by side as instruments to assist in the supplying of information and the drawing out of skills.

Cost: the cost is crippling. It can be stated very briefly. One product of information technology is information, and it has brought us a new disease. Not just overload in general but information overload in particular. (The physical symptoms are apparently those of 'fatigue syndrome' [*The Guardian* 5 Nov. 1996].²⁶) We know the cause: access is too easy; we know the symptom: anxiety about where to stop. The

²⁵ Alongside other less visibly 'applied' artefacts, notably the aesthetic practices of document production to which Riles (n.d.) has drawn attention in another context.

²⁶ Is this late twentieth century 'hysteria'? If so, these are cultural diseases in the strong sense – aversions to one's milieu. (Paul Connerton pers. comm.: at the time of the Napoleonic wars 'nostalgia' was thought to be a disease, literally, 'home-pain' – soldiers on duty away from home suffered from it.)

technology of information flow which leads to escalating demands on the assumption that anyone can produce information at any time without notice, goes hand in hand with those expectations about evidence for management which presume more and more professionalism in the way scholarly activity is formatted. Here is improvement gone mad.

The cost? Overload is more than a matter of competing demands on time. In higher education it becomes an assault on those activities which require reflection (maturation, time lapse for growth). Proof of performance and productivity requires outputs that can be measurable and thus made visible. This subverts the integral role that time with no visible output plays in both teaching and research. In teaching there must be a lapse of time – the process is not one of consumption but one of absorption and reformulation. In research, time must be set aside for all the wasteful and dead-end activities that precede the genuine findings.²⁷ Both require otherwise non-productive periods. Yet there is almost no language in the audit culture in which to talk about productive non-productivity. On the contrary, the very concept of overload suggests a management inadequacy on the part of the academic – one has not paced oneself properly. One should make time for time. The result is a vague, persistent and crippling sense of failure. That is compounded in the conflation between management and performance (Munro n.d.).

Two brief pointers here. First, the requirement to monitor performance (outcome, the final show) becomes an interest in performativity (the workings of the performance). An audit of an organisation sets out to assess the effectiveness with which it works. Audit wants, as it were, to see organisation 'at work', to be able to report on the organisation working. Second, making institutions describe themselves is a key means by which audit systems reduce complexity. This is also a performative demand. Since audit will make sense of an institution as an organisation, it requires that it 'perform' being an organisation through the very act of coherent self-description.²⁸ Hence audit elicits a particular kind of account of the organisation. It does not just want to hear how the institution is structured, but about its lines of communication and data flow, and thus how it functions as an organism, as though it were in constant activation, as though every component of the organisation were in a state of perpetual self-awareness, animation and explicitness. Yet that state of ready

²⁷ This point was first made to me most strongly by Gillian Gillison.

²⁸ *Rhetorical congruence between the coherence of the model (description, representation) and the coherence of the subject under study (society, culture, descent group) has been the object of recent anthropological critique.*

representation is poor ethnography. Left to itself, an institution is likely to oscillate between activity and rest (if one imagines a daily regimen), between what is easily assimilable and what less so (in the information that circulates) or explicitness and implicitness (of the values and rules by which it operates), as well as between the uses to which it can put both overt and tacit knowledge. Activation, in other words, is ordinarily intermittent.

The hyperactivity of audit produces a description of the world as hyperactive. Well, hyperactivity was actually something of which Emily Davies's critics were apprehensive when they pondered on her plans for having girls sit public examinations. It was feared that they might get brain fever. As it turned out, the girls suffered from no such complaint, neither as candidates for the secondary school examinations nor later at university. However, brain fever is not a bad way of describing some of the excesses of auditing. It wasn't the girls who caught the complaint but the system!

Conclusion

Audit is not a foreign activity in higher education, but one that sits rather well with it. It is after all the organisation of a set of procedures for examining institutions as organisations. Now if it were just that, then the anthropologist might also regard it as a rather interesting social experiment – a kind of cultural replication, an approach to a laboratory-like test of social performance. The problem is the very value which we would no doubt like most to endorse, improvement. It has led to a compression of instruments and aims which finds its *raison d'être* (if we are to believe Hoskin) in the new regime of accountability and its concomitant, the audit of audit culture. Audit is deliberately built on the conflation of measures with targets, and audit culture enhances the process. We are familiar with this in university examinations. It is becoming increasingly difficult for credit to be gained for numerically average performance. Measurement and target rise together. And the corruption is endemic in one of the assumptions that follows in the wake of the Research Assessment Exercise – not yet a decade old – the idea that the goal is to encourage institutions to *improve their rating*. No need to turn to America. The University of Kent now has its Director of Quality Enhancement.

How to abate the fever of enhancement? For all the important gains that audit has brought into public practice, what do we do with the overkill? What do we do with an abundance that threatens to asphyxiate us when the abundance is of oxygen? Can one have too much life-blood? Let me repeat that we are witnessing an effect that we (practitioners in higher education) have helped produce. Auditors are

not aliens: they are a version of ourselves. In fact the people in HEFCE are probably people we (collectively) have taught or studied with.²⁹ The issues lie in commitment to the very values of academic excellence that educational auditors and practitioners share.

As a practitioner in higher education, I end with three comments.

1. A question: How to reduce information flow; how to foster the conditions for tacit and implicit knowledge to grow *unknown*; how to avoid the computer-aided bibliographic search becoming a paradigm for research as such?

2. A problem: In making transferable skills an objective, one cannot reproduce what makes a skill work, i.e. its embeddedness. Perhaps one should argue for an ecological response – that what is needed is *the very ability to embed oneself in diverse contexts, but that can only be learnt one context at a time*. Think of the anthropological fieldworker: if you embed yourself in site A you are more likely, not less, to be able to embed yourself in site B. But if in site A you are always casting around for how you might do research in B or C or D, you never learn that. There is a lesson here for disciplines.

3. An observation: Somehow we have to produce embedded knowledge: i.e. insights that are therefore excavating later, when the context is right, but not till then. That is, we have to not block or hinder³⁰ the organism's capacity to use time for the absorption of information – perhaps we should be looking for time-released knowledge or delayed-reaction comprehension. (That is what working through substantive problems and theoretical puzzles are all about: the pacing and temporal effects of having to read a 350 page ethnography for example.) Not everything in the light on the table all the time.

This is not a simple recipe for a quiet life.³¹ It could not possibly be that. Fever – to a certain degree – has its place as well. It has to be the balance that matters. When Emily Davies petitioned Cambridge University on behalf of her secondary school girls, Trinity's Dr Whewell observed that the University must be allowed time and quiet to consider

²⁹ After writing this, I remembered that a friend from undergraduate days holds the position of Company Secretary to HEOC! He is not responsible for any of the comments made in this paper.

³⁰ As opposed to reproducing, imitating, studying or otherwise making an object of attention.

³¹ Emily Davies was convinced that 'a certain amount of solitude' was one of the attractions of college life (Megson and Lindsay 1960: 9). 'The College cannot do much more than give *quiet liberty* and *opportunity*, and Miss Davies never had any other idea' (Madame Bodichon to Mrs Ayrton, quoted in Stephen 1933: 67, original emphasis).

the proposal. 'Miss Davies neither waited nor was quiet'³² – and carried on her vigorous campaign. But on this occasion in 1865 time and quiet also did its job, and Senate voted to admit girls to the halls of quality assessment.

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³² This and the material relating to the episode come from Joyce Evans [see acknowledgements].

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PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS IN ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENTS: A REVIEW OF RECENT BANK EXPERIENCE

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I. Introduction

1. The Social Development Department (SDV) recently carried out a review of public consultations in the EA process on Bank-financed Category A projects, FY 1995/96. Earlier Reviews on Environmental Assessments (EA) consultations had concluded that public consultations were still weak. The main objectives of the present Review were (i) to examine the Bank's current practice on public consultations in the EAs and assess whether any progress had been made; and, (ii) to identify obstacles and provide practical solutions for improving the consultative process as part of a larger effort to improve the quality of the EAs and incorporate participation in projects.

2. The three main findings of the review are first, there is a slight improvement in the number of EAs with public consultations; second, only in a few projects did public consultations influence project design; and third, where public consultations on the EAs were carried out on projects with resettlement, the consultations on environmental impacts were either non-existent or were more on the resettlement than on the environmental impacts. The low levels of consultations were a result of factors outside and within the Bank. Outside the Bank, highly centralized governments and the cultural biases and views of Project-Affected Persons (PAPs) towards consultation and participation influenced the levels and quality of the consultations. Within the Bank, lack of strategic planning for consultations and the views and commitment of Task Team Leaders (TTLs) to consultations and participation determined the extent to which consultations took place.

3. The Review makes a number of procedural and substantive recommendations based on the EAs with good consultations as well as suggestions from TTLs. Of the recommendations delineated in section III, the need for strategic planning for consultations is the most important. One of the outputs of this Review which responds to planning for consultation is an EA Sourcebook Update which outlines how EA Consultation Plans can be developed and implemented.¹ Strategic planning for public consultation also entails budgeting for the consultations as part of the EA and projects costs, developing concise TORs and recruiting professionals with participation skills.

¹ For a detailed discussion of preparation and execution of good public consultation plans in the EA process, see EA Sourcebook Update (upcoming). Washington, DC, World Bank, July 1998.

4. In order to encourage TTLs to ensure that the borrower conducts the consultations, the Bank should provide them with incentives. Likewise, in order to change the attitudes of the government officials towards consultations, the value added by EA consultations should be conveyed to them through various mechanisms including training. In this regard, they will begin to perceive EA consultations as an effective planning tool and not solely as a World Bank requirement. ✓

5. Section I of the Report provides an introduction to the Review, Scope and Methodology, Section II the findings which include both lessons learned from the good EAs and overall constraints to consultations, Section III, the Recommendations and Section IV the Conclusions.

A. Background

6. Public consultations in the Environmental Assessment (EA) process are designed to ensure that the knowledge, views and preferences of affected groups, NGOs, and other interested parties are taken into account in environmental decision-making. The underlying objectives are rooted in the increasing number of delayed and failed projects because of misunderstandings with the public as well as the increasing demand of local communities and NGOs to participate in development projects.² In a growing number of countries, consultations during the EA process are required by law.³

7. The Bank's Operational Directive on Environmental Assessment (OD 4.01 to be released as OP 4.01) requires the Borrower or EA preparer to conduct public consultations as part of the EA for Bank-financed projects which may pose significant impacts on the environment. These projects are classified as Category A and B. The former requires a detailed EA with an Environment Management Plan (EMP) and the latter calls for an environmental analysis.

8. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" including NGOs be taken "fully into account in such assessments." The views of the affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process which occurs at two stages during project preparation:

- a) after the assigning of the EA category during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR); and,
- b) after a draft EA has been prepared.

² Richard Roberts. Public Involvement: From Consultation to Participation. Environment and Social Impact Assessment, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Chester, NY 1995, pg. 225.

³ Examples include Albania, Brazil, Bangladesh, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Mexico and Thailand.

9. A number of studies to assess public consultation and participation in the EA process in Bank-financed projects have been carried out in the Africa, Latin America & Caribbean, and Asia (East and South) Regions of the Bank.⁴ The Bank's Second EA Review also assessed the EAs on a Bank-wide level. It was the main finding of all the Reviews that public participation/consultations in the EA process were improving. They based their findings on project success in promoting some degree of public consultations/participation as well as improvements in project designs which resulted from participation and consultative processes.

10. Nevertheless, the Second EA Review, which followed these earlier reviews, found that "many EAs were still characterized by ... weak public consultations." It also pointed out that despite the recent improvements in the consultative process, women and the poor were still to a large extent excluded from the consultative process. Therefore much more progress was required to "fully implement the letter and spirit of OD 4.01."].⁵ With the exception of a few cases, the East and South Asia Review pointed out that public consultation had not resulted in project alterations.

B. Scope and Methodology of SDV Review

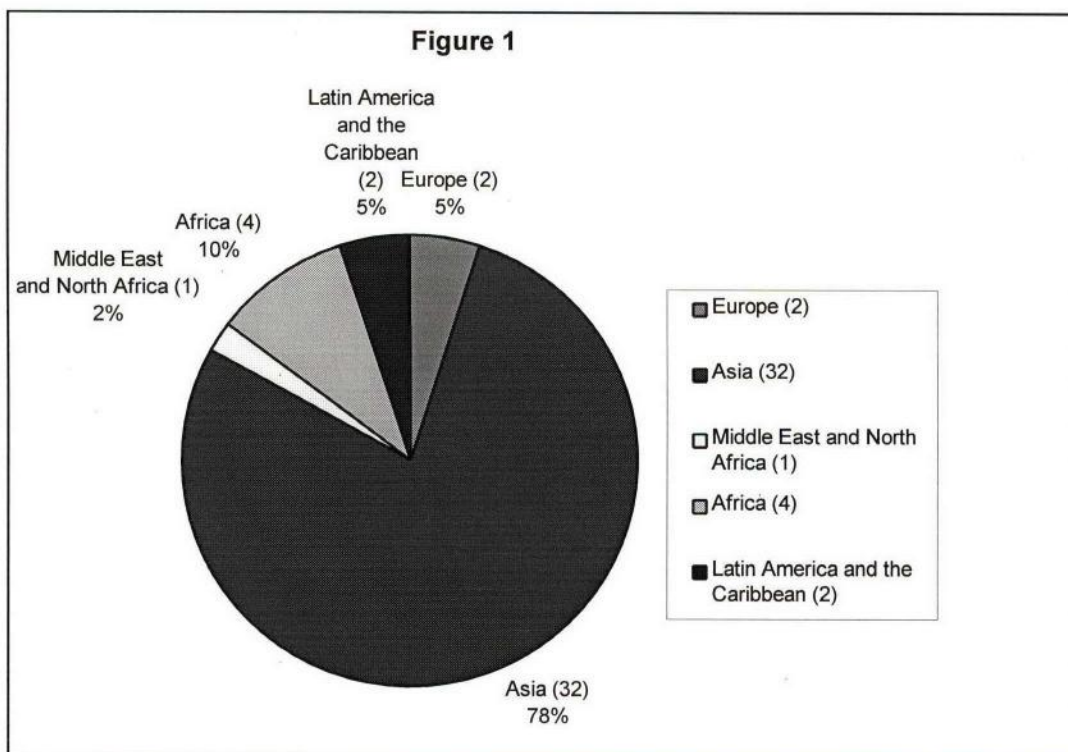
11. This review covers the post-July 1995 EAs (FY 1996), as well as EAs in FY (1995) listed in the former Environment Land and Water Division (ENVLW) data base. Earlier studies which analyzed public consultations and participation in the EA process covered the period between October 1989 and July 1995. EAs in FY 1995 are included in this Review because the Second EA Review which analyzed them looked at the EA process in its entirety and did not pay specific attention to public consultations as such. EAs of projects which were funded by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) are excluded from the study because of earlier comprehensive reviews of public consultations

⁴ Shelton H. Davis and Tosca van Vijfeijken. *Public Consultations in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia*. Dissemination Note No. 53. Washington, DC, World Bank: April 1995. William L. Partridge. *People's Participation in Environmental Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices*, LATEN Dissemination Note No. 11. Washington, DC World Bank: November 1994. Consultation has to be distinguished from participation which in addition to consultation involves informing and involvement of the public in planning environmental management and other decision making activities (Brian D. Clark., *Improving Public Participation in EIAs, Built Environment*, Vol. 20 No. 1994, pg. 295). On the other hand, consultation is a two way communication process by which the views and knowledge of affected people and private sector are taken into account in development decision-making. Participation, which is not a formal Bank requirement except in cases involving indigenous peoples and resettlement, creates ownership in those engaged in the process and is an integral element of the sustainability of projects.

See Robert Goodland, Jean Roger Mercier, Shimwaayi Muntemba. *Environmental Assessments in Africa. A World Bank Commitment*. Washington, DC, World Bank: June 25, 1995

⁵ World Bank, *The Impact of Environmental Assessment: The World Bank's Experience, Second Environmental Assessment Review 1996*, Washington, DC, November 1996.

in GEF financed projects.⁶ As illustrated in Figure 1, there are 41 EAs in the Review of which 32 are from Asia (22 from East Asia and Pacific and 10 from South Asia) 2 Latin America and the Caribbean, 4 Sub-Saharan Africa, 2 Europe and Central Asia and 1 from the Middle East and North Africa. Two of the EAs are missing and in the case of two projects, only EA summaries and Staff Appraisal Reports were reviewed (For details see Annex A).⁷



12. The study was primarily a desk review of Category EAs for Category A projects prepared in FY 1995/96 and was supplemented with interviews with some Task Team Leaders (TTLs) and or other Bank Staff who were involved in the participation/consultation component of the project. The Review also includes findings of previous studies by the World Bank on participation and consultation in the EA process. A

⁶ Katrina Brandon, A Review of Consultation and Participation in GEF Projects, 1993 (Internal GEF Background to Report); and,

Maria Aycrigg, A Review of Participation in the World Bank's GEF Portfolio, Dissemination Notes No. 52, Washington, DC, World Bank: 1997.

⁷ The Review did not make a distinction between Sectoral and project specific EAs. However, it was cognizant of the EA Sourcebook October 1993 observation that sectoral EAs cover an entire national or sub-national context before investment decisions are made. It is therefore not always possible to consult representatives of all potentially affected people. Sectoral EAs offer an excellent opportunity for identifying various stakeholders at different levels including those who will be involved at a project specific EA.

summary of findings on each EA was sent to TTLs to confirm the findings of the Review and their suggestions were incorporated in the final report. Because of the disparity in numbers of EAs according to the regions, no regional comparison were carried out in the Review.

13. The Review is cognizant of the fact that the level of consultations on Strategic EAs, Sectoral EAs as well as project specific EAs varies. Public consultations on the strategic EAs are normally not required and necessary because the consultations are expected to take place in the EAs of the sub-projects. Likewise, in Sectoral EAs, it is not always possible to consult representatives of all potentially affected people because Sectoral EAs cover an entire national or sub-national context before investment decisions are made.⁸ On the other hand, consultations with the local NGOs and affected groups on the project specific EAs are necessary.

C. Criteria for Evaluating Public Consultations

14. The evaluation criteria in this Review were based on the OD requirements. The OD requires that “affected groups and local NGOs” be consulted by project proponents or EA preparers at the scoping phase of the EA and after preparation of draft TORs. Prior to the consultations, the “local NGOs and affected groups” should receive information in a “timely manner.” At the scoping or preparation of draft TORs stage, the information should consist of a description of the project and after preparation of the draft EA, a summary of the conclusions. The OD further requires that the views of the affected groups and local NGOs should be “fully taken into account.” Good practice dictates that consultation be carried out throughout the project cycle. Therefore, consultations should also be carried out on the final EA, Environment Management Plan (EMP) and any other studies pertinent to the project.

15. Although not part of the OD requirements, other factors which improve consultations include: (a) early planning by developing a consultation plan with appropriate communication strategies for the various stakeholders; (b) conducting a social analysis (SA) to identify stakeholders and issues pertinent to project; and, (c) linking the findings of the SA to the consultation plan.⁹

16. In analyzing consultations, the EAs were considered to have exceeded the OD requirements if they met both the OD requirements and complied with other factors outlined in the Review Framework in Annex 1. The EAs were categorized as meeting the OD requirements if the consultations complied with the OD or falling short of the OD requirements, if they only partially conformed to the OD or did not meet the OD requirements on consultations at all.

⁸ EA Sourcebook October 1993

⁹ The earlier EA Reviews and Second Environment Assessment Review (1995) found that poor documentation was one of the weakest aspects of the EA process.

D. Review Findings

17. The key findings relate to the number of EAs with consultations, the extent to which consultations influenced project design and the level of consultations on EA issues when the project involved resettlement. Other pertinent findings relate to the extent to which EAs had strategically planned for consultations and lessons learned from the EAs, the role of national legal frameworks on consultations and constraints to successful consultations.

II. Findings

A. Key Findings

(i) Slight increase in number of EAs with consultations

18. It was the overall finding of the Review that consultations had increased from the average 50 percent reported in the earlier EA Reviews to 54 percent. Out of 39 EAs, 21 conducted public consultations. Out of the 18 EAs which did not carry out consultations, 2 were strategic EAs that laid out plans for consultations at the sub-project level.¹⁰ Despite the modest improvement in the number of consultations, consultations were still non-existent in 16 projects.

19. The OD requires that consultations be carried out at the scoping and draft EA phase. It is also prudent to carry out consultations on the Environment Management Plan (EMP) and final EA phase. However, out of the 21 EAs, 16 carried out consultations at the scoping phase and 15 at the draft EA phase. Only 7 carried out consultations at the final EA phase. The EMP consists of both the mitigation and monitoring plans, most consultations were carried out on the mitigatory issues and not the monitoring plans. Consultations on the monitoring plans were mainly carried out with the technical experts from academic and research institutes and not the affected groups and local NGOs.

(ii) Limited number of EAs which influenced project design

20. The OD requires that the views of affected groups and local NGOs be “taken fully into account.” The Review found that in a limited number of EAs, the views of the affected groups were integrated into project design in order to mitigate the potentially adverse environmental impacts and to minimize resettlement. Examples where this occurred are noted in Box 1.

¹⁰ Sri-Lanka Private Infrastructure Development Project and India, ILFS-Infrastructure Leasing Project.

Box 1. Consultations and Influence on Project Design

India: Bombay Sewage Disposal Project -- Consultations revealed fishing communities concerns on the impact of the marine outfalls on fish yields. A comprehensive awareness program on the need for project, technical and social issues and environmental benefits was recommended.

India: Second Madras Water Project -- Consultations led to the development of rules to protect irrigation rights of farmers.

China: Ertan Hydro II -- Changes were made to abandon one site on the basis of the consultations.

China: Shaanxi Highway Project -- Design and engineering plans were modified to add more passage over line bridges and relief roads to reduce resettlement in response to concerns raised during public consultations.

China: Zheijang Power Development -- Electricity transmission line route modified on basis of consultations.

Pakistan: Ghazi Barotha Hydro-Power Project -- Through a series of scoping sessions with local people, government and public representatives, large volumes of spoil from the power channel were disposed of as irrigated spoil on banks which was economical.

(iii) Lack of or minimal consultations on environmental impacts in projects with resettlement

21. The Second EA Review found that consultations in projects were strongest when linked to involuntary resettlement. A close scrutiny of the consultations indicates that the quality of the consultations was significantly better on the resettlement than on the environmental issues.

22. In the few cases in which the EAs with resettlement focused on environmental issues, the questions or survey forms had a general statement asking what the people's views on possible environmental impacts in the project area were. This is in marked contrast to the questions concerning resettlement which were well directed and quite specific. Consequently, most of the discussions focused on compensation and alternative site selection and not the environmental impacts of the proposed projects. One TTL indicated the preference is to limit the consultations on the environmental issues to the professionals and the social issues to the public. Another TTL explained that the resettlement issues were accorded more attention than the environmental issues because the Resettlement Action Plan is like a contract and becomes part of the legal documents. He also explained that people who are about to be relocated are less concerned about the ecological and environmental impacts of the project.

(iv) *Minimal strategic planning for consultations*

23. Among the numerous benefits of strategically planning the consultations are proper identification of stakeholders and employing the appropriate communication strategies to disseminate the information. The lack of a defined strategy for consultations in most EAs undermined initiatives to breakdown stakeholders into distinct social categories such as women, youth, poor and other disadvantaged groups. The various categories of the stakeholders could have led to employing different communication strategies and public involvement techniques in order to promote more effective consultations.

24. In the EAs where information was disseminated to stakeholders, the methods for disseminating the information included public announcements in newspapers, exhibition of reports at designated centers, distribution of consultation forms, TV and radios. However, what is lacking in the EA reports is information on lifestyles of the stakeholders to justify use of the selected communication strategies. These standard communication techniques and the media need to be tailored to particular audiences, language skills and cultural traditions.¹¹

B. *Lessons Learned from the EAs with Good Consultations*

25. Out of the 16 EAs which planned the consultations, only 4 offered innovative approaches to planning the consultations. They were the Albania Forestry, Yunan (China) Environment, India Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services (ILFS) and Pakistan, Ghazi Barotha projects. These projects outlined the objectives of the consultations, laid out methods and techniques for their implementation and systematically identified the stakeholders. They emphasized that the views and perceptions of the marginalized groups had to be an integral part of the outcome of the process and would be one of the evaluative criteria.

(i) *India: ILFS*

26. The India ILFS EAs developed a plan that integrated the Bank's EA requirements and social assessment (SA). The plan requires a multi-disciplinary team, development of TORs for social assessment, public opinion surveys and consensus on the scope of the SA. The TORs for the SA required the identification of stakeholders who included project beneficiaries, directly and indirectly affected persons including the special needs of marginalized and vulnerable groups. It also outlines the different methods for public involvement and various communication strategies for implementing the consultations. A number of sub-projects have been funded by the ILFS and complied with these

¹¹ Shelton Davis, *Public Involvement in Environmental Decision-Making: The Experience of the World Bank*. Paper presented at the OECD/DAC Workshop on Capacity Development in Environment. Rome Italy, 4-6 December, 1996.

requirements.¹² This strategic planning prior to conducting the EA on each specific project is an innovative way of planning for the EA process and public consultations.

(ii) *Albania: Forestry Project*

27. The Albania Forestry project also had a multi-disciplinary team of experts including a social and legal expert. They identified stakeholders and the issues posed by participation which had to be addressed in the plan. In terms of social analysis, the EA stressed that it was important to establish whether the villagers would be able to articulate their concerns to strangers, and whether individual and collective action and social cohesion existed among the consulted. The TORs required that the final EA reflect the comments from the public. As a result, a stakeholder review workshop was held on the final EA.

28. The success of the Albania Forestry project can be traced to its community based pilot which has been successful at the implementation phase of the project.

(iii) *China Yunan Environment Project*

29. The China Yunan Environment project espoused the same principles and methodologies which were reflected in ILFS and Albania. The Yunan project recruited a multi-disciplinary team and used a good stakeholder analysis. Stakeholders included specialist stakeholders that addressed more complex issues. In the Yunan Environment Project, some consultations were carried out with affected groups even though the Government of China preferred consultations to be carried out with local authorities and other representative organizations.¹³ This EA also documented the surveys, responses, analysis and key results of the consultations and therefore serves as a good example on the documentation of the consultative process.

(iv) *Pakistan: Ghazi Barotha Project*

30. Lastly, the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha project reflected the same type of strategic planning. Through a focused census and use of an integrated team of professionals, including social scientists, the project determined the actual number of affected groups, their social-economic status and patterns of impact. A female sociologist who was

¹² Delhi-Noida, Vadodra-Halol and Ahmedabab-Messana road projects as well Tiruppur Water Management and Devas Water Supply projects.

¹³ See Circular on Strengthening Environmental Impact Assessment Management For Construction Projects Financed by International Financial Organizations, June 21, 1993, (People's Republic of China) which provides that in projects financed by international organizations, public consultations should be carried out with representatives of local People's Congress, local political consultative groups, local mass organizations/academic groups or other public representatives in the areas. The circular further provides that it is these entities which will have the responsibility for collecting the information from the affected groups.

conversant with the culture and social issues was hired to foster the participation of women because they were not participating fully in the consultative process as a result of the cultural constraints. However, women in the project area were not fully involved in the formal public consultation process because of cultural constraints. All in all, these projects emphasized the methods, organization and key results of the consultations as integral to the consultative process.

C. Other Findings

(i) A need for a thorough documentation of the consultative process

31. The Operation Evaluation Department (OED) study on EAs and NEAPs, and the Second EA Review found that poor documentation of the consultative process was one of the weakest aspects of the EA process. This Review confirms this finding. As a result of the poor documentation of the consultative process in the EA process, relevant information had to be obtained from project files or through interviews with Bank staff and in some cases the consultants who conducted the consultations. Occasionally, the annexes contained the list of participants, questions and responses but the reports lacked a meaningful analysis of the discussions or consultations.

32. The EAs which clearly documented the consultative process had good descriptions of country legal requirements and how they related to the public consultation process; information on the consultation plan in which a broad range of stakeholders were identified; the type of information disseminated; and, where translation of information into the local languages was necessary. Also included in the EA reports were copies of notices for the meetings/consultations, lists of participants and dates of attendance, the questionnaires and survey forms, responses and analyses. Documentation of the consultative process should take into consideration the political and cultural context in which the EAs are conducted. In some cases, ensuring the anonymity of the respondents may be essential.¹⁴

(ii) Poor or lack of reporting on statutory frameworks for public consultations

33. The existence of a statutory framework in a country is one of the indicators of a government's normative commitment to participation and consultation. The OD requires that information on country legal requirements on the EA process be documented in the EA report. Out of 39 EAs, 16 had EA laws that specifically required public consultations in the EA process. Two of the EA reports carried out in the same country by two different consultants provided inconsistent information on country legal requirements on public

¹⁴ Shelton Davis and Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza, "Meaningful Consultation: Some Reflections on OD 4.01 on Environmental Assessments." (Draft Dissemination Note to be released May 1998).

consultations.¹⁵ In the rest of the EAs, the information was either incomplete or inadequate. Hence laws were listed or summarized without a discussion of the relevant provisions and how they related to consultations or the EA process as a whole.¹⁶

D. Constraints to the Consultative Process

34. Constraints to the consultative process are due to factors both within and outside the Bank. Outside the Bank, constraints to consultations were demonstrated in a number of projects. In the China Zhejiang Power project, PAPs refused to participate in the consultations because they were not accustomed to being consulted and were also of the view that their perceptions on the project were irrelevant since decisions on the project had already been made by government. In the China Yangtze Basin Water project, many of the respondents were uneducated and the majority did not want to be included in the survey for consultation. The Sri Lanka Solid Waste Project experienced similar constraints.

35. Within the Bank, TTLs pointed out that consultations were the responsibility of the borrower and usually time and money were not included in the project budget. TTLs commended the good consultations in projects like the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha and Laos Nam Theun II projects; they pointed out that these were costly and the initiatives could not be replicated in their own work. It was not possible to get information from the TTLs on the costs of the EAs and the consultation components. Since EA Review teams within the Bank receive the EA for clearance after the public consultations are completed, at this point, it is usually too late to take corrective measures.

III. Recommendations

36. Previous EA reviews recommended that the value added by consultations needed to be documented. Their recommendations on improving participation and consultations in the EA process included conducting social assessments; developing precise TORs; ensuring a proper mix of professionals, including local social scientists; and proper identification of all stakeholders. This review subscribes to these recommendations.

37. Clearly, some of the factors which were recommended by previous EA Reviews are reflected in the EAs with the best consultations. These factors are both procedural and substantive and are the main recommendations of the study. They are recommended for projects which did not comply with the OD requirements, as well as for those which just met the OD requirements and need to improve the quality of the consultations.

¹⁵ Primary sources of law should be reviewed. The Review relied on the EA Reports which are secondary sources of information and may sometimes not accurately reflect the country legal requirements on public consultations.

¹⁶ The Latin America EA Review found that there was no link between the legal framework on public consultations and the quality of consultations. The Review attributed the quality of the consultations to the determination of the Task Managers.

A. *Procedural*

- (i) *Recruit multidisciplinary teams to address social and environmental issues*

38. Although information on the professional mix of consultants preparing EAs was not available in all reports, the EAs with the good consultation strategies had teams of environmental scientists, local social scientists, resettlement and participation specialists as well as legal experts. As a result, they developed good consultation plans with information on the relevant country legal requirements; selected appropriate communication strategies; identified relevant stakeholders; and, elicited information which is reflected in the EAs. In the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha project, the involvement of a local female sociologist fostered the effective involvement of women. The remarkable amount of planning which went into selecting the professionals was reflected in the good consultation strategies.

- (ii) *Prepare detailed terms of reference*

39. TORs were not available in all the EAs; however, the TORs in the good EAs were detailed enough to apprise consultants of the Bank's EA requirements and offer concrete steps on what is required to comply with the OD. For example, the TOR for the India Second Madras Water Project required consultants to conduct reconnaissance visits, assemble information on the customs, aspirations and attitudes of the different socio-economic groups. Hence, the TORs need to be detailed and require the consultants to develop consultation strategies/plans and the tools and techniques for their implementation. TORs should also require that information in social analysis be incorporated in the EA design and criteria for assessing effectiveness of the consultations be developed by consultants. Examples of good TORs on consultations in the EA process should be posted on the EA knowledge node.

- (iii) *Develop and promote execution of a strategic consultation plan*

40. An effective consultation strategy not only lays out a plan for effective consultations, but provides an evaluative framework against which the quality of the consultations can be assessed. It takes into consideration the variations in culture, language and literacy levels among the various stakeholders. In some countries, a review of documents by ordinary persons is not typical. Hence, different communication processes may be necessary to ensure that information is received and understood by the targeted stakeholders. The project information and a summary of the conclusions which are provided to the PAPs may sometimes have to be translated into local languages and be visual or oral depending on the literacy levels.¹⁷

¹⁷ The new OP replacing OD 4.01 requires that information be in a form that can be understood by illiterate members of the affected groups.

(iv) *Early Review of EA Consultation Plans/Strategies*

41. Since EAs are reviewed in the Bank after consultations are already completed, it is imperative to plan consultations at the earliest opportunity in project preparation and seek guidance from the EA Review Team.

(v) *Document the consultative process*

42. Documentation of the design and execution of the consultative process is apparent in the good EAs. In these EAs, locations and dates of meetings and descriptions of affected persons are described in the reports. Prior to signing off on the EAs, Bank staff should review the information; and, where lacking, require EA preparers to provide information on the consultations.

B. Substantive

(i) *Provide incentives to TTLs*

43. The second EA review pointed out that some TTLs view consultation as a hurdle. In the present review, interviews with TTLs on projects which prepared and executed good consultation strategies demonstrated TTLs appreciation of the benefits of consultation. They emphasized that early consultation saves time and minimizes costs. They also pointed out that conducting consultations is prudent business practice. These findings are, to a large extent, similar to those in the International Finance Corporation (IFC) Review on EA consultations and public disclosures. The IFC Review found that the Project Sponsor's appreciation of the benefits of consultations and disclosure influence the level of commitment, time and resources allocated to the process.¹⁸ A change in attitude may have to be fostered through incentives that reward good consultations in the EAs or more accountability for lack of or for poor consultations. These measures would also improve the documentation of the consultative process.

(ii) *Promote government and local leadership commitment to participation by disseminating good practice*

44. In projects with institutional constraints, consultations were carried out because of the commitment of government leadership. This varied from sector to sector. The value added by the EAs in the project has to be communicated to the borrower either through training or other mechanisms so that the EA is seen as an effective planning tool and not a Bank requirement. The ENV initiative on EA harmonization could be an entry point in which the message of the value of the EA process is conveyed to government officials.¹⁹

¹⁸ Environment Resource Management, *Review of Public Consultation and Disclosure*, Washington, DC, IFC, The World Bank: October 1997.

¹⁹ Through the EA harmonization seminars, Bank staff and government officials review the country EA requirements against the Bank OD in order to ascertain the differences and similarities to harmonize

(iii) *Link the Resettlement Action Plan and Environment Management Plan*

45. In the EAs with good consultations, consultations on resettlement issues did not preclude a discussion or an inquiry into the environmental factors. As a result, there was a good balance between the consultations on the resettlement and environmental factors. This good balance could partly be attributed to an effective consultation strategy in which questionnaires and survey forms inquired into both the environmental and social impacts of the project. It is therefore recommended that the EA team work closely with resettlement specialists to maximize the opportunity to address environment issues at the same time resettlement issues are being addressed.

(iv) *Disseminate EAs with good practice on consultations*

46. EAs which conducted good consultations should be posted on the EA Knowledge and Participation nodes for Bank-wide use. They should also be used in EA training.

(v) *Provide TTLs with information on statutory requirements*

47. In addition to the OD requirements, TTLs can point to country legal requirements on consultations to encourage the borrower to carry out consultations. Information on the country's requirements has sometimes not been included in EAs. In order to provide TTLs with this information, a compendium of EA laws (both national and international) on public consultation/participation in the EAs should be prepared and disseminated. A supplement to the compendium should be attached to the EA report and be periodically revised to reflect changes in the laws. This information can be kept by the country lawyers who are designated to those countries within the Bank and be accessible to TTLs.

IV. Conclusion

48. From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that lessons emerging from the detailed review of the 39 EAs demonstrates that some progress on consultations in the EA process is taking place. This is illustrated by the increasing number of EAs with consultations and a few innovative EAs which are developing consultation strategies to promote compliance with the Bank's OD requirements. Some of these projects such as the India Infrastructure Lending Financial Project have developed model EA plans which incorporate the Bank's environmental and social requirements. The Albania Forestry project developed a pilot to test the feasibility of its proposed public participation strategy. In countries with institutional constraints which preclude direct consultations with affected groups, progressive leadership in some sectors has enabled a dialogue between the affected groups and government to take place.

them. Kazakhstan, Zimbabwe and Zambia have already been through the process and Uganda will be going through it.

49. Despite these improvements, the quality of consultations on the environmental impacts is still weak. This is demonstrated by the lack of or weak local consultations on the environmental issues in projects which involve resettlement, lack of a strategy to conduct effective consultations, fewer projects in which consultations influence project design and poor documentation of the consultative process. In order to increase and improve the overall quality of consultations in the EA process, the EA has to be seen both by the borrowers and Bank-staff as an integral part of the project. This will in turn promote strategic planning so that consultants with appropriate skills and training are selected for EA preparation, detailed TORs to comply with Bank requirements are developed and development and execution of strategic consultation plans are drawn up to collect the views of those who are “traditionally excluded from the consultative process.”

Review Framework

| Category A Projects | |
|---|---|
| 1. Statutory Framework on Public Consultations | <i>is one of the indicators of a government's normative commitment to participation and consultation and sets the parameters within which consultations occurs. OD 4.01 requires that information on country legal requirements on the EA process be documented in the EA report.</i> |
| 2. Consultation Plan/Strategy | <i>demonstrates that consultations have been systematically designed and is the basis for evaluating the extent to which the consultations meet or exceed the OD and country specific legal requirements. These should include:</i> Social Analysis Identification of Stakeholders* Dissemination of information and Communication Strategies* |
| 3. Good Consultation Practice | <i>Good practice dictates that consultations be carried out throughout the project cycle which includes the scoping, draft EA, final EA and Environment Management Plan (EMP) and supplemental studies.^{a/}</i> Scoping of Issues* Draft EA* Final EA Environment Management Plan Other Studies Pertinent to Project |
| 4. Documentation of Consultative Process | * OD requirements |

^{a/} The Environment Management Plan includes both the Monitoring and Mitigatory Plans.

Selected Projects by Region Included in Review

| Region/Country | | Project | FY | Sector |
|--------------------------------------|-----|--|----|----------------|
| Africa | | | | |
| Côte d'Ivoire | 1. | Private Electricity | 95 | Energy |
| Ghana | 2. | Highway Sector Investment Program | 96 | Transport |
| Ghana | 3. | Thermal Power Project | 95 | Energy |
| Central African Republic | 4. | Livestock-Development-and Rangeland Management Project | 95 | Agriculture |
| East Asia & Pacific (EA1) | | | | |
| Korea | 5. | Ports-Development and Environment | 95 | Infrastructure |
| | 6. | Waste Disposal Project | 95 | Industry |
| Thailand | 7. | Clean Fuels and EA Quality | 95 | Energy |
| | 8. | Lam Takhong Pump Sto. | 95 | Energy |
| | 9. | Second Gas Transmission* | 95 | Energy |
| | 10. | Highways V | 96 | Transport |
| Vietnam | 11. | Irrigation Rehabilitation | 95 | Agriculture |
| | 12. | Power Sector Rehabilitation | 95 | Energy |
| East Asia and Pacific (EA2) | | | | |
| China | 13. | Inland Waterways | 95 | Transport |
| | 14. | Xinjiang Highway I | 95 | Transport |
| | 15. | Yangtze Basin Water | 95 | ? |
| | 16. | Zhejiang Power Development | 95 | Energy |
| | 17. | Ertan Hydro II | 96 | Energy |
| | 18. | Gansu Hexi Corridor** | 96 | ? |
| | 19. | Henan (Qinb.) Thermal | 96 | Energy |
| | 20. | Hubei Urban Environment Project | 96 | Urban |
| | 21. | Second Shanghai Sewerage | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 22. | Shanghai-Zhejiang Highway | 96 | Transport |
| | 23. | Yunnan Environment | 96 | Environment |
| | 24. | Second Henan Prov. Highway | 96 | Transport |
| | 25. | Second Shaanxi Prov. Highway | 96 | Transport |
| East Asia and Pacific (EA3) | | | | |
| Indonesia | 26. | Strategic Urban RDS I | 96 | |

| Region/Country | | Project | FY | Sector |
|--|-----|---|----|----------------|
| South Asia (SA1) | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 27. | Gas Infrastructure | 95 | Del & Ga |
| Pakistan | 28. | Eco-Hub Power* | 95 | Energy |
| | 29. | Ghazi Barotha Hydropower | 96 | Energy |
| Sri Lanka | 30. | Col. Environment Improvement | 95 | Environment |
| | 31. | Private Sector Infrastructure Development | 96 | Infrastructure |
| South Asia (SA2) | | | | |
| India | 32. | Madras Water Supply II | 95 | ? |
| | 33. | Tamil Nadu WRCP | 95 | ? |
| | 34. | B Sewage Disposal | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 35. | ILFS-Infrastructure Finance | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 36. | Orissa WRCP | 96 | ? |
| Europe and Central Asia (EC2) | | | | |
| Albania | 37. | Forestry Project | 95 | Agriculture |
| Croatia | 38. | Highway Sector | 95 | Transport |
| Czech Republic | 39. | ODS Phaseout | 95 | ? |
| Middle East and North Africa (MN2) | | | | |
| Lebanon | 40. | Solid Waste/Environment | 95 | ? |
| Latin America and the Caribbean (LAI) | | | | |
| Brazil | 41. | Ceara Urban Development/Cater Co. | 95 | Urban |
| Paraguay | 42. | Asuncion sewerage* | 95 | Water & Sewage |

EAs analyzed in the Review were only those found in the Public Information Center and the Internal Documents Unit as of August 30, 1998.

* Only EA summary/Staff Appraisal Report were reviewed because EA report was unavailable.

** Unavailable/missing and therefore not reviewed.

"Meaningful Consultation" in Environmental Assessments

Introduction

The Bank's policy on Environmental Assessment (EA) [OD 4.01 to be released as OP 4.01] calls for consulting the public on environmental impacts in Bank-financed projects. The Bank requires borrowers to prepare EAs in those categories of projects with potential significant impact on the environment. These include both category A and B projects. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) be taken "fully into account in such assessments."

The views of the affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process which occurs at two stages during project preparation, after assigning the EA category or during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR); and after a draft EA has been prepared. In order for "meaningful consultation" to occur, the OD requires borrowers to provide "relevant information" to local NGOs and affected groups. This information has to be provided in a timely manner and a form that is meaningful for, and accessible to, the groups being consulted.

At the initial consultation, the information consists of a summary of the proposed project, as well as its potential positive and negative effects of the proposed project. Once the draft EA report is ready, there should be a summary of its conclusion and

a discussion of recommended mitigatory activities and plans.

Despite these general guidelines, the Bank's Second EA Review found that "many EAs are still characterized by ...weak public consultation." Such performance appears to occur irrespective of sectors and has to do with several factors including the lack of adequate national legislative frameworks, open consultative processes, and, expertise on the part of project managers and EA consultants.

The following note is based upon the premise that both Bank and Borrower performance can be significantly improved if there is greater reflection on what is meant by "meaningful consultation." Within the OD, there are several factors which, if adequately considered, could provide guidance to Bank Task Team Leaders, project preparation agencies, private companies and environmental consultants on what minimal standards the Bank expects in the involvement of affected groups and local NGOs in the EA process. Six of these factors are discussed in this note. A checklist is also provided for reviewing and evaluating public consultation plans and processes.

Context of the Consultative Process

First, public consultation, like other aspects of EA, needs to be situated within its policy, legal and administrative con-

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The views expressed in this note are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the World Bank Group.

texts. As a first step toward planning an effective public consultation strategy for an EA, it is vital to understand how public consultation is viewed in the wider society. This should entail some preliminary analysis of the legislative framework, and what it does or not say about the rights of citizens to be consulted in administrative processes, as well as their access to environmental and other types of information. In some countries, an adequate public consultation legislative framework may be lacking, but there may be other cultural or informal ways in which citizens participate in decision-making.

The Bank recognizes that there needs to be particular sensitivity in designing public consultation strategies for projects in countries which lack adequate statutory frameworks and/or where affected groups and NGOs may lack appropriate conditions to express their views. In certain contexts, relevant environmental agencies, public sector and private institutions may need to be strengthened in order to carry out an effective and meaningful consultative program. Such institutional strengthening may be needed to fulfill the objectives of the OD.

Identification of Affected Groups and Local NGOs

Second, for meaningful and effective consultation to take place it is vital that there be some mechanism for identifying affected groups and interested NGOs. Sometimes, this does not occur because of a lack of guidance as to how affected groups and local NGOs should be identified; narrow definitions of "affected groups" which only include persons who are directly impacted by the project, and limited knowledge of the social and cultural characteristics of the societies in which the EAs are conducted.

In many cases, women and the poor are not consulted and local NGOs are often the only social actors who participate in consultations. Meaningful consultations only occur when the EA reflects

the views of a cross section of the affected groups including those traditionally excluded from the process.

The conducting of Social Assessments is usually necessary to ensure that affected groups and interested NGOs are identified and participate in consultations. The recruitment of appropriate professionals (often within local universities or domestic NGOs) is often necessary to conduct these social assessments. The social assessments should identify all relevant stakeholders as well as highlight potential issues and conflicts to be analyzed in the EA.¹

Consultation Facilitators

Third, under certain circumstances, professional facilitators or persons of high prestige or respect in the community may be necessary to ensure meaningful consultations. The reason for this is because many projects which have significant environmental and social impacts, often have contending interests and values and government officials or private sector institutions may lack the trust of affected groups and local NGOs. In other cases, NGOs themselves may provide biased accounts of how local communities perceive potential impacts. In these situations, dialogue may only be possible where a neutral facilitator serves as an intermediary among the affected groups, local NGOs and the project proponent.

Timing and Implementation of the Consultative Process

Fourth, the stages at which the public consultations are required determine and limit the input of the affected groups into the EA. Bank policy requires that consultations be carried out after the assigning of the EA category and the preparation of the draft EA. By participating in the EA process after assignment of the EA category, the affected groups help define the

¹ For more information, see Social Assessment Guidelines, ENVSP dated May 1994.

issues in the EA. Some of these issues may be critical in drafting the TORs.

The OD does not require consultations with affected groups during EA preparation (*albeit good practice and certain conditions such as resettlement or project effects on indigenous peoples merit participation of affected groups throughout project and EA preparation. Certain types of environmental information on land use or pollution effects may also be discovered through close collaboration during the EA consultations with affected groups*).

There is no requirement for consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation. However, due to the World Bank's policy on Disclosure of Information, subject to certain limitations, the borrower is required to make the EA report available at some public place accessible to affected groups and local NGOs for their review and comment. This enables affected groups to determine whether their concerns have been incorporated into the final document.

Formal consultations with affected groups after the *final EA preparation* is good practice and enables affected groups to determine whether their concerns have been incorporated in the final EA document or not. Where the affected group's concerns are omitted from the final EA, it is standard practice to discuss the reasons for excluding these concerns. These consultations should be conducted before the final document is deposited in a place where it is accessible to the public.

Information and Communication

Fifth, Bank policy requires that information to the affected groups be provided in "meaningful and accessible fashion" and a "timely manner." The responsibility for ensuring that the information is comprehensible to the affected groups rests with the borrower or EA preparer, who should, if necessary, obtain expertise to translate the information into a form that is comprehensible to the affected groups.

Since affected groups may include the illiterate and those who do not speak the national languages, these groups have to understand the information in order to participate in the EA process. Appropriate communication processes have to be designed and employed in the process, so that information reaches and is understood by affected groups and local NGOs.

The information has also to be received by the affected groups in a "timely" manner. What is a reasonable time may vary across localities depending on the social-cultural context of the project. Local social scientists and NGOs can assist in developing strategies for identifying the appropriate information, methods of dissemination and the time within which it should be distributed.

Documentation of Consultative Process

Lastly, Bank policy requires that the EA report contain a record of consultations with the affected people and local NGOs. The record should specify how stakeholders were identified, information disseminated, and the means other than the consultations (e.g., social surveys, rapid rural appraisals, focus groups etc.) that were used to obtain the views of the affected local groups. The documentation should also indicate how the collected views were analyzed and incorporated in the final EA. Without documentation of the consultative process and/or alternative means of obtaining information, it is difficult to determine whether "meaningful consultation" has been carried out.

Summary

In summary, the Bank requires that at designated stages of the EA cycle, borrowers conduct meaningful consultations with affected groups and local NGOs. The criteria for assessing "meaningful consultation" is based on the borrower's or EA preparer's capacity to identify the "affected groups" and obtain information. The borrower or EA preparer should

conduct additional consultation when new issues arise during the EA cycle. Documenting the consultative process enables interested persons to determine whether appropriate consultations have been conducted.

While the final decision on EA recommendations rests with the Borrower or implementing agency, project performance and action plans arising from EAs

can be substantially improved through consideration of the viewpoints of all relevant stakeholders and affected groups. Meaningful consultation will be deemed to have taken place if the final EA document reflects the views of "affected groups," local NGOs and those who are traditionally excluded from the consultative and planning processes, as well as the project proponent and other relevant government agencies.

Checklist for Reviewing and Evaluating Public Consultation Plans and Processes

Selection of Participants

- Were representatives of the public involved in selecting participants?
- Have all potential stakeholders been identified?
- Have all potential stakeholders been given the opportunity to express their views?

Selection of Consultation Techniques

- Are the chosen techniques suitable for the objective?
- Are the techniques appropriate for the size of the audience?
- Are they appropriate for the technical knowledge of participants?
- Has sufficient time been allowed for informing participants?
- Will suitably qualified staff be involved?

Implementation

Suitability of Arrangements for the Consultations

- Is the location appropriate?
- Is the time appropriate?
- Can everyone attend who may want to participate?

Adequacy of Information Provided to the Public

- Has sufficient information been provided for participants to make informed judgments?
- Is the technical level of the information suited to participants background knowledge?
- Has an appropriate language and vocabulary been used?
- Was information provided sufficiently early?

Information for Decision-Makers?

- Was a non-technical summary provided?
- Is information clearly and concisely presented?
- Has an appropriate language been used?
- Was it provided in time to inform decision makers?

Resources for Participants

- Have resources been provided to enable all those who wish to participate to do so?
- Have resources been distributed fairly?

Analysis of Results

- Have views of participants been recorded?
- Have they been analyzed?
- Have suitably qualified staff been involved?

Feedback and Use of Results

- Have the results of the consultation been reflected in the decision making process?
- Have participants been informed of the outcomes and how their input was used?
- Has the process resulted in a better decision?

Source: *Manual on Public Participation*, 1995. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

WORKING GROUP 5

**Public Involvement
in Environmental Decision-Making**

The Experience of the World Bank

by
Shelton H. Davis
Principal Sociologist
Environment Department

Theme Paper

Tabled at

**The OECD/DAC Workshop
on Capacity Development
in Environment**

Rome, Italy

4-6 December 1996



**PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT
IN ENVIRONMENTAL DECISION-MAKING**

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WORLD BANK¹

by

**Shelton H. Davis
Principal Sociologist
Environment Department
The World Bank**

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development Report (the Brundtland Commission Report) in 1987 and the holding of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the promotion of widespread public involvement in environmental decision-making has been looked at as a major instrument in the quest for sustainable development. The role of public-involvement in environmental decision-making is clearly expressed in Principle 10 of the Rio Declaration, as well as in the Agenda 21 document, especially those sections dealing with the strengthening of major societal groups.

The Preamble to the Agenda 21 Chapters on Strengthening the Role of Major Groups states that "Broad public participation in policy development, combined with greater accountability, is essential to achieving sustainable development." For this to occur, "individuals, groups and organizations need to know about and participate in environment and development decisions, particularly those which can affect their communities." The "global partnership for sustainable development," the Agenda 21 document states, "needs a broad participation of all groups and organizations in decision-making." These groups include women, children and youth, indigenous peoples, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, the scientific and technological community, and farmers.

¹ The following paper was prepared for the OECD/DAC *International Workshop on Capacity Development in Environment*, Rome, December 4-6, 1996. The ideas expressed in the paper are those of the author and should not be attributed to the World Bank, its Executive Directors or its Member Countries.

The Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD/DAC) in its 1991 report on development cooperation acknowledged the key role of public participation in its programs for development assistance. Currently, almost all major donors recognize the primacy of widespread public participation to environmentally and socially sustainable development and have adopted public participation policies or guidelines to direct their development assistance work.²

B. THE WORLD BANK AND PARTICIPATION

For a number of years, the World Bank has recognized the importance of public involvement to effective environmental management, and it has included relatively strong clauses concerning the need for consultation with affected populations and other interested parties (including local NGOs) in its Operational Directives on Environmental Assessment (EA) and National Environmental Action Plans (NEAPs).

Participation of relevant stakeholders is also recognized as being fundamental to the successful design and implementation of World Bank-financed projects in biodiversity conservation and habitat protection, forestry and natural resources management, urban management and development, irrigation and rural development, and projects which include involuntary resettlement or affect indigenous peoples, women, the poor and other vulnerable populations. In fact, there has been a growing movement within the World Bank, as reflected in the recent release of a *Participation Sourcebook*, towards the promotion of more participatory forms of development, with the lead coming from the environment area.³

At the same time, there is also a growing awareness of the difficulties which international finance and development institutions face in promoting greater public participation in environmental decision-making. This is especially true in developing countries and regions where political and cultural traditions, and the general level of welfare and education, are not always conducive to widespread citizen participation.

Thus, to take one example, the Bank's Environment Department has for the past several years been monitoring Borrower Country compliance with its 1989 Operational Directive on Environmental Assessment (OD 4.01). An initial review carried out by the Environment

² See, Japan Center for a Sustainable Environment and Society, Environment and Sustainable Development in Official Development Assistance since the 1992 Earth Summit, Tokyo: September 1996.

³ See, World Bank, Participation Sourcebook, Washington, DC: Environment Department, Social Policy and Resettlement Division, 1996.

Department in 1992 found that during the first three years after the release of the EA directive, the implementation of those sections having to do with consultation with affected communities and local NGOs (basically in the scoping session soon after an EA category is assigned and once a draft EA has been prepared) were quite limited.

A more recent implementation review, for the period from July 1992 through June 1995, found some improvement in the overall record of public consultation in World Bank-financed projects requiring EAs, but still noted that "considerably much more progress is needed in order to fully implement the letter and spirit of OD 4.01."

Among other things, consultation continues to be relatively weak with affected communities, especially outside of projects which contain involuntary resettlement or affect indigenous peoples. Progress also appears to be stronger in terms of consultation with local NGOs than with community representatives; and, in many cases, women and the poor are not being reached in public consultation exercises which accompany EAs.⁴

To remedy this situation, the Bank has launched a major effort to improve its own staff and Borrower capacity to more effectively deal with public involvement, within the framework of EAs and other environmental and social interventions. This capacity-building effort includes: (a) greater analysis of the political and legal policies and structures (the so-called "enabling environments") in which public involvement takes place; (b) the development of new tools (including new Social Assessment and Participation methodologies) for stakeholder identification, the analysis of institutional constraints and issues, and more effective stakeholder participation; (c) the establishment of in-house training programs in conflict management and alternative dispute resolution techniques; and, (d) through the Bank's Economic Development Institute (EDI), a growing program of regional and country-level training in public participation strategies and methodologies.

In general, a "social learning" process is taking place within the Bank and in many of its Borrower countries-- a process of organizational and cultural change which hopefully will lead to greater achievement of the public involvement goals first espoused in the Brundtland Commission Report and then reaffirmed at the Rio Conference and in the Agenda 21 document. This paper describes some of the aspects of this social learning process, focusing particular attention upon the new tools which the Bank has been introducing for participation and the role

⁴ See, World Bank, The Impact of Environmental Assessment: Second Environmental Assessment Review of Projects Financed by the World Bank (July 1992-June 1995). Washington: Environment Department, Land, Water and Natural Habitats Division, 1996. Interestingly, recent reviews of other donor agency experiences with public consultation in the EA process indicate that the implementation record in this area is not much different than that of the World Bank. See, Japan Center for a Sustainable Environment and Society, Environment and Sustainable Development in Official Development Assistance since the 1992 Earth Summit, pp. 77 and 78.

which they are playing in the design and implementation of EAs, NEAPS and other environmental instruments.

C. PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL REFORM

As is well-known, since the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Environment, two major instruments have been used by governments to bring about environmental reform. First, the so-called "*command-and-control*" instruments based upon regulatory reform and institutional changes, especially the passage of environmental legislation and the creation of state agencies responsible for pollution control and environmental protection; and, second, *economic or market instruments*, such as tax and pricing reforms and various other types of incentives meant to motivate private firms and individuals to change their behavior in relation to the environment.

Recent experience demonstrates that command-and-control and market mechanisms alone are incapable of creating the widespread behavioral and institutional changes which are necessary for sustainable development. Hence, some policy analysts are now looking at new types of instruments of a societal nature, which in combination with the more conventional instruments, can bring about environmental reform and modernization. The most important of these *societal instruments* are the creation of institutional conditions for widespread public and civil society involvement in the environment arena.⁵

While the theoretical underpinnings of these societal instruments area are still being investigated, some of their main features are well-known. These features include:

- (a) promoting civil society organizations (CSO);
- (b) creating new channels for public involvement and citizen activism, including greater citizen access to the courts;
- (c) investing in information and environmental education;
- (d) strengthening media coverage of environmental issues;

⁵ For one of the best examples of this societal approach to environmental policy analysis, see Martin Janicke and Helmut Weidner (eds.), Successful Environmental Policy: A Critical Evaluation of 24 Cases, Berlin, Ed. Sigma, 1995.

- (e) devolving decision-making authority for environmental protection to local governments and jurisdictions (which needs to include capacity strengthening at the local level);
- (f) emphasizing partnerships and shared responsibilities, especially between the private and public sectors and civil society; and,
- (g) focusing public policy and programs upon values and cultural shifts.

Taken together, the above features form a battery of social instruments which can contribute to the overall environmental policy reform process. They are particularly effective in the increasing number of countries which have chosen a "democratic path" to development and who may wish to use public information and participation strategies as one among several instruments in the quest for sustainable development.

D. A SOCIAL COMMUNICATIONS APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION

Along with considering public involvement as an instrument in the environmental reform process, it is also useful to consider public involvement and citizen participation as a form of social communication, especially between governments and other social actors within a given society. Such a communications approach enables one to go beyond much of the current debate surrounding definitions of "participation" which exists among donor agencies and with the NGO sector.

As has been pointed elsewhere, there are numerous approaches to and definitions of "participation" in the development literature. Some of these approaches, such as those of the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development, emphasize the role of widespread stakeholder participation (including that of the public and private sectors) in improving the effectiveness, ownership and sustainability of development interventions through greater control or influence over development initiatives and decisions. Other approaches, such as those of some of the bilateral aid agencies, view participation as a means for promoting greater democratic governance, equity, civil society strengthening and respect for human rights in developing countries. Still others, especially within the NGO sector, emphasize the role of "popular participation" in empowering poor people and communities and setting the groundwork for "bottom-up" rather than "top-down" forms of development.⁶

⁶ For an excellent discussion of these different approaches and definitions of participation, see the Japan Center for a Sustainable Environment and Society Report, Environment and Sustainable Development in Official Development Assistance since the 1992 Earth Summit, Section 3.2, pp. 94-113. Also, Hartmut Schneider (editor), Participatory Development: From Advocacy to Action, Paris: OECD, 1995.

One way out of the definitional bind which has characterized much of the debate surrounding participation is to look at "public involvement" (a term which is commonly used interchangeably with the term "public participation" in the environmental policy literature) as "a *social communication process*, whereby various social actors (individual citizens, affected groups, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties) participate with public authorities in development decision-making." Obviously, public involvement can be of a weak or strong form, depending upon the broader institutional context and the nature and degree of transparency and openness of the communication processes between governments and citizens.⁷

Looked at in this way, it is possible to identify various levels or types of public involvement from simple one-way communication in the form of *information dissemination* to populations and groups affected or interested in a decision; to *consultation*, where feedback is sought from affected groups and interested parties prior to the making of decisions; to actual *participation* by multiple stakeholders in the decision-making process itself.

And, even in the latter situation, there are degrees of participation from simple participation in advisory panels or assessment exercises to actual recognition of the rights of non-state actors (including local governments) to make, implement, and monitor environmental policies and decisions. Where along this continuum actual public involvement falls is a matter of context and empirical investigation.

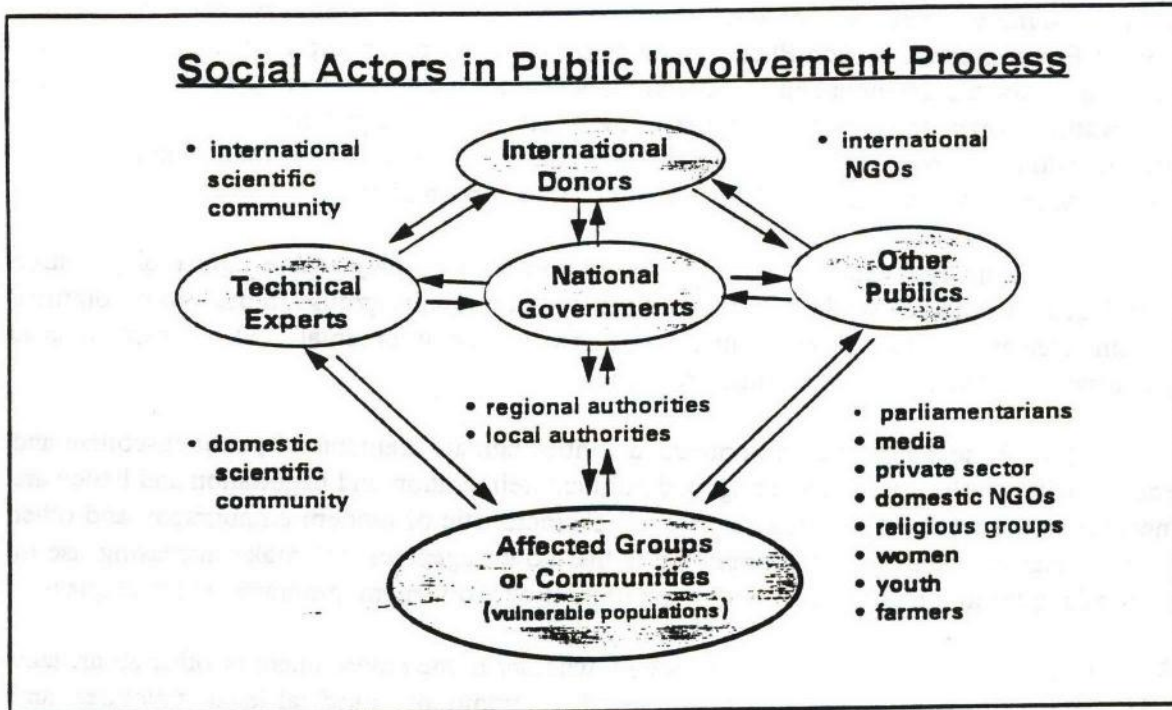
F. SOCIAL ACTORS, SOCIAL ARENAS, AND SOCIAL FIELDS

For purposes of empirical investigation, it is also useful to make other distinctions which can provide greater sociological understanding of the public involvement process and hence improve operational planning. One of these distinctions is the already mentioned notion of "*social actors*" who need to be identified in any process of public involvement and who will often differ in their relative power relations, interests and perceptions of problems and solutions.⁸

⁷ For the philosophical background to this communications approach to public involvement, see the writings by the German sociologist Jurgen Habermas. Specifically, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962), Communication and the Evolution of Society (1979), and Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action (1983).

⁸ The distinctions between "social actors", "social arenas" and "social fields" within the overall public involvement process draws heavily upon the writings of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. See, especially, his Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977; and, The Logic of Practice, Cambridge: Polity, 1990.

As can be seen from the following diagram, every development intervention has a configuration of social actors which usually includes international donor agencies, national governments, and various technical experts in the form of national and international consultants.



In recent years, the number of recognized social actors in the development decision-making process has expanded to include regional and local authorities, vulnerable groups or communities (e.g., displaced populations, refugees, indigenous peoples), international and domestic NGOs, and other interested groups or publics, including parliamentarians, the media, the private sector, religious groups, women, youth, farmers, trade unions, etc. Much of the recent work being done by World Bank social scientists in "stakeholder analysis" and "social assessment" can be seen as an attempt to apply this social actor approach to the environment and other areas.

Another notion which is critical to a systematic comprehension of the scope of public involvement is the idea of "*social arenas*"— that is, dramatic spaces where both state actors and various publics are acting out their interests and concerns in relation to development issues and

problems. In the environment area, there are several such social arenas, the most common being the highly formalized "public hearings" which accompany the EA process in many countries.⁹

But, there are also other social arenas in the environment field where public involvement comes into play. These include the new generation of strategic EAs, where national programs, plans, and policies are subject to systematic debate and scrutiny; various types of Environmental Action Plans, which establish environmental priorities on the national and local levels; the development of national policies or strategies in such areas as biodiversity conservation, forest management, industry, transport, energy, agriculture, and tourism; and various spatial or areal planning exercises for cities and metropolitan areas, rural counties, watersheds and river basins, coastal zones and national parks and protected areas.¹⁰

Public involvement is also increasingly coming into play in the industrial pollution control area, as reflected by the efforts of citizen and community groups in numerous countries to gain greater access to information contained in environmental audits, toxic release inventories, and other types of pollution registries.

All of these different environmental activities contain elements of public discourse and debate, social conflict and strategizing, and political deliberation and negotiation and hence are amenable to the types of sociological analysis characteristic of modern ethnography and other forms of dramatic analysis. My impression is that donor agencies will make increasing use of these techniques in the design and evaluation of public involvement programs and strategies.

Lastly, all forms of public involvement, whether in the environment or other areas, take place within a wider "social field" comprised of traditions, juridical-legal structures and political cultures. Some societies possess legal structures (courts, parliaments, freedom of the press, assembly and association) which are formally conducive to widespread citizen involvement in the decision-making process. Others may be undergoing rapid change, where old ways of centralized governance are being replaced by new structures of civil society involvement and more emphasis upon local or decentralized control over decision-making.

⁹ See, the interesting descriptions of public involvement strategies and experiences being used in EAs in Central and Eastern Europe in, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Manual on Public Participation, London, 1995 (prepared by Environmental Resources Management). Also, the country studies in, Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, Status of Public Participation Practice in Environmental Decisionmaking in Central and Eastern Europe, Budapest, 1995.

¹⁰ For additional discussion of the use of public involvement techniques in national conservation and sustainable development strategies, see Jeremy Carew-Reid, et. al., Strategies for National Sustainable Development: A Handbook for their Planning and Implementation, IUCN/IIED, Earthscan Publications, 1994.

These "social fields" are often difficult for outside observers to understand, because they are rooted in history, tradition, politics and culture. Yet, for any genuine assessment of the role of public involvement as an instrument of environmental policy reform this wider "social field" must be taken into account.

In this regard, we have found it useful to introduce the notion of "political culture" as developed by political scientists to understand these wider social fields or enabling environments in which public involvement occurs. Political culture may be defined as "a particular distribution of political attitudes, values, feelings, information and skills.. [which] affects the conduct of [a nation's] citizens and leaders throughout the political system." For any nation, it is possible through comparative analysis to "develop a map of the important contours of [its] political culture, as well as a corresponding map of its structures and functions..."¹¹

Among other variables, countries will differ in terms of:

- (a) the values and organizations which hold the political system together (i.e., the level and basis of legitimacy of the government);
- (b) in the degree and ways in which they enable citizens to participate (or not participate) in the political process;
- (c) in their "underlying images" of what they envision to be the good society and how they wish to achieve it; and,
- (d) in the degree to which their political cultures are consensual or conflictual.

Effective public involvement strategies need to be adapted to the specific political cultures and traditions of each region, country, or locality. They especially need to take into account the legal frameworks for participation (or lack thereof) in each country, as well as the evolution of civil society organizations. The latter factors provide the wider public or political space in which public involvement activities can or cannot take place. With recent global trends toward democratization, these public spaces for participation are much greater than they were in the past. Hence, there are real opportunities today for making public involvement the cornerstone of national and local sustainable development strategies and as the driving force behind environmental policy reform.

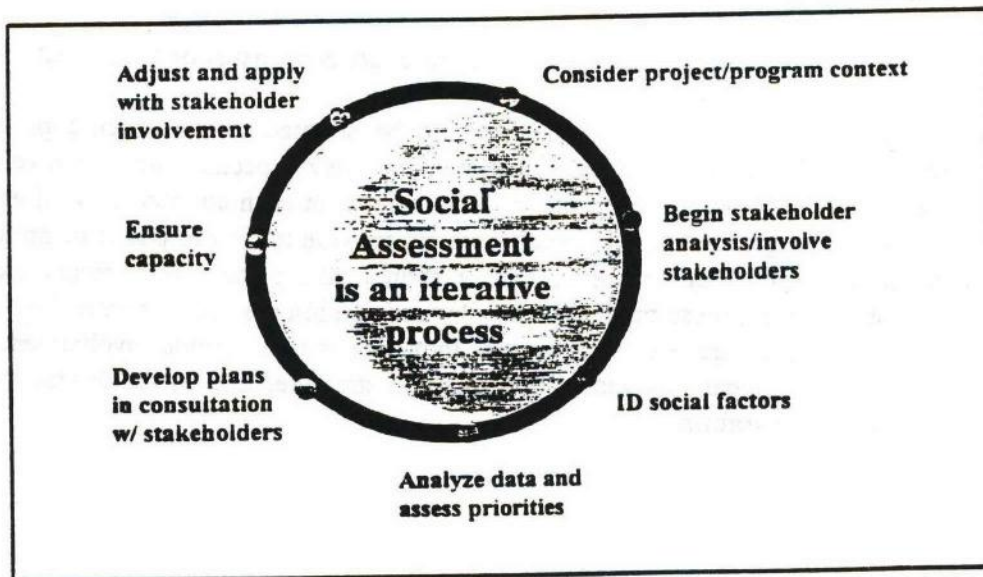
¹¹ See, Gabriel A. Almond and Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics Today: A World View, New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1992, p. 39.

G. PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

The World Bank has approached the issue of public involvement by both incorporating participation clauses into its various operational policies (see, for example, Bank policies on involuntary resettlement, indigenous peoples and the role of NGOs in Bank-financed projects), as well as by improving the array of tools and techniques available to its Project Managers and Borrowers.

Specifically, over the past few years, social scientists at the Bank have been developing a set of tools and techniques which are increasingly being used in the preparation, implementation and evaluation of Bank-financed projects. Four of these tools and techniques—social assessment and analysis, social communication and information dissemination, participatory planning and evaluation, and conflict resolution and management methods—are briefly described below.

Social Assessment (SA) is probably the most comprehensive tool being used at the Bank for incorporating participation and social analysis into the design and delivery of Bank-assisted operations. SA is defined as "a process which provides an integrative and participatory framework for prioritizing, gathering, analyzing, and using operationally relevant social information." It is consistent with other Bank policies in the social area and supports Bank policies and procedures on Involuntary Resettlement (OD 4.30) and Indigenous Peoples (OD 4.20).¹²



¹² See, "Social Assessment," Environment Department Dissemination Notes, Number 36, September 1995.

The process is iterative to the degree that it begins with stakeholder analysis and involvement and establishes appropriate frameworks for the participation of stakeholders in project selection, design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Standard sociological techniques (demographic analysis, questionnaire surveys, participant observation, participatory rural appraisal, etc.) are used to identify social factors (e.g., gender, ethnicity, poverty) which are relevant to such participation; plans are developed for ongoing stakeholder involvement; and interventions are incorporated into project design to ensure adequate institutional capacity for such participation.

In May 1994, the Bank introduced informal SA guidelines and created a structure in each of its regional technical departments to support systematic SA use, recruit technical specialists, mobilize additional resources for capacity building and operational support, and initiate a structured learning exercise to identify and disseminate best practice. At the same time, a \$2 million Fund for Innovative Approaches in Human and Social Development (FIASH) was created to help mainstream participation and SA across the Bank.

An evaluation study conducted after the first 18 months of the FIASH-funded program found that the effort had funded SAs and participatory efforts in 47 projects and brought 14 long-term consultants into the Bank with skills in these areas. It also found that SAs are rapidly being introduced and widely adopted by Bank operational staff; have significantly increased the incorporation of participatory methods into project designs; have improved the social soundness of projects and are generally accepted by the Bank's Borrowers; and, most importantly, are assisting the Bank and its Borrowers in designing interventions which are reaching the poor.¹³

There is also good evidence from the evaluation that SAs are being used to build local capacity, including of local universities and consulting firms with expertise in participatory methods, developing country sociologists and NGOs, and women who are playing a key role in gender-related studies, as both project managers and interviewers. The success of this initial pilot effort has led to a significant increase in the use of SAs across the Bank, as well as a replenishment by Bank management of the FIASH program.

Along with SA, several other tools and techniques are being used at the Bank for purposes of improving public involvement. One area in which Bank social scientists and participation specialists have found it necessary to increase their skills is in the use of *social communication and information dissemination* techniques. Information dissemination, while usually only the first stage in a public involvement program, is critical to the success of all forms of stakeholder participation. While standard techniques such as the use of printed materials (brochures, information bulletins, newsletters, posters, etc.) and existing media (newspapers, radio, TV, etc.) can be used to disseminate information on proposed development

¹³ See, "Social Assessment Structured Learning--Preliminary Findings," Environment Department Dissemination Notes, Number 37, September 1995.

interventions or environmental programs, they need to be tailored to particular audiences, language skills and cultural traditions.

The latter point is particularly important, especially in the context of the Bank's Borrower countries, where populations affected by Bank-financed interventions often do not speak the national language and have relatively low levels of literacy. In these contexts, specialists in vernacular languages with a familiarity with local or indigenous cultures are often needed to design social communication programs. Additional efforts also need to be taken in communicating often complex technical information to local populations, especially when risks are involved in project interventions such as the siting of industries, hazardous waste facilities, or large hydro-electric or other energy projects.¹⁴

There is also a great deal of activity taking place in the Bank in terms of developing tools and training materials and courses for purposes of *participatory planning and evaluation*. Many of these are now standard methods in the tool kit of participatory planning, such as collaborative decision-making techniques like AIC (Appreciation-Influence-Control), ZOPP (Objectives-Oriented Project Planning) and TeamUp, which uses a computer software package to facilitate team building. There are also other more community-based, collaborative decision-making techniques being used in the Bank, such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and SARAR, a special technique for training trainers and facilitators.¹⁵

In the environment area, the Bank is also discovering that new types of "deliberative" techniques—many of them being developed in the North American and European environmental arenas— may be useful for purposes of environmental planning and management in developing countries. These include new types of Integrated Environmental Assessment (IEA) which are multidisciplinary and participatory in nature, as well as such methods as focus groups, citizen panels, consensus workshops, and the use of Delphi techniques, value-tree analysis and new "river contract" procedures.¹⁶

¹⁴ For the special problems posed by designing participatory projects with indigenous peoples, see Shelton H. Davis and Lars T. Soeftestad, Participation and Indigenous Peoples, The World Bank, Environment Department Papers, 1995.

¹⁵ For a more detailed discussion of these various tools and techniques, see The World Bank Participation Sourcebook (1996), Appendix I, pp. 181-204.

¹⁶ For background on some of these new "deliberative" techniques being developed in Europe and North America and their applicability to World Bank environmental work, see: Shelton H. Davis, Public Involvement in Environmental Decision-Making: Some Reflections on the Western European Experience, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Environment Department, September 1996. Also, Peter Bailey, et. al., Methods for Integrated Environmental Assessment: Research Directions for the European Union, Stockholm: Stockholm Institute, 1996; and, Alan Holland, et. al., Costing Environmental Damage: A Critical Survey of Current Theory and Practice and Recommendations for Policy Implementation, Report for General Directorate for Research, European Parliament, 1996.

Finally, social scientists and participation specialists at the Bank are becoming increasingly interested in improving their knowledge and practical skills in *conflict resolution and management* techniques.

As is well known, many issues relating to the introduction of sustainable development have to do with identifying and reconciling competing interests and trying to create areas of consensus where previously there was only difference and conflict. A number of legally-trained specialists have turned to new conflict management and alternative dispute resolution (ADR) techniques to approach these issues and there is a great deal of experimentation taking place in this area, especially in the environmental and natural resources management fields.

Most of the conflict resolution and management techniques currently being used--conciliation, negotiation, mediation, arbitration-- are based upon some type of third-party facilitation, either by NGOs trained in these techniques or other specialized persons or bodies. Here, perhaps more than in any other area, political cultural factors come into play, especially in terms of the interactions between local or indigenous systems of conflict resolution and national judicial systems. We still know relatively little about these interactions, and they remain an area of great challenge both within the environment area and the overall development field.

H. SOCIAL LEARNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

By way of conclusion, we wish to stress that the work which is currently taking place at the World Bank on public involvement, and as this conference reflects also in other donor agencies and numerous developing countries, is best conceived as a form of social learning. By *social learning*, we refer to a process by which both individuals and institutions increase their capacity to create the conditions for sustainable development.

As pointed out earlier, the number of social actors or stakeholders currently concerned with issues of sustainable development far exceeds the conventional trilogy of international donor agencies, national governments, and international consultants or technical experts. As clearly described in the Agenda 21 document, there are other major stakeholders whose voices, values and needs deserve to be heard and taken into account in the development and environmental decision-making processes. These include, among others, women, children and youth, indigenous peoples, NGOs, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, the scientific and technological community, and farmers.

There is also a growing body of domestic and international law and opinion which supports the idea that widespread public involvement is fundamental to the achievement of sustainable development, including the rights of citizens to have access to environmental information and to participate actively in environmental and developmental decision-making.

Furthermore, many policy analysts are beginning to realize that legal and economic instruments alone are insufficient to bring about environmental reform. Public involvement and an educated and active citizenry are seen as fundamental to a successful and effective policy reform process, especially in the increasing number of countries who have chosen a "democratic path" to development.

To fulfill these goals, however, institutions will need to change, and institutions themselves must, in the final analysis, be seen as the sum of the experiences, outlooks and behaviors of the individuals who comprise them. In this sense, sustainable development will only come about when there is a fundamental change in the "cultures" (used in the broadest sense) of our own institutions-- a change which views current actions always in terms of their implications for the poor, the vulnerable and our inherited environment. If we can keep this social learning and cultural change process active and alive, we may yet have a chance to create a better and more livable world for ourselves and future generations.



Public Consultation in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia

Consultations with affected populations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming standard practice in environmental assessments (EAs). The Bank recognized this fact by incorporating public consultation in its 1989 Operational Directive (revised in 1991 as OD 4.01 and to be released as OP 4.01) on EA. This directive requires public consultations shortly after the EA category for a project has been assigned; and, once a draft EA report has been prepared. For "meaningful consultation" to take place, the Borrower should share relevant information about the project and its potential impacts with affected populations and local NGOs. The following Dissemination Note describes the results of a 1995 review by ASTEN and ASTHR of experience in the East and South Asia regions in implementing these public consultation and information dissemination aspects of the EA process. The review looked at fourteen (14) projects requiring EAs in order to capture lessons for improving Bank and Borrower performance in this area.

Why Public Consultation in EAs?

Consultation is a two-way communication process by which the knowledge and views of affected peoples, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties are taken into account in development decision-making. In the case of EAs, the assumption is often made that such involvement is not necessary because of the often complex and highly technical nature of environmental impacts.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the knowledge of affected communities and NGOs can contribute to the quality of EAs, as well as provide a better understanding of the social impacts which accompany development interventions. The Bank and other development agencies have learned that if public consultation does not take place early in the project preparation process, it often leads to public misunderstandings, and unnecessary delays in project processing and implementation.

Bank Policies on Consultation

The Bank's Operational Directive on EA (OD 4.01) distinguishes between various types of projects based upon the potential significance of their environmental impacts. Category A projects are usually large (e.g., hydro-dams, roads, urban infrastructural projects, industrial facilities, etc.) and have widespread environmental and social impacts, including in some cases involuntary resettlement and effects on vulnerable popula-

tions such as indigenous peoples.

These projects require a full EA, including consultation with affected groups and NGOs. Consultations are required during the scoping of issues to be addressed by the EA, as well as once the draft EA report has been prepared. The Bank recognizes that good practice may demand that further consultations take place at other appropriate points during EA preparation, after finalization of the EA report and throughout project implementation.

Information dissemination is fundamental to "meaningful consultation." According to the OD, such information should initially contain a summary of the project, its objectives and potential impacts; and, following the preparation of the EA report, a summary of its conclusions in a form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted.

ASTEN-ASTHR Review

In 1995, ASTEN and ASTHR conducted a desk review and selected interviews with Task Managers and environmental staff of 14 projects which contained public consultations during EA preparation (see Box 1). Five (5) of these projects are in South Asian countries, while nine (9) are in East Asia. Energy/power and agriculture/water are represented by three (3) projects each; infrastructure, transportation and environment/urban are represented by two (2) projects each; and, there is one (1) natural resources and one (1) multisectoral project.

**Box 1:
Projects Covered in the EA Review**

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Project Name</u> | <u>EA Category</u> |
|----------------|---|--------------------|
| Bangladesh | Jamuna Bridge | A |
| China | Hebei/Henan Natl. Highway | A |
| | Inland Waters | A |
| | Liaoning Environment | A |
| India | Madras Water Supply | A |
| | Tamil Nadu WRCP | A |
| Indonesia | Kabupaten Roads V | B |
| | Outer Island Sumatra and Kalimantan Power | A |
| Korea | Ports Development & Environment | A |
| | Balochistan Natural Resources Management | B |
| Philippines | Leyte Geothermal Power | A |
| Sri Lanka | Colombo Env. Improvement | A |
| Thailand | Lam Taknong Pumps | A |
| Viet Nam | Irrigation Rehabilitation | A |

The review's purpose was to identify best practice cases, as well as areas of relative weaknesses. The review posed a series of questions relating to information disclosure, consultation practices, and monitoring and evaluation of the consultative process (see Box 2). It also looked at the impact of the consultation on issues addressed by the EA and incorporated into the project design. Like any desk review, more consultation may have taken place than is revealed in the project documentation.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

There is significant variability in the formal consultation procedures among Borrower countries, as well as in their traditional practices. There are also wide differences between these national procedures, where existent, and those of the Bank.

Of the ten (10) countries included in the review, seven (7) have formal consultation procedures; while three (3) countries (Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have none. Even in those countries where consultation procedures do exist, they are often only vaguely mentioned in the environmental legislation or are linked to other subjects (e.g., resettlement and land acquisition) rather than to EAs. The review revealed that only three (3) of the projects reviewed followed both national and Bank consultation procedures. The others followed either national or Bank procedures only; or, carried out consultations without following either the Bank's or national government procedures. These findings demonstrate that there is no consistent pattern in using either national laws or the Bank's OD as guidelines for the structuring of the EA consultation process.

Public Consultation in the EA Process

Stakeholder Identification

While only one (1) of the fourteen projects had an explicitly designed consultation strategy, almost all of them consulted a broad range of stakeholders. These included representatives of government agencies, academia, NGOs, religious groups, and village and community leaders. Few of the projects, however, defined who the "key stakeholders" were; nor did the project documentation describe the means for identifying and weighing the relative participation in these consultations of "affected communities," "beneficiaries" and "other stakeholders." Only in three (3) projects were gender and ethnicity addressed in stakeholder identification and consultation.

Information Dissemination

The projects used a range of means for information dissemination: newspaper articles, TV and radio reports, videos and films, exhibitions, posters, and public meetings and hearings. Two (2) of the projects undertook systematic public information and dissemination.

Box 2: Basic Questions to Review Consultation Processes

| Information Disclosure | Consultation Practices | Monitoring & Evaluation |
|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were affected people and NGOs informed about the proposed activities? • Was the project summary and objectives available to affected and interested groups? • Were TORs for the EA available to the public? • What mechanisms were used to disseminate project scope and objectives (press, bulletins, radio)? • Was the draft EA report made available in a timely fashion? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does the country have a formal consultation procedure as part of the EA? • Were the country procedures followed? • Was a consultation strategy designed for the project? • What criteria were used to identify stakeholders? • How were the consulted groups selected? • Who was consulted and when? (affected groups and other stakeholders) • What were the consultation mechanisms used? (seminars, workshops, public meetings) • What substantive issues arose from the consultation and how did they influence the project? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was a system designed to assess whether affected people and NGOs absorbed information from the consultative processes? • Was a monitoring and evaluation system designed to measure the effectiveness of information disclosure and consultation strategies? |

tion campaigns; another five (5) projects had newspaper reports and public meetings; and, seven (7) projects had no information dissemination strategy. It is unclear from the desk review whether there was any targeting of audiences in the information campaigns, whether materials were translated into local languages, or whether any assessments were made of public understanding of the information disseminated.

Consultation Mechanisms

The types of consultation mechanisms used in these projects included town and public meetings and workshops and seminars. There is, however, relatively little or no information in the project documents on the representativeness of the persons who attended these meetings. Only one of the projects used a systematic survey to elicit opinions of persons affected directly by the project.

There is a wide variety of effective techniques which could be used for consultation but apparently were not tested in the EAs analyzed in the review. These include public hearings, citizen advisory groups, focus groups, community opinion surveys, expert panels, etc.

Issues Identified for Project Design

During scoping sessions, stakeholders mainly raised issues concerning involuntary resettlement and the environment. In relation to resettlement, the key concern had to do with compensation; while environmental issues included the impacts of power plants on surrounding communities, the effects of noise and air pollution, and protecting historical and cultural property. The project documentation did not indicate whether there was any setting of priorities among issues; nor, how they were incorporated into the TORs for the EA.

Some of the issues raised during consultations resulted in changes in the project design; e.g., specific details of resettlement plans, modifications in engineering designs (see Box 3), and plans for protecting and monitoring threatened flora and fauna (see Box 4). There were no instances where consultations led the project proponent to seek alternative project designs or not proceed with the original project.

Review of Draft EA

According to OD 4.01, a summary of the draft EA conclusions, including the environmental management plan, are to be presented to affected communities and interested NGOs in a "form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted." There is great variability in the extent and ways in which draft EA summaries are being presented to the "general public," affected communities, and NGOs. Some projects provide the entire draft EA report to a wide range of stakeholders for public inspection and comment; others provide only summaries of the draft EA conclusions for public re-

Box 3:

Farmer Group Consultations in India Madras Water Supply Project

The Second Madras Water Supply Project provides treatment and transportation of water to the city by a transmission pipeline which carries water from a command area inhabited by 11,500 farmers. An EA was carried out which included a strategy to consult the farmers. Consultations covered farmers associations, local government and affected communities and were organized by a reputable NGO. The farmers showed an awareness of the need to incorporate new operating rules for releasing of water from another reservoir.

As a result of the consultations, the Government drafted new formal rules which were accepted by the farmers and villages. It also included a suggestion made by the villagers that the capacity of the local water tank be expanded to satisfy the irrigation needs of local farmers, as well as permit continuing offtake from the reservoir for the water needs of Madras.

view and often to a more limited range of stakeholders, such as local governments or affected communities. From the documentation, it is unclear to what extent the comments made are actually incorporated into the EA report submitted to the Bank.

Conflict Management and Dispute Resolution

Projects with environmental implications often generate conflicts between the project proponents and affected communities and other interested groups, especially concerning the siting of facilities (e.g., the so-called "Not-in-My-Backyard" or "NIMBY" syndrome). A public consultation strategy may therefore need conflict management and dispute resolution techniques, including the use of professional facilitators. The review found that EA reports seldom contain descriptions of such conflicts; nor is there much use being made, at present, of alternative dispute resolution techniques.

Process Documentation and Recording

The review showed there is a paucity of information in the project files or EA reports on the types of consultation activities and mechanisms used, the individuals and groups invited and participating in them, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact of such discussions upon subsequent decisions. However, there is increasing awareness of the need to improve documentation and recording and an attempt on the part of a number of divisions to remedy the situation. This should contribute to greater institutional memory and learning on the part of the Bank.

Box 4:
**Public Consultation in Korea Ports Development
and Environmental Improvement Project**

In the Korea Ports Development Project, the project proponent asked local people to review the draft EA report and asked for their views on the noise and air pollution that port construction might cause. Issues raised included the protection of historic and cultural properties, provision of adequate compensation for damages to inhabitants of the port area, and preparation of mitigation plans to deal with noise and air pollution. Affected people provided comments to the Ministry of Environment and it, in turn, prepared a management and monitoring plan to mitigate environmental issues identified.

Constraints to Conducting Effective Consultations

In general, the review found that there were constraints both within Borrower countries and the Bank to conducting effective consultations within the framework of the EA process. Many Borrower governments and their sectoral ministries view the EA as a purely technical exercise which will not benefit from public and community involvement. Despite the growing importance of NGOs and civil society, there is still a tendency in many countries to implement development projects in a non-participatory manner.

To respond to these constraints, there needs to be a dialogue with Borrowers, based upon concrete experience, about how public consultation can lower the transaction costs of projects. Borrowers need to be convinced that by consulting with people they can avoid delays due to public protest and be more responsive to the demands of interested parties and constituencies. Borrowers also need to be convinced that by drawing upon local knowledge and concerns, they can improve the quality of EA studies, mitigation plans and project designs?

Within the Bank, Task Managers need guidance for advising Borrowers about how to design and conduct information dissemination and consultation processes. TORs need to be more precise in defining what needs to be done in terms of identifying key stakeholders, providing them with adequate information, and structuring a consultative process which is effective and meaningful to project proponents, affected populations and interested parties.

Recommendations for Improving Performance

The review, as well as general experience in other regions and outside the Bank, provides several insights

for improving Borrower and Bank performance in public consultation. Among other things, the Bank and Borrower countries need to:

- Generate dialogue with project proponents on the ways in which public consultation can further their own project and sectoral interests. One approach is to show project proponents both "best" and "worst" practice in public involvement, including what may happen in its absence.
- Focus more attention on stakeholder identification, especially of affected people and communities, local authorities and decision makers, the media, the scientific community, NGOs and other interested groups or parties.
- Disseminate information early and in a culturally meaningful fashion, including using local languages, visual methods and, where appropriate, communication expertise.
- Recognize that disputes and conflicts are sometimes inevitable and therefore plan for conflict management and dispute resolution.
- Document the process of consultation including participants, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact upon subsequent decisions.
- Evaluate whether or not public consultation improved the quality of EA and the public acceptability of the project. This could include the use of indicators to measure absorption of information disseminated, public satisfaction with the consultation process and its effectiveness from the viewpoint of the project proponent.
- Recognize that sensitization and training on the objectives and methods of public involvement may be needed for project proponents, central and local government authorities, affected communities, NGOs and Bank Task Managers.

Resources:

Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues (EA Sourcebook Update, No. 5, October 1993)

People's Participation in Environment Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices by William Partridge (LATEN Dissemination Note, No. 11, November 1994)

Manual on Public Participation, by Environmental Resources Management (Prepared for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, December 1995; Available Through ENVSP)

The Impact of Environmental Assessment: Second EA Review (World Bank, November 1996).



World Bank

Public Consultation in EA: A Strategic Approach

April 1998

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Preface

This EA Sourcebook Update describes good practice in the planning, implementation and monitoring of public consultation in the EA process. It focuses on thinking strategically about public consultation in order more efficiently to deliver improved project sustainability and to protect the interests of affected communities, especially the poor and dispossessed.

This document replaces the Sourcebook Update No.5 published in October 1993, *Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues*.

1.1

BACKGROUND

Since 1989, the Bank's Operational Directive 4.01 on Environmental Assessment (OD 4.01) has required that affected groups and NGOs be consulted as part the preparation of major (Category A) projects. Its primary purpose is to protect the interests of affected communities, especially the poor and dispossessed, but experience has shown that there is also a strong link between project sustainability and effective public consultation.

The Bank has largely succeeded in enforcing compliance with the minimum requirements of OD 4.01 such that a) public concerns are recognised at the scoping stage of major project EAs, and b) EA reports now usually include a record of consultations and are always made available for public scrutiny. This success notwithstanding, too many projects encounter difficulties and delays that could have been foreseen and avoided. Expected benefits of public consultation are not being realised because mere compliance does not necessarily ensure quality. Reviews of Bank-financed projects have shown that public consultation rarely affects project design, and vulnerable groups are often excluded from the consultation process (see Box 1.1).

Box 1.1***Consultation Strengths and Weaknesses in Recent Bank Group Projects*****Strengths Demonstrated**

More open and interactive communication
 Frequent involvement of NGOs
 Consultation extended to several phases of project planning
 Overall compliance with minimum requirements of OD 4.01

Priority Areas for Improvement

Providing adequate documentation of the consultation process
 Ensuring that minority/disadvantaged communities or groups are involved
 Ensuring involvement of communities at the early planning (scoping) stages of the EA
 Ensuring the availability of appropriate expertise in effective consultation techniques
 Using systematic approaches to identify and include all stakeholders
 Effective and timely disclosure of documentation to all stakeholders
 Ensuring that the concerns of stakeholders are reflected in the design of the project
 Ensuring that separate consultations are held on resettlement environmental issues

The task now is to move beyond compliance toward more consistent quality. The EA process should be used to build consultation into project planning so that information can be exchanged with stakeholder groups early enough to influence each key stage of the project cycle. Strategic planning is required to reconcile this aim with the inevitable constraints on time and financial resources. They must also identify the occasions on which they have an opportunity to take effective action, since these will vary according to the funding organisation's role in project financing and the stage of the EA process (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Consultation Objectives During the EA Process

| <i>Factors to Note</i> | <i>Consultation Goals</i> | <i>Strategic Considerations</i> |
|---|--|---|
| Stage in EA Process | | |
| Validation of environmental procedures and standards | Review national law and practice relating to consultation. Ensure compatibility with Bank requirements | Is there a need/ Are there opportunities for capacity building? |
| Screening: assign an EA Category | Identify stakeholder groups Secure proponent commitment to consultation program. Agree extent and mode of consultation | Is there commitment to consultation from project proponents and the competent authority? |
| Scoping: Agree EA ToR and schedule | Identify stakeholders Disclose relevant project information Determine stakeholder concerns and include them in the ToR | What resources are needed and available? Who is responsible for implementation? Monitoring and evaluation? Are there potential conflicts between the needs of the developer and those of the public? |
| Environmental analysis and production of draft EA reports (including SA, RP and PDP as appropriate) | Disclose information on study methods and findings Agree proposed mitigation measures with stakeholders Let stakeholders determine whether their concerns are adequately addressed | What methods are appropriate for reaching different stakeholder groups? |
| Production of Final Reports | Finalize mitigation plan and disclose to stakeholder | Are mechanisms in place to ensure on-going consultation and compliance with agreements? |
| Implement the Environmental Management Plan (Includes environmental monitoring) | Inform the public about scheduling of potentially disruptive events Disclose results of environmental monitoring Maintain effective complaints procedure | What role can stakeholders play in monitoring? |
| Final Evaluation | Assess effectiveness of the consultation process Consult stakeholders for their assessment | Were any lessons learned which might be transferable to other projects? |

The benefits of public consultation accrue to major stakeholder groups, for example:

- fewer conflicts and delays translate into improved profitability for investors;
- governments improve decision making;
- public agencies and NGOs gain opportunities to promote their agendas;
- project affected people can influence the project to reduce adverse impacts, maximise ancillary benefits and ensure that they receive appropriate compensation.

Box 1.1 describes examples from several recent World Bank funded projects where public consultation has contributed substantial added value.

Box 1.2 – *Impacts of Public Consultation*

In the Solid Waste Management Project for the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, negative environmental impacts of a proposed landfill site in Grenada, which were missed by the EA team, were identified through public consultation, leading to the protection of an endangered species.

Public consultation regarding the Brazil Espirito Santo Water Management Project identified adverse social impacts and helped develop appropriate mitigation measures that protected an artisan community's access to clay deposits and prevented a decline in the living standards of a nearby urban neighbourhood.

In the Colombia Energy Sector Technical Assistance, changes to the national power sector strategy were agreed upon by a wide range of stakeholders within and beyond the sector through a national-level consultation program.

Public consultation in the EA of the Albania Forestry Project identified the need for a program of public participation in the management of state forests, and identified major questions to be resolved in order to implement such a program.

Consultation with groups affected by a flood control project in the Ecuador Lower Guayas Flood Control Project resulted in changes to the alignment of flood evacuation canals, despite higher costs, to save an important wetland area.

In the China Henan Highway Project, detailed analysis of questionnaires distributed among local residents identified concerns about land acquisition, relocation and resettlement. The conclusions of the EA then recommended increasing information dissemination and consultation efforts.

2.1 STRATEGY AND PLANNING

2.1.1 *Need for a Strategy*

In many countries local traditions of public debate may not demonstrate the transparency and accountability that has become central to the western model of democratic decision making. In addition, there may be resistance to broad consultation in centrally planned or culturally conservative societies. There may therefore be gaps or contradictions between the legal and policy requirements of some countries and Bank requirements. Where such gaps exist, it is important that they are identified early so that innovative ways of bridging them can be included in the consultation plan.

2.1.2 *Key Issues in Developing a Strategy*

Key strategic issues to address include the following.

Have a Clear View of Your Goals: The general goals of consultation are described above, but in addition, consultation programs may provide excellent opportunities to achieve goals associated with the wider development aims of the Bank and the client country. These may include building capacity, encouraging NGOs, improving decision making, etc. This notwithstanding, the success of the program depends on having clear, well-defined goals which are understood by all the major players.

Accommodate the Local Legislation: As public participation in environmental decision making in its diverse forms wins acceptance world-wide, basic legal requirements for access to information and consultation as part of EA are in place in many countries. The consultation plan must therefore consider the legal requirements of the country in question, and to what extent this is complementary with World Bank policies and procedures. Conflicts may arise not just about the need for consultation but concerning the timing, scope, funding, methods and use of the findings. Additionally, international conventions might apply. A dialogue to accommodate differing requirements and resolve potential conflicts should be opened early in the process.

Secure Commitment to Effective Implementation: The success of a consultation exercise requires that the local authorities and the project proponents (if they are different) understand its purpose and are committed to its success. Their positive attitude will give the process credibility and play a large part in securing the trust and cooperation of the public at large. Also, the quality and follow-through of the process are enhanced if those who are investing time and money are convinced that the resources are well spent.

Determine Responsibility for Implementation: The institutional capacity and skills needed to collect and analyse data, interact effectively with the public, and interpret findings for decision makers may be rare or absent in the target area. It may be possible to increase capacity through systematic training programs (See Box 2.1), or it may be necessary to engage local or international consultants.

Whichever is decided, it is vital that responsibilities for undertaking consultation and producing outputs is clearly defined and that appropriate state public authorities accept, and are equipped for, a role in quality assurance. When more than one agency is involved in the project, there is potential for conflict over the implementation of the public consultation plan. It is critical to determine which institutions will be responsible for overseeing implementation of the plan and which will be responsible for monitoring and evaluation (see Section 4).

Box 2.1

Building Capacity for Consultation

Technical EA work is most often carried out by the private sector (developers or consultants). The public sector is usually more concerned with regulatory requirements and the scope, quality and implementation of mitigation measures. When regulatory agencies are aware of the utility of consultation, are required to hold public hearings, and are able to technically review the process, they improve its quality and effectiveness.

In Georgia the World Bank included training in public consultation as part of the Municipal Infrastructure Rehabilitation Project, 1994. Representatives of the Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP), Municipal Authorities and NGOs were introduced to:

- the wider benefits and the practical value of consultation;
- methods of stakeholder identification;
- appropriate communication techniques;
- how to use the information gained during consultation; and
- how to evaluate the outcome of consultation exercises.

Particular emphasis was placed on examining case studies to see where consultation could have improved project design or helped avoid implementation difficulties.

In 1997 a major oil pipeline EA was conducted in Georgia. Previous developments had been subject to review by officials and experts on behalf of the public, but the attitude towards actual consultation with the members of the affected communities had been "let sleeping dogs lie." For this project, however, the approach was transformed. MEP officials recommended a local NGO to be part of the social survey team. In addition, with full MEP support, the NGO community took part in the scoping of the EA and the review of the report. Before the project was submitted for consideration by the authorities, the pipeline route had been amended to take account of local sensitivities. The potential for protest and political controversy was avoided, permitting was smoother and the final project design was better.

Plan the Timing and Phasing of Consultations: There may be conflicting imperatives with regard to the timing of consultations. Private developers often require confidentiality to avoid possible competition or may wish to avoid potential conflict until they are reasonably certain of their intentions. On the other hand, effective public consultation begins before major decisions are finalised. Each stage of the EA cycle may require a different approach to consultation, supported

by the appropriate level of detail, involving a distinct group of stakeholders. The process may take several years for very large projects, particularly in some developed countries where greater resources and experience in consultation are conjoined with a demanding public (see Box 2.2 on the complex consultation process for the Channel Tunnel Rail Link.)

Box 2.2

Phasing of Consultations

The Channel Tunnel Rail Link

Extensive consultation was built into the planning of a rail link between London and the Channel Tunnel on the south coast of England. All feasible routes had to pass through some of the most highly valued landscapes in England and some of the most populous suburbs.

Each stage of design involved different stakeholder groups who were approached with methods appropriate to them and to the purpose of the consultation at that stage.

At the earliest stage the many local authorities were consulted about local factors affecting feasibility, future development plans in the area, likely environmental impacts, etc. Institutions and interest groups with responsibilities or interests along each route were identified and asked for comments. The information gained assisted in narrowing the choice to three main routes.

Maps were prepared and distributed by direct mailing to residents close to route alternatives. A preliminary EIA was prepared and distributed, the environmental constraints affecting each route were mapped for easy comparison and public meetings were staged to explain the analysis.

A single route was selected, at which point engineers could begin to identify and map with more precision land to be purchased and public areas which might be suitable worksites. Detailed maps were published in sections showing each residence and public building affected. A full EIA was published, explanatory leaflets were issued and residents were invited to discuss issues of concern. Disputes remaining unresolved were debated in public in front of the national parliament.

During construction, due to commence in 2001, contractors will be required to publish their work plans and to make arrangements to receive, record and respond to complaints and a 24-hour telephone hotline will be maintained by the developer.

Provide Proper Resources for the Consultation Process: The scale and scope of the consultation process must take account of the availability of financial resources and specialist technical skills required. It is important to ensure that expected benefits are commensurate with costs while giving weight to the needs of disadvantaged groups. Professionals with backgrounds in sociology or anthropology, or with experience in public consultation, conflict resolution, or community participation will usually be needed to design and implement a consultation plan. Resources should be allocated in the project budget for their fees and expenses and for local costs, which may include sitting fees for government officials in some countries. Where funds and expertise from external sources are necessary, the availability of such resources throughout the process should be assured.

Site Specific Sensitivities: There are often difficulties in carrying out consultation that are associated with a particular location. These may be political and cultural

factors in the affected communities or the geography of the area. Restrictions upon women or ethnic prejudices are common examples of the former while inaccessibility, poor communications or diffuse settlement over a wide area are frequently encountered physical problems. Such constraints must be identified when designing a consultation strategy so that approaches can be developed to overcome them or to minimise their effects upon the process.

The Historical Context: The experience of the public with authorities, developers, site operators, etc. will affect how they are likely to respond to efforts to create a dialogue. Past broken promises or mismanagement often leave a legacy of mistrust that can frustrate communication by giving rise to a climate of mistrust and confrontation. In such cases trust building mechanisms (independent mediation, written outputs) must be included in the consultation strategy.

Recognise the Interests of the Developers: It is axiomatic that a properly designed World Bank-sponsored project should, overall, have positive social and environmental effects, or, when effects are predicted to be adverse, that they will be avoided, minimised or mitigated. Public consultation and participation improves projects by helping to reduce the uneven distribution of costs and benefits and maximising opportunities that may arise for additional unplanned gains. With this in mind, it is important that the consultation strategy takes account of the needs of the project proponents so that perceived risks (in terms of cost, delays, future commitments) do not endanger project viability.

2.2 PLANNING THE CONSULTATION PROCESS

2.2.1 *Principals of Planning*

The planning process should take full account of the strategic concerns outlined above, as well as the following key planning tasks:

- identify the key issues around which consultation will be needed (scoping);
- identify all stakeholder groups;
- understand the decision making process;
- determine the necessary level of consultation;
- identify key consultation points;
- select consultation techniques;
- define a communication methodology; and
- develop a budget.

2.2.2 *Scoping*

The first step in designing a plan is to gain an understanding of the key issues, and the areas where most of the effort needs to be directed, including:

- the environmental and social (indigenous peoples, resettlement, etc.) issues or decisions at stake;
- the key organisations and interested parties involved;

- the local authorities and the agencies involved;
- the size of the issue or importance of the decision; and
- the urgency and timeframe

2.2.3 *Identifying All Stakeholder Groups*

This is a critical element. Failure to identify all relevant stakeholders can invalidate the entire process and lead to conflicts that become intractable although they might easily have been resolved.

In general, the basic questions to consider in identifying affected populations and stakeholders are:

- Who will be directly affected?
- Who will be indirectly affected?
- Who might have an interest or feel that they are affected?

Box 2.3 *Directly and Indirectly Affected Stakeholders*

The Industrial Area of San Joachim, Santiago, Chile

The government of Chile is implementing a policy to relocate industrial areas away from urban areas. An EIA was commissioned to examine the affect of relocating the heavy industry from the San Joachim area to a designated industrial zone on the outskirts of Santiago.

Directly affected stakeholders included the farmers and residents at the new site whose land was acquired and occupants of any nearby homes, public buildings or businesses that might be affected by pollution or nuisances (traffic, noise, odour, etc.). Also directly effected were the businesses that would have to move to the new locations and whose workers who would have a longer daily commute.

Indirectly affected stakeholders included:

- the small enterprises around the urban site that provided services to the industries and workers who would lose their customer base;
- residents of properties adjacent to the industries who would benefit from a reduction in pollution;
- nearby homeowners who might benefit from an increase in property values.

Stakeholders paying close attention to the planned move included the municipal authorities in the original and proposed sites who stood to lose and gain substantial local tax revenues.

The variety of techniques and methodologies that fall into the framework of social assessment are especially useful in identifying stakeholders and assessing how and to what extent a project affects them. Social assessment can help to determine what interests each stakeholder group has in the project, how those interests compare in importance, and which groups have the most influence or control (see Figure 2.1). For instance, social assessment methodologies can help collect information on language and dialects, ethnic mix, division of gender roles, cultural traditions, environment decision making mechanisms, recent history

with development projects, and key local concerns and priorities – all important in adequately identifying the variety of stakeholder groups.

Box 2.4

The Potential Costs of Inadequate Stakeholder Identification

One of the consequences of failing to identify and consult stakeholders is that information which may be incomplete, misleading or false will reach them through other means creating long-lasting, unwarranted hostility to the project.

The municipal authorities in Riga (Latvia) received technical assistance to conduct a site survey for a new sanitary landfill. Consultation and social survey work was planned after site selection during the full EA study. During site evaluation the local media discovered that one of the short-listed sites was very close to a pre-World War I battle site of great cultural significance. The veterans association became involved and questions were raised in parliament. The Minister of the Environment assured parliament that the site would not be used.

Through the EA process, the EA team discovered that the actual battle site need not be affected by the development. The Veteran's association confirmed that their concerns could be addressed by minor modifications to the project design. According to the criteria for site selection, this site then became the most economical option then available. Reviving the issue, however, risked raising a storm of political protest and the site was disallowed on that basis.

Very much greater attention was paid to consultation from that point onward. Information was disseminated through newspapers, television, community associations and local government. A series of public meetings established that a large reservoir of public mistrust and hostility to waste disposal schemes remained from the former Soviet government's poor site management. This issue became a major consideration in site selection and the eventual decision not to develop a new waste disposal site but to upgrade the existing dump.

2.2.4 *Define the Decision Making Process*

The next step is to understand how environmental decisions are made. That is, to identify what parties (government, sponsors, financing institution, etc.) make what decisions (scope of the EA, site consents, building permits, emission limits etc.) at what points in the project cycle.

2.2.5 *Determine the Necessary Level of Consultation*

Public consultation and participation typically takes place at three different levels: conveying information to the public, listening to the opinions and preferences of the public, and involving the public in making decisions. The type/nature and size of the project combined with both the nature and number of stakeholders and the national legislation will largely define when, where and what level of public consultation is required for an EA and for incorporation into the Environmental Management Plan (EMP),

For instance, if the aim is to inform the public about a project or important issues, the initial number of people to contact will be quite large but the interaction may

be quite limited. If, on the other hand, public preferences are being sought, closer contact and dialogue will be required, but with a smaller number of people. If the public's direct input to decision making is being sought, this will likely involve ongoing discussions with a small group of representatives of stakeholder groups (see Box 2.5).. Site-specific factors, such as a history of local opposition to similar projects in the area, will be also be important in determining the level of consultations..

Box 2.5

Using A Variety of Consultation Techniques to Reach A Diverse Audience

The Ghazi Barotha Hydropower Project is a major run-of-the-river power project designed to meet the power needs in Pakistan. Because of the expected environmental and social impacts, a thorough EA was conducted. The EA team faced the challenge of both informing a large diversity of public stakeholder groups about the layout and workings of the project, and listening to their concerns. In order to reach the range of affected groups therefore, the EA team devised a public consultation strategy that mixed a variety of techniques. The consultation strategy included:

- A survey of a sample of 15 villages that would be affected by the project was conducted early in the preparation process. Consultation techniques included surveying and structured interviews.
 - A survey of women in the project area was carried out by a female sociologist in order to learn the particular concerns of women.
 - Scoping sessions with national and provincial assemblies, representatives of the district administration and district councils, and national and international NGOs allowed for debate with civil society.
 - A focused census and sample survey to determine as precisely as possible the actual number of project affected people, their socio-economic status, and the pattern of impact on various groups was undertaken.
 - A Project Information Centre was planned for the project area to disseminate information to the public and respond to inquiries. The centre is meant to have material written in the local language available that will provide answers to common questions and to provide access to project staff for face-to-face conversations.
-

2.2.6

Identify Key Consultation Points

According to OD 4.01 consultation is required, at a minimum, shortly after the EA category has been assigned (during scoping) and again once a draft EA has been prepared. Further consultations are encouraged after EA finalisation and throughout project implementation. The aim is that consultation should take place before major decision points. This implies, therefore, that consultation will often be necessary as part of the research effort of the EA and in the development of mitigation measures during the analysis phase of the study.

2.2.7

Select Techniques

A variety of techniques is available to achieve meaningful consultation. The most effective programs will make use of a range of techniques for conveying information, listening to opinions or concerns, and involving the public in decision making (see Box 2.6). Which ones are most appropriate depends on:

- the type and number of stakeholders, including average level of education, environmental knowledge, social and cultural status;
- the nature and in particular the technical content of the information to be conveyed;
- the institutional situation of the country concerned, particularly the type of skills and financial resources which are available for the project.

Chapter 3 lists commonly used techniques and comments on their applicability to various situations. The selected activities should be scheduled to fit in with the overall decision making framework. Enough time should be allowed for people to receive information, digest it and comment sensibly, bearing in mind that consultees are for the most part volunteers and cannot be expected to meet tight deadlines.

Box 2.6

Targeting Communication Methods to Specific Stakeholder Groups

Stakeholder groups receive information about the outside world by widely differing routes. To reach all affected parties a suite of communications media may be necessary. Disadvantaged people or groups marginalized because of tribal affiliation, caste, religion, gender or geography may need special efforts to reach. The most effective way of involving some stakeholder groups may only become apparent after a study of local culture and customs. A number of EAs have demonstrated innovative ways of disseminating information in such circumstances including the following:

- The Manantali Energy Project involved hydropower generation in western Mali, and its transmission to Senegal along a 1,000 km transmission line route through Mali and Mauritania. Given the diversity and dispersion of stakeholders, consultation was achieved through a series of small meetings organised with the assistance of village elders along the entire route. These were attended by most of the male population. When it became clear that most women did not feel free to attend these meetings, still less to voice dissenting opinions, a series of women only meetings (moderated by a female consultant) was held in parallel. The project implementation was modified to include the compensation arrangements agreed at the general meeting and the avoidance of activities during vegetable growing season specified by the women.
 - In Bangladesh, Occidental Petroleum entered into a joint production agreement with the Bangladesh National Oil Corporation to develop gas fields in the north-east of the country. IFC provided some of the capital investment and an EA was produced in accordance with IFC guidelines. Investigation showed that the most common way for local news to be distributed was by two people on a moped - with the passenger announcing news through a loudhailer. News of the development was broadcast in this way, besides use of the more conventional media.
-

2.2.8

Define a Communication Methodology

Methods of communication should be adopted that are transparent and open to review (see Box 2.7). Some general principles for achieving this include notification, record keeping, and feedback.

Notification: Clearly the target groups must be notified how, when, and where they can participate. In general effective notification is highly visible to the target audience, delivered early, uses more than one medium to reach the target groups, and is repeated shortly before major events.

Record Keeping: A record of the type of consultation activities, the target groups and numbers reached, the type of information conveyed, and the stage at which the information was provided should be kept and analysed to reveal:

- summaries of views by type of stakeholder;
- a summary of points of agreement, disagreement, issues raised and options discussed;
- analysis of the validity of the concerns and issues raised by different stakeholders;
- recommended response to valid comments;
- a discussion of the implications and options for the decision-maker.

Provide Feedback: Feedback should be provided to the public describing the response to their concerns, the decisions that were made, and how the information they provided was used. Otherwise participants may feel that their input had no impact on the decision and some of the benefits of the process may be lost.

Box 2.7

Discussion of Public Consultation in an EA Report

Following are key issues related to public consultation that should be addressed in an EA report:

The methodologies used to inform and involve the public in the EA process.

Analysis of the data and information gathered.

Discussion of the strategic issues discussed in Section 2.1.

Documentation of public meetings, interviews, etc. including dates, names, topics of discussion and important outcomes.

Recommendations for how project can address and/or mitigate issues that were raised through public consultation.

Recommendations for on-going public consultation during the EMP.

2.2.9

Develop a Budget

Regardless of the approach taken to public consultation, there will be direct investment costs in terms of time and materials. Determination of the budget should take into consideration factors such as the complexity of the project, diversity of the stakeholders, and the importance of the effects in conjunction with constraints such as availability of skilled practitioners, source and availability of funds, and project deadlines. The principal cost elements vary

widely according to the context of the project ⁽¹⁾but are likely to include some of the following:

- consultants fees;
- hiring and outfitting of meeting venues;
- public opinion surveys;
- preparation and distribution of materials;
- staff time preparing, attending and recording public meetings;
- maintenance of channels of communication (e.g. a telephone hotline, radio announcements);
- travel expenses.

(1) Between 1/50 and 1/4 of one percent of total development costs for the projects described in the Boxes

3.1

MATCHING TOOLS TO THE IMMEDIATE PURPOSE OF COMMUNICATION

Communication during EA involves seeking information, imparting information or reaching agreement through dialogue. The available approaches and tools may be conveniently categorised according to their suitability for:

- conveying information to the public;
- listening to public opinion;
- involving the public in decision making.

Tables 3.1 - 3.3 describe in very brief outline the tools in each of these three categories commonly used during EA⁽¹⁾. Tools appropriate for any particular project will vary according to the type of project and its setting, but an effective consultation plan will usually make use of one or several items from each of the three menus as part of an integrated program. Conveying information to the public and listening to public opinion are specifically required by OD 4.01 while involving the public in decision making is fundamental to quality EA, and building consensus often has the added value of building trust and ownership, leading to partnership during EMP implementation.

3.2

CONVEYING INFORMATION TO THE PUBLIC

Table 3.1 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for conveying information to the public, and lists some of the advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.1 provides a practical example of the application of diverse techniques to achieve different communication objectives.

(1) These Tables, extensive abridged, are derived from The Public Participation Handbook, EBRD, 1996. That publication contains full versions of the tables plus extensive supporting text describing each tool.

Box 3.1 *Conveying Information To The Public*

Developers in a Central Asian country wanted to construct a factory and had selected a site in close proximity to the city centre. A local NGO was concerned about the site and encouraged the developer to do a full EIA that included public consultation. Working together, the factory management and the NGO mounted a display and public opinion video to inform the public about the design and location plans, and to present the potential environmental impacts.

The display provided general information on the proposed project, including photographs and maps of the proposed location, literature on the environmental impacts and proposed mitigation measures, and design and architectural plans. The display was set up at the local town hall for a period of 3 weeks approximately 8 weeks before the beginning of any project activity. The NGO analysed the results of written notes left by the public and discussed these results with the project developers.

The display proved to be an excellent communications tool for the developers, the display informed certain sectors of the public who otherwise may not have known about the factory development, and the public was able to voice concerns about the proposed site.

3.1 Techniques for Conveying Information

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Printed Materials:</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information Bulletins, Brochures, Reports: The text should be simple and non-technical; in the local language where possible and relevant to the reader. Provide clear instruction on how to get more information. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct Can impart detailed information Cost-effective A permanent record communication | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demands specialist skills and resources |
| <i>Displays and Exhibits</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Often used both to inform and to collect comments. Should be located where the target audience gathers or passes regularly. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May reach previously unknown parties. Minimal demands on the public | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Costs of preparation and staffing. Insufficient without supporting techniques |
| <i>Print Media:</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Newspapers, Press Releases, Press Conferences: Can disseminate a large amount and wide variety of information. Identify newspapers likely to be interested in the project and to reach the target audience. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offers both national and local coverage, Can reach most literate adults. Can provide detailed information | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loss of control of presentation Media relationships are demanding Excludes illiterates and the poor |
| <i>Electronic Media</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Television, Radio and Video: It is necessary to determine the coverage (national or local), the types of viewer, the perceived objectivity, and the type of broadcast offered. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May be considered authoritative Many people have access to radio | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time allocated may be limited Costs can be high |
| <i>Advertising</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Useful for announcing public meetings or other activities. Effectiveness depends on good preparation and targeting. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Retain control of presentation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May engender suspicion |
| <i>Formal Information Sessions :</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targeted Briefing Can be arranged by project sponsor or by request. for a particular community group, firm or industry association etc. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Useful for groups with specific concerns Allow detailed discussion of specific issues. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May raise unrealistic expectations |
| <i>Informal Information Sessions :</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open House, Site Visits, Field Offices: A selected audience can obtain first hand information or interact with project staff. Visits should be supported with more detailed written material or additional briefings or consultations. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides detailed information Useful for comparing alternatives. Immediate and direct Useful when the project is complex Local concerns are communicated to staff May help reach non-resident stakeholders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendance is difficult to predict Limited consensus building value May demand considerable planning Field offices can be costly to operate. Only reach a small group of people. |

Table 3.2 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for determining public opinion on a particular issue, and lists some advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.2 provides a practical example of the application of the innovative thinking sometimes necessary to ensure that all stakeholder groups are represented during a consultation exercise.

Box 3.2*Listening to the Public*

Occidental Petroleum's Experience in Bangladesh

Occidental Petroleum entered into a joint production agreement with the Bangladesh National Oil Corporation to develop gas fields in the north-east of the country. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) provided some of the capital investment and an EA was produced in accordance with IFC guidelines. Several aspects of the local culture demanded an innovative approach to social assessment.

In addition, a physical survey of the environment around the proposed site identified small clusters of dwellings in areas mapped as tea plantations. These were inhabited by a tribal minority group, with ethnic origins in India, who live in closed communities within the tea growing area to provide labour for the landowners. These people had been severely disturbed by noise and light from previous gas well testing, which had occurred without warning in the middle of the night. Their main requirement - easily accommodated by the developer - was to be warned of testing in advance and for testing to be restricted to daylight hours. Oxy also made provision for people from the communities to be hired as casual labour and to be able to "recycle" some of the detritus created during site clearance.

Table 3.2 Listening to the Public

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|---|---|---|
| Survey Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews, Formal Surveys, Polls and Questionnaires: These rapidly show who is interested and why. • May be structured (using a fixed questionnaire) or non-structured • Experienced interviewers or surveyors familiar with the project should be used • Pre-test the questions. • Open-ended questions are best. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shows how groups want to be involved. • Allows direct communication with the public • Helps access the views of the majority • Less vulnerable to the influence of vocal groups • Identify concerns linked to social grouping Statistically representative results • Can reach people who are not in organised groups. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor interviewing is counter-productive • High cost • Require specialists to deliver and analyse Trade-off between openness and statistical validity |
| Small Meetings: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Seminars, Focus Groups: A formal information exchange between the sponsor and the public. Might consist of randomly selected individuals or target group members. Experts may be invited to serve as a resource. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allows detailed and focused discussion. • Can exchange information and debate • Rapid, low-cost monitor of public mood • A way to reach marginal groups. • Useful for medium-sized audiences. • Allow immediate response and feedback • Acquaint different interest groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex to organise and run. • Can be diverted by special interest groups Not objective or statistically valid • May be unduly influenced by moderators • Not suitable for detailed discussions • Not good for building consensus. • Can be diverted by special interest groups • Attendance is difficult to predict. |
| Large Meetings : | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Meetings: These allow the public to respond directly to formal presentations by project sponsors. Effective meetings need a strong chairman, a clear agenda, and good presenters or resource people. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impart specialised technical information • Promote data sharing and compromise • Resolve technical issues. • Promote data sharing and compromise. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time and effort needed to prepare • Cost, if experts are hired |
| Conferences | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical experts and representatives of interest groups may be brought together | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilise difficult to reach groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential conflicts between employers and clients • Time needed to get feedback. |
| Community Organisers/ Advocates | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These work closely with a selected group to facilitate informal contacts, visit homes or work places, or simply be available to the general public. | | |

Table 3.3 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for involving the public in making environmental decisions and lists some advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.3 provides a practical example of the use of a mediator during a particularly controversial and high profile project.

Box 3.3***Involving the Public in Decision Making***

The government of Lao PDR requested financial support from the World Bank Group for the Nam Theun 2 hydroelectric project. The main features of the project are a dam on the Nam Theun river, a reservoir, a powerhouse, and transmission lines. The project will have substantial social and environmental impacts, including the relocation of 4,500 people and the inundation of over 400 km² of the Nakai Plateau, 30% of which is forested and home to several important species.

Because of the magnitude of both the environmental and social impacts, public consultation took place at the local, regional and national level. Due to the international profile of this project, an unusually high percentage of the budget was allocated toward national and international consultation. At a certain point in the project design process, environmental NGOs, the government and the private developer could not come to agreement on how to address some of the most sensitive issues. Consultative meetings between the groups were unproductive and sometimes confrontational.

In the face of this seeming impasse and the need to come to decisions that every party could live with and stand behind, the parties agreed that the most productive way forward was to hire an independent moderator to facilitate the discussions. A skilled moderator was hired and was able to keep subsequent discussions focused and to lead participants through brainstorming exercises that identified a range of options for action. The moderator was also able to frame the interests of different stakeholder groups so that each group could see room for potential agreement, and areas where mutual compromise would lead to an outcome that was better than continued confrontation. Based on this series of discussions, an agreement on a plan of action and mitigation was reached.

Table 3.3 Involving The Public In Decision Making

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Advisory Groups: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task Forces: Set up task groups to focus on a single technical issue. Define the limits of the group's authority and lifetime, ensure that all interests are represented and that contact with the public being represented is maintained. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cope with highly technical problems • Help prioritise and reach consensus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rarely represent all interested parties • May replace wider consultations • Often focus too much on procedures |
| Problem Solving Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming: Designed to enhance creativity and generate ideas quickly. Selection of the facilitator and participants is critical. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps groups break out of the obvious • Provides insights for decision making | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to include a full range of views • May yield too many ideas to evaluate. |
| Consensus Building Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unassisted Negotiations, Mediation: Voluntary processes in which representatives of affected organisations make decisions by consensus later to be ratified by parent organisations. Parties either agree decision making procedures at the beginning or use an experienced mediator | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A forum for jointly identifying solutions • Puts responsibility on the disputants Identify common ground. • Robust agreements with broad support • Quick resolution of contentious issues | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not all parties will participate • Parties may drop out before the end. • Require good faith • May take too long. • Highly skilled mediators are scarce |
| Arbitration | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A process in which conflicting parties seek a solution through an impartial mediator. It can be binding, by prior agreement, or all sides may reserve judgement until the outcome. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impartiality from an uninvolved party. • difficult to oppose the arbitrator's recommendation. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All parties must stand to gain • Difficult to identify an acceptable neutral |

4.1 THE NEED FOR MONITORING

The theoretical benefits of consultation are well understood, but as described in Section 1, these have been elusive in many Bank projects even though compliance with OD4.01 has been achieved. Monitoring and evaluating plans through implementation can provide valuable lessons for future projects as well as demonstrate to stakeholders the value of their investment of time and resources. In addition, the very existence of systematic monitoring can act as an enforcement mechanism and incentive for developers to fulfil during project implementation the commitments made during project preparation.

4.2 THE USE OF A LOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Experience has shown in a variety of contexts that monitoring compliance with a complex set of procedures requires the use of objectively measurable indicators¹. To be useful, there must be a means of verifying or measuring the indicators and this can be achieved by a logical framework which helps make connections between objectives, outputs, activities and indicators.

Monitoring and evaluation of public consultation in the context of environmental assessment most usefully takes place at several levels:

- Monitoring Implementation Of The Plan
- Monitoring The Efficiency With Which The Plan Is Implemented
- Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Plan and Its Activities
- Evaluating the Impact of the Plan on the Project.

Responsibility for each level should have been determined during the planning of consultation, may differ at each stage, and may include the project proponents or their EA consultants, NGOs, government agencies, and funding agency staff.

Monitoring Implementation Of The Plan

Key questions to consider include:

- Were the activities performed in a timely manner?
- Were the activities performed within the agreed budget?
- Were the funds distributed efficiently?
- Were the resources (time and money) that were expended commensurate with the results?

(1) Where indicators are defined as quantitative or qualitative variables which can be measured or described and which, when observed periodically, demonstrate changes on a scale roughly proportionate to changes in the variable under study.

Monitoring The Efficiency With Which The Plan Is Implemented

Evaluation, which is based on monitoring, tells managers whether they are moving toward or away from project goals, and why. Evaluation essentially involves answering two questions:

- has the activity met its objective (from the viewpoint of different stakeholders)?
- what accounts for its level of performance?

Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Plan and Its Activities

The effectiveness of the public consultation activities in achieving the output should be evaluated. This will help in modifying activities as needed in order to achieve the desired results. Key questions to consider include:

- Were the intended outputs achieved? (i.e. were stakeholders able to acquire the information they needed to participate meaningfully? Were stakeholder given the opportunity to have their views heard? Did stakeholders have a realistic opportunity to influence the design and implementation of the project?)
- Were all the stakeholder groups involved? How many people were involved?
- Was the phasing of activities appropriate to achieve the intended results?
- Did consultation occur sufficiently early in the process to influence key decisions?
- What were stakeholders' perceptions of the process? Was it fair?

Evaluating the Impact of the Plan on the Project.

Finally, whether the public consultation plan did indeed improve decision making and improve project performance also needs to be carefully evaluated. This will help identify lessons to apply in the design of future consultation plans. Specifically, the following questions should be considered:

- Has the consultation exercise positively influenced the design and implementation of the overall project?
- If so, how and to what extent has it contributed to improved sustainability?
- Were the activities of other actors (government, other donors, etc.) influenced?

The public's right to be informed of and comment upon developments that have a direct impact on their lives is a basic right in a democratic society, and is fundamental to the Bank's development objectives. The value of public consultation in the EA of large development projects goes far beyond this, however, to include improving project design, facilitating implementation and, ultimately, assuring sustainability. Investment in consultation may therefore pay for itself many times over in terms of efficiency and material, project benefits.

To have the greatest chance of success, consultation needs to be fully integrated into an EA and begin at an early stage, while critical project design decisions are still amenable to change. Strategic planning should determine if whether there are barriers to effective consultation and identify approaches to overcome them. A plan should be prepared of a process for exchanging information with stakeholders at critical points throughout the project. A set of tools should be selected that are appropriate to the project setting, the nature of the stakeholders and the purpose of the interaction. Finally, the implementation of the plan should be monitored and the outcome evaluated.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

May 18
Monday
12:30
Legen

DATE: May 7, 1998

TO: The Distribution List

FROM: *SHD* *NRW*
Shelton H. Davis and Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza, SDV

EXTENSION: 33413 and 36325

SUBJECT: **A Sourcebook Update: Public Consultation in EA: A Strategic Approach**

As part of the Norwegian Trust Fund-sponsored initiative on public involvement in environmental decisionmaking, a draft EA Sourcebook Update on public consultations in the EA process has been produced by Environmental Resources Management (ERM), a private consulting firm in Washington, DC. The Sourcebook Update is designed to assist task team leaders and EA preparers to strategically plan for public consultations in the EA process. The Update will replace Sourcebook Update No. 5, October 1993 on Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues. We would appreciate receiving any comments you might have on the draft by c.o.b. Wednesday, May 20, 1998.

Attachment

Distribution: (see attached list)

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cc and cleared with: Mr. C. P. Rees, ENV

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PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS IN ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENTS: A REVIEW OF RECENT BANK EXPERIENCE

by
Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza

I. Introduction

1. The Social Development Department (SDV) recently carried out a review of public consultations in the EA process on Bank-financed Category A projects, FY 1995/96. Earlier Reviews on Environmental Assessments (EA) consultations had concluded that public consultations were still weak. The main objectives of the present Review were (i) to examine the Bank's current practice on public consultations in the EAs and assess whether any progress had been made; and, (ii) to identify obstacles and provide practical solutions for improving the consultative process as part of a larger effort to improve the quality of the EAs and incorporate participation in projects.

2. The three main findings of the review are first, there is a slight improvement in the number of EAs with public consultations; second, only in a few projects did public consultations influence project design; and third, where public consultations on the EAs were carried out on projects with resettlement, the consultations on environmental impacts were either non-existent or were more on the resettlement than on the environmental impacts. The low levels of consultations were a result of factors outside and within the Bank. Outside the Bank, highly centralized governments and the cultural biases and views of Project-Affected Persons (PAPs) towards consultation and participation influenced the levels and quality of the consultations. Within the Bank, lack of strategic planning for consultations and the views and commitment of Task Team Leaders (TTLs) to consultations and participation determined the extent to which consultations took place.

3. The Review makes a number of procedural and substantive recommendations based on the EAs with good consultations as well as suggestions from TTLs. Of the recommendations delineated in section III, the need for strategic planning for consultations is the most important. One of the outputs of this Review which responds to planning for consultation is an *EA Sourcebook Update* which outlines how EA Consultation Plans can be developed and implemented.¹ Strategic planning for public consultation also entails budgeting for the consultations as part of the EA and projects costs, developing concise TORs and recruiting professionals with participation skills.

¹ For a detailed discussion of preparation and execution of good public consultation plans in the EA process, see *EA Sourcebook Update* (upcoming). Washington, DC, World Bank, July 1998.

4. In order to encourage TTLs to ensure that the borrower conducts the consultations, the Bank should provide them with incentives. Likewise, in order to change the attitudes of the government officials towards consultations, the value added by EA consultations should be conveyed to them through various mechanisms including training. In this regard, they will begin to perceive EA consultations as an effective planning tool and not solely as a World Bank requirement.

5. Section I of the Report provides an introduction to the Review, Scope and Methodology, Section II the findings which include both lessons learned from the good EAs and overall constraints to consultations, Section III, the Recommendations and Section IV the Conclusions.

A. Background

6. Public consultations in the Environmental Assessment (EA) process are designed to ensure that the knowledge, views and preferences of affected groups, NGOs, and other interested parties are taken into account in environmental decision-making. The underlying objectives are rooted in the increasing number of delayed and failed projects because of misunderstandings with the public as well as the increasing demand of local communities and NGOs to participate in development projects.² In a growing number of countries, consultations during the EA process are required by law.³

7. The Bank's Operational Directive on Environmental Assessment (OD 4.01 to be released as OP 4.01) requires the Borrower or EA preparer to conduct public consultations as part of the EA for Bank-financed projects which may pose significant impacts on the environment. These projects are classified as Category A and B. The former requires a detailed EA with an Environment Management Plan (EMP) and the latter calls for an environmental analysis.

8. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" including NGOs be taken "fully into account in such assessments." The views of the affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process which occurs at two stages during project preparation:

- a) after the assigning of the EA category during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR); and,
- b) after a draft EA has been prepared.

² Richard Roberts. Public Involvement: From Consultation to Participation. Environment and Social Impact Assessment, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Chester, NY 1995, pg. 225.

³ Examples include Albania, Brazil, Bangladesh, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Mexico and Thailand.

9. A number of studies to assess public consultation and participation in the EA process in Bank-financed projects have been carried out in the Africa, Latin America & Caribbean, and Asia (East and South) Regions of the Bank.⁴ The Bank's Second EA Review also assessed the EAs on a Bank-wide level. It was the main finding of all the Reviews that public participation/consultations in the EA process were improving. They based their findings on project success in promoting some degree of public consultations/participation as well as improvements in project designs which resulted from participation and consultative processes.

10. Nevertheless, the Second EA Review, which followed these earlier reviews, found that "many EAs were still characterized by ... weak public consultations." It also pointed out that despite the recent improvements in the consultative process, women and the poor were still to a large extent excluded from the consultative process. Therefore much more progress was required to "fully implement the letter and spirit of OD 4.01."⁵ With the exception of a few cases, the East and South Asia Review pointed out that public consultation had not resulted in project alterations.

B. Scope and Methodology of SDV Review

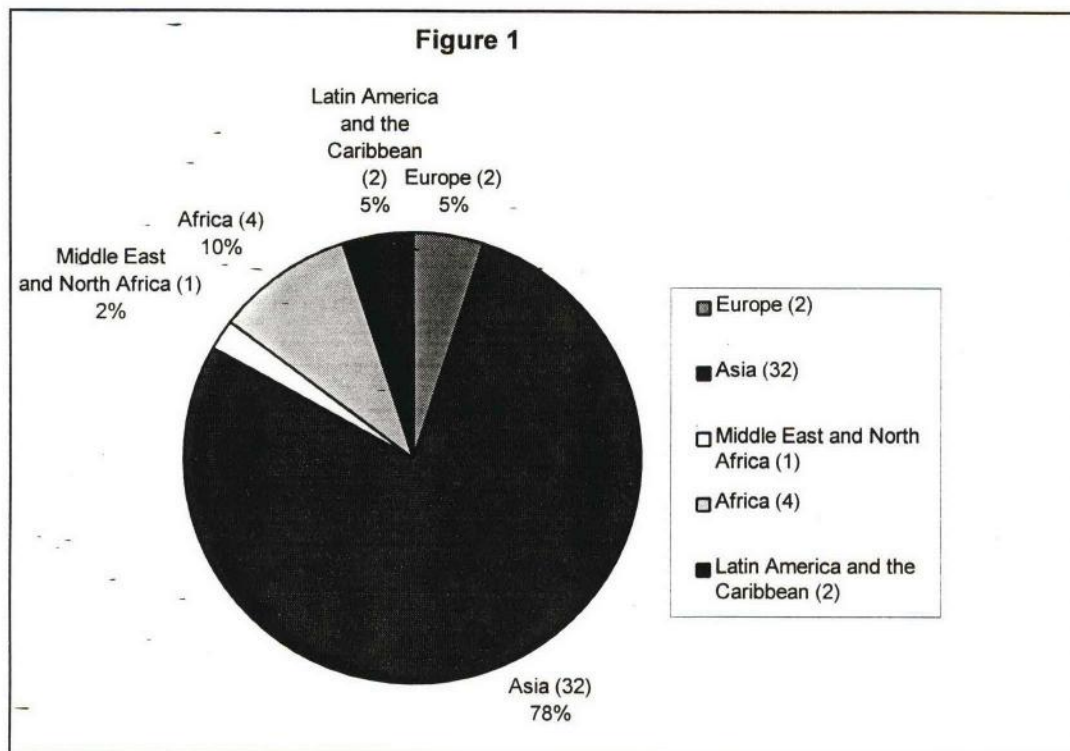
11. This review covers the post-July 1995 EAs (FY 1996), as well as EAs in FY (1995) listed in the former Environment Land and Water Division (ENVLW) data base. Earlier studies which analyzed public consultations and participation in the EA process covered the period between October 1989 and July 1995. EAs in FY 1995 are included in this Review because the Second EA Review which analyzed them looked at the EA process in its entirety and did not pay specific attention to public consultations as such. EAs of projects which were funded by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) are excluded from the study because of earlier comprehensive reviews of public consultations

⁴ Shelton H. Davis and Tosca van Vijfeijken. *Public Consultations in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia*. Dissemination Note No. 53. Washington, DC, World Bank: April 1995. William L. Partridge. *People's Participation in Environmental Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices*, LATEN Dissemination Note No. 11. Washington, DC World Bank: November 1994. Consultation has to be distinguished from participation which in addition to consultation involves informing and involvement of the public in planning environmental management and other decision making activities (Brian D. Clark., *Improving Public Participation in EIAs, Built Environment*, Vol. 20 No. 1994, pg. 295). On the other hand, consultation is a two way communication process by which the views and knowledge of affected people and private sector are taken into account in development decision-making. Participation, which is not a formal Bank requirement except in cases involving indigenous peoples and resettlement, creates ownership in those engaged in the process and is an integral element of the sustainability of projects.

See Robert Goodland, Jean Roger Mercier, Shimwaayi Muntemba. *Environmental Assessments in Africa. A World Bank Commitment*. Washington, DC, World Bank: June 25, 1995

⁵ World Bank, *The Impact of Environmental Assessment: The World Bank's Experience, Second Environmental Assessment Review 1996*, Washington, DC, November 1996.

in GEF financed projects.⁶ As illustrated in Figure 1, there are 41 EAs in the Review of which 32 are from Asia (22 from East Asia and Pacific and 10 from South Asia) 2 Latin America and the Caribbean, 4 Sub-Saharan Africa, 2 Europe and Central Asia and 1 from the Middle East and North Africa. Two of the EAs are missing and in the case of two projects, only EA summaries and Staff Appraisal Reports were reviewed (For details see Annex A).⁷



12. The study was primarily a desk review of Category EAs for Category A projects prepared in FY 1995/96 and was supplemented with interviews with some Task Team Leaders (TTLs) and or other Bank Staff who were involved in the participation/consultation component of the project. The Review also includes findings of previous studies by the World Bank on participation and consultation in the EA process. A

⁶ Katrina Brandon, A Review of Consultation and Participation in GEF Projects, 1993 (Internal GEF Background to Report); and,

Maria Aycrigg, A Review of Participation in the World Bank's GEF Portfolio, Dissemination Notes No. 52, Washington, DC, World Bank: 1997.

⁷ The Review did not make a distinction between Sectoral and project specific EAs. However, it was cognizant of the EA Sourcebook October 1993 observation that sectoral EAs cover an entire national or sub-national context before investment decisions are made. It is therefore not always possible to consult representatives of all potentially affected people. Sectoral EAs offer an excellent opportunity for identifying various stakeholders at different levels including those who will be involved at a project specific EA.

summary of findings on each EA was sent to TTLs to confirm the findings of the Review and their suggestions were incorporated in the final report. Because of the disparity in numbers of EAs according to the regions, no regional comparison were carried out in the Review.

13. The Review is cognizant of the fact that the level of consultations on Strategic EAs, Sectoral EAs as well as project specific EAs varies. Public consultations on the strategic EAs are normally not required and necessary because the consultations are expected to take place in the EAs of the sub-projects. Likewise, in Sectoral EAs, it is not always possible to consult representatives of all potentially affected people because Sectoral EAs cover an entire national or sub-national context before investment decisions are made.⁸ On the other hand, consultations with the local NGOs and affected groups on the project specific EAs are necessary.

C. Criteria for Evaluating Public Consultations

14. The evaluation criteria in this Review were based on the OD requirements. The OD requires that “affected groups and local NGOs” be consulted by project proponents or EA preparers at the scoping phase of the EA and after preparation of draft TORs. Prior to the consultations, the “local NGOs and affected groups” should receive information in a “timely manner.” At the scoping or preparation of draft TORs stage, the information should consist of a description of the project and after preparation of the draft EA, a summary of the conclusions. The OD further requires that the views of the affected groups and local NGOs should be “fully taken into account.” Good practice dictates that consultation be carried out throughout the project cycle. Therefore, consultations should also be carried out on the final EA, Environment Management Plan (EMP) and any other studies pertinent to the project.

15. Although not part of the OD requirements, other factors which improve consultations include: (a) early planning by developing a consultation plan with appropriate communication strategies for the various stakeholders; (b) conducting a social analysis (SA) to identify stakeholders and issues pertinent to project; and, (c) linking the findings of the SA to the consultation plan.⁹

16. In analyzing consultations, the EAs were considered to have exceeded the OD requirements if they met both the OD requirements and complied with other factors outlined in the Review Framework in Annex 1. The EAs were categorized as meeting the OD requirements if the consultations complied with the OD or falling short of the OD requirements, if they only partially conformed to the OD or did not meet the OD requirements on consultations at all.

⁸ EA Sourcebook October 1993

⁹ The earlier EA Reviews and Second Environment Assessment Review (1995) found that poor documentation was one of the weakest aspects of the EA process.

D. Review Findings

17. The key findings relate to the number of EAs with consultations, the extent to which consultations influenced project design and the level of consultations on EA issues when the project involved resettlement. Other pertinent findings relate to the extent to which EAs had strategically planned for consultations and lessons learned from the EAs, the role of national legal frameworks on consultations and constraints to successful consultations.

II. Findings

A. Key Findings

(i) Slight increase in number of EAs with consultations

18. It was the overall finding of the Review that consultations had increased from the average 50 percent reported in the earlier EA Reviews to 54 percent. Out of 39 EAs, 21 conducted public consultations. Out of the 18 EAs which did not carry out consultations, 2 were strategic EAs that laid out plans for consultations at the sub-project level.¹⁰ Despite the modest improvement in the number of consultations, consultations were still non-existent in 16 projects.

19. The OD requires that consultations be carried out at the scoping and draft EA phase. It is also prudent to carry out consultations on the Environment Management Plan (EMP) and final EA phase. However, out of the 21 EAs, 16 carried out consultations at the scoping phase and 15 at the draft EA phase. Only 7 carried out consultations at the final EA phase. The EMP consists of both the mitigation and monitoring plans, most consultations were carried out on the mitigatory issues and not the monitoring plans. Consultations on the monitoring plans were mainly carried out with the technical experts from academic and research institutes and not the affected groups and local NGOs.

(ii) Limited number of EAs which influenced project design

20. The OD requires that the views of affected groups and local NGOs be “taken fully into account.” The Review found that in a limited number of EAs, the views of the affected groups were integrated into project design in order to mitigate the potentially adverse environmental impacts and to minimize resettlement. Examples where this occurred are noted in Box 1.

¹⁰ Sri-Lanka Private Infrastructure Development Project and India, ILFS-Infrastructure Leasing Project.

Box 1. Consultations and Influence on Project Design

India: Bombay Sewage Disposal Project -- Consultations revealed fishing communities concerns on the impact of the marine outfalls on fish yields. A comprehensive awareness program on the need for project, technical and social issues and environmental benefits was recommended.

India: Second Madras Water Project -- Consultations led to the development of rules to protect irrigation rights of farmers.

China: Ertan Hydro II -- Changes were made to abandon one site on the basis of the consultations.

China: Shaanxi Highway Project -- Design and engineering plans were modified to add more passage over line bridges and relief roads to reduce resettlement in response to concerns raised during public consultations.

China: Zheijang Power Development -- Electricity transmission line route modified on basis of consultations.

Pakistan: Ghazi Barotha Hydro-Power Project -- Through a series of scoping sessions with local people, government and public representatives, large volumes of spoil from the power channel were disposed of as irrigated spoil on banks which was economical.

(iii) Lack of or minimal consultations on environmental impacts in projects with resettlement

21. The Second EA Review found that consultations in projects were strongest when linked to involuntary resettlement. A close scrutiny of the consultations indicates that the quality of the consultations was significantly better on the resettlement than on the environmental issues.

22. In the few cases in which the EAs with resettlement focused on environmental issues, the questions or survey forms had a general statement asking what the people's views on possible environmental impacts in the project area were. This is in marked contrast to the questions concerning resettlement which were well directed and quite specific. Consequently, most of the discussions focused on compensation and alternative site selection and not the environmental impacts of the proposed projects. One TTL indicated the preference is to limit the consultations on the environmental issues to the professionals and the social issues to the public. Another TTL explained that the resettlement issues were accorded more attention than the environmental issues because the Resettlement Action Plan is like a contract and becomes part of the legal documents. He also explained that people who are about to be relocated are less concerned about the ecological and environmental impacts of the project.

(iv) *Minimal strategic planning for consultations*

23. Among the numerous benefits of strategically planning the consultations are proper identification of stakeholders and employing the appropriate communication strategies to disseminate the information. The lack of a defined strategy for consultations in most EAs undermined initiatives to breakdown stakeholders into distinct social categories such as women, youth, poor and other disadvantaged groups. The various categories of the stakeholders could have led to employing different communication strategies and public involvement techniques in order to promote more effective consultations.

24. In the EAs where information was disseminated to stakeholders, the methods for disseminating the information included public announcements in newspapers, exhibition of reports at designated centers, distribution of consultation forms, TV and radios. However, what is lacking in the EA reports is information on lifestyles of the stakeholders to justify use of the selected communication strategies. These standard communication techniques and the media need to be tailored to particular audiences, language skills and cultural traditions.¹¹

B. *Lessons Learned from the EAs with Good Consultations*

25. Out of the 16 EAs which planned the consultations, only 4 offered innovative approaches to planning the consultations. They were the Albania Forestry, Yunan (China) Environment, India Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services (ILFS) and Pakistan, Ghazi Barotha projects. These projects outlined the objectives of the consultations, laid out methods and techniques for their implementation and systematically identified the stakeholders. They emphasized that the views and perceptions of the marginalized groups had to be an integral part of the outcome of the process and would be one of the evaluative criteria.

(i) *India: ILFS*

26. The India ILFS EAs developed a plan that integrated the Bank's EA requirements and social assessment (SA). The plan requires a multi-disciplinary team, development of TORs for social assessment, public opinion surveys and consensus on the scope of the SA. The TORs for the SA required the identification of stakeholders who included project beneficiaries, directly and indirectly affected persons including the special needs of marginalized and vulnerable groups. It also outlines the different methods for public involvement and various communication strategies for implementing the consultations. A number of sub-projects have been funded by the ILFS and complied with these

¹¹ Shelton Davis, *Public Involvement in Environmental Decision-Making: The Experience of the World Bank*. Paper presented at the OECD/DAC Workshop on Capacity Development in Environment. Rome Italy, 4-6 December, 1996.

requirements.¹² This strategic planning prior to conducting the EA on each specific project is an innovative way of planning for the EA process and public consultations.

(ii) *Albania: Forestry Project*

27. The Albania Forestry project also had a multi-disciplinary team of experts including a social and legal expert. They identified stakeholders and the issues posed by participation which had to be addressed in the plan. In terms of social analysis, the EA stressed that it was important to establish whether the villagers would be able to articulate their concerns to strangers, and whether individual and collective action and social cohesion existed among the consulted. The TORs required that the final EA reflect the comments from the public. As a result, a stakeholder review workshop was held on the final EA.

28. The success of the Albania Forestry project can be traced to its community based pilot which has been successful at the implementation phase of the project.

(iii) *China Yunan Environment Project*

29. The China Yunan Environment project espoused the same principles and methodologies which were reflected in ILFS and Albania. The Yunan project recruited a multi-disciplinary team and used a good stakeholder analysis. Stakeholders included specialist stakeholders that addressed more complex issues. In the Yunan Environment Project, some consultations were carried out with affected groups even though the Government of China preferred consultations to be carried out with local authorities and other representative organizations.¹³ This EA also documented the surveys, responses, analysis and key results of the consultations and therefore serves as a good example on the documentation of the consultative process.

(iv) *Pakistan: Ghazi Barotha Project*

30. Lastly, the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha project reflected the same type of strategic planning. Through a focused census and use of an integrated team of professionals, including social scientists, the project determined the actual number of affected groups, their social-economic status and patterns of impact. A female sociologist who was

¹² Delhi-Noida, Vadodra-Halol and Ahmedabab-Messana road projects as well Tiruppur Water Management and Devas Water Supply projects.

¹³ See Circular on Strengthening Environmental Impact Assessment Management For Construction Projects Financed by International Financial Organizations, June 21, 1993, (People's Republic of China) which provides that in projects financed by international organizations, public consultations should be carried out with representatives of local People's Congress, local political consultative groups, local mass organizations/academic groups or other public representatives in the areas. The circular further provides that it is these entities which will have the responsibility for collecting the information from the affected groups.

conversant with the culture and social issues was hired to foster the participation of women because they were not participating fully in the consultative process as a result of the cultural constraints. However, women in the project area were not fully involved in the formal public consultation process because of cultural constraints. All in all, these projects emphasized the methods, organization and key results of the consultations as integral to the consultative process.

C. Other Findings

(i) A need for a thorough documentation of the consultative process

31. The Operation Evaluation Department (OED) study on EAs and NEAPs, and the Second EA Review found that poor documentation of the consultative process was one of the weakest aspects of the EA process. This Review confirms this finding. As a result of the poor documentation of the consultative process in the EA process, relevant information had to be obtained from project files or through interviews with Bank staff and in some cases the consultants who conducted the consultations. Occasionally, the annexes contained the list of participants, questions and responses but the reports lacked a meaningful analysis of the discussions or consultations.

32. The EAs which clearly documented the consultative process had good descriptions of country legal requirements and how they related to the public consultation process; information on the consultation plan in which a broad range of stakeholders were identified; the type of information disseminated; and, where translation of information into the local languages was necessary. Also included in the EA reports were copies of notices for the meetings/consultations, lists of participants and dates of attendance, the questionnaires and survey forms, responses and analyses. Documentation of the consultative process should take into consideration the political and cultural context in which the EAs are conducted. In some cases, ensuring the anonymity of the respondents may be essential.¹⁴

(ii) Poor or lack of reporting on statutory frameworks for public consultations

33. The existence of a statutory framework in a country is one of the indicators of a government's normative commitment to participation and consultation. The OD requires that information on country legal requirements on the EA process be documented in the EA report. Out of 39 EAs, 16 had EA laws that specifically required public consultations in the EA process. Two of the EA reports carried out in the same country by two different consultants provided inconsistent information on country legal requirements on public

¹⁴ Shelton Davis and Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza, "Meaningful Consultation: Some Reflections on OD 4.01 on Environmental Assessments." (Draft Dissemination Note to be released May 1998).

consultations.¹⁵ In the rest of the EAs, the information was either incomplete or inadequate. Hence laws were listed or summarized without a discussion of the relevant provisions and how they related to consultations or the EA process as a whole.¹⁶

D. Constraints to the Consultative Process

34. Constraints to the consultative process are due to factors both within and outside the Bank. Outside the Bank, constraints to consultations were demonstrated in a number of projects. In the China Zhejiang Power project, PAPs refused to participate in the consultations because they were not accustomed to being consulted and were also of the view that their perceptions on the project were irrelevant since decisions on the project had already been made by government. In the China Yangtze Basin Water project, many of the respondents were uneducated and the majority did not want to be included in the survey for consultation. The Sri Lanka Solid Waste Project experienced similar constraints.

35. Within the Bank, TTLs pointed out that consultations were the responsibility of the borrower and usually time and money were not included in the project budget. TTLs commended the good consultations in projects like the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha and Laos Nam Theun II projects; they pointed out that these were costly and the initiatives could not be replicated in their own work. It was not possible to get information from the TTLs on the costs of the EAs and the consultation components. Since EA Review teams within the Bank receive the EA for clearance after the public consultations are completed, at this point, it is usually too late to take corrective measures.

III. Recommendations

36. Previous EA reviews recommended that the value added by consultations needed to be documented. Their recommendations on improving participation and consultations in the EA process included conducting social assessments; developing precise TORs; ensuring a proper mix of professionals, including local social scientists; and proper identification of all stakeholders. This review subscribes to these recommendations.

37. Clearly, some of the factors which were recommended by previous EA Reviews are reflected in the EAs with the best consultations. These factors are both procedural and substantive and are the main recommendations of the study. They are recommended for projects which did not comply with the OD requirements, as well as for those which just met the OD requirements and need to improve the quality of the consultations.

¹⁵ Primary sources of law should be reviewed. The Review relied on the EA Reports which are secondary sources of information and may sometimes not accurately reflect the country legal requirements on public consultations.

¹⁶ The Latin America EA Review found that there was no link between the legal framework on public consultations and the quality of consultations. The Review attributed the quality of the consultations to the determination of the Task Managers.

A. Procedural

- (i) *Recruit multidisciplinary teams to address social and environmental issues*

38. Although information on the professional mix of consultants preparing EAs was not available in all reports, the EAs with the good consultation strategies had teams of environmental scientists, local social scientists, resettlement and participation specialists as well as legal experts. As a result, they developed good consultation plans with information on the relevant country legal requirements; selected appropriate communication strategies; identified relevant stakeholders; and, elicited information which is reflected in the EAs. In the Pakistan Ghazi Barotha project, the involvement of a local female sociologist fostered the effective involvement of women. The remarkable amount of planning which went into selecting the professionals was reflected in the good consultation strategies.

- (ii) *Prepare detailed terms of reference*

39. TORs were not available in all the EAs; however, the TORs in the good EAs were detailed enough to apprise consultants of the Bank's EA requirements and offer concrete steps on what is required to comply with the OD. For example, the TOR for the India Second Madras Water Project required consultants to conduct reconnaissance visits, assemble information on the customs, aspirations and attitudes of the different socio-economic groups. Hence, the TORs need to be detailed and require the consultants to develop consultation strategies/plans and the tools and techniques for their implementation. TORs should also require that information in social analysis be incorporated in the EA design and criteria for assessing effectiveness of the consultations be developed by consultants. Examples of good TORs on consultations in the EA process should be posted on the EA knowledge node.

- (iii) *Develop and promote execution of a strategic consultation plan*

40. An effective consultation strategy not only lays out a plan for effective consultations, but provides an evaluative framework against which the quality of the consultations can be assessed. It takes into consideration the variations in culture, language and literacy levels among the various stakeholders. In some countries, a review of documents by ordinary persons is not typical. Hence, different communication processes may be necessary to ensure that information is received and understood by the targeted stakeholders. The project information and a summary of the conclusions which are provided to the PAPs may sometimes have to be translated into local languages and be visual or oral depending on the literacy levels.¹⁷

¹⁷ The new OP replacing OD 4.01 requires that information be in a form that can be understood by illiterate members of the affected groups.

(iv) *Early Review of EA Consultation Plans/Strategies*

41. Since EAs are reviewed in the Bank after consultations are already completed, it is imperative to plan consultations at the earliest opportunity in project preparation and seek guidance from the EA Review Team.

(v) *Document the consultative process*

42. Documentation of the design and execution of the consultative process is apparent in the good EAs. In these EAs, locations and dates of meetings and descriptions of affected persons are described in the reports. Prior to signing off on the EAs, Bank staff should review the information; and, where lacking, require EA preparers to provide information on the consultations.

B. Substantive

(i) *Provide incentives to TTLs*

43. The second EA review pointed out that some TTLs view consultation as a hurdle. In the present review, interviews with TTLs on projects which prepared and executed good consultation strategies demonstrated TTLs appreciation of the benefits of consultation. They emphasized that early consultation saves time and minimizes costs. They also pointed out that conducting consultations is prudent business practice. These findings are, to a large extent, similar to those in the International Finance Corporation (IFC) Review on EA consultations and public disclosures. The IFC Review found that the Project Sponsor's appreciation of the benefits of consultations and disclosure influence the level of commitment, time and resources allocated to the process.¹⁸ A change in attitude may have to be fostered through incentives that reward good consultations in the EAs or more accountability for lack of or for poor consultations. These measures would also improve the documentation of the consultative process.

(ii) *Promote government and local leadership commitment to participation by disseminating good practice*

44. In projects with institutional constraints, consultations were carried out because of the commitment of government leadership. This varied from sector to sector. The value added by the EAs in the project has to be communicated to the borrower either through training or other mechanisms so that the EA is seen as an effective planning tool and not a Bank requirement. The ENV initiative on EA harmonization could be an entry point in which the message of the value of the EA process is conveyed to government officials.¹⁹

¹⁸ Environment Resource Management, *Review of Public Consultation and Disclosure*, Washington, DC, IFC, The World Bank: October 1997.

¹⁹ Through the EA harmonization seminars, Bank staff and government officials review the country EA requirements against the Bank OD in order to ascertain the differences and similarities to harmonize

(iii) *Link the Resettlement Action Plan and Environment Management Plan*

45. In the EAs with good consultations, consultations on resettlement issues did not preclude a discussion or an inquiry into the environmental factors. As a result, there was a good balance between the consultations on the resettlement and environmental factors. This good balance could partly be attributed to an effective consultation strategy in which questionnaires and survey forms inquired into both the environmental and social impacts of the project. It is therefore recommended that the EA team work closely with resettlement specialists to maximize the opportunity to address environment issues at the same time resettlement issues are being addressed.

(iv) *Disseminate EAs with good practice on consultations*

46. EAs which conducted good consultations should be posted on the EA Knowledge and Participation nodes for Bank-wide use. They should also be used in EA training.

(v) *Provide TTLs with information on statutory requirements*

47. In addition to the OD requirements, TTLs can point to country legal requirements on consultations to encourage the borrower to carry out consultations. Information on the country's requirements has sometimes not been included in EAs. In order to provide TTLs with this information, a compendium of EA laws (both national and international) on public consultation/participation in the EAs should be prepared and disseminated. A supplement to the compendium should be attached to the EA report and be periodically revised to reflect changes in the laws. This information can be kept by the country lawyers who are designated to those countries within the Bank and be accessible to TTLs.

IV. Conclusion

48. From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that lessons emerging from the detailed review of the 39 EAs demonstrates that some progress on consultations in the EA process is taking place. This is illustrated by the increasing number of EAs with consultations and a few innovative EAs which are developing consultation strategies to promote compliance with the Bank's OD requirements. Some of these projects such as the India Infrastructure Lending Financial Project have developed model EA plans which incorporate the Bank's environmental and social requirements. The Albania Forestry project developed a pilot to test the feasibility of its proposed public participation strategy. In countries with institutional constraints which preclude direct consultations with affected groups, progressive leadership in some sectors has enabled a dialogue between the affected groups and government to take place.

them. Kazakhstan, Zimbabwe and Zambia have already been through the process and Uganda will be going through it.

49. Despite these improvements, the quality of consultations on the environmental impacts is still weak. This is demonstrated by the lack of or weak local consultations on the environmental issues in projects which involve resettlement, lack of a strategy to conduct effective consultations, fewer projects in which consultations influence project design and poor documentation of the consultative process. In order to increase and improve the overall quality of consultations in the EA process, the EA has to be seen both by the borrowers and Bank-staff as an integral part of the project. This will in turn promote strategic planning so that consultants with appropriate skills and training are selected for EA preparation, detailed TORs to comply with Bank requirements are developed and development and execution of strategic consultation plans are drawn up to collect the views of those who are “traditionally excluded from the consultative process.”

Review Framework

| Category A Projects | |
|---|---|
| 1. Statutory Framework on Public Consultations | <i>is one of the indicators of a government's normative commitment to participation and consultation and sets the parameters within which consultations occurs. OD 4.01 requires that information on country legal requirements on the EA process be documented in the EA report.</i> |
| 2. Consultation Plan/Strategy | <i>demonstrates that consultations have been systematically designed and is the basis for evaluating the extent to which the consultations meet or exceed the OD and country specific legal requirements. These should include:</i> Social Analysis Identification of Stakeholders* Dissemination of information and Communication Strategies* |
| 3. Good Consultation Practice | <i>Good practice dictates that consultations be carried out throughout the project cycle which includes the scoping, draft EA, final EA and Environment Management Plan (EMP) and supplemental studies.^{a/}</i> Scoping of Issues* Draft EA* Final EA Environment Management Plan Other Studies Pertinent to Project |
| 4. Documentation of Consultative Process | * OD requirements |

^{a/} The Environment Management Plan includes both the Monitoring and Mitigatory Plans.

Selected Projects by Region Included in Review

| Region/Country | | Project | FY | Sector |
|--------------------------------------|-----|--|----|--------------------|
| Africa | | | | |
| Côte d'Ivoire | 1. | Private Electricity | 95 | Energy |
| Ghana | 2. | Highway Sector Investment Program | 96 | Transport |
| Ghana | 3. | Thermal Power Project | 95 | Energy |
| Central African Republic | 4. | Livestock-Development-and Rangeland Management Project | 95 | Agriculture |
| East Asia & Pacific (EA1) | | | | |
| Korea | 5. | Ports-Development and Environment | 95 | Infrastructure |
| | 6. | Waste Disposal Project | 95 | Industry |
| Thailand | 7. | Clean Fuels and EA Quality | 95 | Energy |
| | 8. | Lam Takhong Pump Sto. | 95 | Energy |
| | 9. | Second Gas Transmission* | 95 | Energy |
| | 10. | Highways V | 96 | Transport |
| Vietnam | 11. | Irrigation Rehabilitation | 95 | Agriculture |
| | 12. | Power Sector Rehabilitation | 95 | Energy |
| East Asia and Pacific (EA2) | | | | |
| China | 13. | Inland Waterways | 95 | Transport |
| | 14. | Xinjiang Highway I | 95 | Transport |
| | 15. | Yangtze Basin Water | 95 | Water & Sanitation |
| | 16. | Zhejiang Power Development | 95 | Energy |
| | 17. | Ertan Hydro II | 96 | Energy |
| | 18. | Gansu Hexi Corridor** | 96 | Agriculture |
| | 19. | Henan (Qinb.) Thermal | 96 | Energy |
| | 20. | Hubei Urban Environment Project | 96 | Urban |
| | 21. | Second Shanghai Sewerage | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 22. | Shanghai-Zhejiang Highway | 96 | Transport |
| | 23. | Yunnan Environment | 96 | Environment |
| | 24. | Second Henan Prov. Highway | 96 | Transport |
| | 25. | Second Shaanxi Prov. Highway | 96 | Transport |
| East Asia and Pacific (EA3) | | | | |
| Indonesia | 26. | Strategic Urban RDS I | 96 | Transport |

| Region/Country | | Project | FY | Sector |
|--|-----|---|----|---------------------------|
| South Asia (SA1) | | | | |
| Bangladesh | 27. | Gas Infrastructure | 95 | Del & Ga |
| Pakistan | 28. | Eco-Hub Power* | 95 | Energy |
| | 29. | Ghazi Barotha Hydropower | 96 | Energy |
| Sri Lanka | 30. | Col. Environment Improvement | 95 | Environment |
| | 31. | Private Sector Infrastructure Development | 96 | Infrastructure |
| South Asia (SA2) | | | | |
| India | 32. | Madras Water Supply II | 95 | Water Supply & Sanitation |
| | 33. | Tamil Nadu WRCP | 95 | Irrigation & Drainage |
| | 34. | B Sewage Disposal | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 35. | ILFS-Infrastructure Finance | 96 | Infrastructure |
| | 36. | Orissa WRCP | 96 | Oil & Gas |
| Europe and Central Asia (EC2) | | | | |
| Albania | 37. | Forestry Project | 95 | Agriculture |
| Croatia | 38. | Highway Sector | 95 | Transport |
| Czech Republic | 39. | ODS Phaseout | 95 | ? |
| Middle East and North Africa (MN2) | | | | |
| Lebanon | 40. | Solid Waste/Environment | 95 | ? |
| Latin America and the Caribbean (LAI) | | | | |
| Brazil | 41. | Ceara Urban Development/Cater Co. | 95 | Urban |
| Paraguay | 42. | Asuncion sewerage* | 95 | Water & Sewage |

EAs analyzed in the Review were only those found in the Public Information Center and the Internal Documents Unit as of August 30, 1998.

* Only EA summary/Staff Appraisal Report were reviewed because EA report was unavailable.

** Unavailable/missing and therefore not reviewed.

Public Consultations in Environmental Assessments:

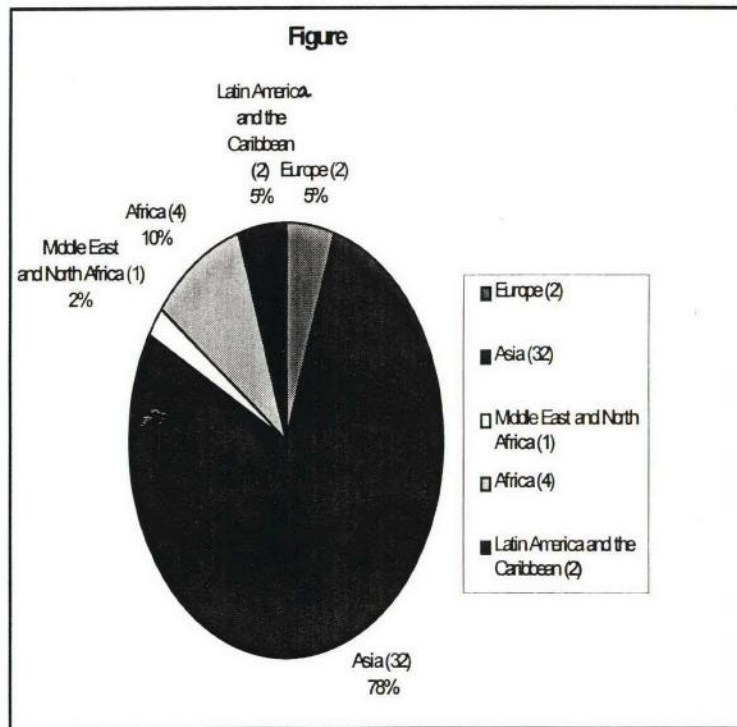
A Review of Recent Bank Experience in Category "A" Projects

- ❖ Introduction**
- ❖ Scope of Review and Main Questions**
- ❖ Findings**
- ❖ Recommendations**

Introduction

- ❖ **OD 4.01 -- Public consultation requirements**
 - ◆ **Who to consult**
 - ◆ **When**
 - ◆ **How**
- ❖ **Earlier EA Reviews on consultations**
 - ◆ **Weak public consultations**

Scope of Present Review and Main Questions



- ❖ Have public consultations improved since the Second EA Review?
- ❖ What are the factors which have fostered or hindered public consultations?
- ❖ What are the recommendations?

Have Public Consultations improved since the Second EA Review?

- ❖ Slight improvement in the level of consultations by the quality is still weak and in some cases non-existent**
- ❖ Few projects stand out with good lessons**

What are the factors which have fostered or hindered Public Consultations

Bank

- ❖ *TTLs attitudes towards consultations*
- ❖ *Lack of strategic planning*

Client Countries

- ❖ *Political factors*
- ❖ *Cultural constraints*

Recommendations

- ❖ **Strategically plan for consultations**
 - ◆ Time and money for consultations to be allocated
 - ◆ Prepare comprehensive TORs
 - ◆ Ensure good professional mix
(develop a consultation plan/strategy)
- ❖ **Provide incentives and accountability measures for TTLs**
- ❖ **Disseminate successful EAs**

"Meaningful Consultation" in Environmental Assessments

Introduction

The Bank's policy on Environmental Assessment (EA) [OD 4.01 to be released as OP 4.01] calls for consulting the public on environmental impacts in Bank-financed projects. The Bank requires borrowers to prepare EAs in those categories of projects with potential significant impact on the environment. These include both category A and B projects. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) be taken "fully into account in such assessments."

The views of the affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process which occurs at two stages during project preparation, after assigning the EA category or during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR); and after a draft EA has been prepared. In order for "meaningful consultation" to occur, the OD requires borrowers to provide "relevant information" to local NGOs and affected groups. This information has to be provided in a timely manner and a form that is meaningful for, and accessible to, the groups being consulted.

At the initial consultation, the information consists of a summary of the proposed project, as well as its potential positive and negative effects of the proposed project. Once the draft EA report is ready, there should be a summary of its conclusion and

a discussion of recommended mitigatory activities and plans.

Despite these general guidelines, the Bank's Second EA Review found that "many EAs are still characterized by ...weak public consultation." Such performance appears to occur irrespective of sectors and has to do with several factors including the lack of adequate national legislative frameworks, open consultative processes, and, expertise on the part of project managers and EA consultants.

The following note is based upon the premise that both Bank and Borrower performance can be significantly improved if there is greater reflection on what is meant by "meaningful consultation." Within the OD, there are several factors which, if adequately considered, could provide guidance to Bank Task Team Leaders, project preparation agencies, private companies and environmental consultants on what minimal standards the Bank expects in the involvement of affected groups and local NGOs in the EA process. Six of these factors are discussed in this note. A checklist is also provided for reviewing and evaluating public consultation plans and processes.

Context of the Consultative Process

First, public consultation, like other aspects of EA, needs to be situated within its policy, legal and administrative con-

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The views expressed in this note are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the World Bank Group.

texts. As a first step toward planning an effective public consultation strategy for an EA, it is vital to understand how public consultation is viewed in the wider society. This should entail some preliminary analysis of the legislative framework, and what it does or not say about the rights of citizens to be consulted in administrative processes, as well as their access to environmental and other types of information. In some countries, an adequate public consultation legislative framework may be lacking, but there may be other cultural or informal ways in which citizens participate in decision-making.

The Bank recognizes that there needs to be particular sensitivity in designing public consultation strategies for projects in countries which lack adequate statutory frameworks and/or where affected groups and NGOs may lack appropriate conditions to express their views. In certain contexts, relevant environmental agencies, public sector and private institutions may need to be strengthened in order to carry out an effective and meaningful consultative program. Such institutional strengthening may be needed to fulfill the objectives of the OD.

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Second, for meaningful and effective consultation to take place it is vital that there be some mechanism for identifying affected groups and interested NGOs. Sometimes, this does not occur because of a lack of guidance as to how affected groups and local NGOs should be identified; narrow definitions of "affected groups" which only include persons who are directly impacted by the project, and limited knowledge of the social and cultural characteristics of the societies in which the EAs are conducted.

In many cases, women and the poor are not consulted and local NGOs are often the only social actors who participate in consultations. Meaningful consultations only occur when the EA reflects

the views of a cross section of the affected groups including those traditionally excluded from the process.

The conducting of Social Assessments is usually necessary to ensure that affected groups and interested NGOs are identified and participate in consultations. The recruitment of appropriate professionals (often within local universities or domestic NGOs) is often necessary to conduct these social assessments. The social assessments should identify all relevant stakeholders as well as highlight potential issues and conflicts to be analyzed in the EA.¹

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Third, under certain circumstances, professional facilitators or persons of high prestige or respect in the community may be necessary to ensure meaningful consultations. The reason for this is because many projects which have significant environmental and social impacts, often have contending interests and values and government officials or private sector institutions may lack the trust of affected groups and local NGOs. In other cases, NGOs themselves may provide biased accounts of how local communities perceive potential impacts. In these situations, dialogue may only be possible where a neutral facilitator serves as an intermediary among the affected groups, local NGOs and the project proponent.

Timing and Implementation of the Consultative Process

Fourth, the stages at which the public consultations are required determine and limit the input of the affected groups into the EA. Bank policy requires that consultations be carried out after the assigning of the EA category and the preparation of the draft EA. By participating in the EA process after assignment of the EA category, the affected groups help define the

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There is no requirement for consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation. However, due to the World Bank's policy on Disclosure of Information, subject to certain limitations, the borrower is required to make the EA report available at some public place accessible to affected groups and local NGOs for their review and comment. This enables affected groups to determine whether their concerns have been incorporated into the final document.

Formal consultations with affected groups after the *final EA preparation* is good practice and enables affected groups to determine whether their concerns have been incorporated in the final EA document or not. Where the affected group's concerns are omitted from the final EA, it is standard practice to discuss the reasons for excluding these concerns. These consultations should be conducted before the final document is deposited in a place where it is accessible to the public.

Information and Communication

Fifth, Bank policy requires that information to the affected groups be provided in "meaningful and accessible fashion" and a "timely manner." The responsibility for ensuring that the information is comprehensible to the affected groups rests with the borrower or EA preparer, who should, if necessary, obtain expertise to translate the information into a form that is comprehensible to the affected groups.

Since affected groups may include the illiterate and those who do not speak the national languages, these groups have to understand the information in order to participate in the EA process. Appropriate communication processes have to be designed and employed in the process, so that information reaches and is understood by affected groups and local NGOs.

The information has also to be received by the affected groups in a "timely" manner. What is a reasonable time may vary across localities depending on the social-cultural context of the project. Local social scientists and NGOs can assist in developing strategies for identifying the appropriate information, methods of dissemination and the time within which it should be distributed.

Documentation of Consultative Process

Lastly, Bank policy requires that the EA report contain a record of consultations with the affected people and local NGOs. The record should specify how stakeholders were identified, information disseminated, and the means other than the consultations (e.g., social surveys, rapid rural appraisals, focus groups etc.) that were used to obtain the views of the affected local groups. The documentation should also indicate how the collected views were analyzed and incorporated in the final EA. Without documentation of the consultative process and/or alternative means of obtaining information, it is difficult to determine whether "meaningful consultation" has been carried out.

Summary

In summary, the Bank requires that at designated stages of the EA cycle, borrowers conduct meaningful consultations with affected groups and local NGOs. The criteria for assessing "meaningful consultation" is based on the borrower's or EA preparer's capacity to identify the "affected groups" and obtain information. The borrower or EA preparer should

conduct additional consultation when new issues arise during the EA cycle. Documenting the consultative process enables interested persons to determine whether appropriate consultations have been conducted.

While the final decision on EA recommendations rests with the Borrower or implementing agency, project performance and action plans arising from EAs

can be substantially improved through consideration of the viewpoints of all relevant stakeholders and affected groups. Meaningful consultation will be deemed to have taken place if the final EA document reflects the views of "affected groups," local NGOs and those who are traditionally excluded from the consultative and planning processes, as well as the project proponent and other relevant government agencies.

Checklist for Reviewing and Evaluating Public Consultation Plans and Processes

Selection of Participants

- Were representatives of the public involved in selecting participants?
- Have all potential stakeholders been identified?
- Have all potential stakeholders been given the opportunity to express their views?

Selection of Consultation Techniques

- Are the chosen techniques suitable for the objective?
- Are the techniques appropriate for the size of the audience?
- Are they appropriate for the technical knowledge of participants?
- Has sufficient time been allowed for informing participants?
- Will suitably qualified staff be involved?

Implementation

Suitability of Arrangements for the Consultations

- Is the location appropriate?
- Is the time appropriate?
- Can everyone attend who may want to participate?

Adequacy of Information Provided to the Public

- Has sufficient information been provided for participants to make informed judgments?
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Feedback and Use of Results

- Have the results of the consultation been reflected in the decision making process?
- Have participants been informed of the outcomes and how their input was used?
- Has the process resulted in a better decision?

Source: *Manual on Public Participation*, 1995. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

"Meaningful Consultation" in Environmental Assessments

Introduction

The Bank's policy on Environmental Assessment (EA) [OD 4.01 to be released as OP 4.01] calls for consulting the public on environmental impacts in Bank-financed projects. The Bank requires borrowers to prepare EAs in those categories of projects with potential significant impact on the environment. These include both category A and B projects. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) be taken "fully into account in such assessments."

The views of the affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process which occurs at two stages during project preparation, after assigning the EA category or during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR); and after a draft EA has been prepared. In order for "meaningful consultation" to occur, the OD requires borrowers to provide "relevant information" to local NGOs and affected groups. This information has to be provided in a timely manner and a form that is meaningful for, and accessible to, the groups being consulted.

At the initial consultation, the information consists of a summary of the proposed project, as well as its potential positive and negative effects of the proposed project. Once the draft EA report is ready, there should be a summary of its conclusion and

a discussion of recommended mitigatory activities and plans.

Despite these general guidelines, the Bank's Second EA Review found that "many EAs are still characterized by ...weak public consultation." Such performance appears to occur irrespective of sectors and has to do with several factors including the lack of adequate national legislative frameworks, open consultative processes, and, expertise on the part of project managers and EA consultants.

The following note is based upon the premise that both Bank and Borrower performance can be significantly improved if there is greater reflection on what is meant by "meaningful consultation." Within the OD, there are several factors which, if adequately considered, could provide guidance to Bank Task Team Leaders, project preparation agencies, private companies and environmental consultants on what minimal standards the Bank expects in the involvement of affected groups and local NGOs in the EA process. Six of these factors are discussed in this note. A checklist is also provided for reviewing and evaluating public consultation plans and processes.

Context of the Consultative Process

First, public consultation, like other aspects of EA, needs to be situated within its policy, legal and administrative con-

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World Bank

Public Consultation in EA: A Strategic Approach

April 1998

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Preface

This EA Sourcebook Update describes good practice in the planning, implementation and monitoring of public consultation in the EA process. It focuses on thinking strategically about public consultation in order more efficiently to deliver improved project sustainability and to protect the interests of affected communities, especially the poor and dispossessed.

This document replaces the Sourcebook Update No.5 published in October 1993, *Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues*.

1.1

BACKGROUND

Since 1989, the Bank's Operational Directive 4.01 on Environmental Assessment (OD 4.01) has required that affected groups and NGOs be consulted as part the preparation of major (Category A) projects. Its primary purpose is to protect the interests of affected communities, especially the poor and dispossessed, but experience has shown that there is also a strong link between project sustainability and effective public consultation.

The Bank has largely succeeded in enforcing compliance with the minimum requirements of OD 4.01 such that a) public concerns are recognised at the scoping stage of major project EAs, and b) EA reports now usually include a record of consultations and are always made available for public scrutiny. This success notwithstanding, too many projects encounter difficulties and delays that could have been foreseen and avoided. Expected benefits of public consultation are not being realised because mere compliance does not necessarily ensure quality. Reviews of Bank-financed projects have shown that public consultation rarely affects project design, and vulnerable groups are often excluded from the consultation process (see Box 1.1).

Box 1.1***Consultation Strengths and Weaknesses in Recent Bank Group Projects*****Strengths Demonstrated**

More open and interactive communication
 Frequent involvement of NGOs
 Consultation extended to several phases of project planning
 Overall compliance with minimum requirements of OD 4.01

Priority Areas for Improvement

Providing adequate documentation of the consultation process
 Ensuring that minority/disadvantaged communities or groups are involved
 Ensuring involvement of communities at the early planning (scoping) stages of the EA
 Ensuring the availability of appropriate expertise in effective consultation techniques
 Using systematic approaches to identify and include all stakeholders
 Effective and timely disclosure of documentation to all stakeholders
 Ensuring that the concerns of stakeholders are reflected in the design of the project
 Ensuring that separate consultations are held on resettlement environmental issues

The task now is to move beyond compliance toward more consistent quality. The EA process should be used to build consultation into project planning so that information can be exchanged with stakeholder groups early enough to influence each key stage of the project cycle. Strategic planning is required to reconcile this aim with the inevitable constraints on time and financial resources. They must also identify the occasions on which they have an opportunity to take effective action, since these will vary according to the funding organisation's role in project financing and the stage of the EA process (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Consultation Objectives During the EA Process

| <i>Stage in EA Process</i> | <i>Factors to Note</i> | <i>Consultation Goals</i> | <i>Strategic Considerations</i> |
|---|------------------------|--|---|
| Validation of environmental procedures and standards | | Review national law and practice relating to consultation. Ensure compatibility with Bank requirements | Is there a need/ Are there opportunities for capacity building? |
| Screening: assign an EA Category | | Identify stakeholder groups Secure proponent commitment to consultation program. Agree extent and mode of consultation | Is there commitment to consultation from project proponents and the competent authority? |
| Scoping: Agree EA ToR and schedule | | Identify stakeholders Disclose relevant project information Determine stakeholder concerns and include them in the ToR | What resources are needed and available? Who is responsible for implementation? Monitoring and evaluation? Are there potential conflicts between the needs of the developer and those of the public? |
| Environmental analysis and production of draft EA reports (including SA, RP and PDP as appropriate) | | Disclose information on study methods and findings Agree proposed mitigation measures with stakeholders Let stakeholders determine whether their concerns are adequately addressed | What methods are appropriate for reaching different stakeholder groups? |
| Production of Final Reports | | Finalize mitigation plan and disclose to stakeholder | Are mechanisms in place to ensure on-going consultation and compliance with agreements? |
| Implement the Environmental Management Plan (Includes environmental monitoring) | | Inform the public about scheduling of potentially disruptive events Disclose results of environmental monitoring Maintain effective complaints procedure | What role can stakeholders play in monitoring? |
| Final Evaluation | | Assess effectiveness of the consultation process Consult stakeholders for their assessment | Were any lessons learned which might be transferable to other projects? |

The benefits of public consultation accrue to major stakeholder groups, for example:

- fewer conflicts and delays translate into improved profitability for investors;
- governments improve decision making;
- public agencies and NGOs gain opportunities to promote their agendas;
- project affected people can influence the project to reduce adverse impacts, maximise ancillary benefits and ensure that they receive appropriate compensation.

Box 1.1 describes examples from several recent World Bank funded projects where public consultation has contributed substantial added value.

Box 1.2 *Impacts of Public Consultation*

In the Solid Waste Management Project for the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, negative environmental impacts of a proposed landfill site in Grenada, which were missed by the EA team, were identified through public consultation, leading to the protection of an endangered species.

Public consultation regarding the Brazil Espirito Santo Water Management Project identified adverse social impacts and helped develop appropriate mitigation measures that protected an artisan community's access to clay deposits and prevented a decline in the living standards of a nearby urban neighbourhood.

In the Colombia Energy Sector Technical Assistance, changes to the national power sector strategy were agreed upon by a wide range of stakeholders within and beyond the sector through a national-level consultation program.

Public consultation in the EA of the Albania Forestry Project identified the need for a program of public participation in the management of state forests, and identified major questions to be resolved in order to implement such a program.

Consultation with groups affected by a flood control project in the Ecuador Lower Guayas Flood Control Project resulted in changes to the alignment of flood evacuation canals, despite higher costs, to save an important wetland area.

In the China Henan Highway Project, detailed analysis of questionnaires distributed among local residents identified concerns about land acquisition, relocation and resettlement. The conclusions of the EA then recommended increasing information dissemination and consultation efforts.

2.1 STRATEGY AND PLANNING

2.1.1 *Need for a Strategy*

In many countries local traditions of public debate may not demonstrate the transparency and accountability that has become central to the western model of democratic decision making. In addition, there may be resistance to broad consultation in centrally planned or culturally conservative societies. There may therefore be gaps or contradictions between the legal and policy requirements of some countries and Bank requirements. Where such gaps exist, it is important that they are identified early so that innovative ways of bridging them can be included in the consultation plan.

2.1.2 *Key Issues in Developing a Strategy*

Key strategic issues to address include the following.

Have a Clear View of Your Goals: The general goals of consultation are described above, but in addition, consultation programs may provide excellent opportunities to achieve goals associated with the wider development aims of the Bank and the client country. These may include building capacity, encouraging NGOs, improving decision making, etc. This notwithstanding, the success of the program depends on having clear, well-defined goals which are understood by all the major players.

Accommodate the Local Legislation: As public participation in environmental decision making in its diverse forms wins acceptance world-wide, basic legal requirements for access to information and consultation as part of EA are in place in many countries. The consultation plan must therefore consider the legal requirements of the country in question, and to what extent this is complementary with World Bank policies and procedures. Conflicts may arise not just about the need for consultation but concerning the timing, scope, funding, methods and use of the findings. Additionally, international conventions might apply. A dialogue to accommodate differing requirements and resolve potential conflicts should be opened early in the process.

Secure Commitment to Effective Implementation: The success of a consultation exercise requires that the local authorities and the project proponents (if they are different) understand its purpose and are committed to its success. Their positive attitude will give the process credibility and play a large part in securing the trust and cooperation of the public at large. Also, the quality and follow-through of the process are enhanced if those who are investing time and money are convinced that the resources are well spent.

Determine Responsibility for Implementation: The institutional capacity and skills needed to collect and analyse data, interact effectively with the public, and interpret findings for decision makers may be rare or absent in the target area. It may be possible to increase capacity through systematic training programs (See Box 2.1), or it may be necessary to engage local or international consultants.

Whichever is decided, it is vital that responsibilities for undertaking consultation and producing outputs is clearly defined and that appropriate state public authorities accept, and are equipped for, a role in quality assurance. When more than one agency is involved in the project, there is potential for conflict over the implementation of the public consultation plan. It is critical to determine which institutions will be responsible for overseeing implementation of the plan and which will be responsible for monitoring and evaluation (see Section 4).

Box 2.1

Building Capacity for Consultation

Technical EA work is most often carried out by the private sector (developers or consultants). The public sector is usually more concerned with regulatory requirements and the scope, quality and implementation of mitigation measures. When regulatory agencies are aware of the utility of consultation, are required to hold public hearings, and are able to technically review the process, they improve its quality and effectiveness.

In Georgia the World Bank included training in public consultation as part of the Municipal Infrastructure Rehabilitation Project, 1994. Representatives of the Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP), Municipal Authorities and NGOs were introduced to:

- the wider benefits and the practical value of consultation;
- methods of stakeholder identification;
- appropriate communication techniques;
- how to use the information gained during consultation; and
- how to evaluate the outcome of consultation exercises.

Particular emphasis was placed on examining case studies to see where consultation could have improved project design or helped avoid implementation difficulties.

In 1997 a major oil pipeline EA was conducted in Georgia. Previous developments had been subject to review by officials and experts on behalf of the public, but the attitude towards actual consultation with the members of the affected communities had been "let sleeping dogs lie." For this project, however, the approach was transformed. MEP officials recommended a local NGO to be part of the social survey team. In addition, with full MEP support, the NGO community took part in the scoping of the EA and the review of the report. Before the project was submitted for consideration by the authorities, the pipeline route had been amended to take account of local sensitivities. The potential for protest and political controversy was avoided, permitting was smoother and the final project design was better.

Plan the Timing and Phasing of Consultations: There may be conflicting imperatives with regard to the timing of consultations. Private developers often require confidentiality to avoid possible competition or may wish to avoid potential conflict until they are reasonably certain of their intentions. On the other hand, effective public consultation begins before major decisions are finalised. Each stage of the EA cycle may require a different approach to consultation, supported

by the appropriate level of detail, involving a distinct group of stakeholders. The process may take several years for very large projects, particularly in some developed countries where greater resources and experience in consultation are conjoined with a demanding public (see Box 2.2 on the complex consultation process for the Channel Tunnel Rail Link.)

Box 2.2

Phasing of Consultations

The Channel Tunnel Rail Link

Extensive consultation was built into the planning of a rail link between London and the Channel Tunnel on the south coast of England. All feasible routes had to pass through some of the most highly valued landscapes in England and some of the most populous suburbs.

Each stage of design involved different stakeholder groups who were approached with methods appropriate to them and to the purpose of the consultation at that stage.

At the earliest stage the many local authorities were consulted about local factors affecting feasibility, future development plans in the area, likely environmental impacts, etc. Institutions and interest groups with responsibilities or interests along each route were identified and asked for comments. The information gained assisted in narrowing the choice to three main routes.

Maps were prepared and distributed by direct mailing to residents close to route alternatives. A preliminary EIA was prepared and distributed, the environmental constraints affecting each route were mapped for easy comparison and public meetings were staged to explain the analysis.

A single route was selected, at which point engineers could begin to identify and map with more precision land to be purchased and public areas which might be suitable worksites. Detailed maps were published in sections showing each residence and public building affected. A full EIA was published, explanatory leaflets were issued and residents were invited to discuss issues of concern. Disputes remaining unresolved were debated in public in front of the national parliament.

During construction, due to commence in 2001, contractors will be required to publish their work plans and to make arrangements to receive, record and respond to complaints and a 24-hour telephone hotline will be maintained by the developer.

Provide Proper Resources for the Consultation Process: The scale and scope of the consultation process must take account of the availability of financial resources and specialist technical skills required. It is important to ensure that expected benefits are commensurate with costs while giving weight to the needs of disadvantaged groups. Professionals with backgrounds in sociology or anthropology, or with experience in public consultation, conflict resolution, or community participation will usually be needed to design and implement a consultation plan. Resources should be allocated in the project budget for their fees and expenses and for local costs, which may include sitting fees for government officials in some countries. Where funds and expertise from external sources are necessary, the availability of such resources throughout the process should be assured.

Site Specific Sensitivities: There are often difficulties in carrying out consultation that are associated with a particular location. These may be political and cultural

factors in the affected communities or the geography of the area. Restrictions upon women or ethnic prejudices are common examples of the former while inaccessibility, poor communications or diffuse settlement over a wide area are frequently encountered physical problems. Such constraints must be identified when designing a consultation strategy so that approaches can be developed to overcome them or to minimise their effects upon the process.

The Historical Context: The experience of the public with authorities, developers, site operators, etc. will affect how they are likely to respond to efforts to create a dialogue. Past broken promises or mismanagement often leave a legacy of mistrust that can frustrate communication by giving rise to a climate of mistrust and confrontation. In such cases trust building mechanisms (independent mediation, written outputs) must be included in the consultation strategy.

Recognise the Interests of the Developers: It is axiomatic that a properly designed World Bank-sponsored project should, overall, have positive social and environmental effects, or, when effects are predicted to be adverse, that they will be avoided, minimised or mitigated. Public consultation and participation improves projects by helping to reduce the uneven distribution of costs and benefits and maximising opportunities that may arise for additional unplanned gains. With this in mind, it is important that the consultation strategy takes account of the needs of the project proponents so that perceived risks (in terms of cost, delays, future commitments) do not endanger project viability.

2.2 **PLANNING THE CONSULTATION PROCESS**

2.2.1 **Principals of Planning**

The planning process should take full account of the strategic concerns outlined above, as well as the following key planning tasks:

- identify the key issues around which consultation will be needed (scoping);
- identify all stakeholder groups;
- understand the decision making process;
- determine the necessary level of consultation;
- identify key consultation points;
- select consultation techniques;
- define a communication methodology; and
- develop a budget.

2.2.2 **Scoping**

The first step in designing a plan is to gain an understanding of the key issues, and the areas where most of the effort needs to be directed, including:

- the environmental and social (indigenous peoples, resettlement, etc.) issues or decisions at stake;
- the key organisations and interested parties involved;

- the local authorities and the agencies involved;
- the size of the issue or importance of the decision; and
- the urgency and timeframe

2.2.3 *Identifying All Stakeholder Groups*

This is a critical element. Failure to identify all relevant stakeholders can invalidate the entire process and lead to conflicts that become intractable although they might easily have been resolved.

In general, the basic questions to consider in identifying affected populations and stakeholders are:

- Who will be directly affected?
- Who will be indirectly affected?
- Who might have an interest or feel that they are affected?

Box 2.3 *Directly and Indirectly Affected Stakeholders*

The Industrial Area of San Joachim, Santiago, Chile

The government of Chile is implementing a policy to relocate industrial areas away from urban areas. An EIA was commissioned to examine the affect of relocating the heavy industry from the San Joachim area to a designated industrial zone on the outskirts of Santiago.

Directly affected stakeholders included the farmers and residents at the new site whose land was acquired and occupants of any nearby homes, public buildings or businesses that might be affected by pollution or nuisances (traffic, noise, odour, etc.). Also directly effected were the businesses that would have to move to the new locations and whose workers who would have a longer daily commute.

Indirectly affected stakeholders included:

- the small enterprises around the urban site that provided services to the industries and workers who would lose their customer base;
- residents of properties adjacent to the industries who would benefit from a reduction in pollution;
- nearby homeowners who might benefit from an increase in property values.

Stakeholders paying close attention to the planned move included the municipal authorities in the original and proposed sites who stood to lose and gain substantial local tax revenues.

The variety of techniques and methodologies that fall into the framework of social assessment are especially useful in identifying stakeholders and assessing how and to what extent a project affects them. Social assessment can help to determine what interests each stakeholder group has in the project, how those interests compare in importance, and which groups have the most influence or control (see Figure 2.1). For instance, social assessment methodologies can help collect information on language and dialects, ethnic mix, division of gender roles, cultural traditions, environment decision making mechanisms, recent history

with development projects, and key local concerns and priorities - all important in adequately identifying the variety of stakeholder groups.

Box 2.4 *The Potential Costs of Inadequate Stakeholder Identification*

One of the consequences of failing to identify and consult stakeholders is that information which may be incomplete, misleading or false will reach them through other means creating long-lasting, unwarranted hostility to the project.

The municipal authorities in Riga (Latvia) received technical assistance to conduct a site survey for a new sanitary landfill. Consultation and social survey work was planned after site selection during the full EA study. During site evaluation the local media discovered that one of the short-listed sites was very close to a pre-World War I battle site of great cultural significance. The veterans association became involved and questions were raised in parliament. The Minister of the Environment assured parliament that the site would not be used.

Through the EA process, the EA team discovered that the actual battle site need not be affected by the development. The Veteran's association confirmed that their concerns could be addressed by minor modifications to the project design. According to the criteria for site selection, this site then became the most economical option then available. Reviving the issue, however, risked raising a storm of political protest and the site was disallowed on that basis.

Very much greater attention was paid to consultation from that point onward. Information was disseminated through newspapers, television, community associations and local government. A series of public meetings established that a large reservoir of public mistrust and hostility to waste disposal schemes remained from the former Soviet government's poor site management. This issue became a major consideration in site selection and the eventual decision not to develop a new waste disposal site but to upgrade the existing dump.

2.2.4 *Define the Decision Making Process*

The next step is to understand how environmental decisions are made. That is, to identify what parties (government, sponsors, financing institution, etc.) make what decisions (scope of the EA, site consents, building permits, emission limits etc.) at what points in the project cycle.

2.2.5 *Determine the Necessary Level of Consultation*

Public consultation and participation typically takes place at three different levels: conveying information to the public, listening to the opinions and preferences of the public, and involving the public in making decisions. The type/nature and size of the project combined with both the nature and number of stakeholders and the national legislation will largely define when, where and what level of public consultation is required for an EA and for incorporation into the Environmental Management Plan (EMP),

For instance, if the aim is to inform the public about a project or important issues, the initial number of people to contact will be quite large but the interaction may

be quite limited. If, on the other hand, public preferences are being sought, closer contact and dialogue will be required, but with a smaller number of people. If the public's direct input to decision making is being sought, this will likely involve ongoing discussions with a small group of representatives of stakeholder groups (see Box 2.5).. Site-specific factors, such as a history of local opposition to similar projects in the area, will be also be important in determining the level of consultations..

Box 2.5

Using A Variety of Consultation Techniques to Reach A Diverse Audience

The Ghazi Barotha Hydropower Project is a major run-of-the-river power project designed to meet the power needs in Pakistan. Because of the expected environmental and social impacts, a thorough EA was conducted. The EA team faced the challenge of both informing a large diversity of public stakeholder groups about the layout and workings of the project, and listening to their concerns. In order to reach the range of affected groups therefore, the EA team devised a public consultation strategy that mixed a variety of techniques. The consultation strategy included:

- A survey of a sample of 15 villages that would be affected by the project was conducted early in the preparation process. Consultation techniques included surveying and structured interviews.
 - A survey of women in the project area was carried out by a female sociologist in order to learn the particular concerns of women.
 - Scoping sessions with national and provincial assemblies, representatives of the district administration and district councils, and national and international NGOs allowed for debate with civil society.
 - A focused census and sample survey to determine as precisely as possible the actual number of project affected people, their socio-economic status, and the pattern of impact on various groups was undertaken.
 - A Project Information Centre was planned for the project area to disseminate information to the public and respond to inquiries. The centre is meant to have material written in the local language available that will provide answers to common questions and to provide access to project staff for face-to-face conversations.
-

2.2.6

Identify Key Consultation Points

According to OD 4.01 consultation is required, at a minimum, shortly after the EA category has been assigned (during scoping) and again once a draft EA has been prepared. Further consultations are encouraged after EA finalisation and throughout project implementation. The aim is that consultation should take place before major decision points. This implies, therefore, that consultation will often be necessary as part of the research effort of the EA and in the development of mitigation measures during the analysis phase of the study.

2.2.7

Select Techniques

A variety of techniques is available to achieve meaningful consultation. The most effective programs will make use of a range of techniques for conveying information, listening to opinions or concerns, and involving the public in decision making (see Box 2.6). Which ones are most appropriate depends on:

- the type and number of stakeholders, including average level of education, environmental knowledge, social and cultural status;
- the nature and in particular the technical content of the information to be conveyed;
- the institutional situation of the country concerned, particularly the type of skills and financial resources which are available for the project.

Chapter 3 lists commonly used techniques and comments on their applicability to various situations. The selected activities should be scheduled to fit in with the overall decision making framework. Enough time should be allowed for people to receive information, digest it and comment sensibly, bearing in mind that consultees are for the most part volunteers and cannot be expected to meet tight deadlines.

Box 2.6

Targeting Communication Methods to Specific Stakeholder Groups

Stakeholder groups receive information about the outside world by widely differing routes. To reach all affected parties a suite of communications media may be necessary. Disadvantaged people or groups marginalized because of tribal affiliation, caste, religion, gender or geography may need special efforts to reach. The most effective way of involving some stakeholder groups may only become apparent after a study of local culture and customs. A number of EAs have demonstrated innovative ways of disseminating information in such circumstances including the following:

- The Manantali Energy Project involved hydropower generation in western Mali, and its transmission to Senegal along a 1,000 km transmission line route through Mali and Mauritania. Given the diversity and dispersion of stakeholders, consultation was achieved through a series of small meetings organised with the assistance of village elders along the entire route. These were attended by most of the male population. When it became clear that most women did not feel free to attend these meetings, still less to voice dissenting opinions, a series of women only meetings (moderated by a female consultant) was held in parallel. The project implementation was modified to include the compensation arrangements agreed at the general meeting and the avoidance of activities during vegetable growing season specified by the women.
 - In Bangladesh, Occidental Petroleum entered into a joint production agreement with the Bangladesh National Oil Corporation to develop gas fields in the north-east of the country. IFC provided some of the capital investment and an EA was produced in accordance with IFC guidelines. Investigation showed that the most common way for local news to be distributed was by two people on a moped - with the passenger announcing news through a loudhailer. News of the development was broadcast in this way, besides use of the more conventional media.
-

2.2.8

Define a Communication Methodology

Methods of communication should be adopted that are transparent and open to review (see Box 2.7). Some general principles for achieving this include notification, record keeping, and feedback.

Notification: Clearly the target groups must be notified how, when, and where they can participate. In general effective notification is highly visible to the target audience, delivered early, uses more than one medium to reach the target groups, and is repeated shortly before major events.

Record Keeping: A record of the type of consultation activities, the target groups and numbers reached, the type of information conveyed, and the stage at which the information was provided should be kept and analysed to reveal:

- summaries of views by type of stakeholder;
- a summary of points of agreement, disagreement, issues raised and options discussed;
- analysis of the validity of the concerns and issues raised by different stakeholders;
- recommended response to valid comments;
- a discussion of the implications and options for the decision-maker.

Provide Feedback: Feedback should be provided to the public describing the response to their concerns, the decisions that were made, and how the information they provided was used. Otherwise participants may feel that their input had no impact on the decision and some of the benefits of the process may be lost.

Box 2.7

Discussion of Public Consultation in an EA Report

Following are key issues related to public consultation that should be addressed in an EA report:

The methodologies used to inform and involve the public in the EA process.

Analysis of the data and information gathered.

Discussion of the strategic issues discussed in Section 2.1.

Documentation of public meetings, interviews, etc. including dates, names, topics of discussion and important outcomes.

Recommendations for how project can address and/or mitigate issues that were raised through public consultation.

Recommendations for on-going public consultation during the EMP.

2.2.9

Develop a Budget

Regardless of the approach taken to public consultation, there will be direct investment costs in terms of time and materials. Determination of the budget should take into consideration factors such as the complexity of the project, diversity of the stakeholders, and the importance of the effects in conjunction with constraints such as availability of skilled practitioners, source and availability of funds, and project deadlines. The principal cost elements vary

widely according to the context of the project ⁽¹⁾but are likely to include some of the following:

- consultants fees;
- hiring and outfitting of meeting venues;
- public opinion surveys;
- preparation and distribution of materials;
- staff time preparing, attending and recording public meetings;
- maintenance of channels of communication (e.g. a telephone hotline, radio announcements);
- travel expenses.

(1) Between 1/50 and 1/4 of one percent of total development costs for the projects described in the Boxes

3.1

MATCHING TOOLS TO THE IMMEDIATE PURPOSE OF COMMUNICATION

Communication during EA involves seeking information, imparting information or reaching agreement through dialogue. The available approaches and tools may be conveniently categorised according to their suitability for:

- conveying information to the public;
- listening to public opinion;
- involving the public in decision making.

Tables 3.1 - 3.3 describe in very brief outline the tools in each of these three categories commonly used during EA⁽¹⁾. Tools appropriate for any particular project will vary according to the type of project and its setting, but an effective consultation plan will usually make use of one or several items from each of the three menus as part of an integrated program. Conveying information to the public and listening to public opinion are specifically required by OD 4.01 while involving the public in decision making is fundamental to quality EA, and building consensus often has the added value of building trust and ownership, leading to partnership during EMP implementation.

3.2

CONVEYING INFORMATION TO THE PUBLIC

Table 3.1 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for conveying information to the public, and lists some of the advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.1 provides a practical example of the application of diverse techniques to achieve different communication objectives.

(1) These Tables, extensive abridged, are derived from The Public Participation Handbook, EBRD, 1996. That publication contains full versions of the tables plus extensive supporting text describing each tool.

Developers in a Central Asian country wanted to construct a factory and had selected a site in close proximity to the city centre. A local NGO was concerned about the site and encouraged the developer to do a full EIA that included public consultation. Working together, the factory management and the NGO mounted a display and public opinion video to inform the public about the design and location plans, and to present the potential environmental impacts.

The display provided general information on the proposed project, including photographs and maps of the proposed location, literature on the environmental impacts and proposed mitigation measures, and design and architectural plans. The display was set up at the local town hall for a period of 3 weeks approximately 8 weeks before the beginning of any project activity. The NGO analysed the results of written notes left by the public and discussed these results with the project developers.

The display proved to be an excellent communications tool for the developers, the display informed certain sectors of the public who otherwise may not have known about the factory development, and the public was able to voice concerns about the proposed site.

3.1 Techniques for Conveying Information

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Printed Materials:</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information Bulletins, Brochures, Reports: The text should be simple and non-technical; in the local language where possible and relevant to the reader. Provide clear instruction on how to get more information. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct Can impart detailed information Cost-effective A permanent record communication | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demands specialist skills and resources |
| <i>Displays and Exhibits</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Often used both to inform and to collect comments. Should be located where the target audience gathers or passes regularly. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May reach previously unknown parties. Minimal demands on the public | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Costs of preparation and staffing. Insufficient without supporting techniques |
| <i>Print Media:</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Newspapers, Press Releases, Press Conferences: Can disseminate a large amount and wide variety of information. Identify newspapers likely to be interested in the project and to reach the target audience. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offers both national and local coverage, Can reach most literate adults. Can provide detailed information | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loss of control of presentation Media relationships are demanding Excludes illiterates and the poor |
| <i>Electronic Media</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Television, Radio and Video: It is necessary to determine the coverage (national or local), the types of viewer, the perceived objectivity, and the type of broadcast offered. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May be considered authoritative Many people have access to radio | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time allocated may be limited Costs can be high |
| <i>Advertising</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Useful for announcing public meetings or other activities. Effectiveness depends on good preparation and targeting. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Retain control of presentation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May engender suspicion |
| <i>Formal Information Sessions :</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targeted Briefing Can be arranged by project sponsor or by request. for a particular community group, firm or industry association etc. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Useful for groups with specific concerns Allow detailed discussion of specific issues. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> May raise unrealistic expectations |
| <i>Informal Information Sessions :</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open House, Site Visits, Field Offices: A selected audience can obtain first hand information or interact with project staff. Visits should be supported with more detailed written material or additional briefings or consultations. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides detailed information Useful for comparing alternatives. Immediate and direct Useful when the project is complex Local concerns are communicated to staff May help reach non-resident stakeholders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendance is difficult to predict Limited consensus building value May demand considerable planning Field offices can be costly to operate. Only reach a small group of people. |

Table 3.2 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for determining public opinion on a particular issue, and lists some advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.2 provides a practical example of the application of the innovative thinking sometimes necessary to ensure that all stakeholder groups are represented during a consultation exercise.

Box 3.2*Listening to the Public*

Occidental Petroleum's Experience in Bangladesh

Occidental Petroleum entered into a joint production agreement with the Bangladesh National Oil Corporation to develop gas fields in the north-east of the country. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) provided some of the capital investment and an EA was produced in accordance with IFC guidelines. Several aspects of the local culture demanded an innovative approach to social assessment.

In addition, a physical survey of the environment around the proposed site identified small clusters of dwellings in areas mapped as tea plantations. These were inhabited by a tribal minority group, with ethnic origins in India, who live in closed communities within the tea growing area to provide labour for the landowners. These people had been severely disturbed by noise and light from previous gas well testing, which had occurred without warning in the middle of the night. Their main requirement - easily accommodated by the developer - was to be warned of testing in advance and for testing to be restricted to daylight hours. Oxy also made provision for people from the communities to be hired as casual labour and to be able to "recycle" some of the detritus created during site clearance.

Table 3.2 Listening to the Public

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|---|---|---|
| Survey Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews, Formal Surveys, Polls and Questionnaires: These rapidly show who is interested and why. • May be structured (using a fixed questionnaire) or non-structured • Experienced interviewers or surveyors familiar with the project should be used • Pre-test the questions. • Open-ended questions are best. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shows how groups want to be involved. • Allows direct communication with the public • Helps access the views of the majority • Less vulnerable to the influence of vocal groups • Identify concerns linked to social grouping Statistically representative results • Can reach people who are not in organised groups. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor interviewing is counter-productive • High cost • Require specialists to deliver and analyse Trade-off between openness and statistical validity |
| Small Meetings: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Seminars, Focus Groups: A formal information exchange between the sponsor and the public. Might consist of randomly selected individuals or target group members. Experts may be invited to serve as a resource. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allows detailed and focused discussion. • Can exchange information and debate • Rapid, low-cost monitor of public mood • A way to reach marginal groups. • Useful for medium-sized audiences. • Allow immediate response and feedback • Acquaint different interest groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex to organise and run. • Can be diverted by special interest groups Not objective or statistically valid • May be unduly influenced by moderators • Not suitable for detailed discussions • Not good for building consensus. • Can be diverted by special interest groups • Attendance is difficult to predict. |
| Large Meetings : | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Meetings: These allow the public to respond directly to formal presentations by project sponsors. Effective meetings need a strong chairman, a clear agenda, and good presenters or resource people. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impart specialised technical information • Promote data sharing and compromise • Resolve technical issues. • Promote data sharing and compromise. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time and effort needed to prepare • Cost, if experts are hired |
| Conferences | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical experts and representatives of interest groups may be brought together | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilise difficult to reach groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential conflicts between employers and clients • Time needed to get feedback. |
| Community Organisers/ Advocates | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These work closely with a selected group to facilitate informal contacts, visit homes or work places, or simply be available to the general public. | | |

Table 3.3 summarises some of the most commonly used techniques for involving the public in making environmental decisions and lists some advantages and disadvantages of each. Box 3.3 provides a practical example of the use of a mediator during a particularly controversial and high profile project.

Box 3.3***Involving the Public in Decision Making***

The government of Lao PDR requested financial support from the World Bank Group for the Nam Theun 2 hydroelectric project. The main features of the project are a dam on the Nam Theun river, a reservoir, a powerhouse, and transmission lines. The project will have substantial social and environmental impacts, including the relocation of 4,500 people and the inundation of over 400 km² of the Nakai Plateau, 30% of which is forested and home to several important species.

Because of the magnitude of both the environmental and social impacts, public consultation took place at the local, regional and national level. Due to the international profile of this project, an unusually high percentage of the budget was allocated toward national and international consultation. At a certain point in the project design process, environmental NGOs, the government and the private developer could not come to agreement on how to address some of the most sensitive issues. Consultative meetings between the groups were unproductive and sometimes confrontational.

In the face of this seeming impasse and the need to come to decisions that every party could live with and stand behind, the parties agreed that the most productive way forward was to hire an independent moderator to facilitate the discussions. A skilled moderator was hired and was able to keep subsequent discussions focused and to lead participants through brainstorming exercises that identified a range of options for action. The moderator was also able to frame the interests of different stakeholder groups so that each group could see room for potential agreement, and areas where mutual compromise would lead to an outcome that was better than continued confrontation. Based on this series of discussions, an agreement on a plan of action and mitigation was reached.

Table 3.3 Involving The Public In Decision Making

| | Key Points | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Advisory Groups: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task Forces: Set up task groups to focus on a single technical issue. Define the limits of the group's authority and lifetime, ensure that all interests are represented and that contact with the public being represented is maintained. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cope with highly technical problems • Help prioritise and reach consensus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rarely represent all interested parties • May replace wider consultations • Often focus too much on procedures |
| Problem Solving Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming: Designed to enhance creativity and generate ideas quickly. Selection of the facilitator and participants is critical. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps groups break out of the obvious • Provides insights for decision making | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to include a full range of views • May yield too many ideas to evaluate. |
| Consensus Building Techniques: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unassisted Negotiations, Mediation: Voluntary processes in which representatives of affected organisations make decisions by consensus later to be ratified by parent organisations. Parties either agree decision making procedures at the beginning or use an experienced mediator | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A forum for jointly identifying solutions • Puts responsibility on the disputants Identify common ground. • Robust agreements with broad support • Quick resolution of contentious issues | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not all parties will participate • Parties may drop out before the end. • Require good faith • May take too long. • Highly skilled mediators are scarce |
| Arbitration | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A process in which conflicting parties seek a solution through an impartial mediator. It can be binding, by prior agreement, or all sides may reserve judgement until the outcome. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impartiality from an uninvolved party. • difficult to oppose the arbitrator's recommendation. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All parties must stand to gain • Difficult to identify an acceptable neutral |

4.1 THE NEED FOR MONITORING

The theoretical benefits of consultation are well understood, but as described in Section 1, these have been elusive in many Bank projects even though compliance with OD4.01 has been achieved. Monitoring and evaluating plans through implementation can provide valuable lessons for future projects as well as demonstrate to stakeholders the value of their investment of time and resources. In addition, the very existence of systematic monitoring can act as an enforcement mechanism and incentive for developers to fulfil during project implementation the commitments made during project preparation.

4.2 THE USE OF A LOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Experience has shown in a variety of contexts that monitoring compliance with a complex set of procedures requires the use of objectively measurable indicators¹. To be useful, there must be a means of verifying or measuring the indicators and this can be achieved by a logical framework which helps make connections between objectives, outputs, activities and indicators.

Monitoring and evaluation of public consultation in the context of environmental assessment most usefully takes place at several levels:

- Monitoring Implementation Of The Plan
- Monitoring The Efficiency With Which The Plan Is Implemented
- Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Plan and Its Activities
- Evaluating the Impact of the Plan on the Project.

Responsibility for each level should have been determined during the planning of consultation, may differ at each stage, and may include the project proponents or their EA consultants, NGOs, government agencies, and funding agency staff.

Monitoring Implementation Of The Plan

Key questions to consider include:

- Were the activities performed in a timely manner?
- Were the activities performed within the agreed budget?
- Were the funds distributed efficiently?
- Were the resources (time and money) that were expended commensurate with the results?

(1) Where indicators are defined as quantitative or qualitative variables which can be measured or described and which, when observed periodically, demonstrate changes on a scale roughly proportionate to changes in the variable under study.

Monitoring The Efficiency With Which The Plan Is Implemented

Evaluation, which is based on monitoring, tells managers whether they are moving toward or away from project goals, and why. Evaluation essentially involves answering two questions:

- has the activity met its objective (from the viewpoint of different stakeholders)?
- what accounts for its level of performance?

Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Plan and Its Activities

The effectiveness of the public consultation activities in achieving the output should be evaluated. This will help in modifying activities as needed in order to achieve the desired results. Key questions to consider include:

- Were the intended outputs achieved? (i.e. were stakeholders able to acquire the information they needed to participate meaningfully? Were stakeholder given the opportunity to have their views heard? Did stakeholders have a realistic opportunity to influence the design and implementation of the project?)
- Were all the stakeholder groups involved? How many people were involved?
- Was the phasing of activities appropriate to achieve the intended results?
- Did consultation occur sufficiently early in the process to influence key decisions?
- What were stakeholders' perceptions of the process? Was it fair?

Evaluating the Impact of the Plan on the Project.

Finally, whether the public consultation plan did indeed improve decision making and improve project performance also needs to be carefully evaluated. This will help identify lessons to apply in the design of future consultation plans. Specifically, the following questions should be considered:

- Has the consultation exercise positively influenced the design and implementation of the overall project?
- If so, how and to what extent has it contributed to improved sustainability?
- Were the activities of other actors (government, other donors, etc.) influenced?

The public's right to be informed of and comment upon developments that have a direct impact on their lives is a basic right in a democratic society, and is fundamental to the Bank's development objectives. The value of public consultation in the EA of large development projects goes far beyond this, however, to include improving project design, facilitating implementation and, ultimately, assuring sustainability. Investment in consultation may therefore pay for itself many times over in terms of efficiency and material, project benefits.

To have the greatest chance of success, consultation needs to be fully integrated into an EA and begin at an early stage, while critical project design decisions are still amenable to change. Strategic planning should determine if whether there are barriers to effective consultation and identify approaches to overcome them. A plan should be prepared of a process for exchanging information with stakeholders at critical points throughout the project. A set of tools should be selected that are appropriate to the project setting, the nature of the stakeholders and the purpose of the interaction. Finally, the implementation of the plan should be monitored and the outcome evaluated.

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Meaningful Consultation in Environmental Assessments

The World Bank's policy on Environmental Assessment (EA) calls for consulting the public on environmental impacts in Bank-financed projects. The Bank requires borrowers to prepare EAs in those categories of projects that have potential significant impact on the environment, including both category A and B projects. Category A projects potentially pose a significant impact on the environment and Category B projects do not. Therefore the Operational Directive (OD) requires that a full EA be carried out in Category A projects and only an environmental analysis be carried out for Category B projects. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) be taken "fully into account in such assessments."

The views of affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process that occurs at two stages during project preparation; first, after assigning the EA category or during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft Terms of Reference (TOR) and second, after a draft EA has been prepared. In order for *meaningful consultation* to occur, the OD requires borrowers to provide "relevant information" to local NGOs and affected groups. This information has to be provided in a timely manner and a form that is meaningful and accessible to the groups being consulted.

The OD requires that at the initial consultation the relevant information consists of a summary of the proposed project, including its potential positive and negative effects. Once the draft EA report is ready, information should consist of a summary of the conclusions and a discussion of recommended mitigating activities and plans is prepared.

Despite the existence of these general guidelines, the Bank's second EA Review found that "many EAs are still characterized by ...weak public consultation." This was the case across all sectors and appears to be a result of several factors, including inadequate national legislative frameworks and a lack of open consultative processes and expertise on the part of project managers and EA consultants.

The following note is based on the premise that both World Bank and borrower performance could be significantly improved by greater reflection on what is meant by meaningful consultation. Within the OD there are several factors which, if adequately considered, could provide guidance to Bank Task Team Leaders, project preparation agencies, private companies, and environmental consultants on minimal World Bank standards and expectations for involving affected groups and local NGOs in the EA

This note was prepared by Shelton H. Davis and Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza based on the Bank's OD 4.01 on Environmental Assessments. For more information, contact the authors, Shelton H. Davis or Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza, at The World Bank, 1818 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20433, USA, Fax: 202-522-3247, E-mail: sdavis2@worldbank.org or nrukuba-ngaiza@worldbank.org.

The views expressed in this note are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the World Bank.

process. Six of these factors are discussed in this note. A checklist is also provided for reviewing and evaluating public consultation plans and processes.

Context of the Consultative Process

Public consultation, like other aspects of EA, needs to be situated within its policy, legal, and administrative contexts. As a first step toward planning an effective public consultation strategy for an EA, it is vital to understand how public consultation is viewed in the wider society. This should entail preliminary analysis of the legislative framework and what it says about the rights of citizens to be consulted in administrative processes, as well as their access to environmental and other types of information. In some countries an adequate public consultation legislative framework may be lacking, but there may be other cultural or informal ways in which citizens participate in decisionmaking.

The World Bank recognizes the need for sensitivity in designing public consultation strategies for projects in countries lacking adequate statutory frameworks or in cases in which affected groups and NGOs lack appropriate conditions to express their views. In certain contexts, relevant environmental agencies and public and private institutions may need to be strengthened to carry out an effective and meaningful consultation program. Such institutional strengthening may be needed to fulfill the objectives of the OD.

Identification of Affected Groups and Local NGOs

If meaningful and effective consultation is to occur, it is vital that a mechanism for identifying affected groups and interested NGOs be in place. Sometimes this does not occur because of lack of guidance as to how affected groups and local NGOs should be identified; for example, narrow definitions of "affected groups" may only include those directly impacted by the project.

In many cases, women and the poor are not consulted and local NGOs are often the only social actors who participate in consultations. Meaningful consultations only occur when the EA reflects the views of a cross-section of

affected groups, including those traditionally excluded from the process.

To ensure that affected groups and interested NGOs are identified and participate in consultations, it is usually necessary to conduct a social assessment. The recruitment of appropriate professionals (from local universities or NGOs) may be necessary to conduct these assessments, the goal of which should be to identify all relevant stakeholders and highlight potential issues and conflicts to be analyzed in the EA. For more information see Social Assessment Dissemination Note No. 13, September 1995.

Consultation Facilitators

Under certain circumstances involving professional facilitators or respected community members may be necessary to ensure meaningful consultations. This is because many projects that have significant environmental and social impacts often involve contending interests and values, and government officials or private sector institutions may lack the trust of affected groups and local NGOs. In other cases NGOs themselves may provide biased accounts of how local communities perceive potential impacts. In these situations dialogue may only be possible when a neutral facilitator serves as an intermediary among the affected groups, local NGOs, and the project proponent.

Timing and Implementation of the Consultative Process

The stages at which public consultations are required determine and limit the input of affected groups into the EA. World Bank policy requires that consultations be carried out after the EA category has been assigned and the draft EA prepared. By participating in the EA process after assignment of the EA category, affected groups help define the issues in the EA, some of which may be critical in drafting the TORs.

The OD does not require consultations with affected groups during EA preparation although good practice and certain conditions such as resettlement or project effects on indigenous peoples merit participation by affected groups throughout project and EA preparation. Certain types of environmental information on land use or pollution effects may also be discovered

through close collaboration with affected groups during EA consultations.

There is no requirement for consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation. However, the World Bank's policy on Disclosure of Information, subject to certain limitations, requires the borrower to make the EA report available in a public place accessible to affected groups and local NGOs for their review and comment. Formal consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation is good practice, and it enables affected groups to determine whether or not their concerns have been incorporated into the final EA document. When the affected group's concerns have been omitted from the final EA, it is standard practice to discuss the reasons for exclusion. Such consultations should be conducted before the final document is deposited in a place accessible to the public.

Information and Communication

World Bank policy requires that information to affected groups be provided in a "meaningful and accessible fashion" and "timely manner." Responsibility for ensuring that the information is comprehensible to the affected groups rests with the borrower or EA preparer, who should, if necessary, obtain the expertise required to translate the information into a form comprehensible to the affected groups.

Affected groups may include the illiterate and those who do not speak the national languages, but they nonetheless must be able to understand the information in order to participate in the EA process. Appropriate communication processes must be designed and employed in the process, so that information reaches and is understood by affected groups and local NGOs.

The information has also to be received by the affected groups in a "timely" manner. What constitutes a reasonable time may vary across localities, depending on the sociocultural context of the project. Local social scientists and NGOs can assist in developing strategies for identifying the appropriate information,

methods of dissemination, and a reasonable timeframe.

Documentation of the Consultative Process

Finally, World Bank policy requires that EA reports contain a record of consultations with affected people and local NGOs. The record should specify how stakeholders were identified and what information was disseminated, as well as the means (other than consultations) used to obtain the views of affected local groups, such as social surveys, rapid rural appraisals, or focus groups. The documentation should also indicate how the collected views were analyzed and incorporated into the final EA. Without documentation of the consultative process or alternative means of obtaining information, it is difficult to determine whether "meaningful consultation" has taken place.

Summary

The World Bank requires that at designated stages of the EA cycle, borrowers conduct meaningful consultations with affected groups and local NGOs. The criteria for assessing "meaningful consultation" is based on the borrower's or EA preparer's capacity to identify the "affected groups" and obtain information. The borrower or EA preparer should conduct additional consultation when new issues arise during the EA cycle. Documenting the consultative process enables interested persons to determine whether appropriate consultations have been conducted.

While the final decision on EA recommendations rests with the borrower or implementing agency, project performance and action plans arising from EAs can be substantially improved through consideration of the viewpoints of all relevant stakeholders and affected groups. Meaningful consultation will be deemed to have taken place if the final EA document reflects the views of "affected groups," local NGOs, and those traditionally excluded from the consultative and planning processes, as well as those of the project proponent and other relevant government agencies.

Checklist for Reviewing and Evaluating Public Consultation Plans and Processes

Methodology

Selection of Participants

- Were representatives of the public involved in selecting participants?
- Have all potential stakeholders been identified?
- Have all potential stakeholders been given the opportunity to express their views?

Selection of Consultation Techniques

- Are the chosen techniques suitable for the objective?
- Are the techniques appropriate for the size of the audience?
- Are they appropriate for the technical knowledge of participants?
- Has sufficient time been allowed for informing participants?
- Will suitably qualified staff be involved?

Implementation

Suitability of Arrangements for Consultations

- Is the location appropriate?
- Is the time appropriate?
- Can everyone attend who may want to participate?

Adequacy of Information Provided to the Public

- Has sufficient information been provided for participants to make informed judgments?
- Is the technical level of the information suited to participants' background knowledge?
- Has appropriate language and vocabulary been used?
- Was information provided sufficiently early?

Information for Decisionmakers

- Was a nontechnical summary provided?
- Is information clearly and concisely presented?
- Has an appropriate language been used?
- Was it provided in time to inform decision makers?

Resources for Participants

- Have resources been provided to enable all those who wish to participate to do so?
- Were resources distributed fairly?

Analysis of Results

- Have views of participants been recorded?
- Have they been analyzed?
- Have suitably qualified staff been involved?

Feedback and Use of Results

- Have the results of the consultation been reflected in the decisionmaking process?
- Have participants been informed of the outcomes and how their input was used?
- Has the process resulted in a better decision?

Source: Adapted from *Manual on Public Participation*, 1995. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London, U.K.



Public Consultation in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia

Consultations with affected populations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming standard practice in environmental assessments (EAs). The Bank recognized this fact by incorporating public consultation in its 1989 Operational Directive (revised in 1991 as OD 4.01 and to be released as OP 4.01) on EA. This directive requires public consultations shortly after the EA category for a project has been assigned; and, once a draft EA report has been prepared. For "meaningful consultation" to take place, the Borrower should share relevant information about the project and its potential impacts with affected populations and local NGOs. The following Dissemination Note describes the results of a 1995 review by ASTEN and ASTHR of experience in the East and South Asia regions in implementing these public consultation and information dissemination aspects of the EA process. The review looked at fourteen (14) projects requiring EAs in order to capture lessons for improving Bank and Borrower performance in this area.

Why Public Consultation in EAs?

Consultation is a two-way communication process by which the knowledge and views of affected peoples, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties are taken into account in development decision-making. In the case of EAs, the assumption is often made that such involvement is not necessary because of the often complex and highly technical nature of environmental impacts.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the knowledge of affected communities and NGOs can contribute to the quality of EAs, as well as provide a better understanding of the social impacts which accompany development interventions. The Bank and other development agencies have learned that if public consultation does not take place early in the project preparation process, it often leads to public misunderstandings, and unnecessary delays in project processing and implementation.

Bank Policies on Consultation

The Bank's Operational Directive on EA (OD 4.01) distinguishes between various types of projects based upon the potential significance of their environmental impacts. Category A projects are usually large (e.g., hydro-dams, roads, urban infrastructural projects, industrial facilities, etc.) and have widespread environmental and social impacts, including in some cases involuntary resettlement and effects on vulnerable popula-

tions such as indigenous peoples.

These projects require a full EA, including consultation with affected groups and NGOs. Consultations are required during the scoping of issues to be addressed by the EA, as well as once the draft EA report has been prepared. The Bank recognizes that good practice may demand that further consultations take place at other appropriate points during EA preparation, after finalization of the EA report and throughout project implementation.

Information dissemination is fundamental to "meaningful consultation." According to the OD, such information should initially contain a summary of the project, its objectives and potential impacts; and, following the preparation of the EA report, a summary of its conclusions in a form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted.

ASTEN-ASTHR Review

In 1995, ASTEN and ASTHR conducted a desk review and selected interviews with Task Managers and environmental staff of 14 projects which contained public consultations during EA preparation (see Box 1). Five (5) of these projects are in South Asian countries, while nine (9) are in East Asia. Energy/power and agriculture/water are represented by three (3) projects each; infrastructure, transportation and environment/urban are represented by two (2) projects each; and, there is one (1) natural resources and one (1) multisectoral project.

**Box 1:
Projects Covered in the EA Review**

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Project Name</u> | <u>EA Category</u> |
|----------------|--|--------------------|
| Bangladesh | Jamuna Bridge | A |
| China | Hebei/Henan Natl. Highway | A |
| | Inland Waters | A |
| | Liaoning Environment | A |
| India | Madras Water Supply | A |
| | Tamil Nadu WRCP | A |
| Indonesia | Kabupaten Roads V | B |
| | Outer Island Sumatra and Kalimantan Power | A |
| Korea | Ports Development & Environment | A |
| Pakistan | Balochistan Natural Resources Management | B |
| Philippines | Leyte Geothermal Power | A |
| Sri Lanka | Colombo Env. Improvement | A |
| Thailand | Lam Taknong Pumps | A |
| Viet Nam | Irrigation Rehabilitation | A |

The review's purpose was to identify best practice cases, as well as areas of relative weaknesses. The review posed a series of questions relating to information disclosure, consultation practices, and monitoring and evaluation of the consultative process (see Box 2). It also looked at the impact of the consultation on issues addressed by the EA and incorporated into the project design. Like any desk review, more consultation may have taken place than is revealed in the project documentation.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

There is significant variability in the formal consultation procedures among Borrower countries, as well as in their traditional practices. There are also wide differences between these national procedures, where existent, and those of the Bank.

Of the ten (10) countries included in the review, seven (7) have formal consultation procedures; while three (3) countries (Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have none. Even in those countries where consultation procedures do exist, they are often only vaguely mentioned in the environmental legislation or are linked to other subjects (e.g., resettlement and land acquisition) rather than to EAs. The review revealed that only three (3) of the projects reviewed followed both national and Bank consultation procedures. The others followed either national or Bank procedures only; or, carried out consultations without following either the Bank's or national government procedures. These findings demonstrate that there is no consistent pattern in using either national laws or the Bank's OD as guidelines for the structuring of the EA consultation process.

Public Consultation in the EA Process

Stakeholder Identification

While only one (1) of the fourteen projects had an explicitly designed consultation strategy, almost all of them consulted a broad range of stakeholders. These included representatives of government agencies, academia, NGOs, religious groups, and village and community leaders. Few of the projects, however, defined who the "key stakeholders" were; nor did the project documentation describe the means for identifying and weighing the relative participation in these consultations of "affected communities," "beneficiaries and "other stakeholders." Only in three (3) projects were gender and ethnicity addressed in stakeholder identification and consultation.

Information Dissemination

The projects used a range of means for information dissemination: newspaper articles, TV and radio reports, videos and films, exhibitions, posters, and public meetings and hearings. Two (2) of the projects undertook systematic public information and dissemina-

Box 2: Basic Questions to Review Consultation Processes

Information Disclosure

- Were affected people and NGOs informed about the proposed activities?
- Was the project summary and objectives available to affected and interested groups?
- Were TORs for the EA available to the public?
- What mechanisms were used to disseminate project scope and objectives (press, bulletins, radio)?
- Was the draft EA report made available in a timely fashion?

Consultation Practices

- Does the country have a formal consultation procedure as part of the EA?
- Were the country procedures followed?
- Was a consultation strategy designed for the project?
- What criteria were used to identify stakeholders?
- How were the consulted groups selected?
- Who was consulted and when? (affected groups and other stakeholders)
- What were the consultation mechanisms used? (seminars, workshops, public meetings)
- What substantive issues arose from the consultation and how did they influence the project?

Monitoring & Evaluation

- Was a system designed to assess whether affected people and NGOs absorbed information from the consultative processes?
- Was a monitoring and evaluation system designed to measure the effectiveness of information disclosure and consultation strategies?

tion campaigns; another five (5) projects had newspaper reports and public meetings; and, seven (7) projects had no information dissemination strategy. It is unclear from the desk review whether there was any targeting of audiences in the information campaigns, whether materials were translated into local languages, or whether any assessments were made of public understanding of the information disseminated.

Consultation Mechanisms

The types of consultation mechanisms used in these projects included town and public meetings and workshops and seminars. There is, however, relatively little or no information in the project documents on the representativeness of the persons who attended these meetings. Only one of the projects used a systematic survey to elicit opinions of persons affected directly by the project.

There is a wide variety of effective techniques which could be used for consultation but apparently were not tested in the EAs analyzed in the review. These include public hearings, citizen advisory groups, focus groups, community opinion surveys, expert panels, etc.

Issues Identified for Project Design

During scoping sessions, stakeholders mainly raised issues concerning involuntary resettlement and the environment. In relation to resettlement, the key concern had to do with compensation; while environmental issues included the impacts of power plants on surrounding communities, the effects of noise and air pollution, and protecting historical and cultural property. The project documentation did not indicate whether there was any setting of priorities among issues; nor, how they were incorporated into the TORs for the EA.

Some of the issues raised during consultations resulted in changes in the project design; e.g., specific details of resettlement plans, modifications in engineering designs (see Box 3), and plans for protecting and monitoring threatened flora and fauna (see Box 4). There were no instances where consultations led the project proponent to seek alternative project designs or not proceed with the original project.

Review of Draft EA

According to OD 4.01, a summary of the draft EA conclusions, including the environmental management plan, are to be presented to affected communities and interested NGOs in a "form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted." There is great variability in the extent and ways in which draft EA summaries are being presented to the "general public," affected communities, and NGOs. Some projects provide the entire draft EA report to a wide range of stakeholders for public inspection and comment; others provide only summaries of the draft EA conclusions for public re-

Box 3: Farmer Group Consultations in India Madras Water Supply Project

The Second Madras Water Supply Project provides treatment and transportation of water to the city by a transmission pipeline which carries water from a command area inhabited by 11,500 farmers. An EA was carried out which included a strategy to consult the farmers. Consultations covered farmers associations, local government and affected communities and were organized by a reputable NGO. The farmers showed an awareness of the need to incorporate new operating rules for releasing of water from another reservoir.

As a result of the consultations, the Government drafted new formal rules which were accepted by the farmers and villages. It also included a suggestion made by the villagers that the capacity of the local water tank be expanded to satisfy the irrigation needs of local farmers, as well as permit continuing offtake from the reservoir for the water needs of Madras.

view and often to a more limited range of stakeholders, such as local governments or affected communities. From the documentation, it is unclear to what extent the comments made are actually incorporated into the EA report submitted to the Bank.

Conflict Management and Dispute Resolution

Projects with environmental implications often generate conflicts between the project proponents and affected communities and other interested groups, especially concerning the siting of facilities (e.g., the so-called "Not-in-My-Backyard" or "NIMBY" syndrome). A public consultation strategy may therefore need conflict management and dispute resolution techniques, including the use of professional facilitators. The review found that EA reports seldom contain descriptions of such conflicts; nor is there much use being made, at present, of alternative dispute resolution techniques.

Process Documentation and Recording

The review showed there is a paucity of information in the project files or EA reports on the types of consultation activities and mechanisms used, the individuals and groups invited and participating in them, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact of such discussions upon subsequent decisions. However, there is increasing awareness of the need to improve documentation and recording and an attempt on the part of a number of divisions to remedy the situation. This should contribute to greater institutional memory and learning on the part of the Bank.

Box 4:
**Public Consultation in Korea Ports Development
and Environmental Improvement Project**

In the Korea Ports Development Project, the project proponent asked local people to review the draft EA report and asked for their views on the noise and air pollution that port construction might cause. Issues raised included the protection of historic and cultural properties, provision of adequate compensation for damages to inhabitants of the port area, and preparation of mitigation plans to deal with noise and air pollution. Affected people provided comments to the Ministry of Environment and it, in turn, prepared a management and monitoring plan to mitigate environmental issues identified.

Constraints to Conducting Effective Consultations

In general, the review found that there were constraints both within Borrower countries and the Bank to conducting effective consultations within the framework of the EA process. Many Borrower governments and their sectoral ministries view the EA as a purely technical exercise which will not benefit from public and community involvement. Despite the growing importance of NGOs and civil society, there is still a tendency in many countries to implement development projects in a non-participatory manner.

To respond to these constraints, there needs to be a dialogue with Borrowers, based upon concrete experience, about how public consultation can lower the transaction costs of projects. Borrowers need to be convinced that by consulting with people they can avoid delays due to public protest and be more responsive to the demands of interested parties and constituencies. Borrowers also need to be convinced that by drawing upon local knowledge and concerns, they can improve the quality of EA studies, mitigation plans and project designs?

Within the Bank, Task Managers need guidance for advising Borrowers about how to design and conduct information dissemination and consultation processes. TORs need to be more precise in defining what needs to be done in terms of identifying key stakeholders, providing them with adequate information, and structuring a consultative process which is effective and meaningful to project proponents, affected populations and interested parties.

Recommendations for Improving Performance

The review, as well as general experience in other regions and outside the Bank, provides several insights

for improving Borrower and Bank performance in public consultation. Among other things, the Bank and Borrower countries need to:

- Generate dialogue with project proponents on the ways in which public consultation can further their own project and sectoral interests. One approach is to show project proponents both "best" and "worst" practice in public involvement, including what may happen in its absence.
- Focus more attention on stakeholder identification, especially of affected people and communities, local authorities and decision makers, the media, the scientific community, NGOs and other interested groups or parties.
- Disseminate information early and in a culturally meaningful fashion, including using local languages, visual methods and, where appropriate, communication expertise.
- Recognize that disputes and conflicts are sometimes inevitable and therefore plan for conflict management and dispute resolution.
- Document the process of consultation including participants, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact upon subsequent decisions.
- Evaluate whether or not public consultation improved the quality of EA and the public acceptability of the project. This could include the use of indicators to measure absorption of information disseminated, public satisfaction with the consultation process and its effectiveness from the viewpoint of the project proponent.
- Recognize that sensitization and training on the objectives and methods of public involvement may be needed for project proponents, central and local government authorities, affected communities, NGOs and Bank Task Managers.

Resources:

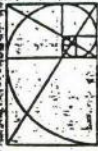
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Manual on Public Participation by Environmental Resources Management (Prepared for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, December 1995; Available Through ENVSP)

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Peter Bailey, Clair Gough,
Michael Chadwick and Gordon McGranahan

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FOREWORD

The European Union is committed to the promotion of economic development that is environmentally sustainable. This commitment is most explicitly formulated in the Fifth EU Programme of policy and action in relation to the environment and sustainable development, entitled "Towards Sustainability". The strategic aims and principles of this policy include shared responsibility; the application of the precautionary principle; the integration of environmental concerns into target sectors, namely industry, energy, transport, agriculture and tourism; and broadening the range of environmental instruments. There is also a clear recognition of the importance of an adequate scientific basis for these policies.

Environmental concern in the EU has, to some extent, shifted away from local, acute pollution problems to long term, increasingly global issues such as climate change, natural resource depletion, etc., and this is creating a major challenge both for an effective research policy interface and for interdisciplinary research. The rapidly developing art of "Integrated Environmental Assessment" (IEA) is seen as a potentially crucial "approach" in facing this challenge.

The EU Environment and Climate RTD Programme is contributing to the overall development of integrated assessment methodologies, through shared cost contract research (DG XII) and through in-house research activities (JRC). As part of this contribution, DG XII commissioned the Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) to prepare a state-of-the-art review of the IEA methods and to examine possible research directions in this field.

This report has proved to be a very useful input into discussions concerning the advancement of this strategically important research topic.

A.I. Sors, Head
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PREFACE

There is a view that policy decisions can only be taken when policy-makers have a full, objective and comprehensive view of the consequences of their decisions for all parts of society, including the environment. Rarely, if ever, will such conditions be met. In fact, quite far-reaching decisions, many with considerable significance for the environment, are taken almost daily without any real understanding of the long-term consequences of the decision for even the most obvious groups in society. To assert this is not mere cynicism; it is a recognition of the complexity and uncertainty surrounding the true nature, and interlinkages, of the major driving forces that determine societal and environmental consequences. Decision makers travel hopefully but seldom arrive at "full, objective and comprehensive" views of the consequences of decisions that are taken at almost every level in society.

In one way also, there is a danger in acceptance of the view that full, objective and comprehensive assessments can be obtained by increased efforts within existing approaches. It is possible that those who believe this to be so, perhaps by improvement, refinement and extension of modelling approaches, may have missed or misunderstood some of the most crucial elements required to improve policy analysis, evaluation and decision making in the complex realm of environmental and societal interactions. The requirement is not merely for models that have an improved structural and parametric basis, although this is usually welcome. There is a need to go beyond this. This can be done by the development of a framework, and a system, that will not only address the complexity and uncertainty of difficult issues, but present this in a form that is able to integrate with it public participation and education, a range of independent views, a mutual learning process and a transparency and collectivity of views that will find resonance with the intelligent but inexpert policy maker. Such a system not only requires an inter-disciplinary approach, expert modellers and the ability to coordinate the large range of factors and issues that will be involved but mutual respect between all the actors and stakeholders involved in the issue being addressed.]

Risk assessment learnt long ago the need to take an approach that not only went beyond risk identification and risk analysis but grafted on to this risk evaluation, to obtain the assessment that was then interpreted with the added requirement of including consideration of risk perception and risk communication.

These considerations are at the root of the concern within the European Commission, and wider afield, to encourage and improve methods for including environmental considerations into decision making processes. One system or framework would be the Integrated Environmental Assessment methodologies addressed in this Report by the Stockholm Environment Institute to the European Commission Directorate General for Science, Research and Development, DG XII/D-5 Research on Economic and Social Aspects of the Environment.

There are many areas in the environmental sphere that require an integrated assessment approach. Some are major concerns in the European Union, such as global climate change, acidification, the maintenance of biodiversity and desertification. But Integrated Environmental Assessment is also a tool for addressing issues such as transport, tourism, agriculture and energy policy that require inclusion of the environmental dimension to encourage a full, objective

and comprehensive view of the full consequences of the decisions that will need to be taken. This Report contributes to that process.

M. J. Chadwick
Stockholm Environment Institute

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Integrated Environmental Assessment (IEA) methodologies offer the European Union (EU) an opportunity to develop coherent policy responses for issues with environmental implications. [The aim of IEA is to draw upon the broad range of knowledge available within the scientific community, and the wider community, to enable informed and effective decisions to be formulated about different courses of action.]

analytical
method

The practitioners involved in IEA include physical, biological and social scientists, integrated assessment modellers, people with lay knowledge and other community representatives. [Broad participation is necessary because complex issues require the inclusion of a wide range of types of knowledge, experience and views.] Experts have available, and can apply, analytical tools designed to consider complex issues. Non-experts must be included for at least three reasons: because their knowledge of, for example, local conditions may be superior; because the value-commitments of different stakeholders can be incorporated into the assessment; and because IEA, not being a purely technical exercise, is intended to engage with non-scientific as well as scientific discourse.]

purpose
of IEA

The potential users of IEA methodologies include public administrations, business, lobby groups, non-governmental organisations, the mass media and the public. A variety of individual user groups will typically wish to advocate certain positions. This must be explicitly recognised either by encouraging assessments for and by individual user groups or by skilfully incorporating the different needs of users into a general assessment.

users

There are many useful analytical techniques available for IEA but no existing "home" discipline or technique suitable for a complete assessment. The challenge is to develop interdisciplinary structures within European institutions that can manage and co-ordinate IEA activities. [This will be a difficult task as many issues remain to be resolved, such as how to improve relations between different scientific disciplines and the interaction between science and the rest of society.] The creation of a network and forum involving both practitioners and users could provide a structure for developing and improving an IEA capability in Europe.

multi
disc. &
public
science
inter-
action

Computer models are necessary tools for the analysis of complex environmental issues. Integrated Environmental Assessment methodologies must find techniques for communicating model assumptions, methods and results to other practitioners and users and incorporating their concerns in an improved and more relevant model structure, leading to more appropriate policy outcomes. The limitations of computer models must be openly recognised by all practitioners and users, as some forms of important information cannot accurately be represented by computer modelling methods.

✓

Integrated Environmental Assessment can both teach and learn from other assessments of complex policy issues. For example, the area of medicine and medical ethics is experiencing many similar challenges. Economic sectors, such as agriculture, energy, transport and tourism, cannot operate successfully without considering environmental issues. [IEA methodologies offer a mechanism for incorporating environmental concerns into decision making.] → decision-making tool

The needs of European users of IEA are shaped by European political structures. With regard to policy development, the actions aimed at integrating environmental factors into all EU policies - one of the guiding principles of the fifth environmental

quote -
patched
context
of IEA

action programme - could benefit from, and favour the expansion of, IEA. The principle of subsidiarity, and cultural diversity among regions within Europe, place different requirements upon European IEA methodologies compared to the United States of America. The development and success of IEA in Europe will be influenced by the political context within which it must operate.]

[An important challenge facing IEA methodologies is how to incorporate informal and practical knowledge into the assessment and how to include the real concerns of people rather than an expert's perception of what these concerns are or should be. This will require an improvement in the understanding of the interface between informal and formal knowledge - an area of inquiry that will require the involvement of social and political scientists within the IEA process. The activity of social discourse is vital for the success of future assessments and public participation could be achieved through such techniques as focus groups and environmental juries.]

integrate formal & informal knowledge

A major objective of an IEA network and forum could be to foster and encourage the accumulation of good practice for IEA methodologies. A forum may provide a space for practice and debate through which experience will accumulate on how to incorporate uncertainty into assessments, how to deal with different temporal and spatial scales, how to encourage a plurality of assessment approaches and the difficulties of addressing fairness of procedure, and equity of outcomes, in IEAs.

forum / network

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| AHP | Analytic Hierarchy Process |
| DG | Directorate General |
| EA | Environmental Assessment |
| EC | European Commission |
| EEA | European Environment Agency |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| EPRI | Electric Power Research Institute |
| EU | European Union |
| GCM | General Circulation Model |
| GHG | Greenhouse Gas |
| GIS | Geographical Information System |
| IA | Integrated Assessment |
| IAM | Integrated Assessment Modelling |
| IEA | Integrated Environmental Assessment |
| IEM | Integrated Environmental Management |
| IIA | Integrated Impact Assessment |
| IPCC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| LRTAP | Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution |
| NAPAP | National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NUSAP | Numerical, Unit, Spread, Assessment and Pedigree |
| TFIAM | Task Force on Integrated Assessment Modelling |
| UNECE | United Nations Economic Commission for Europe |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most challenging issues facing the European Union (EU) is how to incorporate environmental considerations into its decision processes. The development of strategies in response to complex regional and global environmental issues, such as transboundary pollution or climate change, has significant implications for the EU. Potentially, the major environmental issues and their respective response strategies will impact on all parts of European society and its activities. The creation of appropriate policy responses requires advanced analytical tools to be made available for use in the emerging political structures of the EU and its Member States. Integrated Environmental Assessment (IEA), or simply Integrated Assessment (IA), has attracted much attention recently as one such analytical tool.

Integrated Environmental Assessment originated to satisfy a policy demand; acid rain problems in both Europe and North America have stimulated integrated assessment work programmes. Similarly, the largest area of integrated environmental assessment activity at present is connected with global climate change, reflecting the need to bring together available knowledge in a way that can be used in the policy making process. It is the need to provide policy relevant information about the environmental issue of interest that distinguishes IEA from mainstream scientific inquiry.

As IEA is an emerging field of study, no definition has been generally agreed upon. The starting point of this investigation was a working definition by Jaeger (1994):

As "Integrated Environmental Assessments" we understand procedures to arrive at an informed judgment on different courses of action with regard to environmental problems. The information required refers to physical, chemical, biological, psychological, socio-economic and institutional phenomena, including the relevant decision making processes.

IEA
definition

This definition recognises that complex global and regional issues with a large environmental component require an assessment framework that goes beyond traditional natural and social science disciplinary boundaries. No single discipline has the capacity to represent the broad range of facts and linkages that characterise complex environmental situations. Integrated Environmental Assessment aims to incorporate the tools and insights of the natural and social sciences into an overall assessment framework; thus there is still a role for strong disciplinary research - it is one of the essential building blocks of IEA.

Another broad definition of IA has been provided by Parson (1994):

The two defining characteristics are a) that it seek to provide information of use to some significant decision-maker rather than merely advancing understanding for its own sake, and b) that it bring together a broader set of areas, methods, styles of study, or degrees of confidence, than would typically characterise a study of the same issue within the bounds of a single research discipline.

Decision -
making &
inter-
disc.

These two descriptions suggest that a wider coverage of activities should be incorporated into IEA than implied by the working definition that has been assumed by many of the practitioners involved in integrated assessment of climate change.

Integrated Assessment has been the label that has been applied to Integrated Assessment Modelling (IAM) by Frederick (1994), Mendelson and Rosenberg

(1994) and Dowlatabadi and Morgan (1993). It will be argued later that IAM is not a complete IEA methodology. Integrated Assessment Modelling is an important activity within the boundaries of IEA but is only part of the assessment, not the whole.

Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) is another term which has been used to describe the inclusion of a wide range of information and viewpoints into planning and policy development. Born and Sonzogni (1995) define four core dimensions of IEM - comprehensive, interconnective, strategic and interactive/coordinative. The themes of wide participation and decision making are common to both this description of IEM and the two broad definitions of IEA presented above.

Others have described IA not in terms of what it is but in terms of its function; for example, Harman (1983) describes the benefits of Integrated Impact Assessment (IIA) as follows:

But perhaps the appropriate function of the IIA is not to provide a neat heuristic for guiding bureaucratic decisions, but rather to enrich and illuminate the public dialogue in ways that eventually make it politically possible for the wise decision to be made.

This is a point of crucial importance. IEA methodologies must concentrate as much on the "ends" as the "means" and a significant concern must be their usefulness to societal decision making. However, it is not suggested that ends and means are independent as the process of IEA is inseparable from the perceived quality and legitimacy of its findings. IEA methodologies are not intended to provide the solution which scientists, thinking objectively, would advise bureaucrats, acting in the public interest, to implement. Rather, IEA methodologies can provide a means of combining scientific analysis with other forms of politically relevant discourse. Any recommendations which emerge should be defensible to, and find a resonance with, the technical expert, but also to politicians, the media and the various other stakeholders. This does not imply that a consensus will be reached. Indeed, the possibility of irreconcilable differences is recognised and catered for by promoting a plurality of approaches.

public discourse

Environmental issues potentially impact on all aspects of society. IEA methodologies should recognise the specialist knowledge and experience that different members of society have to offer and should aim to incorporate "softer" information that may originate beyond the boundaries of the scientific community. Funtowicz and Ravetz (1991) suggest the need for "extended peer communities" such as community activists, lawyers, legislators and journalists to become involved in the assessment process. These groups can provide insights to, and a quality assurance of, the IEA that is not readily available from traditional scientific approaches. This approach may help to off-set the "crisis of scientific expertise" that has been commented upon recently in Europe (Horlick-Jones and De Marchi, 1995).

"softer" information

Within this understanding of what constitutes an IEA, Table 1.1 prescribes several of the key features required for an integrated assessment. Certain issues and roles are introduced which will be elaborated upon later in the document. One important categorisation is that of stakeholders. This term covers those parties that potentially will be affected in some way by a decision to take action, or not, over the issue under question; such stakeholders could be industry representatives, residential communities, politicians and campaigners, among others.

Table 1.1 Features required for Integrated Environmental Assessment

| |
|--|
| Inclusion of quantitative and qualitative knowledge from the natural and social sciences |
| Incorporation of Integrated Assessment Models as a component of the overall IEA as appropriate |
| Consideration of methodological aspects such as treatment of uncertainty, different scales and issues of distribution |
| Adaptation to the needs of the users of the IEA, such as regulators, business, the mass media and non-governmental organisations |
| Inclusion of informal information from both the scientific and non-scientific communities |
| Incorporation of mechanisms for social discourse between the IEA practitioners and the stakeholders |
| Provision of a means of shaping the direction of the IEA, including adaptation of IAM, as the needs of users alter and the knowledge of the practitioners develops |
| Communication of the insights of the assessment to the IEA community and within the broader decision making processes |

The characterisation of an IEA methodology described above is represented in Figure 1.1. The IEA activity is shown to overlap with the policy development process as the IEA practitioners interact with the users. What constitutes the boundary between the assessment and the policy process will be an unclear area and often a subject of negotiation, for an example see the debate about the estimation of "the value of human life" within the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Pearce, 1995; Bates, 1995). Practitioners in assessments, particularly computer modellers, should be aware of, and be able to make some response to, the implicit assumptions about decision making embedded in their analytical work. Users may have different interpretations of policy development processes; thus interaction between practitioners and users can improve the quality of the assessment by encouraging greater understanding of the political process amongst all participants. The next section considers the interaction between users and practitioners in more detail, and examines the other components of IEA shown in Figure 1.1.

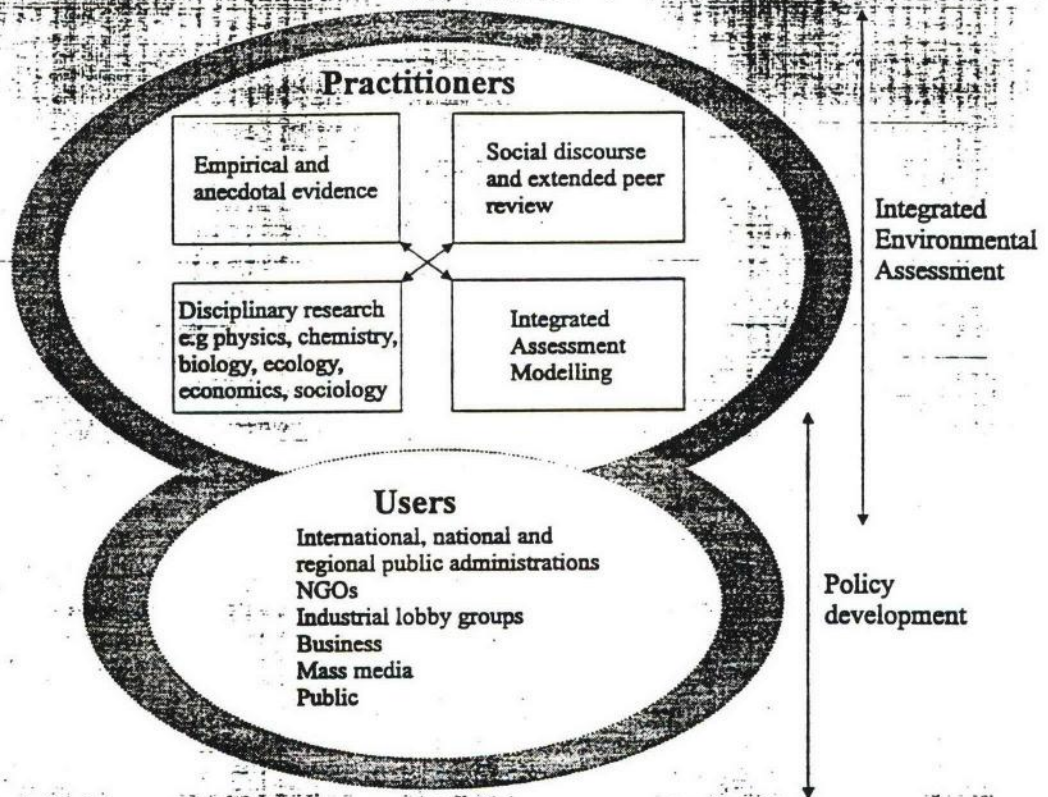


Figure 1.1 Practitioners and users of Integrated Environmental Assessment.

2. FUNDAMENTALS OF IEA

The previous section outlined the key components of an IEA and how they are related within the suggested IEA framework (Figure 1.1). The following section considers these components and their requirements in more depth and is structured around Figure 1.1. Finally, the integration of these components is discussed - it is important that no single aspect of the framework is considered in complete isolation. IEA calls upon a large range of institutions or organisations, many of which traditionally would not have held connections. The discussion will refer to the institutional requirements and indicate shortcomings of existing structures, where they occur.

There has been considerable debate on the relative merits of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research. In multidisciplinary research the physical, biological and social sciences rarely interact, whereas, team work and collaboration is central to interdisciplinarity (O'Riordan, 1995). IEA has a need to incorporate disciplinary research but it also goes beyond the scope of disciplinarity. The basis of the IEA framework presented is that groups and methods other than those from the conventional research and political establishments are fully represented. The stress on the methodology presented here is that no single component should dominate the process or should be aimed at representing a complete integrated assessment. A feature of the approach is to generate a move away from sole reliance on conventional scientific approaches by encouraging complementary approaches for complex problems with significant environmental components.

inter-disc. /
not multi-disc.
*
✓

2.1 Practitioners

This section describes the individual components that make up the upper ellipse illustrated in Figure 1.1 - the practitioners of an Integrated Environmental Assessment. The term "practitioners" is intended to cover all parties involved in information and knowledge gathering activities of the IEA. Thus, in addition to specialists and technical experts, the members of the lay community represented through qualitative evidence review panels and other social assessments are also IEA practitioners.

incorp. public in methodologies of IEA -
Basic Knowledge.

Disciplinary research

Despite the emergence of highly qualified environmental scientists who have a broad knowledge of many of the fields relevant to an integrated environmental assessment (e.g. the essentials of atmospheric chemistry, ecology, economics), a broad knowledge base should not be seen as a complete substitute for specialised academic research. Similarly, it does not seem to be appropriate that a specialist should attempt to produce individually a fully integrated environmental assessment, that captures all of the essential components of an IEA. This is a matter of defining bounds and of clear communication. For example, the analysis of the social consequences of environmental conditions or political decisions will require the involvement of sociologists or other social scientists while ecologists will be needed for their knowledge of ecological processes, and so forth. Conversely, when evaluating information from practitioners of a particular background, it should be recognised that the practitioner will bring a particular perspective to the assessment - for example, an economist has developed skills

within a discipline that operates with a certain view of society and this view will typically influence the way that the individual interprets and analyses information.

Different temporal and spatial scales are often applied in different disciplines. Social sciences work within the horizon of "historical times" which are usually much shorter than geo-physical times. Ecologists, climatologists and political scientists may well focus on different spatial scales to examine the causes and impacts of the same environmental problem. The challenge is how to integrate these different spatial and temporal scales into the overall assessment; an acceptance that different spatial or temporal scales suit different areas of enquiry is important for the success of IEA.

Typically, many environmental issues have been treated as problems addressed primarily by the physical sciences. Social, economic and political analysis is equally necessary in the understanding of why environmental problems arise and the effects of taking different measures. A truly integrated assessment will seek social explanations and implications in addition to biophysical analysis.

role of social scientists

By including disciplinary experts, the most up-to-date information can be brought to the IEA and greater credibility will be attached to the programme by all participants; this will aid its acceptance. The most challenging aspect associated with incorporating single discipline research is its communication to the wider IEA forum. Individual disciplines tend to have their own terminology and interpretation of language - a particular word might have a specific and different meaning according to the field in which it is used. For example, the term social cost may be interpreted very differently by economists, sociologists and lay people. The common use of jargon or discipline-specific terminology and acronyms may be considered essential to the communication of a topic within a discipline but excludes understanding by the uninitiated. In the worst case, jargon is used deliberately by scientists and policy specialists to exclude some from the discourse. An IEA must attempt to overcome the exclusionary aspect of jargon whilst recognising its legitimate use by specialists.

Allowing disciplinary specialists to contribute to IEA independently and without extrapolation from their own expertise, will help to provide a forum for the explicit communication of the uncertainties and limits of current knowledge. It may lead to a more willing involvement of such specialists by removing some of the demands for scientific compromise that previously may have led to some scepticism on the part of academic scientists.

Within the area of disciplinary research it is important to distinguish between specialist knowledge and the judgment of specialists. The increasing demands on the scientific community by environmental policy makers have been accompanied by a pressure for definitive statements (whether explicit or implicitly interpreted as such) to achieve decisive action. This often occurs in medicine, particularly when information is communicated through the mass media who wish to know whether, for example, a drug increases risk of cancer or what is the major factor responsible for cot deaths. It is not possible to eliminate all uncertainties, so they must be identified without compromising the trust that is placed in respected scientists (Jaeger and Zehnder, 1995).

The exploration of uncertainty by a specialist is an essential component of an IEA. A specialist can advise on the bounds and limits of current knowledge and communicate how the information may be used. Incorporating specialist research as an individual component of IEA allows a full and open communication of uncertainties to inform the process; it frees the other participants of the IEA to apply approximations and even subjective interpretation of information without losing the

original. However, the management and communication of uncertainty are not well established. An example of a method that addresses this issue is the NUSAP (Numerical, Unit, Spread, Assessment and Pedigree) approach (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1990; Costanza *et al.*, 1992); this allows the quality of quantitative information to be described in such a way that different users of the information can form similar evaluations of the data. As the participants of an IEA are many and diverse this will become a vital capability.

uncertainty
by
NUSAP

Integrated Assessment Modelling

The term Integrated Assessment Modelling (IAM) has often been used interchangeably with IA. Within the framework of Figure 1.1 it is clear that IAM is simply one component of an assessment. Computer models are invaluable for providing analysis and explanation of complex and interacting processes on a large scale. The use of computer models is one technique for exploring scenarios or policy options that would not be acceptable as untested experiments in a real world situation (Liverman, 1994).

In this context, the term Integrated Assessment Model is taken to refer to a category of computer models that incorporate different factors influencing an environmental phenomenon (e.g. pollution) or situation (e.g. resource management). Thus, by definition they take data from a range of disciplinary sources and link these data sets to varying degrees. There are several examples of IAMs that are currently in active use. These include CASM (Gough *et al.*, 1994) and RAINS (Alcamo *et al.*, 1987) applied in the UNECE Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution. These models aim to provide analysis of abatement strategies for acid deposition in Europe (UNECE, 1992). The IMAGE 2.0 model is another example of a European IAM which links sub-modules describing Energy/Industry, Terrestrial Environment and Atmosphere/Ocean for the assessment of climate change on a global scale. Integrated Assessment Models vary in their context, scope and size and in the degree to which they are integrated; the term is used here in its broadest sense.

Models depend on parametrisation of certain processes. However, many important factors in an IEA are not numerical or cannot be quantified. Despite this, modellers often do apply numerical values in areas of great uncertainty. This is usually unavoidable and can help to provide illumination when data are limited, but these uncertainties should be communicated clearly and actual and extrapolated data must be clearly distinguished (Liverman, 1994). Shackley and Wynne (1995) note that uncertainties, and model deficiencies in general, are frequently only communicated within a narrow modelling community rather than being subject to wider peer review. This can have one of two consequences - that the model becomes accepted and relied upon to a greater extent than is justifiable, which could be to the long-term detriment of the IEA, or that the model is mistrusted and bold claims about the model eventually detract from its credibility. Operating under uncertain conditions is inevitable and unavoidable in an IEA; striving for so-called scientific proof or zero uncertainty before acting is not a realistic approach. Historically, there has been some tendency to down-play scientific uncertainty in order to gain acceptance from outside the scientific community. North and Jeffers (1991) refer to situations experienced by mathematical modellers whereby models and their results have a greater chance of approval by decision-makers when they agree with preconceived ideas. Integrated

Environmental assessment should aim to avoid this and acknowledge uncertainties where they arise.

It can be very useful to incorporate values explicitly in the modelling process. The Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) described by Yin and Cohen (1994) is one technique that has been proposed as a means of incorporating alternative goals (i.e. values) from different sectors of society, as priority weights within a multi-criteria decision-making framework. However, further consideration of the implementation of this is required to address the means by which the participants are chosen and how the relative influence of different representatives is reflected.

It is important that IAMs are open to scrutiny and they do not become impenetrable. Computer models are used for manipulating large amounts of information and for representing systems characterised by many interrelated elements and processes. As models become more elaborate, the number of participants that can become actively involved in the development or review of the model may decrease. It is clear that pragmatic decisions over the resolution of IAMs will be required and that there will be a difficult balance in maintaining transparency while arriving at sufficient detail to adequately represent the problem.

Social discourse and extended peer review

Public participation is vital for a complete IEA. The engagement of non-technical knowledge and values into the assessment through social discourse will improve the quality of the assessment by giving access to a broader review process. Extended peer review is required because the problems considered by IEA do not have neat solutions and knowledge is not exclusively held by academic and official experts (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1991). Several advantages are offered by including people from outside the expert community. Review by non-experts enables the assumptions and models of society contained within the analysis to be compared with people's own experiences and views of the world. Any inconsistencies between the experts' representations and people's practical experience and knowledge can be identified and explored through the activity of social discourse. In particular, this interaction could be used to improve IAMs by providing a mechanism for the wider community to referee the models, thus enabling modellers to develop better representations of social systems.

Participants in the extended review process are likely to develop interesting strategies themselves on how to respond to particular issues within the assessment, thus a source of creativity outside of the expert community could help to produce improved options for action. Social discourse provides an opportunity for the participants in the extended review process to communicate, to scientific experts, their knowledge about the world in which they live, as well as offering experts a forum for explaining, to the wider public, the technical issues involved in the assessment.

The two-way interaction between scientific experts and the wider community should help to increase trust in the assessment and society's view of the legitimacy of the activity. If people see that their beliefs and values have been communicated to, and considered in, the assessment they are more likely to trust the institutions involved in IEA. This is vital, as it is widely accepted that the way a public decision is arrived at is as important as the actual decision made.

There are several established techniques for achieving public participation in assessments, for example focus groups or citizen panels (Burgess et al., 1988).

public part.

*

Morgan, 1993). Part of the responsibility of these groups will be to contribute to the validation and design process of IEA, and in particular the IAM activity. It is important that experts do not aim to produce results solely for the policy specialists but for the review panels also. The introduction of social discourse into environmental assessments is one of the major challenges for future IEAs and will require specialists from social sciences and psychology to become more involved and accepted within the environmental research community.

Empirical and anecdotal evidence

Traditional scientific approaches to environmental assessments have depended on quantitative and theoretically accepted information. However, as analyses extend into areas of greater uncertainty this may not be sufficient and it will be necessary to include qualitative accounts and informal knowledge. Incorporating empirical or anecdotal evidence allows the inclusion of information that would be overlooked if the analysis were totally dependent on knowledge endorsed by traditional science.

It has been noted that experts may lack practical knowledge (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1991) whilst informal knowledge from the local community may be more accurate about local conditions or real world practices (Wynne, 1992a). As "non-expert" knowledge will typically be in an informal or anecdotal form, it is important that an IEA includes channels and a structure for incorporating such knowledge into the assessment or an opportunity for bringing a new perspective could be lost. It is possible that anecdotal evidence could be picked-up by the media at a later stage in the policy development process, so an early inclusion into the IEA will have the advantage that the informal information can be subject to extended peer review and to some extent validated (or rejected). It is for similar reasons that empirical and anecdotal evidence from the scientific community should also be included; the IEA must retain a pluralistic attitude towards its sources of information because, when uncertainties are large, no single view will ever be complete. Finally, the inclusion of information from outside the core of normal science should help to increase participation in the IEA which is likely to increase the public's trust in the assessment process.

2.2 Users

The users of an IEA define its goals and so must be clearly and explicitly identified from the start of the assessment. In the past, the role of the IEA user has often been implicit in the framework or the user has been presented with, and simply accepted, a "black box" assessment. Later in this document, as examples and suggestions of IEA applications are presented, it will be shown that the users' needs should help to direct the nature, aims and criteria of success of an assessment. Identifying the key users and their needs will enable their goals and objectives to be stated from the outset and will reveal the incentives and motivations that are brought to the assessment. An assessment may seek to represent the concerns of a wide variety of users in a general IEA or individual users may commission and support their own assessments. If a general assessment is pursued, IEA must seek to explore and attempt to resolve the contradictions that will arise between the needs of different users.

Rayner (1992) introduces trust and consent as two important requirements for public acceptance of a policy decision in the context of risk management. Institutions responsible for such decisions should deserve that trust and the

procedures for obtaining collective consent should be acceptable to those who bear the consequences of a decision. This rationale applies equally to IEA. In order to gain trust it becomes important that users are not separate from an assessment, as customers of a product, but that they are an integral part of the process of IEA. The identification of the users concerns as real and the subsequent attention to addressing and incorporating those concerns is essential for establishing confidence among the users (Jaeger, 1995). This involvement is not merely an initial means of defining the goals of an assessment but is iterative and reflexive. As co-operation develops participation may become more candid with all parties, including analysts who initially may be sceptical of the benefits of broader participation. Recognition of users needs and opinions should improve the assessment and ultimately increase the acceptance of any decisions arising from it, but many challenges remain in accommodating and understanding this complex component of an IEA.

user involvement + ownership

2.3 Integration

Integration of practitioners

The institutional structure within which an assessment takes place governs the way an IEA operates. Integrating across disciplines will place new demands on existing academic institutions. Integrating across the different modes of practitioner will be an even greater challenge; barriers to communication must be overcome to establish dialogues and co-operation between parties that may never have corresponded before. This will require skill in establishing a means of communicating across a diverse range of established disciplines, all with their own languages (Jaeger, 1993). An elitism associated with, in particular, single disciplinary researchers may be responsible for reluctance in working with representatives from less formally recognised fora such as interdisciplinary review panels or non-professional groups. This is due in part to a lack of familiarity of areas outside an individual's, or even an organisation's, particular field of experience; for example, physical scientists are often sceptical of social scientists and the disciplines tend to operate in complete isolation. The potential for innovative research resulting from more open discourse between practitioners will be one of the positive products of IEA. This is not to suggest that consensus should be achieved between all participants - many areas for which IEA is appropriate are characterised by conflicting interests between the various parties concerned. A challenge of IEA is to present a clear and defensible commentary reflecting the outcome of each of our proposed modules (Figure 1.1), to do so it must achieve a balance of flexibility and assertion.

integration + communication

The earlier sections considered the roles of the different practitioners of IEA individually but an essential feature of an integrated assessment is that these are brought together and each component is implemented within the context of the other activities. This implies a mechanism for incorporating feedback and in some cases iteration. This type of integration may require some type of formal institutional structure to oversee and provide a vehicle for information exchange. It may be necessary for other new administrative institutions to be established that can act as central bodies for the practitioners of IEAs and for links with existing institutions to be encouraged. Iteration and feedback could be particularly relevant for the integration of modelling with other components of the IEA, for example, this could take the structure of an informal review of the original formal analysis which goes back to the modellers for technical amendments if necessary.

Integration of users and practitioners

→ Even more important than the links between practitioners are the links between users and practitioners. The users must be part of the IEA review process in order to promote the credibility and success of the assessment. There is a key role to be played in providing a link between practitioners and users, and indeed between the different practitioners. A pattern of iteration and review will develop as links are established, and this will enable feedback between parties. This may require individuals to act as "bridge builders" between the different components of the integrated assessment. ←

The need for integration of knowledge and decision making amongst the science community, public administrations and the wider community defines IEA. This section has examined the roles of the practitioners and users in IEA, and the ways in which they might be linked and introduced the issues that must be addressed if assessments are to be truly integrated. The following sections will attempt to identify methods and practices that could encourage successful interaction between practitioners and users in future IEA activities.

3 THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ART

This section reviews the current "state of the art" of IEA. An overview of alternative environmental assessment techniques is presented to help analyse whether IEA is truly a new area or an elaboration of existing techniques. The section then examines past and present environmental assessments of climate change and acidification. Some of the projects discussed were created as Integrated Assessments but others were not - a fact that must be remembered when comparing these assessments critically with the definition of IEA presented earlier. A summary of the present state of the art is provided at the end of the section.

3.1 Existing assessment methodologies

Many different assessment techniques have been applied to analyse environmental problems. It is not possible to examine fully all assessment techniques here and this discussion concentrates upon commonly applied assessment methods. There are many intersections and overlaps between the methodologies and hybrid techniques have been developed. This section attempts to give an overview of many of the important techniques used in environmental assessment.

Assessment frameworks

There are several techniques that are frequently applied to assess the environmental dimension of a particular technology, consumer product, project or policy. Environmental indicators are widely applied to measure the state of the environment. These indicators can include physical, biological and social measures (Rijsberman and Swart, 1990; Stanners and Bourdeau, 1995) and it is possible to derive aggregate indicators or indices. Indicators have the advantage that they can be easily communicated to non-experts but suffer from a simplistic treatment of many issues, for example, emissions of sulphur dioxide to the atmosphere is often used as an indicator but is a rough measure of the potential damage to human health, buildings and ecosystems. The use of indicators is appropriate within IEA provided that their limitations are clearly communicated to users. Environmental auditing is another technique often based around environmental indicators. Auditing of a company's environmental performance is a common business activity. Typically an annual report is produced which contains both quantitative data and qualitative information of the company's environmental performance. Some of these audits can be biased in favour of the company and selective with the information they provide.

The assessment of the environmental implications of an existing or new technology (technology assessment), and the more recent development of product life cycle assessment, are frameworks for analysing products or technologies. The social, economic, ecological and physical implications are all considered in technology assessment thus it could be seen as an attempt at an integrated assessment of a technology. Life cycle assessment is more concerned with providing simple indicators of a product's environmental impact. This information can then be used by manufacturers and consumers in their decisions about different products (Nordic Council of Ministers, 1992).

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) or simply Environmental Assessment (EA) is a mature activity that is widely applied to assess the impact of projects. It has developed into a number of other related techniques, such as sectoral

environmental assessment, regional environmental assessment and strategic environmental assessment (IAIA, 1995; World Bank, 1991; Goodland and Tillman, 1995). Environmental Assessment has had to consider many of the issues that IEA is attempting to address and strategic environmental assessment, the EA of policies and programmes, covers very similar areas. Integrated Environmental Assessment and EA are closely related methodologies and the communities involved in both should be aware of the ideas and methods each are developing.

Risk assessment is another technique that covers many of the issues involved in IEA. The long-accepted approach is to regard risk assessment as a combination of risk determination and risk evaluation (Rowe, 1979). In the evaluation process the scientific and technical considerations are joined with social and political judgments. Risk assessment has been applied to economic sectors with broad environmental impacts such as energy systems, particularly in relation to comparative risks to human health. It has been developed less successfully for comparative environmental risk. But even in the area of health risk studies there is little evidence that this approach has played any noticeable part in decisions relating to, for example, investment in electricity generating systems. It has become apparent that present approaches to risk assessment may not be adequate in the present day "risk society" (Beck, 1992). Many observers have commented that risk analysis must encompass issues like trust and legitimacy if assessments are to be accepted by society in the future (Wynne, 1992a; Robinson, 1992). The assessment of risk will form a vital part of IEA so perhaps risk assessment should be seen as one of the building blocks of IEA. ✓

Environmental management also requires an assessment framework that covers many activities and involves natural and social science disciplines. Environmental management can potentially refer to any aspect of humankind and the environment and thus many aspects of IEA will be found in the area of environmental management. There has been a tendency to add the phrase "environmental management" after any scientific discipline to describe how a particular discipline approaches environmental issues. Integrated Environmental Assessment perhaps offers the opportunity to bring together the different scientific activities of environmental management - indeed there is an area of development called Integrated Environmental Management (Born and Sonzogni, 1995).

Operational research has developed a wide range of numerical and qualitative techniques suitable for considering policy issues. These include multi-criteria decision analysis, mathematical programming, scenario analysis and the Delphi method. There is a vast literature on the theoretical and practical aspects of these techniques, including examples of resource planning (North, 1993), economic-ecological systems (van den Bergh and Nijkamp, 1990-1991), criticisms of optimisation techniques (Cocklin, 1989) and more theoretical aspects (Cohon, 1978). Computer modelling techniques have been used to analyse environmental problems for several decades (Meadows et al., 1972; Liverman, 1989; Meadows et al., 1992). A broad range of issues have been analysed within a computer modelling framework including sustainable development (Shaw et al., 1991; SEI-B, 1994), forest regions (Pickett et al., 1994) and the pollution problems presented in Section 3.2. Integrated Environmental Assessment will require the application of many of these techniques, particularly within the IAM activity. The IEA should provide a mechanism for communicating the suitability and limitations of such techniques to practitioners and users to avoid, for example,

quantitative techniques being inappropriately applied within the assessment. The originating discipline and main characteristics for each assessment technique are summarised in Table 3.1.

Disciplinary based assessments

Assessments of the environment are often performed within individual scientific disciplines. As discussed earlier, IEA goes beyond the capacity of any single discipline but it is worth considering to what extent some prominent disciplines approach integrated assessment. Economics is a discipline that has a high profile in environmental research. There are numerous reasons for this, including the importance of economics in political decision making and the potential for environmental improvement through the application of economic instruments (Pearce and Turner, 1990; OECD, 1994). It is tempting for some economists to advocate economics as a complete assessment framework because methods are available for incorporating social, physical and biological information into economic analysis through techniques such as cost-benefit analysis. It is accepted by many that such techniques do not capture all of the issues associated with IEA thus economics should be seen as a necessary, but never sufficient, activity within IEA. For example, Munda (1995) exposes some of the methodological problems inherent in cost-benefit analysis. In response to this, some economists are attempting to develop ecological economics which could be more suitable for the analysis of complex environmental issues (Costanza et al., 1991; Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1994; O'Connor et al., 1995).

Nearly all environmental issues have an important spatial dimension. It is for this reason, and the availability of Geographical Information Systems (GIS), that geography has become an important discipline within environmental research. Geography has physical, ecological, political, economic and social sub-disciplines, all of which have the common characteristic of spatial analysis. Although geography cannot deliver all the requirements of IEA it is an important discipline within environmental assessment. Human ecology is another discipline that has considered spatial analysis. Its treatment of humankind's relationship with the environment may make it suitable for many aspects of integrated assessment, for example, Nelson and Serafin (1992) apply a human ecology approach to the assessment of biological diversity and Jaeger (1993) examines its role in climate research. Ecology is a significant discipline within IEA and ecological theory and practice have been applied to environmental management problems for many years. Adaptive environmental assessment and management originated from ecology (Holling, 1978) and is an assessment technique which shares many of the characteristics of the type of IEA proposed in this report, such as its approach to uncertainty and surprise (Toth, 1995a).

Table 3.1. Existing assessment methodologies

| Assessment technique | Originating discipline | Comments |
|---|---|--|
| Assessment frameworks | | |
| Environmental Indicators | Natural and social sciences | Typically simplified physical, biological and social measures of environmental conditions |
| Technology Assessment | Engineering, technology and social science | Consideration of the impact of a particular technology upon society and the environment |
| Life-Cycle Assessment | Engineering, technology and social science | A framework based upon the aggregation and cross-comparison of the diverse impacts of products |
| Environmental Auditing | Professional consultancy | Predominantly concentrated at the business level |
| Risk Assessment | Several | A combination of risk determination and risk evaluation |
| Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis | Operations research | Offers mathematical techniques for modelling decision makers' goals and conflicts |
| Computer Modelling | Systems analysis | The evaluation of data and/or processes using computer software |
| Delphi Method | Several | Concentrates upon the aggregation and formalisation of opinions of "experts" |
| Scenario Analysis | Several | Methodological issues of exploring future structures and relationships |
| Environmental Management | Several (especially ecology, law, economics and politics) | An interdisciplinary framework suitable for considering many aspects of IEA |
| Project Environmental Impact Assessment | Several | The traditional application of EIA that focuses upon an individual project |
| Strategic Environmental Assessment | Several | Environmental Assessment of policies and programmes |
| Regional Assessment | Several | A framework for the assessment of regional environmental issues |
| Disciplinary approaches | | |
| Cost-Benefit Analysis | Economics | All (environmental) losses and gains collapsed to a single metric (money) |
| General Equilibrium Analysis | Economics | Simultaneous consideration of all sectors and markets in an economy |
| Economic Sector Analysis | Economics | Concentrates on markets, extra-market environmental impacts treated as externalities |
| Ecological Economics | Economics | Attempts to look at stocks as well as flows and go beyond neo-classical economics |
| Geographical Information Systems | Geography | A computational tool for analysing spatial data |
| Systems Ecology | Ecology | Considers the processes and interrelationships driving ecosystems |

Regional assessments

Geographical regions often define the bounds of an assessment, for example the Mackenzie Basin Impact Study (Yin and Cohen, 1994). Many European regions have been the focus of international assessments and treaties, including the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Alps. Regional assessments can provide the appropriate spatial coverage for IEA and IAM activities because many of the important impacts of, and response to, environmental change are best considered at a regional scale (Groffman and Likens, 1994).

Sectoral assessments

Economic sectors are frequently used as a basis for environmental assessments. There have been several recent assessments of the environmental aspects of transportation (EC, 1994; Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, 1994) and energy industry assessments are common, for example, the electric supply industry (Bernow et al., 1995). An economic sector is an appropriate focus for IEA because many policy decisions are made at sectoral level. The IEA of economic sectors must consider linkages to other sectors to obtain a truly integrated assessment which avoids a partial analysis of the issues.

3.2 Current examples

There are many examples of environmental assessments that, although maybe not originally conceived as IEAs, can be seen as forerunners to this type of analysis. As environmental policy evolves, a wider range of tools is called upon for decision making. The following examples have been chosen for their contribution to different levels of the environmental decision making process and so have been grouped according to the issues they were designed to address, rather than by their operational characteristics. The two main issues chosen for illustration are climate change and acidification, these pollution issues are being addressed within formal, established institutional frameworks at an international scale. The final section summarises other issues for which IEA has been, or could be, applied in some form. It is useful to consider these programmes in the context of the IEA framework presented here, despite the fact that studies may have been developed for more specific application.

Climate change

IEA is an essential tool for the development of policies to address climate change. This environmental, economic and social problem is also, perhaps, the most challenging for an IEA. It is important at global, regional and local scales, involves large uncertainties and potentially huge socio-economic, technological and environmental implications. It is also the application for which IEA is most established as a widely-recognised policy tool.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was initiated in 1988 with the tasks of assessing scientific information, predicting impacts and formulating realistic response strategies. IPCC represents a strong institutional body for the co-ordination, management and communication of climate change research and advice towards the formulation of policy. Its operation is divided into three Working Groups and a Special Committee on the Participation of Developing Countries. Working Group I has the task of assessing available information on the science of climate change, particularly that arising from human activities; Working Group II assesses available scientific, technical, environmental, social and economic information regarding impacts of climate

change and response options to adapt to and/or mitigate climate change; the role of Working Group III has been redefined to address specific issues associated with climate change, such as the provision of technical assessments of the socio-economics of impacts, adaptation and mitigation of climate change and the development of scenarios for future emissions to assist the other Working Groups (IPCC, 1993) - Working Group III is also undertaking a review of IEA in this context. The Working Groups provide detailed reports, the preparation of which incorporates a peer review process; these are widely available and explicitly document the aims, activities and directions of the Group.

Because of the parametric complexity of the issues, computer models have dominated research activities concerned with climate change. IPCC has encouraged parallel activities adopting different approaches and has not identified particular "official" models. The Working Group II (impacts) Technical Guidelines (IPCC, 1994) distinguishes three broad types of models: biophysical, economic and integrated systems models; it is this last category from which examples are drawn here. These guidelines refer to several examples of different types of integrated models some of which are described below; for example, aggregate cost-benefit approaches such as DICE (Nordhaus, 1992), CETA (Peck and Tiesberg, 1992) and MERGE (Manne et al., 1993) and regionalised process-based approaches, ESCAPE (Rotmans, et al., 1994), IMAGE (Rotmans, et al., 1990; Alcamo et al., 1994a, 1994b), MAGICC (Hulme et al., 1995), ICAM (Dowlatabadi and Morgan, 1993) and GCAM (Edmonds et al., 1993). The problems associated with a reliance on models, described earlier, are acknowledged and other complementary approaches are encouraged, for example, empirical analogue studies, expert judgment and participatory assessment.

The IPCC documents are accessible and clearly put together with limited use of technical language and explanatory definitions where necessary. The integration of scientific information from different disciplines is covered comprehensively (IPCC, 1990). However, the involvement of sectors outside the scientific and political communities is lacking and the inclusion of social scientific analysis, particularly on issues associated with equity and the broad participation of other user groups, is limited.

Several studies have produced reviews of the research methods, models and integrated assessment programmes connected with the climate change debate, such as Martin (1993), Liberatore (1994), Parson (1994), Collier and Hope (1995), Toth (1995b) and Dowlatabadi (1995). These reviews provide in-depth accounts of the state of the art in this field; the following examples have been chosen in order to highlight particular issues raised in other sections and the exclusion of any individual programme is not significant. In particular, the review of Integrated Assessment in the context of climate change presented in Parson (1994) covers a broad range of different types of assessment in addition to modelling efforts. An example of an Integrated Regional Assessment is the Mackenzie Basin Impact Study (Cohen, 1994) which provides an assessment framework for an extensive range of research activities and aims to represent a wide range of potential users and social groups. Since this programme was initiated in 1990 and its progress is well-documented it provides a valuable example of an integrated assessment. The Global Dynamics and Sustainable Development Programme of RIVM has presented initial attempts to go beyond an economic analysis of social systems by adopting methods based on cultural theory within a quantitative IAM (TARGETS Model) (van Asselt *et al.*, 1995).

The Policy Analysis of the Greenhouse Effect (PAGE) model (Hope et al. 1993), developed for the EC, presents an economic assessment of the costs and impacts of global warming. The PAGE model is relatively simplistic in its treatment of many of the processes associated with climate change. However, it does provide a thorough analysis of the uncertainty of its input parameters and their influence on the model outcome, comparing two global preventative policies. Input parameters are expressed as probability distributions and calibrated against scenarios prepared by the IPCC. Its role as an Integrated Assessment Model is rather limited but the way that uncertainty is incorporated to the model provides a useful example.

ESCAPE (Evaluation of Strategies to address Climate change by Adapting to and Preventing Emissions) is a European integrated assessment model prepared for the EC DGXI (Rotmans et al., 1994). It has a modular format, consisting of four modules that allow the preparation of greenhouse gas emission scenarios and the assessment of their global and regional impacts expressed in terms of sea level and climatic changes. These modules are linked but not fully integrated and do not incorporate feedbacks at this stage. Results are presented as charts and maps describing annual global-mean temperature changes, regional (European) temperature changes, regional precipitation changes and agricultural impacts. Uncertainty is addressed in detail but is not standardised across the modules. This model was intended to have an explanatory rather than a predictive or deterministic role. The presentation of the ESCAPE model is clear and comprehensive and its limitations are well communicated.

The IMAGE model (Integrated Model for the Assessment of the Greenhouse Effect) is a global simulation model developed within the ESCAPE framework with the aim of providing policy makers with information concerning the problem of the greenhouse effect and the evaluation of proposed strategies (Rotmans et al., 1990; Alcamo, 1994). The format of linked modules is designed so that individual modules are developed from information from specialised research and so that new information, or additional modules, can be incorporated as the model develops. Scenario results are expressed in terms of GHG concentrations, total temperature rise and sea level rise, all at a global resolution. Uncertainty is raised by identifying potential errors or areas for which current knowledge is insufficient. A subsequent version of the IMAGE model, IMAGE 2.0, divides the world into 13 regions and adopts a spatial scale of 0.5° by 0.5° latitude-longitude grid for its impacts analysis (Alcamo et al., 1994a, 1994b). IMAGE 2.0 is structured around three fully linked sub-models (Energy/Industry, Terrestrial Environment, Atmosphere/Ocean) and places an emphasis on feedbacks within and between subsystems. The model is embedded within a GIS and produces graphs and maps as output describing inputs and simulations from the sub models. Uncertainty analyses have not been completed yet for IMAGE 2.0, however the sub-models were tested and calibrated through simulations of historic observed data.

There are several large scale American IAM activities providing assessments of climate change. Parson (1994) presents a comprehensive overview of these projects. Among these are several IAM projects partly funded by the US Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI). The GCAM model (Global Change Assessment Model) (Edmonds et al, 1993), of the Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratory, is a large IAM linking many detailed sub-models, representing agricultural, industrial, climatic, demographic and other factors to carry out runs describing the development and impacts of changes in GHG emissions. Carnegie

Mellon University is involved in the development of an IAM, ICAM (Integrated Climate Assessment Model) (Dowlatabadi and Morgan, 1993), as the major part of a broader assessment of climate change. ICAM 1.0 is a stochastic simulation model designed to incorporate major parameters and process uncertainties, and employs expert subjective judgment (Dowlatabadi and Morgan, 1993). ICAM 2 extends this model to cover further interactions and feedbacks. MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is developing an IAM through the integration of existing component models. This model will be more computer intensive than the other two American models and provides scenario analysis of policy options which are developed in relation to Policy Forums to provide links with the lay and political community (Parson, 1995).

Many of the models and assessments referred to use output from other assessments or disciplines. For example, results from GCMs (General Circulation Models) are often taken for use as climate data inputs for IAMs; energy and emissions data is often taken from other studies, e.g. the GREEN model and the Edmonds-Reilly global economics model (Dean and Hoeller, 1992). This is consistent with the integration of activities within an IEA but can lead to an interdependence of programmes that initially might appear to be unrelated. Social aspects of climate change are often not as thoroughly considered as biophysical and economic processes, which generally receive comprehensive treatment. Concerning the state of IEA for climate change, the conclusion may be drawn that there are significant opportunities for improving the treatment of issues of uncertainty and of fairness of procedures and equity of outcomes.

Acidification

Examples of Environmental Assessment Programmes for acidification have been taken from Europe and North America, where two different approaches have been adopted. In Europe, the problem of acidification was addressed through the UNECE Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP). This programme is a good example to consider in the context of IEA since it led to a completed political decision, the Oslo Protocol on Further Reductions of Sulphur (UNECE, 1994). This was developed with the aim of integrating the sources, effects, and economic aspects of air pollution, across national boundaries and using Integrated Assessment Models. The institutional framework of the Convention is illustrated in Figure 3.1, which shows the component groups contributing to the assessment - the practitioners and how they are linked. The users of the assessment are represented mainly through the Working Group on Strategies, and the Executive Body. The Working Group on Strategies is attended by representatives from national governments and ministries in addition to representatives from the Task Forces and the Working Group on Effects.

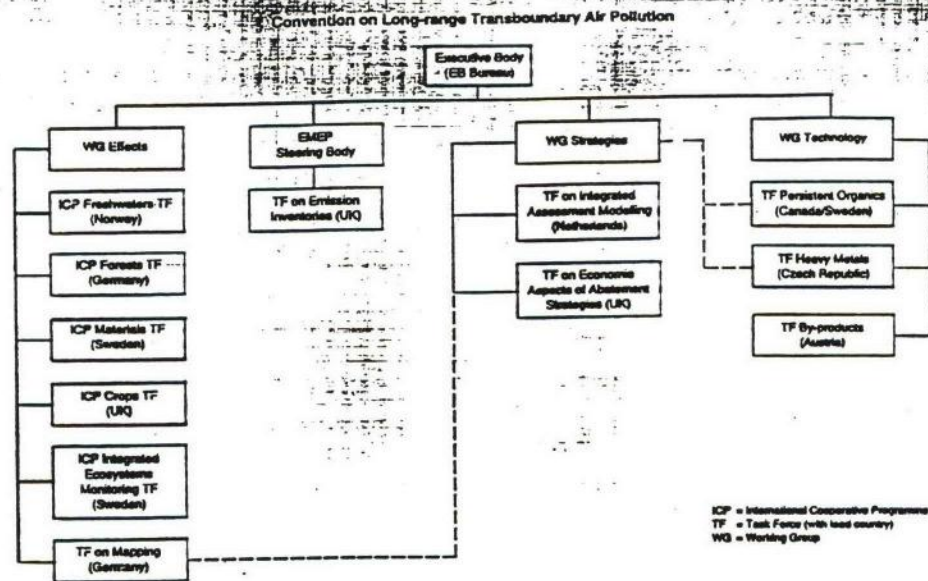


Figure 3.1 The institutional structure of the UNECE Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution (Source: UNECE)

Abatement strategies are developed, in part, through the investigation of the relative costs and effects between countries using IAMs, managed by the Task Force on Integrated Assessment Modelling (TFIAM). Dialogue between the TFIAM and the Working Group on Strategies develops the conditions and data upon which the models determine abatement strategies (UNECE, 1992). The European Monitoring and Evaluation Programme (EMEP), established in 1977, provides information describing the long-range transport and deposition of air pollutants across boundaries (Elliassen et al., 1988); the EMEP data is crucial for the IAM activities within the Convention. Critical loads were developed as nationally agreed environmental targets for acid deposition; the Working Group on Effects (WGE) and the Task Force on Mapping (TFM) are responsible for the development of the critical loads for input to the models. These are derived by National Focal Centres according to guidelines prepared by WGE and TFM; critical loads for countries that do not submit national data are estimated from mapped information by the Co-ordination Centre for Effects which oversees the distribution of data. The Oslo Protocol on Further Reductions of Sulphur was developed within this network using the strategies from the IAMs as a basis for the negotiations.

Three IAMs - CASM (Gough et al., 1994), RAINS (Alcamo et al., 1987) and ASAM (ApSimon and Warren, 1992) were involved in this process. However, they all operated from a similar framework and several common data sets were used (due to the need for official endorsement). Only the disciplinary research and Integrated Assessment Modelling components from the suggested IEA framework were formally represented within this Convention but negotiators entered the discussions supported by comprehensive national activities. Although the results of the IAMs had significant influence over the final agreement, individual countries were still free to base their reductions on more detailed national studies

(Castells and Funtowicz, 1995). The two-way dialogue between Working Groups and Task Forces allowed certain specific concerns to be incorporated in the formal analyses. This work was directed mainly towards international and national public administrations, but representatives from certain NGOs and other international organisations (IIASA, IUCN, WHO) and industrial lobby groups participated in the Working Groups and Task Forces; the participation of such bodies provides the main link between ordinary citizens and the policy process, beyond any opportunities for influencing their own national government's position within the UNECE (French, 1995). Most of the information associated with activities within the LRTAP Convention is restricted from public access during the development of negotiations. This has contributed partly to the difficulty individuals or organisations outside the formal Convention may encounter in understanding its mechanism. However, the achievement of an international Protocol, accepted by a majority of the parties to the Convention, agreeing to differentiated emission ceilings is significant. As the LRTAP Convention proceeds to address the pollutants responsible for more complex effects (e.g. oxides of nitrogen) a wider range of approaches and broader participation are likely to be incorporated more formally.

In the USA, the first acid rain legislation was the Acid Precipitation Act of 1980, through which a ten year research programme was established to elucidate the scientific and technical uncertainties associated with acidification in North America. This programme, the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Programme (NAPAP), was intended to provide an inter-agency integration aimed at developing the scientific basis for policy decisions on acidic deposition (NAPAP, 1989; Irving, 1991). Further legislation for the reduction of emissions of acidifying pollutants was effectively delayed awaiting the outcome of this programme. The 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments incorporated the first Federal Acidic Deposition Control Programme for the reduction of sulphur and nitrogen oxides and provided for both traditional and market-based approaches. This legislation initiated an extensive emission permit trading system through which electric utilities may trade or bank emission permits, which are allocated on the basis of their past emitting activities. However, the Clean Air Act Amendments were almost completed in Congress by the time the final results were published from NAPAP. This US Integrated Assessment has come under certain criticism (Rubin et al., 1991-1992) for not directing the presentation and directions of the research programme to relate sufficiently to policy development. In addition, Henrick and Jamieson (1995) criticise NAPAP for its dependency on traditional disciplinary science to complete the policy assessment, i.e. to answer political and value-laden questions as if there existed a single objective solution. Under the 1990 Clean Air Act legislative mandates for a new NAPAP are directed at focusing future activities on specific policy relevant issues (NAPAP, 1993).

Canada is a party to the UNECE LRTAP Convention and signed both the 1985 Helsinki Protocol and the 1994 Oslo Protocol, accepting the critical loads concept for targeting abatement strategies. The Canadian Long-range Transport of Air Pollution and Acid Deposition research effort has been underway since 1980 and a set of reports details the research activities into emissions and controls, atmospheric sciences, aquatic, terrestrial and human health effects, socio-economic studies and quality assurance (RMCC, 1990).

Other Major Environmental Issues

There are many other environmental concerns for which IEA has either been applied in some form, or for which it is an appropriate technique. Without considering any in great detail, this section indicates some of those issues which are relevant in this context. For example, fisheries management faces the challenge of creating a balance between the ecological management of the harvesting of a dwindling self-renewing resource, the dependence of many human communities on fishing as a way of living and international mediation. Recent clashes between Canadian and Spanish fishing vessels have demonstrated the urgency with which a democratic management approach is required. The crash of the cod population in the Grand Banks (MacKenzie, 1995) illustrates the devastating consequences of under-estimating uncertainties. The implication in this case is that a dependency on scientific models for estimating catch sizes has led to over fishing due, in part, to assumptions made over variables that can never be measured, compounded by a tendency for governments to play on uncertainties in order to increase catch sizes. This represents an area for which IEA becomes an essential activity; it is characterised by multiple conflicting goals and diverse stakeholders, there are high levels of uncertainty and the implications of a complacent approach are already apparent in many commercial fishing sites and communities.

Experience of environmental assessments within particular economic sectors is common, for example, in the UK the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution (1994) attempted to draw together a diverse range of studies and concerns associated with national transport issues. In 1993, a Tripartite Initiative between the European Commission, the automobile and oil industries was established as part of the EC's strategy on vehicle emission reduction measures (EC, 1994). A recent study for the Texas Sustainable Energy Development Council, developed an integrated framework for an environmental and economic analysis of the current electric system planning practises in Texas State (Bernow et al., 1995). Similar opportunities and experience occur with other environmental issues, such as: sustainable development; trade policy; renewable resources; biological diversity; regional environmental problems; water pollution; nuclear radiation and medical risk.

Summary of current assessment activities

It is a reflection of the difficulties of achieving an assessment of an environmental issue that is fully integrated, that this Section has not identified an existing or past assessment that completely fulfils the requirements of IEA presented in Sections 1 and 2. This does not detract from the excellent research and policy appraisal that have been performed - this section has identified numerous projects and activities that have produced high quality assessments.

Many of the existing assessment techniques reviewed in Section 3.1 achieve some form of integration by over-simplifying the problem and reducing the scope of the analysis. The challenge for IEA is how to achieve integration without resorting to a level of reduction that negates the usefulness of the assessment in policy development.

The next section introduces the idea of "good practice" in IEA and attempts to highlight several activities that will need fuller treatment if IEAs, of the type advocated in this document, are to be achieved in the future.

4 GOOD PRACTICE

The success of an IEA in providing informed response strategies for complex issues with a substantial environmental component will depend on the quality of the assessment process and the adoption of good practices during its development. It is not the aim of this section to imply a "guide" to good practice but to raise some issues that will recur throughout IEA activities. These aspects are inherent in the application of IEA to complex issues. Section 3 identified aspects of good practice in previous assessments and this section concentrates upon the areas which need further consideration. Several key aspects of good practice identified in this study are presented here - the treatment of uncertainty, the incorporation of plurality of approaches and how to address fairness and equity. The development of good practice will evolve over time and is probably the major challenge for the successful implementation of IEA in the future.

4.1 Uncertainty

How can an assessment provide an adequate treatment of uncertainty? Complex environmental issues are characterised by high uncertainty in many areas. Good practice in IEA must incorporate procedures for the identification and communication of the uncertain and what is likely to remain indeterminate. Wise decisions are called for about activities impacting on the environment when there is uncertainty - even the strategy of waiting for more information before following a particular course of action is a decision of what to do under uncertainty. It is important to recognise that there are different types and sources of uncertainty; Wynne (1992b) distinguishes four levels of uncertainty, each of which will be found to varying degrees in IEA applications: risk (subject to probabilistic assessment), uncertainty (system parameters are known, but their probability distribution is not), ignorance (the unknown), indeterminacy (open-ended networks or processes, the outcome of which cannot be predicted). When knowledge is to be integrated from different activities or fields of study there is an even greater chance that the errors or uncertainties communicated may be underestimated in the combined product.

There are methods available to the sciences that allow the quantification of the uncertainty, or confidence, in numerical data. These range from simple statistical measures such as standard deviation to more advanced procedures like Monte Carlo simulation. However, it is not sufficient to provide a quantification of uncertainty alone. The treatment of the indeterminate aspects of complex environmental problems requires other analytical tools, for example, the NUSAP approach of Funtowicz and Ravetz (1990, 1991) or ignorance auditing (Dovers and Handmer, 1995). However, these techniques are often not applied because the additional work is not thought to be worth the additional information or, perhaps worse still, a belief that the acknowledgement of uncertainty will "cloud" the issue rather than inform it. If IEA is to provide a significant contribution to environmental policy making, good practice in the treatment of uncertainty will be required. This may require the formulation and inclusion of new methods in addition to a wider application of existing ones.

4.2 Plurality of approaches

How can an assessment incorporate a plurality of approaches? The motivation for this question is the belief that no individual analysis can cover all the issues and provide all the answers of how to respond to complex issues. The IEA framework described in Sections 1 and 2 and shown in Figure 1.1 recognises that a wide number of studies will contribute to the overall assessment - all with different, and sometimes conflicting, viewpoints. This analytical pluralism will feature in IEA for two reasons. Firstly, the issues are too complex and diverse to collapse into one approach and, secondly, a larger number of approaches reduces the risk of failure of the overall assessment. Robinson (1991) characterises two approaches to analysing interactions between natural and human systems - a physical flows and an actor systems view; adopting both approaches, and recognising that neither is more fundamental than the other, will incorporate different foci and lead to a more comprehensive understanding. The interactions and debates that several approaches will introduce are often the most fertile and creative arenas for real breakthroughs and advancement of understanding. Such irreducibility and a need for several complementary approaches is consistent with theories of the science of complexity (Casti, 1994; Jaeger, 1995); the challenge is one of reconciliation to achieve integration without homogenisation (Horlick-Jones and De Marchi, 1995). A plurality in approaches that encourage and reward diverse and even parallel activities will be recognised as good practice in IEA. The tendency for competitive pressures to dominate and sideline some valuable approaches may be avoided in IEA management structures through which diverse approaches are widely accepted and given an opportunity to contribute fully to the assessment.

4.3 Fairness and equity

How can an assessment address fairness and equity? Policy efficiency is an important criterion when evaluating response strategies to environmental problems and economic efficiency is a central issue in many assessments. However, fairness and equity are perhaps even more important issues when developing an acceptable European policy for complex problems with a large environmental component, for the implementation of a policy throughout Europe will depend on how it is perceived in these respects. In many cases the analysis of efficiency is easier to perform in assessments as it is typically measured at an aggregated level. Fairness and equity are much more challenging criteria to assess as they are concerned with disaggregated measures of distribution. The consideration of fairness and equity involves not only economic analysis but also understanding of social and political structures, including power relations and cultural diversity. Integrated Environmental Assessment will need to develop techniques of good practice in the assessment of distributional issues that recognises the importance of the political structures in Europe. Perhaps new approaches are needed in the assessment of fairness and equity in the context of European environmental change such as the use of social discourse within IEA methodologies. The inclusion of a variety of stakeholders and actors from the beginning of the assessment, and hence their contribution to its design, should help to improve the understanding of distributional issues throughout the IEA process.

4.4 A European forum for developing good practice

This section has identified three areas for development of good practice within IEA. A mechanism for the continual improvement of good practice could be the creation of a European network and forum of IEA practitioners and users. This would enable a transfer of knowledge and problem solving techniques to occur and give an opportunity for establishing a peer review process of IEA activities. Given the extensive use of models in IEAs, it may be appropriate for such a network or forum to establish guidelines for the application and evaluation of IAMs. For example, Grossman (1994) sets out certain criteria for the assessment of integrated models, referring to the nature, consequences and achievements of the models under evaluation; the Model Evaluation Protocol (EC DGXII, 1994), prepared for models applied in the context of industrial hazard assessment, offers a framework for presenting models in a consistent manner. || *

There are many other aspects of good practice to be developed. These include the following questions: what methods of social discourse should be encouraged within IEA; how can practitioners and users successfully interact; what techniques are appropriate for representing different spatial and temporal scales; and how can informal and anecdotal information be incorporated into the assessment? It is beyond the scope of this study to explore all these issues in detail and a European forum would provide a necessary focus for a "bottom-up" accumulation of experience of good practice within IEA. ✓

5. DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS FOR THE EU

This document has attempted to review the current state of the art in IEA, to clarify the understanding of the challenges and goals of IEA and to suggest suitable approaches for achieving those goals. This view of IEA presents an ambitious objective of innovation and co-operation from the research and political communities. Many of the issues that have been raised remain unresolved; however, the following points conclude some key opportunities for initiating an effective and coherent IEA programme in Europe.

i) The initiation of an EU framework or forum through which IEA practitioners and users may be brought together would promote dialogue and exchange of ideas and provide a network to place individual activities of an IEA in their broader context. There are many functions that such a forum could hold, it could be used to develop quality assurance around principles such as those outlined in Section 4 (Good Practice), for example, benchmarking to establish suitable practices for the management of uncertainty. If any form of generic structure for IEA were to evolve it would require such a forum.

ii) The importance of incorporating a wide range of information types from an equally wide range of origins has been identified as a vital feature of an IEA. This represents a challenge to conventional approaches which typically have been developed within individual scientific disciplines; the IEA approach is an integral of traditional research methods and novel techniques. It is essential that formal and informal knowledge from all sources contribute to IEA, and that the same rigorous principles are applied throughout. This interfacing of knowledge drawn from a large pool of resources will require additional research effort.

iii) A review of the research and academic capacity that already exists in Europe suitable for implementing particular tasks is necessary. The process of review should also serve to identify areas of under-representation and gaps in capability. It is important that such a review is carried out within the principles of the IEA framework of broad participation and is not heavily dominated by conventional science.

iv) Communication between parallel activities will enable methods of good practice to be developed, learnt and accumulated. Useful parallels can be drawn from activities not traditionally linked to environmental analysis, for example, there are many recent developments in medicine, and in particular the field of medical ethics, that could have useful implications for an IEA. The emerging science of ecosystem health may facilitate the communication of experience and understanding between medicine and environment (Rapport, 1995). Lessons learnt from past applications in both similar and distinct contexts could have a very positive influence on future activities, allowing the benefits of experience gained from past successes and failures to be passed on to future activities.

v) Integrated Environmental Assessment could have immense value when incorporated into the development of sectoral policies such as transport, energy agriculture, fisheries, tourism et cetera. Since each of these sectors have direct impacts on the environment it is logical that policies developed within them are subject to wide integrated analysis. Similarly, environment-driven analyses will be more influential if they are not carried out in isolation from sectoral developments. The EC's Fifth Environmental Action Programme presents a strategy for addressing environmental issues as symptoms of mismanagement and abuse rather than as independent problems; it is approaching this by encouraging interaction between "Actors" (including the government, enterprise and the public

as citizens and consumers) and principal economic sectors and promoting an attitude of shared responsibility through the principle of subsidiarity (EC, 1993). This programme represents an established framework through which IEA practises can evolve and provide active contribution to European policy decisions.

vi) To have maximum impact on European policy, IEA must fit into the emerging political structures of the EU and be compatible with European issues such as subsidiarity. Any comparisons, or applications taken from US activities should be made with explicit consideration to the political context in which they are to operate. This accentuates the need for open and broad discourse, particularly amongst Member States, and will require the development of mechanisms for establishing such discourse.

vii) IEA represents an opportunity for the EU to develop successful environmental policies and to provide leadership in the assessments of complex environmental issues at international negotiations. It will allow links between the EU and other international bodies to be fruitfully exploited. For example, the European Environment Agency (EEA), newly established in Copenhagen, is planning to carry out complementary assessment activities (EEA, 1994); links between DGXII and the other DGs, for example DGXI, may be strengthened through the application of IEA; and the future IEA activities of the EU could provide a valuable contribution to policy-making within other international organisations, such as the UNECE.

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Stockholm Environment Institute

The Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) was established by the Swedish Parliament in 1989 as an independent foundation for the purpose of carrying out global environment and development research. The Institute is governed by an international Board whose members are drawn from developing and industrialized countries worldwide.

Central to the Institute's work have been activities surrounding the Rio UNCED conference, and previous to this, the Brandt and Palme Commissions and the work of the World Commission for Environment and Development. Apart from its working linkages with the relevant specialised agencies of the UN system, a particular feature of SEI's work programme is the role it has played in the development and application of Agenda 21, the action plan for the next century.

A major aim of SEI's work is to bring together scientific research and policy development. The Institute applies scientific and technical analyses in environmental and development issues of regional and global importance. The impacts of different policies are assessed, providing insights into strategy options for socially responsible environmental management and economic and social development.

The results of the research are made available through publications, the organisation of and participation in conferences, seminars and university courses, and also through the development of software packages for use in the exploration of scientific problems. SEI has also developed a specialised library which functions as a central catalyst in the short-term and long-term work of the Institute.

Research Programme

A multidisciplinary rolling programme of research activities has been designed around the following main themes, which are being executed via internationally collaborative activities with similar institutions and agencies worldwide:

- Environmental Resources*, including energy efficiency and global trends, energy, environment and development, and world water resources;
- Environmental Technology*, including clean production and low waste, energy technology, environmental technology transfer, and agricultural biotechnology;
- Environmental Impacts*, including environmentally sound management of low-grade fuels, climate change and sustainable development, and coordinated abatement strategies for acid depositions;
- Environmental Policy and Management*, including urban environmental problems, sustainable environments and common property management; and
- POLESTAR*, a comprehensive modelling and scenario-based activity, investigating the dynamics of a world with 10 billion people by the middle of the next century.

SEI's Network

SEI has chosen a global network approach rather than a more traditional institutional set-up. The work programme is carried out by a worldwide network of about 60 full- and part-time and affiliated staff and consultants, who are linked with the SEI Head Office in Stockholm or to the SEI Offices in Boston (USA), York (UK) and Tallinn (Estonia). SEI has developed a large mailing register to communicate to key members of society in government, industry, university, NGOs and the media around the world.



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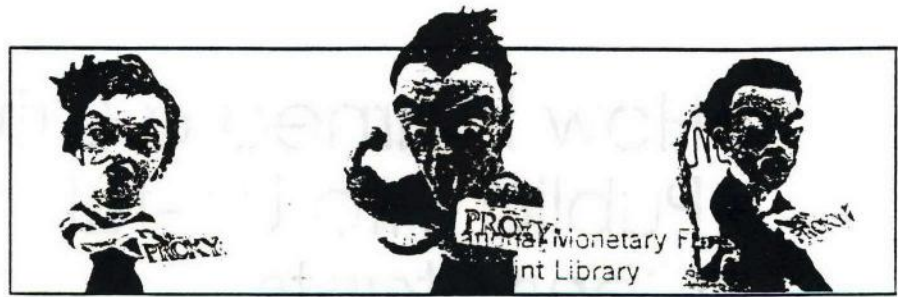
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First Person

Firsthand lessons from experienced managers

I made the commitment to public involvement. Then I had to make it work.

How I Turned a Critical Public into Useful Consultants

by Peter T. Johnson

When I became the head of Bonneville Power Administration in Portland, Oregon, I was no different from lots of other executives, including those in the private sector, where I had spent most of my years. I viewed conflict with people outside the company as an annoyance I'd do almost anything to avoid. I had enough on my plate without environmentalists, politicians, special interests, or the general public second-guessing my decisions and interfering with my operations.

As it turns out, as a public servant, I didn't have a choice. Outsiders had a way of exerting influence whether I liked it or not. I had no sooner arrived at BPA when the agency became the target of political, legal, and even physical threats from people outside the organization who had lost confidence in BPA's ability to act without jeopardizing their interests. Those of us on the inside knew we were capable of making good decisions, and we made every effort to explain our reasoning.

But that was the problem. By first making decisions and then explaining them, we were essentially telling

people that we knew what was good for them. Meanwhile, the people affected by our decisions were telling us in any way they could—lobbying to curtail BPA's authority, taking BPA to court, or aiming rifles at BPA surveyors—that the father-knows-best approach to decision making was completely unacceptable.

Just when it began to seem that BPA was doomed to a future of litigation and hostility, we made an important discovery. We found that by inviting the public to participate in our decision-making process, our adversaries helped us make better decisions. When I say we included outsiders in decision making, I'm referring to real involvement, with real changes in decisions based on what we heard. By listening to people's concerns and soliciting their advice on how to reconcile vast differences of opinion and conflicting needs, our operations did not come to a screeching halt. On the contrary, by involving the public in the decision-making process itself, we gained authority and legitimacy, avoided costly lawsuits and political challenges, and arrived at creative

solutions to seemingly intractable problems. Overall, our policy-making improved.

BPA's public-involvement program was a big change for the agency and for me personally, one that required letting go of outmoded attitudes, facing up to underlying fears, and hoping that "outsiders" would do the same.

From Chaos to Commitment

When I arrived at BPA in 1981, things seemed to be running smoothly. I thought the agency simply needed some fine-tuning to make it more efficient. A lot I knew. I spent my first few months managing my way through one crisis after another. It seemed that everyone in the Northwest suddenly had a bone to pick with BPA, and there I was in the middle of it. At first I couldn't find a common root in the dissatisfaction various groups were leveling at BPA. The only conclusion I reached was that something important had changed.

BPA had a staff of intelligent, well-trained, and dedicated people who were becoming deeply frustrated. Ever since BPA had been established in 1937, its success at transmitting

Outsiders exerted their influence whether I liked it or not.

and marketing electrical power from federal hydroelectric dams in the Pacific Northwest had earned the agency a good reputation, in which employees took pride. By 1981, for instance, BPA had built a premier 15,000-mile electric transmission grid connecting Canada with four Northwestern states and California.

Peter T. Johnson is now an investor and a sculptor. From 1981 to 1986, he was the administrator of Bonneville Power Administration in Portland, Oregon. Before that, he spent ten years at Trus Joist Corporation in Boise, Idaho, where he was president and then CEO.

Many veteran employees talked fondly of the warm welcome they had received when BPA's construction projects brought jobs and reliable power to communities across the Northwest. As one senior executive remarked, "It was really an honor to be a Bonneville employee, because we did so many good things."

By the early 1980s, despite the staff's competence and hard work, respect for BPA was waning, and in some situations, the agency was even reviled. When BPA set out to build high-voltage transmission lines linking generating plants in eastern Montana to points across the Pacific Northwest, protestors threatened BPA employees and disrupted every public hearing we had. On one occasion, project surveyors examining the proposed right-of-way for the transmission lines were confronted by a rancher aiming a rifle at them. Workers didn't dare identify themselves as BPA employees when they ate in local restaurants or checked into motels. We even had to rush a consignment of unmarked vehicles to Montana to protect them. And then there were the "bolt weevils," who surreptitiously unbolted transmission towers to collapse them.

The reality of my new job left me as frustrated as the staff. For example, just two weeks after I took office, I received a desperate call from the head of the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS, or "Whoops," as Wall Street wags called it when it became the largest public bond default in U.S. history). With electricity demand in the Northwest projected to grow rapidly, BPA had agreed in the early 1970s to purchase the output of three out of five nuclear power plants WPPSS was building, and it had guaranteed the debt of those three plants. Now the man who headed WPPSS was telling me that they were out of money on two of the plants and couldn't even meet their payroll. WPPSS, the organization to which BPA had written a blank check, was on the verge of insolvency. He further informed me that he was being followed by reporters wherever he went, so we would have to hold



People were telling us in any way they could—even aiming rifles at BPA surveyors—that our approach to decision making was unacceptable.

a clandestine meeting. We met in the basement of a hotel in Seattle to patch together a solution to the immediate crisis.

The collapse of WPPSS damaged BPA's reputation as a leader in energy planning for the Northwest and contributed to the creation of the Northwest Power Planning Council, a deliberative body whose mandate was a direct challenge to the authority of the BPA administrator. The council consisted of eight members, two each appointed by the governors of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, and gave these Northwestern states a greater role in shaping energy policy—something their governors had been wanting. There was controversy, and even a Constitutional question, about whether the council could direct the administrator of BPA or merely provide advice and counsel. By 1981, as I came into office, I didn't know whether the newly created council was supposed to be my adviser, my new boss, a competitor, or what. What

I did know was that BPA was sailing in hostile and uncertain waters.

Also around the time I came on board, BPA was finishing up the "Role Environmental Impact Statement," which a court injunction had forced BPA to prepare. This document was an evaluation of the environmental and social impacts of BPA's total operations—its "role" in the region. It was a huge undertaking and the first of its kind (until then, BPA had prepared impact statements only for specific projects), and BPA had tried in earnest to cover all the bases. To ensure that the document was objective and independent, we engaged a number of outstanding consultants to prepare it. When it was done, the Role EIS stood seven feet tall. We couldn't even fit it in a wheelbarrow. It was as complex and comprehensive as it could possibly be, full of facts and good analysis.

Yet no one appreciated it. People complained that it was ponderous, that they couldn't find what they

wanted in it, that they were bothered by some of the document's findings and analysis. Clearly, fulfilling our legal requirements was a step in the right direction, but it was not enough to please our stakeholders. I started to wonder what was.

The U.S. Congress had already passed legislation compromising some of BPA's authority. The governors were trying to assert their authority through their new council. Public credibility was clearly low. No matter how you looked at it, BPA's wings had been clipped. And I had no reason to believe it would end there.

So I began to think that BPA had to change its ways. But even while I recognized the need for change, I have to admit, I wasn't sure what it should be. When two staffers, Jack Robertson, then my assistant for external affairs, and Donna Geiger, a public-involvement specialist, advised me that we could solve our problem by inviting the public into the decision-making process, all the

apprehensions I had accumulated during my 20 years in the private sector began to surface. BPA's attorneys reinforced my fears. They argued that public involvement would

I We had to make a commitment to public involvement.

force the premature release of important documents and jeopardize the attorney-client privilege, that BPA would forfeit its flexibility and become hostage to its own policies and guidelines, that outsiders would have the leverage to make unreasonable demands, and that BPA would become vulnerable to lawsuits right and left.

The lawyers' arguments were compelling, but Robertson in particular kept working on me. As a former staffer to Republican Senator

BPA's lawyers made compelling arguments against public involvement, but the risks they pointed to had to be weighed against many others.



Mark Hatfield of Oregon, he had seen how well-intended governmental initiatives were frustrated by the political process when a group of people could claim that their interests had been ignored. He warned that the public outcry for BPA to be more accountable was not going to disappear and that attempts to exercise arbitrary authority would get us into trouble. Public involvement, he argued, was the way forward. BPA would have to engage in meaningful consultation with third parties.

As I thought about Robertson's reasoning, I began to realize that while the legal risks the BPA attorneys had pointed to were real, I had to balance those risks against many other risks to the organization. When I was in the private sector, third parties didn't have the power to bring down my business. But in a government agency, political pressure and litigation surely can keep the organization from implementing its programs. That risk had to be taken seriously.

If including people in the decision-making process would prevent political protests and legal challenges, it was worth a try. But not a half-hearted one. Robertson was quick to add that any new approach would fail if we thought of it as something we did when we had political problems. We had to make a rock-solid, ethical commitment to be open and honest, whether or not it was to our presumed, near-term advantage. "I've got to have your credit card," he insisted, which meant I had to trust his expertise, as I would any other professional in the agency. I pulled Geiger and her staff into my own office to centralize public-involvement activities and also to send a message to the whole organization about the importance of public involvement.

Then we began to put our new philosophy into action, starting with the transmission lines in Montana. We decided to invite input from anyone who had an interest in that situation. We arranged dozens of meetings with individuals and groups to identify problems, to listen to their concerns and suggestions, and to respond openly to their questions.

I particularly remember one meeting with environmentalists who were bitter about the way we'd selected our right-of-way and upset because no one would listen to them. They came into my cramped motel room, about ten of them, and sat on the bed and the floor. One young woman nursed her infant as she sat on the floor and upbraided me for my lack of sensitivity to the people of the state and its pristine environment.

We took the concerns to heart. As a result of those discussions, we relocated transmission lines off scenic agricultural lowlands and behind forested ridges, and we reduced the visibility of towers with a special treatment that made the lines less prominent. We even found that if we had not already made some investments in our original route, the new routing would have been less expensive. We developed a plan to compensate local communities for things like road maintenance and also contributed several thousand dollars to help fund the state's oversight of our activities.

Pleased with this initial success, I was convinced that the new public-involvement program had taken root. But Donna Geiger knew better. She had made a point of reviewing public-involvement activities in all the agency's offices and had found several pockets of lukewarm acceptance. She recounted a number of instances when one part of the organization would make a decision after consulting the interested parties outside the agency, while another part of the organization would make a decision affecting the same people with little or no consultation. Some staff went out of their way to remind people that the administrator made all final decisions, which was true in a legal sense but sent a clear message that anything anyone said was pointless. This explained why customers had taken me aside and asked, "Which way are you really going? We don't see you acting on the talk." The public clearly was getting whipsawed.

At Geiger's suggestion, we retained consultant James Creighton, the "guru of public involvement," to assess our program. The results were

disturbing. Despite the beginning attempts at public involvement, the public saw BPA as "arrogant, insensitive, and uncaring." With such a long way to go, once again the question arose: Were we really committed to public involvement? And more to the point, was I?

There was little time to deliberate. We immediately faced the problem of what to do with the consultant's report. Its mere existence posed a public-relations threat because the press was clamoring for copies. Some people, including our own media-relations department, feared that the media would use the document's harsh findings against us. They advised us to view the report as an internal document. To be honest, I shared the concern. But Jack Robertson reminded me of that credit card I had given him and, along with Donna Geiger, recommended that we give the report, accompanied by a letter outlining steps we were taking to address the findings, to the media and to anyone

else who requested it. Robertson and Geiger firmly believed that the media would act responsibly if given full information. I swallowed hard and stepped out of the way.

It was exactly the right move. After releasing the report, BPA immediately won kudos from the press. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, which had been writing critical editorials for months, said, "BPA leadership deserves double credit, despite the scathing report, for commissioning the study of its operations and for accepting the findings unflinchingly....The agency has set a commendable example for other public agencies to follow in examining the need for self-improvement."

Meeting the "Crazies"

Having taken the bold step of releasing the consultant's report, we began the hard work of restoring public confidence. Two tasks lay ahead: to change the attitude at BPA and to develop practical skills in working with the public.

Despite our beginning attempts at public involvement, the public saw BPA as arrogant, insensitive, and uncaring.



At my insistence, top management added public involvement to the performance requirements of every management position. There was to be no mistaking its importance. Those who did an exceptional job of consulting with the public were recognized in the BPA newsletter and received cash awards.

We also established a requirement that managers prepare a public-involvement plan for all major decisions. Each plan would outline the

Putting the best spin on everything BPA did was no longer our job.

activities appropriate to that decision, including the number and kind of people to be included in the decision-making process. Employees had little experience with public involvement, and many were terrified at the prospect of confronting our adversaries, so we set up a mandatory training program for employees ranging from top management to first-line supervisors. We taught people how to organize and conduct public meetings, how to listen even when tempers flared, and how to improve their public speaking and writing skills.

I also used one other weapon in my arsenal: an agency policy on public involvement. It occurred to me that by letting the whole organization help shape the policy, I could win support for the new philosophy and create the culture shift BPA needed. Like the public-involvement process itself, inviting employees to help create corporate policy was somewhat risky. It gave employees a chance to fight back — which they did. Each BPA operational office had to sign off on the policy, and many offices registered their resistance to the policy by simply stalling. It took two years to get the policy approved, and even then we had a few holdouts.

At the same time that we were working to create a culture shift

within BPA, we were considering what the public would need to play a meaningful role in decision making. My experience in the private sector had given me a firm belief in hard-sell public relations, but I could see that it was no longer appropriate to put the best spin on everything BPA did. The job now was to be open and honest so that people were well-informed. Instead of producing documents that were stuffy, bureaucratic, and inaccessible, we began preparing "backgrounders," which summarized the important information about a controversial issue, and "issue alerts," which told people about an upcoming decision-making process and how to participate.

It was clear, though, that our worst critics were not getting any closer. Ratepayer advocates and environmental groups opposed to nuclear power were at the top of the list of people who distrusted us; everything we did provoked fresh torrents of criticism from them. Finally, we asked them directly, "What is it you want?" They replied that they wanted to meet with top management, they wanted the right to set the agenda for those meetings, and the meetings could not be costly for them to participate in.

We had been meeting and making good progress with most key interests that would be affected by our decisions, but the idea of going eyeball-to-eyeball with our toughest critics, whom some at BPA referred to as "the crazies," was scary. Still, I agreed to it. And that's when things got really interesting.

We arranged to hold the first few meetings in BPA's conference room with access to an elaborate conference call system for those participants who couldn't afford the trip to Portland, Oregon. We invited virtually every critic not previously consulted, not to resolve any major issues but just to explain how we felt about them. I remember how tough it was to walk into that room the first few times and how tense the interest-group leaders were as they sat in the chairs against the wall. Their whole demeanor said, "Show me!"

I was constantly aware of how easily meetings could degenerate into

shouting matches, so I worked hard to guard my reactions, especially when people misinterpreted the facts or said things I didn't agree with. The most important thing was that we be open and forthright.

Over time, as people realized we could have a frank discussion on any subject, the tension dissipated. Both BPA staff and the interest-group leaders began to relax and enjoy the debate. Soon we were able to spot concerns before they became full-blown issues, and fewer disagreements were based on misperceptions and misinformation. Most important, we began to trust and respect each other. People felt comfortable picking up the phone and calling me, where before they'd have gone to the media or formed a coalition against us. The process, while not perfected, was working.

But was it really making a difference? The WPPSS debacle had contributed to a 304% increase in industrial electrical rates between 1980 and 1984, and the Northwest Power Act of 1980 had significantly changed our relationship to utilities in the region, while leaving many other questions about roles and authority highly ambiguous. People who were dissatisfied with what they got from BPA could plead their case to the Power Planning Council

How could we reach decisions in such a litigious climate?

created by the new Northwest Power Act or sue BPA. Consequently, few decisions could be counted on until they had been okayed by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, the court the Northwest Power Act specified for resolution of all litigation. Each decision was a battleground.

We weren't sure BPA's public-involvement program could result in any meaningful decisions in such a chaotic and litigious climate. But we soon found that it could. Two early experiences with our new deci-

sion-making process not only won over the laggards and completed the culture shift at BPA, but also demonstrated that the process was a practical alternative to litigation and could produce innovative solutions to seemingly intractable problems.

Saving the Aluminum Industry

The rapid rise in electricity rates affected everyone in the Northwest, but the energy-intensive aluminum industry was particularly hard hit. The industry had been located in the Northwest during World War II to take advantage of the cheap electrical power from federal dams. The aluminum companies' presence proved to be advantageous to the region not only in terms of dollars and jobs but also because of the complementary ways the industry and the region use electricity. Aluminum plants operate around the clock and typically schedule production to coincide with releases of vast quantities of water, which reservoirs can't hold during spring runoff. Rather than being spilled over the dams and wasted, this water is run through turbines to generate large amounts of electricity that can be used by the aluminum smelters at times when few other customers need the power. Additionally, aluminum companies are willing to have their production interrupted occasionally, when peak power demands are high in the rest of the region, and for that flexibility, they get special rates.

When the high cost of nuclear power plants drove up electricity rates, the aluminum industry faced rates eight times higher than they had been five years earlier. To make things worse, the price of aluminum on the world market was in free-fall. Aluminum companies in the Northwest were being challenged by other countries with newer, more efficient smelters. Northwestern aluminum smelters that had been among the world's most constant producers were being used as "swing" plants, the first to slow or shut down when world prices drop. By late 1984, one large aluminum plant had shut down completely, two plants were

offered for sale, and practically all smelters had reduced production.

The aluminum industry bought 30% of BPA's total output of electricity and represented \$640 million of the agency's annual revenues. If it didn't consume that power, rates to other customers would have to rise to cover the high fixed costs of generating electricity. The aluminum industry also employed 9,000 workers in the Northwest, was indirectly responsible for 22,000 more jobs, and produced substantial tax revenues, typically in small communities that had few other sources of revenue. Obviously, BPA had an incentive to help, if it could.

But I felt helpless. The aluminum plants were likely to leave, and the

Finally, we moved beyond arguing—we agreed there was a problem and maybe even a solution.

consequences would be severe. I had always thought of myself as a problem solver, but this time I had nothing to bring to the table. The smelter in The Dalles, Oregon, had already closed, and the community was devastated. A group led by their mayor, who was a car dealer with a lot full of unsold cars, implored me to help them. Maybe BPA could lower electrical rates for the plant so that local interests could afford to buy it and reopen it. After describing the impact of the plant closing on local schools, one woman turned to me and said, "There must be something you can do."

As much as we wanted to respond to the people of The Dalles and to other aluminum companies and their communities, we couldn't set new rates without going through the legal rate-making process. Since other customers had also absorbed heavy rate increases, they were unlikely to sympathize with the aluminum industry, and there were sure to be lawsuits.

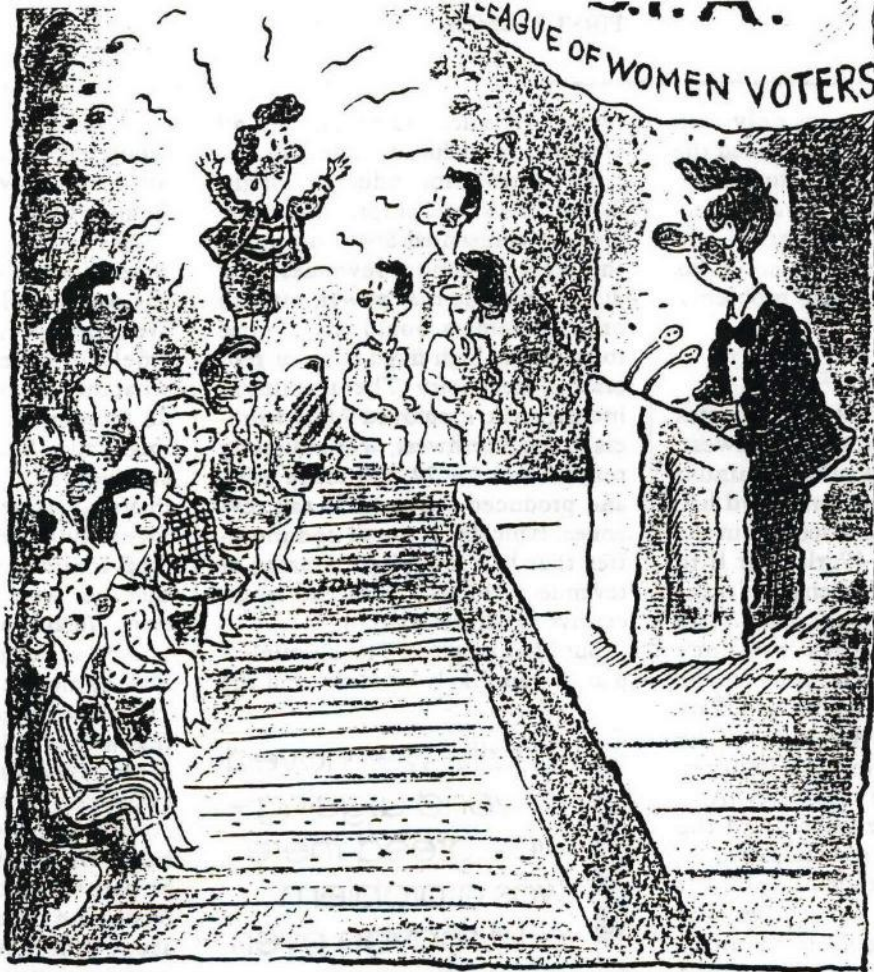
We needed a creative solution that would not become a battlefield for attorneys, so we turned to our public-involvement process.

We first visited local communities to see if they would join BPA in taking responsibility for the problem. We called meetings in towns where smelters were located and asked what they might be willing or able to do to complement any action we might take. Could they grant tax incentives or make economic development investments to spur employment? But the resources of these local communities were so strained that they were reluctant to take action. We also approached the labor unions, some of which responded by making modest concessions.

We cast the net wider. We decided that we had to initiate a broad study of the problem and that we had to get everyone who had an interest to be directly involved in developing the study. We asked dozens of people to be part of a technical-review committee and ended up with a group of about 75 members representing utilities, local governments, state agencies, public-interest groups, labor unions, aluminum companies, and private citizens.

It became clear that some committee members distrusted BPA's intent. They suspected that the agency was trying to save the aluminum industry at the expense of its other customers. So the first order of business was to convince people of our motives. Then the committee got down to the business of designing the study and developing a computer model that a layperson could use to analyze the economic effects of various approaches.

In the meantime, BPA launched a campaign to educate the public about the problems the aluminum companies were having. We prepared two brochures, one outlining the problem and describing the study and the other explaining the role of the aluminum industry in the regional economy and in BPA's energy system, and we sent them both to about 15,000 people. And in one month, the agency's field staff held more than 50 meetings throughout the region, featuring a 15-minute



As the experts presented their opinions, one argument followed another.

slide show, a brief address, and a question-and-answer exchange. We also held open forums in The Dalles and other communities where smelters were located.

We were going to every extreme to open the process to outsiders and to consider as many perspectives as possible, and at times it seemed that jangled nerves were our only tangible result. The list of concerns seemed endless, the problems seemed insurmountable, and BPA employees were beginning to lose sight of what we were trying to accomplish.

Finally, at a one-day symposium in April 1985 sponsored jointly by BPA and the League of Women Voters, we made a breakthrough. The symposium had been set up to discuss the options for addressing the aluminum companies' needs, and the turnout was terrific. The hall was packed with key elected officials and with representatives from all the important public-interest groups and all the utilities in the

region. On the platform were several experts on the utility industry, including economists who specialized in the aluminum and electric utility industries.

Throughout the day, as various experts presented their opinions, one argument followed another. But by late that afternoon, we had actually made some progress. The day ended with an unspoken consensus that helping the aluminum industry would help everyone in the room. It was a momentous occasion. We had finally moved beyond arguing; we had agreed that there was a problem, and we were ready to talk solutions.

In the months that followed, the BPA staff drafted a paper outlining a number of options, and we scheduled 13 public meetings to take comments. Some 4,600 people attended those meetings – from 10 in Burley, Idaho, to 3,200 in Columbia Falls, Montana. We invited our 75-member technical-review committee to submit written comments. And we received and answered more than

1,100 letters on the study, including hundreds from school children in towns where smelters were located, begging me not to take away their parents' jobs.

The idea that had the broadest support was to tie the price of electricity to the world price of aluminum ingot – in other words, to make it a variable rate. Most people liked the idea, although they suggested ways to set upper and lower limits. I had previously dismissed this proposal as unlikely to be acceptable to our non-aluminum industry customers. But now they were giving me the go-ahead. We were as close to a consensus as we could expect to get on an issue as controversial as this one.

BPA announced the decision to propose the variable rate, and the formal rate hearing moved expeditiously to a decision. When the variable rate went into effect, there were no lawsuits. Although some parties were disappointed with the choice, they had sufficient respect for the openness, thoroughness, and objectivity of the public-involvement process that they did not challenge the decision.

From an economic standpoint, the decision has proven wise for both the aluminum industry and BPA. No smelters closed permanently, and due to a rise in the world price of aluminum, all were soon operating. The agency reaped more than \$200 million in revenues it would otherwise not have received. In 1991, when aluminum prices again dropped, the variable rate kicked in to encourage smelters to continue operating.

Public involvement had given BPA a new-found legitimacy to act. From that point on, we knew it was possible to make decisions that would count.

Reconciliation on Nuclear Power

In 1983, BPA was caught between two formidable opponents, and the public-involvement process once again led the way out. At that time, two of the three nuclear power plants BPA had backed financially were incomplete. Only one, WNP-2,

was running; the other two, WNP-1 and WNP-3, had been mothballed for two years. BPA had guaranteed all the indebtedness for WNP-1 but only 70% of the indebtedness for WNP-3. The other 30% of WNP-3 was owned by four investor-owned utility companies (IOUs) that planned to use the power to service their own areas.

The shared ownership arrangement was a problem. With WNP-3 two-thirds complete, both BPA and

Was I mad to settle a bitter lawsuit in a glass house?

the IOUs had sunk a lot of money into it. Now BPA had to decide whether to complete WNP-3 or leave it mothballed. For the IOUs, the answer to this question was obvious. Their regulators did not permit them to include in the rates they charged customers the costs of any plant that was not actually generating electricity. That, of course, meant that until WNP-3 was complete, the IOUs had no way of servicing the hundreds of millions of dollars of debt on the plant except out of shareholder profits. Needless to say, they were anxious to complete construction on the plant.

But the IOUs were not the only ones that had a stake in BPA's decision on WNP-3. BPA and the publicly owned utilities that bought its power were not subject to the same regulations as the IOUs and were already including in their rates the costs of the unfinished plants. Also, many jobs in the communities where the plants were located depended on completing the plants. On the other hand, there were many in the Northwest who opposed nuclear power on principle and were ready to fight long and hard to keep any nuclear power plant from being finished.

After an extensive series of public meetings and detailed technical analysis, I concluded that it was cheaper for the region to keep the

plants on ice. This was true in part because the region now had a surplus of power. But also, newer and cheaper sources of power were emerging as alternatives. So we chose to preserve WNP-1 and WNP-3 as future options.

That decision left the IOUs in a real bind, and it was unclear how they would survive. With their financial well-being in jeopardy, they sued BPA for \$2.5 billion, saying we had breached our agreements on the project. Meanwhile, the CEOs of some of the region's largest IOUs called my boss, Donald Hodel, then secretary of energy, and demanded my resignation. Hodel didn't take sides but made a point of telling me, in front of the CEOs, to find a way to reduce the tensions.

We wanted to work something out with the IOUs for practical reasons. Although we knew we had a strong legal position, litigation would drag on for years, and the uncertainty would affect BPA's credit. All in all, we thought it best to work out some sort of compromise. Now Hodel was turning up the pressure.

I had to be careful, though, not to give the impression that I was going too far to accommodate the IOUs. Under the law, BPA's first obligation was to the publicly owned utilities. People were watching to make sure I didn't sell out to the IOUs—a move many people suspected because of my background in the private sector.

I had to get the IOUs, the public-power organizations, as well as the senators, governors, industrial groups, and public-interest groups to buy into an agreement. And the agreement not only had to be fair but also look fair. The only way out, I concluded, was to have an open public process. We decided to begin by having BPA meet separately with the IOUs and the public-power group. Subsequently, we would hold open public meetings. This strategy pleased no one, particularly the IOU community. The chief executive of a California utility phoned me to inquire whether I'd gone mad to try to settle a giant and bitter lawsuit in a glass house.

We went ahead with the process. At our first meeting, the IOUs'

lawyers expressed their outrage at the prospect of public consultation. I explained why BPA was proceeding with public involvement and told them that the agency staff and I were meeting the very next day with representatives of more than 100 public-utility customers to seek their input. At that point, the most intransigent fellow in the group blew up. "I knew it!" he exclaimed. "You have no intention of settling."

The meeting with the representatives of public power was equally tense. More than 100 people were there, at least half of them lawyers. I took a deep breath before entering the room and was greeted with hoots and hollers. They were convinced that I was the guy who was going to sell them out. Charges and countercharges flew. When Bob Ratcliffe, BPA's deputy administrator and a longtime advocate of public power, tried to present an idea, there were so many interruptions that few people understood what he was saying.

We had a long way to go. When we reported back to the IOUs the tenor of the meeting with the public utilities, one CEO was more convinced than ever that it would be impossible to reconcile the differences. It took a real act of faith not to argue with his conclusion. Still, I refused to give up on the process.

As BPA staff, which included our general counsel and the chief lawyer

It took faith to believe we could reconcile the situation.

representing the Department of Justice, and I shuttled back and forth from one group to the other over a period of months, people gradually began to understand that there were intelligent people with good ideas on both sides of the public power-private power divide. Reconciliation seemed a less remote possibility. Admittedly, the willingness to reach a resolution was partly attributable to the fact that if we didn't reach an agreement, I was going to take my

own proposal to the public. The two factions would have little control over the process from then on. If they wanted the public to review a settlement that they found acceptable, they had to reach a tentative agreement.

By early 1985, after about a dozen meetings, a settlement package looked feasible. The proposal stipulated that BPA would agree to exchange surplus hydropower in the spring for output from the IOUs' combustion turbines, which were frequently idle. That way, both parties would get something of value at little cost.

Then it was time to expand our process to reach out to the general public. We began by issuing a press release that explained the lawsuit, the settlement, and the decision-making process. Then BPA staff contacted hundreds of people who would be interested in the outcome, including four governors. We kept a written record of each contact and made that information public. We also conducted monthly teleconferences with various interest groups.

We thought we were on the home stretch, but we began to hear complaints that the public-power constituency had not been part of the face-to-face negotiations. It was true, although a key part of the proposed settlement—a plan to link the rate for hydropower BPA would sup-

ply to the IOUs to the average price of three comparable nuclear plants elsewhere in the country—had come from meetings with the publicly owned utilities. With some trepidation, the four private utilities agreed to meet face-to-face with representatives from the public utilities.

By the time the settlement documents were signed in September 1985, BPA's investment in public involvement had paid off handsomely. The utilities, public and private, were satisfied. The politicians were satisfied, as were their constituents. We had saved the investor utilities from serious financial stress, and we had avoided wasteful legal battles.


Making Controversy Constructive

With these victories, BPA was again strong enough to play its important role in the region, and my tenure was coming to an end. But before I left the organization, I had one loose end to tie up. The formal public-involvement policy had still not completed its rounds at BPA. I discovered that a close assistant had managed to keep it bottled up in different parts of the organization. Finally, I marched into his office and told him I wouldn't leave until it was signed. Apparently that was enough of a threat. The policy was complete within a few weeks, which meant that BPA's commitment to

public participation would not disappear when I walked out the door.

In fact, that commitment has grown stronger, and it has been formally recognized. Senator Mark Hatfield praised BPA in the *Congressional Record* for its approach to solving the Northwest's energy problems. And BPA received an award from the Natural Resources Defense Council—once an outspoken critic of BPA—as an outstanding utility in North America, a model for both public and private systems.

Having seen BPA's many victories, I am more convinced than ever that public involvement is a tool that today's managers in both public and private institutions must understand. With external stakeholders now exerting substantial influence on organizations in every sector, conflict is inevitable. The only choice is whether to dodge the controversy or learn to harness it.

Those who harness it by including third parties rather than trying to vanquish them will have the opportunity to consider new possibilities and to test out new ideas in the heat of dialogue. While others are mired in disputes and litigation, astute practitioners of public involvement will have hammered out an agreement and gotten on with the project. In short, they will have made better decisions and found a new source of competitive advantage. 

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Public Consultation in Environmental Assessment: Lessons from East and South Asia

Consultations with affected populations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming standard practice in environmental assessments (EAs). The Bank recognized this fact by incorporating public consultation in its 1989 Operational Directive (revised in 1991 as OD 4.01 and to be released as OP 4.01) on EA. This directive requires public consultations shortly after the EA category for a project has been assigned; and, once a draft EA report has been prepared. For "meaningful consultation" to take place, the Borrower should share relevant information about the project and its potential impacts with affected populations and local NGOs. The following Dissemination Note describes the results of a 1995 review by ASTEN and ASTHR of experience in the East and South Asia regions in implementing these public consultation and information dissemination aspects of the EA process. The review looked at fourteen (14) projects requiring EAs in order to capture lessons for improving Bank and Borrower performance in this area.

Why Public Consultation in EAs?

Consultation is a two-way communication process by which the knowledge and views of affected peoples, NGOs, the private sector and other interested parties are taken into account in development decision-making. In the case of EAs, the assumption is often made that such involvement is not necessary because of the often complex and highly technical nature of environmental impacts.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the knowledge of affected communities and NGOs can contribute to the quality of EAs, as well as provide a better understanding of the social impacts which accompany development interventions. The Bank and other development agencies have learned that if public consultation does not take place early in the project preparation process, it often leads to public misunderstandings, and unnecessary delays in project processing and implementation.

Bank Policies on Consultation

The Bank's Operational Directive on EA (OD 4.01) distinguishes between various types of projects based upon the potential significance of their environmental impacts. Category A projects are usually large (e.g., hydro-dams, roads, urban infrastructural projects, industrial facilities, etc.) and have widespread environmental and social impacts, including in some cases involuntary resettlement and effects on vulnerable popula-

tions such as indigenous peoples.

These projects require a full EA, including consultation with affected groups and NGOs. Consultations are required during the scoping of issues to be addressed by the EA, as well as once the draft EA report has been prepared. The Bank recognizes that good practice may demand that further consultations take place at other appropriate points during EA preparation, after finalization of the EA report and throughout project implementation.

Information dissemination is fundamental to "meaningful consultation." According to the OD, such information should initially contain a summary of the project, its objectives and potential impacts; and, following the preparation of the EA report, a summary of its conclusions in a form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted.

ASTEN-ASTHR Review

In 1995, ASTEN and ASTHR conducted a desk review and selected interviews with Task Managers and environmental staff of 14 projects which contained public consultations during EA preparation (see Box 1). Five (5) of these projects are in South Asian countries, while nine (9) are in East Asia. Energy/power and agriculture/water are represented by three (3) projects each; infrastructure, transportation and environment/urban are represented by two (2) projects each; and, there is one (1) natural resources and one (1) multisectoral project.

**Box 1:
Projects Covered in the EA Review**

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Project Name</u> | <u>EA Category</u> |
|----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Bangladesh | Jamuna Bridge | A |
| China | Hebei/Henan Natl. Highway | A |
| | Inland Waters | A |
| | Liaoning Environment | A |
| India | Madras Water Supply | A |
| | Tamil Nadu WRCP | A |
| Indonesia | Kabupaten Roads V | B |
| | Outer Island Sumatra and Kalimantan Power | A |
| | Korea | Ports Development & Environment |
| Pakistan | Balochistan Natural Resources Management | B |
| Philippines | Leyte Geothermal Power | A |
| Sri Lanka | Colombo Env. Improvement | A |
| Thailand | Lam Taknong Pumps | A |
| Viet Nam | Irrigation Rehabilitation | A |

The review's purpose was to identify best practice cases, as well as areas of relative weaknesses. The review posed a series of questions relating to information disclosure, consultation practices, and monitoring and evaluation of the consultative process (see Box 2). It also looked at the impact of the consultation on issues addressed by the EA and incorporated into the project design. Like any desk review, more consultation may have taken place than is revealed in the project documentation.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

There is significant variability in the formal consultation procedures among Borrower countries, as well as in their traditional practices. There are also wide differences between these national procedures, where existent, and those of the Bank.

Of the ten (10) countries included in the review, seven (7) have formal consultation procedures; while three (3) countries (Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have none. Even in those countries where consultation procedures do exist, they are often only vaguely mentioned in the environmental legislation or are linked to other subjects (e.g., resettlement and land acquisition) rather than to EAs. The review revealed that only three (3) of the projects reviewed followed both national and Bank consultation procedures. The others followed either national or Bank procedures only; or, carried out consultations without following either the Bank's or national government procedures. These findings demonstrate that there is no consistent pattern in using either national laws or the Bank's OD as guidelines for the structuring of the EA consultation process.

Public Consultation in the EA Process

Stakeholder Identification

While only one (1) of the fourteen projects had an explicitly designed consultation strategy, almost all of them consulted a broad range of stakeholders. These included representatives of government agencies, academia, NGOs, religious groups, and village and community leaders. Few of the projects, however, defined who the "key stakeholders" were; nor did the project documentation describe the means for identifying and weighing the relative participation in these consultations of "affected communities," "beneficiaries" and "other stakeholders." Only in three (3) projects were gender and ethnicity addressed in stakeholder identification and consultation.

Information Dissemination

The projects used a range of means for information dissemination: newspaper articles, TV and radio reports, videos and films, exhibitions, posters, and public meetings and hearings. Two (2) of the projects undertook systematic public information and dissemina-

Box 2: Basic Questions to Review Consultation Processes

Information Disclosure

- Were affected people and NGOs informed about the proposed activities?
- Was the project summary and objectives available to affected and interested groups?
- Were TORs for the EA available to the public?
- What mechanisms were used to disseminate project scope and objectives (press, bulletins, radio)?
- Was the draft EA report made available in a timely fashion?

Consultation Practices

- Does the country have a formal consultation procedure as part of the EA?
- Were the country procedures followed?
- Was a consultation strategy designed for the project?
- What criteria were used to identify stakeholders?
- How were the consulted groups selected?
- Who was consulted and when? (affected groups and other stakeholders)
- What were the consultation mechanisms used? (seminars, workshops, public meetings)
- What substantive issues arose from the consultation and how did they influence the project?

Monitoring & Evaluation

- Was a system designed to assess whether affected people and NGOs absorbed information from the consultative processes?
- Was a monitoring and evaluation system designed to measure the effectiveness of information disclosure and consultation strategies?

tion campaigns; another five (5) projects had newspaper reports and public meetings; and, seven (7) projects had no information dissemination strategy. It is unclear from the desk review whether there was any targeting of audiences in the information campaigns, whether materials were translated into local languages, or whether any assessments were made of public understanding of the information disseminated.

Consultation Mechanisms

The types of consultation mechanisms used in these projects included town and public meetings and workshops and seminars. There is, however, relatively little or no information in the project documents on the representativeness of the persons who attended these meetings. Only one of the projects used a systematic survey to elicit opinions of persons affected directly by the project.

There is a wide variety of effective techniques which could be used for consultation but apparently were not tested in the EAs analyzed in the review. These include public hearings, citizen advisory groups, focus groups, community opinion surveys, expert panels, etc.

Issues Identified for Project Design

During scoping sessions, stakeholders mainly raised issues concerning involuntary resettlement and the environment. In relation to resettlement, the key concern had to do with compensation; while environmental issues included the impacts of power plants on surrounding communities, the effects of noise and air pollution, and protecting historical and cultural property. The project documentation did not indicate whether there was any setting of priorities among issues; nor, how they were incorporated into the TORs for the EA.

Some of the issues raised during consultations resulted in changes in the project design; e.g., specific details of resettlement plans, modifications in engineering designs (see Box 3), and plans for protecting and monitoring threatened flora and fauna (see Box 4). There were no instances where consultations led the project proponent to seek alternative project designs or not proceed with the original project.

Review of Draft EA

According to OD 4.01, a summary of the draft EA conclusions, including the environmental management plan, are to be presented to affected communities and interested NGOs in a "form and language meaningful to the groups being consulted." There is great variability in the extent and ways in which draft EA summaries are being presented to the "general public," affected communities, and NGOs. Some projects provide the entire draft EA report to a wide range of stakeholders for public inspection and comment; others provide only summaries of the draft EA conclusions for public re-

Box 3:

Farmer Group Consultations in India Madras Water Supply Project

The Second Madras Water Supply Project provides treatment and transportation of water to the city by a transmission pipeline which carries water from a command area inhabited by 11,500 farmers. An EA was carried out which included a strategy to consult the farmers. Consultations covered farmers associations, local government and affected communities and were organized by a reputable NGO. The farmers showed an awareness of the need to incorporate new operating rules for releasing of water from another reservoir.

As a result of the consultations, the Government drafted new formal rules which were accepted by the farmers and villages. It also included a suggestion made by the villagers that the capacity of the local water tank be expanded to satisfy the irrigation needs of local farmers, as well as permit continuing offtake from the reservoir for the water needs of Madras.

view and often to a more limited range of stakeholders, such as local governments or affected communities. From the documentation, it is unclear to what extent the comments made are actually incorporated into the EA report submitted to the Bank.

Conflict Management and Dispute Resolution

Projects with environmental implications often generate conflicts between the project proponents and affected communities and other interested groups, especially concerning the siting of facilities (e.g., the so-called "Not-in-My-Backyard" or "NIMBY" syndrome). A public consultation strategy may therefore need conflict management and dispute resolution techniques, including the use of professional facilitators. The review found that EA reports seldom contain descriptions of such conflicts; nor is there much use being made, at present, of alternative dispute resolution techniques.

Process Documentation and Recording

The review showed there is a paucity of information in the project files or EA reports on the types of consultation activities and mechanisms used, the individuals and groups invited and participating in them, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact of such discussions upon subsequent decisions. However, there is increasing awareness of the need to improve documentation and recording and an attempt on the part of a number of divisions to remedy the situation. This should contribute to greater institutional memory and learning on the part of the Bank.

Box 4:

Public Consultation in Korea Ports Development and Environmental Improvement Project

In the Korea Ports Development Project, the project proponent asked local people to review the draft EA report and asked for their views on the noise and air pollution that port construction might cause. Issues raised included the protection of historic and cultural properties, provision of adequate compensation for damages to inhabitants of the port area, and preparation of mitigation plans to deal with noise and air pollution. Affected people provided comments to the Ministry of Environment and it, in turn, prepared a management and monitoring plan to mitigate environmental issues identified.

Constraints to Conducting Effective Consultations

In general, the review found that there were constraints both within Borrower countries and the Bank to conducting effective consultations within the framework of the EA process. Many Borrower governments and their sectoral ministries view the EA as a purely technical exercise which will not benefit from public and community involvement. Despite the growing importance of NGOs and civil society, there is still a tendency in many countries to implement development projects in a non-participatory manner.

To respond to these constraints, there needs to be a dialogue with Borrowers, based upon concrete experience, about how public consultation can lower the transaction costs of projects. Borrowers need to be convinced that by consulting with people they can avoid delays due to public protest and be more responsive to the demands of interested parties and constituencies. Borrowers also need to be convinced that by drawing upon local knowledge and concerns, they can improve the quality of EA studies, mitigation plans and project designs?

Within the Bank, Task Managers need guidance for advising Borrowers about how to design and conduct information dissemination and consultation processes. TORs need to be more precise in defining what needs to be done in terms of identifying key stakeholders, providing them with adequate information, and structuring a consultative process which is effective and meaningful to project proponents, affected populations and interested parties.

Recommendations for Improving Performance

The review, as well as general experience in other regions and outside the Bank, provides several insights

for improving Borrower and Bank performance in public consultation. Among other things, the Bank and Borrower countries need to:

- Generate dialogue with project proponents on the ways in which public consultation can further their own project and sectoral interests. One approach is to show project proponents both "best" and "worst" practice in public involvement, including what may happen in its absence.
- Focus more attention on stakeholder identification, especially of affected people and communities, local authorities and decision makers, the media, the scientific community, NGOs and other interested groups or parties.
- Disseminate information early and in a culturally meaningful fashion, including using local languages, visual methods and, where appropriate, communication expertise.
- Recognize that disputes and conflicts are sometimes inevitable and therefore plan for conflict management and dispute resolution.
- Document the process of consultation including participants, the issues raised, the responses given by project proponents and the impact upon subsequent decisions.
- Evaluate whether or not public consultation improved the quality of EA and the public acceptability of the project. This could include the use of indicators to measure absorption of information disseminated, public satisfaction with the consultation process and its effectiveness from the viewpoint of the project proponent.
- Recognize that sensitization and training on the objectives and methods of public involvement may be needed for project proponents, central and local government authorities, affected communities, NGOs and Bank Task Managers.

Resources:

Public Involvement in Environmental Assessment: Requirements, Opportunities and Issues (EA Sourcebook Update, No. 5, October 1993)

People's Participation in Environment Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices by William Partridge (LATEN Dissemination Note, No. 11, November 1994)

Manual on Public Participation by Environmental Resources Management (Prepared for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, December 1995; Available Through ENVSP)

The Impact of Environmental Assessment: Second EA Review (World Bank, November 1996).





IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT IN THE WORLD BANK

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Environmental assessment (EA) has been a standard procedure for the preparation and implementation of World Bank projects since 1989. The experience with using EA procedures was the subject of two internal reviews in 1995 and 1996. This article presents the main findings and recommendations of these reviews, emphasizing that whereas considerable progress has been made in integrating EA into Bank practice, much remains to be achieved both "upstream" (through the development of sectoral and regional EAs) and "downstream" (through the preparation and more effective use of environmental management plans). © 1999 Elsevier Science Inc.

Introduction

Since 1989, when the World Bank adopted Operational Directive (OD) 4.00—Annex A: Environmental Assessment—environmental assessment (EA) has become a standard procedure for use in the preparation and implementation of Bank-financed investment projects. The Directive was amended as OD 4.01 in 1991 and, in December 1998, was converted into Operational Policy (OP) 4.01.¹ To date, well over 1,500 projects have been screened for their potential environmental impact, and the Bank's experience spans most sectors and virtually all of its borrowing member countries. This experience concludes that EA can proactively contribute to improving the selection, design, siting, and implementation of programs and projects where it is initiated early, it involves the public, it evaluates development alternatives, and it is supported by effective monitoring and supervision.

¹The International Finance Corporation (IFC) now has a policy and procedure that is consistent with The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD-The World Bank) and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) is currently engaged in developing a similar policy and procedure.

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To take stock of experience with EA, the Bank has undertaken two reviews of the effectiveness of EAs (World Bank 1992, 1995). The first review focused on the EA in-house process and presented recommendations aimed at strengthening EA as a tool for project preparation. The second review found improvements in the application of EA and in efforts to link EA findings and recommendations with both project preparation and implementation. An evaluation by the Bank's Operations Evaluation Department (OED) in 1996 (World Bank 1996) emphasized the proactive potential of EA and offered recommendations that were similar to those of the second review.

However, the second review and OED's evaluation found that much remains to be achieved before EA attains its full potential to influence results on the ground. The studies recommended a number of improvements, including the following: the use of sectoral and regional EAs, which move environmental analysis "upstream" in the planning process to better engage decision making; ensuring adequate supervision and monitoring of EA-related measures during project implementation ("downstream" operations); and, at the "midstream," building necessary design and mitigation measures into the project.

Improving EA Upstream

To significantly enhance EA effectiveness, the Bank is attempting to apply EA at a strategic level to shape development planning and gradually reduce the need for project-specific EA. In particular, sectoral EA is being used in sector planning and in the formulation of sectorwide investments programs; likewise, regional EA is being applied to projects/programs affecting large areas (such as river basins or urban zones) or with a regional and/or multi-sectoral character. By addressing environmental issues up front, sectoral and regional EAs can help eliminate investment alternatives that are environmentally most damaging and reduce the work requirements of subsequent project-specific EAs, and allow them to concentrate on site-specific issues and impacts.

(1) **SECTORAL EA.** There are at least four contexts where broader use of sectoral EAs is potentially beneficial: (A) as part of sector strategic work and policy language dialogue (sector assessments, sector strategies, etc.) and input to Country Assistance Strategies (CAS); (B) during preparation of Sector Investment and Sector Adjustment Loans; (C) during preparation of large projects affecting a sector as a whole; and (D) during preparation of sectoral technical assistance operations designed to identify investments.

(A) *Economic and Sector Work (ESW)/Policy Dialogue.* The Bank systematically undertakes studies to assist countries in formulating sound sec-

tor strategies and policies. Such studies are used as inputs into the formulation of a CAS used to determine investment priorities for the Bank in any given country. Therefore, they are a critical input into the selection of projects for potential Bank financing. However, sectoral EA has not been central to such studies to date (although environmental dimensions have sometimes featured in other types of sector studies), and it remains a challenge to mainstream sectoral EA into ESW.

(B) *Sector Investment and Sectoral Adjustment Loans*. To date, sectoral EA has been most commonly applied during the preparation of Sector Investment Projects, where it has proven effective in addressing sectorwide environmental issues and setting criteria for the selection of subprojects. Most have focused on putting in place mechanisms for project-level EA of subprojects; however, although this is important, the full potential scope of this instrument is much wider, e.g., it could be applied more systematically for Sector Investment Projects as it is more cost effective than relying only on subproject EA studies. Under the EA Operational Policy 4.01 Environmental Assessment, Sectoral Adjustment Loans (SECALs) are subject to the Bank's EA requirements. The Environmental Department is in the process of developing guidance (an EA Sourcebook Update) on how to do EA for SECALs, including the application of environmental economic analysis within a sectoral EA framework.

(C) *"Normal" Investment Projects with Sectorwide Focus*. While it is generally preferable to undertake sectoral EA in the context of sector planning before selecting a specific project proposal, preparation of a regular investment project also may benefit, although opportunities for influencing sector policy may be limited. In practice, many projects are hybrids that combine sector policy elements with major investment components.

(D) *Sectoral Technical Assistance Loans*. In recent years, the Bank has increasingly supported policy reform (including privatization) and institutional/regulatory strengthening through technical assistance operations. While such operations rarely generate environmental impacts per se, they are usually designed to encourage public investment and private sector involvement in key sectors. They are therefore well suited to utilize sectoral EA as an input into designing strategies for privatization, private sector investment, etc.

(2) REGIONAL EA.² Although the Bank has led the way in piloting this instrument in developing countries, usage remains limited largely because the Bank and its borrowers tend to take a sector-by-sector approach rather

²Regional EA examines environmental issues and impacts associated with a particular strategy, policy, plan, program, or a series of projects for a particular region (for example, an urban area, a coastal zone, or a watershed). It evaluates and compares the impacts against those of alternative options, assesses legal and institutional aspects relevant to the issues and impacts, and recommends broad measures to strengthen environmental management in the region.

than a spatial approach to development planning. Regional EAs are being used in the following cases: (A) as part of a strategic planning focusing on a particular geographic region; (B) during preparation of "large projects" potentially affecting a large area (e.g., a river basin, an area with significant natural forest, or a metropolitan area); and (C) during preparation of projects/programs with a regional or multisectoral character (normally with multiple subprojects).

(A) *Strategic Regional Planning.* Regional EA has been applied in urban planning, land-use planning, and other exercises not directly related to project development. It can be a powerful tool in diagnosing pressure-state-response relationships in environmental "hot spot" areas (e.g., a highly polluted city or industrial region, a coastal area under multiple development pressures, a region with protected areas under pressure, etc.). Regional EA has been little used by the Bank in these contexts to date, although related instruments have been used (e.g., urban environmental audits, biodiversity assessments, etc.).

(B) *"Large Projects."* Regional EA is well suited to address the wider and indirect impacts of a given project, as well as the cumulative effects of several projects/activities in a particular area. When the main environmental challenges and problems in an area are primarily related to ineffective policies, market failures, land-use pressures, etc., rather than the particular impacts and issues associated with a given project under Bank consideration, regional EA may be far more effective than a project-specific EA. Likewise, regional EAs are being used during the earliest stages of identifying and preparing large construction projects and projects with dispersed investments over a large area.

(C) *Regional and Multisectoral Projects and Programs.* Projects and programs with a geographical rather than a sectoral focus and involving multiple subprojects are particularly well suited to regional EA. Most of the Bank's regional EA experience stems from such projects, many of which illustrate the powerful potential of regional EA.

Improving EA Downstream

The effective implementation of EA findings and recommendations hinges largely on the production of a focused Environmental Management Plan (EMP) that includes clear performance benchmarks and indicators to enable effective monitoring and supervision of mitigation measures. The second EA review and the OED study noted that the Bank's environmental supervision of projects was inadequate and that serious environmental implementation problems could go untreated until reported by third parties. Accordingly, the Bank was urged to: (A) ensure that the requirements of the EMP are translated into bidding and tender documents for physical works to ensure that contractors assign costs to needed protection measures;

and (B) develop more cost-effective monitoring and supervision mechanisms, including: (1) ensuring more systematic involvement of local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and experts in monitoring of environmental performance; (2) promoting of environmental management systems (e.g., based on ISO 14000), self-auditing, and disclosure schemes, particularly those relevant to industries and utilities; and (3) adopting more thematic supervision across projects and countries and expand reliance on resident missions.

Challenges Ahead

Other challenges identified by the second EA review and through subsequent experience include integrating environmental conditions into proposed policy, for instance, in designing structural and program formulation, adjustment, or policy-based lending. Such "strategic EA" may be used to help assist in helping assess the impact of removing subsidies, devaluation, exchange adjustment, and changes in social expenditures. A number of recently added loan facilities (Adaptive Program Learning and Learning and Innovation Loans) and the inclusion of sectoral adjustment loans in the new EA Operational Policy 4.01 also hold specific challenges for the development and application of EA. Last, although there is evidence of progress, public consultation and participation, dealing with the private sector, integration of social and environmental assessments, analyzing site and design alternatives, and strengthening borrower institutions, each requires sustained support through focused advice, developing good practice, and training.

More borrowers are improving the quality of public consultation and participation as part of the EA. In many projects, consultations are becoming more open and interactive and participation is having an increasing impact on planning and implementation. In some projects, however, borrowers have found it easier to consult with local NGOs than with affected communities, in particular with women and the poor. Consultation and participation also remain a challenge in countries whose governments have no such requirements or cultural traditions or whose local project and EA consultant teams possess insufficient social science expertise. Future actions by the Bank will therefore be directed at strengthening the ability of implementing agencies to consult with stakeholders and allocating sufficient funds to finance the consultation/participation process.

The Bank is rapidly acquiring experience on the management of environmental issues in loans supporting private sector development. EA approaches, especially in connection with lending through financial intermediaries, lending in support of privatization, and loan guarantees, are being developed and refined on the basis of the Bank's own experience and through a productive exchange with other lending institutions. Innovative

approaches that hold promise include a special, parallel credit line exclusively for investments in control and prevention of pollution and joint government and private sector implementation of detailed EA procedures covering screening, environmental audits, EAs, and review and clearance functions. Training of corporate staff is also becoming more prevalent.

In recent years, the Bank has increased its technical assistance to borrowers by including components in projects to strengthen environmental and social assessment (World Bank 1998a, 1998b) and by offering legal advice and training to countries in the process of developing environmental regulations, including adoption of international conventions and agreements. Finally, the Bank continues to build partnerships and share lessons of experience with other multilateral and bilateral institutions, as well as NGOs, to coordinate training and other capacity-building efforts, and to work toward consistency in assessment approaches among aid institutions.

Other specifications to strengthen the application of EA concern analysis of alternatives and borrower EA capacity. An Environmental Assessment Sourcebook Update on "Analysis of Alternatives in Environmental Assessment" (World Bank, 1998c) provides guidance for the systematic comparison of proposed investment design, site, technology, and operational alternatives in terms of their potential environmental impacts, capital and recurrent costs, suitability under local conditions, and institutional and training requirements (World Bank, continuing). For each of the alternatives, the environmental costs and benefits should be quantified and economic values attached where feasible. The basis for selection of the alternative proposed for the project design is to be stated. Progress in this area remains mixed, although a growing number of EAs are examining alternatives in greater depth.

As the quality and usefulness of an EA is more dependent on the quality of the individuals who prepare it and local ownership than on adherence to a particular procedure, method, or approval, the practice of EA will only improve if greater use is made of well-qualified, local environment specialists. In recognition of this, the Bank continues to promote and support borrower EA training. It has increased its technical assistance to borrowers by including EA strengthening components more frequently in Bank-funded projects and by offering legal advice and training to countries in the process of developing EA regulations and procedures. An "Environmental Assessment Training Manual" is being used to support internal and external training, and a study "Case Studies: Regional and Sectoral Environmental Assessments" is being prepared for publication. To support in-country environmental planning, an EA capacity-building program for sub-Saharan Africa is under implementation, with complementary funding from the European Union, the governments of Norway and Sweden, and the World Bank. Similar initiatives are under way in other parts of the world.

In conclusion, the Bank will continue to sustain its core EA activities and to implement the recommendations of the 1992 and 1995 EA reviews.

To achieve this, the Bank will have to adapt to the rapidly changing nature of investment planning. A particular challenge lies in the use of EA as a tool to help integrate environmental considerations into proposed policy and program formulation, including designing structural adjustment or policy-based lending. Equally, strengthening EA capacity at both government and in-country practitioner levels is critical to achieving results on the ground.

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Young people's participation and representation in society

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Abstract

There has been a surge of interest in the geography of children and childhood. With it has come a growing awareness that children form a marginalised and subordinate group in (adult) society. A culture of non-participation by young people is endemic within the United Kingdom. For the most part, young people are provided with few opportunities to engage in discussions about their economic, social and environmental futures and seldom given chances to express their preferences outside of adult-dominated institutions. It would seem that participation is still conceived to be an adult activity. In this paper, we consider competing perspectives on the appropriateness and capability of children to participate and the form that participation should take; we then examine young people's participation and representation within the UK at the national level and consider some recent initiatives which encourage closer involvement at a local level; we discuss examples within mainland Europe where the political participation of children has been taken more seriously and where working mechanisms by which children are politically enabled are further developed; and lastly, we engage in further cross-cultural comparison in order to see whether ideas about children's participation and involvement in public life extends beyond 'the west'. By making such comparison we seek both to inform the debate on children's participation and representation within the UK and to draw attention to how an understanding of children's political engagement contributes to an emerging geography of children and childhood. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Young people; Participation; Representation; Children's rights; Children's ombudsperson; Youth councils

1. Introduction

Until recently geographers have paid scant attention to the study of children and childhood (James, 1990; Sibley, 1991; Philo, 1992; Winchester, 1991). Where studies had been carried out, most were concerned with children as future adults and attention focused on their emerging skills and cognitive development (for example, Matthews, 1984; 1987). Rarely were children studied for what they are, as active social agents in their own right, with their own lives, needs and desires (Corsaro, 1997). With the 'cultural turn', children have been (re)positioned on the geographical agenda (Aitken, 1994; Valentine, 1996a,b). One reason is that consideration of other subordinate groups in society (for example, women, minorities, the disabled) has drawn attention to the ways in which society is constructed around social and spatial assumptions. Constructivist and interpretive perspectives of this kind have led to a recognition that children as a group are amongst the least powerful

within western societies (James et al., 1998) and yet, their experiences within place and space have not been systematically examined. In consequence, there has been a surge of interest in the everyday geographies of children (Aitken, 1998; Matthews, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1998, in press; Matthews et al., 1998; Sibley, 1995; Skelton and Valentine, 1997; Valentine 1997a,b) and vigorous assertion for 'childhood space' to be recognised as an important dimension in social and cultural theory (James and Prout, 1992; James et al., 1998).

Unlike other marginalised groups, however, children are not in a position within most western societies to enter into a dialogue (with adults) about their environmental concerns and geographical needs. In this sense, children occupy a special position of exclusion. Their ability to challenge the conventions of dominant ideology from within, together with the practices and processes which lead to their socio-spatial marginalisation, is mostly beyond their grasp. Children as 'outsiders' need allies and geography with its concern with the politics and power of space and spatiality (Painter and Philo, 1995) is well positioned in this respect. Just as feminist geographers have developed their studies to

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address issues of women's representation and participation in socio-spatial decision-making, so geographers studying children need to build upon their studies to take on the issue of children's rights. We contend that the debate about children's involvement (or lack of involvement) in society and public policy making is central to an understanding of the contemporary geography of children and childhood. In the rest of this paper we develop these ideas, within a cross-cultural framework.

The right to say about matters relating to the quality of life is a basic human right (Archard, 1993). Although this fundamental principle of citizenship and of the democratic ethos was embedded in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), it was not until the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989 that children's right to participate in society was firmly established. Alongside Articles on provision, protection and care, the UNCRC sets out a number of obligations on the rights of participation by young people. Of primary importance are the following Articles:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Article 12 | The right to express an opinion and to have that opinion taken into account in any matter or procedure affecting them |
| Article 13 | The right to freedom of expression |
| Article 14 | The right to freedom of thought |
| Article 15 | The right to association and assembly |
| Article 17 | The right to appropriate information |
| Article 29 | The right to an education which will encourage responsible citizenship |

Despite the ratification of both sets of Rights by the UK Government, a culture of non-participation by young people is endemic within this country (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Jones and Wallace, 1992; Lansdown, 1995). For the most part, young people are provided with few opportunities to engage in discussions about their economic, social and environmental futures and seldom given chances to express their preferences outside of adult-dominated institutions (Hart, 1997; Matthews, 1992, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1998). It would seem that participation is still conceived to be an adult activity (Oakley, 1994). We suggest three factors which contribute to this culture of non-participation. First, there remain discourses within UK society which question the appropriateness of children's political involvement. Second, there are those who doubt the capability of children to participate. Third, even amongst those who believe in the principle of children's right to say, there are uncertainties about the form that participation should take and the outcomes which might result. In this paper, we consider these competing perspectives on the appropriateness and capability of children to participate and the form that participation should take; we then examine young people's participation and representa-

tion within the UK and consider some recent initiatives which encourage closer involvement; we discuss examples within mainland Europe where the political participation of children has been taken more seriously and where working mechanisms by which children are politically enabled are further developed; and lastly, we engage in further cross-cultural comparison in order to see whether ideas about children's participation and involvement in public life extends beyond 'the west'. By making such comparison we seek both to inform the debate on children's participation and representation within the UK and to draw attention to how an understanding of children's political engagement contributes to an emerging geography of children and childhood.

2. The participation debate

Participation implies processes of involvement, shared responsibility and active engagement in decisions which affect the quality of life. For the UNCRC participation provides a mechanism for not only safeguarding the 'best interests of the child' (Article 3), but also for ensuring that children's views and opinions are given respect. However, whilst there has been wide acclaim and support within the UK for two other major rights of childhood identified by the UNCRC, that is, the rights to protection and provision, there is less consensus about the notion of participation.

In spite of a growing lobby in favour of children's rights to participate, there remains an intransigence in some quarters about whether such political involvement is appropriate. Lansdown identifies three reasons why some adults are reluctant for children to take part in decision-making that will impact on their own life and the lives of others (Lansdown 1995, p. 20). First, giving children the right to say threatens the harmony and stability of family life by calling into question parents' 'natural' authority to decide what is in the best interests of a child. Yet, as Qvortrup et al., (1994) suggest, to sustain such an argument, it must be beyond reasonable doubt that adults behave with children's best interests in mind. In practice, this is not always the case. Second imposing responsibilities on children detracts from their right to childhood, a period in life which is supposed to be characterised by freedom from concern. Such a perspective ignores the fact that many children's lives are full of legitimate concerns which are products of the same social and economic forces that affect adults. A third strand to the argument is that children cannot have rights until they are capable of taking responsibility. This view is based on an idealised view of childhood, yet few children live without responsibilities. Alanen (1994) points out that children's labour and duties within the home are underestimated, whilst the reality of school

work and its associated responsibilities are rendered invisible by the label 'education'.

A second, though related, argument against children's participation is based on a conviction that children are incapable of reasonable and rational decision-making, an incompetence confounded by their lack of experience and a likelihood that they will make mistakes. Furthermore, if children are left to the freedom of their own inabilities the results are likely to be harmful (Scarre, 1989). Franklin and Franklin (1996) draw attention to a range of libertarian criticisms of these two viewpoints. As a starting point, children are constantly making rational decisions affecting many parts of their daily lives (some trivial, some less so) without which their lives would have little meaning, order or purpose. In addition, adults are often not good decision-makers and history bears this out. Indeed, this observation provides an incentive to allow children to make decisions so that they may learn from their mistakes and so develop good decision-making skills. More radically, it has been argued that the probability of making mistakes should not debar involvement, as such an assumption 'confuses the right to do something with doing the right thing' (Franklin and Franklin 1996, p. 101). Critics also draw attention to the existing allocation of rights according to age, which is flawed by arbitrariness and inconsistency. For example, within the UK a young person is deemed criminally responsible at the age of 10, sexually competent at the age of 16, but not politically responsible until the age of 18, when suddenly, without training or rehearsal, young people enjoy the right to suffrage. Lastly, by denying rights of participation to everyone under the age of 18 assumes a homogeneity of emotional and intellectual needs, skills and competences. Furthermore, we contend that both positions are imbued with an adultist assumption that children are not social actors in their own right, but are adults-in-waiting or human becomings. Denigrating children in this way not only fails to acknowledge that children are the citizens of today (not tomorrow), but also undervalues their true potential within society and obfuscates many issues which challenge and threaten children in their 'here and now' (Matthews and Limb, *in press*).

The kinds of prejudices and exclusionary premises noted here, are not new. Indeed, a considerable history of anti-children assumptions can be traced back, at least to the sixteenth century. According to various historical commentators (Aries, 1962; Holt, 1975; Pollock, 1983; Sommerville, 1982; Cox, 1996), modern conceptions of childhood, which stress the innocence and frailty of children and which 'forcefully ejected children from the worlds of work, sexuality and politics and designated the classroom as the major focus of children's lives' (Franklin, 1995, p. 7), date from this period. Childhood became codified as a period of training and discipline in preparation for adult life, where a lack of autonomy was

seen as natural and children became constructed as human beings in the making (Cox, 1996). Qvortrup et al. (1994) argue that with time the institutional structures of society moved to normalise the mythology of a 'golden age'. Children became progressively and systematically disenfranchised, forced into dependency on adults and obliged to 'be seen but not heard'. Given the way that these convictions have become ingrained into the socio-spatial landscape, it is not surprising that the barriers which Lansdown (1995) identifies to children's participation have been so difficult to dismantle. For as Cox (1996, p. 5) comments, 'we can attempt to understand our current preoccupations, ambiguities and anxieties about childhood by seeing them as part of a legacy from the past, a past which seems to exert a hold upon us whether or not we would wish to be free of it'.

The debate about children's right to participate is compounded by a divergence of views on the nature, purpose and form that participation should take. For some (Hart, 1992, 1997; Lansdown, 1995), democratic responsibility is something which does not suddenly arise in adulthood but is a condition which has to be nurtured and experienced at different stages along a transition and so should be a feature of all democratic education. 'It is unrealistic to expect them (children) to become responsible, participating adults at the age of 16, 18 or 21 without prior exposure to the skills and responsibilities involved' (Hart, 1992, p. 5). In addition, there is ample evidence to suggest that the involvement of children in local decision-making acts as a catalyst for participation amongst the community as a whole (Hart, 1997). Others (Council of Europe, 1993; Storrie, 1997) argue, however, that education of this kind is disempowering in that it is designed primarily to integrate young people into existing social and institutional structures, on which they are unable to exert any real influence. Instead, if participation is to be truly effective it should be carried out in such a way that the material influence of young people becomes progressively enlarged. Participation here, is more broadly conceived to be the right to influence, in a democratic manner, processes bearing upon one's own life and the development of local youth policy. This debate relates closely to notions of education versus empowerment and training versus emancipation (de Winter, 1997).

3. Participation and representation within the UK

In this section we review young people's participation and representation within the UK, distinguishing between involvement at the national and local level. At the national level, a number of political commentators draw attention to a growing disinterest by young people in all matters political (Bynner and Ashford, 1994; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Furnham and Stacey, 1991). A lack

of political awareness, political apathy and low levels of political participation are claimed as commonplace. A recent social attitudes survey (Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995) showed that 45% of under 25s did not vote in the 1992 election compared to 31% in 1987 and only 6% of 15-34 year olds describe themselves as 'very interested in politics'. It would appear that an entire generation is opting out of politics (Barnardo's, 1996).

Yet there is ample evidence to suggest that if young people are given more responsibilities and more chance to participate in the running of society, then they will be more willing to engage in the processes of democracy (Hodgkin and Newell, 1996). For example, in single issue organisations where young people are encouraged to take part, membership statistics confirm a growing participation rate. Amnesty International's youth section increased from 1300 in 1988 to 15,000 in 1995; Greenpeace's youth membership rose from 80,000 in 1987 to 420,000 in 1995; and Friends of the Earth report a growth of 125,000 new young members over the same period (British Youth Council, 1996). Hodgkin and Newell (1996) powerfully assert:

"Our society is in some danger of infantilising children, of assuming an incapacity long past the date when they are more capable. It is a matter of common sense, and the instinctive good practice of many parents living with children and many professionals working with children, to listen to children and to encourage them to take responsibility for decisions wherever possible. The outcomes are usually better and, even if things go wrong, learning from mistakes is an essential part of development" (p. 38).

Indeed, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, the international body which was set-up to monitor the implementation of the Convention, expressed concern in its meeting in January 1995 about the lack of progress made by the UK Government in complying with its principles and standards. In particular, attention was drawn to the insufficiency of measures relating to the operationalisation of Article 12. It recommended that:

"greater priority be given to... Article 12, concerning the child's right to make their views known and to have those views given due weight, in the legislative and administrative measures and in policies undertaken to implement the rights of the child..."

and went on to suggest that:

"the State party consider the possibility of establishing further mechanisms to facilitate the participation of children in decisions affecting them,

including within the family and the community.." (United Nations, 1995, p. 15).

The case for young people's closer representation and involvement in political processes, especially at a national level has been taken up by a number of campaigning organisations. First moves pre-date the UNCRC, when, in 1975, the National Council for Civil Liberties (now Liberty) proposed a Children's Rights Commissioner to act as a national advocate for children, but the proposal did not advance beyond the parliamentary committee stage (Rodgers, 1979). Recently, the aim of establishing a national Commissioner has gained renewed impetus. Critical to this momentum was the publication of *Taking Children Seriously: A proposal for a Children's Rights Commissioner* (Rosenbaum and Newell, 1991). In this detailed study the authors make a forceful case for reform. They suggest that it is children's vulnerability to mistreatment, the lack of co-ordination across government departments in provision for children, children's complete lack of political rights, and the need to ensure long-term government compliance with the UNCRC which make the case for setting-up the office of Commissioner so necessary (Franklin and Franklin, 1996). Among the Commissioner's roles would be the remit to involve young people as closely as possible in decision-making at various levels. This would involve the organisation of local and national forums for young people; the establishment of advisory groups to consider policy and practice; and the widescale canvassing of young people for their views and opinions.

As a consequence of this publication the campaign for a statutory, independent office of Children's Rights Commissioner was launched in the same year. The proposal is supported strongly by all major child welfare and child protection agencies, four Royal Colleges of Health, local authority associations and many professional children's organisations (Children's Rights Office, 1997). The establishment of the Children's Rights Office in 1995 and its designation of a full-time officer to campaign for a Children's Commissioner gave added weight to the cause. In an attempt to move the campaign forward the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation set up an inquiry which consulted widely in the UK and overseas about participatory structures. Their report (Hodgkin and Newell, 1996) not only highlighted the modest extent of inter-ministerial and inter-departmental co-ordination of children's affairs and the ad hoc nature of the allocation of some responsibilities (an outcome of there being no lead Department for children), but also drew attention to a range of effective government structures for children already evident elsewhere¹ (Table 1).

¹ 80 countries responded to the survey, although non-inclusion does not imply an absence of special structures for children.

Table 1

The right to say: organisational structures for children's participation and representation*

| | Youth organisations | Main Government Department | NGOs/Ombudsperson |
|-------------|---|--|--|
| Austria | Regional youth councils | Department of Children's Rights in the Federal Ministry for Environment, Youth & the Family | Federal Children's & Youth Ombudsperson, since 1991. |
| Belgium | Local youth councils | No lead department | Commissioner of Children's Rights in French community since 1991; Ombudsperson for children under 6 in Flemish community since 1992; Flemish Youth Council |
| Denmark | Municipal youth councils | Ministry of Social Affairs | National Council for Children's Rights |
| Finland | Local youth councils | No lead department | Children's Ombudsman since 1981 provided by the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare |
| France | Children & youth town councils | Ministry of State for the Family | Council of Associations for the Rights of the Child; National Association for Children & Young People's Councils |
| Germany | Regional and local youth councils | Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women & Youth | Commission for Children's Concerns. Several NGOs have proposed a Federal Commissioner for Children |
| Hungary | Children's and youth municipal councils | Secretariat of the Coordinating Council for Youth & Children's Affairs based within the Prime Ministers Office | General ombudsman is consulting on need for children's ombudsman; Association of Support to Children's & Youth Municipal Councils |
| Italy | Local children's and adolescents councils | Ministry for Social Solidarity | National Association of Children's Councils (Democrazia in Erba) |
| Netherlands | Municipal youth councils | Directorate for Youth Policy in the Ministry of Health, Welfare & Sport | NGO initiatives studying the possibility of ombudsperson for children at national or regional level |
| Norway | Local youth councils | Department of Child & Youth Policy in the Ministry of Children Family Affairs | Ombudsman for Children since 1981 |
| Roumania | Children's and youth district councils | Ministry for Youth & Sport | Federation of Children's & Youth Councils |
| Spain | National Assembly and regional youth councils | Inter-ministerial Commission for Youth & Childhood | Spanish Youth Council. Ombudsperson for Children in city of Madrid since 1996 |
| Sweden | Local youth councils | Ministry of Health & Social Affairs | Children's Ombudsperson since 1993 |
| Switzerland | Municipal and canton youth parliaments | Federal Cultural Office | Association of Swiss Youth Parliaments |

* Source: Hodgkin and Newell (1996), Council of Europe (1997), Roy (1997).

Additional encouragement to the campaign for better representation for young people has been provided by New Labour. Their 1992 Manifesto proposed putting in place a Minister for Children (Lestor, 1995), although this proposition was absent in the 1997 Manifesto. Whilst there are signs that the present government is sympathetic to the creation of such a post, at present, the official position is that they are in a process of consultation (Hewitt, 1998). This lack of progress has prompted other campaigning organisations to take up the cause. The 2020 Vision Programme is being organised by the Industrial Society as a result of a concern that young people's voices are rarely heard in political, economic and social debates. Amongst their aims is to put in place a Minister for Youth to co-ordinate policy and action (Industrial Society, 1997).

At the local level, however, there are encouraging signs that attitudes are changing with regard to the in-

volvement of young people in decision-making. There are a number of associated reasons for such a development. First, the momentum given to young people's rights in general by the UNCRC has been added to by the principles set by Local Agenda 21. Amongst its many declarations for a sustainable future is the view that dialogue should be established between the youth community and government at all levels which enables young people's perspectives and visions to be incorporated as a matter of course into future environmental policy (Freeman, 1996). Second, local government re-organisation has provided a stimulus for youth issues to be addressed in a strategic manner, partly through a need to demonstrate community consultation and partly to tackle what is perceived to be 'the youth problem' (Griffin, 1993; Wynn and White, 1997). Third, there is the 'millennium factor'; as we move towards the turn of the century there seems to be an emerging sense that the

future is for our children (Hackett, 1997; Storrie, 1997) and local decision-making is critical to young people's well-being. As part of this movement towards giving young people a say has been the development of youth councils/forums. The term *councilforum* is used here to describe the range of ways in which congregations of young people come together, usually, but not exclusively, in committee, to voice their views about their needs and aspirations (in their social and physical worlds).

A recent survey (Matthews and Limb, 1998) has revealed that there are over 200 youth councils within the UK, although these have developed in different ways. A number of national organisations have played important roles in their development, but a consequence of their varying approaches is an unevenness of provision within the four home countries. In England, the National Youth Agency (NYA) and the British Youth Council (BYC) provide advice and information on request about youth councils. The Wales Youth Agency (WYA) has a similar remit. These are agencies, which although proponents of young people's participation, have limited capacity to support development. Because of this, the development of youth councils in England and Wales has largely been a haphazard one. Their form and character depending partly on such factors as the demography, political make-up and traditions of a locality, and partly on existing institutional and organisational structures and charismatic individuals. In Scotland developments are more coherent. Here a partnership between the Scottish Community Education Council (SCEC), Youth Link Scotland and the Principal Community Education Officers Group, which followed four years of research and consultation, gave rise to the 'Connect Youth' programme, launched in 1995. Targeted at 14–25 year olds, this programme seeks to promote effective involvement of young people in the decision-making processes which affect their lives and to engage young people in determining their views on services and the development of opportunities for enhanced community involvement (SCEC, 1996). By far the longest history of youth councils in the UK, however, is within Northern Ireland. In 1979 the Department of Education established the Northern Ireland Youth Forum (NIYF), with a specific brief to encourage the development of a network of Local Youth Councils (LYC). The purpose of the LYCs was to get young people involved in tackling local issues and to ensure that their voices were heard by local District Councils. The NIYF, on the other hand, took on a broader role and attempted to provide a national platform for young people's issues. Currently being discussed are proposals to get youth representatives on each District Council and the formation of a Northern Ireland Youth Parliament.

A major problem confronting the development of a coherent structure of youth councils in the UK is both

the piecemeal and ad hoc manner in which they are being set in place and the experimental nature of many of the initiatives. At present, unlike many European countries (see below), there is no single organisation responsible for their inception. Even when national agencies are involved decisions are largely left to individual statutory and voluntary organisations. In consequence, within a relatively small geographical area there may be many types of youth council, rarely drawing upon the experience of each other. Also, as there is no framework which defines the structure of these councils, there is often a sense that these are novel and slightly 'risky' experiments operating outside of the mainstream. Symptomatic of this general lack of organisation is that there is no comprehensive listing of youth councils and only recently has there been any attempt to compile a directory (an initiative launched by the National Youth Agency and the British Youth Council in 1997).

Inevitably, when there are various types of participatory structure, and in the absence of coherent guidelines, some are likely to be more effective than others. Hart (1997) warns of the danger of tokenism, a situation when young people are apparently given a voice but have little choice about the subject, the style of communication or any say in the final outcomes. Unless young people are confident that their opinions will be treated with respect and seriousness, they will quickly become discouraged and dismiss the participation process as ineffective, with all the implications this has for their confidence in democratic processes as they grow into adulthood. We suggest that poor participatory mechanisms are very effective in training young people to become non-participants.

4. Participation and representation within mainland Europe

Beyond the UK there is substantial evidence for the wider development of children's participation. In this section, first, we examine an European-wide initiative to promote young people's participation in general, second, we look at examples of political structures which engage young people in decision-making at a national level and lastly, we consider the growth of the youth councils movement in selected countries. This review suggests that within many parts of mainland Europe children's political participation has been taken more seriously.

In 1992, the Council of Europe (CE), through the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, launched the 'European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Municipal and Regional Life'. This Charter was an affirmation of the Youth Directorate's (CE) commitment to the social and political inclusion of

all children. It advocated that local authorities and regions in Europe implement policies to develop young people's participation in community life, including: leisure and socio-cultural activities; employment; housing and urban affairs; education and training; social and health prevention; equal opportunities; culture environment; and information sharing. In addition, structures should be developed to assist the processes of representation, co-management and consultation. Five years on, a survey designed to assess the impact of the Charter (Roy, 1997) noted its widespread recognition throughout Europe and only in Greece, Georgia and Lithuania was the Charter unknown. Perceived benefits included greater consistency, improved planning and more coherent structures for young people's participation. Interestingly, within the UK all local authorities were sent a copy of the questionnaire and of the 38 replies only 14 claimed any awareness of the Charter.

At the national level, this commitment to young people's participation and representation is manifest in many ways. Table 1 highlights a range of working structures and mechanisms evident within many European countries. Of particular significance is a developing network of Ombudspersons. Following Norway's lead, which in 1981 became the first country in the world to appoint an Ombudsman for Children (Flekkoy, 1991), there are now posts in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Spain and propositions for others in the Czech Republic, France, Germany and Hungary (Urban Childhood Conference, 1997). The functions of these ombudspersons vary from general advocacy of children's rights to concern for specific issues.

Guiding principles of the Norwegian office are summarised below (Flekkoy, 1995):

- the Ombudsman must act as a voice for children in order to provide a channel of communication to all policy makers;
- the office must be independent of both political organisation and political administration in order to ensure integrity and honesty in all matters;
- the office must be accessible and inclusive to all young people;
- the office must be close to all decision-making bodies which have an impact on children;
- the office must link to both national and local state networks and to non-governmental organisations;
- the office must be credible in all its activities.

In 1993 the Norwegian parliament began an evaluation of the role. The final report (Ministry of Children and Family Affairs, 1996) not only affirms the need for such an officer, but also highlights the many positive outcomes which have been achieved. The principal findings included:

- Young people were keenly aware of the Ombudsman and the functions of the office (in a random survey of

over 15 year olds three-quarters of respondents knew about the person and the office and of these, 83 per cent felt the function was useful).

- The office had placed children onto the political agenda and had brought about significant legislative change (e.g. legislation prohibiting physical punishment; the establishment of national guidelines to incorporate the needs of children into all urban and rural planning; improved building regulations for safety and accident prevention in the home; raising the age by which young people can be tried by adult courts).
- The Ombudsman had acted as a significant agent in the dissemination of information about children's rights and was an important communication conduit to local and national organisations.
- The office had helped to place children onto an international agenda and provided a practical model of good practice for other countries.

At the local level, there are many examples throughout Europe of successful participatory structures involving young people, especially the organisation of youth councils (Table 1). Like the UK experience, these have largely arisen in an attempt to link young people more effectively to their communities and to local environmental decision-making. In many cases though, unlike the UK, the development, organisation and support of these youth councils is co-ordinated by a national agency. For example, within Spain, this role has been taken up since 1984 by the Spanish Youth Council (Spanish Youth Council, 1997). Currently, the Council co-ordinates the activities of 70 organisations, including 17 Regional Youth Councils. A National Assembly is held annually and this acts as a major forum for young people's views. In Switzerland the Association of Youth Parliaments supports 40 organisations spread across the 26 cantons and has an annual budget of 500,000 francs provided by the Federal Cultural Office and the Swiss Association of Youth Organisations. Among its role is to be proactive in establishing new assemblies and since its inception in 1993, 25 youth parliaments have been established (Ludescher, 1997). In Italy, the National Association of Children's Councils through its 'Democrazia in Erba' programme is active in supporting and promoting the work of over 110 local youth fora. Its Child and Adolescent Council Charter sets out a framework by which each organisation will operate. Guidelines are provided on membership, elections and representation, funding and financial management, and the purpose and functions of the assembly (Castellani, 1997). In Hungary, The Association of Support to Children and Youth Municipal Councils (GYIOT) was established in 1992 to oversee and promote the work of youth councils. At present there are 25 organisations and in 1996 GYIOT encouraged these to come together to form a legally

recognised Federation. This was a significant development for up until this time those councils without members aged over 18 had no official status. By being part of a Federation all councils are incorporated into the legal structure of the state (Varzegi, 1997).

One of the most successful and longest standing networks of youth councils is that co-ordinated by the Association Nationale des Conseils d'Enfants et de Jeunes (ANACEJ), which is responsible for Children and Youth Town Councils across France (Jodry, 1997). The growth of town councils has been rapid and widespread. The first was set up in 1979, in response to the International Year of the Child, and today there are 940 (of which 413 subscribe to ANACEJ). The town councils vary in their age composition, but most fall into one of three categories: 9-13 years; 10-15 years; and 14-18 years. The young councillors are generally elected for two years and the only conditions for nomination are that candidates must attend the local school or live in the locality. ANACEJ recommends 30 delegates for a city of around 25,000 population. The principal goals of these councils are to provide a place for the expression of young people's values, a place where young people are listened to and a place where young people may acquire the skills of citizenship. As part of its mission, ANACEJ has been able to define a strategy for implementation, which includes plans of action, monitoring, training, networking and dissemination. A culture of participation is developing, in which young people's involvement, from an early age, is seen as normal and responsible.

5. Participation and representation beyond the West

Definitions of children and childhood are not unproblematic. Being a child is neither a universal experience nor defined by a period of fixed duration. So far in this paper our focus has been upon western childhood. We acknowledge, however, that within western societies children face multiple realities and their experiences of place and space are contingent upon numerous dimensions such as gender, class, ethnicity and location (Matthews and Limb, in press). Nonetheless, we contend that if emphasis is given to the diversity of children's lives the commonality of generational based exclusion is underplayed. In this paper we have argued that socio-spatial marginalisation is an emphatic feature of growing-up in the UK and extends to many western societies, although we recognise that its form may differ and some children will experience it more than others (Stephens, 1995).

At a global scale these definitions become even more problematic. 'Different cultures, as well as different histories, construct different worlds of childhood' (Franklin, 1995, p. 7). Yet, the UNCRC is now ratified by all

countries of the world, except two (USA and Somalia) and is well on the way to becoming the first universal law of humankind (Hodgkin and Newell, 1996). In the context of the debate about children's rights to participation and to be heard major anomalies of interpretation have begun to appear. Ennew argues that the child of the Convention is not a universal, but a 'Northern' child, globalised inappropriately 'first through colonialism and then through the imperialism of international aid', with damaging consequences to the context of the South (Ennew, 1995, p. 202). The place for children within the Convention is on the 'inside' (for example, the home, the family and society). Children who are outside these domains, such as the 'street children' of the shanties and slums and the child soldiers of war-torn countries, become 'outside' of childhood and so beyond the bounds of the Convention.

At the national level, however, there are many examples within all continents of special arrangements which either seek to broaden the political engagement of young people or which have been adopted to make the government more sensitive to the needs of children and to assist the implementation of the Convention (Hodgkin and Newell, 1996). For example, two countries, Nicaragua and Brazil, both with very high youth populations, have recently reduced the voting age to 16 (Freeman, 1996). In Angola, Bangladesh, Belize, Ethiopia and Malawi there are ministries with special responsibilities for children's affairs. Among those countries with national councils to ensure the implementation of the Convention are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chile, Egypt, Fiji, Guatemala, Mongolia, Thailand and Cambodia (Hodgkin and Newell, 1996).

At the local level, Hart (1997) notes, following an international survey of children's projects, that the community participation of young people seems to be developing more in some of the emerging countries of the South than in the well-established democracies of the North. He draws upon numerous examples in South America, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and the Philippines where children have been actively encouraged to take part in the planning and organisation of their local environments. However, he tellingly comments (Hart, 1997, px): 'More important than any North-South differences, though, are the great contrasts within all countries between those who do and those who do not recognise the capacities and desires of children to play a meaningful role in the development of their communities and in the care of their environment'.

6. Conclusion

The multiple discourse about young people's participation and representation generates ambiguous agenda.

For those who feel that young people are incapable of participating or who question the appropriateness of their involvement, the lack of opportunities and incentives for representation within the UK is not deemed to be a problem. On the other hand, for those who see participation to be the cornerstone of democracy and inclusive citizenship, the UNCRC has become a rallying point, opening up new ways of thinking about young people's rights. The diversity of view, however, between those who see participation as a 'craft apprenticeship' and a learning strategy (Storrie, 1997, p. 65) and those who consider it to be a truly empowering experience and as a chance to redefine the structures which include young people, confounds the way forward. Yet, there is a growing recognition that within the UK young people are not given the respect or listened to with the seriousness that they deserve (Lansdown, 1995). The prevarication of successive governments in not setting-up either an independent Commissioner for Children or a Minister for Children and the lack of a coherent national framework for youth councils, confirms this view. This is not the case in many parts of mainland Europe. Here, there is ample evidence of effective ombudswork, national frameworks for the co-ordination of young people's affairs and well established participatory structures which operate at a grass-roots level. At a broader international scale, too, there is evidence that the Articles of the UNCRC are reaching out to incorporate growing numbers of young people world-wide. We suggest that the UK has much to learn from these experiences and until this happens, young people will remain largely invisible in public-policy making at all levels. Finally, in this paper we have attempted to show that studies about children's participation and representation in society are integral to the emerging geography of children. Not only do they provide a keener appreciation of the historical and cultural relativity of childhood, but they also add insight into processes which marginalise and exclude.

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PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN EIA IN HUNGARY: ANALYSIS THROUGH THREE CASE STUDIES

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Public participation and environmental impact assessment (EIA) are recent developments in Hungary; in spite of this considerable advances have been made in their development. Hungarian EIA offers a range of public participation mechanisms depending on the year the permitting process began as well as the sector to which the project corresponds, offering a good range of examples to study and compare. Three case studies have been selected, each making use of different public participation schemes: (1) a hazardous waste incinerator, falling under the 1993 provisional EIA decree; (2) a power plant, falling under the 1993 provisional EIA decree as well as the 1994 Energy Act; and (3) a motorway previous to any EIA legislation but having to meet EBRD's EIA requirements, the motorways planning process, and the developer's own initiative for participation. The system's strengths and weaknesses are identified, as well as lessons drawn from international EIA theory and practice, such as the need for including early public involvement and a formal scoping phase. © 1999 Elsevier Science Inc.

I. Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, environmental impact assessment (EIA) provisions in Hungary have been found in two areas of legislation: EIA specific and the energy sector (regulating power plants). The development of EIA legislation in these sectors is shown in Table 1; the corresponding procedures are illustrated in Figures 1 through 3. The major aspects of these procedures, relative to public participation, are described in the following section. It is important to note that projects requiring an EIA by the energy legislation also fall under the EIA-specific legislation, resulting in a more

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TABLE 1. Development of EIA Legislation

| Year | EIA-Specific Legislation | Energy Sector Legislation |
|------|---|---|
| 1992 | | • Decree 146/1992 |
| 1993 | • Decree 86/1993; modified by decree 67/1994 | |
| 1994 | | • Energy Act XLVIII |
| 1995 | • Environment Act LIII (Supersedes decree 86/1993) • Decree 152/1995 | • Decree 34/1995 |
| 1996 | | • Decree 73/1996 (supersedes decree 146/1992) |

complex procedure; this combination depends on the date of the project's initiation.

As can be seen from Table 1, such legislation has changed, and the initial procedures have been substituted with more recent ones. Although the case studies included in this paper fall under the early procedures (i.e., EIA decrees 86/1993, and energy-sector decree 146/1992 together with the 1994 Energy Act XLVIII), the new procedures (i.e., 1995 Environment Act LIII, decree 152/1995, and energy-sector decree 73/1996) are described in order to discuss the improvements in participation provisions that were brought about.

I.A. Public Participation and the EIA Procedure

I.A.1. GOVERNMENT DECREE 86/1993. This procedure requires the developer to submit a preliminary environmental impact study (PEIS) to the Environmental Inspectorate, which consults the specialized authorities¹ and determines if a detailed environmental impact study (DEIS) is needed. After submission of the DEIS a public hearing² is held, to which the specialized authorities and affected parties (i.e., the applicant, affected population, and local authority) are invited. The final decision by the Inspectorate must be based on the "available data and the views of the specialized authorities" and must be justified.

I.A.2. ACT LIII (ENVIRONMENT ACT) AND DECREE 152/1995. The 1995 Environment Act supersedes EIA decree 86/1993. A major difference with the procedure established in decree 86/1993 is the introduction of a public review for the PEIS. The Inspectorate sends the application, the PEIS, and

¹The competent Nature Conservation Authority, the County (Budapest) Institute of the State Public Health and Sanitary Service, and other specialized authorities.

²A public hearing in Hungary usually refers to a 1-day event where the public has an opportunity to express their concerns officially as well as to try to solve disputes with the developers.

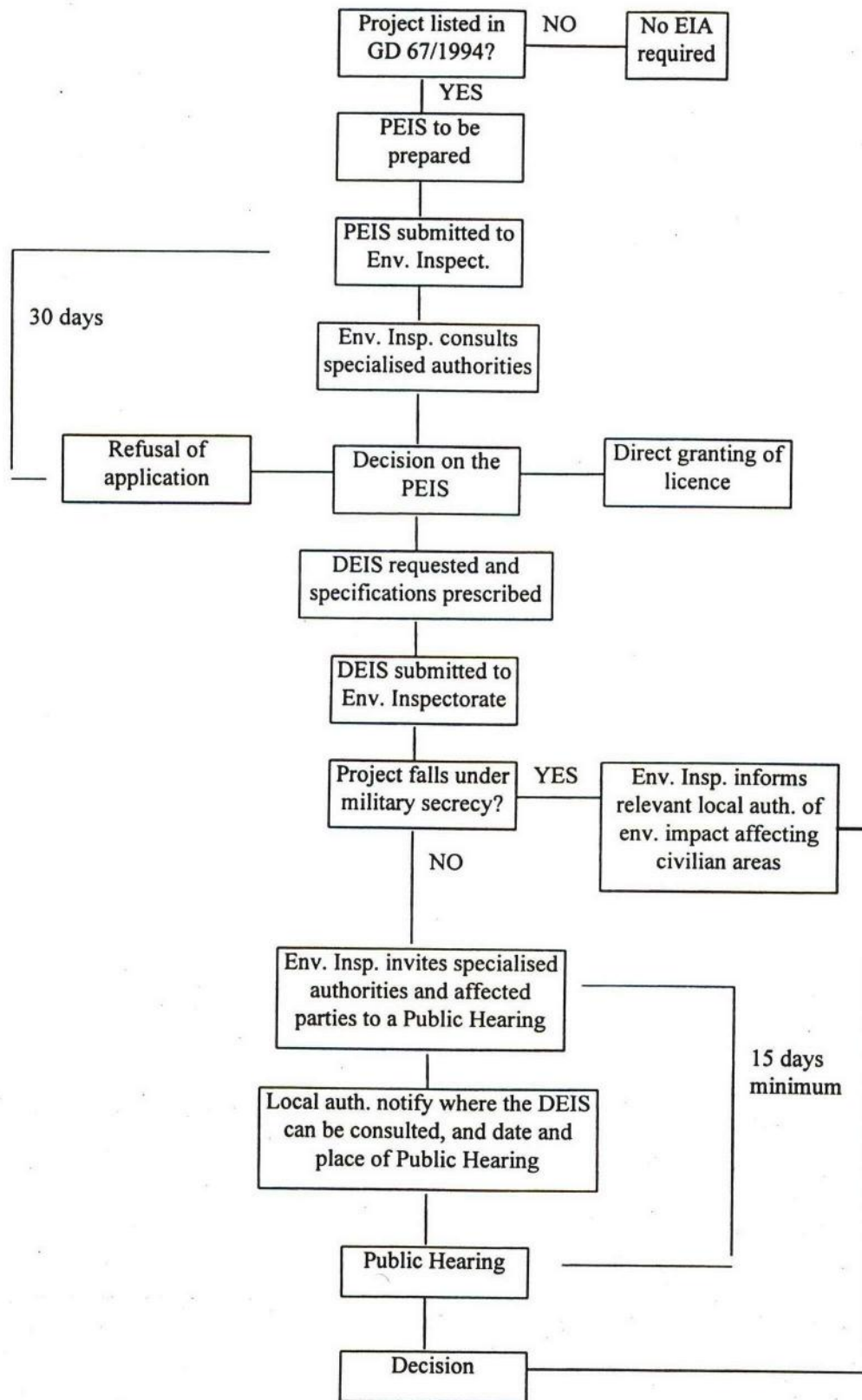
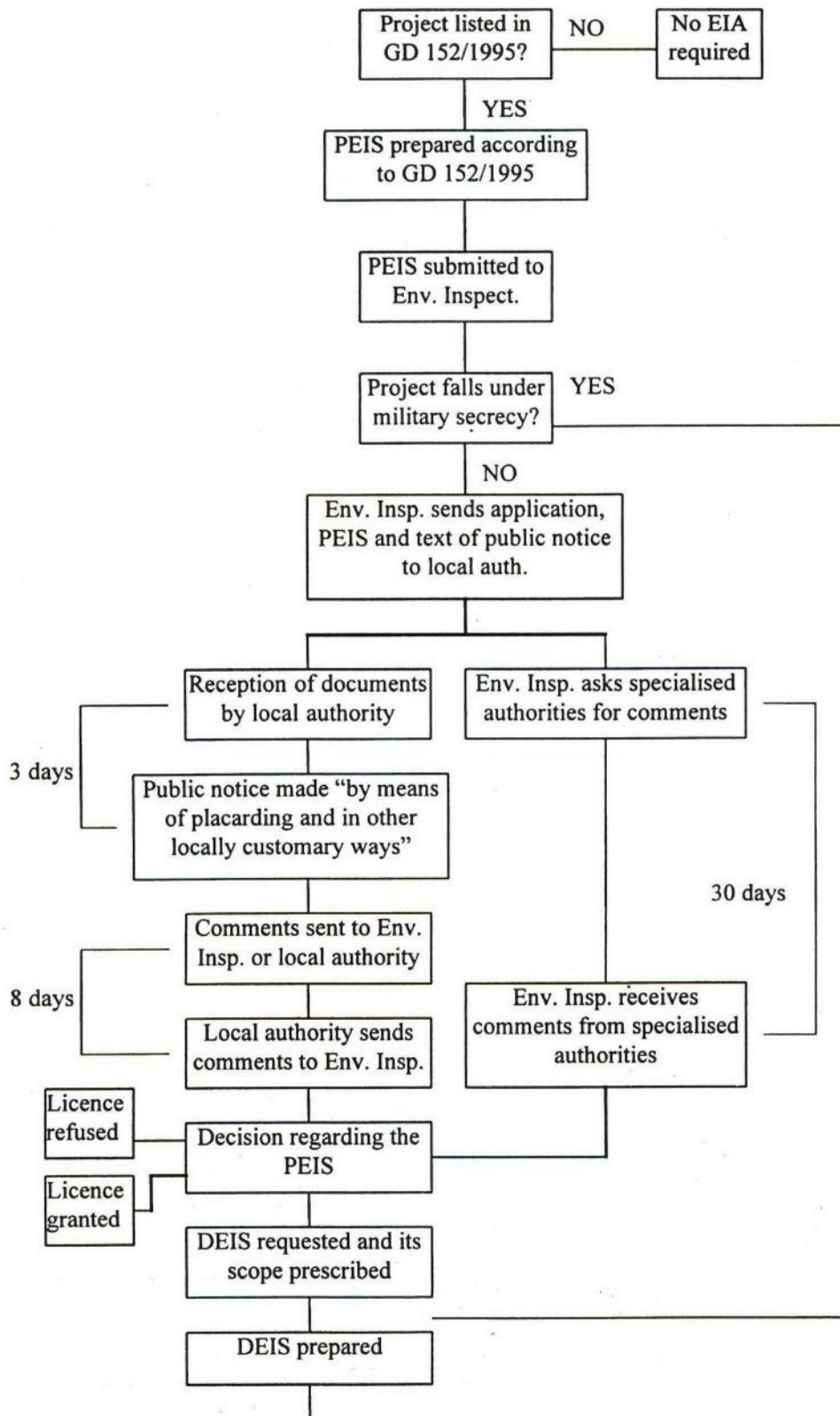


FIGURE 1. EIA procedure according to decree 86/1993.



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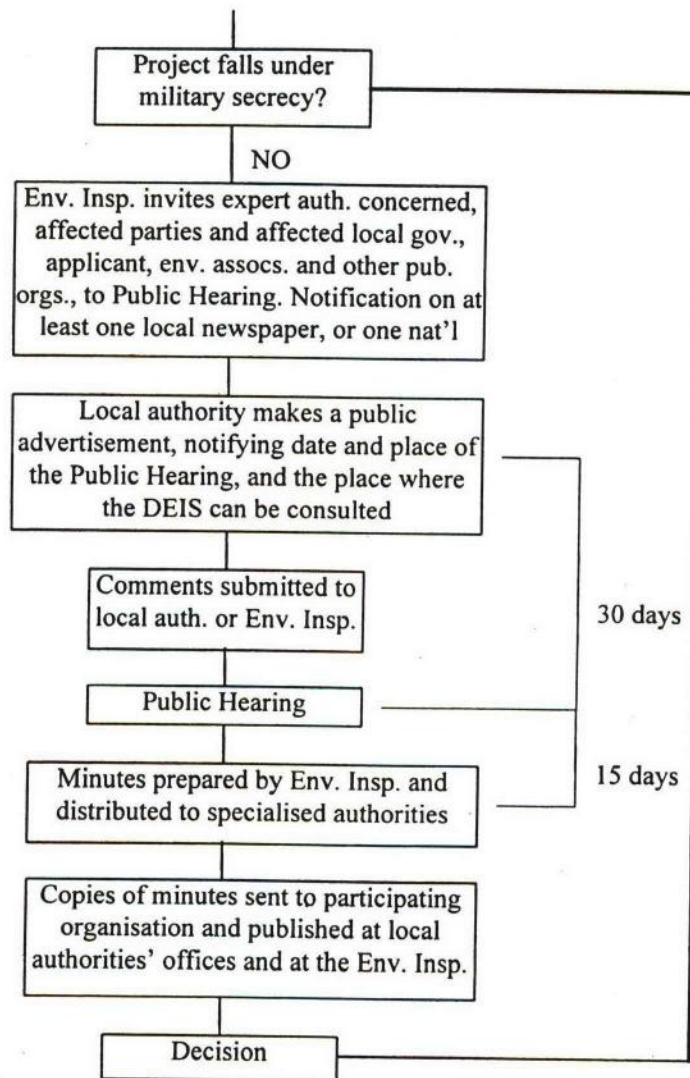


FIGURE 2. EIA procedure according to the 1995 Environment Act and decree 152/1995.

a “partial text of public notice”³ (as specified in decree 152/1995) to the affected local authorities, who notify the public that they can send comments. The Inspectorate must consult with the specialized authorities when making a decision about the PEIS. Once the DEIS is submitted a public hearing is held, to which the Inspectorate may invite the specialized authorities and the affected parties, including environmental and other public associations.

Another major difference with decree 86/1993 is the use of mass media (local or national newspapers) for the notification, apart from the traditional

³The contents of which include the project’s location and brief description, information about where and when the documentation can be consulted, and the deadline for submission of comments.

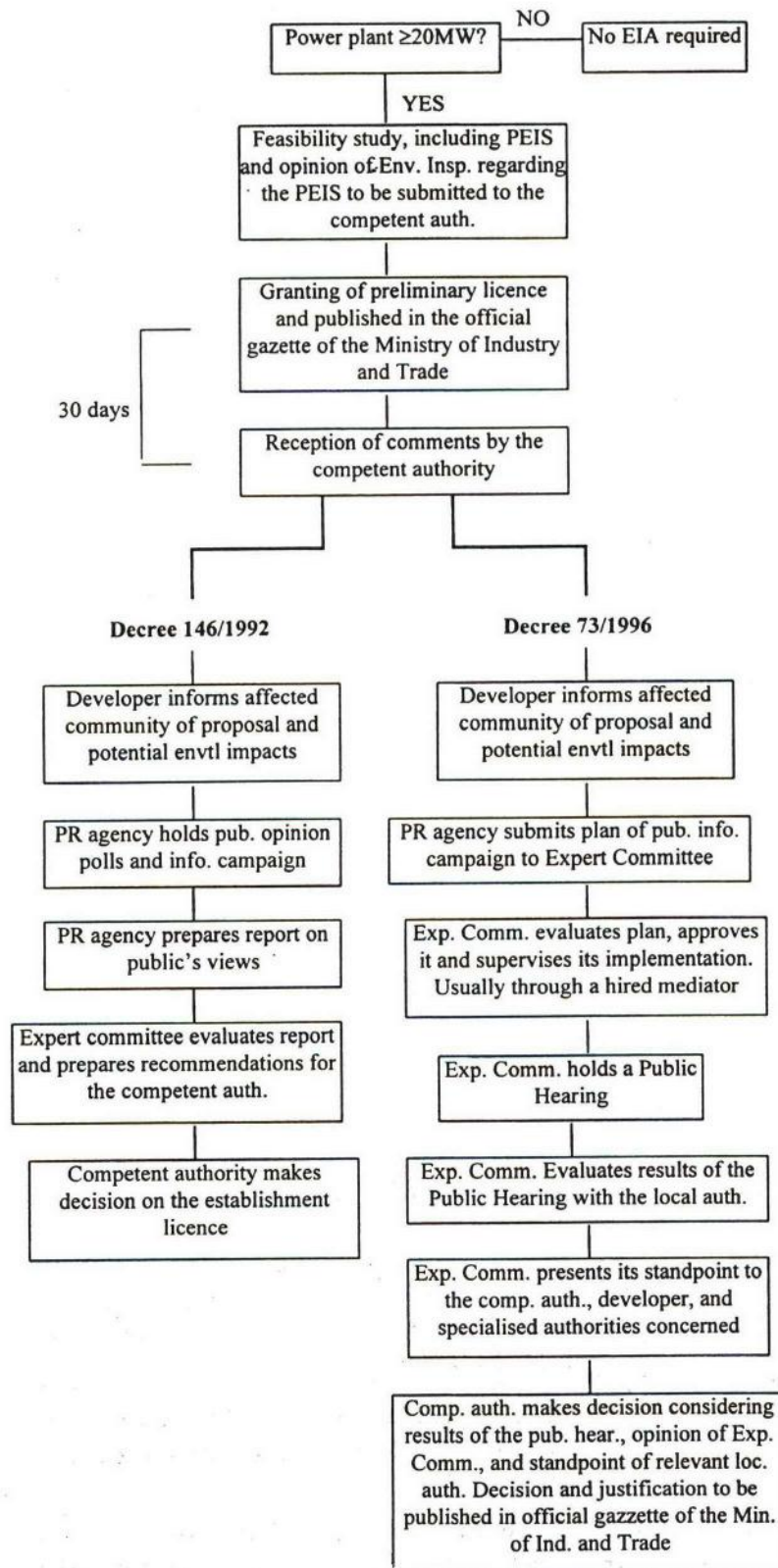


FIGURE 3. EIA process according to the Energy Act and decrees 146/1992 and 73/1996.

ways. Minutes of the public hearing are prepared by the Inspectorate, given to the applicant and the participating specialized authorities and organizations, and publicized by the Inspectorate and affected local governments. The decision must be made based on all the information available in the matter. The resolution must contain the positions of the specialized authorities and a detailed description of the circumstances considered when taking the decision.

I.B. Public Participation and EIA Within the Energy Sector Licensing Process

I.B.1. GOVERNMENT DECREE 146/1992. The developer must prepare an environmental impact study and inform the affected community of the proposed activity and its potential impacts. A professional organization (a public relations [PR] agency) hired by the developer undertakes an information campaign in the affected areas and presents the views of these communities in a report. The report is evaluated by an Expert Committee⁴, which presents its opinion to the competent authority.

I.B.2. ACT XLVIII OF 1994 (ENERGY ACT). This Act is accompanied by decree 34/1995, which establishes provisions for the enforcement of the Act and its respective appendices that establish the information to be included in the permit application. The developer must first obtain a preliminary license, the application for which must contain the PEIS and its approval by the Inspectorate. This license is published in the official gazette of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and is open to comments.

As decree 146/1992 has been described, only the procedure in decree 73/1996 (which supersedes decree 146/1992) will be described here. The developer informs the affected communities about the project and its potential impacts, and hires a professional organization to undertake the public information campaign. The program for the campaign must be approved by the Committee, which supervises its implementation (usually through a mediator).

A public hearing then is organized by the Committee, which evaluates the results with the local authority and presents its view to the Energy Authority, the developer, and all the interested authorities. If the results of the public hearing, the opinion of the Committee, and the standpoint of the competent authority are positive, then the establishment license is granted. The license must contain the issues raised during the public hearing and any conditions stipulated; it then is published in the official gazette of the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

⁴The Expert Committee is an independent body of experts that helps to supervise the public information campaign (usually through a mediator) and gives its opinion to the competent authority. For further details on the structure of the Expert Committee, see Mostert (1995).

TABLE 2. Selected Case Studies

| Case Study | EIA Requirements |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hazardous waste incinerator in Garé, southern Hungary • Secondary reserve power plant in Litér | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decree 86/1993 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • M5 motorway connecting Budapest with the Serbian border | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decree 86/1993 • Energy Act XLVIII/1994 • Decree 146/1992 (decree 73/1996 followed in later stages) • World Bank's EIA Requirements • Motorways planning procedure • Developer's initiative • EBRD's EIA requirements |

II. Case Studies

To study the effectiveness of modes of public participation in EIA, case studies were selected that: (1) made use of different participation modes, to study the interaction of actors under different mechanisms and the effectiveness of different modes of participation; (2) were potentially controversial, to study as many actors as possible; and (3) were of national interest, to look at actors at different levels. The cases studies selected and their EIA requirements are listed in Table 2. The main actors in each case study were interviewed using a semi-structured interview approach. The types of relationships between the actors and the aspects that encouraged or inhibited participation were explored.

II.A. Case Study 1. Garé Hazardous Waste Incinerator

II.A.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT. The Budapest Chemical Company (BCC) used a transitory site in Garé to dump their hazardous wastes in the 1970s and 1980s when environmental standards were not strict. In the 1980s the public became concerned and complained of bad odors, leakage of pollutants into the groundwater, and animal poisoning (Fülöp undated). By 1988 the BCC was asked to clean up the site; and in 1990 they were mandated to incinerate the wastes, which contained more than 50% chloride.

In 1993 Hungaropec Inc., a joint venture with a French company, was established to build an incinerator. The proposed location is surrounded by the villages of Bosta, Garé, and Szalánta. The proposed incinerator would burn all of the wastes within 18 months and then would incinerate external waste during its 20-year lifespan. The main actors and other interviewees for the case study are listed in Table 3.

II.A.2. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS. Before the EIA procedure began, the public learned about the proposed incinerator due to a long-time concern

TABLE 3. Main Actors for Case Study 1: Garé Hazardous Waste Incinerator

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Developer | • Hungaropec Inc. |
| Developer's PR agency | • Fact Ltd. |
| Consultant | • Uniko Kft. |
| Competent environmental authority | • Southern Transdanubian Environmental Inspectorate |
| Major NGOs | • Green Alternative Party • Environmental Management and Law Association (EMLA) • Roma Civil Rights Foundation |
| Major affected local authorities | • Garé • Bosta • Szalánta |

about the site. Local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and authorities (especially from Szalánta) organized against the project and contacted the Green Alternative Party, which formed an opposition network of national (e.g., the Air Action Group and the Energy Club) and international (the Austrian Green Party) dimensions. The Environmental Management and Law Association (a public service law firm) was contacted to take care of the legal issues.

The project fell under decree 86/1993; the PEIS was approved on June 1994, and a DEIS prescribed. Through its PR agency, the developer began an information campaign: a newsletter was created (judged by the opposition to be biased), local authorities and journalists were invited to France to visit incinerators that were operating counterparts of Hungaropec, and an informal exhibit at Garé's local authority's office was organized.

As part of the DEIS a socio-economic impact study was prepared by Fact Ltd. This study concluded that the project was acceptable on socio-economic grounds, as the project was to be established in an economically depressed area. In support, reference was made to the increasing Romany population. Although the Romany population in this area had increased and tended to move to economically depressed areas, the argument was seen as unjustifiable by the opposition, as it supported the establishment of polluting developments in poor areas. As a result of this study, the opposition invited the Roma's Civil Rights Foundation to participate in the process.

The DEIS was finalized by July 1995 and was made available for consultation. The mayor of Szalánta sent copies of the DEIS to other interested communities that were considered not to be affected and therefore not officially notified of the project. The public hearings took place in September and early October 1995 in Garé, Bosta, and Szalánta. Support for the project was given only in Garé, with Bosta and Szalánta opposing.

II.A.3. **PROS AND CONS.** Concerns presented at the public hearings were of a technical and socio-economic nature. The main technical concerns were about storage of the ashes, whose volume for the wastes incinerated during 20 years of operation would be larger than that of the original wastes. Concerns also were raised over the effects on agriculture, viniculture, and tourism in the area. These are considered key issues, as the area is well known for its tourism (the famous spa in Hárkany), viniculture (famous vineyards in Villany and Siklos), and agriculture. A further issue was that there is a hazardous waste incinerator in Dorog (northern Hungary) and the question as to whether a second incinerator is necessary. Related to this argument was that no alternatives were presented.

Support for the incinerator came mainly from the municipality of Garé, which argued that a solution to the problem was urgently needed and emphasized the proved technology of the proposed incinerator.

II.A.4. **OUTCOME OF THE CASE.** In November 1995 the Inspectorate rejected the application based on the negative decision of the Soil Protection Authority, which had based its decision on an unsatisfactory leakage coefficient for the planned ash depository that would endanger the underground water quality. The comments of the public were considered; however, the comments made by the population living beyond the 800-m radius of physical impact as defined in the DEIS and any socio-economic impacts were ignored.

II.B. Case Study 2. Litér Secondary Reserve Power Plant

II.B.1. **DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT.** For Hungary to join the association of the Western-European electric energy systems, one requirement is that the electric energy system should have "quick-action, secondary reserve capacities" equivalent to at least the greatest capacity of the electrical energy production unit of the system. The Hungarian Power Companies Ltd. (MVM Rt.) plans to secure the major part of requirement from import energy and reserve capacities of existing plants, and 200 MW from a new plant (Vari undated). The site selected was at Litér. The main actors and other interviewees for this case are listed in Table 4.

II.B.2. **CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS.** The project fell under decree 86/1993, the Energy Act, and decree 146/1992 (although the developer was already implementing the provisions of decree 73/1996). Because the project is financed by the World Bank and was classified as category A, requiring a full environmental assessment, it also had to meet the World Bank's EIA requirements; however, the World Bank considered the meeting of national legislation as acceptable.

TABLE 4. Main Actors for Case Study 2: Litér Secondary Reserve Power Plant

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Developer | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hungarian Power Companies Ltd. (MVM Rt.) |
| Developer's PR agency | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rátky & Partners Marketing Communications Agency Ltd. |
| Consultant | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ETV-ERÖTERV Rt. |
| Competent environmental authority | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central Transdanubian Environmental Inspectorate |
| Major NGO | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bendola |
| Major affected local authorities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Litér • Királyszentistván |

The PEIS and the feasibility study were prepared in 1994; the Inspectorate then prescribed the preparation of a DEIS. With the PEIS approved by the environmental authority it was submitted, together with a feasibility study and the decision of the Environmental Inspectorate, to the Energy Office to obtain the preliminary establishment license, which was granted in November 1995.

The public information campaign (required by decree 146/1992) was undertaken by the PR agency and supervised by the Expert Committee. Notification was given for the two affected villages as defined by the developer and the Committee (the PR agency suggested a larger affected area based on socio-economic criteria, but their suggestion was not accepted). The program began with a public opinion poll. In January and February 1996 public information activities occurred, which included a combination of events to establish direct contact with the public, written material, and visual material (Vari undated).

The public hearing for the energy licensing procedure took place in Litér on February 29, 1996. As it was made clear that the no new jobs would be generated (World Bank 1996) and tax revenues would not increase, the communities began to seek compensation from the developer. Partial financing of a sewage treatment system for the two villages directly affected was agreed upon. Other villages were quick to seek compensation and request that public information be provided to them. The developer provided the public information and did not dismiss the option of compensation.

The Committee made its decision in April 1996 based on the outcome of the public information exercise. They recognized the public's support for the project and put forth some reservations based on environmental grounds. They asked the developer to keep the public informed of relevant decisions, for documents to be made publicly available, and to provide an opportunity for comments to be made. The report encouraged the developer and local authorities to reconcile the concerns of the local population.

In March a local NGO, the Bendola Nature and Environmental Protection Association, was formed in Litér. They made a good effort to provide publicity about the conflict and made use of local and national media. Their main arguments were that the information given by the developer was not appropriate, that the municipality had been "bribed" by the developer (by offering compensation), that decisions were being made without consideration of the residents, and that air pollution was going to increase significantly (Vari undated).

In May, Bendola organized its own public forum to which technical, environmental, and medical experts were invited. However, this forum backfired against the NGO. They had invited the mayor of the town (who favored the project, mainly because of the promised compensation), who in turn invited the developer. The result was a takeover by the developer's experts and discussion that the NGO should not become involved in issues that should be dealt with by experts.

In June, a follow-up public opinion poll was done by the PR agency. The results indicated 84% support from the residents; however, the validity of this survey was disputed. Vari (undated) notes that the poll was not anonymous and that the public's opinion was influenced. The information campaign continued in the form of exhibits and use of the media. In July, a visit was organized to the Kelenföld power plant; however, only 50 people attended (no one from Bendola, in part as a sign of opposition and also because they saw it as irrelevant, because Kelenföld uses natural gas for its combustion whereas the power plant in Litér would use diesel oil as its fuel source).

In June, the DEIS was submitted to the Environmental Inspectorate. The public hearing required by EIA-specific legislation took place on October 21, 1996.

II.B.3. PROS AND CONS. By the time of the second public hearing the supporters and objectors were clearly identified; the objectors were those concerned with increasing pollution levels, and the supporters were mainly those interested in industrialization of the region and in the solution to the sewage treatment problem (Vari undated).

Objectors argued on the basis of the uncertainty of the data on which the impacts were estimated. They also pointed out the use of uncertain information on the original state of the environment and the technical parameters of the equipment to be used. A main worry was the location of the project in an area of existing high levels of pollution and illnesses. Members from Bendola identified some errors in calculation of the emission figures presented in the DEIS; eventually the developer acknowledged the error.

II.B.4. OUTCOME OF THE CASE. On December 3, 1996 the environmental license was granted. The only opposition, which came from Bendola, was

TABLE 5. Main Actors for Case Study 3: M5 Motorway

| | |
|--|---|
| Developer | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alföldi Koncessziós Autoplyaya Rt. (AKA Rt.) |
| Developer's PR agency Consultants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UVATERV (1993 EIS); • KTI Transport Science Co. (1996 EIS) |
| Competent environmental authority Major NGO Major affected local authorities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air Action Group • Several on the route |

not considered by the environmental inspectorate as "it did not reveal new facts from the point of view of judging the [environmental] effects." Comments gathered at the public hearing also were considered irrelevant.

II.C. Case Study 3. M5 Motorway

II.C.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT. Construction of the M5 motorway, linking Budapest with the Serbian border, had been considered since the 1960s, was halted in the 1980s due to financial constraints, and was restarted in 1990 (UVATERV 1993). The project is financed by the EBRD.

The first phase of the project consists of upgrading and tolling the motorway between Budapest and Újhartyán; construction of a second lane for the existing half motorway from Újhartyán to Kecskemét; construction of a new bypass at Kecskemét; and construction of a motorway from Kecskemét to Kiskunfélegyháza. The second phase is completion of the M5 up to the Serbian border, which is not financed by EBRD, but is part of the concession contract. The main actors for the case study are listed in Table 5.

II.C.2. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS. When the tender was issued there was no EIA legislation in place. However, as the project is financed by the EBRD and classified as category A, requiring a full environmental assessment, the Bureau for Motorway and Concession requested an EIA. Due to the increasing controversy over the project, in November 1996 a new EIA was requested for the first sections of the motorway (from Budapest to Kecskemét).

The project had to comply with the Motorways Planning Process, which consists of the following. (1) Preparation of a study of the proposal, including the plans for discussion and an environmental protection plan. The developer must negotiate with certain entities.⁵ (2) Preparation of plans for approval, including an environmental protection plan. These are submitted to the Chief Traffic Inspectorate, who calls for an administrative procedure inviting all entities prescribed in the legislation. Some of these entities give their opinion and others their approval (including the Ministry of

⁵In the M5 case a total of 265 persons and entities were invited.

Environment and Regional Policy). (3) The building permit is granted and the decision is relayed to all participants of the administrative process, who have 15 days to appeal against the decision. (4) The final design is prepared, which includes an assessment of the construction impacts and a final environmental protection plan.

Although no participation is provided for other than certain consultations during the plans for approval stage, the consultants voluntarily consulted with local authorities and other relevant authorities during all stages of the process. The first consultations occurred in 1990 during the plans for discussion phase, with local authorities, concerned authorities, and the affected public. Letters were sent to residents asking for comments and informing them about public meetings and exhibition of plans. Plans for approval were prepared in 1990 and consultations took place in 1991 with local authorities (mainly on technical issues) and the affected public.

During the consultations the public and authorities expressed their concerns, which in many cases, led to design changes. After the consultations, detailed design plans were produced and submitted with the application for the building permit. The decision was made and no objections were presented, so the building permit was granted in 1992.

The EIA document presented to EBRD was a summary of the full plans for approval; this was reviewed for EBRD by Halcrow Fox. The evaluation of the public participation exercises carried out by UVATERV were very positive; the only shortcoming was that NGOs were not involved as much as they could have been.

II.C.3. PROS AND CONS. During the consultations many concerns were presented, such as noise levels, technical details, and concern over the demolition of traditional farms. The main objections came from Kecskemét and Domaszek. Other concerns came from the National Parks Protection Agency over the marshlands near Kecskemét, but these conflicts were negotiated and apparently solved.

The major concerns came after the project's approval. Most of the concerns were of an economic nature, especially over the tolling of a previously free (but now upgraded) segment of road. These concerns were expressed mainly by local authorities; NGOs were not directly involved as they were not given a direct opportunity to participate in the process and have limited their action to lobbying at a national and regional level.⁶

After construction of the first phase of M5 and its tolling, much of the traffic that previously went by the motorway diverted to the old roads that go through small towns, thus causing traffic and pollution problems. This increase in traffic as well as the increasing discontent over the tolling of

⁶The best-known NGO dealing with transport issues in Hungary is the Air Action Group, which for M5 has focused mainly on lobbying at a national level.

the M5 led in March 1997 to demonstrations organized by the public and the local authorities. These protests resulted in a reduction of tariffs as well as implementation of traffic control measures in the small towns.

II.C.4. OUTCOME OF THE CASE. Although the project was approved in the original administrative procedure, the great level of public controversy that arose after construction of the initial stages led to the request for a new EIA for this first segment of the motorway. This EIA was required for political reasons and mainly as a background study for politicians, as it is not a part of the normal EIA procedure.⁷ KTI Science Communication Co. undertook preparation of this new EIA; however, no significant public participation occurred.

Apart from the initial controversy about the marshlands near Kecskemét in the second phase of M5 construction, a new one arose from the Forestry Authority (with the support of local authorities and the Air Action Group). Although this authority was consulted before the building permit was granted in 1992, the level of environmental awareness as well as the maturity of the civic culture had since increased, and the same authorities that gave their approval 5 years earlier were now presenting their objections.

The building permit, which was granted in 1992, was valid for 2 years with an optional extension for an additional 2 years. However, more than 4 years had passed and the building permit had to be granted again. A new EIA had to be produced according to the current legislation (i.e., the 1995 Environment Act).

III. Discussion

Table 6 presents a summary of the main aspects of the case studies analyzed and from which lessons are drawn. These aspects are discussed in the following.

Inadequate consideration of socio-economic impacts. Consideration of socio-economic impacts as part of the EIA has been a debated subject. EIA grew out of a concern for the inadequate consideration given to environmental impacts within the decision-making processes, and expansion to include other types of impacts runs the risk of losing the explicit analysis of environmental impacts that was sought (Sheate 1997). However, some socio-economic impacts may be a direct result of environmental impacts, and in many cases could only be predicted through an EIA. Therefore, it is legitimate for these impacts to be considered part of the scope of EIA.

The inadequate consideration of socio-economic impacts in Garé and Litér is a result of ambiguous legislation (decree 86/1993) and technocratic decision-making. The M5 case also had inadequate consideration of socio-

⁷ According to decree 152/1995 the EIA procedure also applies to activities that have had a major modification, the definition of which remains ambiguous in the context of the M5 motorway.

TABLE 6. Main Aspects of the Three Case Studies

| | Garé's Incinerator | Litér's Power Plant | M5 Motorway |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| EIA provisions | Decree 86/1993 | Decree 86/1993; Decree 146/ 1992; Energy Act; World Bank's procedure | EBRD's procedures; consultant's initiative |
| Developer's attitude | Non-cooperative | Cooperative | Cooperative (within limited PP provisions) |
| Public awareness | High (health risks involved) | Low | Low |
| NGO involvement | National and international | Local | None |
| Organization of opposition | Very good | Very poor | Poor |
| Influence of donors | N/A | No | Yes |
| Analysis of alternatives | No | No | No |
| Socio-economic impacts | Relevant/not considered | Not relevant | Relevant/considered late in the process |
| Scoping | No | No | No |

economic impacts, but will not be discussed here as no EIA legislation was in place at that time. In Garé, socio-economic impacts are a major issue, as the project affects important aspects of tourism and vineyards. Although the socio-economic effects study assessed the impacts of a larger area, public hearings were held only in those villages considered as affected according to physical criteria. This was also the case in Litér, for which the PR agency initially had suggested a larger affected area based on socio-economic impacts.

The information required by decree 86/1993 and the 1995 Environment Act for the DEIS includes the estimate of socio-economic impacts that result directly from environmental effects. However, the provision to define the impacted areas does not make explicit what sort of impacts this refers to, nor is "impact" defined. In both Garé and Litér the affected areas were defined exclusively on physical terms. For the Garé case, the Inspectorate ignored all comments made by people living beyond the 800-m radius of physical impact. In Litér the comments of the opposition and those made at the public hearing were ignored, as they did not address physical effects.

The way the legislation stands, there is no authority with competence to evaluate socio-economic issues within the EIA procedure. According to

the competent authority for the Garé case, it is not their role to consider socio-economic impacts, as these should have been considered during the regional planning procedure. For Litér's competent authority, this pertains to the consulted authorities; but a look at the list of authorities that must be consulted does not reveal any with a strict competence for these issues.

Organization of the opposition. The Garé case was the only one that generated a large public involvement during the permitting process, including a well-organized opposition. This can be attributed to public awareness of the problem of hazardous wastes and the proposal to build an incinerator before the permitting process began. Health-risk issues played a major role in generating active opposition. A national NGO was contacted quickly and became a major actor at the national level, inviting other local, national, and international NGOs to participate and cooperate with the local governments opposing the project.

The Litér case, although potentially a case of national importance (dealing with national energy planning) and having more opportunities for public involvement than Garé (due to the energy permitting process), did not generate a major controversy. The differences we see with Garé are the lack of latent health-risk and previous public awareness, and the lack of involvement of national NGOs (only one newly formed local NGO). These issues were combined with a low level of public awareness about participation (general apathy was the rule), and the lack of experience of the local NGO.

Another important difference between Garé and Litér was the attitude of the developer. Whereas in Garé the developer did not make an effort to establish contact with the public and negotiate, in Litér the developer had a major public information campaign and was always accessible. They also offered compensation to the affected villages, thus gaining support from the mayors of the local governments.

The M5 case presents a different picture. Opportunities for participation were very limited (some consultations and public meetings focused mainly on technical aspects). Public awareness at times was very low; however, an evident change can be seen from the time the permit was granted to now, when the public evidently is more aware of the impact they can have in the decision-making process. It will be interesting to follow the permitting process for the second phase of the motorway, which will require a new license and thus an EIA according to the new Environment Act.

Influence of donor agencies' EIA requirements. Of the two cases financed by donor agencies, only the process for M5 was enhanced by the EIA provisions of the EBRD. This was the case only because no EIA procedure otherwise had to be followed. For the Litér case, compliance to national legislation was sufficient to meet the World Bank's requirements.

Lack of a formal scoping phase. The necessity of a formal scoping phase is most evident in the Garé case. Many relevant issues were identified after

the DEIS had been prepared (e.g., impact to tourism and wine industries). It is easy to see the advantages that formal scoping with participation would have offered to the other case studies.

Lack of analysis of alternatives. The lack of an explicit requirement for analysis of alternatives was an issue in all cases. For Garé this was a major issue, as one of the strong arguments of the opposition was that no alternatives were presented, although they existed (e.g., upgrading of the existing incinerator in Dorog). For Litér this was an issue at the strategic level, whether the investment of a power plant that would operate at the most for 20 hours per year is a priority for Hungarian energy planning. Unfortunately, the opposition was poorly organized and lacked the resources to present their case at the strategic level.

For M5, although the permitting process was largely unaltered by environmental opposition, this was mainly due to the lack of direct opportunities for the general public to participate. However, the Air Action Group is lobbying at a strategic level and trying to get the government to look at alternatives.

Although the lack of analysis of alternatives was not a latent issue in the controversies during the EIA processes of these cases (except Garé), it is clearly a provision that the EIA legislation must make more explicit. Earlier scoping would help ensure that the issue of alternatives is raised early in the process.

Change in public awareness. This point is especially clear for the M5 case study. The change in attitude from the public and authorities was considerable from the initial permitting phases in 1992 to the present. Authorities and people who did not speak out despite their concerns and reservations in 1992 are doing so now. In the Litér case we can still see an apathetic public, mainly because they were not faced with an issue that affected them directly (e.g., direct health or economic effects). The Garé case study has a clear motivation over health issues, and the M5 over economic issues.

Improvements made by new legislation. The case studies all fell under early EIA legislations, which have been superseded by more recent ones. The new provisions are expected to result in an enhancement of participatory practices. The most significant changes brought about by the 1995 Environment Act are the provision for a public review of the PEIS, which allows for early public involvement, the explicit consideration of environmental associations that identifies them as interested parties, the extension of the time allowed between notification and the public hearing from 15 to 30 days, and the distribution of minutes of the public hearing to the participants. These provisions are expected to improve participation practices.

As for the energy sector EIA legislation, the major improvements brought about by decree 73/1996 is the introduction of a public hearing

during the energy permitting process, and the consultation by the Expert Committee of the developer, local authority, and other relevant authorities. This enhances the opportunities for early public involvement (prior to the DEIS).

IV. Conclusions

Conclusions are outlined as five improvements and as lessons for other countries.

Improvement 1: Consideration of socio-economic impacts. The EIA legislation must be more explicit in defining the affected area according to potential socio-economic impacts. Technocratic decision-making should be eliminated, and an authority competent in evaluating socio-economic effects should be defined.

Improvement 2: Scoping. Formal scoping should be established, giving an opportunity for all the affected public to be represented. This underlines the importance of formal scoping, which has been argued many times by EIA theorists and practitioners. The 1995 Environment Act already has made improvements by allowing the public to be consulted and to make comments on the PEIS.

Improvement 3: Early public involvement. The inadequate opportunities for early participation offered by decree 86/1993 (unlike the combined procedure of energy projects) probably will be enhanced by the 1995 Environment Act, which requires public review of the PEIS. It would be interesting to explore the possibility of expanding the role of public hearings in Hungary beyond 1-day events. However, it should not be assumed that public inquiries are superior, as their adversarial nature and late stage at which they occur make them far from ideal for meaningful participation (Ng and Sheate 1997).

Improvement 4: NGO organization and resources. Hungarian NGOs lack experience and resources, which hardly is surprising considering the movement is just beginning to develop and considering the change in political and civic culture. The environmental movement is centered around large NGOs based in the large cities; this situation should change by channeling resources to local NGOs to expand the potential for action at the local level.

Improvement 5: Analysis of alternatives. EIA legislation should make explicit provisions to require an analysis of alternatives. This will enhance the efficiency of NGOs and the EIA itself by allowing it to reach more strategic levels of decision-making.

Lessons for other countries. Despite a decrease in environmental awareness after the 1989 changes in Hungary, the evidence from these case studies suggests environmental public awareness is rising and likely to become more influential. The changes that EIA legislation has undergone the last few years shows an improvement, moving in the direction of enhanced

opportunities for public participation and in some respects surpassing those of the European Union (EU). Some elements of the Hungarian EIA system provide useful lessons for EU member states, e.g., formal opportunities for public involvement prior to the submission of an environmental statement (within the energy sector projects and by requiring a public review of the PEIS under the 1995 Environment Act), and the explicit consideration in the DEIS of socio-economic effects resulting from environmental impacts. It is interesting to reflect on why the Hungarian system should be ahead of the EU in this. Perhaps in the absence of well-established NGOs and voluntary consultation there has been greater urgency to create formal mechanisms to ensure minimum levels of participation. The EU, as well as Hungary, may benefit in the future from this harmonization of EIA legislation.

Many thanks to William Sheate from the Environmental Policy and Management Group at Imperial College Centre for Environmental Technology for his very valuable comments on early drafts of this paper. Thanks also to the National Council for Science and Technology, Mexico (CONACyT), which is funding this research project.

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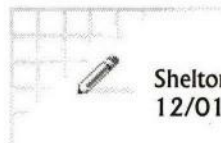
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EA Public Consultation Review

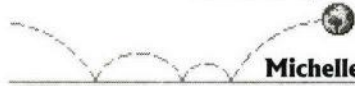


Shelton H. Davis
12/01/2000 10:08 PM

Extn: 33413 LCSEO
Subject: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Please print the attached.

----- Forwarded by Shelton H. Davis/Person/World Bank on 12/01/2000 10:08 PM -----



Michelle L. Cullen

12/01/2000 11:45 AM

Extn: 33093 SDVPC
To: Greenmank, Rusdian Lubis, Libruce1060, Anne E. Carlin, Araphael, David Freestone, Cyprian F. Fisiy, Warren A. Van Wic
Subject: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Dear Colleagues,

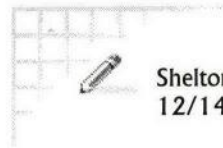
Please find attached a first draft of the public consultation component of the Third EA Review. Any comments or suggestions you might have would be greatly appreciated. Due to deadlines, please reply within three weeks (by December 20th of this year). If you have any questions, feel free to contact me via email, or at 462 3485. Thank you in advance for your input. ✓

best,
Michelle

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Subject: Re: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Please print the attached.

----- Forwarded by Shelton H. Davis/Person/World Bank on 12/14/2000 04:35 PM -----

● **Anne E. Carlin** 12/14/2000 10:45 AM

Extn: 35992 ENVDR

To: Michelle L. Cullen cc: Greenmankg, Rusdian Lubis, Libruce1060, Araphael, David Freestone, Cyprian F. Fisiy, Warren A. V
Subject: Re: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Shelly,

As promised, here are my comments on a good first draft.

- I think you should clarify whether this is a review of public consultation generally, or of good practice specifically. If it is of public consultation generally, I would like to see examples of projects that lacked adequate public consultation. And while you cannot project what might have been if consultation had been more thorough and effective in those cases, it will provide a meaningful comparison between the numerous good practice examples and undesirable scenarios. The comparison should also convince readers that public consultation is a good tool not a waste of time and resources.
- pg 7 "EA Teams seemed to lack the necessary expertise on what constituted adequate public participation." This is an important point. Identifying the weaknesses in carrying out effective public consultation will assist in seeking solutions. You may want to elaborate.
- pg 8 "if dragged through the consultation process by Bank staff, governments...later became enthusiastic PC supporters." Why? An example here would be wonderful.
- pg 9: Projects in Columbia and Brazil had different compositions of workshop participants yet both were successful. You need to link these two and/or state that participants were carefully selected and that targeting consultations to the audience is effective...based on an overarching strategy....
- pg 10: a few more details are needed on the Algeria Low Income Housing Project section. The link between consultations on the draft EA and what happened later are weak. What was before? What happened after?
- pg 15: public consultations during EAs helped... build trust in govt, create public support for environmental mitigation..." This is the rationale and justification for public consultation. This should be evident throughout the paper in clear examples. It should also be mentioned at the beginning of the paper since it should be clear *why* public consultation is important.
- pg 16: China - if you had brief examples of 'before' and 'after' in China that would be very interesting and show that while things don't change overnight, they change over time.

- pg 19 and 20: What happens when discussions revolve around sensitive issues? Does it pull communities apart, bring them together? How were projects triggering multiple safeguards dealt with? The difficult cases provide the best learning tools.
- pg 20 Limited Supervision Budgets for FIs: What problems has this caused? Has anyone gotten around shortages of funds creatively? Is funding a constraint for other projects doing 'traditional' public consultation?
- The conclusion needs more punch and should reflect the scope of the report (a general review, or best practice review) once the focus is spelled out more clearly in the introduction.

Regards,
Anne

Michelle L. Cullen
12/13/2000 10:39 AM
Extn: 33093 SDVPC

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cc: Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza

Subject: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Dear Colleagues,

Just a friendly reminder that if you would like to comment on the public consultation component of the Third EA Review, we would greatly appreciate you doing so by December 20th. Thank you in advance for your assistance and time. Again, please feel free to contact me if you have questions, via email, or at 462 3485.

best,
Michelle

(draft is attached below)

----- Forwarded by Michelle L. Cullen/Person/World Bank on 12/13/2000 10:36 AM -----

Michelle L. Cullen
12/01/2000 11:45 AM
Extn: 33093 SDVPC

To: Greenmankg@Aol.Com, Rusdian Lubis, Libruce1060@Aol.Com, Anne E. Carlin, Araphael@Erols.Com, David Freestone, Cyprian F. Fisiy, Warren A. Van Wicklin, Parmesh Shah, David J. Marsden, Shelton H. Davis, Peter W. Whitford, Jean Roger Mercier, Glenn S. Morgan, Alonso Zarzar

cc: Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza

Subject: EA PC Component for 3rd EA Review

Dear Colleagues,

Please find attached a first draft of the public consultation component of the Third EA Review. Any comments or suggestions you might have would be greatly appreciated. Due to deadlines, please reply within three weeks (by December 20th of this year). If you have any questions, feel free to contact me via email, or at 462 3485. Thank you in advance for your input.

best,
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**Public Consultation in Environmental Assessments 1997-2000:
A Contribution to the
Third Environmental Assessments Review**

DRAFT

(For comment only, do not cite or circulate)

November 2000
Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza
Rusdian Lubis
Michelle Cullen
Zongmin Li
Christopher Mausolff

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Public Consultation in Environmental Assessments 1997-2000

I. Introduction

The World Bank's Operational Policy (OP) 4.01 on Environmental Assessments (EAs) requires that public consultations be carried out in those projects which pose significant impacts on the environment, including both Category A and B projects. According to the OP, these consultations must cover the project's environmental aspects with project-affected groups and local NGOs, and take their views "into account." This consultation process should begin as early as possible, with a minimum of two consultations: "(a) shortly after environmental screening and before the terms of reference for the EA are finalized; and (b) once a draft EA report is prepared." In addition, it is good practice for the borrower to continue to consult with "such groups throughout project implementation as necessary to address EA-related issues that affect them."

The OP also notes that in order for meaningful consultation to occur, project information must be presented in a timely manner, accessible to the groups being consulted, and be in a form that is understood (in terms of language and technicality). At the scoping phase, the information provided should consist of a summary of the proposed project, including both its positive and negative impacts. During the draft EA phase, a summary of conclusions and recommended mitigating measures should be provided.¹

First and Second EA Reviews

Internal Bank reviews on public consultations (PCs) in the EA process have assessed projects' attempts to meet OP requirements. Results of these assessments have been critical on both the quality and quantity of public consultations in the EAs. Yet, they also indicate that there has been improvement.

Findings from the First (1992) and Second (1997) EA Review and other studies conducted in the mid-1990s highlighted positive Bank PC practices, and also revealed that approximately 50% of projects reviewed were carrying out consultations. These reviews also highlighted areas for improvement.² According to the First EA Review, the typical public consultation for a Bank-funded, Category A project merely involved surveying affected groups and making the EA

¹ See also Shelton H. Davis and Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza "Meaningful Consultations in Environmental Assessments" Social Development Notes, Note No. 39, September 1998.

² Additional internal studies that have raised concerns about the public consultations in Bank-funded projects include: a) in the Latin America region, consultation was found at the required stages in just one half of the reviewed projects for FY 89-94 (William L. Partridge, *People's Participation in Environmental Assessment in Latin America: Best Practices*, LATEN Dissemination Note #11, Washington, DC: The World Bank, November 1994); b) in India, just 50 percent of the sample FY 90-97 received a satisfactory public consultations rating (*A Review of the Effectiveness of Environmental Assessments in The World Bank-Assisted Projects in India, FY 1990-1997*. New Delhi, India: Social Development Unit, The World Bank, July 1997); and c) in a study of primarily Asian countries for FY 95-96, consultation was "nonexistent" in 46 percent of the sample (Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza, *Public consultations in Environmental Assessments: A Review of Bank Experience, FY 1995-96*. Mimeo).

publicly available.³ To improve PC efforts, the Review recommended that the awareness of the importance of PCs should be increased, and Bank guidance and training (internally and externally) on this subject should be improved.

✓ Noting progress on PCs since the First EA Review, the Second EA Review found that during the EA PC process there had been a greater use of public meetings, better public disclosure, and increased interaction between the Bank and stakeholders. In addition, consultations had become more innovative and were reaching out beyond those affected. These improvements reflected not only a following of the First EA's recommendations, but also the growth of participatory knowledge and technique within the Bank.⁴

★ Yet, the Second EA Review also found that design and implementation of PCs continued to be weak. Many PCs were still limited to a survey of opinions and the availability of the final EA report in a public place (sometimes even in a remote capital city). Too many projects did not have adequate consultations during the scoping phase - many times just doing so in capital cities. Most ToRs were not discussed during scoping. In fact, it was typical that ToRs were completed before consultation, not after. The Review also noted that there continued to be a lack of involvement of community representatives, women, and the poor. And, for projects that involved resettlement, consultations on environmental issues tended to be overshadowed by resettlement issues.⁵ Meanwhile, documentation of PCs was often incomplete, even if the consultation process was highly effective (e.g. in terms of lists of meetings, issues discussed, participants present, etc.).

A 1998 report on public consultations completed by the U.S. Government Accounting Office (GAO) found that out of all EA components, public consultations were those of the greatest concern to Bank staff and NGOs.⁶ The GAO report gave a strong endorsement to the quality of public consultations in the EAs of Bank supported projects, revealing the Bank's willingness and concern to improve the PC process. Many of the trouble areas highlighted in earlier Bank Reviews, according to the GAO report, had improved. The GAO report pointed out that good or exemplary public consultations were found in more than half of the studied Bank-funded projects. It also concluded that the Bank was having a "great impact" on the public consultation practices of borrowers and that it had been the lead institution in developing participatory approaches to development.⁷ ✓

Objective of Third EA Review PC Component

Based on the conclusions of internal and external Reviews of the PC process, the Advisory Panel overseeing the Third EA Review determined that it was evident that public consultations in the EA process were becoming standard practice in Bank operations. However, the current challenge

³ World Bank, *Annual Review of Environmental Assessment 1992*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1993.

⁴ World Bank, *The Impact of Environmental Assessment: A Review of World Bank Experience*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1997.

⁵ *Public Consultations in Environmental Assessments*, FY 1995-96.

⁶ Amjad Ali, "An Independent Evaluation of the World Bank Environmental Assessment Process and Determination of Reinvention Elements," Ph.D. Doctoral Dissertation Presentation at the World Bank, May 10, 2000. ✓

⁷ *Multilateral Development Banks: Public Consultation on Environmental Assessments*, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accounting Office, September 1998, pp. 42-44. ✓

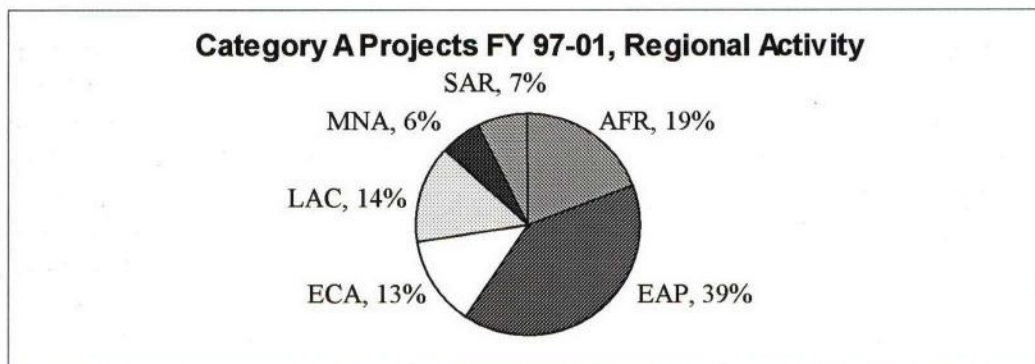
for the Bank's operations was the quality of public consultations and the extent to which they were influencing project design. In an endeavor to evaluate how projects were meeting this challenge, the Advisory Panel recommended that the EA Review assess whether there were qualitative and quantitative improvements in EA public consultations for both Category A and B Bank-financed projects. In the case of qualitative improvements, this would entail identifying best practices and challenges to provide guidance for improving future PCs in the EA processes. In addition, the Panel recommended that the Review examine whether these improvements were also reflected in financial intermediaries, regional, and sectoral EAs.

II. Review Methodology

Criteria for Selection and Review Process

In order to evaluate the PCs held during EAs, a wide selection of Category A and B projects were chosen for review, along with some projects that also involved financial intermediary, regional, and sectoral EAs (see Annex 1 for a complete listing). A total of 57 projects were reviewed, of these 39 were Category A projects⁸ and 12 were Category B. Out of the entire sample, 6 represented financial intermediaries, with 2 regional and 1 sectoral EAs.⁹

According to the ESSD Core Database, a total of 83 Category A projects are active for FY 97 – 01. The majority of Category A projects are in EAP, while the least are in MNA.



Category A Projects were chosen to reflect levels of regional and sectoral project activity, roughly based on the percentage of projects undertaken in each region and sector. With this in consideration, active projects FY 97-01 were randomly chosen from the ESSD Core Database. Some projects were specifically chosen if they had received a rating of highly satisfactory (1) or satisfactory (2) by the Quality Assurance Group (QAG). Most category B projects had a I rating. This preference for QAG highly-rated projects was intended to increase the chances of selecting best practices from exemplary projects. Efforts were also made to examine projects in different countries within each region, to the extent that this could be done while trying to equally service each sector (see Annex 2 for chart depicting breakdown by region and sector).

⁸ Therefore roughly 47% of all active Category A projects were reviewed.

⁹ The regional and sectoral EAs were pulled from the Category A and B projects reviewed.

For each selected case study, a checklist was used to assess qualitative information on the public consultation. The qualitative review examined key consultation activities, such as: consultation planning; social assessment / stakeholder identification; information dissemination; timeliness; participation levels; frequency of consultations; documentation strategies; and consultation impacts. This qualitative data was gathered from reviewing the relevant available documents, mainly PADs, SARs, and EAs. In addition, efforts were made to meet with some of the Task Managers (TMs) or project Task Team Leaders (TTLs) and/or a specialist who had assisted with the project; interviews were guided by open-ended questionnaires. ✓

To gather quantitative information, a rudimentary chart of key PC components was designed to record which aspects of the PC process were implemented for each project and when consultations were held. This information was gathered through project documents and then confirmed by TMs or TTLs.

Study Limitations

The challenges involved with assessing public consultations for active Bank projects are manifold. Various issues emerged during this Review that might shed light on improving future PC analyses.

- Assessment conducted in headquarters is quite distant from the field. When possible, desk reviews should be supplemented by some field work. In this regard, local and in-country experts would be used to assess each project's social assessment and stakeholder analysis, as well as the project's PC process and its effectiveness and levels of participation and inclusion.
- As the projects assessed for this Review are all active (FY 97-01), this Review relied on Bank documents that were drafted before or during project preparation or implementation. Due to this, there may be a gap between what has been recorded in documents (i.e., SARs, PADs, and EAs) and what actually happened in the field. For a more comprehensive review of the impact of PCs on project outcomes, ICRs and other final project documents should be assessed.¹⁰ ✓
- To help compensate for the inaccurate or missing information in project documents, interviews with some TMs or TTLs were conducted. Unfortunately, time did not allow interviews with every TM or TTL. Efforts were made to combat this oversight by having the TMs or TTLs review a basic chart quantifying the PC components that were completed during the EA for their project. In future reviews, interviews should be conducted for each project reviewed.
- Poor documentation may mean that some PC best practices were overlooked, especially since interviews were not conducted with all TMs or TTLs. A lack of documentation is problematic in two ways: firstly, it means that best practices and tacit knowledge of PCs are not being recorded and passed on to other TMs or TTLs; and secondly, that the specifics of the PCs are not being documented (which could have implications for compliance with Bank and country requirements).

¹⁰ Alternatively one could review the PSRs of ongoing projects, although these are not as readily accessible as PADs, EAs, and SARs.

Despite these challenges to evaluating PCs, this Review attempted to combine desk research with interviews to gather both quantitative and qualitative information before assessments of individual project PC processes were made.

III. Findings

Overall, this review found both quantitative and qualitative improvements in the EA public consultations analyzed. The projects reviewed for this sample revealed that the Bank's strongest areas in PC implementation were planning (notably well-recruited participation experts, good social assessments, and information dissemination), increased participation, and improved efforts to build local capacity. In addition, more efforts were made to include those often excluded from the PC process (mainly women and the poor). The review also noted that in some cases the PCs were influencing project designs. These improvements may be attributed to institutional changes within the World Bank to oversee compliance with Safeguard Policies, mainly the establishment of the Quality Assurance Group (QAG) and the Compliance Unit. The training on the safeguards by both WBI and other divisions within the World Bank may also be a contributing factor. A number of institutional challenges as will be later discussed still exist.

Enabling Environment

The enabling environment, or the surrounding conditions to which PCs are subject, can either hinder or boost PC effectiveness. Hence in Poland, the *Poland Road II* and *The Wholesale Market II* had very good public consultations. This was attributed to the high level of environmental consciousness in the country, friendly and progressive legal frameworks on information disclosure and participation and an active NGO community. Also, interviews with TTL with a 1 rating on EA PCs by the QAG, demonstrated a total commitment to PC and participation in projects. They attributed their level of success in conducting good PCs to the trust they had cultivated with government. However, in those cases where the factors in the enabling environment were not conducive to EA PC, the quality of PC were weak. The Review found that constraints within the enabling environment for effective PCs existed both within and outside the Bank.

i) Within the Bank

Misconceptions about participation and its benefits prevented the successful implementation of public consultations. In a few of the projects assessed for this Review, EA Teams seemed to lack the necessary expertise on what constituted adequate public participation, and how to go about achieving and documenting it. Within this sample, the problems included: (a) a focus on information sharing versus consultation; (b) consultations with the government and NGOs, and not the affected public; c) consultations held only in capital cities; and d) failing to contact the most marginalized, i.e. women and the poorest of the poor.¹¹

¹¹ Additional constraints hampering the enabling environment for PCs within the Bank were discussed earlier this year at the Task Team Leaders Consultative Meeting on Public Consultations in EAs, held on February 10th, 2000, The World Bank, Washington, DC. Those constraints noted include: a) PC not being a pre-condition of funding

ii) Outside the Bank

A lack of government commitment or willingness to implement PCs was noted in a few sampled projects. This reluctance seemed to be due to government wariness of criticism for proposed projects, feelings that the consultation process was a waste of time, or views that the OP 4.01 consultation requirement was a World Bank conditionality. In such contexts, the way government officials were engaged by Bank staff was critical to the success or failure public consultations. For the most part, if "dragged" through the PC process by Bank staff, governments tended to reverse their stance and later became enthusiastic PC supporters. ✓

In a few other sampled projects, problems stemmed from a lack of government requirements on PC; or although having government buy-in, the consultation process failed due to a lack of government experience in consultation and participation. Other constraints to PCs external to the Bank include a lack of ownership to the process by clients, as PCs are a Bank requirement, and the fact that these consultations are essentially democratic processes held (or expected to be held) in non-democratic government structures. ✓

Legal Frameworks

The review noted that most EIA legislation provided for public consultations. However, it did not provide the modalities as to how public consultations should be conducted. The review also noted that there was no link between the type of legal framework and the nature of public consultations.¹² However, TTL/TM who worked on projects in countries with progressive legal frameworks, pointed out that they used the laws to their advantage. They would point to government that PCs in the EAs and participation in projects were country legal requirement. ✓

Strategic Planning

Earlier EA PC reviews had indicated a lack of strategic planning for PCs. Of the projects sampled for this Review, approximately 79% outlined PC plans before initiating the consultation process. Thus, one out of every five Bank category A projects still needs to improve PC planning. The planning of public consultations rests on the shoulders of both the TM / TTL and the participation expert. The TM / TTL of a project can do two main activities during the planning phase of a PC process to help ensure its success, these include finalizing ToRs in a participatory manner and allocating a budget recruiting a well-versed participation expert onto ✓

approval, and therefore a lack of strong incentive to implement it; b) dependence on trust funds (TFs) so that when TFs are not available, TMs and TTLs are less likely to implement PCs with funding from the project budget; c) skepticism of the value added by PCs due to a lack of empirical data backing up their usefulness and benefits; d) a lack of commitment and support from Senior Management; and e) a lack of uniformity in Bank practices on consultation / participation, resulting in an uneven application of public consultation / participation in client countries. ✓

¹² This confirmed the findings of an earlier reviewer in Latin America in which the legal frameworks on public involvement in the EAs did not affect the level of public consultation. The level of public consultation was attributed to the proactive leadership of the Task Managers. See William L. Patridge, *People's Participation in Environment Assessment in Latin America and Best Practices*, LATEN Dissemination Note #11, Washington, D.C., The World Bank, November 1994.

Would change today...

the EA Team. The participation expert is then responsible for outlining clear PC goals and objectives, linking the PC process to the social assessment, devising an adequate timetable, and establishing good information dissemination and documentation strategies.

Improvement in Consultation at the Various Stages of the EA

Scoping

As mentioned, OP 4.01 requires borrowers or project proponents to consult with affected groups and local NGOs at the scoping phase of the EA, when environmental issues and alternatives that will be addressed in the EA are identified. Earlier reviews showed that few consultations often below 50% of the projects were carried out at this stage of the EA. The Second EA Review found inadequate public consultations during scoping, noting that in many cases affected groups and NGOs were approached only after completion of EA ToRs and EA consultants had started their work. It cited that the key constraint to public consultations at the scoping phase was that "EA consultants, who are normally responsible for staging consultations... are normally hired only after the completion of EA ToRs."¹³ The Third EA Review has found that approximately 87% of the projects held PCs during the scoping phase of the EA.¹⁴ However, the practice of hiring EA PC consultation experts after development of the EA ToRs still predominated the new generation of projects. ★

An innovative way around this problem has been to have Bank environmental specialists work with governments to conduct the initial public meetings and prepare a draft ToR, which can later be refined with input from public consultations. This approach to directly involve stakeholders in the drafting of the ToR was adopted by both the *Columbia Cartegena Water Supply, Sanitation, and Environmental Management Project* and the *Brazil Second Water Sector Modernization Project*. In each of these projects, Bank environmental specialists came to the scoping workshops with a rough draft of the EA ToR. In the case of the Brazil project, a preliminary draft ToR was prepared with a narrow range of workshop participants, while the Columbia ToR was drafted in a more participatory manner with a broad range of workshop participants. In both of these cases, this early involvement was appreciated by the stakeholders, who knew more about the project from its inception and consequently developed a stronger sense of project ownership. ✓

In ideal cases, the development of an EA ToR will not only be participatory, but it will also help set the stage for further increased communication and interaction throughout the project cycle. In Columbia, the participatory ToR process led to a highly participatory EA that involved extensive consultations with affected groups and the establishment of structures for ongoing public consultations, such as the formation of local groups to manage solid waste and to help monitor project environmental performance. One outcome of this early involvement in Brazil has been the commitment of participants to implement the agreements worked out during the EA – such as the Water Companies' establishment of the in-house environmental units. ✓

¹³ World Bank, 1997, Op Cit., p. 37

¹⁴ All percentage estimates of the projects sampled for this Review were based on data gathered through project documents and then were sent to TMs / TTLs for confirmation in the form of a quantitative chart.

EA Preparation

The Second EA Review reported that surveys were the most common technique used for engaging affected groups during EA preparation. Within the current project sample, this practice improved. Although surveys are still used, they are generally supplemented by interactive forms of public consultation, including interviews, focus groups, or public meetings. Much of this consultation is now being done as part of stakeholder analysis or social assessment. ✓

China's Tri-Provincial Highway Project outlines a good strategy for using public consultations during EA preparation. Since the project involved large expanses of three provinces and multiple, diverse ethnic groups, an expert on Chinese minorities was hired to help address these issues. As a result, the Bank EA Team targeted zones of influence (5 – 10 kilometers from the road), with additional emphasis on those areas with 30 percent or more minority populations. The consultation process involved multiple methods: focus groups; household case studies; individual interviews; and survey questionnaires. These methods reinforced each other, with the qualitative data from the focus groups, case studies, and interviews, helping the team to understand the quantitative survey results. The main concern of the affected groups was around compensation for lost land, but they also raised a number of environmental concerns, such as noise and dust pollution during construction; timely implementation of afforestation work; and in one place, the threat posed by riverbank erosion on a Muslim gravesite. These concerns were addressed by revising the project and road design. ★

Draft EA

OP 4.01 requires that public consultations be carried out with affected groups and NGOs after completion of the draft EA report. The Second EA Review found that less than 50% of the reviewed Category A projects had public consultations at this stage. Subsequent reviews estimated this number to be the same. In the sample for the Third EA Review, approximately 87% of the projects held PCs on the draft EA. Those projects with a QAG rating of 1 or 2 for effectiveness most often had consultations during the draft EA phase. ✓

Advantages of conducting PCs at this stage of the EA are demonstrated by the *Algeria Low Income Housing Project*, where information from the draft EA was distributed and explained by local government officials to Neighborhood Committees. The potential advantages of this approach was to: a) build local government capacity for public consultations; and b) establish communication linkages between citizens and government. Through these meetings, neighborhoods have received progress reports on the project on an ongoing basis.

EMP and Final EA

The Environment Management Plan (EMP) is a component of the final EA that outlines project consequences, possible alternatives, and preferred solutions. Although not an OP 4.01 requirement, it is good practice for public consultations to be carried out on the EMP. This step is a good practice because it shows those consulted that their previously expressed views have ✓

✓ been considered, while also providing another venue to ensure these viewpoints have been correctly understood. During EMP consultations, affected groups and local NGOs provide input into the mitigation and monitoring measures of a project. After the release of the final EA report, it is recommended that another round of meetings with interested stakeholders are held to ensure that their concerns have been adequately integrated into the final version.

* The Third EA Review found that these types of consultations for the EMP and final EA are not quite yet common practice (approximately 62% carried out consultations on the EMP and roughly 59% on the final EA). In place of these consultations, Borrowers often opt to make the final report publicly available and send copies to individuals who participated in the EA process. }

Strategic Planning for Public Consultations

* Prior to embarking on the EA process, earlier Reviews in the Bank have recommended strategic planning for EA consultations. This entails recruiting a social scientist trained in participation to design and implement well-defined plans for public consultation.¹⁵ These plans include proper stakeholder identification, good communication strategies, appropriate timing and content for information dissemination and good documentation strategies. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the projects evaluated for this Review recruited a participation specialist or a professional versed in participation.

Setting aside Budget

Another key component to an effective PC planning includes setting aside an adequate budget for implementation. Overall, the PC process is less than 1% of a project's overall budget,¹⁶ a small price to pay for obtaining beneficiary input and feedback, increasing stakeholders' sense of ownership, and customizing project design and implementation to specific project area needs. Information on how many projects set aside a budget for EA PC as well as the amount was not readily available.

Participation Expert

Devising a PC Strategy

Of the projects reviewed, those with the most successful PC processes had well defined PC strategies by the participation expert. These strategies included various components, such as outlines for the social assessment, appropriate timing, information, dissemination and documentation strategies. Exemplary strategies were derived in a participatory manner,

↗ ¹⁵ *Public Consultation in the EA Process: A Strategic Approach*, Environmental Assessment Sourcebook Update, May, 1999, Number 26. Washington, DC: The World Bank, May 1999.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

involving input from international actors, government officials, and civil society representatives. In some EAs a chart developed by the participation expert depicting clear levels of responsibilities, goals, and duties for those implementing the PC was included in the EA reports. ✓

In addition, the most notable PC strategies of those projects sampled for this Review outlined techniques for implementing consultations. As some projects has many differing zones of impact, they required differing consultation and communication strategies for each different impact (e.g. resettlement, new roads, transmission lines, increased population, etc.) in each different impact area.

Of those projects reviewed, those with best practice PC strategies also discussed the size of consultations to be employed. The size of consultation differed according to the purpose of the each meeting. Smaller group consultations with the public were held to get to know public views, especially on more sensitive issues; while large group meetings were held when the meeting purpose was to reach a consensus.

Conducting a Social Assessment / Stakeholder Analysis

Almost 80% of the projects sampled for this Review conducted a SA, the majority of which were quite thorough and informative. A good social assessment (SA) usually includes at a minimum a period of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, key informant and target group discussions, and a stakeholder analysis. The benefits of SA can be amplified when linked to the EA process, especially in terms of how this tool may be used to inform design and implementation of PCs. The Review found that projects with high QAG ratings (1 or 2) had strategically planned their social assessments so that they were able to better understand the socio-cultural issues, identify stakeholders, and improve participation in the EA. In other words, those highly-rated projects were those that linked their consultative processes with SAs and stakeholder analyses, e.g., the Nepal Road Maintenance and Development Project. ✱

In-depth social assessments were conducted in the *Lesotho Water Highlands Project* and helped to identify stakeholders that were traditionally excluded (such as landless households, aged, disabled, and job seekers) from the consultative process. This information helped the TM to develop a better strategy to incorporate and address these stakeholders during PCs. The SA for the *Bali Urban Infrastructure Project* recognized that gender limitations hindered women's participation in the PC process. Thus, a local gender specialist was employed to address the cultural constraints so that women could be better involved in consultations, and were later fully involved in the EA PC process.

Ensuring Timeliness

An integral part of PC strategy is to ensure that information is revealed to the consulted in a "timely manner." This is to give the consulted an opportunity to review the information and make informed decisions. In some cases, the country legal frameworks specify the period within which this can be done. This time usually ranges from two to four weeks. In the EAs where this information was provided, the review noted compliance with the

✓ country requirements. Since what is timely may vary from country to country, it is imperative for the EAs reporting to provide information on the country legal requirements, as well as the practice in the locality where the projects are implemented.

Disseminating Project Information

A good PC strategy includes an information dissemination plan, which outlines strategies to contact widespread and diverse groups in a manner and language that is easily understood by the consulted. Almost all projects reviewed (90%) had excellent information dissemination strategies and had been quite successful in sharing information, not only in appropriate languages and through appropriate venues, but also by employing creative means. Innovative methods of information dissemination, such as the use of the internet, have been combined with more traditional methods to increase project awareness. For instance the *Brazil Federal Water Management Project* and the *Poland Road II Project* are using an internet site, which is continually updated, to keep the public abreast of progress of the changes as the project is implemented.¹⁷

Documenting the PC Process

Documentation of the consultative process in the EAs is still weak, even in some of the highly-rated EAs on public consultations. Without proper documentation, it is difficult to draw conclusions on compliance with the EA requirements and keep a record of lessons learned for other TMs and TTLs.¹⁸ Although 72% of the projects sampled documented information about public consultations held during the EA, very few had complete, detailed records. Hence information was provided by TTLs/TMs during the interviews.

Public Consultations Impacts

✓ Earlier Reviews of PCs have indicated that public consultations did not often influence project design. Recent QAG Reviews however have found that for highly rated projects, consultations did have positive impacts on the project. In addition, the sample of consultations evaluated for this Review were also found to have influenced project design, which in some cases minimized costs and / or promoted the conservation of critical habitats. Other benefits derived from the consultation process found in this sample include a change in government attitude toward participatory approaches, the recognition of how much the public values consultations, and the creation of a venue for voices of the poor and often excluded.

Influencing Project Design

¹⁷ However, due to the beneficiaries limited access to the internet in the majority of the Bank's client countries, this is not a recommended means of information dissemination for all projects.

¹⁸ For examples of good project documentation of the PC process, see the Bangladesh Haripur Power Project and the Chad TD/CM Pipeline Project. The Kazakhstan Uzen Oil Field Rehabilitation Project's documentation, although brief, did cover the main aspects of what should be recorded during the PC process.

Changes in project design that result from the consultation process are an important indication that borrowers have indeed taken into account the views of affected groups and NGOs. In addition, many project changes due to consultation input result in improved project efficiency and performance, and thus are also indicative of the possible value-added of public consultations. For a summary of the EA public consultations, see Table below:

| <i>Summary of Public Consultation Impacts</i> | |
|--|--|
| <i>Project</i> | <i>Impacts of Public Consultation</i> |
| Argentina: Flood Protection Project | Through consultations, local communities opposed a dike that would have cut through a municipal park, and were able to propose a new alignment for the dike. |
| Brazil: Second Water Sector Modernization Project | The consultations improved the support of private water companies, who were able to improve their own environmental management capacity. |
| China: Tri-Provincial Highways Project | The consultations led to relocation of road alignments, access points, and underpasses. |
| Columbia: Cartegena Water Supply, Sewerage, and Environmental Management | The consultations led to the design of the Community Development Program, introduction of a nature reserve to protect a wetlands area, and the extension of piped water service to other low-income areas. |
| Indonesia: Water Sector Adjustment Loan | government support for public consultation improved. Consensus on the need for local self-management of water resources was formed. |
| Laos: Nam Theun 2 Hydroelectric Project | government support for public consultation improved, and the government agreed to the construction of downstream channel and irrigation works. |
| Latvia: Municipal Solid Waste Management Project | By the government engaging in public consultations, they gained public support for a new landfill. |
| Lithuania Klaipeda Port Project | Through consultations, Bank became aware of a history of dredging spoils by client which were in conflict with client's international obligations to protect the Baltic Sea. The scope of the mitigation plan was enlarged to accommodate the construction of an inland containment facility. |
| Philippines: Local government Unit, Urban Water and Sanitation Project | Through consultations communities were shown the water schemes designed by engineers. Community knowledge contributed vital information on flow rates, flow times, and duration. This information reduced potential costs and improved the engineers' support for public consultations. |
| Poland Road II | PCs held during the scoping phase identified several potential negative impacts which included a recognition that the bypass in the original design was too close the water source and might pollute the water. The design of the by-pass was revised accordingly. A local NGO raised concerns regarding the potential migration of frogs if the road was built to close to the national park, as a result, an underpass was built to mitigate this. |
| Philippines: Water Districts Development Project | Local government adopted participatory approaches, even for non-Bank work. |
| Shanghai Wagaoquo Power Plant | Through public consultations, the project team dispensed with the construction of new pipes and instead used existing residents wastewater pipes. This lowered the costs and prevented duplication during construction. |
| Vietnam: Mekong Transport and Flood Protection | Local government support for the project improved through consultation, and site-specific information about the drainage characteristics of specific areas and the impacts of high waters was discovered. |

In addition to influencing project design, the consultation process has spawned a more participatory approach to the project's implementation. Good consultations held at various stages of the EA process led to the establishment of structures for ongoing participation, extending to other aspects of the project, or to other projects, both within and outside of the Bank.

During public consultations in *Bangladesh's Municipal Services Project* the idea emerged to use a decentralized, demand-driven approach in which local governments would work in cooperation with NGOs and communities to design and execute subprojects. This substantial change in design will be implemented in second phase of the project. Greater participation was also an outcome of consultation in *Columbia's Cartagena Water and Sanitation Project*. The highly participatory Mitigation and Community Development Project emerged from the knowledge gained during in-depth focus groups and surveys conducted as part of the social assessment. Often these types of ongoing participation structures help affected groups hold governments accountable for environmental performance, and can also be part of grassroots, poverty alleviation efforts.

Public consultation during the *Poland Wholesale Market II Project* did not influence project design, but in the end did save the Bank's reputation in the affected regions. Consultation with affected groups revealed that they were not pleased with the project proposed by the city government, who responded by saying that the citizens may exercise their rights under law and take the case to court, but that they were going to go ahead with the project despite its negative reception. Six months of protests and legal suits ensued, with the court finally ruling in favor of the city government. Although their efforts failed, the affected people involved appreciated what the Bank had done, and recognized the Bank's effort to take their concerns into account.

Changing Attitudes

Perhaps just as important as impacts on project design are changes in attitudes toward the project, as well as public consultation and participation. An added benefit of PCs may very well be increased local support for the project, as well as a better understanding of project impacts at the national level when government is involved in the EA PC process. Attitudinal impacts may also include the spread of participatory approaches beyond the immediate EA to phases of the project cycle, or even other projects. In the cases studied for this Review, public consultations during EAs helped to create support for projects, build public trust in government, create public support for environmental mitigation, and foster government support for public consultations.

The *Latvia Waste Management Project* had a strong social assessment that provided detailed information on the attitudes of affected groups, NGOs, and local government officials. This information was used to plan an effective public consultation and media strategy. Public consultations involved a series of meetings with public authorities, another series with NGOs, and three public meetings that received wide media attention, with coverage from TV, radio, and the major newspapers. In this case, quality public consultation planning was instrumental in effectively communicating the environmental remediation aspects of the proposed facility. Key environmental NGOs and other public meeting participants now support the project and understand that it will reduce noise, odor, and safeguard existing jobs at the site.

Increased emphasis on participation in the client countries is another attitudinal result that may be achieved from the consultation process. Prior to the *Laos Nam Theun II Project*, the Laotian government had little experience with open, inclusive public consultation. The first press

conference held for the project was only the second such event since the communists came to power. The Bank staff first engaged government officials by asking them about existing forms of public consultation and government – society communication. In this way, the Bank signaled its interest in respecting and building on existing cultural practices, rather than simply imposing its own generic approach. In the context of this open engagement, the government officials became receptive to considering the more interactive, open forms public consultations suggested by the Bank. In the end, the government adopted an public consultations strategy with consultation at four levels: international, national, provincial, and local. Of these four levels, the greatest emphasis was placed on consultation at the local level, where the stakeholders would be most directly impacted by the proposed project. ✓

Progress was also evident in the China portfolio where the TMs / TTLs confirmed that it was evident that 10 years ago public consultations were rare, if they existed at all. In recent projects, the frequency and quality of PCs have gradually improved. The benefits derived from the improved process according to the TMs / TTLs include raised trained government officials with a keener interest in listening to the public's contribution, a trained cadre of experts in public consultations, and increased adaptation of participatory methods in domestic projects sponsored by the government. ✓

Reaching the Excluded

The second EA Review noted that the women and the poor were largely excluded from the consultative process. This Review noted an attempt to reach vulnerable stakeholders. Hence targeted surveys and public meetings in areas with low incomes were some of the solutions to address this problem.

The *Mauritania Integrated Development Project for Irrigated Agriculture* made special attempts to integrate the poor and women into project design. One of the key indicators for the second phase of the project was outlined to be the satisfactory access of poor families to land and agricultural services, as determined by the results of participatory surveys. The project specifically attempted to target the poor (in terms of improving land access and increasing farming know-how) and women (in terms of improving drinking water sources and crop diversification), and by focusing on a participatory approach to reaching these objectives, project staff created venues for inputs and concerns from these target groups through the various consultation processes.

Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E)

M&E can be used to monitor and evaluate the PC in the EA processes. Techniques for monitoring and evaluating the PC process include affirmation that participants have understood consultation content after the PC is held (correct language, level of technicality, etc.), as well as assessing stakeholders' opinions of PC effectiveness and PC impact on project design and implementation. By using M&E, public consultation strategies can be adjusted during the project cycle to improve stakeholder participation, information dissemination strategies, and mechanisms for integrating participant feedback into project design and implementation. Only a ✓

indigenous peoples & ethnic minorities (ECA)

→ few of the projects reviewed had monitoring systems of the PC process built into the EA structure (roughly 8% of the projects sampled). *no followup in M&E*

In the *Laos Nam Theun 2 Hydroelectric Project*, comprehension tests, which were performed by an outside consultant with villagers, revealed that in some villages few had understood the visual aids or the project impacts. This finding was noteworthy because the field teams were considered to be well selected and well trained with respect to basic communication skills. The field teams had also spent considerable time in the villages, developing trusting, friendly relations. If comprehension was a problem with such well prepared teams, then the problem could be widespread. Analysis of the situation revealed a number of explanations: not enough women were hired to work with female villagers; there were not enough indigenous staff who spoke the local languages; presentations were too detailed; and there was an over-reliance on large public meetings where small group sessions would have been more appropriate. This detailed diagnosis provided a good basis for adjusting and improving PC practices during EA implementation.

Use of local languages → **Capacity Building and Institutional Strengthening**

Various projects during the EA process have gone beyond information sharing and consultation to building capacity through project design and implementation, thus moving up the "participation continuum." This not only empowers local groups, but also integrates them into the development process, increasing their sense of ownership while concurrently enhancing chances for project sustainability. In the sample of projects reviewed, many different means were used to build local capacity.

i) Creating and supporting local groups for project management and monitoring

The *Columbia Cartagena Water Supply and Sanitation Project* includes plans to form new groups and committees and to strengthen existing ones for urban rehabilitation, monitoring project environmental performance, wetlands stewardship, and managing solid waste. As part of efforts to strengthen community organizations, participants will be provided training in leadership and group management, citizen legal rights and obligations, and conflict resolution.

ii) Strengthening local government institutions

The *Bangladesh Municipal Services Project* involves worked through the decentralized structures to ensure that local government collaborate with NGOs and communities to identify, plan, and maintain urban infrastructure projects, including those for sanitation and waste management. Municipalities that choose to take part receive training in urban planning, environmental management, community participation, financial management, operations and maintenance of infrastructure, and budgeting and accounting.

iii) Establishing liaison positions to link project staff, the government, and communities

The *Lesotho Highlands Water Project* has implemented a system of Community Liaison Assistants drawn from the affected communities who facilitate on-going contact between the communities and the project staff; create awareness among the affected communities of their

abilities to tackle their own needs; facilitate training of interested community members by appropriate organizations; and help communities with the process of identifying needs, prioritizing them, and setting objectives to achieve them. In addition, training for participation is being provided for the full range of staff who will be in contact with the communities, including information officers and construction workers, not just for staff members working directly on participation issues. The project has also established a Catchment Management Committee to work with the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority on soil and water conservation, land use, protection of areas and habitats, and other natural resource management issues.¹⁹

iv) Facilitating local policy efforts to promote public involvement

As part of the *Laos Nam Theun II Hydroelectric Project*, the Bank helped the government develop policy guidelines on public consultations and contributed to building country capacity for public participation. To this end, the Bank helped secure two years of external financing to establish the Scientific, Technical and Environment Organization (STENO) in the GoL. Since established, STENO has developed generic guidelines on public involvement in natural resource management and training materials on public involvement; translated the guidelines and training materials into Lao; developed a video on public involvement and presented this along with guidelines at a regional workshop; developed a draft national action plan on public involvement; conducted regional consultations in 4 provinces on the draft guidelines; established an inter-ministerial working group comprising of 18 ministries / organizations on public involvement; and supported the incorporation of public involvement into the proposed Environmental Law. Based on these successes, additional funding for a second phase of capacity building for STENO has been secured, and the public consultation process for the project was selected by the EAP region as one of three "best case" examples for the Innovation Marketplace in May 1998.

IV. Special Cases

Category B Projects

The category B projects that were reviewed for this sample received highly satisfactory ratings (1) from QAG, thus it is not surprising that over three-fourths of the cases examined were considered good practices for public consultation. Since category B projects are not required to conduct an EA, those category B projects reviewed did show that fewer consultations were held during various phases of EA or environmental analysis development. Of the EAs that conducted PCs, 92% had well-planned PC strategies, 83% had social assessments, and 83% had strong information dissemination strategies.

The EAs and environmental analyses were well-linked to the social assessments. Also, many of the affected local people and NGOs were involved in either project preparation or project implementation. Community development was a key component of the projects, and all projects seemed to have high community support. These close community relations may have stemmed

¹⁹ However, one negative off-shoot of these project groups that emerged within the community is that they circumvented the existing democratic institutions, i.e. the Village Development Councils. Future projects should take these into account and find ways to integrate them into the capacity building schemes.

from the fact that most of these projects did not touch on very sensitive issues (such as some category A's which might require land acquisition and / or resettlement).

Regional and Sectoral EAs

Regional environmental assessments (REAs) are tools to help TMs and TTLs design and implement projects that are "environmentally sustainable for a region as a whole."²⁰ REAs take into account the opportunities and limitations represented by a regional environment and assesses ongoing and planned activities from a regional perspective. As the REAs are more comprehensive undertakings than project-specific EAs due to the larger physical area being assessed, the PC component of REAs is also more challenging than that for traditional project specific EAs. Regional EAs may be more beneficial to projects as they broaden the environmental scope and provide a more holistic approach to environmental concerns. In addition, they create opportunities for cross-regional collaboration and coordination between different groups, organizations, and governments.

Sectoral EAs allow "sector-wide environmental analysis before investment priorities have been determined," while also allowing more long-term planning than may be addressed during a project-specific.²¹ Sectoral EAs often compliment project-specific EAs in development planning.²² EA. The challenges of conducting public consultations in a Sectoral EAs are similar to those posed by Regional EAs. They involve conducting consultation with the various stakeholders in a specific sector. Under the circumstances, a national social assessment to assist with the identification of the various stakeholders as well and the issues would be appropriate. The review noted that implementation of both sectoral and regional PCs do not require different techniques than those done for project-specific EAs. However, they do require more time and budget allocation, and also should be accompanied by a regional or sectoral social assessment.

Analysis of the sectoral EAs in the sample revealed some good consultation planning. For example, the *Indonesia Water Sector Adjustment Loan (WATSAL)* was designed to help transform the country's water sector policies to make them more decentralized, participatory, and coherent. As an integral part of the development of this project, a highly participatory sectoral EA was planned. In addition to a good project team, the project also recruited a knowledgeable grassroots NGO on both the water and social issues as facilitator. The NGO distributed the information well in advance before the meetings and solicited both oral written responses from the communities. Because of its effective public consultation strategies, the consulted indeed felt as partners in the planning process and a critical output of this process was the plan to allow local water user associations to manage their own organizations and physical infrastructures. Another benefit is that the task force is now sold on the participatory process and has made plans to use this process for future policy development in this sector.

²⁰ Environmental Assessment Sourcebook Update. June 15, 1996, Number 15. Environment Department, the World Bank.

²¹ Environmental Assessment Sourcebook Update. October 1993, Number 4. Environment Department, The World Bank.

²² *ibid.*

Financial Intermediaries

Six Financial Intermediaries (FI) were analyzed in order to assess the extent to which the Bank requirements on public consultations in the EA were addressed. Because FIs have to demonstrate how they will ensure that the various World Bank environmental and social safeguard policies will be complied with in the sub-projects, a lot of strategic planning goes into project preparation. In all the projects such as *the India Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services Limited (ILFS)*, a plan on how the various World Bank environmental and social safeguards will be complied with is set out in the report. The *Bangladesh: Infrastructure Development Company*, lays out three stages on awareness building, assessment of perceptions and the actual consultation. The plan discusses what goes into each stage of preparing for public consultation and participation.

To ensure that what is proposed on paper is actually implemented, units to oversee the sub-projects' compliance with the plan are set up. For example in the *Philippines Second Rural Finance Project*, a unit staffed by core project staff, administrative assistants and qualified consultants hired on an ad-hoc basis to assess sub-projects performance was established. Specific officers designated to supervise the sub-projects and provide periodic reporting which included compliance with the country and Bank requirements were also hired. The planning and establishing of institutions to do the oversight have paid off. Hence in the India: *ILFS* project, the *Delhi-Noida, Vadodra-Halol, and Ahmedabab-Messana* road projects as well Tiruppur water management and Devas water supply projects all closely complied with the plan drawn for complying with the World Bank's environmental and social safeguards as well as the country requirements. [Like other World Bank projects, however monitoring the extent to which the sub-projects comply with the min plans is limited by the supervision budgets.]

EA and other Bank Safeguard Policies

Approximately two-thirds of the studied projects with a Category A classification also triggered other Bank Safeguard Policies, usually those involving Involuntary Resettlement, Indigenous Peoples, and Cultural Property. These safeguards each have their own public consultation requirements, making the EA public consultation process particularly complex. Bank TTLs report that dealing with multiple safeguards is difficult, especially on limited project preparation budgets.

The Second EA Review concluded that public consultation is better in those EAs dealing with involuntary resettlement. In a Review of a slightly newer sample of EAs, public consultation in projects with resettlement were weak on discussions involving environmental issues.²³ Data gathered for the Third EA Review confirms this finding and provides a simple explanation. People about to be displaced from their homes are focused on resettlement and not environmental issues. When resettlers are asked open-ended questions about their project concerns, as in the EA for the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, they raise few environmental concerns. It is more common for people staying on their land to have such concerns.

²³ Rukuba-Ngaiza, Op Cit.

A practical question facing EA planners is whether or not to integrate public consultations on the environment with public consultation for other triggered Safeguards. Integration of public consultation is generally advocated as a good practice because it can reduce duplication of effort and can be less of an imposition on the time of stakeholders. However, conducting separate public consultations for each safeguard can be justified to the extent that the following conditions hold:

needs more discussion

- Project impacts are dispersed, as in many highway projects, and therefore different affected groups will be involved in each consultation;
- The Safeguards are applicable in different areas, so that there is little overlap in types of affected groups.

case examples like Lesotho - Brazil/Bolivia Pipeline

VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

There have been quantitative and qualitative improvements in the level of public consultations in Bank-financed Category A and B Environmental Assessments since the 2nd EA Review was carried out. Institutional challenges still hinge on demonstrating the benefits of public consultations to both task managers and clients in order for them to increasingly see public consultation as making business sense as opposed to an institutional requirement/Bank conditionality. This will promote other desired changes such as strategic planning for public consultation by both the Task Manager, governments and consultants. These desired changes include reaching everyone including those who are traditionally excluded from decision making and finally incorporate PC recommendations into projects design and implementation.

Based on some of the best practices encountered in projects sampled for this Review, various recommendations for ensuring PC effectiveness can be made.

1) Policy and Legal Framework

Despite their limitations, country policy and legal frameworks for public involvement in the EA process are the starting point for devising public consultation strategies. They equip TTLs/TMs with the tools to make the case that public consultation in EAs are a country requirement and not a Bank conditionality. Although the laws do not provide modalities for PCs, local social scientists and lessons learned from various projects in a particular country can provide general guidance on the modalities for effective public involvement in the EA process in a particular country. In some cases they ~~make~~ confer an actionable right to citizens and in this regard may foster governments to ensure that citizens are involved in developmental decision-making. Projects should be encouraged to make use of the legal framework on PC where they exist. In Bank financed projects that involve institutional strengthening, EA capacity building and reforming of EIA, the World Bank should encourage its clients to adopt policies and laws that provide for public consultations and participation.²⁴

²⁴ . For good examples of EIA country legislation that has devised good public consultation and participation strategies, see Bekhechi A. Mohammed & Jean Roger-Mercier paper *Environmental Impact Assessment Legal and Regulatory Framework: Study of Selected Sub-Saharan African Countries*, November 2000.

2) *Brainstorm on how to improve borrower engagement in and support for public consultations*

Through training and documentation of public consultation strategies, TTLs/TMs can share country experience on effective borrower engagement and support for public consultations that are open, inclusive, and interactive. This information can be used by future projects carried out in the same countries.

3) *Provide more in-depth Bank training*

There are various steps that can be taken to improve the enabling environment for PC within the Bank, the first being an effort to improve TMs and TTLs knowledge of participation and its benefits, along with a better understanding of participatory techniques. This could be done through more in-depth training for Bank staff that would cover: a) what it takes to comply with the OP; b) how to overcome key implementation obstacles, such as dealing with reluctant governments or reaching the most marginalized; c) how to create mechanisms to improve participation; d) other areas that are commonly mishandled such as information dissemination prior to consultation; appropriate utilization of large and small meetings; providing information from draft EAs to affected groups; and ways to increase consultation directly with affected groups and their representatives; and e) how to assess a good public consultation plan. However, it is recommended that the impact of the training on Bank staff as well as on their work should be carried out at least within 6-9 months of training. ✓

TMs and TTLs could also tap into the expertise of the Participation Unit, as well as review the materials they have developed that discuss participatory techniques, such as the Participation Sourcebook and Toolkit. It might also be beneficial if the EA sourcebook and its updates could be accessed on-line (perhaps through an icon with Lotus Notes). This site could also have links to other valuable PC tools and techniques, model ToRs, and other necessary documentation, forms, templates, and helpful hints for improving PCs.

4) *Aggregate in countries projects to have similar outcomes on institutionalizing PC*

Improving country capacity to conduct public consultations requires an aggregated effort of Bank financed projects within each country. Therefore, Bank staff should strive to ensure that projects in a particular country to have similar outcomes on institutionalizing PCs. By having numerous projects with goals that encourage consultation and participation through capacity building and institutional strengthening, the effects of each project will be amplified and more long-lasting. The aggregated benefits will move public consultations from being a World Bank requirement to a desirable country procedural requirement for designing and implementing effective public consultation/participation projects.

5) *Improve Bank staff buy-in to PCs*

In a few projects, the consultation process was not thwarted by a lack of understanding of participation and the PC process, but a reluctance on the part of Bank staff to support PCs. In these cases, PCs were seen as a hindrance to the project, rather than a tool to improve it. Yet exposure to public consultations and their impact has also been shown to reverse this. Disseminating the lessons learned from the benefits of effective public consultations through training and other means will improve Bank staff's views on public consultation. Also, incentives for promoting public consultations and disincentives for not conducting public consultations should be institutionalized.

6) Standardize a documentation strategy

Maintaining a good documentation strategy may be facilitated by: providing Bank staff with a set of worksheets that serve as a template for the documentation process - including sheets that record number of participants, consultation times and dates, announcement information for consultations, strategies for introducing the project to the public, information on stakeholder analysis, key issues for each consultation (scoping, draft EA, final EA, EMP, other studies, M&E), etc. This packet could also serve as a reminder of when to have consultations, and how to structure them. This could be readily available through an icon on-line for TTLs and TMs in each sector, or set aside with the participation toolkit. One person should be held responsible for reporting on the PC process. (See Annex 3 for a suggested standardized documentation strategy.)

7) Monitor PC implementation

Techniques for monitoring and evaluating the PC process include affirmation that participants have understood consultation content after the PC is held (correct language, level of technicality, etc.), as well as assessing stakeholders' opinions of PC effectiveness and PC impact on project design and implementation. By using M&E, public consultation strategies can be adjusted during the project cycle to improve stakeholder participation, information dissemination strategies, and mechanisms for integrating participant feedback into project design and implementation. M&E will vary from project to project. For instance, the TM in the *Philippines Local government Units Urban Water and Sanitation Project* realized that he could not oversee whether or not the engineers conducted PC around the EA design, particularly since many of these towns were very remote. So to ensure participation, students from a national social work masters program were hired as outside neutral observers to take notes on the process. Although the engineers were skeptical at first and reluctant to work with the "spies," they soon learned how a participatory PC process could benefit their work and truly began to appreciate the new relationships that they were forging with the communities, as well as the opportunity to adapt project design to what the communities desired.

8) Tier implementation of Public Consultations

Throughout PC implementation, objectives should be outlined. Examples include: a) awareness building; b) assessment of perceptions; c) building consensus; and d) finalizations of agreements.²⁵

9) Increase local participation

Fostering increased local participation in a project depends on the limitations in a country. However, widely applicable good practices for more inclusive processes entail: a) developing an understanding of the cultural obstacles to participation of excluded groups; b) disaggregating quantitative data so as to be able to assess and understand the unique concerns of specific groups; and c) holding small group meetings with each different vulnerable stakeholder group. Another way to increase levels of participation is to make sure that the executing agency charged for overseeing the consultation does not receive its pay until after the consultation has taken place and use an outside monitoring system to confirm participation levels.

10) Continue to build local capacity

With the involvement of local groups in the EA process, measures can be taken to improve capacity with training in leadership and group management, education on citizen's legal rights and obligations,²⁶ and conflict resolution techniques. Yet, an excellent consultation strategy and plan may be thwarted by selecting unqualified local executing agencies to assist with implementation (local NGOs, etc.). A checklist for evaluating implementing / executing agencies and their capacity for implementing public consultations would be a step in helping to prevent this. This checklist could be accompanied by a set of best practices or guidelines on how to transfer or build capacity during public consultations.

²⁵ Derived from the Bangladesh Infrastructure Development Company Ltd.

²⁶ The Zambia Environment Support Program Project has a component which promotes training in citizen's environment rights. This includes their engagement in the EA process. ✓

Annex 1 – List of Projects Reviewed

Category A

AFRICA

| | | | |
|------------|----------------------|----|---------------------|
| ✓ Chad | TD/CM Pipeline | 00 | Oil & Gas |
| ? Ethiopia | Road Sec. Devp. | 98 | Transport |
| ? Ghana | Trade Gateway & Inv. | 99 | Public Sector Devp. |
| ✓ Ghana | Nat. Res. Management | 98 | Env. |
| Kenya | Energy Sector Reform | 97 | Elect. Pwr. Energy |
| ✓ Lesotho | Highland Water | 98 | Water Supply |
| Mauritania | Integ Dev Prog For I | 00 | Agriculture |

EAST ASIA

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|----|--------------------|
| China | Wanjiazhai Water Tra | 97 | Agriculture |
| China | Second Inland Waterways | 98 | Transport |
| ✓ China | Tri-Prov. Highway | 98 | Transport |
| China | Shanghai Waigaoqiao | 97 | Elect. Pwr. Energy |
| ✓ Indonesia | Northern Sumatra Reg. Roads | 98 | Transport |
| ✓ Indonesia | Bali Urban Infrastructure | 97 | Urban Devpt. |
| ✓ Laos | Nam Theun II Hydroelectric | | Elect. Pwr. Energy |
| Philippines | Water Districts Development | 98 | Water supply |
| Vietnam | Coastal Wetlands / Prot Dev | 00 | Env. |
| ? Vietnam | Inland Waterways | 98 | Transport |
| Vietnam | Mekong Transport | 01 | Transport |

EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

| | | | |
|------------|------------------------|----|--------------------|
| Russia / | | | |
| Ukraine | Com. Space Launch | 97 | Telecomm. 44233 |
| Bulgaria | Env. Remed. Pilot | 98 | Env. 33965 |
| Croatia | Municipal Environment | 98 | Water Supply 43444 |
| Kazakhstan | Uzen Oil Field Rehab. | 97 | Oil & Gas 8507 |
| Latvia | Solid Waste Management | 98 | Env. 45716 |
| Lithuania | Klaipeda Port | 00 | Transport 35776 |
| Poland | Wholesale Mkt. II | 99 | Agriculture 55988 |
| Poland | Roads II Project | 98 | Transport 08593 |

2 three memories

LATIN AMERICA

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|----|--------------|
| Argentina | Flood Protection | 97 | Water supply |
| Brazil | Fed. Wtr. Mgt. | 98 | Env. |
| ✓ Brazil | Gas Sector Devp. | 98 | Oil & Gas |
| Brazil | Second Water Sector | 98 | Water Supply |
| Colombia | Cartegena Water Supply & Sewerage. | 98 | Water Supply |
| ✓ Mexico | Aquaculture Development | | Agriculture |

NORTH AFRICA

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|----|-------------|
| Algeria | DZ-Low Income Housing | 98 | Urban Devp. |
| ? West Bank | | | |
| and Gaza | Gaza Industrial Est. | 98 | Industry |
| West Bank | Solid Waste and Env. | 00 | Urban Devp. |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|----|--------------------|
| Yemen, Republic of | Ry-Sana'A Emergency Power | 99 | Elect. Pwr. Energy |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|----|--------------------|

SOUTH ASIA

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|----|--------------------|
| Bangladesh | Haripur Power | 00 | Elect. Pwr. Energy |
| ✓ India | Coal Sector Rehab | 98 | Mining |
| ✓ Nepal | Road Maintenance & Devp. | 00 | Transport |

Category B

AFRICA

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----|-------------|
| Benin | First Decent. Cty | 99 | Urban Devp. |
|-------|-------------------|----|-------------|

EAST ASIA

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|----|--------------|
| China | Guanzhong Irrigation | 98 | Agriculture |
| Indonesia | Watsal | 99 | Agriculture |
| Philippines | Phil-LGU Urban Water | 99 | Water supply |
| ✓ Samoa | WS-Infrastructure Mana | 99 | Transport ? |

EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|----|-------------|
| Bosnia-Her. | Local Development | 99 | Urban Devp. |
| Poland | Rural Environment Protection | 99 | Env. |

LATIN AMERICA

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|----|-------------------|
| Argentina | Public Health Surveillance | 99 | Health, Nutrition |
| Brazil | Animal & Plant Di. | 99 | Agriculture |

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-------------------|
| ✓ West Bank | Community Devp. II | 99 | Social Protection |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-------------------|

SOUTH ASIA

| | | | |
|------------|----------------------|----|-------------|
| Bangladesh | Municipal Services | 99 | Urban Devp. |
| Sri Lanka | Cons of Medic Plants | 98 | Env. |

Intermediary Financial Institution Cases:

| | | | |
|------------|--|----|--|
| Bangladesh | Infrastructure Development Company Ltd. | | |
| India | Delhi/Noida Bridge | | |
| India | Tiruppur Water Supply | 98 | |
| India | Vadodra-Halol Toll Road | | |
| India | Ahmedabad-Messana Toll Road | | |
| Sri Lanka | Private Sector Infrastructure Project | | |

Sectoral Case:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|----|-------------|
| Indonesia (WATSAL) | Water Sector Adjustment Loan | 99 | Agriculture |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|----|-------------|

Regional Cases:

✓ Chad /
Cameroon
Brazil /
Bolivia

| | | |
|------------------------|----|-----------|
| Pipeline Project | 00 | Oil & Gas |
| Gas Sector Development | 98 | Oil & Gas |

Annex 2 – Breakdown of Projects Examined by Region and Sector

| Category A Projects Sector | Regions | | | | | | Total |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| | AFR | EAP | ECA | LAC | MNA | SAR | |
| Energy | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Environment | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 |
| Industry | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Mining | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Oil, Gas & Petrochemicals | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 3 |
| Rural Development & Agriculture | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 |
| Telecom & Informatics | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Transport | 1 | 5 | 2 | | | 1 | 9 |
| Private Sector Development | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Urban Development | | 1 | | | 2 | | 3 |
| Water Supply & Sanitation | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | 6 |
| Total | 7 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 39 |

Annex 3 – Template for Documentation Strategy

A documentation strategy may address the following three questions, and use tables similar to those depicted below.²⁷ Also, records of any public announcements on the project or project consultations should also be kept.

- 1) What is the purpose of the public consultation?
- 2) What are the consultation goals and objectives?
- 3) What are the guidelines and regulations that need to be followed (according to Bank OP 4.01, national laws, etc.).

Suggested tables for recording other pertinent information are suggested below.

| <i>Inventory of Project Stakeholders</i> | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Stakeholder Group / Individual | Stake in Project |
| <i>Most Directly Affected</i> | |
| <i>Area of Political and Administrative Leadership</i> | |
| <i>Government</i> | |
| <i>NGOs</i> | |
| <i>Associations and Industries</i> | |

A record of the key issues raised during each consultation (scoping, draft EA, final EA, EMP, other studies, M&E) should be kept, as well as who attended and when and where the meeting took place. The table below is one possible way to record this information (a new chart would be done for each EA phase).

| <i>Public Consultation during Scoping Phase</i> | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Group / Individual | Date | Place | Issues Raised |
| <i>Local People and Groups</i> | | | |
| <i>Local Leaders</i> | | | |
| <i>NGOs working in Project Area</i> | | | |
| | | | |

²⁷ Adapted from the documentation strategy for the Bangladesh Haripur Power Project.

| Schedule and Timing of Consultations²⁸ | | | |
|--|--|------------------------|--|
| Time Period | Frequency, Times, and Dates of Consultations during this period | Group Consulted | Venue <i>(size of meeting, level of contact)</i> |
| Scoping | | | |
| EA Preparation | | | |
| Draft EA | | | |
| Final EA | | | |
| EMP | | | |
| Other Studies | | | |
| M & E | | | |

²⁸ . Review the country legal requirements on what constitutes a reasonable time in disseminating information to the public.



SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT NOTES

ENVIRONMENTALLY AND SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

Note No. 39

September 1998

Meaningful Consultation in Environmental Assessments

The World Bank's Operational Directive 4.01 on Environmental Assessments (to be released as Operational Policy 4.01) calls for consulting the public on environmental impacts in Bank-financed projects. The operational directive (OD) requires Borrowers to prepare environmental assessments in those categories of projects that have potential significant impact on the environment. This includes both category A and B projects.

Category A projects potentially pose a significant impact on the environment and Category B projects do not. Therefore the OD requires that a full EA be carried out in Category A projects and only an environmental analysis be carried out for Category B projects. The OD requires that the views of "affected persons" and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) be taken "fully into account in such assessments."

The views of affected groups and NGOs are obtained through a consultative process that occurs at two stages during project preparation; first, after assigning the EA category or during the scoping of issues and preparation of draft terms of reference (TOR) and second, after a draft EA has been prepared. In order for "meaningful consultation" to occur, the OD requires Borrowers to provide "relevant information"

to local NGOs and affected groups. This information has to be provided in a timely manner and a form that is meaningful and accessible to the groups being consulted.

The OD requires that at the initial consultation the relevant information consists of a summary of the proposed project, including its potential positive and negative effects. Once the draft EA report is ready, information should consist of a summary of the conclusions and a discussion of recommended mitigating activities and plans is prepared.

Despite the existence of these general guidelines, the Bank's second EA Review found that "many EAs are still characterized by . . . weak public consultation." This was the case across all sectors and appears to be a result of several factors, including inadequate national legislative frameworks and a lack of open consultative processes and expertise on the part of project managers and EA consultants.

The following note is based on the premise that both World Bank and Borrower performance could be significantly improved. The OD describes several factors which, if adequately considered, could provide guidance to Bank task team leaders, project

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The views expressed in this note are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the World Bank.

preparation agencies, private companies, and environmental consultants on minimal World Bank standards and expectations for involving affected groups and local NGOs in the EA process. Six of these factors are discussed in this note. A checklist is also provided for reviewing and evaluating public consultation plans and processes.

Context of the Consultative Process

Public consultation, like other aspects of an EA, needs to be situated within its policy, legal, and administrative contexts. As a first step toward planning an effective public consultation strategy for an EA, it is vital to understand how public consultation is viewed in the wider society. This should entail preliminary analysis of the legislative framework and what it says about the rights of citizens to be consulted in administrative processes, as well as their access to environmental and other types of information. In some countries an adequate public consultation legislative framework may be lacking, but there may be other cultural or informal ways in which citizens participate in decisionmaking.

The World Bank recognizes the need for sensitivity in designing public consultation strategies for projects in countries lacking adequate statutory frameworks or in cases where affected groups and NGOs lack appropriate conditions to express their views. In certain contexts, relevant environmental agencies and public and private institutions may need to be strengthened to carry out an effective and meaningful consultation program. Such institutional strengthening may be needed to fulfill the objectives of the OD.

Identification of Affected Groups and Local NGOs

If meaningful and effective consultation is to occur, it is vital that a mechanism for identifying affected groups and interested NGOs be in place. Sometimes this does not occur because of lack of guidance as to how affected groups and local NGOs should be identified; for example, narrow definitions of affected groups may only include those directly impacted by the project.

In many cases, women and the poor are not consulted and local NGOs are often the only social actors who participate in consultations. Meaningful consultations only occur when the EA reflects the views of a cross-section of affected groups, including those traditionally excluded from the process.

To ensure that affected groups and interested NGOs are identified and participate in consultations, it is usually necessary to conduct a social assessment. The recruitment of appropriate professionals (from local universities or NGOs) may be necessary to conduct these assessments, the goal of which should be to identify all relevant stakeholders and highlight potential issues and conflicts to be analyzed in the EA. For more information see Social Assessment Dissemination Note Number 13, September 1995.

Consultation Facilitators

Under certain circumstances involving professional facilitators or respected community members may be necessary to ensure meaningful consultations. This is because many projects that have significant environmental and social impacts often involve contending interests and values, and government officials or private sector institutions may lack the trust of affected groups and local NGOs. In other cases NGOs themselves may provide biased accounts of how local communities perceive potential impacts. In these situations dialogue may only be possible when a neutral facilitator serves as an intermediary among the affected groups, local NGOs, and the project's sponsor.

Timing and Implementation of the Consultative Process

The stages at which public consultations are required determine and limit the input of affected groups into the EA. World Bank policy requires that consultations be carried out after the EA category has been assigned and the draft EA prepared. By participating in the EA process after assignment of the EA category, affected groups help define the issues in the EA, some of which may be critical in drafting the TORs.

The OD does not require consultations with affected groups during EA preparation although

good practice and certain conditions such as resettlement or project effects on indigenous peoples merit participation by affected groups throughout project and EA preparation. Certain types of environmental information on land use or pollution effects may also be discovered through close collaboration with affected groups during EA consultations.

There is no requirement for consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation. However, the World Bank's policy on disclosure of information, subject to certain limitations, requires the Borrower to make the EA report available in a public place accessible to affected groups and local NGOs for their review and comment. Formal consultations with affected groups after the final EA preparation is good practice, and it enables affected groups to determine whether or not their concerns have been incorporated into the final EA document. When the affected group's concerns have been omitted from the final EA, it is standard practice to discuss the reasons for exclusion. Such consultations should be conducted before the final document is deposited in a place accessible to the public.

Information and Communication

World Bank policy requires that information to affected groups be provided in a "meaningful and accessible fashion" and "timely manner." Responsibility for ensuring that the information is comprehensible to the affected groups rests with the Borrower or EA preparer, who should, if necessary, obtain the expertise required to translate the information into a form comprehensible to the affected groups.

Affected groups may include the illiterate and those who do not speak the national languages, but they nonetheless must be able to understand the information in order to participate in the EA process. Appropriate communication processes must be designed and employed in the process, so that information reaches and is understood by affected groups and local NGOs.

The information has also to be received by the affected groups in a "timely" manner. What constitutes a reasonable time may vary across localities, depending on the sociocultural context of the project. Local social scientists and

NGOs can assist in developing strategies for identifying the appropriate information, methods of dissemination, and a reasonable timeframe.

Documentation of the Consultative Process

Finally, World Bank policy requires that EA reports contain a record of consultations with affected people and local NGOs. The record should specify how stakeholders were identified and what information was disseminated, as well as the means (other than consultations) used to obtain the views of affected local groups, such as social surveys, rapid rural appraisals, or focus groups. The documentation should also indicate how the collected views were analyzed and incorporated into the final EA. Without documentation of the consultative process or alternative means of obtaining information, it is difficult to determine whether meaningful consultation has taken place.

Summary

The World Bank requires that at designated stages of the EA cycle, Borrowers conduct meaningful consultations with affected groups and local NGOs. The criteria for assessing meaningful consultation is based on the Borrower's or EA preparer's capacity to identify the affected groups and obtain information. The Borrower or EA preparer should conduct additional consultation when new issues arise during the EA cycle. Documenting the consultative process enables interested persons to determine whether appropriate consultations have been conducted.

While the final decision on EA recommendations rests with the Borrower or implementing agency, project performance and action plans arising from EAs can be substantially improved through consideration of the viewpoints of all relevant stakeholders and affected groups. Meaningful consultation will be deemed to have taken place if the final EA document reflects the views of affected groups, local NGOs, and those traditionally excluded from the consultative and planning processes, as well as those of the project's sponsor and other relevant government agencies.

Checklist for Reviewing and Evaluating Public Consultation Plans and Processes

Methodology

Selection of Participants

- Were representatives of the public involved in selecting participants?
- Have all potential stakeholders been identified?
- Have key stakeholders been given the opportunity to express their views?

Selection of Consultation Techniques

- Are the chosen techniques suitable for the objective?
- Are the techniques appropriate for the size of the audience?
- Are they appropriate for the technical knowledge of participants?
- Has sufficient time been allowed for informing participants?
- Will suitably qualified staff be involved?

Implementation

Suitability of Arrangements for Consultations

- Is the location appropriate?
- Is the time appropriate?
- Can everyone attend who may want to participate?

Adequacy of Information Provided to the Public

- Has sufficient information been provided for participants to make informed judgments?
- Is the technical level of the information suited to participants' background knowledge?
- Has appropriate language and vocabulary been used?
- Was information provided sufficiently early?

Information for Decisionmakers

- Was a nontechnical summary provided?
- Is information clearly and concisely presented?
- Has an appropriate language been used?
- Was it provided in time to inform decisionmakers?

Resources for Participants

- Have resources been provided to enable all those who wish to participate to do so?
- Were resources distributed fairly?

Analysis of Results

- Have views of participants been recorded?
- Have they been analyzed?
- Have suitably qualified staff been involved?

Feedback and Use of Results

- Have the results of the consultation been reflected in the decisionmaking process?
- Have participants been informed of the outcomes and how their input was used?
- Has the process resulted in a better decision?

Source: Adapted from *Manual on Public Participation*, 1995, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London, U.K.

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***Public Consultations in the EA
Process: Third Environmental
Assessment Review***

**Nightingale Rukuba-Ngaiza
Rusdian Lubis
Michelle Cullen**

- ① learning = bag lunch / Kristen ←
- ② Cartagena = EIA
- ③ LCR - Elena / Alonso
FY02/



Introduction

- **Objectives**

- **Scope**

- **Findings**

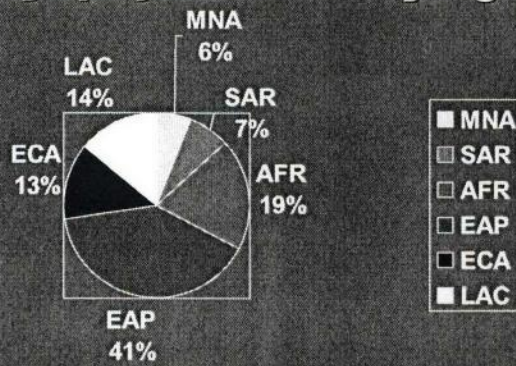
- **Recommendations**

Objectives

- **Assess quantitative and qualitative improvements in public consultations in Eas for both Category A and B Bank financed projects since 2nd EA Review was conducted**
- **Whether findings reflected in financial intermediaries/regional and sectoral Eas**
- **Recommendations for improvement**

Scope of Review

Category A projects FY 97-01 by Region





Findings

Quantitative

- **Number of projects with consultations in EAs had gone from an average of 50- 87% .**
- **Improved numbers of projects which documented consultative process - 72%**

Findings contd -

• Qualitative improvements

- **Strategic planning**
 - skills mix
 - tools (social assessments)
 - M & E - 8%
 - attempts to build local capacity
- **attempts to target women, poor and others traditionally excluded from process**
- **Consultations influenced project design/outcomes**



Findings contd -

• Enabling factors & constraints

- A. Enabling Factors**
 - High levels of environmental consciousness**
 - TTLs commitment**
 - progressive leadership in govt**



Findings contd

- **The case of financial intermediaries/regional and sectoral Eas**
 - **Regional & Sectoral EAs**
 - numbers limited but findings from project specific EAs equally applied
 - **A. Financial Intermediaries**
 - exemplary on paper - ground truthing a necessity
- **Other safeguards**
 - **Dominant issues compromise/dominate consultations on environmental issues**



Recommendations

• Within the Bank

- **More In depth-training targeted on pc**
- **Institutionalize incentives/disincentives on pc**

• In client countries

- **foster client support for pc**
- **aggregate projects in countries to have similar outcomes on institutionalizing pc -bld local capacity**



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