PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN FOREST SERVICE DECISION - MAKING; CASE STUDIES AND MODELS

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Public Involvement in the Forest Service; Case Studies and Models

presented by

James Oliver Blankenship

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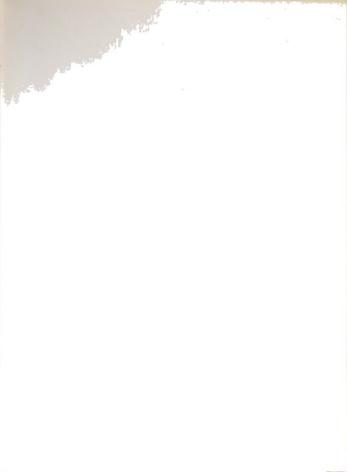
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ABS

ABSTRACT

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN THE FOREST SERVICE; CASE STUDIES AND MODELS

by

James Oliver Blankenship

The U. S. Forest Service, like all other government agencies, is confronted with the need to develop a uniform, equitable system for involving citizens in policy and program decision making. Developing such a participatory system requires the outlining of criteria, procedures and social interaction that assures a process that is operational for the agency. This research studies the problem in terms of present cases, examines the literature of public involvement and human interaction theory and creates three models of public involvement.

The public involvement process as practiced by the Forest Service in four issues in Colorado were examined in detail. Citizen and Forest Officer participants were interviewed and data from questionnaires, attitude tests and interviews were analyzed and compared with a check list of attributes of successful public involvement. The analysis shows a progression from cases in which effective public involvement was virtually non-existent to one which contained many of the

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attributes of successful public participation.

Three models of public involvement are developed. The first is a characterization of the public involvement process practiced by the Forest Service in the first two cases. It identifies the assumptions, action strategies and consequences of an ineffective process. The second model characterizes the current public involvement process of the agency as seen in the second two case studies. The third model presents a process which incorporates the lessons of the case studies and applies current interaction theory to avoid the adverse consequences of the previous models. This model assumes that natural resource decisions have both technical and social aspects. The roles of the participants are clarified: The role of the agency is to provide technical data and identify probable consequences of alternatives; the citizen's role is to determine the societal values that are to be served by the decision. The action strategies of this model result in an operational public involvement process which recognizes that natural resources are means to achieve social goals.

The essential dimensions of a process, which are procedure, content and human interaction, are discussed in terms of their importance in implementing the third model.

attributes of successful publish participation.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN FOREST SERVICE DECISION-MAKING; CASE STUDIES AND MODELS

By

JAMES OLIVER BLANKENSHIP

A DISSERTATION
Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Forestry

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I wish to express my appreciation to the U. S. Forest Service, without whose cooperation this research would not have occurred, and to citizens and Forest Officers whose candid answers gave meaning to the case studies. I especially thank Dr. Daniel Schler for his advice, ideas and enthusiastic support during the course of this research.

PREMIUM CONTROLL OF

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	List of	Tables				٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	v
II.	List of	Figures														vii
III.	Introduc	tion .														1
IV.	Methodol	ogy														7
v.	Case 1 -	East Me	adow	/ Cre	eek	Tir	nbe	er	Sa	le						
		The Set	ting													15
		Public	Invo	lver	nent	ar	nd	De	ci	si	or	1				16
		The Aft	erma	th												19
		Analysi	s.													21
VI.	Case 2 -	San Jua	n Ro	adle	ess	Are	eas	;								
		The Set	ting													36
		Public	Invo	lver	nent	ar	nd	De	ci	si	on	1				37
		The Aft	erma	th												41
		Analysi	s.													43
VII.	Case 3 -	Uncompa Primiti				lsc	on	Мо	un	ta	in	s				
		The Set	ting													64
		Public	Invo	lven	nent	ar	nd	De	ci	si	on	ı				67
		The Aft	erma	th												68
		Analysi	s.													69



	-			*	*								
			٠					,					

A2 A2

.

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

VIII.	Case 4 - Be	aver	Cre	ek	Sl	ci	Aı	rea	a								
	Th	e Se	ttin	ıg													86
	Pu	blic	Inv	ol	ver	nei	nt	ar	nd	De	eci	İsi	ior	ı			86
	Th	e Af	term	atl	n												88
	Ar	alys	is .														90
IX.	Analytical	Comm	enta	ry													104
х.	Summary																114
XI.	Appendix .																118
YTT.	Bibliograph	ν.															132

LIST OF TABLES

Table	1.	Socio-economic Comparison of Citizens in East Meadow Creek Case
Table	2.	Why Citizens Were Involved in East Meadow Creek Case 2
Table	3.	Responses to Questions About Timing of Publi Involvement in East Meadow Creek Case 2
Table	4.	Preeducation and Convenience of Public Involvement in East Meadow Creek Case 2
Table	5.	Factors Influencing the Decision in East Meadow Creek Case 2
Table	6.	Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service in East Meadow Creek Case
Table	7.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses in East Meadow Creek Case 38
Table	8.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses 31
Table	9.	Socio-economic Comparison of Citizens in Roadless Area Case
Table l	.0.	Why Citizens Were Involved in Roadless Area Case 46
Table 1	.1.	Responses to Questions About Timing of Publi Involvement in Roadless Area Case 48
Table 1	.2.	Preeducation and Convenience of Public Involvement in Roadless Area Case 50
Table 1	.3.	Factors Influencing the Decision in Roadless Area Case 52
Table 1	.4.	Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service in Roadless Area Case 58
Table 1	.5.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses in Roadless Area Case 60

25,777 T NO TELE

The second secon

and the state of t

ž

LIST OF TABLES (Cont'd.)

Table 16.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses	60
Table 17.	Socio-economic Comparison of Citizens in Primitive Area Case	70
Table 18.	Responses to Questions About Timing of Publi Involvement in Primitive Area Case	c 73
Table 19.	Preeducation and Convenience of Public Involvement in Primitive Area Case	74
Table 20.	Factors Influencing the Decision in Primitive Area Case	76
Table 21.	Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service in Primitive Area Case	80
Table 22.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses in Primitive Area Case	83
Table 23.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses	83
Table 24.	Socio-economic Comparison of Citizens in Beaver Creek Case	92
Table 25.	Reasons for Involvement in Beaver Creek	92
Table 26.	Responses to Questions About Timing of Public Involvement in Beaver Creek Case	94
Table 27.	Preeducation and Convenience of Public Involvement in Beaver Creek Case	95
Table 28.	Factors Influencing the Decision in Beaver Creek Case	97
Table 29.	Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service in Beaver Creek Case	99
Table 30.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses in Beaver Creek Case	02
Table 31.	Comparison of Attitude Scale Responses 1	02

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Existing Method of Public Involvement 5
Figure 2.	Improved Method of Public Involvement 6
Figure 3.	Checklist of Attributes for Public Involvement
Figure 4.	Model I. Theory of Early Public Involvement
Figure 5.	Model II. Theory of Current Public Involvement
Figure 6.	Model III. Theory of an Effective Public Involvement Process
Figure Al.	Citizen Questionnaire
Figure A2.	Citizen Attitude Scale
Figure A3.	Forest Officer Questionnaire 124
Figure A4.	Forest Officer Attitude Scale 127
Figure A5.	Decision Log

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

In recent years the public has begun to demand that the U. S. Forest Service and other land management agencies improve the balance among its programs and provide for citizen involvement in the decision-making process. The National Environmental Policy Act calls for interdisciplinary planning and public involvement.

This gives rise to a problem that is currently being experienced by all public natural resource managers; a problem of differentiating between value judgements and factual judgements. The problem is well defined as follows: "Two forces which may be in conflict are facing public land managers today. One force suggests a separation of roles so that the strong scientific competence can function effectively in a value context established by others, perhaps non-professional role players. The other force is the desire for broader participation in resource management by both citizen groups and internal personnel. The latter force may require a synthesis of roles while the former requires a separation." (Bentley, 1972.)

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There has been a growing recognition of scientific elitism and other violations of our ideals of equality. Coupled with a rising concern that wrong decisions and erroneous priorities prevail, this recognition has led to increased cries for public participation, or what Leavitt (1962) and Strauss (1964) call "power equalization" and what Arnstein (1969) describes as the redistribution of power which enables citizens currently excluded from the political and economic processes to be included in the future. This problem in the public sector is analogous to the demands of company stockholders for greater involvement in the decision-making process in industrial organizations.

The Forest Service has responded to these demands for public participation in land use decisions; however, the response has not provided any degree of consistent success. Efforts have been largely based on trial and error; only recently has the Forest Service initiated scientific investigation of the problem. Procedures that were adequate in one situation were not successful in others. Some efforts served only to further alienate those opposing certain National Forest policies; few have been successful in satisfying the public and the Agency.

The key to consistently successful public involvement may lie in examining some basic elements and processes of public involvement efforts. A detailed analysis of the ingredients of public involvement sessions may provide a means of establishing what goes wrong or right, and why it does so.

There has been a growing recognition of acientific elitism

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STUDY OBJECTIVES

The objective of this research is to identify appropriate procedures for effective public involvement in natural resource management by:

- Examining how the Forest Service operates its public involvement efforts.
- Identifying the factors and the processes involved in effective public participation efforts.
- 3. Determining why some efforts fail.
- Determining what is needed to effectively involve the public in planning and decision-making.

Effective public involvement is defined as a procedure that tells an agency the relative number of people that are affected by a program or project and how they feel about it.

HYPOTHESIS

Some public involvement efforts fail because:

- The true attitude of some natural resource managers
 is that public involvement should only occur as a
 means of legitimizing decisions already made. This
 subconscious attitude is a significant factor in preventing successful public involvement.
- Public contacts are being inappropriately used. They
 are means oriented rather than goal oriented; i.e.,
 they are used as an instrument to give information,
 opinions, and proposals rather than being used to solicit information and opinions about goals.

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 Ability to assess public opinion is a function of the factors involved and the process of obtaining information. Lack of understanding of these factors prevents effective public involvement.

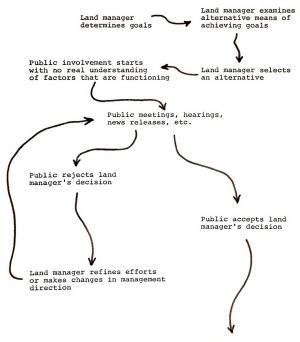
This hypothesis suggests two models which are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

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FIGURE 1

EXISTING METHOD OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT



Program or Project is implemented

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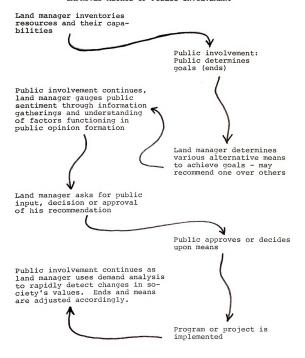
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FIGURE 2

IMPROVED METHOD OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT





METHODOLOGY

Initiation of the Research

The initial step in the investigation was the development of a checklist of attributes for public involvement. See Figure 3. Ideas for the checklist were obtained from review of pertinent literature, discussions and interviews with academicians and public involvement researchers, U.S. Forest Service line and staff officers, including public involvement specialists, and citizens with varying amounts of experience in public participation activities.

The checklist was then used to develop a questionnaire and an attitude scale which could be used to determine whether or not public involvement efforts met the criteria of the attributes list. One questionnaire was developed for citizen response and another for Forest Officer response. The questionnaires contained both multiple choice questions and open-ended questions. The attitude scale used was a seven interval semantic differential scale, bounded by opposite meaning adjectives. Fourteen such adjective pairs were used. The technique is summarized by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) and further investigated by Darnell (1966) and numerous others. Personal consultation with Dr. Darnell provided valuable insight in developing the scale and in subsequent analysis of the data. The questionnaires and scales were pretested and were modified as needed. The questionnaires and scales are reproduced in the Appendix.

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FIGURE 3

CHECKLIST OF ATTRIBUTES FOR PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

- 1. Involvement process starts prior to decision.
- Involvement process starts prior to finalizing of alternatives.
- 3. Process starts early in planning stage.
- 4. Affected people participate.
- "Preeducation" of people occurs; i.e., information is disseminated to those affected prior to asking for their opinions.
- 6. Involvement is goal oriented rather than means oriented.
- 7. Involvement process is visible.
- 8. Involvement process is traceable.
- Process utilizes more than one technique; must include use of an existing natural communication system; e.g., natural leader (opinion leader).
- 10. Decisions and rationale are publicized.
- 11. Decision-maker shows how public input was used in his decision.
- Attitude of decision-maker is that public involvement is a legitimate and necessary part of decision-making.
- Location of involvement activities does not unduly restrict participation by affected people.
- 14. Agency credibility is good at close of the involvement effort.
- 15. Public participants feel that they had some influence on the decision.
- 16. Agency participants feel that citizen participants influenced the decision.

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Timing of public involvement appears to be a central issue in many cases where conflict over a decision has occurred. In an administrative study, (Forest Service, 1973) the team conducting the study concluded that the decision making process must consider public involvement at five stages: issue definition, collection, analysis, evaluation, and decision implementation. The first items on the checklist relate to timing of involvement.

The question of "who participates" in public involvement situations is a continuing source of concern. Hahn (1970) states that decisions are made by "competetive elites" representing most interests, but few average or lower-status citizens actually participate in community decision-making. They do, however, retain the right to complain if the decision seriously dissatisfies them. The Forest Service administrative study reported that only a small segment of the population, made up primarily of those who will be most directly affected, will provide input.

Examination of past efforts at citizen involvement shows a recurring tendency to bombard citizens with technical data, alternatives, objectives and other information, then, before any "digestive" process can occur, asks them to make a choice. Schler (1973) says an educational process is a prerequisite to effective public involvement. Understanding by people must precede rational decision making by people. The problems

In an administrative study, (Forest Sarvice, 1973) the team conducting the study concluded that the decision making process must consider public involvement at five stages: issue definition, collection, analysis, evaluation, and decision implamentation. The first items on the checkist relates to timing of involve on.

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of over-whelming people with data and technical jargon are further pointed out by Hahn (ibid) and Synergy (1972). Synergy emphasizes that an informed citizenry is necessary for meaningful public involvement.

Utilization of more than a single involvement technique is stressed by most authors. Karpino (1973) emphasized the importance of involving people through an existing natural communication system such as an opinion leader or a "caretaker." This is particularly important when attempting to involve those groups without previous involvement experience.

The value of timely feedback on what recommendations or decisions were made and who made them are discussed in the Forest Service report. Feedback appears to have significant effect on credibility and trust, which, in turn, affect attitude change and response to persuasive messages (Johnson and Scleppi, 1969; Campbell and Helper, 1965; Horland, Janis and Kelly, 1970). The rationale for several questions relating to credibility, trust, feedback and utilization of citizen input are based on the importance stressed by these and other authors.

The development of the first element of the hypothesis was based on personal observation and discussions about the public involvement process in public agencies. The conflicts between participatory democracy and professional expertise are discussed by Burke (1968) and Behan (1972). The Forest Service study revealed that Forest Officer attitude and professionalism

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Utilization of more than a single involvement technique is streamed by most authors. Parplino (1973) emphasized the importance of involving paralle cross; an existing natural communication which have a shalo communication which have a shalo communication which have a shalo communication of a communication of the communicat

Endrand Agentic Carrier (1986) Film was a Anna Santa Carrier (1986) crept into most cases included in the study. Hahn (ibid.) offers some theories about why citizen participation often degenerates into efforts by professionals to "sell" their plan.

A number of issues in which some degree of public involvement in National Forest management decisions occurred were considered for case study; four such issues were selected to serve as subcases. Each unit of study and analysis was limited to a geographic area. The study was descriptive and comparative, with each subcase examined separately, then compared with the other subcases and with current interaction theory.

Collection of Data

A list of participants in each issue was compiled from Forest Service files, news clippings, reports, and citizen contacts. Through personal interviews, telephone interviews and mail contacts the questionnaires and scales were completed. The standardization required for this method, as discussed by Blalock (1970) was accomplished by utilizing the same set of questions for all respondents within a class (citizen or Forest Officer) and by confronting all respondents with similar interviewer relationships. Interviewing and questionnaire problems discussed by Crano and Brewer (1973) were considered and techniques suggested by them and others were used to refine methodology in improving data. Interview notes were made and numerous records and files were screened.

Background information was also obtained from citizens and Forest Officers who were not in the population sampled. An emerging methodology was originally envisioned; therefore, detailed records describing the decisions relating to methods, modifications, and rationale for them were kept. A decision log appears in the Appendix.

Analysis of Data

The tools of analysis are concepts developed and defined as the study progressed. Portions of the data are quantified; much of the analysis is qualitative. All of the quantitative data and much of the qualitative data lends itself to comparison against the checklist of attributes to arrive at some measure of the "success" of the public involvement effort. This comparison appears in the Analytical Commentary. Many conclusions are based in inferences. Some are strongly supported, others are not.

"Indicants," as discussed by Ackoff (1962) are used not to quantify, but to define concepts. The purpose is to compare differences in perceptions of participants from case to case and to compare perceptual differences between citizens and Forest Officers within these cases.

The analysis was conducted sequentially rather than waiting until all data was collected. This allowed opportunity to improve data collection as the need was recognized. Few changes in data collection were made, and are discussed

ore; detailed records describing the decisions relating to methods, modifications, and rationale for them were kept. A decision log appears in the Appendix.

Analysis of Data

in the analysis of individual cases. A final analysis,
the comparison between cases and comparison with current
interaction theory, is presented as Analytical Commentary.

The attitude scales are readily quantified. Letters from A to G are assigned to the intervals from left to right. The percent of responses for each interval is then calculated. There was some concern as to whether the introduction of irrelevant words, those which may be ineffective in evaluating attitude, might suppress relevant data. This possibility is discussed by parnell (ibid.)

It was decided to exclude those adjective pairs from the analysis if 50 percent or more of the total responses for the pair were checked at midpoint. This precaution proved unnecessary since the highest percent of midpoint responses for any case, in total, was 34. This indicates there were no irrelevant pairs in the 14 pairs originally selected.

Quantification of the questionnaire responses was done for those questions whose response was reasonably finite. For other questions, a descriptive content-analysis of responses was made and responses were categorized. There was no attempt to generalize beyond "what" was said, therefore, the necessity for validation that would be required of inferential content analysis is precluded.

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Holsti (1969) notes, "the content data serves as a direct answer to the research question, rather than as indicators from which characteristics of the sources or audiences are to be inferred."

The categories were then quantified for further analysis. Interview notes and explanatory or supplemental remarks on questionnaires were similarly analyzed and classified. The classification system developed by Bereleson (1954) for content analysis combines findings from a mass of research of this technique.

Information regarding the socio-economic status of citizens who participated in issues was obtained. This information was compared against that of the average citizen in the area of influence of the National Forests involved in the issues. Direct comparison, using the Bureau of the Census data and methods, was made.

Holsti (1969) notes, "the content data serves as a direct answer to the research question, rather than as indicators from which characteristics of the sources or audiences are

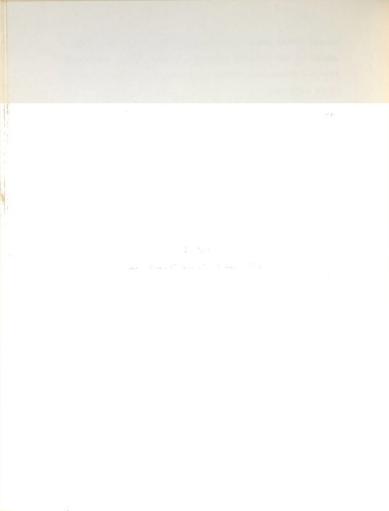
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CASE 1 EAST MEADOW CREEK TIMBER SALE



THE SETTING

In 1932 and 1933 the Gore Range-Eagles Nest Primitive Area was established about sixty miles west of Denver, Colorado on what are today the Arapaho and White River National Forests. The East Meadow Creek drainage lies near the west boundary of the Primitive Area and north of the resort town of Vail.

In 1961, after determining that East Meadow Creek was more suitable for timber harvesting than for Wilderness use, the Forest Service planned a seven million board foot timber sale in the area. Later, after local citizens requested the plan be dropped, the Forest Service reduced the planned sale to about five million board feet; however, the Forest Service refused to abandon the sale plan, contending that the presence of an access road, the areas relation to nearby private lands, the existence of mining claims, and the Denver Water Board's plans for water diversion disqualified it from wilderness classification.

In 1967, a group calling themselves the Colorado Open Space Council (COSC) formed to function as coordinators for the various environmental groups in Colorado. This group, at the urging of the Colorado Mountain Club, Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society, submitted to the Forest Service a list of "defacto" wilderness areas in Colorado. They requested that multiple use management be discontinued in these areas until they could be studied for inclusion in

THE SETTING

In 1932 and 1933 the Gore Range-Eagles Heat Printtive area was established about sixty miles west of conver, Colorado

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adjacent classified Wilderness and Primitive Areas. East
Meadow Creek was within one of these "de facto"
wilderness areas.

During 1968 several "warning signals" appeared. In February, a staff officer in the Regional headquarters questioned the wisdom of harvesting timber adjacent to a Primitive Area before the demands of the 1964 Wilderness Act were satisfied (the Act required the Forest Service to study all such areas for suitability for wilderness, hold hearings, and report its recommendations to the President and Congress). In March, the Assistant Regional Forester in charge of timber management raised the same question. In August a congressional inquiry into the proposed sale was triggered by letters from Colorado citizens. Also during 1968, several citizens questioned the District Ranger about the advisability of the proposed sale.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND DECISION

As can be seen from the information presented, public involvement, though unsolicited and generally unwelcome as far as the Forest Service was concerned, had started. In 1968, COSC submitted a proposal to the Forest Service that would expand the Gore Range-Eagles Nest area by some 50,000 acres; 1200 of these expansion acres were in the East Meadow Creek drainage. At this time the Forest Service study was essentially completed; only the public hearings, required by the Wilderness Act, remained.

adjacent classified Wildermoss and Primitive Areas. East Meadow Creek was within one of these "de facto" wildermoss areas.

Particle 1908 several "consists" appeared. In Particle 19, a staff officer in the Regional headquarters questioned the wisdom of Narvesting timber adjacent to a Primitive Trea Lefore the dominate of the 1964 Wilderness Act were maried a free the territor. The Tourest corriers and the Land 19, and the territory and th

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Several citizens of Vail believed that a credibility gap existed between the Forest Service and citizens. These concerned citizens formed the ad hoc Eagles Nest Wilderness Committee. Constructive dialogue between the committee and the Forest Service was virtually non-existant during a 10 month period in which letters were exchanged, editorials written, and citizen meetings and consultations were held. "We got this 'don't worry' type response from them right up until the sale", said one committee member.

More letters from citizens expressing concern about the proposed timber sale began arriving at Forest Service offices in early 1969. The substance of these letters expressed the need for more public input, analysis and consideration of the desires of citizens. One such letter, from a Denver citizen, asked that logging operations in East Meadow Creek be delayed "until the full importance of that area is determined and made evident to the community of Colorado sportsmen and outdoorsmen. Although it may not be quite so evident to those living in the mountains, it is quite apparent to us city dwellers that the need for recreation wilderness land is much greater than the need for timber growing on that land." Forest Service answers to the letters spoke of the need to harvest timber, protect against insects, reduce fire hazard, and noted that the sale would not encroach on the existing Primitive Area.

It appears that the decision to harvest the timber was made. In testimony at the subsequent trial, the Regional Forester

existed between the Porcet Bervice and ottions. These concerned citizens formed the ad Noc Engles Nost Wildernoss Committee. Constructive dialogue between the committee and the Porest Service was virtually non-existant during a 10 month period in which letters very a change, editorial, written, and citizen certain and orange, and citizen certain constitution of wars made.

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said that no public report of the decision to exclude East
Meadow Creek from wilderness classification (and thereby make
it available for timber harvesting) was made. He said it was
discussed with people in the Vail area, but "we use our best
collective judgement...this must become a matter of professional judgement. There are no criteria for the public
interest."

On March 6, 1969, the Forest Service advertised for bids on the timber sale and issued a news release about the sale. It was through this news story that most citizens first learned the sale was proceeding. On March 31st and April 3rd, Forest Service personnel met with members of the Eagles Nest Wilderness Committee; on April 4th the Committee filed for an injunction to halt the sale.

While litigation to settle the timber sale question was under way, the Forest Service proceeded with its planned public hearings on the Gore Range-Eagles Nest wilderness proposal. In October of 1970 hearings were held in Frisco and Denver, Colorado. Substantial interest was displayed because of the proximity of the proposed Wilderness Area to metropolitan Denver and because of the wide publicity given the lawsuit. A total of 21,432 responses to Forest Service requests for public input were received, 88 percent of which were mass mailing type, requiring only a signature on a statement prepared by someone else. Some 11,000 of the mass mailing responses

said that no public report of the decision to exclude Fast
Meadow Creek from wilderness classification (and thereby make
it available for timber harvesting) was made. He said it was
discussed with people in the Vail area, but "we use our best
collective indocament...this must become a matter of pro-

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originated from Colorado Magazine, one of the plaintiffs in the suit against the Forest Service. The Forest Service reviewed the record of the hearings and, in February 1972, made a proposal to the President which excluded the East Meadow Creek area. Meanwhile, court decisions and public outcry had widened the credibility gap between the Forest Service and the people.

THE AFTERMATH

On March 23, 1970, the U.S. District Court at Denver issued a permanent injunction prohibiting the harvest of timber in East Meadow Creek until after Congress determined final disposition of the wilderness question for the area. On October 1, 1971, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the lower court decision and in March of 1972 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of the previous decisions. Although the Forest Service saw these actions as a challenge of their decision, many citizens contended that the action only challenged the Forest Service's decision—making process. They said the process by which the decision was made was illegal.

During the period from 1969 to 1972, the Forest Service was subjected to considerable criticism, some of which accused the agency of collusion with timber interests, deceit and deviousness. One of the plaintiffs in the trial said the Service ignored Colorado citizens and violated good forest management practices. He called the Forest Service report to the President "censorship by ommission" and "dishonest."

encount to the Freezista which excluded the line star scales with the creates and gublyc outery had widened the credibility gas between the Porcet Service and the people.

AND APPEALING

said, "I would agree that the Forest Service in general is acting in what it feels to be the public interest and that it is trying to follow sound forest management practices. However, I am certain that in this case it has not carefully considered all factors, nor is it attuned to the true public interest."

The effect of this was to cause the Forest Service to take a critical look at its public involvement process. In 1972, Craig Rupp, an official in the Forest Service Washington office, made a presentation to the Civil Service Commission concerning the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). In that presentation, Rupp remarked that "NEPA has given a new dimension to citizen participation and citizen rights." He agreed that in prior decision-making processes formal public participation was not involved, one reason being that in the 1950's and 1960's few people were concerned about how the Forest Service reached its decisions. "We found ourselves applying our energies where the interest was greatest", Rupp said.

The new ethic, legalized by NEPA, but certainly emphasized for the Forest Service by the East Meadow Creek situation, was expressed by Rupp: "The professional land manager currently has the responsibility to make the final decision. But, in my estimation, if he does not obtain, consider, and use input from from professional disciplines other than his own and from the public in the planning and decision-making process, as called for in NEPA, he runs the risk of losing that responsibility."

said, "I would agree that the forest Service in general to acting in what it feels to be the public-interest and that it is trying to follow sound forest interested oversion.

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ANALYSIS

The purpose of this analysis and subsequent analyses is to examine in detail the public involvement portion of the case; to determine who was involved; what forms their involvement took; the perceived effect on subsequent decisions; and finally, their attitude about the methods by which the Forest Service involves people in decisions about the National Forests. The analysis will also examine the perceptions of Forest Officers who were involved and compare them with citizen perceptions.

Who Was Involved

A total of 7 Forest Officers were substantially involved in the East Meadow Creek case. They included 3 line officers: Regional Forester, Forest Supervisor and District Ranger; a Deputy Regional Forester; and 3 staff officers at Regional and Forest levels. Six were interviewed; the Forest Supervisor involved is deceased. The testimony of the Supervisor during the Parker Case¹ trial has been reviewed for pertinent information.

The number of citizens actively participating in this issue is uncertain. Through review of records and conversations with those named therein, it is likely that no more than 25 citizens were actively involved. Many others may have been involved to the extent of completing "mass mailing coupons" or by being members of the organizations which joined the plaintiffs in the lawsuit. Eighteen of the actively involved citizens were

lparker, et.al. vs. United States. C-1368, Colorado District Court. Robert Parker, a leader in the Eagles Nest Wilderness Committee, was the first named plaintiff in the lawsuit.

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located; 13 were interviewed and completed questionnaires and attitude tests. The socio-ecomomic data of those citizens is compared with that of the general population of Colorado in Table 1. These data show that these participants were substantially above the average citizen in terms of education and income and all were caucasian.

Why They Were Involved

Organizational membership was most often named as the reason for citizen involvement, followed closely by being indirectly affected by the decision and being involved for job related reasons. Table 2 illustrates the reasons for involvement.

Most Forest Officers felt that only some of those affected by the decision were involved in the issue; 67 percent expressed this opinion. The remainder were evenly divided between "most participated" and "none participated" responses.

Citizen Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision

It is difficult to isolate the citizens' feelings about the public involvement process, or elements of it, and their feelings about the effect of public input on the decisions made in the issue. Responses to questions can be categorized and numerically analyzed, but the "gut reactions" come from content analysis of the open-ended questions and supplemental remarks made by respondents. Citizen perceptions will be divided into two segments for analysis: those pertaining to the involvement portion of the issue and the subsequent use of the public input and those pertaining to their image of the Forest Service.

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TABLE 1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON OF CITIZENS IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE

TABLE 2

WHY CITIZENS WERE INVOLVED IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE

Percent of Respondents
Reason For Involvement

Reason For Involvement	Percent of Respondents
Directly affected	0
Indirectly affected	30
Organizational membership	35
Industry or job related reasons	25
Other	10

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Both citizens and Forest Officers felt that public involvement, as we know it today, was not operative in this issue. Forest Officers said there was public information prior to the decision to sell timber in East Meadow Creek, but no effort was made to solicit input beyond that of persons who were normally informed about timber sale programs. Responses to the questions about timing are shown in Table 3. Table 4 illustrates the difference in perception between citizens and Forest Officers regarding the preeducation and convenience of contacts during the public involvement.

There is some difference between citizen perception and that of Forest Officers in terms of the kinds of involvement techniques used. This may be due in part to the fact that the issue occurred 6 years before the questionnaires were completed. The techniques of involvement were used after the decision became an issue.

Responses to questions about factors which affected the decision show that most citizens felt Forest Service policy and historical practice was dominant. These citizens believed that it was the agency's policy and practice to harvest timber in areas not designated as wilderness, and that the agency saw no reason to change. A number of respondents indicated that local opposition was the major factor influencing the decision. Further questioning for clarification revealed that these citizens were alluding to the court decision rather than the agency decision.

noth oitizens and Forcet Officers folt that public involvement, as we know it boday, was not operative in this issue. Forcet Officers said there was public information prior to the decision to sail timber in heat meadow Crock, but no

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TIMING OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE

TABLE 3

	1		
PERCENT OF RESPONSES TIZEN FOREST OFFICER	507/	33 17	33 <u>2</u> / 33
PERCENT CITIZEN	00	9 8 6	100
RESPONSE	Early planning stage	After alternatives were developed After decision was made	Too early Too late Well timed
QUESTION	When did the public involve-		How was the timing of the public involvement effort?

 $\frac{1}{2}$ rhrough five year timber action plans. $\frac{2}{7}$ rhose respondents qualified their answer by saying the involvement in the five year action plan was timely.



PREEDUCATION AND CONVENIENCE OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF RESPONSES TIZEN FOREST OFFICER	83	17	0	67	17	17
PERCENT CITIZEN	23	77	0	38	62	0
RESPONSE	Over a period of time At a meeting or contact	when opinion or decision was asked for Not done	Always	Usually	Seldom	Never
QUESTION	When was preeducation (informa-	sapabilities, possible outcomes, sosts and benefits, etc.) done?	Were contacts (meetings, etc.)	at a location and time that	generally encouraged attendance	and participation?



Forest Officers named three major factors in the decision: agency policy and practice, multiple use consideration and lack of public interest. Those who mentioned the last factor said there was little, if any, public interest in the issue prior to the decision to sell the timber. A majority of the citizens believed their input was not considered in the decision. A few felt it definitely was a factor. Others said they had no opportunity to make input. See Table 5 for responses to questions about the decision.

Both citizens and Forest Officers agree that publicity of the decision to sell the timber was largely restricted to advertizing the sale in local papers. Some citizens, 23 percent, said there was no publicity until the controversy was underway.

There seemed to be a concensus among citizens that the East Meadow Creek issue was a focal point for public concerns. The very fact that there was no meaningful public involvement gave rise to the issue. The controversy began with a few local people, received attention through the news media, and became the focus for a movement.

Citizens who became involved for job related reasons felt that the issue was settled in the minds of the timber industry and the Forest Service when the Eagles Nest Primitive Area boundary was drawn. As for the decision, most citizen participants felt it was secondary to the real issue of whether or not the

Torcat Officers named with account of the country against the country and the country against the country

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE TABLE 5

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT C WHO GAVE	PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE SOME RESPONSE itizen Forest Officer	
What were the major factors influencing the decision the	Forest Service policy and historical practice	62	0	
Forest Service made? 1/	Multiple use considerations	œ	29	
	Wilderness Act	0	36	
	Local opposition	312/	0	
	Lack of public interest	0	21	
Was your input considered in	No	54		
che rotest service decisions	Possibly	80		
	Yes	0		
	No input made	13		

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 $\frac{1}{2}$ More than one response was made by some participants; therefore, totals may exceed 100. Responses to this question were analyzed for content and categorized for ease of

displaying. 2/Influenced court decision.



Forest Service would be compelled to solicit and consider public opinion in its management decisions. Several citizens believe, in retrospect, that on the merits of the Forest Service decision, the court case should have been decided differently; they believe the decision to cut the timber may have been sound, but the process for arriving at the decision was wrong.

Forest Officers Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision
There is agreement among Forest Officers that there was no public
involvement as measured by today's standards. The decision to
sell the timber was made in 1950 when a timber management plan
for East Meadow Creek was approved. Wilderness designation was
included in the alternatives considered. The decision was reconsidered and reaffirmed when the plan was updated in 1959. There
was public involvement as practiced during the time; it consisted
of contacting local "key" persons, local government officials,
opinion leaders, etc. The general public was not aware, nor
appeared to care, of the timber management plans at the time the
decision was made. Forest Officers felt the proposed sale represented the orderly implementation of long-range plans.

Advertisement of the sale brought no reaction from anyone except the timber industry and environmentalists. Some Forest Officers felt certain individuals, under the cloak of "environmentalists" entered the issue for selfish reasons which included the protection of their personal hunting and fishing areas from improved access and the retention of back country for a commercial outfitter who entered the suit. One Officer said public opinion was not against

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the sale; the real issue was one of citizen participation in land use decisions.

As controversy grew, efforts at public involvement increased, but Forest Officers did not know how to get meaningful involvement. Polarization was already evident with neither side willing to compromise. A Regional Officer said Parker and his group came in to talk before the legal action was filed. The discussion was in the form of demands that the Forest Service reverse its decision.

After the legal battle had run its course, some Officers believed there was a descrepancy in the judge's interpretation of public values and the interpretation of the Multiple Use Act and the Wilderness Act. The final decision, in 1975, by the Congress to exclude the area from Wilderness designation, is seen by these Officers as corroboration of their original decision.

After having several years to put the issue in perspective, the concensus of Forest Officers is that this issue points up the need for early public involvement in decisions about public lands. They are quick to point out, however, the dangers of relinquishing the responsibility the agency has for proper management. They feel two circumstances caused this issue to be a failure in terms of public involvement: 1) The agency failed to realize that awareness of public land management and

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anger at perceived wrong decisions had set the stage for confrontation, and 2) The preservationists desperately needed an issue through which they could achieve a victory. The Officers involved in this issue feel the confrontation was inevitable; their decision, and the further decision to stick by it, provided a focal point for the wilderness advocates.

Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service

The response to six questions reflect citizens' feelings about the Forest Service. These are presented in Table 6. Several citizens mentioned Forest Officers' attitudes about professionalism. This, along with the concern about bureaucracy, accounted for most of the distrust felt by citizens. Their impressions are most influenced by personal manner, training and experience, and past performance. The agency is not a highly credible source of information about natural resource management with the citizens involved in this case. Factors most quoted as generating trust by citizens were personal contact with individuals and the non-political structure of the agency.

Content analysis of citizens' response to a question about the Forest Service public involvement process shows nearly all were unfavorable based on their contacts during this issue. However, several citizens said their opinion of the agency has changed over the years. During early interviews there appeared to be a pattern or correlation between the level of trust and general

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TABLE 6

CITIZEN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOREST SERVICE
IN EAST MEADOW CREEK CASE¹

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT
What sources of information	Forest Service	8
about natural resource man-	Environmental Groups	
agement are most credible	Universities	17
to you?	Own experience	25
- 4	Public Hearings	17
	Independent Sources	25
What impression did you have	Good impression	31
from your contacts with the Forest Service in this mat-	Poor impression Public involvement	69
ter?	was non-existent	75
Which of the following in- Fluenced your image of Forest	Personal manner Training and	43
Service people?	experience Performance over	35
	the years	22
What makes you trust the	Personal contacts	56
Forest Service?	Non-political makeup Professional conduct	
	of employees	16
What makes you distrust	Bureaucracy	38
the Forest Service?	Attitude about "pro- fessionalism" Ignoring public	38
	opinion, nonrespon-	
	siveness	24
oid your contact with the Forest Service in this issue	Comments generally favorable (based on	
alter any of your beliefs or concepts about their public	content analysis) Comments generally	8
involvement process? Explain.	unfavorable (based on content analysis)	92

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attitude about the agency, and the amount of contact between citizens and the Forest Service. The indications were that the citizens with more exposure and contact were less critical of the agency.

In order to test this hypothesis, data regarding length and frequency of contact were collected. These data were compared with the responses to trust questions, with attitude scale responses and with the general content or responses to open-ended questions. Analysis of these comparisons show that all the citizen responses support the hypothesis. This same analysis will be made in subsequent cases.

Comparison of Attitude Tests

Comparison of citizens and Forest Officers attitude responses appear in Table 7 and Table 8. Table 7 shows the percent of responses in each interval. Table 8 is a grouping of responses to the left or right of the mid-point. These data show no significant difference in how citizens and Forest Officers feel about public involvement in natural resource decisions. There is indication, derived from interviews with participants from both groups, that the Forest Officers' attitudes have undergone some change since 1969.

General Observations and Summary of Case

It is difficult to compare the public involvement in this case

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TABLE 7

COMPARISON	of	ATTITUDE	SCALE	RESPONSES	IN	EAST	MEADOW	CREEK	CASE

	Percen	t of	Res	Responses by			terval ¹	
	A	В	С	D	Е	F	G	
Citizen	5	22	24	15	23	6	5	
Forest Officer	12	15	17	19	20	9	8	

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{Letters}$ from A to G are assigned each blank from left to right between adjectives; e.g., A is assigned the blank nearest the word "Strong" and G is assigned the blank near "Weak."

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES

Percent of Responses Left and Right of Midpoint									
	Left	Midpoint	Right						
Citizens	51	15	39						
Forest Officers	44	19	37						

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to those that follow. Contemporary public involvement in Forest Service decisions was born through this case. Prior to the issue, the Forest Service was aware of the growing demands for citizen involvement, but there was little understanding of how to obtain and utilize it. Citizens were equally unsophisticated about the process.

The East Meadow Creek issue was important to citizen groups that were clamoring for participation. It was the focus for a movement. It was equally important to the Forest Service because it forced the agency into an awareness of the importance of public participation. It was an in-house laboratory which broadened people in the agency and enabled them to improve their performance in subsequent management decisions.

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CASE 2 SAN JUAN ROADLESS AREAS



THE SETTING

After the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, the Forest Service began an evaluation of designated Primitive Areas and other reserved areas to determine their suitability for Wilderness designation. Several million additional acres were identified as roadless and undeveloped areas which might be of Wilderness character. Many were contiguous to designated

On March 23, 1970, in the Parker Case decision, the Forest Service was permanently enjoined from harvesting timber adjacent to a designated Primitive Area until the Wilderness suitability of the contiguous area was determined. In February, 1971, the Chief of the Forest Service directed Regional Foresters to begin the job of identifying and reporting on New Wilderness Study Areas. The reports were to address the questions of suitability, availability, and need; they were to be completed by June 30, 1972. The Chief required "utilizing public involvement in the process."

In the period from February to August, 1971, the instructions and criteria for completing the work were developed at the various Forest Service levels. Meanwhile, the Wilderness Workshop, an ad hoc committee of the Colorado Open Space Council (COSC), was working

¹Forest Service Files, 2100 designation, Forest Service, USDA. Denver, Colorado.

After the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, the

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independently on the same project. In August 1971, the Workshop submitted its proposal for New Wilderness Study Areas for the South San Juans, including most of the San Juan "Roadless Areas."

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND DECISION

In August, 1971, the Washington Office of the Forest Service directed the approach to Roadless Area Reviews:
"The selections must be made by subjective judgements resulting from recommendations of a multidisciplinary team which has considered available resource information and potential alternative uses for the areas...The tentative study areas, along with alternative uses, will be presented for discussion in the public involvement process. The selections will be considered tentative with provision for additions or deletions which may evolve from public involvement."

The next step, significant to this research, took place in October 1971. A letter to Forest Supervisors indicate the concerns of the Regional Forester:

"Public involvement is an essential part of the job. We must incorporate it in all phases; the inventory, the tentative selection of study areas, and finally, in the selection of areas to be studied for inclusion in Wilderness."

"We should be sure that seeking public involvement and advice does not become an after the fact endeavor. Each Forest should plan this involvement...We also want to know if this inventory is accurate, from the out-Service point of

²Forest Service Files, (ibid.)

independently on the same project. In August 1991, the Workshop sugmitted the proposal for the Wildermans Study Areas for the South Sin Juans, including sost of the Sam Juan "Nowlines Areas."

...

view. It may be necessary during Phase II to contact a larger segment of the public that is overlooked initially, through more formal public meetings."

On October 22, 1971, the Forest Supervisor presented a map and tentative recommendations for management of the San Juan Roadless areas to his Rangers and asked for their comments. The implication is that the Forest Supervisor developed the initial recommendations without input from the Rangers. The extent of the involvement of other Forest Service personnel is treated in more detail in the Analysis section of this case study. There is no evidence of public participation up to this time.

In January and February, 1972, three public meetings were held to obtain public input to the recommendations. The procedure at these meetings was for the Forest Supervisor to outline Forest Service plans for the management of Roadless Areas in the San Juan mountains. At one meeting, the Supervisor's opening remark was, "We are here to see if you agree with our management plans for these sections of the Forest." A "public opinion" sheet was handed out. The sheet listed nineteen areas by number and asked citizens to indicate agreement or disagreement with Forest Service management plans for each area.

The first meeting, held at Cortez, Colorado, was

³Files, 2100 designation, (ibid.)

view. It may be necessary during Phase II to contact a larger segment of the public that is overlooked initially, through

On October 22, 1971, the Forest Smervisor presented

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ested for their comments. The indication is that the The Porest Supervisor working the indication is that the Porest Supervisor workers with the reserving the state of the st

attended by about one hundred fifty people. Reports by Forest Service officials and the news media indicate general agreement with Forest Service proposals for management.

At the second public meeting, held in Durango, Colorado, citizen dissidence began to surface. A newspaper report of the meeting indicated that "apparent members of some conservation group attempted to inject wilderness discussion into the meeting but, with little success." The author didn't say why the attempt was unsuccessful. Forest Service records of the meeting provide further insight; the following is an exchange of questions from the audience and answers by a Forest Service officer:

"Is it reasonably true that the Forest Service is trying to close this to Wilderness study?"

[&]quot;No, we are not."

[&]quot;Upon what are you basing your decisions?"

[&]quot;We are basing it on public opinion. Written comments will be accepted until April 1."

[&]quot;How many people do you consider public opinion?"

[&]quot;Whatever number is interested enough to attend these meetings and submit an opinion."

[&]quot;Concerning Wilderness Study and proposals, it seems to me that you are seriously hampering people in deciding. Why are you shutting out alternatives?"

[&]quot;I am not. I merely want you to listen to our

⁴ <u>Durango</u> <u>Herald</u>, Volume XXI, Number 34, Durango, Colorado, February 17, 1972.

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plans and then put your comments on the opinion sheets."5

At one point in the meeting, questions by a citizen brought this response from a Forest Officer: "If you question our management plans, you are questioning our expertise." Several people present at this meeting expressed their belief that the Forest Service was rushing the process.

Several days after the Durango meeting, an editorial in the <u>Durango Herald</u> was highly critical of the Forest Service public involvement effort and suggested the meeting could not have added much to the process of reaching intelligent decisions.

In speaking of the time allowed for public comment, the editorial asked,

"Why the eight-year delay (since passage of the Wilderness Act) in getting the reviews underway? Why the unprecedented rush in making major public policy once the sleeping ball got rolling? To many, the answer seems obvious. To make it impossible for the public to react intelligently to public policy on public lands."

"The meetings were called to get public reaction to the proposals for nineteen roadless areas in the San Juan National Forest. And yet mere questions drew the reply from the integrity and knowledge of the Forest Service staff was under fire. If the meetings were called to bring forth agreement that the Forest Service was always right then why bother?"

⁶Durango Herald, (ibid.)

⁵Forest Service Files, (ibid.)

plans and then put your comments on the or sheets."5.

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"Now the public wants to be heard...The first thing the new voices met was resentment...The public, as intruder, is rocking the boat."7

The third public meeting, held at Pagosa Springs, Colorado, was much like the Cortez meeting - there was little, if any, controversy over the proposed Forest Service plans. On April 7, 1972, the Supervisor of the San Juan National Forest notified the Regional Forester that none of the undeveloped areas on the San Juan National Forest were being nominated for Wilderness candidate areas. Three of the nineteen roadless areas were established for special management as "unroaded." The Wilderness Workshop, in August 1971, had recommended several of the nineteen areas for designation as candidate areas.

THE AFTERMATH

On June 16, 1972, the Sierra Club, COSC, and other conservation groups filed for injunctive relief against any development of de facto Wilderness Areas in the National

Forest System. The complaint charged that the Forest Service study of roadless areas was grossly deficient and denied any meaningful opportunity for public participation.

The complaint identified eight specific violations of Forest Service regulations relating to public involvement. (Note: The complaint addressed the study process as a whole and did not single out the San Juan process

⁷ Editorial by Ian M. Thompson, Durango Herald, February 21, 1972.

"Now the public wants to be heard... The first thing the new voices met was respectment... The public, as intruder, is rocking the bost."

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was much like the projection of the control of the

individually; however, it did single out the Rocky Mountain Region, of which the San Juan National Forest is a part, in exemplifying shortcomings in the public involvement process.) The eight violations were:

- "1. Failing to provide adequate procedures for public involvement.
- 2. Often failing to provide for public meetings.
- Failing, as to those public meetings which were held, to give notice far enough in advance so that interested persons had ample time to prepare.
- Failing to provide adequate maps and descriptive materials of the areas being considered.
- Choosing locations for the meetings which seriously interfered with public participation.
- Scheduling several meetings at the same time so that members of the public could not attend more than one.
- Conducting the meetings unfairly such as by preventing comments by members of the public.
- Failing to release the tentative selections of New Study Areas to the public to allow comment either at the meetings or in writing."

On June 30, 1972, the Forest Service was temporarily enjoined from allowing "...any activities in any de facto Wilderness which would in any way affect their character as wilderness prior to a determination as to their suitability for wilderness preservation..."

On December 1, 1972, the Forest Service announced they

⁸Sierra Club, et. al., vs. Butz, et. al. (Civil No. 72-1455 SC, U.S.D.C., ND California).

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would file NEPA statements on inventoried roadless areas before taking actions which would prevent their consideration for designation as Wilderness. As a consequence of this announcement, the court dismissed the case.

The effects of the San Juan Roadless Area situation continue to be felt, according to Forest Service officials. In addition to the administrative burden created by the court action (which is not in itself attributable to the San Juan situation) there have been program delays and loss of public confidence in the Forest Service in the San Juan area.

ANALYSIS

The purpose of this analysis is the same as that of the previous case: to examine the aspects of the public involvement and the perceptions of the participants.

WHO WAS INVOLVED

Approximately three hundred fifty persons participated in the public involvement process; most through attendance at one of the three public meetings.

Several persons attended more than one meeting or were involved in ad hoc groups or advisory committees or made other forms of input. After random selection from Forest Service lists of participants, forty one

areas before taxing actions which would go

of these citizens were contacted. An additional five were selected from a list of twelve names provided by other participants.

A total of eight Forest Officers were involved in the San Juan issue. All were interviewed personally or by telephone; all eight completed questionnaires and attitude scales. Socio-economic data collected from the sampled participants is compared with similar data for the general population of the San Juan National Forest area, and with data for the general population of the State of Colorado. These comparisons are illustrated in Table 9. For the most part, those citizens participating in the San Juan Roadless Area issue were well educated, affluent caucasians; a profile substantially different from that of the average citizen of the area or the state.

Why They Were Involved

The predominant reason for involvement was organizational membership, recreational use of the area, or otherwise being indirectly affected by the decision. Those giving such reasons comprised 55 percent of the sample. During interviews with citizens and Forest officers, several comments were made about the preponderance of "conservationists" and "backpackers" at the public meetings. Table 10 displays the reasons for involvement.

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TABLE 9

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON OF CITIZENS IN ROADLESS AREA CASE

4	Average Annual Family Income		\$19,200	45 996 ' 8 \$	005,6 \$
	Percent Caucasian		93	75	84
		Percent Completing 4 Years College	76.0	0.6	14.9
	Education	Percent Completing High School	100.0	50.5	63.9
		Total Years Completed	16.0	11.7	12.4
			Data From Involved Citizens	Area Population Data 1.	State Population Data 2.

Data from Region 9, Council of Governments, Durango, Colorado. (includes following counties: Archuleta, Dolores, La Plata, Montezuma, San Juan) ;

Data from County and City Data Book, Social and Economics Statistics Admin., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1972. 2.

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WHY CITIZENS WERE INVOLVED IN ROADLESS AREA CASE

TABLE 10

REASON FOR INVOLVEMENT	PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS	94
Industry or job related reasons1	20	
Directly affected	10	
Direct contact and invitation by Forest Service ²	10	
Organizational membership, recreational use of the area, or indirectly affected 3	55	
Reason unknown or no response	ហ	
	:	

1mhe livelihood of 10 percent of the area citizens will be directly affected by the decision. Income source information from Region 9, Council of Government, Durango, Colorado. Personal contact.

²This reason was concentrated in those from the Pagosa Springs area. These participants were generally less critical of the Forest Service than other participants. Bata from those involved because of organizational membership and for indirect reasons was compared with data from those involved for job related and direct reasons; no significant differences in the responses could be detected.

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When asked if the people who will be affected by the decision participated in any manner, all Forest Officers, except one, responded that some participated. One officer said most of those affected participated. In summary, some form of solicitation, either from organized groups or the Forest Service, motivated most of the participants.

<u>Citizen Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision</u>

The impressions retained by citizen participants relate to (1) the effect of their input on the decision,

(2) the decision itself, and (3) their image of the Forest Service as a result of the involvement process. Impressions about the decision and the impact of public involvement will be discussed separately from the image of the agency.

The question of the timing of the public involvement was an issue in this case. The meeting records and other Forest Service files leave little doubt that criteria were established and the alternatives developed prior to any significant public participation. Table 11 shows responses to questions about timing of the public involvement.

There was no significant difference in the perception of citizens and Forest Officers as to the involvement techniques used. Public meetings, news media and when asked it the people who will be silected by decision participated in any manner, all Foreit

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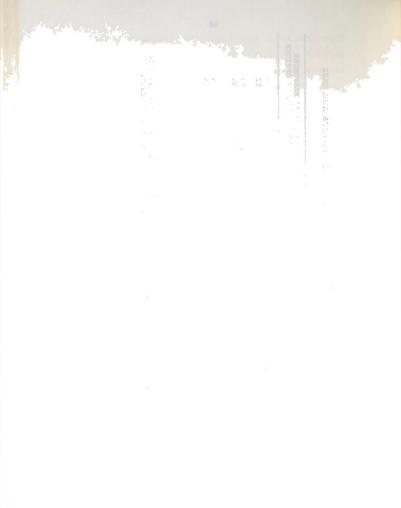
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TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TIMING OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN ROADLESS AREA CASE

PERCENT OF RESPONSES	0 12 50 38	0 63 37
PERCENT CITIZEN	$\frac{33}{11}$ $\frac{28}{281}$	0 44 56
RESPONSE	Early planning stage Late planning stage After alternatives were developed After decision was made	Too early Too late Well timed
QUESTIONS	When did the public involvement process start?	How was the timing of the public involvement effort?

 $\underline{1}^{j}$ The response of citizens to this question appear inconsistent with their responses to questions about the effect of their input on the decision. See discussion in text.



individual contacts, in declining order, were the techniques reported. Answers to questions about information and convenience of meetings are shown in Table 12. Forest Officers and citizens agreed that timing and location generally encouraged attendance. This opinion is not shared by other citizens who live outside the San Juan area of the state, but were not included in the sampled population.

Members of COSC said they found it difficult to obtain information from the Forest Service about dates and places of meetings. They said several attempts were made to have the meetings held in Denver, but to no avail. The Colorado Citizens' Coalition response made several comments relative to the lack of notification and inconvenience. In the Sierra Club vs. Butz lawsuit, four of the eight violations of public involvement procedures were specifically related to discouraging attendance at participative sessions.

Answers to the question about factors influencing the decision show that citizens felt public opinion was an important factor. Most Forest Officers thought Forest Service criteria predominated. One Forest Officer said the decision was made "by the Forest Supervisor, based on his best knowledge of the Forest, with some input from Rangers, who at the time did not realize the rather major implications of the initial

continue representation in feel minoral management of the continue of the cont

TABLE 12

PREEDUCATION AND CONVENIENCE OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN ROADLESS AREA CASE

STAR .				
PERCENT OF RESPONSES	37	26	0	8 T 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
PERCENT CITIZEN	44	33	9	25 75 0
RESPONSE	Over a period of time At a meeting or contact when opinion or decision	was asked for	No response	Always Usually Seldom Never
QUESTIONS	When was preeducation (information about alternatives, land capabilities, possible outcomes,	costs and benefits, etc.) done?		Were contacts (meetings, etc.) at Always a location and time that gener Usually ally encouraged attendance and Seidom participation?



roadless area designations. In fairness, the Forest Supervisor probably didn't either." Another said the decision was a unilateral one made by the Forest Supervisor prior to and without regard for the public input. See Table 13 for detailed figures.

The citizens' opinion about whether their input was considered in the Forest Service decision appears to be an important element. The responses to this question, in Table 13, seems inconsistent with their answers to questions about when the public involvement process started. In reacting to that question, 28 percent thought it started after the decision was made; yet, only 18 percent indicated their input was not considered.

The fact that 56 percent of the citizens thought the public involvement process was well-timed might also appear inconsistent. I suggest people may not believe their individual input is as credible as that of their peers. If such is the case, a person could feel his input was probably not considered, yet feel that public opinion (other people's opinions) influenced a decision. He may also feel that others somehow knew what was going on early in the process and were able to express their desires and thereby insure consideration of citizen input. In this sense, the person might feel his individual role is that of a passive reviewer of the decision. In this case he rationalizes that the timing of the public involvement

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define services placed by the services against
FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION IN ROADLESS AREA CASE TABLE 13

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT WHO GAVE Citizen	PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE SOME RESPONSE itizen Forest Officer	
What were the major factors influencing the decision the Forest Service made?	Public opinion Don't know Forest Service policy or desires Economics, commercial uses	26 22 17 22	18 0 63 27	
	Multiple use considerations Land suitability and wilderness quality Other miscellaneous factors	4 06	12 18 0	
Was your input considered in the Forest Service decision?	No Possibly Probably Yes (No response)	118 124 24 5		

¹More than one response was made by some participants; therefore, totals may exceed 100. Responses to this question were analyzed for content and categorized for ease of displaying.



process was acceptable; at least he knew about it before the decisions were implemented and could have expressed disapproval, even if the expression doesn't alter the decision.

Responses in this case reveal that the public wants to know when decisions or recommendations are made, why they are made, what they are and what level in the organization made them. In this case, 59 percent of the citizens said the decision was published; however, one-fourth of these thought it was poorly publicized and too much time elapsed between the decision and the publicity. Only one Forest Officer said the decision was not publicized.

A number of citizens expressed the opinion that public participation in the San Juan issue was tokenism; a nice idea, but without any real meaning. One citizen, who attended all meetings and followed the issue throughout, felt the preponderance of input was contrary to the Forest Service recommendations. He said he never saw reversal of any decision as a result of public involvement. He felt his input and that of the majority was deliberately ignored. Another citizen recalled that the three public meetings were conducted in a manner which discouraged dialogue and input. Others said the meetings left them with the impression that the Forest Service was faced with unrelenting pressures from consumptive users of the

process was acceptable; at least he know about it.
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Forest. Basic value differences between "conservationists" and Forest users was evident. One "conservationist" expressed the opinion that "the Forest Service and users are one big club and we aren't in it."

The time frame in which the review and public involvement process was carried out was a matter of much criticism, as were the procedures for the review, involvement and evaluation. The impression imparted to some citizens was one of disorganization in which the Forest was forced to grope for any procedure it could come up with to meet the deadline.

One citizen said the process was done in a piecemeal fashion, never giving national overviews to people, never sampling public opinion at a distance, but always at the local level and always when decisions were imminent. As an example of failing to provide national perspective, this citizen said the Forest Service used timber demand as a justification for nonwilderness classification of the San Juan Roadless Areas, but failed to disclose that only two percent of the Nation's timber comes from Colorado and only a fraction could come from the areas involved in the decision. On the other hand, the areas in question here were above average in wilderness qualities when viewed from a national perspective, yet they were represented as marginal or nonqualified and compared only with Colorado wilderness rather than with all potential wilderness in the Nation.

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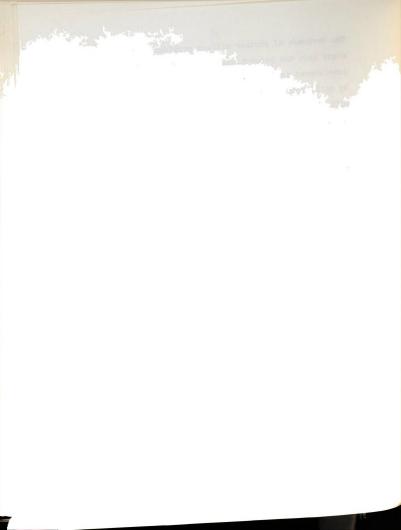
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The response of another citizen provides further insight into the perceptions people have about their involvement in issues. This citizen, who was contacted by mail, returned the blank questionnaire and scale with the comment that she was not qualified to complete the forms since she had only attended two of the meetings and "never actively participated."

Forest Officers' Impressions of the Public Invovlement and Decision

In general, Forest Officers were more critical of the public involvement effort than citizens were. They expressed concern that it did not provide meaningful public input, develop trust of the agency by citizens, or resolve conflicts.

One Forest Officer said the process was one of public information rather than public involvement. A certain amount of it was really not open to public opinion and discussion, but was a matter of identifying roadless areas based on some rather nebulous criteria. He said the Forest Officers at his level did not suspect that the early boundary proposals would become fixed as a result of a court decision. Another said there was public input "of sorts" since the Supervisor had been in the area many years and knew how most local people felt about the matter.



Most of the Forest Officers expressed concern over the small amount of participation they were allowed in the entire process. At least three reported their first knowledge of the issue came when the Supervisor showed them a map with roadless area boundaries drawn in. They were asked to check the map for accuracy, not knowing what the criteria were. They reported finding several errors, some as large as 20,000 acres in size. Their reporting of these errors was the extent of their input. During the public meetings these officers noted that the same errors still existed on the maps.

Several of the Forest Officers made comments which corroborate those of a citizen who described the meetings as strict, militaristic affairs in which the Rangers participated only when asked. It was pointed out that in one of the smaller towns where a meeting was held, the Supervisor was well known and well respected. The local people accepted what he proposed because of his personal reputation. There were always some questions, but there was very little questioning. Because of this situation, some officers felt that someone less well known might have generated more dialogue and more meaningful input.

Because of the newness of the public involvement program, some officers were uncertain as to what the citizen's

 role was in the process. The citizens seemed to share that uncertainty; they were interested, but without direction. Contacts made by the Forest Service were with local people, and these people trusted the agency to make the right decisions.

The impression of one officer was that emotionalism ran strongly through the entire process. The meetings he attended were a forum for crowd reaction, confrontation, and emotional outburst. Clearcut positions were taken on both sides of the issue, with little display of compromise or calm discussion of alternatives. This emphasized the need to take time to plan and systemize public involvement, including educating the public about situations and alternatives.

The concensus of opinion on the part of Forest Service participants was that no meaningul public involvement took place in this issue; the time constraints, absence of criteria, and lack of understanding of participants' roles precluded a successful process.

Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service

Citizen participants expressed their feelings about the Forest Service in responding to six questions in the questionnaire. These are presented in Table 14.

It was apparent that some citizens' lack of trust of the agency was based on whether decisions agreed

ole was in the process. The citizens counce at Horse Can and C

TABLE 14

CITIZEN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOREST SERVICE
IN ROADLESS AREA CASE¹

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT
What sources of information	Forest Service	32
about natural resources man-	Own experience	18
agement are most credible to	Disinterested sources	9
you?	Wilderness groups	5
	Universities Others (aggregation	5
	of remainder)	23
What impressions did you have	Good impression	45
from your contacts with the Forest Service in this matter?	Poor impression Other (could not catalo	
	in above catagories)	5
Which of the following influ-	Uniform	5
enced your image of Forest	General appearance	12
Service people?	Reputation	9
	Personal manner	28
	Training and experience	23
	What Rangers do	9
	Others (aggregated)	14
What makes you trust the	Does not trust Forest	
Forest Service?	Service	44
	Honesty or ability or	20
	sincerity	38
	Individuals	12
	Past record	6
What makes you distrust the	Does not distrust	19
Forest Service?	Bureaucracy, attitudes	
	policies	31
	Past record	13
	Decisions favoring	
	commodity users	13
	Unresponsiveness,	
	arbitrariness	19
	Other (aggregated)	5
		,
Did your contacts with the	Comments generally	
Forest Service alter any of	favorable (based on	
your beliefs or concepts	content analysis)	31
about their public involvement		
process? Explain.	unfavorable	31
	Could not be cataloged	38

 $\mathbf{1}_{\mbox{Reported}}$ in percentages of respondents who did reply to the question.

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ERCENT	RESPONSE P	001102000
32 18 5 5	Forest Service Own experience Disinterested sources Wilderness groups Universition Obsers (nonrouncion of usaninger)	doubt natural resources management are most credible to
· ·	flood increasion. Poor finitation the constant of constant in mosts abbreviales	What impressions did you have from your contacts will the Porest Service in the head that
	The model come; and the first control of the first	Which of the Tolby to a Left in- orded your to a lighted Service (soule)
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with their personal philosophy about the issue.

Distrust was certainly implied when the Colorado

Citizens' Coalition and the plaintiffs in Sierra

Club vs. Butz asked for at least one field season

between notice of an impending decision and the decision itself. Others said they distrust organizations,
especially bureaus, and trust is based in people

(individuals). In an analysis of general citizen

impressions, cataloged as favorable or unfavorable
towards the Forest Service, 50 percent were rated
unfavorable and 45 percent favorable. The remaining
five percent could not be categorized.

In order to test the hypothesis, that length and frequency of contact strongly influence the citizen's image of the Forest Service, data was compared with the responses to trust questions, with attitude scale responses and with the general substance of responses to open-ended questions. Analysis of these data show 62 percent of the responses support the hypothesis. This is not considered sufficient to draw any conclusions, but implies that further examination is warranted.

Comparison of Attitude Tests

Comparison of citizens and Forest Officer attitude responses are illustrated in Table 15 and Table 16.

Table 15 shows the percent of responses in each individual interval for both citizens and Forest Officers.

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES IN ROADLESS AREA CASE

	Perc	en	t of	Res	pons	es b	y in	terva
		A	В	С	D	Е	F	G
Citizens	1	1	35	18	11	9	10	6
Forest Officer	s l	7	23	30	15	5	8	2

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Letters from A to G are assigned each blank from left to right between adjectives; e.g., A is assigned the blank nearest the word "Strong" and G is assigned the blank near "Weak."

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES

Percent	of Respo	nses Left and	Right of Midpoint
	Left	Midpoint	Right
Citizens	64	11	25
Forest Officers	70	15	15



Table 16 is a grouping of left and right side responses. These data indicate a slight difference in perception between the citizen and the Forest Officer on the left side and a greater difference on the right side. This infers that Forest Officers have only a slightly different attitude than citizens about the positive adjectives applied to the subject of public involvement. A more significant difference in attitudes appears when considering the negative adjectives, the inference being that the citizens think the bad part of public involvement is worse than the Forest Officers think it is.

General Observations and Summary of Case

Even though the Parker Case had begun to make its impact felt, the solicitation and consideration of public input was not functional in the decision about the San Juan Roadless Areas. A number of factors were instrumental in short-circuiting the process. The limited time in which the Forest was required to respond to higher levels, the lack of clearly established and tested criteria for both the public involvement and the land management decision, and the human factors effectively prevented a satisfactory public involvement effort.

Table 16 is a grouping of lers and

Those data ipdicate

between the

The time constraints and lack of clear criteria are reflected in errors that were eventually unearthed in the review, some of which did not come to light for several years. Some 309,000 acres of roadless areas were never identified during the review, an error of over 70 percent.

The more significant human factors affecting public involvement were the lack of definitive role relationships of both citizens and Forest Service personnel. The strong personality of the Forest Supervisor, along with his reputation in the area, certainly affected the outcome. Other Forest Officers played a very minor role in the issue and were uneasy about what was happening. They were not sufficiently informed or involved to support the process; this uncertainty and lack of commitment was sensed by the public. As a result, criticism of the decision-making process and of the agency itself was increased. The public temperament and reaction to the environmental movement at the time had a bearing on the outcome. The issue occurred in the infancy of class action lawsuits as a remedy for decisions perceived to be wrong.

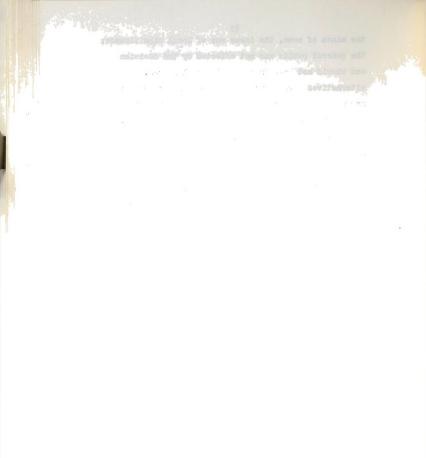
The meetings often ended in debates between the factions, local citizens on one side and the "outsiders" and "conservationists" on the other. In The time constraints and test of that district at reflected in Your Chief the translation of the translation

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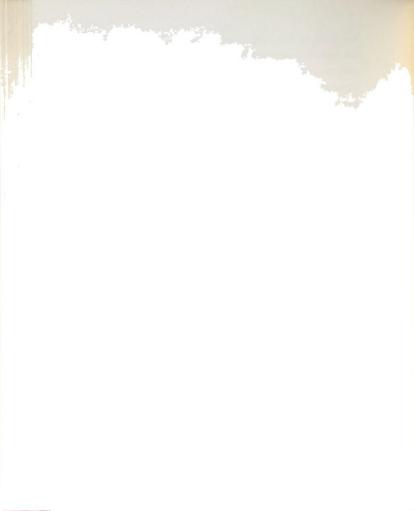
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the minds of some, the issue was of local significance; the general public was not affected by the decision and should not have "meddled" in local issues. No alternatives were proposed, offered, or encouraged; nor was there any climate in which such alternatives could have been rationally discussed and evaluated. Public involvement, at least by today's standards, was crude; possibly more damaging in terms of public trust and Forest Service credibility than no attempt at public involvement would have been. It left both citizens and agency people with feelings of frustration and distrust. On the positive side lies the fact that the Forest Service learned, because of the lawsuit and other repercussions, that the public was serious about participation and would not be denied.



CASE 3

UNCOMPAHGRE AND WILSON MOUNTAINS PRIMITIVE AREAS



THE SETTING

In 1932 the Uncompandere and Wilson Mountains Primitive Areas in southwest Colorado were established by the Forest Service under authority of the Secretary of Agriculture. The designation of the Uncompandere area made several assumptions regarding the future use of the area, the most important being that mining interests and activities would remain dormant. The significance of this assumption lay in the fact that some 16,000 acres of land within the newly designated Primitive Area was privately owned. It was expected that in a few years this land would revert to public ownership through tax delinquency. Forest officials further assumed that travel, which was relatively primitive at the time, would decrease in the area.

In the ensuing 40 years, mineral activity increased and numerous additional mining claims were filed (though many were not patented). The development of 4-wheel drive vehicles during World War II and their subsequent popularity greatly expanded back-country motor vehicle travel. By 1970 there were thousands of patented and unpatented mining claims, hundreds of structures and buildings, 10 miles of maintained road, 25 miles of heavily used unmaintained roads, and 6,500 annual visitors in the Uncompander area. The situation in the Wilson Mountains area was only slightly similar; here, the intensity of use increased by a small amount, most of it being recreation use.

In 1932 big Uncompany is a constant of the con

In early 1964, the Forest Service held a public hearing in Grand Junction, Colorado, for the purpose of advising the public of a proposal to declassify the Uncompanier Area. A portion of the area, along with some contiguous areas, were to be designated as a Scenic Area. A Forest Service report (Forest Service, 1971) indicates public responses were received from numerous individuals and groups. Before formal action was taken to implement the proposal, Congress passed the Wilderness Act.

In the late 1960's the Forest Service conducted a study of the Uncompander Primitive Area for the purpose of reporting to Congress on potential of the area for inclusion in the Wilderness System. A report was prepared and public hearings scheduled for November 1971. In mid-October, the attorney for the plaintiffs in the Parker Case and the Sierra Club vs. Butz case requested a postponement of the scheduled hearings. The request was based on departure from correct procedure in which the Forest Service failed to study qualifying contiguous areas to the Primitive Area. The attorney cited the Parker Case (which had been upheld in Appellate Court two weeks earlier) as grounds for the objection. Based on the complaint, filed by the Sierra Club and four other conservation organizations, the Forest Service was enjoined by the U. S. District Court from holding the hearings. The Forest Service almost immediately

In early 1964, an forest durvice hold a sublice hearing in Grand Jungston, Colorade, for the purpose of advising the

entitle a proposal to declassify the Uncompanyer Area. A set of the area, along with some consignous areas, were the designated as a Scenic force in a construction of the designated as a Scenic force in a construction of the set of the accordance in a set of the s

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entered into an agreement with the plaintiffs which stipulated (1) that the announced hearings on the Uncompangre Area would be informational in nature and would not jeopardize the Wilderness characteristics of the Uncompangre area or areas contiguous to it, (2) that the Porest Service would convene additional hearings on lands within and contiguous to the area, and (3) that no recommendation would be made to the President and the Congress until additional studies and public hearings on the area and contiguous lands were conducted. 1

The previously scheduled hearings were then allowed to proceed. The Sierra Club, with support of seven other organizations, mounted a drive and circulated literature in which conservationists were urged to attend in large numbers to testify in support of an Uncompangre Wilderness. The literature further warned that the mining industry was expected to be there in force. The hearings were later described as being often dominated by anger, recriminations and name-calling. A newspaper editor remarked that "This may have been in part because people were deeply concerned, but were not well enough informed and were consequently frightened, frustrated, and defensive. Many who testified then seemed locked into preconceived ideas without much backgrounding, either concerning Wilderness or the resources of the area. Polarization prevailed."²

¹ Sierra Club, et al. vs. Hardin et. al. Civil Action No. C-3511 U. S. District Court for the District of Colorado.

²Joyce Jorgensen, Plaindealer and Ouray Herald, Ouray, Colorado, November 29, 1973.

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PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND DECISION

In 1973, a public involvement action plan for the Uncompangre-Wilson Mountains review area was developed by the Forest Service. This plan called for a series of workshops to be held wherever public interest was sufficient to insure attendance.

In November and December, 1973, a total of nine workshops were held in various parts of Colorado, including major population centers, college communities, and towns adjacent to the area affected by the decision. Prior to workshops, notices and invitations were sent to numerous government officials and citizen groups. In addition, newspaper, radio, and television notices were made and individual packets of information were made available to the public prior to workshops.

A newspaper account of one workshop reported the Forest Service was making every effort to get informed public involvement underway before the formal hearings. The key words, according to the article, were "involvement" and "informed." There was no hard sell by the Forest Service. They presented four alternative proposals and considered any others the participants proposed. 3

In January 1974, two formal public hearings were held for review and comment on four alternative proposals for the areas. At these hearings, the Forest Service recommended a proposal which would result in five Wilderness Areas totalling 80,000 acres.

³ Plaindealer and Ouray Herald, ibid.

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In 1973, a partir involve or a call to low to the control of the c

A fifth proposal, dubbed the "Citizens' Proposal" was developed by the Wilderness Workshop of COSC. Of those testifying at the formal hearings, 78 percent favored the proposal which called for three Wilderness Areas totaling 172,000 acres.

THE AFTERMATH

Although many people disagreed with the Forest Service recommendation to the President, agreement with the public involvement was widespread. In a congratulatory letter to the Regional Forester, the Chairman of the Wilderness Workshop of COSC said, "Everyone I spoke to felt much more knowledgeable about the many-faceted problems land managers must deal with after participating in the workshops ... I'm optimistic that the hearing testimony will reflect the educational efforts of the workshops. Already, the oral testimony has proven to be much more factually than emotionally oriented."

A newspaper account of the 1974 hearings said they were low key when compared with the 1971 hearings in which emotions dominated fact. One reporter said the Forest Service Workshops caused everyone to get their facts together beforehand, thus making the hearings the dullest that reporter had ever attended. The disagreement between various parties in the issue was restricted to the recommendations made; mutual respect and understanding replaced confrontation and emotional oratory.

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ANALYSIS

Who Was Involved

Approximately 500 persons participated in the public involvement process; most through attending one or more of the nine workshops. Names of participants were obtained from Forest Service files, COSC and Sierra Club sources, and from other participants. Lists were grouped by geographic address and a total of 119 randomly selected persons were contacted; of these, 26 were interviewed or completed mailed guestionnaires.

A total of 10 Forest Officers were substantially involved in this case. They included Forest Supervisors, District Rangers, and Staff Officers from District, Forest, and Regional levels. Personal interviews were conducted with six officers; the remaining four were interviewed by telephone.

Socio-economic data collected from the citizen participants is compared with similar data for the general population of the State of Colorado. These comparisons are illustrated in Table 17.

These data indicate that the citizens participating in the Uncompander and Wilson Mountains Primitive Area issue were better educated and more affluent than the average citizen of Colorado. In addition, they were not representative of the ethnic make-up of the people of Colorado.

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TABLE 17

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON OF CITIZENS IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE

 $^{^{\}rm l}$ pata from County and City Data Book, Social and Economics Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972.

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Why They Were Involved

The factor most reported as the reason for becoming involved was that they were "directly affected"; 28 percent of those sampled indicated such motivation. During interviews and from remarks in questionnaire responses it appears that many who report being directly affected are active in conservationist organizations. There is a philosophy in such groups that everyone is directly affected by decisions on public lands.

Organizational membership and industry or job related reasons was reported in equal frequency, 23 percent, as the next most influential factor in generating involvement. Organizational membership undoubtedly played an important role in the selection of participants. One participant, who was active in an environmental organization, reported having the role of calling members to encourage their attendance, then coordinating bus transportation to the scene of workshops or meetings. The organization rented buses to accommodate those members who would attend out-of-town meetings.

Several participants commented about the large numbers of conservation group members attending the workshops. The content of these remarks was that such people were not representative of those who would be affected by the decision, but only represented people who could afford the time and money to attend workshops.

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A Caucasian participant commented about the apparent lack of involvement of Spanish surnamed people in an area where they make up 25 percent of the population: "They are economically affected by the decision, but do not participate. They are afraid they will be put down by others. They are afraid of the racial implications."

Forest Officers were asked if they thought the people who would be affected by the decision participated in any manner. Seven felt that some participated, two felt that most participated, and one did not know which answer was appropriate. There is substantial evidence that participation in this issue was strongly influenced by urgings from environmental organizations and from widespread publicity about workshops and hearings, much of which was generated by the Forest Service.

citizen Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision
In this issue, the impressions about when the public involvement process started were substantially the same between citizens and Forest Officers. Impressions about timeliness were not similar between the two groups. Most Forest Officers felt public involvement came too late. The responses are compared in Table 18.

Table 19 displays the responses to questions about "pre-education" or dissemination of information and about convenience of meetings and workshops. There were minor differences as to Caucasia perilajnas identidad i armitem de la selección de la composición del composición de la composición de la composición de la composición de la composición del composición de la composic

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TABLE 18

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TIMING OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE

QUESTIONS	RESPONSE	PERCENT	PERCENT OF RESPONSES TIZEN FOREST OFFICER
When did the public	Early planning stage	0	0
involvement process start?	Late planning stage After alternatives	12	0
	were developed After decision was	92	80
	made	80	10
How was the timing of the	Too early	0	0
public involvement effort?	Too late Well timed	38	80



PREEDUCATION AND CONVENIENCE OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE

TABLE 19

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT CITIZEN	PERCENT OF RESPONSE TIZEN FOREST OFFICER
When was preeducation (information about alternatives, land	Over a period of time At a meeting or contact	54	09
capabilities, possible outcomes, costs and benefits, etc.) done?	when opinion or decision was asked for	50	04
Were contacts (meetings, etc.) at a location and time that	Always Usually	21 62	880
generally encouraged attendance and participation?	Never	0	00



whether time and place of activities encouraged participation. Citizen and Forest Officer perceptions of the involvement techniques used were very similar.

One member of a conservation group said it had been difficult to get the Forest Service to hold meetings in major population centers. Another citizen said the time and location of workshops encouraged attendance by college students and preservationists, but not the general public. Individual perceptions notwithstanding, this issue probably had more real involvement by a larger number of people than any public land management issue in recent Colorado history.

Answers to questions about factors influencing the decision and about publicizing the decision are reflected in Table 20. The factors predominant in the minds of citizens were commercial interests, economics and multiple use. Factors most named by Forest Officers were Forest Service policy and administrative pressure. Twenty-four percent of the citizens felt certain that their input did not influence the decision.

Content analysis of citizen responses to questions about their impressions of the involvement process reveals that 33 percent retain a favorable impression, 55 percent have an unfavorable impression, and the remainder could not be cataloged. A feeling that public involvement was only used to meet a requirement was

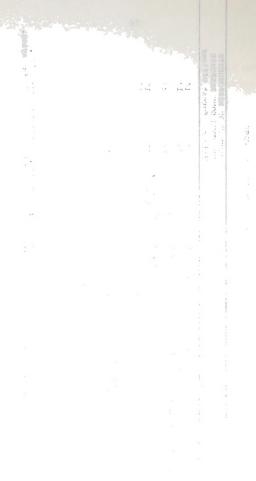
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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE

TABLE 20

- 1		
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE SOME RESPONSE Citizen Forest Officer	14 10 45 18	13
PERCENT WHO GAVE Citizen	13 23 33 37	24 40 8 20 8
RESPONSE	Public opinion Don't know Forest Service policy or desires Economics, commercial uses, multiple use considerations	Other No Possibly Probably Yes No response
QUESTION	What were the major factors influencing the decision the Forest Service made? ¹	Was your input considered in the Forest Service decision?

Thore than one response was made by some participants; therefore, totals may exceed 100. Responses to this question were analyzed for content and categorized for ease of displaying.



expressed by 22 percent of the citizens. Several citizens commented on what they describe as lack of concern about public opinion on the part of the Forest Service.

Those citizens retaining unfavorable impressions generally addressed two points of view: 1) the process was a sham and was only used to satisfy the law (the viewpoint usually expressed by the pro-wilderness citizen); 2) the process allowed the preservationists to overwhelm the proponents of less wilderness (the viewpoint usually expressed by the Forest users and local citizens).

Forest Officers' Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision

The extent of involvement by individual Forest Officers who participated in this issue apparently varied considerably. One Ranger said there was very little involvement at his level; he mostly furnished requested information after the Regional Office staff handled the workshops. Another Ranger was very active in contacting numerous individuals and interest groups, providing information and discussing pros and cons of the various proposals with the interest groups.

Forest Officers' perception of the citizen participation was that people with conservation group affiliations made up the bulk of attendance at meetings and workshops. Forest user groups such as ranchers and loggers generally depended on the engressed by 22 percent are wishered as the community of
account of the contract of the

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Forest Service to represent their interests. Local people, in most cases, were well aware of the issues and of meetings and workshops, but few attended. One Ranger estimated that workshop attendance was 90 percent preservationists; in other meetings on the issue they comprised 80 percent of the attendance. Most Forest Officers felt that people who will be most affected by the decision had little participation.

Forest Officers felt the public involvement had little effect on the final decision. The major effect was that of generating greater public acceptance of the decision. The purpose of the workshops, in the mind of one officer, was to inform citizens of the rationale for the decision. Whether this was the real intent or not, the workshops apparently had that effect.

In discussing short-comings of the public involvement effort, the following points were mentioned:

Public involvement started too late.

Definition of objectives and planning of the process to achieve them was poor.

Involvement of those most affected by the decision did not occur.

Forest Service personnel's involvement was a reaction to situations rather than a course of planned action.

Local people failed to follow the process through to its legislative end.

The overall impression retained by Forest Officers is one of having been exposed to a preview of a useful tool and no from Tone Contenent trains of the Tone Contenent of the Contenent of th

experiencing disappointment because it didn't function as well as they had hoped. Most of them were enthusiastic about the potential of public involvement; they see it as a means of resolving conflict. Some said that public involvement has been used as a sop to pacify the Forest Service critics; others said the agency had attempted to use it honestly but failed to achieve satisfaction because of inexperience and lack of understanding of the process.

Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service

Citizen impressions are reflected in their response to six questions in the questionnaire. These are presented in Table 21. Numerous additional comments were made during interviews and on questionnaires; most of these comments relate to the Forest Service image and seemed to over-ride remarks about the decision or public involvement. The essence of these comments are discussed here.

Several citizens felt that the Forest Service is in the untenable position of having responsibility for both preservation and consumptive use. Some felt that rules and regulations hamstring the agency at all levels. One citizen said she trusts the National Park Service more than the Forest Service because of the Park Service mandate for preservation. She trusts Forest Service individuals after she gets to know them and feels empathy for the agency because of its conflicting roles. The time

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TABLE 21

CITIZEN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOREST SERVICE IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE¹

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT
What sources of information	Forest Service	26*
about natural resource man-	Wilderness Groups	10
agement are most credible	Universities	6
to you?	Own experience	6
33 - 33 - 33 - 34 - 34 - 34 - 34 - 34 - 34	Professional Societies	6
	Agency in charge	6
	Comparison of several	
	sources	6
	None are credible	6
	Others (aggregation	
	of remainder)	28
What impression did you have	Good impression	29
from your contacts with the	Poor impression	29
Forest Service in this matter?	Public involvement	
	was not sincere	16
	Others (aggregated)	26
Which of the following influ-	Uniform	0
enced your image of Forest	"Civilian" clothes	0
Service people?	General appearance	2
	Reputation	15
	Personal manner	26
	Training and experience	28
	What Rangers do	4
	Other things (explain)	
	Prior encounters	4
	Others (aggregated)	21
What makes you trust the	Does not trust Forest	
Forest Service?	Service	28
	Honesty or ability	
	or sincerity	16
	Neither trusts nor	
	distrusts	8
	Past record	8
	Other attributes	
	(aggregated)	40

 $^{^1\}mathrm{Reported}$ in percentages of the respondents who did reply to the question. *One third of these respondents stressed "local" Forest Service.

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	AND THE STATE OF T	when source of telegraphics about natural unasprace man- agemoab are seen a cettral to you?

TABLE 21 (cont'd.)

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT	
What makes you distrust	Bureaucracy	18	
the Forest Service?	Past record	7	
	Decisions favoring		
	commodity users	7	
	Hypocrisy	7	
	Deceit	7	
	Preconceived ideas	7	
	Ignoring public opinion	7	
	Other (aggregated)	40	
oid your contact with the	Comments generally		
Forest Service in this issue	favorable (based on		
alter any of your beliefs or	content analysis)	33	
concepts about their public	Comments generally		
involvement process? Explain.	unfavorable (based on		
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	content analysis)	52	
	Could not be cataloged	15	

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lag, the years between the issue and the collection of this data, may have softened the impressions of the citizens; those impressions may have been different immediately after the issue.

The attempt to determine whether there is some correlation between the degree of contact with the agency and the citizens' image of the agency, as described in the East Meadow Creek case, was continued. Analysis of the data show that 67 percent of the responses support the hypothesis that the image improves with contact; 22 percent of the responses clearly do not support the hypothesis. The remaining responses could not be catagorized with sufficient accuracy to be included in either class.

Some citizens talked about what the agency needs to do to improve its image. There was feeling that the agency is using public involvement and Environmental Statements to justify decisions. Some feel that the Forest Service doesn't know how to use public participation even though they seem to want it.

Comparison of Attitude Tests

Citizen and Forest Officer attitude responses are compared in Table 22 and Table 23. Forest Officers' responses are clustered on the left or positive side of the midpoint. Citizen responses are nearly evenly dispersed to left and right. The inference drawn from these responses is that the citizens' feelings about

lag, the years between the second and entire the second data, may have applied to the second to the second data.

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TABLE 22

COMPARTSON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES IN PRIMITIVE AREA CASE

	Percent of		Responses by			y In	Intervall	
	A	В	С	D	Е	F	G	
Citizen	14	13	8	27	10	18	10	
Forest Officers	29	25	27	13	5	1	0	

¹Letters from A to G are assigned each blank from left to right between adjectives; e.g., A is assigned the blank nearest the word "Strong" and G is assigned the blank near "Weak."

TABLE 23
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES

ercent of Respo	Right of Midpoin	
Left	Midpoint	Right
35	27	38
81	13	6
	Left	



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Forest Service public involvement activities is not significantly positive or negative. Forest Officers, however, hold strong, positive feelings about public participation in natural resource decisions.

General Observations and Summary of Case

Although many people were involved in this case, most were wilderness advocates. A lack of balanced representation bothered some citizens and nearly all Forest Officers.

Citizens were more satisfied with their participation in this issue, not because they agreed with the decision, but because the opportunity for input was available.

A pattern of the relationship between citizen image of the agency and length or degree of exposure to the agency is discernable. The citizens' distrust of the higher echelons in contrast to trust of local Forest Officers (where most of the contact occurs) is indicative of this phenomenon. The most mentioned distrust factor was "bureaucracy" and the local Ranger was not perceived as part of the bureaucracy.

The public involvement in this issue left the Forest Officers more frustrated than the citizens. In previous cases the citizens were frustrated for reasons cited. In this case the Forest Officers were frustrated because their role was less than they expected and the anticipated conflict resolution did not occur. And, although they were critical of the process in

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this case, they expressed favorable attitudes about public participation as a management tool. Their criticisms and suggestions for improving the process indicate a growing desire to make public involvement more effective. There is evidence that some of the lessons learned through the previous two cases were applied in the public involvement process in this issue. Several of the attributes of successful involvement, lacking in prior cases, are evident in this case. The process was more visible, made participation easier for the citizens and provided citizens information necessary for making meaningful input to the decision.

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CASE 4 BEAVER CREEK SKI AREA



THE SETTING

During the period from 1960 through 1967, downhill skiing in the Western United States grew at a high rate. This growth caused the Forest Service to inventory potential ski areas on National Forest lands and, in 1969, to select several areas as suitable for development. Beaver Creek, an area 110 miles west of Denver, was identified as one of those sites.

Early in 1972, Beaver Creek was selected as one of two final candidate sites for the Alpine events of the 1976 Winter Olympic Games. The private land, adjacent to the National Forest, in Beaver Creek was purchased by Vail Associates from rancher owners in anticipation of development for the Olympics and subsequent year-round recreation uses. In the spring of 1972, an interdisciplinary Forest Service planning team began a study of the Meadow Mountain Planning Unit which included Beaver Creek and a 16,000-acre portion of the Holy Cross Roadless Area.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND DECISION

The Roadless Area review in 1971 generated the first formal public involvement in the Beaver Creek issue. Three public meetings were held in late 1971 and early 1972. A citizens advisory group was formed to work with the Forest Service in formulating management alternatives for the area. Because of the Olympic situation, the planning schedule for the

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skiable terrain was accelerated and public interest and involvement increased, resulting in numerous public and special group meetings in 1972.

While Vail Associates was planning to develop a new ski area in Beaver Creek, the Wilderness Workshop of the Colorado Open Space Council (COSC) was attempting to expand the acreage for wilderness designation in the adjacent Holy Cross Roadless Area. In an attempt to resolve this obvious conflict, COSC and Vail Associates made an agreement that Vail Associates would limit it's development to 2,000 acres and COSC would not seek wilderness designation for those acres. The Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society, which had supported the move to expand the wilderness, endorsed the agreement.

In 1972, anti-Olympic organizations were successful in placing a referendum question on the Olympics on the general election ballot. In November, Colorado voters rejected the Olympic Games. Meanwhile, land use planning for Beaver Creek and adjacent areas continued; the Olympics had not dictated the planning need, it had only influenced the schedule. After November, the pace of planning slowed.

In 1972 and 1973 the Forest Service worked closely with the local communities and the County government on the Meadow Mountain land use plan. An attempt to solicit the participation of State agencies was generally unsuccessful at this point.

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After the 1972 referendum removed the Olympic impetus, Vail Associates continued to press for a skiing permit on the National Forest lands above Beaver Creek. In January 1974, the Forest Service filed a draft Environmental Statement which recommended the designation of Beaver Creek as a Winter Sports Area.

THE AFTERMATH

Public response to the Environmental Statement was immediate and loud; opponents expressed a concern for the impact of growth, fostered by such ski developments, in the mountain communities of Colorado. The continuing pressure for more wilderness areas was also accelerated by this issue. For the first time, several state agencies took an interest in the Beaver Creek area and criticized the lack of planning for community growth in the surrounding areas. Thus, the State found itself in an adversary relationship to the County, which was responsible for controlling those impacts and which had participated in the development of the Meadow Mountain land use plan. By its action, the State implied that the County was unable to redeem its' responsibilities.

The Beaver Creek Ski Area became a political issue in the 1974 gubernatorial election: In September, following release of the final Environmental Statement by the Forest Service in August, the incumbent candidate requested a postponement of the decision, pending a review by the Colorado

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Land Use Commission; his opponent continued to call for a thorough review of land use and ski area development decisions before any new permits were issued.

In December the Colorado Land Use Commission held a public meeting to review State agency concerns about the impacts of growth in the Beaver Creek area. In January 1975, the Commission recommended designation of the area for ski development. The Governor, who had been defeated in the November election, agreed with the Commissions' decision; shortly thereafter, Beaver Creek was designated by the Forest Service for development as a ski area.

In late January, the new Governor asked for an administrative review of the decision. His concern mirrored that of the state agencies who addressed the growth issue. The request was viewed by many Colorado citizens as the full-fillment of campaign promises of the newly elected Governor. In addition, the replacement of certain Land Use Commissioners by the new Governor was reportedly influenced by their stand on the Beaver Creek issue. The Sierra Club also appealed the decision based on wilderness considerations for the adjacent Holy Cross Roadless Area. There were many who supported the decision, including the Council for Environmental Quality, who praised the Beaver Creek proposal for its ecological planning. The issue was finally resolved in

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July 1975, when the Forest Service Chief upheld the Regional Forester's decision to allow ski development.

Over a period of three years there was considerable public scrutiny of the Beaver Creek situation. Public involvement was widespread at the local, state, regional and national levels. It was a focal point in three major issues: The Olympic Games, the study of potential wilderness additions, and a state gubernatorial race.

ANALYSIS

Who Was Involved

Several hundred persons made input in the Beaver Creek issue, but only about 40 persons actively participated in the issue over a period of months by giving continuing input as the issue developed and was concluded.

Names of these participants were obtained from Forest Service files and personal contacts, from COSC and Sierra Club sources, newspaper accounts and from other participants. A total of 38 randomly selected citizens were interviewed or completed mailed questionnaires.

A total of six Forest Officers who had significant involvement in this issue were interviewed; they included line officers and District, Forest and Regional staff officers. One additional Forest Officer, a line officer from an adjacent area, was interviewed. He had closely July 1975, when the forcit furvie, Caio' acte the Regional Forcetor's a nick over actes and a second

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followed the issue and attended several public meetings as an observer.

Socio-economic data collected from citizen participants is compared with similar data for the general population of Colorado in Table 24. These data indicate that the citizens involved closely approximated the racial composition of the State, but were better educated and more affluent than the average Colorado citizen.

Why They Were Involved

The most reported reason for being involved was "indirectly affected." Industry or job related reasons were second.

Only 14 percent reported organizational membership as causing their involvement. A more complete breakdown appears in Table 25.

Both the Colorado State Planning Office and the Sierra Club declined to participate in the public input and decisionmaking stages but they later entered the case in an adversary role.

Citizen Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision Most citizens said the public involvement process started before the decision was made, however, 40 percent of them felt the alternatives were developed prior to public participation. Most Forest Officers thought the public was involved at an earlier stage than citizens indicated.

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TABLE 24

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON OF CITIZENS IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

come	5		92	
Average Annual Family Income		\$16,500	005'6 \$	istration,
Percent Caucasian		88.0	84.0	Statistics Admin
	Percent Completing 4 Years College	42.0	14.9	d Economics ce, 1972.
Education	Percent Completing High School	84.0	63.9	Social and of Commercial
	Average Total Years Completed	14.1	12.4	ty Data Book, S. Department
		Data From Involved citizens	Data From State Population1	Data from County and City Data Book, Social and Economics Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972.

TABLE 25

REASONS FOR INVOLVEMENT IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

			reasons		
Directly affected	7	Organizational membership	Industry or job related re	Other (aggregated)	

148 298 148 228 218



One Forest Officer was uncertain when public involvement began. See Table 26. There was no significant difference in perception of citizens and Forest Officers regarding preeducation and convenience of contacts. About half of each group thought preeducation occurred over a period of time; one-third felt it was done at a meeting or contact when a decision was requested. Nearly all participants said meetings and contacts were sufficiently convenient. Detailed responses are in Table 27.

There were some differences in perception as to the techniques of public involvement used in this issue; citizens cited public meetings and the news media more than did Forest Officers and they placed less emphasis on ad hoc groups and key person or individual contacts than did Forest Officers.

There was wide diversity of opinion among citizens as to which factors influenced the decision. Factors most often mentioned were public opinion, site suitability, public need for recreation and commercial interests. Nearly one-fourth of the citizen respondents said they didn't know what factors influenced the decision. Forest Officers thought local government and community concerns, public need for recreation and site suitability factors had most influence on the decision. Twelve percent of the citizens felt their

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RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TIMING OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

PERCENT OF RESPONSES TIZEN FOREST OFFICER	57 0 29 0	0 29 57 14
PERCENT	30 25 40 5	38 38 0
RESPONSE	Early planning stage Late planning stage After alternatives were developed After decision was made Uncertain	Too early Too late Well timed Uncertain
QUESTIONS	When did the public involvement process start?	How was the timing of the public involvement effort?

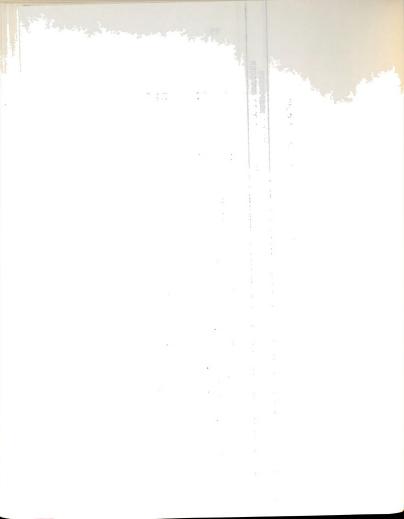
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TABLE 27

PREEDUCATION AND CONVENIENCE OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

PERCENT OF RESPONSES TIZEN FOREST OFFICER	57	29 14	0	14	98	0	0
PERCENT CITIZEN	44	33	9	16	74	2	ស
RESPONSE	Over a period of time At a meeting or contact when opinion or decision	was asked for Not done	Unknown	Always	Usually	Seldom	Never
QUESTION	When was preeducation (information about alternatives, land capabilities, possible outcomes,	costs and benefits, etc.) done?		Were contacts (meetings, etc.)	at a location and time that	generally encouraged attendance	and participation?



input was possibly considered. A listing of responses appears in Table 28.

A slight majority of citizens and all Forest Officers said the decision was publicized. The news media was most mentioned as the means of publicizing the decision. The issue was given much publicity shortly after the decision during the gubernatorial race in 1974.

Some citizens said the agency was sincere in its attempt to obtain and use public input; others said it was only going through the motions of public involvement. A greater percent of the citizen participants in this case expressed the opinion that the agency was more sincere than has been noted in prior cases. A few commented about an apparent difference between local and higher level Forest Service posture regarding National Forest management policy.

Forest Officers' Impressions of the Public Involvement and Decision

There were varying opinions among Forest Officers regarding public involvement and the agency's sincerity in using it in this case. Two Officers said the agency was only going through the motions, using public involvement to justify a prior decision. One Officer expressed the opinion that public involvement is "a necessary evil"; all others were convinced that

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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

TABLE 28

		PERCENT WHO GAVE	PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE SOME RESPONSE	
QUESTION	RESPONSE	Citizen	Forest Officer	- 1
What were the major factors	Public need for recreation	15	27	
influencing the decision	Commercial interests or			
the Forest Service made? 1	economics	15	0	
	Politics	11	0	
	Site suitability	18	20	
	Public opinion	19	7	
	Local government and			
	community concerns	0	40	
	Recommendation of local Ranger	0	9	
	Unknown	22	0	
Was your input considered in	No	12		
the Forest Service decision?	Possibly	65		
	Probably	9		
	Yes	12		
	No response	2		

Responses to this question were lwore than one response was made by some participants. Respon analyzed for content and categorized for ease of displaying. it is a necessary and useful tool in decision-making. Some were bothered by the political aspects and the contradictions between politics and good land use planning. Failure to involve the State government in early planning was identified by one officer as the major cause of problems experienced in this case. The difficulty in getting a concensus from people with different value systems was another expressed concern.

Three major areas of concern were expressed by Forest Officers: how to get the affected people involved; how to use their input; how to gain and maintain trust. Forest Officers were about evenly divided on whether or not public trust resulted from the public involvement in this issue. They were in agreement that more trust was generated at local levels than elsewhere; this is where face to face and small group contacts take place between the Ranger and citizens. Forest Officers were particularly skeptical of public meetings, where groups are larger and the proceedings are often directed by Forest Service personnel from levels above the Ranger. They note that distrust and frustration are frequent products of those meetings.

Citizen Impressions of the Forest Service

Citizen impressions are reflected in their response to six questions, presented in Table 29. The Forest Service was the most credible source of information to one-fourth of the citizens sampled, followed closely by personal experience and

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TABLE 29
CITIZENS IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOREST SERVICE

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT
What sources of information about natural resource management are most credible	Forest Service Environmental Groups Universities	26 13 13
to you?	Own experience, con- sultants, private	
	sources	22
	Agency in charge	13
	Other (aggregated)	13
What impression did you	Good impression	75
have from your contacts	Poor impression	17
with the Forest Service in this matter?	Could not catagorize	8
Which of the following in-	Uniform	2
fluenced your image of	General appearance	10
Forest Service people?	Reputation	17
	Personal manner Training and	29
	experience	30
	What Rangers do	2
	Other things	10
What makes you trust the	Does not trust	
Forest Service?	Forest Service Dedication, integrity	16
	performance Prior experience,	42
	personal contact	32
	Other attributes (aggregated)	10
What makes you distrust the	Does not distrust	10
Forest Service?	Forest Service	16
01000 001,110	Decisions favoring	20
	commodity users	19
	Bureaucracy, size	12
Did your contact with the Forest Service in this	Comments generally favorable (based on	
issue alter any of your	content analysis)	33
beliefs or concepts about	Comments generally	
their public involvement	unfavorable (based on	
process? Explain.	content analysis)	27
process. Exprain.	Could not be	

 1 Reported in percentages of the respondents who did reply to the question.

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TABLE 29
CITIZENS IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOREST SERVICE

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PERCENT
What sources of information about natural resource man-	Forest Service Environmental Groups	26 13
agement are most credible to you?	Universities Own experience, consultants, private	13
	sources	22
	Agency in charge	13
	Other (aggregated)	13
What impression did you	Good impression	75
have from your contacts	Poor impression	17
with the Forest Service in this matter?	Could not catagorize	8
Which of the following in-	Uniform	2
fluenced your image of	General appearance	10
Forest Service people?	Reputation	17
	Personal manner Training and	29
	experience	30
	What Rangers do	2
	Other things	10
What makes you trust the	Does not trust	
Forest Service?	Forest Service Dedication, integrity	16
	performance	42
	Prior experience,	42
	personal contact	32
	Other attributes	
	(aggregated)	10
What makes you distrust the	Does not distrust	
Forest Service?	Forest Service	16
	Decisions favoring	
	commodity users	19
	Bureaucracy, size	12
Did your contact with the	Comments generally	
Forest Service in this	favorable (based on	
issue alter any of your	content analysis)	33
beliefs or concepts about	Comments generally	
their public involvement	unfavorable (based on	0.7
process? Explain.	content analysis)	27
	Could not be	40
	catalogued	40

 1 Reported in percentages of the respondents who did reply to the question.

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		What source of it.
		And the standard of the standa

private sources. A good impression of the agency was retained by most citizens as a result of their contact in this issue. When asked if contact during the issue changed the citizens concepts about the agency's use of public involvement, one-third of the responses were favorable to the agency, 27 percent were unfavorable and 40 percent could not be catalogued. The disparity between this response and the high rating on the attitude scale may be caused by the perception of people that public involvement has great value and is "right" but, in this issue, was misquided.

Citizens involved in this issue reported personal manner, training and experience as factors which influence their impressions of Forest Service people. In responding to questions about trust, nearly half the respondents said dedication, integrity and past performance are reasons they trust the agency. One-third of the respondents gave personal contacts and prior experience with the agency as reasons they trust the Forest Service. Some distrust the agency because of its upper echelons, past decisions favoring commodity users, bureacracy and size. The earlier hypothesis that trust and favorable opinion of the Forest Service is affected by frequency of contact was tested in this issue. Analysis indicate that 73 percent of the responses support the hypothesis that image and length or frequency of contact are directly related; 27 percent of the responses do not support the hypothesis.

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Comparison of Attitude Tests

Citizen and Forest Officer responses on attitude scales are compared in Table 30 and Table 31. These data indicate that citizens hold public involvement in higher regard than do Forest Officers. One-third of the Forest Officer responses were at the midpoint in this case; an ambivalence not expressed by officers in previous cases.

General Observations and Summary of Case

The significance of public involvement and the role of the participants began to emerge and a new group - County and State government - assumed an important role in Beaver Creek. In earlier cases, the citizen was a receiver of information and a passive reviewer of the decision. In the Beaver Creek case the citizen's role of providing social value judgements began to develop. Attempts by the Forest Service to involve local government agencies and special interest groups early in the decision-making process indicates that the lessons of previous failures were being heeded.

The involvement strategies of the agency reveals that public involvement was emerging as a process rather than a program. The need to meet natural resource requirements to the exclusion of social needs was questioned, thus directing the attention of the agency to social goals. Citizens were able to exercise control and achieve these social goals within the

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TABLE 30

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES IN BEAVER CREEK CASE

P	ercen	t of	Res	pons	es by	In	terval ^l
	A	В	С	D	E	F	G
Citizens	16	27	23	18	8	3	4
Forest Officers	10	22	13	34	10	11	0

lLetters from A to G are assigned each blank from left to right between adjectives; e.g., A is assigned the blank nearest the word "Strong" and G is assigned the blank near "Weak."

TABLE 31
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE SCALE RESPONSES

Percent of Responses Left and Right of Midpoint					
	Left	Midpoint	Right		
Citizens	66	18	15		
Forest Officers	45	34	21		



existing system and did not find it necessary to seek power equalization through the courts, as they had done in previous cases.

ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY

This commentary will draw conclusions about the hypothesis developed in the introduction and will present three models of public involvement. The first two models are based on examination of the case studies reported; the third is a conceptual model which takes into account not only the experience of the case studies, but uses current interaction theory and research reported in the literature to avoid the shortcomings of other models. Some suggestions for moving the Forest Service into the third model will be made, and the essential elements of a public involvement process will be discussed.

The analysis of the data collected in the case studies leads to the following conclusions about the hypothesis presented in the Introduction:

- Attitude measurements of Forest Officers do not support the hypothesis that the attitude of the resource managers was a significant factor in preventing successful public involvement in the cases studied.
- The data support the hypothesis that public involvement is means-oriented; it is used to give information and proposals rather than to solicit information and opinions about goals.



3. The data supports the hypothesis that the lack of understanding of factors involved in public participation prevents an effective involvement process. As understanding of the factors grew, in the last two cases, the process became more effective.

Model I is a characterization of the public involvement process practiced by the Forest Service in the East Meadow Creek and San Juan Roadless Area cases. See Figure 4. It is an ineffective model which satisfies very few of the attributes contained in the checklist previously presented. This model does not incorporate current interaction theory and the consequences for the participants are undesirable.

Model II represents the theory of public involvement which was operational in the Wilson Mountain-Uncompaghre and Beaver Creek cases; this model identifies the current public involvement process of the Forest Service. See Figure 5. Model II shows progression in the application of current interaction theory and a reduction in the severity of adverse consequences. This is reflected in the increased satisfaction of participants as cases progressed from Model I to Model II. More of the attributes of effective public involvement were present in the cases which this model characterizes.

Model III presents an effective, equitable public involvement process which incorporates the lessons learned in the cases reported, utilizes empirical research reported in the literature, and applies current human interaction theory. For example, it earths and double also downst end things on a data out at a section and
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VEMENT	Consequences for Participants	Those outside the decision- making process seek to implement power equalizing systems (i.e., the courts).	Participants are seen as defensive, inconsistent, an analylative, polarization is evident; adversary situations predominant. Feed back is substituted for planning.
MODEL 1. THEORY OF EARLY PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT	Action Strategies	Design and implement policies, programs, and projects unilaterally. Advise people of decisions; attempt to gain endorsement.	Rationalize the decision. Solicit the support of those favoring it. Appeal to larger goals, e.g., the multiple-use concept, economic need, balanced programs. Solicit programs. Solicit programs. Solicit opponents, then attempt to convert them.
MODEL I. THEORY C	Major Assumptions	Decision is techni- oal in nature; it is a professional decision.	only those who oppose the decision or those who strongly support it will become involved.
	Characteristics	1. Involvement follows decision.	2. Involvement is reactionary.

106



Characteristics

oriented.

does not affect

decisions.

4. Public input

are polarized.

5. Participants

-107-



MODEL II - THEORY OF CURRENT PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Consequences for Participants	Role of citizen and Forest Officer is uncertain. Role identification activities dilute energy needed for decision-making.	Affluent, better educated persons make up bulk of citi- zen participants. Involvement is mcitvated by anticipation of positive returns or strong adverse consequences of noninvolvement.	Those who disagree with decision (both citzen and Forest Officer) attack the process. Agency rationalizes that pressure groups forced poor choice.
Action Strategies	Complete early planning and develop alterna- tives before involving citi- zens.	Notify general public and special groups known to have an interest. Citizens join groups for power.	Meet the requirements of NBFA, invite the participation of those expressing interests. Direct efforts those who may be opposed to the decision.
Major Assumptions	Decision is tech- nical and social, alternative development is technical.	Affected people will participate without special effort by agency.	Public needs to know, but is not knowledgebe enough or does not have time or interest to fully participate.
Characteristics	1. Involvement precedes decision.	2. Some of those affected by the decision parti- cipate.	3. Process is means oriented.
	i.		e e



FIGURE 5 (Cont'd.)

Consequences for Participants	Participants do not know how how the decision was made. Role of participants is not clear. Trust may or may not result.	Agency and citizens Attention focused on the prosect better methors a rather than the overall of hrough trial goal. Feelings of inadequacy and error. Obtain concensus Trust in conditional and without excessive uncertain.
Action Strategies	Develop public involvement plan. Hold meetings and hearings if people seem interested. Collect and measure input. Publicize decl. Publicize decl. And measure input their input was used.	Agency and citizens seek better meth- od through trial and error. Obtain concensus without excessive confrontation.
Major Assumptions	Citizens can affect decision if enough people are involved.	Equal emphasis on social goals and matural resource goals. Some participants are "less equal" than others.
Characteristics	Public involvement is servant to the situation at hand.	. Some polarization and mis- understanding occurs.



recognizes that the roles of the participants must be defined in the early stages of public involvement. See Figure 6. As can be seen from this model, the process avoids the adverse consequences of the previous models.

This research shows that it is desirable for the Forest Service to move to the public involvement process described by Model III. Successful implementation of the model requires recognition and understanding of the three dimensions of a process and their relationships. These dimensions are procedure, content, and human interaction. The procedural dimension emphasizes the importance of continuity and the sequence of events. It must provide the means of determining who is to be involved, i.e., seek those affected by decisions, and provide the means of involving them.

The content dimension must continuously examine the goal of the process. It also provides for the measurement and evaluation of input and must provide for skills to collect and assess that input. This requires that the Forest Service place more emphasis on the behavorial and social science skills to increase professional effectiveness in working with people in the development and execution of public policy. Guidelines for the selective education and training of present and future Forest Service personnel to achieve this end are needed.

recognizes that the roles in the early stages

MODEL III - THEORY OF AN EFFECTIVE PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT PROCESS

		;	
	;		

- and the decision The alternatives have both social and technical aspects. Involvement pretive development cedes alternaand decisionmaking. .
- Affected people participate in the decision. 2
- must be identifi-Affected people fied and their participation insured.
- of human relationsystem considers the interactions decision-making. Change in human ships. Public involvement is central to 3. Process is goal

oriented.

Plan with citizens experience personin an open system. Design situation so participants al causation.

"silent majority." affected. Do not assume participanot speak for the Develop means of involving those tion will occur identifying and spontaneously.

dimensions of procedure, input, and human interaction. Develop quidelines for selective edu-Service personnel. cation of Forest Develop process three critical that includes

Understanding of the decision and committment to it. Clear s for Participants role identification.

satisfaction with decision. Mutual trust and greater

Energy previously expended in search of better method now satisfaction with process. used for decision-making. Feelings of equality and



FIGURE 6 (Cont'd.)

Characteristics	Major Assumptions	Actic
Public involve-	The public must	Decis
ment system	know their input	occur
assures that	was considered in	syste
public input is	the decision.	inclu
an intregal part	Role of agency is	parti
of decision-	to provide techni-	The F
making.	cal data and	proce
	possible conse-	visik
	quences of alter-	able.
	natives. Role of	and t
	citizen is to	for t
	determine the	liciz
	societal values.	ildud

Public involvement used. was Public participa-

> Mutual underparticipants. standing by

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their input

tion is a process that is a legiti-mate part of decision-making. Emphasis is on meeting social needs.

tional. Natural

means to social

goals.

resources are

Consequences for Participants ole and traceon Strategies rs in an open participation the rationale them are pub-Decisions ides citizen zed and the sion-making ic is shown icipation. em which 558 18 how

roles. Public trust results from interaction of participants. Forest Officers at local level understand the Officers understand their 3oth citizens and Forest decision and support it.

adequate to meet social needs. Attention is focused on the Citizens accept and support gains credibility and feels Participative democracy content of programs. results. process is opera-



The human interaction dimension stresses that deliberate change is brought about through effective human interaction processes. It emphasizes the importance of good communications and of discussion-decision activities throughout the entire public involvement procedure. The public involvement process must be internalized by agency personnel.

Additional research to develop techniques for involving affected citizens in decisions is needed. Such techniques should address three elements: how to determine who will be affected by a decision; how to provide them the information they need to make meaningful input to the decision; and how to collect that input from a reasonable number of affected citizens. The techniques employed in marketing research and those used by national pollsters may be adaptable to this need.

Further study of ways to increase the effectiveness of Forest Service personnel in working with people in complex social interactions is also needed. Some alternatives to examine are recruitment of people with formal training and experience in sociology and psychology, training of selected existing agency personnel in these skills or selection of new employees with academic training in both biological and social science fields.

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SUMMARY

Through examination of the public involvement processes utilized by the Forest Service in four actual cases, and the comparison of those processes with current interaction theory, three models of public involvement have been developed. A checklist of attributes for successful involvement was developed and used to construct questionnaires and attitude scales which could be used to determine if the public involvement process of each case met the criteria of the checklist. Citizen and Forest Officer participants in the cases were then interviewed and tested; the data were analyzed and used in creating the models.

The first model is based on the analysis of public involvement in an issue involving a decision to sell timber in an area adjacent to a Primitive Area and an issue involving the agency's recommendation of roadless areas to be protected pending study for Wilderness designation. In these issues, the public involvement process was unsatisfactory to citizen and Forest Officer participants. In both issues, citizens sought reversal of the Forest Service decision through the courts. Public trust of the agency was damaged and Forest Officers were often dissatisfied. In one of the cases, the local Forest Officers were excluded from the decision-making process and assumed a role similar to that of the citizens: as outsiders, clamoring for participation.

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Public involvement in these two cases started after the decisions were made. It was means oriented: the purpose was to provide information and advise citizens of the decision. Very few of the attributes of effective public involvement are contained in these cases. This is an ineffective model in which the assumptions and resultant action strategies lead to adverse consequences for the participants. The principles of interaction theory and the results of applied research reported in the literature are ignored in the public involvement process portrayed by this model.

Model II typifies the current public involvement process of the Forest Service as represented by the second two case studies. These cases involved a decision to declassify a Primitive Area and a decision to designate land for ski area development. The analysis of these cases shows a progression to a more effective public involvement process. The shift from preoccupation with natural resources to a concern for social goals by agency personnel emerges. The role of participants is better defined in these cases and greater satisfaction with the involvement process is expressed. Public trust of the agency is more evident than in previous cases and equalization was available within the existing system, so redress in the courts was not sought.

Model III represents a new theory of action for an equitable system of public involvement in policy, program, and project decision-making. This model applies the experiences of the oblivent a

case studies, other applied research and the knowledge of human interaction theory to a process which avoids the adverse consequences of the previous models.

Model III is goal oriented and places the emphasis of public involvement on meeting social needs. The roles of citizen participants and agency participants are defined, and time and energy are not wasted in role identification activities. The model provides for planning with people in an open system rather than planning for people in a closed system. The system characterized by this model is a visible process, and insures that input is obtained from those affected and is utilized in the decision. The consequences of this model are agency credibility, public trust and attainment of social goals.

The successful implementation of Model III requires that agency personnel understand three essential dimensions and insure their inclusion in the public involvement process. These dimensions are procedure, content or input, and human interaction. The procedural dimension emphasizes timing and continuity of events. The content dimension provides for collection, measurement and evaluation of input and must include the skills for such measurement and evaluation. This requires that the Forest Service place more emphasis on the behavorial and social science skills in the education and training of present

ones studies, other nouted issuarch and size inovious of human intersection should be a process while, with the obverse consequences of the low how living.

Model III is out outed. ... where the control is a substantial of the decision
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and future personnel to increase effectiveness in working with people. The human interaction dimension stresses the importance of dialogue between participants that results in discussion-decision activities throughout the process. Deliberate change is brought about through such interaction of people.

The implementation of Model III and the outlining of criteria, procedures, input and social interaction will insure a process which realizes the goal of equitable public involvement that is legally correct, publicly acceptable, and technically sound.

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APPENDIX



FIGURE Al

CITIZEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the answer that best reflects your response to the question. Please add any comment that expresses your feelings about the question.

1. Did the public involvement process start

in the early planning stage?

in the late planning stage?

after alternatives were developed?

before decision was made?

after decision was made?

2. Was the timing of the public involvement effort

too early?

too late?

well timed?

3. Which of the following involvement techniques were used?

Public meeting

Ad hoc or steering committee

Key person or individual contacts

News media

Survey or opinion poll

Workshop

Field trip

Group contacts

Professional contacts

Other (describe)



 Was "preeducation" (information about alternatives, land capabilities, possible outcomes, costs and benefits, etc.)

done over a period of time?

done at a meeting or contact when opinion or decision was asked for?

not done?

5. Were contacts (meetings, etc.) at a location and time that generally encouraged attendance and participation?

Always

Usually

Seldom

Never

6. Why did you become involved in this issue?

Directly affected

Indirectly affected

Organizational membership

Industry or job related reasons

Other (explain)

7. Was your input considered in the Forest Service decision?

No

Possibly

Probably

Yes

8. What were the major factors influencing the decision the Forest Service made? missing " and is

- 9. Was the decision publicized? If so, how? When?
- 10. What sources of information about natural resource management are most credible to you?
- 11. What impression did you have from your contacts with the Forest Service in this matter?
- 12. Which of the following influenced your image of Forest Service people?

Uniform

"Civilian" clothes

General appearance

Reputation

Personal manner

Training and experience

What Rangers do

Other things (explain)

13. What makes you trust the Forest Service?

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- 14. What makes you distrust the Forest Service?
- 15. Did your contact with the Forest Service in this issue alter any of your beliefs or concepts about their public involvement process? Explain.
- 16. In order to determine if there is a direct connection between public involvement and socio-economic status, please circle the appropriate data that applies to you.

Caucasian

Non-Caucasian

Annual income -- less than \$5,000

\$ 5,000-8,000

8,000-10,000

10,000-12,000

12,000-15,000

15,000-25,000

25.000-50.000

50,000 +

Circle number of years of education you have completed

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

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17. How much contact did you have with the U. S. Forest Service before this situation?

None

Very infrequent contact

Occasional contact for less than five years

Occasional contact for more than five years

Frequent contact for less than five years

Frequent contact for more than five years

FIGURE A2

CITIZEN ATTITUDE SCALE

Check the point on the scale that best indicates how you feel about the way the Forest Service involves the public in decisions about the National Forests.

Strong	•—	-·-	—·	_·-	·_	—·—	_·_	_։	weak
Pleasant	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unpleasant
Active	:	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Passive
Wise	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Foolish
Exciting	:_	_:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Dull
Fair	:_	_:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unfair
Adequate	:_	_:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Inadequate
Positive	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Negative
Honest	:_	_:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Dishonest
Useful	:	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Useless
Good	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Bad
Reasonable	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unreasonable
Valuable	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Worthless
Clear	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Hazy

FIGURE A3

FOREST OFFICER QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the answer that best reflects your response to the question. Please add any comment that expresses your feelings about the question.

1. Did the conscious public involvement process start

in the early planning stage?

in the late planning stage?

after alternatives were developed?

after decision was made?

2. Was the timing of the public involvement effort

too early?

too late?

well timed?

3. Which of the following involvement techniques were used?

Public meeting

Ad hoc or steering committee

Key person or individual contacts

News media

Survey or opinion poll

Workshop

Field trip

Group contacts

Professional contacts

Other (describe)



 Was "preeducation" (information about alternatives, land capabilities, possible outcomes, costs and benefits, etc.)

done over a period of time

done at a meeting or contact when opinion or decision was asked for?

not done?

Were contacts (meetings, etc.) at a location and time that generally encourage attendance and participation?

Always

Usually

Seldom

Never

Did the people who will be affected by the decision participate in any manner

None participated

Some participated

Most participated

7. How was the decision made? What were the major factors considered, and which were dominant in the decision? . The first officers of the second control o

- 8. Was the decision or the final recommendation publicized?
 If so, how? When?
- 9. What impression did you have from your public contacts?
- 10. Did public trust result from the involvement effort?
- 11. Did the involvement effort alter any of your beliefs or concepts?

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FIGURE A4

FOREST OFFICER ATTITUDE SCALE

Check the point on the scale that best indicates how you feel about the idea of the public participating in decisions about management of natural resources.

0020119	-								
Pleasant	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unpleasant
Active	:_	:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Passive
Wise	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Foolish
Exciting	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Dull
Fair	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unfair
Adequate	:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Inadequate
Positive	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Negative
Honest	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Dishonest
Useful	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Useless
Good	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Bad
Reasonable	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Unreasonabl
Valuable	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Worthless
Clear	:_	_:_	:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:_	_:	Hazy

FIGURE A5

DECISION LOG

Date, decision, rationale for decision and exactly what is done.

12/2/74 Test attitudes of Forest Service people towards
public involvement through Osgood Technique (described in Crano, Chapter 10, page 28). Reason for
method - see description of strengths and weaknesses described by Crano. Use evaluation scale to test
attitude: reasons described in Crano.

12/2/74 Use potency and activity scales to measure perception (changed 12/3/74) by non-Forest Service participants of effectiveness of public involvement efforts.

12/2/74 (changed 12/3/74) Test Forest Officer's perception of effectiveness (of public involvement efforts by potency and activity scale tests. Rationale: Forest Service people may be laboring under false assumption - that they are effective when others (non-Forest Service participants) see them as ineffective, or less effective.

12/2/74 Give tests before interviewing to avoid injecting any subtle or unintentional bias (which may result from interview) into test. This will apply to all tests given. e a Augusta Aug Augusta August Augusta August

- 12/3/74 Decided not to use potency and activity test. Not certain of value of such tests for this study.

 Based on further review of literature and discussion with Dr. Darnell.
- 12/6/74 Use income brackets that Census Bureau uses. Compare with locale where samples were taken to see if participants are representative of county make up. Same with education. Based on recommendation of Dan Schler.
- 12/6/74 Use self-administered test on 1/2 of participants (changed 5/25/75) and interview other 1/2, compare and explain differences, if any. Reasons: makes cost of sampling less and increases knowledge about the methodology.

 Based on recommendation of Dan Schler.
- 1/7/75 Considered constructing Likert Scale using statements gathered from interviews with 5 Forest Service people. Consideration based on suggestion by Schler. After compiling statements and reviewing Crano on the method, I decided against it.

 Reasons: not enough statements for reliable test, too much time expended for potential gain; no significant improvement over Osgood Technique already set up.
- 5/20/75 After interviewing people in Roadless Case, there seemed to be less trust, greater criticism and more negative feeling towards the Forest Service by those with least past exposure to Forest Service. Decided to add 5th page to citizen questionnaire to test

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hypothesis that Forest Service image is better with time tested "acquaintance" than with newer "acquaintances."

- 5/25/75 Decided to use more mailed questionnaires, rather
 than 1/2 and 1/2. Reason: Personal interviews too
 costly; very good response from telephone interviews
 and mailed questionnaires is being obtained (about 90%).
- 5/25/75 Decided to give questionnaire to Forest Service people and have them complete the forms and mail them to me anonymously after interview. Reason: some may otherwise be reluctant to give candid response (partly due to my job in Regional Forester's Office) based on discussion with 2 Forest Officer participants.
- 7/13/75 Determine percent of responses in scale falling at mid-point (zero level) and consider dropping those words from analysis if the percent reaches a certain level. Based on Dr. Darnell's work on semantic differential. Words that have large percent of "zero" rankings may be ineffective in evaluating attitude. This should be established by considering all scales in all cases and computing percent zero ranking in total.
- 10/26/75 Decided to lump responses, in question 1, to 3rd and
 4th items (after alternatives were developed? before
 decision was made?) Rationale: There is really no

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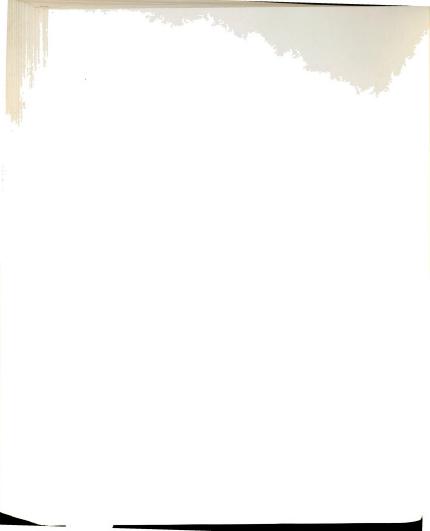
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difference between the two. A number of respondents have answered the question by checking both responses.

11/20/75 Change analysis of Attitude Scales, dropping numbering of intervals and averaging of "Scores." New analysis consists of reporting the percent of responses for each interval (identified by letters rather than numbers) and the percent of responses on either side of the mid-point. Based on suggestion of Dr. Manthy and reference to literature.

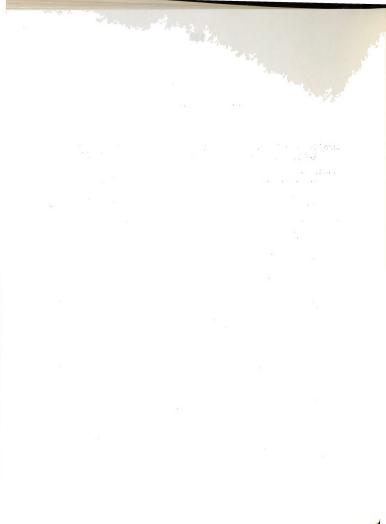
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