CHAPTER 8

NESTED SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE:

STRATEGIES FROM THE FIELD FOR SUSTAINING LOCAL SUCCESS AND EXTENDING THE REACH OF COASTAL MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES

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Upon the ground I saw a fallen nest
Ruined and full of rain; and over me
Beheld the uncomplaining birds already
Busy in building a new habitation.[1]
– Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws upon the conversations and conclusions that emerged during a day of reflection and inquiry at the *World of Learning* workshop held at the University of Rhode Island in November 2002. This gathering brought together coastal managers who have worked for the joint U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and Coastal Resources Center (CRC) Coastal Resources Management Program (CRMP), which was carried out from 1985 – 2003.

It begins with the factors and support systems that CRMP managers see as driving local successes in coastal management. Some of these factors find their expression mainly at the site level, while others represent important connections off-site, perhaps at another place in another province, or at a higher layer of government, or at the international level through an organization that can provide incentives or apply pressure to actors within the country. The CRMP country case studies in this chapter provide much more detail about the context and challenges each coastal practitioner faces. This section focuses mainly on those interactions which program managers have found contribute to success in moving from a promising pilot initiative to a policy with broader reach, and in moving from a general policy to success in specific places and communities.

The term "nested governance system" is used to refer to the situation where "management power and responsibility [are] shared cross-scale, among a hierarchy of management institutions, to match the cross-scale nature of management issues." (Derived from: Folke et al., *The Problem of Fit Between Ecosystems and Institutions*.) Each country in which CRMP works has a hierarchy of authority, more or less centralized, more or less capable, and more or less democratic and open to the voices of stakeholders. What all CRMP projects have in common is the recognition that they are working across and through these levels, usually at the same time, in a loosely coupled but nonetheless mutually supportive way that most effectively deals with the natural, social and political dynamics surrounding the governance of coastal resources and uses. The stories about CRMP contributions to stronger nests in each country are unique. However, many of the insights and milestones achieved along the way are similar.

SUCCESS IN COASTAL MANAGEMENT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL NEEDS THE SUPPORTING FRAMEWORK WHICH REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS CAN PROVIDE

Early in his political career, Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, the famous speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, ran for city council in Cambridge,
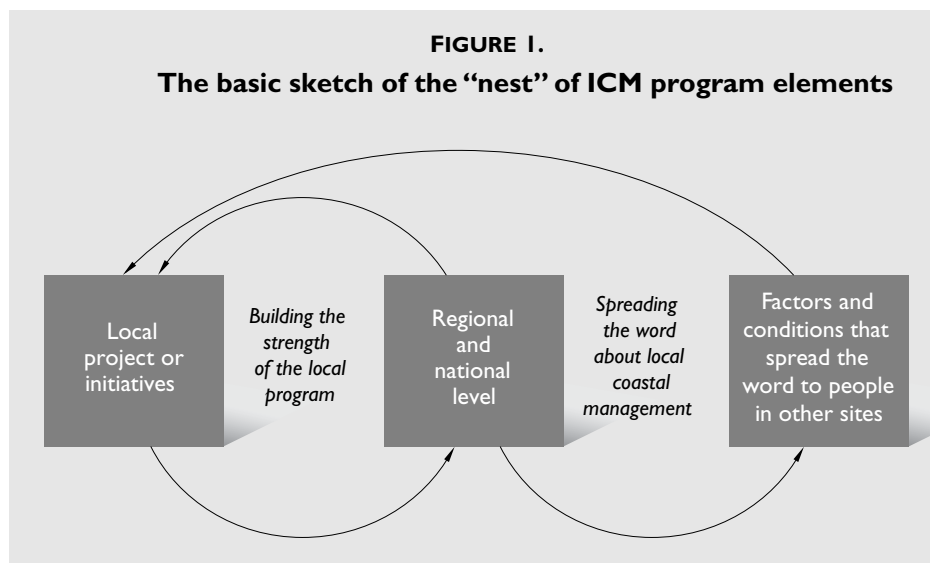
Massachusetts and lost the race by 160 votes because he took his own neighborhood for granted. His father took him aside and told him, "All politics is local. Don't forget it." This catch-phrase became the title of his memoir of a long and productive national legislative career that never saw him fail to take into consideration the needs of his local constituency as he helped lead the nation through turbulent decades.

The dynamic interplay among local, regional and national levels is a common thread in each of the country program stories told during the *World of Learning* week. The flow of information and resources among and between layers of government, the economy and the social fabric of places is what sparks a village to create its own marine protected area (MPA), for example, in Blongko, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is also how the idea spread in just a few years to dozens of other villages in the province, and is now supported by a new provincial government law encouraging all of the 150 villages of North Sulawesi's Minahasa district to prepare a coastal management strategy.

Program leaders, meeting together for the first time during the *World of Learning* event, needed to be able to find a way to relate to each other's stories. The road map of driving forces presented here is the result of a day of reflection on the common as well as unique elements and sequences each program has followed so far, using an exercise of group modeling. Although each country program has a different starting place, each is, in fact, traveling much the same journey around the same universe of actors, institutions, processes and interactions.

Ecuador, a CRMP I (1985 - 1995) pilot site country, began its journey toward integrated coastal management (ICM) as a national government initiative—indeed, the Ecuadorian Navy sponsored the first conference on coastal issues in 1981. However, its main work subsequently focused on five special area management zones that involved thousands of coastal village residents.

In Mexico, a project beginning in the CRMP II follow-up agreement from 1995 – 2003 began by helping the 300 villagers of Xcalak, on the Yucatan Peninsula, achieve their dream of an MPA that would offer work for them within the growing eco-tourism industry. Reaching this goal involved prolonged negotiations between state and federal officials, the support of the Belize-Mexico Alliance and the internationally funded Meso-American Reef Initiative, as well as funding and staff from the National Parks Commission. President Ernesto Zedillo presided over the ceremony inaugurating the community-developed park in June 2000, after five years of local effort. A practical example of Figure 1's sketch of

FIGURE 1.

The basic sketch of the "nest" of ICM program elements

| Local project or initiatives | Building the strength of the local program | Regional and national level | Spreading the word about local coastal management | Factors and conditions that spread the word to people in other sites |

ICM nests can be seen in the case of the aforementioned North Sulawesi. Initially, the program was planned and funded from the outside. The program manager was quite familiar with the work on special area planning and locally managed marine areas in the Philippines, Ecuador and Sri Lanka that were carried out many years earlier. This "spreading the word" mainly involved the local project initiative in North Sulawesi at first, but as early successes were achieved in the villages, the district adopted a law that provides support and legal recognition for all 150 vil-

lages in its jurisdiction to carry out similar programs. Word about progress made in the villages has spread to the national (policy) and international (donor) levels, raising interest in village-level MPAs as a coastal management strategy throughout Indonesia. It is also mobilizing the financial and political support required for the program's success.

LOCAL PROJECT SUCCESS

What drives local project success?

CRMP program managers identified several key factors needed to change the behavior to achieve local success:

❖ It is important to work on problems that are of ***compelling importance*** or offer a potential benefit

❖ An ***engaged local team*** must be formed that is skilled enough to build a plan based on reliable knowledge. Capable local participation and capacity building to create local forums and leadership that help support the plan or strategy are also required

❖ The idea that a ***local action plan or strategy*** is needed might be based on perceived threats to an already good situation, or the perception, perhaps much delayed, that resources and quality are degraded to such a state that something must be done to prevent further loss, or to restore or otherwise improve conditions

❖ A project aimed at assisting the village must inevitably ***promote behavior that is consistent with the plan*** and discourage behavior that is not

❖ Through changed behavior, a village or site can claim ***local project success***—more healthy, productive lives for their residents, and the sustained flow of natural and economic goods and services

All this work takes time and is subject to delays, missteps, missed opportunities and the possibility that over time other forces will overwhelm even the best efforts, and foil the local vision for conservation or restoration. Success at the local level depends in part on building strength at other levels.

ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED

Selecting a starting place

Selecting the right site at the outset is important. A range of CRMP projects employed different methods of choosing where to work.

Ecuador's five special area planning zones (*Zonas Especiales de Manejo*, or ZEMs) were chosen after a study of national issues as well as a survey and consultation process with experts and the public in each of the country's four coastal provinces. In Indonesia, three North Sulawesi villages were selected for the pilot program on locally managed marine areas after a rapid assessment survey was conducted of 20 locales to find representative, willing sites. The Tanzania project surveyed all 13 coastal districts before deciding to start work in only two of them. One district had prior ICM experience, and the other was just in the beginning stage. In Mexico a non-governmental organization (NGO), Amigos de Sian Ka'an, was selected by USAID as a partner, rather than a site. The village of Xcalak was identified later due to its request for assistance.

Assessing issues and engaging the community

Once a site has been selected, many factors come into play in the early stage and are reinforced over time. Most projects carry out rapid and participatory assessments, drawing upon local research, traditional and stakeholder knowledge, available literature and perhaps new surveys and assessments. Early on, projects take this information to identify local problems and develop a shared vision. This vision guides a project team and an engaged local leadership toward preparation of an action strategy or conservation plan. The profiles prepared in North Sulawesi were

intended to be detailed enough to enable quantitative analysis of the results of village plan implementation. In Bagamoyo, Tanzania, the ICM working group consulted all coastal villages when identifying priority issues that would be addressed by an action plan they would create.

Creating a meaningful process

Success may be defined differently at the local level than at the higher levels of government, or from the outside. Sometimes success from a local perspective lies in gaining a voice in a decisionmaking process, where otherwise community members are excluded. This creates a space for interaction that allows conflicts to be addressed and resolved in a productive manner. The participatory planning process also provides the chance to organize local groups so they can more effectively engage in opportunities for planning and management at the town or regional scale. Even when stakeholders feel well served by a process, early and ongoing actions are needed to achieve longer-term desired results. The local action planning process in Tanzania built upon the already success-fully tested model developed and used by the Tanga program, which was funded by Irish Aid and The World Conservation Union-IUCN.

Drawing upon a variety of approaches

The local NGO in the Yucatan Peninsula's Costa Maya, Amigos de Sian Ka'an, focused on gathering environmental information required to pre-pare a successful marine park proposal to the federal government. It then turned its attention to social and economic surveys and additional local exercises to prepare the Xcalak Community Strategy.

In Tanzania, district action planning was used to carry out the National Integrated Coastal Environment Management Strategy. Detailed guide-lines were published outlining the process to be used. These drew upon the experience of earlier coastal site projects not affiliated with CRMP's Tanzania Coastal Management Partnership (TCMP). Capacity building of participants in the districts proved essential. This occurred through training and mentoring by national program staff.

In nearly all CRMP examples, the local action plan or strategy was reviewed and formally adopted at one or more local and upper levels of government. District councils in Tanzania adopted the coastal action plans as the result of new authority given by the Local Government Reform Program. The pioneering Indonesian village plans in Blongko, Bentenan-Tumbak and Talise were approved at the local level and implemented through ordinances. Ecuador's five ZEMs were approved by the local committees appointed by the president. The plans were then incorporated into its National Development Plan.

Marshalling local resources to continue coastal management efforts

A much-discussed concern is that if a pilot site is shown to have early successes, it is promised that more sites will be adopted. Sometimes, as seen in earlier CRMP projects, a special area management plan or local project attracts substantial implementation or follow-up funds. The work in extending village-based management to 24 locations in North Sulawesi, broadened the reach and assured the continuity of effort is being addressed by designing lower-cost approaches to the next round of initiatives. In Mexico, coastal municipalities are working to improve the collection and programming of funds from concessions received for the use of the federal shore zone to incorporate coastal policies into existing environmental management instruments. The Tanzanian program is also working to utilize the district structure by preparing strategies that can be woven into the government's routine program of work.

WHAT FACTORS LIMIT SUCCESS IN LOCAL COASTAL MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES?

The need for local participation
In both the Xcalak and Bahía Santa María project sites in Mexico, local participation served to unify and offer continuity in the strategy. This coalesced a number of otherwise separate, sectoral measures addressing resource management issues. However, public sector attempts to garner local and stakeholder views through formal planning and implementa-

tion mechanisms (such as stakeholder roundtables and "implementation committees") are too often done quickly or superficially in order to meet legal requirements.

Overly ambitious goals

Program managers agree that learning from "failures" can lead to better plans. However, one of the causes of these failures is when a program has overly ambitious goals that cannot be supported with the available resources for implementation. Management plans need staff, facilities, a commitment to enforcement and a recurrent budget.

Shaky transitions from project to program

Another difficulty is transitioning from a project that may receive considerable external support, funding and attention, to a continuing effort that has to draw mainly upon local support. In Ecuador, one coastal special area management plan encountered resistance when municipal authorities perceived the project was gaining credit for functions the town provided. As a result, changes in legislation have made it both necessary and more feasible to work through local administrative structures.

Short political attention spans and election cycles

In Mexico, local officials are elected every three years and cannot succeed themselves in office. Municipalities have no jurisdiction over marine and coastal areas, but can become qualified to administer the maritime zone. This generates a difficult dynamic. Each new administration is learning its way the first year, ready for new initiatives the second, and preparing to close out and leave office the third. Yet when matters at the local level are difficult, this offers the promise of renewing local leadership. However, it also decreases the window of opportunity an engaged municipal administration has for testing and adopting coastal management policies and measures.

The Value of Outside Support

To some degree, projects depend on support from outside the immediate locale of the project. This is true whether they are for site-based conservation in an area of critical concern, area-wide planning for a coastal ecosystem supporting a variety of uses, or a demonstration site that may be scaled-up at a later time. Useful support can be in the form of providing a catalyst role and leadership, contributing funds, and sharing know-how, information, staff, and access to decisionmakers. Outside support can also aid in removing political, legal or administrative obstacles. These are explored in the next section.

Regional and National Contributions to Local Success

CRMP project managers identified important enabling conditions for local success. These include:

National leadership

National leadership has made an important difference in CRMP projects. This has occurred whether the country was small or large, and if not at the outset of the initiative, at key points along the way.

Sri Lanka, with one of the oldest coastal management programs in developing countries, has always maintained a strong national presence with experienced leadership. It has assured the continuation of this by supporting the education, training and advancement of junior staff. As a regulatory program, its staff has always been involved in local decision-making. The need for local special area management plans was clearly recognized in the national coastal management plan. Thus, subsequent efforts to carry out this policy in Hikkaduwa and Rekawa had the full support of the Coast Conservation Department staff.

Ecuador's coastal program was managed at the national level by an inter-ministerial commission. The first round of local work was launched in the form of five ZEM projects selected after coastwide studies and surveys. The members of the original advisory committees in

each of the five sites were appointed by the president of Ecuador. Eventually, the national commission reviewed and accepted the plans. These were submitted for inclusion in the National Development Plan, where they then qualified for further international donor assistance as well as national funding.

The Indonesian Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries is responsible for implementing a 1999 law giving control of marine resources out to four nautical miles to local districts. The law also allows provincial governments to control marine resources out to 12 nautical miles. Local work carried out in the North Sulawesi, Lampung and East Kalimantan provinces through CRMP's Proyek Pesisir, the Indonesian Coastal Resources Management Program, is helping the ministry address unique challenges and opportunities to create a nested system.

Policy alignment with ICM

CRMP initiatives have taken many different approaches to achieving a better connection between local, regional and national policy and public administrative frameworks. Some of these have preceded local site work, while others have emerged as a result of and response to insights and needs from successful local efforts.

The national coastal management strategy in Tanzania was approved in December 2002, providing a crucial strengthening of the district action planning already underway in Pangani, Bagamoyo, and Mkuranga. The district action plans are being carried out under guidelines established by the coastal partnership. These include substantive process and national consistency provisions along with financial support.

Regional and national knowledge availability

Traditionally, in most countries information flows upward to government or inward to academic researchers at a more rapid pace than it flows outward. All CRMP programs have actively tried to counteract this direction of flow to relieve a major constraint on the ability of locally initiated programs to succeed.

An example of this is the Tanzania program's effort to publish policy proposals and mariculture investor guidelines for the private sector, recognize local efforts through its annual Coastal Environmental Awards Scheme, and distribute information about the status and value of coastal resources through the landmark *State of the Coast 2000* report and geographic information system project, which mapped the country's coastal resources. All succeeded in gathering both government and public attention. The Indonesian program pioneered an atlas of Lampung Province based upon scientific studies and extensive interactions with coastal residents and resource users. The *Lampung Atlas* was unique in that it relied strongly on local information.

National and local budgets available

Regional and national governments and organizations can play a key role in obtaining funding to start local initiatives and sustain larger programs that provide resources for enhancing local success. The Sri Lanka coastal program receives recurrent allocations from the national budget, and has a stable staff and operating funds. It has also been successful over the past three decades in finding and selecting the right kind of external support for planning and implementation actions that benefit local coastal areas.

Ecuador was able to obtain eight years of funding through its collaboration with USAID, followed by a much higher level of support from the Inter-American Development Bank. In Mexico, international donors and NGOs, as well as the Mexican Conservation Trust Fund, have been moving toward greater coordination in funding site-based coastal conservation projects and work in "hot spots" or "eco-regions." These included the Gulf of California, the Meso-American Reef system and the Gulf of Mexico. The combined efforts include capacity building, regional analyses, visioning exercises and priority setting, and promoting national and regional attention to critical local situations. At the local level, a large proportion of revenues collected from concessions located in the 20-mile federal coastal zone are returned to coastal municipalities, including a fraction targeted specifically for local coastal management actions.

Decisionmaking (permitting) consistent with local effort

Many national governments are actively exploring how to place more decisions closer to the local level and reduce the costs of national bureaucracy. ICM often involves centralized national decisionmaking because coastal and marine resources are held in national trust. CRMP projects illustrate very specific, practical measures being taken to foster decentralization.

Tanzania has made substantial progress in shaping future decisions on mariculture and tourism—two key sectors capable of adversely chang-ing local environmental quality, but which offer great economic poten-tial. Driven by the TCMP, national task forces were convened to identify issues and local concerns, and to prepare guidance both for use by potential investors and to aid in regulatory decisions.

In Mexico, the *Guidelines for Low-Impact Tourism Along the Coast of Quintana Roo* were endorsed by the national Secretary of the Environment. Parts were included in the Costa Maya environmental ordinance and adopted by national environmental authorities for appli-cation in the state. Mexican states and municipalities do not have any legal authority over the federal coastal zone or marine waters (in contrast to the new law in Indonesia or normal practice in the U.S.). However, recent legal reforms give municipalities greater scope to enter into agreements with federal authorities for delegated policymaking and regulatory arrangements. They can also prepare very detailed local envi-ronmental ordinances for the coast. These would then be reviewed and approved by state and federal authorities as long as they were consistent with policies at those levels.

Local participation in regional policy

In some CRMP II countries, national environmental policies and plans are complemented by more detailed programs at a state or regional level. This top-down approach still relies on national experts and deci-sions are still made at the top. Mexico's federal and state environmental

laws require public involvement to formulate MPAs and land use ordinances at lower levels. These are the key governing policies for coastal development, as well as in the designation and management of marine and terrestrial protected areas. In the case of MPAs, a good example is the Xcalak Reefs National Park. The park was initiated locally and engaged the community in every subsequent stage of proposal preparation, management plan development, and oversight of park operations. A key negotiating point for the Costa Maya environmental ordinance was incorporating community concerns for protecting valuable wetlands associated with the marine park.

In contrast, in Mexico opportunities to fully utilize participation in the regional and local environmental land use ordinances are generally less successful. Of the dozen or so plans prepared nationwide to date, few have reached the stage of publication in the Official Register. In Quintana Roo, the track record and approval rate is much better. This includes the Costa Maya ordinance, however efforts to sustain the oversight committee meetings for the Costa Maya ordinance implementation were initially resisted by local, and state officials, who did not see why citizen groups should play a prominent role in official government business.

Regional and national coastal management capacity

Regional and national-level commitment to training in ICM has made important contributions toward building local capability that helps both site-based projects and future expansion of coastal management to other areas.

Indonesia's Proyek Pesisir has made an important investment in building the organizational capacity of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, which was formed out of bureaus from several different agencies. Indonesia reports that so far there are relatively few NGOs that can meet the capacity-building needs of the program. Thus, universities and even private groups of stakeholders are attempting to fill this gap. As the

country moves forward to extend the number of local villages preparing action plans, professionals capable of facilitating this process remain relatively scarce.

While the Tanzania project feels it was very slow in building capacity, the program has, in fact, used a number of techniques to overcome this apparent deficit. One key tool has been the use of inter-sectoral working groups and task forces on specific initiatives, such as the mariculture guidelines and the national coastal management strategy. These efforts have built professional relationships and a fluid network that encompasses formal and informal learning and strengthening.

Mexico has numerous NGOs, universities, regional networks and alliances, as well as government-funded training institutes that support training and leadership development to help local-level groups. A long-term view is needed, however, since staff in government offices, local NGOs and university partners can be subject to instability and fluctuation as seen in Quintana Roo. Staff may leave an organization after being trained, only to take up a leadership post in another group within the state, or even at the national level.

HOW CAN LOCAL SUCCESS LEAD TO LARGER-SCALE IMPLEMENTATION OF COASTAL MANAGEMENT?

What is scaling up from local-level effort to regional or national-level effort?

CRMP coastal managers identified three ways in which success at a local site can lead to extending the scale and scope of ICM in their countries:

1) Success in one community can directly inspire other communities. The impact of this depends on the perceived relevance of the local site example to other coastal areas and on efforts to spread the word.

2) Local success can create awareness of coastal management issues at the national level, leading to improvements in national policy that, in turn, benefit more areas.

3) Regional and national agencies can build their knowledge and capacity if they participate and learn from the local effort. This enables them to support additional local projects and to improve national policy.

Additional non-government stakeholders frequently participate, often providing an important regional or international spotlight on promising local initiatives. National-level NGOs can support and learn from counterparts who have participated in a local-level process. This information in turn may speed the formulation of a larger-scale civil society initiative and have influence on government policy. International donors, academic institutions and conservation organizations can and do provide valuable encouragement by spotlighting local successes; funding programs in priority ecosystems, conservation corridors or "hot-spots"; offering awards and recognition to outstanding local leadership; and formulating coordinated donor strategies. Good examples of this are the small Blongko Marine Sanctuary in Indonesia, and the Xcalak Reefs National Park in Mexico. The importance of both of these has been amplified by obtaining international recognition and follow-up funding by donors and government.

What limits scaling-up or broadening the scope?

Program managers identified four main obstacles that local efforts may face that will not allow them to serve as a catalyst for broader change or improvement in similar situations elsewhere along the coast.

1) The local effort is seen as a "**special project**," the success of which is explainable only through unique local circumstances or the good fortune to have lots of outside support and resources. The Indonesia team noted that work in extending community-

based management in North Sulawesi required a simplification that would allow the elimination of activities, such as certain expensive scientific monitoring tasks, that would not be needed in new sites. Now that the basic premise has been shown to work in terms of its biological and social benefits, other villages can have increased confidence. The essence of what needs to be replicated in order for others to achieve similar success has also been incorporated into the new Minahasa district provincial coastal law.

2) The local effort is seen by the government as involving **increased costs** if other villages, districts or regions want to carry out similar special programs. Ecuador was able to expand from five to six ZEMs only because the European Union adopted the concept and chose to fund a new site adjacent to Ecuador's most important coastal protected area.

3) The local effort is seen by those involved in innovative local coastal management efforts as resulting in **products—rather than the process—being taken up and replicated**. The Lampung province coastal atlas in Indonesia was cited as an example of this phenomenon. Several other provincial atlases have already been produced, and all provinces in the country are scheduled to generate one. However, these replicas simply copy the document format rather than the careful information gathering and discussion effort that enabled the *Lampung Atlas* to make an important contribution to coastal management.

4) The local effort's overarching concern is the fact that **better coastal management will cost time, effort and money**, not only in more sites but to support the increased capability needed at each level. Donors will not subsidize such recurrent costs and may even become fatigued by the long-term commitment required to fully implement a comprehensive program, especially if initial demonstration projects do not succeed.

How can Stakeholders and Institutions at the Regional and National Levels Create the Enabling Conditions that Support Success in Scaling-up?

Fortunately, CRMP has successfully explored a great many practical ways to overcome these limits to scaling-up and extending the reach of coastal management.

Creating demand for coastal management at regional and national levels

CRMP staff have had good success with communications strategies that include training of local journalists to more effectively cover coastal issues. An example of this was an effective special event in Bahía Santa María that combined a photography exhibit from the IMAX film on the Gulf of California with a presentation of a video on the Bahía Santa María planning process, accompanied by the near-final version of the local bay plan (since officially approved) with color graphics. This event attracted a large number of public officials, business leaders and university faculty.

In Indonesia, a special training course for journalists was conducted with print and TV reporters from Java and Lampung. Trainers stressed how stories about the environment took in all facets of everyday life in coastal communities, ranging from social issues to the economy, and how those stories could be shaped to appeal to a broad public audience and well as political decisionmakers. The Indonesia program has developed broader and more knowledgeable constituencies to support sustainable natural resources management. The approach has included the first National Attitudinal Survey on coastal topics, and a large catalog of quality publications and extensive distribution of information.

In Tanzania, the coastal program included a sustained communications strategy in conjunction with USAID's GreenCOM affiliate, which has included publishing a newsletter—*Pwani Yetu* ("Our Coast")—and producing a videotape, "Voices from the Coast," which brought home the concerns of coastal residents in their own words. Its annual Coastal

Environmental Awards Scheme has involved as many as 100,000 participants from seven coastal districts representing civic groups, government agencies, the private sector and schools which has helped raise public awareness of coastal issues, and increased public involvement in coastal management.

Peer-to-peer study tours have also been effective in a number of programs. At the local level, villagers in Blongko, Indonesia were able to visit Apo Island in the Philippines, one of the earliest examples of a successful locally managed MPA. Residents involved in the creation of the Apo Island marine sanctuary then visited Indonesia and shared their experience with Blongko residents. Nationally, a study tour by Indonesian officials of the decentralized U.S. coastal management program had a major positive influence on creating support for and shaping current national policy proposals that support Indonesia's process of decentralization. In Mexico, community members of Xcalak made a trip to neighboring Belize to see the path tourism development had taken. What they saw was a type of development that they did not want in their village.

Coastal community residents from Baja California Sur in the Gulf of California, who have relatively little experience with but many concerns about tourism development, visited counterparts in Quintana Roo to learn from their efforts to develop low-impact eco-tourism.

Promotion of local program needs and successes works as well

The TCMP is seeing the payoff in its work to create a national constituency from Tanzanian professionals and government officers who previously had few opportunities to work together. Their inter-sectoral cooperation in the project's working groups paved the way for effective support of district plans as well as adoption of the country's national coastal policy.

The program team in Bahía Santa María has utilized its charismatic local leaders and womens' groups to act as project spokespersons, which

resonates well with both local officials and members of state political and governmental agencies.

Documentation and learning tied to policy formulation and adoption

The interplay between local insights and policy formulation can be seen in all CRMP programs.

The TCMP consulted with Tanzanian coastal districts and stakeholders throughout the process of formulating the national coastal policy. Its semi-annual retreats provide a venue for national and local programs to exchange ideas and learn from each other.

Sri Lanka based its innovation of variable setbacks for coastal development, compared to the original fixed setbacks, on scientific and pragmatic input. This decision was based upon coastal process studies and the country's early experiences in issuing permits and interacting with the tourism industry.

In Indonesia, Proyek Pesisir has successfully established an 11-member Indonesian Coastal University Network, INCUNE. The academic partnership maintains a focus on the practice of coastal management and a commitment to building capacity to enable universities to more effectively contribute to ICM policy and programs in local, regional and national arenas. The recent decentralization in the country has enhanced the opportunity for regional universities to engage in coastal management activities at the local scale.

Pressure and support from varied sources produce more effective responses from government

Coastal management programs and their NGO partners carrying out local work have also contributed to more direct, constructive pressure for adjustments and change in regional and national governance. This is helped by the presence of formal and informal networks and collaborative institutions. In the USAID-funded PROARCA/Costas program serv-

ing Central America, this is referred to as the "sandwich" strategy, since the regional Central American Environment and Development Commission (CCAD) plays an important role in sponsoring local pilot projects and exchanges among the six nations of the region. A promising local effort may get international support and recognition, but little country support, until it is brought to the attention of the CCAD. It is at the CCAD that the environment minister of the country in question hears inquiries and congratulations from his peers.

The formal adoption of the Xcalak Reefs National Park was helped by the international recognition it received when the Meso-American Coral Reef Initiative was undertaken, involving four Caribbean countries and the support of global conservation organizations. In the Gulf of California area, active networks of local and regional conservation groups, researchers and environmental managers have made it possible for donor coordination, continuous involvement with national leaders, a capacity-building network and the rapid exchange of views and formulation of position statements on developments of regional importance. An example of this is the coordinated effort to prepare a critique and alternative formulation of the Mexican government's large tourism development program that features marinas and recreational boating, called the Nautical Route. As a result of international NGO involvement, the *Wall Street Journal* recently featured a major article on the controversial government-backed project to build and rehabilitate 22 marina ports along 2,500 miles of coastline at an estimated cost of US $1.9 billion. The counterproposal called for a scaled-back approach that was based on existing recreational harbor use. It was believed that government planners were exaggerating potential demand by as much as 600 percent.

CHARTING A COURSE FOR SUCCESS

Each CRMP country story starts at a different point, explainable in part by each country's different social, economic and political contexts; the interests of donors; and the position of program champions, in addition

to the physical resource condition and use situation. The midpoint of one country's initiative might become the new starting point for another, for example, as local work seeks to sustain itself, or as a successful site is identified, examined and subsequently understood. This could also result in a project having its approach adapted by others.

CRMP has worked to become fuller and more robust as it has proceeded from its inception and learned from its varied experiences. There are no instances where local projects remained isolated, or where regional and national efforts failed to take into account local variations in capability and conditions. The final section captures some of the observations and recommendations presented as reflections for CRMP projects as they look ahead.

BUILDING BETTER "NESTS" THAT NURTURE LOCAL SUCCESS AND INCREASE THE FLOCK OF COASTAL MANAGEMENT SUCCESS STORIES

Over time, each CRMP project has tried to move from a starting point along its initial route to eventually come in contact with and begin to influence additional flows of resources, and build the support needed to nest and extend ICM initiatives. In Tanzania, the starting point might be the need for a national policy. In Mexico, it might be to generate local results and experiences that point the way to how a coastal resource governance situation that looks good on paper can be put into practice. Or, as in Indonesia and Ecuador, it might begin with a full head of steam on both fronts.

While there are periods of intense work to create and gain adoption of a management plan or policy, program managers agree that it is the longer run that matters. Coastal management capacity needs to be created in the right proportion at all levels. It needs to draw upon the experience of others, reflect deeply on its own efforts, and be aware of the changing situation it finds itself in over time. In this case, patience by all involved parties is a virtue.

WHAT ARE THE PRECONDITIONS FOR STARTING UP?

Adhering to core principles

Core principles that need to be established at the outset include transparency in decisionmaking and information sharing, sustainable financing, keeping decisionmaking at the most local level possible, and keeping a focus on equity in results at the local level.

Taking necessary "pre-program" steps

Program managers feel that there needs to be a careful "pre-program" step that looks at the nature of the demand for assistance, the character of the local mandate for change, and the role of the catalysts for change both in the place and from the outside. Attention needs to be focused very early on in achieving a common vision before launching into a detailed characterization or planning stage. From an outside perspective, a specific site may look like the right locale at which to start. But, in fact, there may not be reliable knowledge that prompts potential stakeholders to believe there is a compelling reason to become engaged in what inevitably will be a long journey and a process of change.

Assessing local context and resources

Some additional factors to consider, above and beyond those already discussed, include:

❖ Choosing a site which has a local catalyst for action—this could be a person or a focusing event

❖ A measure of the perception that, from the outset, a coastal management initiative is relevant and potentially helpful

❖ A cultural setting that is sufficiently open to ideas and help from the outside

❖ Potential supporting groups and institutions that exhibit the possibility of becoming productively engaged

❖ Prior successful experiences by the community or local group in working with outside collaborators

❖ Ensuring there is clarity in and understanding of the incentives which exist, or which might be brought to the fore, that can encourage local change

WHAT REGIONAL OR NATIONAL ENABLING CONDITIONS SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED FROM THE OUTSET?

Even though work might begin at the local level, it is important to look across the regional and national spectrums to detect the strength of existing enabling conditions. This includes where attention might need to be paid in order to allow a pilot project to thrive, and the extension of promising approaches to take place over time. Other factors that may influence progress include:

❖ Some expression of national legitimacy must be provided to the initial local effort or pilot before it starts

❖ National leadership can usefully be brought to bear even in projects that start with local situations and examples

❖ The administrative culture of the participating agencies and organizations must be understood to detect potential resistance, as well as to cultivate important allies

❖ In-place decentralization processes can be helpful. But the credibility of the regional and local levels of government may actually become worse if increased responsibility is not followed by required resources

❖ Self-defeating laws, which might be at work that directly contradict the goals of a local coastal management program—for example, the fact that states and municipalities have no legal jurisdiction over coasts, rivers or marine waters

❖ Alignment, or consistency, in decisions among levels of government may not be occurring

❖ Accountability mechanisms and procedures need to be in place. The coastal program can potentially make contributions to improving governance practice in this area

WHAT ROLES CAN AND SHOULD DONORS PLAY?

Donors are in the position to be very helpful, but often can play an unproductive role. Donors are helpful when they act as responsible catalysts for change, coordinate amongst themselves to provide coherent programs of support in an area, and provide training and build local capacity even if this takes more time. Donors can get the attention of government authorities in a way that local people cannot. They may be able to set objectives that favor excellent work without overreaching. Donor flexibility allows for learning and redesign if initial assessments were inaccurate or a situation suddenly changes.

Donors can also be a source of trouble. Their overwhelming presence can skew local priorities and wrongly discredit promising locally generated solutions. Donors can provoke a "project" mentality that sees local groups stringing along a variety of activities that lack the power of a local vision and a longer-term program. Donor-funded training, if it is overseas, may result in a serious mismatch between what a participant learns and what he or she needs to know upon return. Donors can be rigid in their monitoring and results requirements, bypassing what local managers know to be more effective. Donor funding cycles and timing may be a poor match for the pace and level of effort required for local success. The transition to local, sustained effort is often not incorporated in a realistic manner.

Are CRMP Countries Able to Build the Nested Systems They Need to Bring Their Fledgling Pilot Projects to Full Programs?

The answer in a word is: Yes.

All coastal management projects need to show that a material difference is being made in resources that are being conserved, protected and, where necessary, restored. The long-term agenda of CRMP professionals demonstrating how this difference is being made in ways people throughout a country's coast can perceive and appreciate. Coastal managers need to look outside the immediate situation in a specific place for some of the ingredients of success. However, it is the hard work carried out at the local level, especially in pioneering efforts, that will inspire, inform, and ultimately influence the spread and usefulness of coastal management concepts and tools.

A better nest contains local, regional-national and external-international elements, and these work together to reinforce local progress. This better nest also relies upon local projects to inspire and motivate regional and national decisions and policies, but it also stimulates interest and support apart from government, among other communities, or even at the international level among donors, researchers and activist groups. In response, regional and national levels return resources to help the local initiative, while external or international groups offer support, attention and perhaps even criticism, to nudge and encourage central levels of government to work more effectively at the local level. This outside support can play a direct role as well by independently creating ICM capacity in an existing or new location, incorporating those areas into a larger web of support.

Another answer to the question is that it is difficult get the whole package right, to build the nest "just so" the first time around. It is important to not only focus on individual project products, but to be strategic. This may be done by moving earlier to build up some of the key factors out-

side the local situation that come into play at later stages, as bright ideas move into implementation. With a more complete road map in mind from the start, it may become at least a little bit easier to ask questions and find answers about criteria for starting up, roles of donors and agents of change, and the status of enabling conditions. Bringing a group of practitioners to work closely together to sketch out a common map from their various experiences, as happened during the *World of Learning* events, is a fruitful way to explore each country's experience for clues, hints, reminders, and insights into what might work better at home.

CRAFTING COASTAL GOVERNANCE
IN A CHANGING WORLD

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DECEMBER 2003

COASTAL MANAGEMENT REPORT #2241
ISBN #1-885454-50-3

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The relationship between the U.S, Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Coastal Resources Center (CRC) at the University of Rhode Island has been a true partnership. Together we have faced the difficulties, surprises and successes that mark any attempt to apply new ideas to old problems. The knowledge that we are a single team working for the same goals, and defining together the changes in strategy required by our own learning and the changing circumstances in each country and the world at large, has been central to success of the Coastal Resources Management Program.

A great many people in USAID, in CRC and in the countries where we have worked have contributed to what has been achieved and learned. The authors of this volume thank everyone involved for their creativity, their energy and their leadership in addressing the complex issues in coastal regions. Most especially we thank our in-country teams and our partner institutions who taught us how what was being learned elsewhere could be appropriately applied to their own cultures and the needs of their countries. We have not attempted to list all those that have contributed to the ideas and the experience presented in this volume. To do so would require several long paragraphs.

While so many contributors to the program, one name stands out: Lynne Hale, former associate director of CRC. Lynne left CRC in the last year of the program—but only after setting in motion the drafting and redrafting that has resulted in this volume of reflections, experience and future directions. Lynne was CRC's point person with USAID. She led the design of the CRMP II field programs and made sure that they capitalized on what had been learned from the first set of filed programs. Throughout the 18 years of the program Lynne's passion, perseverance and perception made it the success it became. All who have contributed to this volume thank her and wish her well in the next stage of her career.

COASTAL RESOURCES CENTER

Preface

Oceans, Coasts, Water, and the Evolving USAID Agenda

By Bill Sugrue
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U.S. Agency for International Development

Since 1985, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has
partnered with the University of Rhode Island Coastal Resources Center
(CRC) in carrying out the Coastal Resources Management Program
(CRMP). CRMP is a pioneering initiative working with developing coun-
tries around the world to advance the principles and practices of integrat-
ed coastal management (ICM). During this 18-year partnership, USAID
and CRC, together with partners in the field, have learned a great deal
about the complexities and challenges of better managing our coasts. This
has included learning how to balance the need for ecologically healthy
coasts with the need to promote a better quality of life for those who live
and work there. Throughout this process, CRC has been an instrumental
force in promoting a "learning agenda" for (ICM). In the selected CRMP
stories included in this book, you will share in some of that learning. Let
me summarize here some of the key principles that underlie the ICM
learning agenda.

ADVANCE INTEGRATED WATER AND COASTAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT FOR IMPROVED ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT

It is essential that ICM and integrated water resources management (IWRM) be mainstreamed into sustainable development efforts. ICM and IWRM are essential foundations for improvements in health, food security, economic development, democracy and governance, and biodiversity conservation. We must recognize the interdependence of these development goals. The interdependence of human health, food security, governance and the other human activities is obvious. How development objectives are pursued in these sectors can have dramatic impacts on biodiversity, and on the biosphere. The biosphere is currently in free-fall, so the significance of these impacts is not trivial. Conversely, biodiversity conservation programs, properly conceived, can significantly support CRMP objectives in economic development, food security, governance and other areas. The challenge to development assistance organizations is to ensure that they move beyond single sector responses to more integrated, cross-sectoral approaches that do justice to the exceedingly complex and interrelated factors that shape our world. Principles of integration as practiced in ICM and IWRM must be given the commitment of time and resources that they deserve.

CREATE STRONG GOVERNANCE AT ALL LEVELS

Good governance is more than just good government. It encompasses a range of processes in which public, private and civil societies organize and coordinate with each other to make decisions, and distribute rights, obligations and authorities for the use and management of shared coastal resources. A central operating principle of the CRMP has been that effective governance systems are what create the preconditions for achieving sustainable environmental and social benefits. We have learned that good coastal governance functions best when it exists as part of a nested system—that is, one that operates simultaneously at scales ranging from the local to the global. For example, sub-national and community-based management efforts stand the best chances to be effective and to be sustained

over the long term when they are supported by policies and institutional structures at the national level. Meanwhile, national-level initiatives build capacity for ICM governance across spatial and sectoral scales, providing support to local initiatives while addressing coastal development and conservation of more wide-ranging national interest.

PROMOTE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS

Participatory approaches to conservation are now recognized as one of the few means to ensure sustainable management of ecosystems and natural resources while also meeting local peoples' livelihood needs. This participation is most effective when it includes both the public and private sectors. ICM and IWRM are too complex for one institution or group of constituencies to "go it alone." Forging carefully selected, strategic private-public partnerships can help.

Eco-tourism is just one of the issues around which coastal programs are testing such partnerships. The hope is that by partnering with the private tourism sector, chances improve for achieving environmentally sound, financially sustainable, and culturally appropriate coastal tourism development. When these partnerships succeed, eco-tourism can have significant, positive impacts on local economies and can provide strong incentives for sound environmental protection and management. A caution is that "environmentally sound" and "culturally appropriate" cannot be throwaway lines. They need to be taken seriously. Not all eco-tourism is very "eco," and unless there is true and transparent participation—i.e. the local community is fully engaged, not simply consulted—the impact of tourism on local communities can be destructive economically, socially, and culturally, and the impact on the environment catastrophic and permanent. It is not easy to do this right—but it is essential to do so.

EMPOWER COASTAL COMMUNITIES TO SELF-MANAGE THEIR RESOURCES

This must be done while promoting alternative livelihood and food security objectives. In cases where local social and economic networks are

already well established and thriving, even at relatively low income levels, poorly conceived outside interventions can be extremely and negatively disruptive. Since poverty is not solely a function of income, but also of control of assets, empowerment, and control over one's fate, even the most well-intentioned efforts at poverty reduction or economic growth can have the opposite effect on people if existing arrangements are not taken fully into account. This is especially worthy of consideration in the case of indigenous communities. In such cases, poverty prevention, rather than poverty reduction, may be the appropriate goal. In this way, intact communities with essentially sound traditions of resource management may best be assisted by simply strengthening and supporting their control over local resources. Only modest, incremental initiatives aimed at ensuring continued food security and additional income streams may be called for; but here again, full engagement of the community, not simply consultation, must be the norm.

Advance Institutional Strengthening and Capacity Building at Both the National and Local Levels

Inadequate capacity to practice ICM and to design and implement strategies that lead to more sustainable forms of coastal development remains a primary factor limiting progress in ICM. Too often, development projects bring in external expertise and funding without a parallel effort to build and strengthen in-country partner organizations—leaving partner organizations and the larger ICM effort vulnerable to failure when outside assistance ends. CRMP has used a different approach. Its preference has been to strengthen institutions over extended periods of time and to transfer the skills and the responsibilities for implementation to CRMP collaborating organizations. This approach is grounded in the belief that long-term collaborative relationships with partners maximizes learning and increases the probability that productive efforts will be sustained over many years.

The CRMP experience has also demonstrated the value to be derived from cross-portfolio learning. For example, we have seen how communities in the Philippines that developed community-based marine sanctuaries were able to provide useful insights to Indonesian practitioners attempting to

establish their own marine reserves. Similarly, experience in Ecuador and Sri Lanka in the development of shoreline management guidelines helped CRMP undertake the process more efficiently in Tanzania.

While USAID, through its overseas missions, presently supports coastal and marine activities in over 40 countries, only a small handful of those USAID missions have been able to invest in a more comprehensive ICM approach, with broad attention to all of the general principles cited above. The challenge remains to enhance the dialogue between development agencies and national governments on the economic, social and environmental values of marine and coastal resources, and the proper level of investment to maintain these resources as national and local assets. These priority challenges, which must be faced, and which will help guide USAID's future directions include the need to:

❖ Mainstream applied fisheries research and management into ICM programs, and promote effective governance of commercial, artisanal, and subsistence capture and culture fisheries. Science and technology advances must influence decisions on coastal resource management in a context of good governance. Both are crucial.

❖ Establish networks of marine protected areas with substantial ecological reserves in all regions, while ensuring the sustainability of these activities through the development of alliances and partnerships. Conservation groups and their allies in government and the private sector have made good progress over the past 20 years in establishing parks and reserves to preserve terrestrial biodiversity. The scientific basis for defining these reserves, and managing and linking them, has grown more sophisticated. The number and variety of partners supporting these efforts has grown as well. Coastal and marine reserves need to catch up. Strong partnerships among conservation groups, government, the private sector, and local communities will be essential.

❖ Enhance coastal and nearshore water quality through partnership programs to control both point and non-point sources of marine pollution, while addressing the impact of the growing number of coastal megacities. There has been little meaningful engagement in a significant way with the challenges of coastal resource management in the context of megacities. This is a huge challenge that needs to be confronted for reasons of human welfare and environmental quality.

❖ Reduce the vulnerability of coastal populations and their infrastructure to the growing threat of flooding, storm surge, and coastal erosion due to climate change and rising sea levels. Mitigation efforts are essential. A great deal remains to be done that has not yet been done. But serious—even drastic—efforts in mitigation do not eliminate the need to undertake, simultaneously, ambitious initiatives in adaptation because sea level rise and other effects of global climate change seem inevitable.

What is next? Clearly, coastal and freshwater management challenges and needs will not abate in the foreseeable future. World leaders reaffirmed at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg the central role that these resource issues will continue to play in the sustainable development agenda. USAID is in full agreement with that affirmation and remains committed to full engagement on these issues.