
GLOBALIZATION AND WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT: THE CHANGING VALUE OF WATER

AUGUST 6-8 AWRA/IWLRI-UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE INTERNATIONAL SPECIALTY CONFERENCE 2001

THE MYTH OF MULTI-STAKEHOLDER PARTNERSHIPS IN SUSTAINABLE WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT: In recent years, a number of leading associations, academics and practitioners have argued that multi-stakeholder partnerships are needed to achieve sustainable water management and river basin development. Despite the popularity of the 'partnership myth', little research has been completed to date on the performance of such arrangements in the water sector. Furthermore, it is unclear what the key elements of an effective partnership arrangement are. This paper reports the findings from an investigation of the Fraser Basin Council (FBC), British Columbia, Canada. The FBC is a partnership that seeks to facilitate sustainable development of a whole river basin by bringing together four orders of government, private sector interests and non-government groups. A framework for the evaluation of partnership arrangements is outlined and lessons from the experience of the FBC are identified. The paper concludes by proposing the CARIBOO model for sustainable water management partnerships. **KEY TERMS:** Partnerships; sustainable development; collaboration; institutional arrangements; evaluative criteria; Fraser Basin Council.

INTRODUCTION

A partnership 'myth' currently exists in water resources management. Formal collaborative partnerships, whereby a group of public, private and non-governmental organisations mutually define, and work towards, a common goal or objective, are widely regarded as the key to tackling water problems and for achieving a transition to sustainable development. Whilst an increasing number of professional associations, academics and practitioners are subscribing to this 'myth', relatively little is known about the effectiveness of this approach. In short, it is unclear whether our confidence in power of partnerships is fully justified. In order to shed some light on this issue, an evaluation of the Fraser Basin Council (FBC), British Columbia, was undertaken. The study sought to identify the influences of different institutional variables on the functioning of this partnership and to assess its contribution to sustainable development. Evidence for the evaluation was collected from a mix of sources, including interviews with FBC Directors and staff, analysis of published and internal documents, plus visits to demonstration projects and key sites. Interviews with eight members of FBC staff and twelve Directors were completed between July 25th and August 9th, 2000. Care was taken to ensure that the interview schedule included a balanced mix of participants representing government organisations, private sector interests and staff from the five major regions within the Basin.

DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE OF THE FRASER BASIN

The Fraser Basin is approximately 234,000 km² in size (equal to the UK) and drains ¼ of the area of the Province of British Columbia. The Fraser supports a population of more than 2.5 million people and accounts for 80% of Gross Provincial Product (GPP) which is largely derived from timber, agriculture, fisheries, and

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manufactured goods. Prior to the arrival of European settlers, the Fraser had supported an indigenous population over a period of 10,000 years. The First Nations population never exceeded 50,000 and was sustained by the extensive salmon runs and other natural resources of the region. However, exploitation of natural resources and urban expansion from the early 1800s onwards impaired the quality of the environment and produced a catalogue of land and water-related problems. During the 1980s and early 1990s there were a number of inter-governmental initiatives that attempted to tackle the adverse effects of development, including the Fraser River Estuary Management Program (FREMP) and the Fraser Basin Management Board (FBMB). By the mid-1990s, the limitations of these arrangements had become apparent and attention turned to the establishment of a more inclusive and independent partnership arrangement. The FBC was subsequently established in 1997 with the purpose of facilitating sustainable development by bringing together four orders of government and economic, social and environmental interests from the different geographical regions. This evaluation is based on five criteria that reflect a progression from the formation and operation of partnerships through to the delivery of outputs and outcomes. Whilst compliance with all of the criteria is not essential for the successful operation of partnerships, performance will improve as more of these requirements are satisfied. The criteria and the associated results from the evaluation are outlined below.

Compatible Motives

A key consideration for the formation of an effective partnership is that the organisations involved must have compatible motives for collaboration. An organisation may choose to collaborate because of a desire to address a perceived problem that is shared by a number of other groups. Alternatively, an organisation may see collaboration as an opportunity to gain additional resources or political support for its own activities. Consequently partnerships are unlikely to be successful if there are substantial differences in the intentions or expectations of the organisations involved. The potential for disagreement is particularly strong in cases such as the FBC where a large number of stakeholders with diverse interests are involved. Interviews indicated there are some differences in expectations among Directors of the FBC. Representatives for federal departments argued that involvement with the FBC was useful to them because it allowed initiatives to be undertaken that might be controversial, or invite suspicion, if undertaken solely by government. Others supported the FBC because it provided greater opportunities for local governments and First Nations to participate in policy processes. Furthermore, there were some significant differences among regional representatives. In the upper and middle parts of the Basin, participants indicated that slow growth in the predominantly resource-based economy was a key problem that the FBC should address. In contrast, participants from the lower Basin cited concern about the environmental and social consequences of past economic development as a key factor which accounted for their involvement with the FBC.

The fact that there are some differences in expectations and perceived needs among government, sectoral and spatial interests would suggest that sustaining commitment to the FBC might be difficult. However, a common understanding of the role of the FBC has emerged which is sufficiently broad to accommodate the different concerns and interpretations of Directors. The FBC has benefited greatly in this respect from the earlier work of the FBMB that included the preparation of a Charter for Sustainability (Fraser Basin Management Program, 1997). Although not a legally binding document, the Charter sets out a vision that articulates the economic, social and environmental characteristics of a sustainable Fraser Basin system. Twelve principles to guide action towards achievement of the vision are also identified. A particularly important aspect of the Charter is that it explicitly acknowledges the need to improve institutional arrangements and decision making. Key institutional requirements for sustainable development are identified as the adoption of natural watershed boundaries, collective and cooperative approaches, participation of indigenous people, and inclusive, transparent and accountable decision making at the local level. When interviewed, staff and several Directors identified that Charter as a vital 'living' document that is sufficiently inclusive in tone and content to command the support of diverse government and non-government interests throughout the Basin. Whilst different expectations and interpretations of sustainable development clearly do exist, there is agreement that an approach based on cooperation and consensus offers the best prospects for progress. Thus, by inheriting a series of common goals and principles, the FBC was able to avoid some of the challenges that are typically encountered during the formation of a partnership arrangement.

Equitable Representation and Power

One requirement for the successful operation of a partnership is that there should be a fair balance of representation and power among the participants. This is particularly important in the context of sustainable development, where issues cut across numerous government jurisdictions and require consideration of different

perspectives and sectoral interests. As such, the credibility and legitimacy of a sustainable development partnership will be seriously damaged if imbalances in representation or power exist. The FBMB had a total of 19 members including representatives for federal and provincial government (6), local governments (3), and First Nations (3). The remaining positions included a neutral Chair plus six knowledgeable individuals who were appointed by the federal, provincial and local government signatories of the agreement establishing the Fraser Basin Management Program. This arrangement was seen by some as an attempt to build a fifth order of government that did not provide adequate representation for local governments, First Nations or private sector interests within the Basin. Therefore, it was crucial to the success of the FBC that these imbalances were corrected and that any new arrangements were not just inter-governmental but also included non-governmental stakeholders.

To address these concerns, the FBC was established as a not-for-profit charitable organisation that would operate as an impartial facilitator to produce consensus among government and non-government interests regarding sustainable development. Support for this new organisation was gained slowly by the Chair and Executive Director of the former FBMB presenting a proposal to several federal and provincial ministers as well as numerous local governments throughout the Basin. The proposal for the FBC was widely supported because it offered to increase local government and First Nations representation. Arrangements for representation of basin-wide social, economic and environmental interests and regional sectoral interests were included. There are 36 FBC Directors who represent federal and provincial government (6), eight regional districts that include 60 local governments (8), the eight First Nations language groups (8), sectoral interests from five geographical regions that make up the Basin (10), basin-wide social, economic, and environmental interests (3) and a neutral Chair (1). The four orders of government make their own appointments to the FBC and, together, those Directors are responsible for the selection of individuals to represent basin-wide and sectoral interests. Directors from federal government report to a satellite committee of eleven federal department representatives. An identical arrangement exists for Directors from provincial government ministries. Local government representatives report to their Regional Districts and to the Union of BC Municipalities. There was general agreement among interviewees that this structure is fair for most interests and that it is certainly an improvement upon the arrangements that existed for the FBMB. The FBC meets three times during each year (February, June, October) and consequently an Operations Committee was established to deal with administrative matters and to keep momentum during the interim periods.

Meetings of the Operations Committee are held once per month, often using telephone conferencing facilities. The Operations Committee includes the neutral Chair plus eight Directors, six of whom are drawn from the four orders of government. Whilst the alternates for each of these Directors do represent a wider set of interests, a number of interviewees expressed concern that, in addition to handling administrative matters, the Operations Committee had a tendency to make policy and strategic decisions that should have been more widely debated among Directors. This point illustrates the difficulty for partnerships of balancing the need to make progress and the need to build consensus. There was also wide recognition that the representation of First Nations interests is a particularly difficult issue that cannot be easily resolved. The eight First Nations language groups in the Fraser Basin include 96 separate Bands that are regarded as separate kinship groups by indigenous people. Because Bands have distinct social and administrative systems, the eight First Nations Directors are unable to speak on behalf of them all, although each Director does provide a unique perspective and a vital link between indigenous and non-indigenous governments. Further, these eight Directors can choose to meet on an annual basis as the Council of First Nations to address issues of common concern. An added complication is that some Bands within the same language groups are divided regarding the negotiation of treaties and land claims with the federal and provincial governments. Bands that are unwilling to negotiate under present conditions are reluctant to participate in initiatives such as the FBC which include other orders of government.

In order to qualify for charitable status, the FBC must operate in an impartial manner and observe a constitution written to comply with the Society Act of Canada. For example, one requirement of the constitution is that the FBC should make decisions by consensus and may use conciliation and mediation to achieve this if necessary. Only as a last resort can questions be resolved by a majority vote. A Fraser Basin Council Society was created to provide accountability and to ensure that the constitution is upheld. The Society has a total of seven members who represent the four orders of government (federal, provincial, local and First Nations) and economic, environmental, and social interests in the Basin. Appointments to the Society are for life, or until the person loses the position which made them eligible for appointment. One potential limitation of this arrangement is that three of the Society members are also members of the nine-member Operations Committee. Given the concerns outlined above regarding this Committee, this overlap in responsibilities may reduce the effectiveness of this important accountability mechanism.

Adaptive Capacity

A second operational requirement for a partnership is that it must be flexible in order to respond sensitively to different circumstances and needs. This is particularly important for organisations such as the FBC that deal with very large geographical areas which include complex bio-physical and socio-economic systems that are subject to fluctuation and change. Lateral rather than hierarchical decision-making structures can provide a greater degree of flexibility and are an important feature of many adaptive organisations.

The importance of adaptive approaches is explicitly recognised in the Charter for Sustainability, and the FBC has put arrangements in place that are flexible and responsive to varied conditions throughout the Basin. The operation of Regional Committees in the five regions of the Basin is a key feature of these arrangements (Greater Vancouver, Fraser Valley, Thompson, Cariboo-Chilcotin, and Upper Fraser). These five regions are amalgamations of major watersheds. Directors from each of these regions form the Regional Committees with membership ranging from four to seven to reflect differences in size and the local government, First Nations and sectoral interests within them. Directors representing basin-wide, federal and provincial interests do not participate at this level. Full-time Coordinators were introduced in each region by the FBC from 1998 onwards, and each Regional Committee has developed an operational approach to reflect local circumstances. For example, the Thompson Regional Committee meets on a regular basis and has concentrated efforts to date on raising public awareness about deteriorating water quality in Shuswap Lake on the South Thompson River. In contrast, the Fraser Valley Regional Committee does not meet frequently but the Coordinator does regularly consult with individual Directors and a variety of environmental and social initiatives has developed. The network of Regional Committees does provide a valuable bottom-up or grass-roots mechanism for identifying sustainability issues and gaining support for action. However, because the number of potential concerns identified at the regional level is so large and human and financial resources are limited, it was necessary for the FBC to develop a set of criteria to determine which issues should be addressed. Specifically, the FBC only offers facilitation or support when the three dimensions of sustainability are evident in the issue, when help is requested by at least two separate organisations, when the initiative is consistent with the Charter for Sustainability and when no other organisation is available to fulfil the role. Whilst these structures and arrangements have enhanced the flexibility of the FBC, the varied rate of development of the five Regional Committees has led to differences in the number of major initiatives within each region. This issue is addressed later in the paper in the context of outputs and outcomes.

The meetings of the full FBC have also been used to enhance adaptive capacity. Since 1999, the first day of the meeting held in June has been devoted to a field trip. Visits to key sites have allowed staff to demonstrate how the Charter for Sustainability relates to on-the-ground issues. Unfortunately, attendance by Directors holding senior government positions has been poor on these trips. A further change was introduced in 2000 that involved moving one of the three meetings held each year to a location outside Vancouver. Many interviewees stated that, despite the extra costs, the field trips and the meetings outside Vancouver were extremely useful for exposing Directors and staff to unfamiliar issues and alternative perspectives from different parts of the Basin.

Adequate Resources

Collaboration does require additional resources that may normally be used by the individual organisations to pursue their separate mandates. Whilst the provision of adequate human and financial resources does not guarantee the success of a partnership, an absence of these elements is likely to seriously damage performance.

Funding arrangements are a distinctive feature of the FBC, with local, provincial and federal governments contributing in nearly equal measure during the first three years of operation. Local government provides approximately Cdn. \$300,000 to the FBC on an annual basis, with seven of the eight Regional Districts contributing at a rate of 20 cents per head of population. The eighth Regional District (GVRD) contributes at a rate of ten cents per head because an equal amount is also provided to support the FREMP. Nevertheless, the difference in rate is significant for the FBC as the Greater Vancouver area supports some 1.7 million people, or nearly 70% of the total population of the Basin. The total local government contribution is matched by funding from two provincial ministries (Environment, Lands and Parks, Municipal Affairs and Housing) and also four federal departments (Environment, Fisheries and Oceans, Transport, and Indian and Northern Affairs). Thus, with the addition of around Cdn.\$100,000 from small project fees and conference revenues, the FBC has an operational budget of roughly Cdn.\$1 million per year. Approximately 25% of the budget is allocated to administration, 50% to the delivery of programmes and the remaining 25% to communications, Board operations and conference expenses (Fraser Basin Council, 1999a). The FBC has twelve full-time staff, including an Executive Director, a Basin-Wide Coordinator,

five Regional Coordinators and specialists dealing with flood hazard management, gravel management and communications.

All of the Directors who were interviewed considered the FBC to be a lean and efficient organisation, and some argued that much higher costs would be involved if the same functions were to be performed by a government-run organisation. A majority also accepted that First Nations cannot contribute financially to the FBC at present because of the political and economic circumstances of indigenous communities. Whilst the current annual budget was considered adequate for the basic functions of the FBC, a number of concerns about funding were raised. Several interviewees argued that the FBC would have to gain substantial private sector funding in order for financial support from the three different orders of government to continue beyond the first five years. In addition, there appears to be little prospect for increasing the size of the annual contributions from the three orders of government and therefore any expansion of the FBC will have to be funded from either private interests or revenue generated from fee-for-service projects and activities. The FBC has appointed new Directors from sectors such as air transportation, timber production and tourism to encourage private financing. However, available accounts for 1997-1999 did not show any evidence of substantial contributions from the private sector (Fraser Basin Council, 1999a). In addition, a policy has been produced which defines the criteria that must be satisfied for the FBC to undertake work in exchange for payment. Revenue from this type of work accounted for less than 7% of the budget in 1998-99. Thus, while the short-term financial arrangements for the FBC are considered to be fair and adequate, it is evident that new sources of funding will have to be found in the very near future if the FBC initiative is to be sustained.

Outputs and Outcomes

Compatible motives and sound procedures are important elements of a successful partnership, but the actual impacts of the initiative are probably the most crucial indicators of performance. Without demonstrated impacts, the commitment of stakeholders in terms of both political and financial support is unlikely to be maintained. Indeed, critics have dismissed collaborative partnerships as 'talking shops' or 'think tanks' that often have little, if any, effect on the matter at hand. Maintaining commitment is a particularly important challenge for sustainable development partnerships because transitions in human development often take place over several decades and numerous obstacles are likely to be encountered along the way. Nevertheless, the outputs and outcomes from a partnership can indicate progress towards long-term goals. Outputs are the products or services delivered whilst outcomes are a measure of the extent to which overall goals and objectives are being achieved. The importance of monitoring and reporting progress is recognised by the FBC and a five year Action Plan for the Fraser Basin was produced for this purpose (Fraser Basin Council, 1999b). The Plan covers the period 1999-2004 and includes details of basin-wide, inter-regional and regional initiatives to be undertaken by the FBC itself and the individual organisations that belong to it. Each item in the Plan includes a description of actions and individual tasks, a timeline, and a status report. Updates for existing actions and new actions are incorporated on an annual basis and the Plan is available to the public as a printed and an electronic document. Significant outputs from the FBC during the first three years of operation include a number of planning initiatives. For example, a plan to deal with nutrient problems from agricultural practices in the Fraser Valley was issued in 1999 and a plan for river gravel management and extraction in the same region was produced in 2000. In addition, a plan has been developed to implement an Integrated Flood Hazard Management Strategy produced by the FBMB in 1996. A common feature of these plans is that they were developed through a multi-stakeholder process in which the FBC served as a facilitator. There have also been a number of important outputs in relation to information dissemination and raising public awareness of sustainability issues. Examples include State of the Basin Conferences held in 1998 and 2000 and a publication designed to improve public understanding of water quality problems in Shuswap Lake on the South Thompson River.

The FBC has also contributed to the resolution of long-standing controversies and environmental conflicts within the Basin. A prime example of this is the Nechako watershed in the Upper Fraser Region. Disputes followed the construction of the Kenney Dam and Kemano hydroelectric project in the 1950s, which provided power for aluminium production at Kitimat. Further controversy was caused by a proposal for a Kemano Completion Project (KCP) in the 1980s that involved diversion of more water from the Nechako watershed. After cancellation of the KCP in 1995, the provincial government and Alcan signed an agreement to address outstanding issues of water rights. Part of this agreement provides funding of up to Cdn. \$100 million for the downstream enhancement of the Nechako River. The FBC established a multi-stakeholder process to consider how the needs and interests of different groups might be met by various environmental enhancement options, including the construction of a cold-water release facility at the Kenney Dam. Specifically, the Nechako Watershed Council (NWC) was created to work

towards the cooperative resolution of water management issues. The FBC Regional Coordinator for the Upper Fraser currently provides support to the NWC, which includes representatives of business (including Alcan), community interests and municipal, regional, provincial and First Nations governments. In addition to working to resolve twenty-six separate watershed management issues, the NWC has produced joint recommendations regarding the allocation of the Nechako Environmental Enhancement Fund (NEEF).

In addition to these outputs, there have been a number of tangible outcomes from the work of the FBC. One example is the Agassiz Debris Trap on the main river channel in the Fraser Valley. Large woody debris is needed for healthy aquatic ecosystems but can also pose a hazard to navigation and damage infrastructure. Since the early 1980s, a floating boom has been operated on the Lower Fraser which removes 70-90,000 m³ of debris per year. Funding of the Debris Trap was provided on an equal basis by federal and provincial agencies and the private sector. However, the Trap required Cdn. \$451,000 per year to remain operational and was threatened with closure in 1999 due to cuts in government budgets. The FBC was able to keep the Trap open by drawing attention to the problem and securing additional funding from twelve government, non-government and private sector organisations. In addition to resolving the immediate funding crisis, the FBC established a Debris Management Partners Group (DMPG) to examine debris sources and management upstream and downstream of the Debris Trap. The FBC has also recognised the need to measure outputs and outcomes in relation to long-term goals and has recently developed a provisional set of 40 indicators linked to the four directions outlined in the Charter for Sustainability: understanding sustainability, caring for ecosystems, strengthening communities and improving decision making. Following public dialogue, a final set of indicators will be published in 2001 and will be incorporated in a State of the Basin Report that is planned for release in 2002.

There was broad agreement among interviewees that the FBC has delivered a range of significant outputs and that, once developed, the sustainability indicators will provide a valuable measure of outcomes and progress towards long-term goals. However, some concerns were expressed about the spatial distribution of major initiatives and the resultant outputs. Whilst there are initiatives in all parts of the Basin, many of these have been undertaken by separate organisations belonging to the FBC. The majority of actions taken by the FBC itself have been concentrated in the Greater Vancouver and Fraser Valley regions, and some interviewees felt that the needs and interests of communities in other parts of the Basin had not been given sufficient attention. The concentration of population and associated development problems in the lower parts of the Basin, as well as differences in the Regional Committees may account, at least in part, for the unequal distribution of FBC initiatives. Nevertheless, Directors in the middle and upper parts of the Basin suggested that the perceived imbalances in benefits may cause funding from some Regional Districts to be discontinued. Therefore the issue of the distribution of benefits and costs does need to be taken seriously by the FBC.

CARIBOO: PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE PARTNERSHIPS

Evidence from this evaluation of the FBC suggests that multi-stakeholder partnerships can contribute to sustainable development at the river basin scale. The success of the FBC is linked to a number of key features that are incorporated in the design and the operation of this partnership arrangement. The acronym 'CARIBOO' is used here to identify these key institutional features. A Common vision is an essential requirement for an effective partnership because needs, interests and expectations are likely to differ among legitimate stakeholders. In the case of the FBC, a common vision was created through the Charter for Sustainability, which sets out agreed long-term goals, major challenges to sustainability and principles to guide action. The Charter provides strategic direction but is also used at an operational level to ensure that initiatives are consistent with sustainable development as prescribed by the FBC. Sustainable development partnerships also require Adaptive capacity. The FBC has a lateral organisational structure that provides discretion and flexibility at the regional level and also cohesion among the different orders of government. The organisation of meetings has also been innovative, providing information exchange and exposure to ideas and perspectives from different parts of the Basin. Adequate Resources are needed for partnerships because collaboration involves additional efforts and costs. The shared funding arrangements for the FBC appear to be secure in the short-term and the distribution of costs among three orders of government is considered fair. Given the size and complexity of the Fraser Basin, the operational costs of the FBC are modest. The experience of the FBC also suggests that Independence is a crucial factor for effective decision making. A partnership must have a clearly defined function that does not duplicate the roles of existing organisations. The FBC is not an attempt to replace existing governmental arrangements for resource management and sustainable development. It was conceived as a third-party facilitator to deal with multi-jurisdictional issues that government cannot easily deal with. Indeed, support has been sustained because the FBC performs a facilitation role rather than

functioning as a fifth order of government that may threaten the authority or power of public officials. The organisational structure of a partnership should provide **Balance** in terms of representation and power. The fact that the FBC is a not-for-profit charity that is beyond direct government control is significant in this respect. Furthermore, the requirement for the FBC to operate by consensus ensures that powerful coalitions cannot out-vote minority interests. The FBC does provide balanced representation of interests from different geographical regions within the Fraser Basin and is an important step in the recognition of First Nations as a legitimate order of government. Finally, partnerships must be able to demonstrate tangible **Outputs** and **Outcomes**. Collaboration should be seen as a means to address water-related problems and not an end in itself. Current monitoring and reporting by the FBC indicate a broad range of outputs and the measurement of outcomes using sustainability indicators should be possible within the next year.

Whilst the FBC is an example of an effective partnership arrangement, the evaluation did identify a number of issues that should be addressed if the initiative is to continue beyond the first five years of operation. One concern is the role of the Operations Committee and the overlap in membership with the Fraser Basin Council Society. An effective reform would be to change the membership of the Operations Committee so that sectoral interests are fairly represented alongside governmental interests. The Society provides an important accountability mechanism that is designed to ensure that the FBC functions fairly and that decisions are based on consensus. As such, only the neutral Chair of the FBC should be appointed to both the Society and the Operations Committee. This arrangement should ensure the independence of the Society whilst also providing a vital link between the charitable and the operational parts of the organisation.

A second issue relates to the variations in the initiatives undertaken by the FBC in the five regions within the Basin. The differences in benefits that have resulted from this are a cause for concern among some stakeholders and this may threaten funding of the FBC in the future. One way to address this would be to accelerate the development of the Regional Committees to form Regional Councils. Based on amalgamated watershed boundaries, the Regional Councils would have larger memberships to reflect the economic, social, environmental and sectoral interests of the regions. This arrangement would enhance the ability of each region to identify critical issues, plan initiatives and implement actions. Thus, the FBC would have a stronger and more tangible presence in geographical areas where it is currently regarded to be relatively inactive. Finally, uncertainty regarding funding arrangements is the greatest threat to the future of the FBC. The private sector is undoubtedly an important potential source of additional funding for the FBC. It is suggested here that the ten Directors representing sectoral interests in the five regions should be invited to establish a caucus of business interests that would mirror the arrangements that already exist for the four orders of government. A caucus of business interests, operating as a satellite committee, would be able to exchange information and build links between the FBC and the private sector. This would improve the prospects for private donations and may ultimately lead to a more stable arrangement whereby funds are provided in equal measure by federal departments, provincial ministries, local governments and business organisations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project was supported by a grant from the Faculty Research Program of the Canadian High Commission, London. The co-operation of staff and Directors of the FBC is gratefully acknowledged.

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