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Learning from Experience: Lessons from Community-based Engagement for Improving Participatory Marine Spatial Planning

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ABSTRACT

Marine spatial planning (MSP) is critiqued for inadequate stakeholder engagement practices, particularly for determining community-level interests. Community engagement is foundational to community planning, a local-level process in terrestrial planning. This study compared the community engagement experiences of practitioners in local and national-level organizations in Nova Scotia, Canada, likely to participate in MSP to participatory best practice principles identified in the terrestrial planning and environmental management literature. Giving more attention to knowledge and skills of local government and community groups could strengthen participatory practices in MSP, link community and marine planning, and increase the relevance of MSP for coastal community development.

KEYWORDS

Community-based engagement; engagement principles; marine spatial planning; Nova Scotia; participatory processes

Introduction

Marine spatial planning (MSP), which emerged in the 2000s for managing use of marine space and resources while safeguarding marine ecosystems (Ehler *et al.*, 2019; Ehler, 2021), is typically undertaken by senior-level government departments or agencies with marine environmental jurisdiction. Because of their attention to national or sub-national interests, these units may have limited knowledge of local contexts and varying successes with community-level engagement (Longo, 2017). In contrast, local governments, which may have little or no marine space jurisdiction, may be very familiar with marine environments as their use is inexorably linked to community development and well-being. As coastal communities seek to strengthen their economies and manage climate change impacts, MSP could help them assess local opportunities and effects of marine development. Although MSP is guided by stakeholder engagement principles (Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commissions-UNESCO, 2014; Twomey & O'Mahony, 2019), and emerging subnational MSP is responsive to local contexts (e.g. Diggon *et al.*, 2020; Greenhill *et al.*, 2020), stakeholder engagement has been characterized as tokenistic and ineffective (e.g. Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Tafon, 2018), and mostly designed to 'legitimise the agendas of dominant actors' (Flannery *et al.*, 2018, p. 32) in delivering blue economy benefits (Tafon

et al., 2021). MSP scholars also identify gaps in addressing land-sea interactions (Kidd *et al.*, 2019; Loiseau *et al.*, 2021), some of which could be filled through connections with terrestrial planning in coastal regions (Retzlaff & LeBleu, 2018).

To identify how terrestrial planning practice could contribute to MSP, Retzlaff and LeBleu (2018) examined the literature on MSP practices and noted terrestrial planning's lengthy experience with stakeholder engagement, mostly at local levels. Critiques of MSP stakeholder engagement often highlight the need for more attention to the local scale and constituency. Since MSP decisions addressing national and international objectives can profoundly impact coastal community development, these communities need to be involved in MSP. Community planning could contribute tools and experience with engaging the interested public, local businesses, and community-based organizations, to incorporate perspectives that may be underutilized in MSP. Simultaneously, MSP could support marine-related development and environmental management at the community level, which may be not utilized locally.

Stakeholder engagement is considered essential to MSP and community engagement is the foundation of community planning. Focussing on this shared ingredient, this paper reports on a study of how the engagement perspectives of actors in community and marine planning and management can inform development of participatory processes for MSP. Using a review of literature on community and stakeholder engagement in environmental, land use, and community planning and MSP, and a case study of community engagement experience in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada, this study addresses the following questions:

- 1) What are the best practice principles from terrestrial planning and environmental management models for community-based, participatory planning and decision-making?
- 2) What are the stakeholder and community engagement practices in MSP?
- 3) In the Nova Scotian case study, what are the community engagement experiences and perspectives of practitioners who are likely to be involved in MSP?
 - 3a) How do these experiences compare across practitioner groups?
 - 3b) How do these perspectives compare with best practice principles for community-based, participatory planning and decision-making?
- 4) What lessons can be drawn from community-based participatory planning practice for MSP?

Background and Context

Scholarly critique is promoting a shift of stakeholder engagement from passive reception of information to collaborative and empowering participatory decision-making (Paterman, 2012; Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014; Hallstrom *et al.*, 2017; Bell & Reed, 2021) enabled through fair processes (Blue *et al.*, 2019). This shift requires a redistribution of power among actors as peers, who represent diverse perspectives relevant to the issue and scale, in an open, inclusive instead of a closed, invited-only approach (Blue *et al.*, 2019; Clausen *et al.*, 2021).

Community Planning and Community-Based Planning

Community planning is a public process for envisioning a community's future and designing strategies to guide its development (Grant, 2006). In Canada, community planning is generally understood to be a statutory process, delivered through municipal (local) governments under provincially delegated authority (Sancton, 2000; Grant, 2006). Experts (planners) shepherd input from diverse interests to develop an official plan and regulations. The local government council, citizens, and other stakeholders debate a plan as it emerges, and the council gives final approval. Planning cycles through plan creation, implementation, enforcement, monitoring, and evaluation to review, revision, and change.

Community-based planning entails institutional and citizen-driven processes. Institutionalized planning invests in local input through engagement and citizen committees giving the community considerable responsibility. Local councils, through planner-facilitators or designates, manage the process. In citizen-driven planning, citizen-residents and aligned groups self-initiate and manage collaborative planning and decision-making to fill a gap or meet a community need (Kent, 1981; Clausen *et al.*, 2021) and create a plan from local knowledge (SDI South African Alliance, n.d.). Although the resulting plans do not have formal standing, and may not attract support from professional staff and council, citizen-driven planning democratizes engagement, raises awareness, delivers alternative plans, and can motivate formal processes. Clausen *et al.* (2021) suggest that 'self-initiated participation ... exerts pressure from the outside' offering ideas on initiatives affecting communities and responses to planning.

Communities with community-based participation experience expect deep engagement in planning processes. Critical responses to the expert-driven, exclusionary, top-down rational-planning model that emerged in the 1950s have moved planning toward more collaborative, engaged processes (Paterman, 2012; Blue *et al.*, 2019; Bell & Reed, 2021) and from planner-as-expert-driven to planner-as-facilitator-coordinated community-based planning (Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014) and to citizen-empowered, participatory governance (Clausen *et al.*, 2021). Adaptive and sustainability planning also foster participation and local capacity for successful planning (Hallstrom *et al.*, 2017).

Public hearings and meetings are long-established in terrestrial planning (Rowe & Frewer, 2005; Shipley & Utz, 2012) including community and land-use planning, and environmental decision-making. The public provides feedback on a plan or project, often directly to decision-makers. This input is reactive not proactive, however. Sherry Arnstein (1969) called these processes 'empty rituals' where residents lack the power to influence decisions (p. 216), a critique echoed by other scholars (Innes & Booher, 2004; Menzel *et al.*, 2013). The processes are non-participation on Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation,' which ascends from passive information reception to collaborative and, ultimately, citizen-directed decision-making (Bell & Reed, 2021) and a redistribution of power between citizens and the state (Blue *et al.*, 2019; Pløger, 2021).

Public hearings remain mandated, minimum requirements for public engagement. Other techniques – workshops, charettes, surveys, social media tools, kitchen table meetings – support early and sustained participation. However, even with the shift from 'planner-as-expert' to 'planner-as-facilitator,' professionals still collect, filter, analyze, and integrate stakeholder input to form recommendations for decisions-makers.

Recent critique continues to identify exclusionary, discriminatory practices, designed to preserve elite interests that still fail to involve communities in meaningful or transformational participation (Mcglashan & Williams, 2003; Fainstein, 2014; Reece, 2018; Fritz & Meinherz, 2020; Pløger, 2021).

The extent to which planning is participatory and community-based depends on *who* participates and *how*. In terrestrial planning a ‘stakeholder’ means anyone with a vested interest in the outcome of a project or process (Reed, 2008; Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014). Institutional stakeholders include government agencies and organized groups such as industry associations while local, or community, stakeholders may be individuals from the general or interested ‘public’ (Mcglashan & Williams, 2003) or *ad hoc* groups. In community planning, ‘community’ typically refers to the people who live or work in a specified area (Pomeroy & Douvere, 2008; Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). Stakeholder processes may encourage wide participation or involve select sector interests by invitation (Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014).

Principles for Community-Based and Participatory Processes

Generally, a planning process is more participatory and community-based where it fosters early and sustained involvement from diverse participants in collaborative, community-led decision-making (Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014; Bell & Reed, 2021). In an examination of participatory processes that would frame development of participatory practice theory, Reed (2008) argued that community participation and local, experiential knowledge enrich planning and decision-making. The benefits include community empowerment, increased community support for projects, and data contribution where a lack of available information or data-poor environments occur. Reed established eight best practice principles from a review of stakeholder engagement reported in environmental planning and management literature, and corroborated by case studies in land use planning, urban and rural development, and community tourism development. He did not differentiate stakeholders and community members, however. Reed *et al.* (2018), along with other scholars have provided further insights about this subject (see Table 1 below).

Marine Spatial Planning

The Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission-UNESCO describes MSP as a ‘public process of analyzing and allocating the spatial and temporal distribution of human activities in marine areas to achieve ecological, economic and social objectives that have been specified through a political process’ (Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commissions-UNESCO, 2009, 2014). Characteristics include ecosystem-based, area-based, integrated, and participatory practices. Practitioners argue that, as an integrated and rational process, MSP benefits government, industry, and marine resource users by managing conflicting uses, facilitating compatible uses, reducing environmental impacts, and preserving marine ecosystem services. MSP is seen as a ‘necessary first step’ to support sustainable economic development of marine environments (Carneiro, 2013, p. 214), especially as pressures for the ‘blue economy’ continue (Schultz-Zehden *et al.*, 2019). These rationales are also the source of critique of MSP regarding participatory

Table 1. Community engagement principles (update to Reed, 2008).

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1. Participation must be underpinned by principles of empowerment, equity, trust and learning
Community members must be engaged in meaningful processes, in which their perspectives are heard and valued, where they are recognized as equals in decision-making, and they are given information needed to make informed decisions (Hou & Kinoshita, 2007; Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014; Reed, 2008; Smith, 2018).
 2. Communities must be engaged early and throughout the process (Reed, 2008)
Participation begins at the start of plan-making and continues through all stages from developing the plan objectives to solutions, implementation, and review (Ellsworth *et al.*, 1997, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, UK, 2003; Reed, 2008).
 3. Participation must ensure broad representation
All parts of a community should be represented and as many members of the community as possible participate (Grybovych & Hafermann, 2010; Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014; Reed, 2008).
 4. Community participants must be involved meaningfully in plan-making
The participants must be involved meaningfully in shaping the plan with roles and responsibilities commensurate with the impact and influence of the plan on the community. The process should devolve power to the community in making decisions about what is important to them (Ellsworth *et al.*, 1997; Grybovych & Hafermann, 2010; Reed, 2008).
 5. Engagement methods must be tailored to the community context
As different communities require different engagement methods, knowledge of a community is essential. Multiple engagement methods may be needed to reach all parts of a community (Grybovych & Hafermann, 2010; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, UK, 2003; Reed, 2008).
 6. Facilitation must be skilled and impartial
Facilitators support the engagement process by, navigating conflict, and building consensus. Planners bring facilitation skills to the process. When they are not trusted by all parts of a community, an impartial third-party facilitator should be appointed (Grybovych & Hafermann, 2010; Nabatchi & Blomgren Amsler, 2014; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, UK, 2003; Reed, 2008).
 7. Local and scientific knowledge must both be considered in decision-making
Local community participants often have experiential and place-based knowledge, which is important and valid, and should be considered with equally important and valid scientific knowledge. Together, both types of knowledge can provide a more comprehensive knowledge base to inform decision-making better (Ban *et al.*, 2009; Blake *et al.*, 2017; Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Reed, 2008)
 8. Participation must be institutionalized
(Reed, 2008)
-

processes and outcomes that serve the ‘needs of elite stakeholders rather than by concerns about the public good’ (Flannery *et al.*, 2019, p. 204) or lack engagement with inequities in the distribution of benefits from marine resources to achieve social sustainability (Gilek *et al.*, 2021). MSP is also considered a tool for marine ecosystem protection, which sometimes produces tensions about its purpose (Frazão Santos *et al.*, 2014).

The geographic scope of MSP encompasses the marine zone from highest high tide (MHWS) to the Exclusive Economic Zone and includes tidal rivers, estuaries, coastal and national territorial marine waters, and international shared basins. It operates in a complex, often contested environment of political and economic importance to the national interests of maritime nations and critical for global environmental health. MSP is mostly high-level strategic planning (Flannery & Ó Cinneide, 2008; Ritchie & Ellis, 2010; Gopnik *et al.*, 2012; Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Smith, 2018; Tafon, 2018) which, according to Kidd and Shaw, is ‘led by government departments, agencies and research institutes rather than by regional or local authorities’ (Kidd & Shaw, 2013, p. 191), with some exceptions. Marine planning in Scotland is regional and coordinated through local-area marine planning partnerships (Scottish Government, *n.d.*). Government, industry, and marine resource users are the perceived beneficiaries of MSP, which produces policies and regulations for how industries, resource users, and community residents can interact with coastal and marine environments. Community leaders and others can participate through stakeholder consultation and engagement processes but officials and program managers, usually employed in upper government levels, provide advice and

make decisions (Jay, 2010). These decisions, while made in the national interest, can directly impact local livelihoods. A lack of meaningful public involvement in planning and decision-making may lead to restrictions and regulations on communities without their consent (Munro *et al.*, 2017).

UNESCO's *Marine Spatial Planning – A Step-by-Step Approach towards Ecosystem-Based Management* (Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission-UNESCO, 2009) presents principles for stakeholder engagement in international and national MSP strategies, but scholars suggest that local community participation in practice is a tokenistic gesture to gain legitimacy (Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Smith, 2018; Tafon, 2018). Industry interests and stakeholders in typical marine resource management may dominate decision outcomes to the underrepresentation or exclusion of interests of community members (Smith, 2018). Additionally, program managers and technicians trained as scientists, not planners, may lead the MSP processes (Jay, 2010; Ritchie & Ellis, 2010; Tafon, 2018), prompting the criticism that science- and evidence-based decisions alone can discredit local experiential knowledge in decision-making.

Alternatives to 'top-down'-directed engagement associated with national programs are emerging, however, that model place-specific processes. Sub-national MSP contextualizes national plan goals and objectives regionally or locally. The Shetland Islands' Marine Spatial Plan (Scotland) (Greenhill *et al.*, 2020) and the Marine Plan Partnership (MaPP) for the North Pacific Coast (British Columbia, Canada) (Nowlan, 2016; Diggon *et al.*, 2020; MaPP, n.d.) are locally adapted (Shetlands) or collaboratively defined and directed (MaPP) marine governance, planning, and management. These initiatives support local ownership and decision-making in national marine planning (Shetland Islands) and regionally or locally instigated plans (MaPP).

When stakeholder engagement is relegated to late stages, with participants not fully representative of community diversity, and when decisions are made by planning authorities, the fairness of the consultation processes is compromised. Such circumstances may negatively impact public trust in institutions and result in withdrawal from future processes (Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Smith, 2018). Descriptions of MSP as an expert-based, top-down process (Jay, 2010) that uses public meetings and hearings as gestures to legitimize already-made decisions (Flannery *et al.*, 2018) echo complaints about terrestrial planning that community-based processes have attempted to address.

If MSP is a public, participatory process as defined by IOC-UNESCO (2009), and active citizen participation is a basic tenet of democracy (Malek & Costa, 2015), then adherence to standards of democracy and good governance is required (Smith, 2018). Thus, participatory MSP must foster active community engagement and ensure meaningful contribution to planning and decision-making (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, UK, 2003). Social scientists studying MSP participatory processes suggest these standards are not met (Clarke & Flannery, 2020; Gilek *et al.*, 2021). Linking MSP with community planning could support more effective community-oriented processes and strengthen the outcomes of both types of planning in coastal regions.

Marine Spatial Planning in Canada: Recent Developments

To consider how local-level community engagement practices could be applied in MSP, a case study was conducted in Nova Scotia, a province on Canada's Atlantic coast. The current Canadian MSP program, begun in 2018, has roots in the early 2000s' integrated coastal and ocean management (ICOM) program under the national Oceans Management Strategy, Oceans Act s. 31 and s. 32 (Hall *et al.*, 2011). By 2012, before national government priorities moved away from ICOM, one plan was approved, namely, the Beaufort Sea Integrated Ocean Management Plan (Beaufort Sea Partnership, n.d.). After the federal government priorities changed, the Marine Plan Partnership formed between the Province of British Columbia and Pacific coast First Nations to develop MSPs for Pacific North Coast waters (Nowlan, 2016). No MSPs emerged in eastern Canada, although the Eastern Scotian Shelf Integrated Management initiative, despite being cancelled by the national Department of Fisheries and Oceans, demonstrated capacity to forge an ICOM structure across governments, industries, and communities (Flannery & Ó Cinneide, 2012). The new national MSP program will generate plans for two areas off Canada's Pacific North Coast and three marine bioregions in eastern Canada (Government of Canada, 2021). Canadian federal and provincial governments share jurisdiction in the marine space, but municipal government authority to plan or regulate stops at the high-water mark. The Canadian MSP program is a relatively late entry in MSP globally, but arriving late provides opportunities to learn, particularly from the critique of participatory processes. The regional scale presents opportunities to explore a role for coastal communities and local governments, particularly linkages to local planning and community engagement, which prompted the Nova Scotia-based case study.

Methods

This study of community engagement in coastal and marine management with implications for MSP used mixed-methods involving analysis of selected literature and semi-structured interviews. Nova Scotia was selected for the case study because its 13,000 km of coastline borders the Scotian Shelf-Bay of Fundy and the Estuary and Gulf of St. Lawrence marine bioregions (), two of five areas designated for MSP development by 2024 (Government of Canada. Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 2019). Most of the municipalities and all First Nation communities within the province are economically, environmentally, and/or culturally linked to the sea. Furthermore, the province has experienced marine and coastal planning or management initiatives – ICOM, Marine Protected Areas, aquaculture, coastal parks, and coastal strategic planning – with varying degrees of success and community participation.

A literature search conducted in the Novanet academic database and Google Scholar used the terms MSP, community, participation, co-management, stakeholder engagement, social license, resource management, coastal planning, and participatory planning. Additional literature emerged from the references in the relevant publications identified in the online searches. The resulting 50 publications were read for evidence of community-based, participatory processes in decision-making and planning for community change. This evidence was used to compile best-practice principles for stakeholder engagement based on Reed's (2008) eight stakeholder engagement principles and findings from other scholars.



Figure 1. Nova Scotia, Atlantic Canada, and the Eastern Canada Marine Bioregions.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with practitioners in governmental and other organizations in Nova Scotia who have experience in stakeholder engagement and community participation, particularly in coastal community planning or marine resource use or management, and who would potentially be involved in MSP. A list of prospective participants was compiled from organizational websites and email invitations were

extended to participants for the interviews. Additional interviewees were recruited using a snowball method through referrals provided by participants. To ensure anonymity, each participant was assigned a code, e.g. COMM# for community group participants, LocGOV# for municipal government participants, etc. (see Table 2 for all codes). Ethics approval for the interviews was obtained through the review process in the Dalhousie University School of Planning, overseen by the university's Research Ethics Board.

The initial interview questions established the participants' connection to community engagement practices through their organization. Then, questions explored their perspectives on the purpose and structure of community engagement, and their experiences with successes, benefits, and challenges with community engagement. Questions about the participants' knowledge of MSP and how it might benefit coastal communities concluded the interviews. The 30- to 45-minute interviews were conducted in the fall of 2018 and summer of 2020 in person, by telephone, or by MS Teams or Skype. The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts underwent thematic coding through three rounds following established analytical processes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The initial round established thematic codes for the responses to each question, a second round resulted in a broader grouping of the codes into categories, and the third round restructured the categories into themes from all the interviews. In the initial round, one researcher conducted the coding followed by a second. When differences in the coding occurred, the variations were discussed and resolved. In subsequent rounds as the themes emerged from the underlying coding, the second researcher checked that the themes were consistently applied and resolved any differences. The interview results were organized in a matrix to facilitate comparison across groups and a summary of the analysis related the aggregated perspectives of each group to the best practice principles determined from the literature analysis.

Results

Community Engagement Best Practice Principles

Table 1 presents community engagement best practice principles, combining those proposed by Reed (2008), reiterated in later work (Reed *et al.*, 2018), and the findings of other scholars identified in the literature review, which emphasized citizen stakeholders and the public's role in leading and directing decision-making and planning

Table 2. Interview participants.

Stakeholder Groups (Code)	Number
Community Groups (COMM)	2
Environmental NGOs (ENGO)	4
Industry and Economic Development Agencies (IND-DEV)	3
Municipal Government (LocGOV)	2
Senior Government (Provincial and Federal) (SenGOV)	10*
Total	21

*Provincial government (2); Federal government (8).

for community change. Reed's principles were adapted to emphasize a community-focused and driven engagement process, rather than focus on stakeholders more broadly.

Nova Scotia Case Study

Twenty-one individuals representing five actor groups in coastal community planning and coastal and ocean management were interviewed (see [Table 2](#)). The participants were evenly distributed between locally oriented organizations (civil society organizations and local government) and senior government (provincial or federal units). Industry and development participants represented locally- (two) and provincially- (one) oriented agencies.

The interview results were organized in a matrix for group comparisons and are described below. The aggregated perspectives and experiences were examined in relation to the best practice principles for community engagement, summarized in [Table 3](#).

Communities of Interest and Actor Roles in Community Engagement

The participants confirmed that their respective groups are associated with communities of interest, particularly with public and civic organizations (all groups). The environmental non-governmental organization (ENGO), industry and development, and government participants identified businesses and industries as communities of interests. Local government is a community of interest for senior governments.

Each group has a role in community engagement, whether bringing others into the process and supporting their involvement (COMM, ENGO, IND-DEV) or managing engagement (LocGOV, SenGOV). For example, the industry and development organizations participate on behalf of their members and establish partnerships with other organizations. Government actors organize and manage public engagement in planning, project reviews, or assessments. ENGO participants described bridging and capacity building roles: 'generally speaking, a big goal of ours is to try to make sure the community plays as great a role in decision-making as is possible' (ENGO 3).

Drivers of Community Engagement

Community engagement happens in response to diverse drivers. Commonly, a senior government or industry initiative external to a community activates the process. The community group and ENGO participants noted these engagement drivers can be perceived as threats to community interests: 'sometimes the issue engages everybody . . . And when I say an issue, it's often perceived as not an opportunity but . . . a potential threat' (COMM 1).

Engagement also arises internally when communities identify opportunities and seek input through grass-roots initiatives. Community planning is the main driver of public engagement organized by local governments, which operate within legislated and customary protocols. Citizens provide input into plans and regulations affecting their community. For the local government participants, a citizen-based approach to community planning begins locally: 'local planning strategies are first discussed in a local area advisory committee [which is] citizen-based. . . . They hold the meetings, staff operates as

Table 3. Perspectives and experiences of participants related to best community engagement practices (by Group).

Principles	Community Groups (COMM)	Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGO)	Industry and Economic Development Agencies (IND-DEV)	Local Government (LocGOV)	Senior Government (SenGOV)
Empowerment, equity, trust, learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Seeking and sharing accurate information to facilitate discussions among community members internally and contributing to the decision-making process ● Community-based, community-led initiatives come from within the community. ● Educated and informed discussion ● Building community capacity, strengthening relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gaining information ● Respecting different views ● A 'professional space' for respectful discussion ● Allowing people to be heard and understood ● Improving decisions through community input ● Present in the community to learn about the community, build constituency and trust relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Citizen-, community-based ● Collecting information from and conveying information to the public ● Identifying range of interests and views on issues ● Exercising the democratic right for community consent and the public right to challenge ● Local planning advisory committees maintain localized decision-making and community-based solutions ● Ensuring programs, policies, and regulations remain relevant and aligned with public opinion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Understanding and obtaining input from a cross-section of the community ● Incorporating diverse points of view to form the best solution ● Informing, educating, raising interest, and awareness ● Communities gain insight on public decision-making and learn how to work within the process ● Successes in community-based, community-initiated activities ● Learning about diverse views and community complexity ● Helping communities understand their needs and reach their goals 	
Engagement methods tailored to community context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Connecting through existing local relationships and networks ● Direct, door-to-door recruitment, community conversations ● Local-level media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Connecting through key players, leaders, and media ● Public consultations, open houses, workshops, and stakeholder and advisory committees ● Conventional and social media ● Locally placed to learn, build constituency, and trust relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Routine, mandated procedures ● Government e-mail lists, websites ● Constituency work ● Local area citizen planning committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 'Free-form'/flexible; community can change the conversation ● Place-based ● Conversations 	
Broad representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● General public; whole of community; stakeholders and other impacted community members and organizations ● Local community for broad issues, targeted stakeholders for issue-based 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stakeholders and other impacted groups or individuals; as many people as possible ● Regional/geographic representation ● Sector-specific 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Formal and informal engagement methods for broad participation ● Other governments, agencies 		

(Continued)



Table 3. (Continued).

Principles	Community Groups (COMM)	Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGO)	Industry and Economic Development Agencies (IND-DEV)	Local Government (LocGOV)	Senior Government (SenGOV)
Communities engaged early and throughout the process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community groups, individuals, and other stakeholders are involved from the beginning and throughout the process Communities determine the level of engagement they feel they want or need Full engagement in citizen-based collaborative decision-making from the beginning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizen-, community-based, community-organized community-first, bottom-up Communities need to be the 'driver' for successful outcomes, community ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local stakeholders contribute early input on proposed solutions to ensure useful, actionable outcomes Local stakeholders contribute early input on proposed solutions to ensure useful, actionable outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local citizen-based planning advisory committees develop planning solutions to local problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community-led; co-production defining values and goals, power sharing Input, advice to shape decisions their priorities to reach their goals or a community-defined outcomes
Meaningful involvement in plan-making, power-devolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizen-, community-based, community-organized community-first, bottom-up Communities need to be the 'driver' for successful outcomes, community ownership Ensuring communities play as great a role as possible within existing decision-making frameworks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community-based, co-developing responses to initiatives within the community and with the government Ensuring communities play as great a role as possible within existing decision-making frameworks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bringing local stakeholders into existing projects for input and feedback on proposed solutions to ensure useful, actionable outcomes Working with local stakeholders to identify opportunities for new initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Localized decision-making process Public input directly to councils or through local area citizen-based advisory committees contributing to land use planning and regulatory decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community-led; co-production defining values and goals, power sharing Input, advice to shape decisions their priorities to reach their goals or a community-defined outcomes Decision-support not decision-making Scientific, fact-based, objective evidence
Local and scientific knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrating local and scientific knowledge Valuing local knowledge holders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrating local and scientific knowledge Valuing local knowledge holders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scientific, fact-based 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Context specific – using local knowledge, local discussion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decision-support not decision-making Scientific, fact-based, objective evidence Managing impact of misleading information Advice through stakeholder committees
Impartial facilitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self-directed; facilitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitating community entry to and participation in engagement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Association staff set-up and facilitate engagement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Planners facilitate engagement Balancing political and administrative, public and private interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agency staff or external proponents organize and facilitate engagement Balancing jurisdiction and sector needs; private and public interests
Institutionalized	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ad hoc, community initiated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bridging to formal processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formalized through association with provincial and municipal structures and funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutionalized, legislated requirement to inform and consult The democratic right to give consent on policies, plans, and laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutionalized, legislated requirement to inform and consult The democratic right to give consent on policies, plans, and laws

-----> Applies to multiple groups

a resource ... the public ... can attend the meetings' (LocGOV 1). These meetings produce a draft document that the local advisory committee recommends to the municipality. Similarly, industry and development associations draw on their constituents and the public for economic development ideas.

Values and Purpose of Community Engagement

All the actor groups emphasized the importance of transparency, respect, and inclusiveness in community engagement. The community group and ENGO participants value bottom-up participation and local and traditional knowledge. The ENGO and senior government participants see community groups as leading engagement processes. Community group participants described the importance of independence during engagement and being distinct from outside NGOs.

Participants from all groups viewed community engagement as an opportunity to understand community perspectives, identify local issues, disseminate information within a community and among participants, and shape government policies and decision-making. For the community group, ENGO, and government participants, engagement is necessary for obtaining community approval for decisions. The industry and development and government groups stated its importance for building relationships with their communities of interest and promoting involvement in programs. Other purposes identified by the actor groups included receiving feedback to ensure actionable solutions to problems and identifying new opportunities (IND-DEV); adhering to legislated requirements for public process and making space for 'the democratic right to challenge,' and participating in governance (LocGOV); and informing, educating, raising awareness, and helping communities identify and reach their goals (SenGOV). Participants in the ENGO, community, and government groups described collaborative 'co-creation of plans and power-sharing', but acknowledged that sometimes 'we're just compiling information for others ... we're just trying to balance the inputs into whoever makes that final decision' (SenGOV 5).

Engagement Methods and Protocols

The participants described a variety of recruitment methods for public engagement. Local connections and networks were common among all groups. For example, the ENGO participants use local contacts to identify key individuals and power dynamics in a community. Participants from all groups actively recruit to ensure broad representation of perspectives; some aim to balance self-selection (COMM, LocGov, SenGOV). One-to-one recruiting is important in rural areas (COMM, ENGO, IND-DEV). Local government interviewees noted that elected municipal councillors directly connect with constituents, hear their concerns and views, and encourage public engagement. The community group participants use community-level media. Industry and development and government groups enlist issue- or sector-specific stakeholders through social media and email and use newspaper advertisements and notices on government websites for broad recruitment.

The government participants described how groups or individuals can provide input directly to decision-makers, including through councils or adjudication boards or filtered through advisory or stakeholder committees. Less formal conduits include workshops, open houses, town-halls, and conversations in the community.

Balancing diverse interests in engagement activities is managed by being transparent, respectful, and objective (ENGO, IND-DEV, SenGOV). Other strategies included clear definition of issues and avoiding distracting topics (ENGOS), focusing on common objectives or community development needs, and providing opportunities for all to be heard (IND-DEV). The local government participants highlighted how they know their communities and who represents particular perspectives. Senior government participants emphasized balancing local and provincial or national interests and public and private perspectives. Regional balance was important for the industry and development participants. All groups said that engagement needs to start at the beginning of decision-making processes.

Benefits and Challenges of Community Engagement

Benefits of community engagement for the community group participants included obtaining accurate information to establish positions on issues, and building internal community relationships and capacity to organize and undertake projects and campaigns. The ENGO participants pinpointed community capacity building, empowering self-representation, and improving government decisions. Industry and development participants identified the benefits of expanding networks and navigating issues within the business communities. Community engagement helps local government participants ensure that policies, plans, and regulations remain relevant. Senior government participants described issue identification and hearing the diversity of opinions among residents as benefits, and also noted an educational outcome: 'I think one of the successes [of engagement] was that the community had a better understanding of how the decisions were actually being made by the government and it had a better understanding of the issues themselves' (SenGOV 5).

The interviewees reported challenges and obstacles, some shared and some unique. All groups referred to the challenge of 'getting people out,' obtaining broad community representation, and ensuring involvement of those most affected. The community group and local government interviewees identified the problem of participant 'self-selection' through 'issue-identification' and government participants noted the risk that only the loudest, most vested, or powerful voices are heard. Diverse recruitment methods can mitigate these problems but, as the interviewees noted, broad representation is not possible when people are not interested or not willing to participate. Regardless, 'a controversial type of topic . . . will bring people out' (SenGOV 3).

Time emerged as a common issue, including the time to achieve and maintain full participation (COMM, ENGO), especially for long-term program consultations (SenGOV). Competition for people's time and the mismatch between community rhythms and government cycles and deadlines stood out (ENGO, IND-DEV, LocGOV, SenGOV), emphasized by COMM 2: 'allowing the time it takes, and it's painfully slow democracy, but I think it has to happen, especially if a community is going to be supportive of whatever is proposed in the future.'

Government participants noted difficulty in reaching people in rural areas with limited internet service and problems with outdated communication protocols, specifically the requirement to post announcements in newspapers that might not reach people who use other media. Locally-oriented groups described managing internal community or inter-personal conflicts, which can impact processes in small communities, or

balancing opposing community needs. ENGO participants described the work to build and maintain relationships: ‘Trust building – it takes time, it’s not a quick and easy thing, and if you don’t have that trust, it’s really hard to get things done’ (ENGO 2). While ENGOs understand community contexts and, as facilitators, avoid imposing their agendas on communities, the community group participants noted the risk of being seen as influenced by association with the ENGOs.

Participants from locally-oriented groups spoke of challenges with governmental processes poorly designed for community-based, participatory engagement: ‘That’s just not the way our [federal] government is set up . . . I think they would like to move towards that [collaborative, community-based] for certain things, but they don’t know how to do that’ (ENGO 2).

The non-government participants described top-down processes in which governments limit a community’s role in and contribution to decision-making.

‘There is a power issue, right? That ultimately decision-making authority rests with the province and the federal government. If we’re looking at democratic, open, transparent, accountable . . . socially just perspective, policy coherence perspective, it’s very difficult for citizens to see how federal and provincial governments are going to cede any power to them, to make decisions. And citizens have that experience time and time again . . . there’s opposition to what is being proposed . . . [but] the government ultimately has final decision and it imposes a solution on the community.’ (COMM 2)

The non-government participants also mentioned tokenistic engagement conducted because it is necessary; a lack of facilitation skills among senior governments; feeling dismissed when input is not reflected in decisions; and reacting to imposed agendas. A lack of action on previous community input leads to disinterest in future involvement: ‘I think sometimes people have this feeling that their input isn’t going to be acknowledged or respected. . . . that if you’re going to participate, will it mean anything? So that’s why it’s important that it does mean something’ (COMM 2).

The senior government participants described hurdles with balancing mandates across organizations and jurisdictions; weighing vested interests; creating respectful engagement environments, especially in open forums; managing misinformation; assessing subjective perspectives; maintaining the commitment of stakeholder committees during long-term processes; accounting for social benefits where economic and ecologic benefits dominate decision-making; and managing the public’s expectations about its role in engagement. One senior government participant explained:

‘Sometimes communities feel that because they’re being engaged that they’re making that decision . . . when you know that’s clearly not the case. So, a clear understanding of what the role of the community is in that engagement process is key . . . they’re giving their opinions but somebody else is going to make a decision.’ (SenGOV 5)

Marine Spatial Planning

The interviews explored the participants’ knowledge of and experience with MSP. Most are familiar with MSP or coastal or marine planning and management initiatives, but knowledge varied from good or strong (COMM, ENGO, SenGOV) to some knowledge of MSP as a planning tool, but not a strategic planning process (IND-DEV, LocGOV). One

organization employed asset mapping for resource-based community economic development, which they likened to MSP. Local government participants use spatial planning but not in marine spaces.

When asked what MSP might offer communities, the community group participants were skeptical, and referred to unsatisfactory experiences with outcomes of previous coastal and ocean management and planning initiatives. The ENGO group members mentioned the possibility of MSP addressing concerns about aquaculture and tidal energy. Specifically, these participants and the industry and economic development group interviewees suggested that MSP could provide systematic planning for aquaculture.

Participants' Perspectives in Relation to Principles of Best Community Engagement Practices

Principles of *empowerment, equity, trust, and learning* underpin participatory community engagement. The protocols must support collaborative learning with access to accurate, credible information and informed opinions, and ensure that the process is meaningful, respectful and that community input is valued and considered equally with other interests. The community group and ENGO participants spoke of trust, internal learning, capacity building, and community-based process, while the senior government participants described learning about communities and their interests, and helping communities understand their role in decision-processes. Expressions of principles by one group were not necessarily matched by another, however. Non-government interviewees cited experiences with top-down, inflexible senior government decision-making, opaque processes, and outcomes not reflecting the community's input while the senior government group described challenges with creating respectful engagement environments, managing misinformation, and managing the public's expectations.

There is agreement on principles of *broad representation* and *engagement methods tailored to the community context*, but the groups have different opportunities to recruit participants. Community groups, industry and economic development organizations, and local government officials are community insiders. They know how to recruit to increase diversity in participation and can use a one-to-one approach. The ENGOs and senior government groups are outsiders. Senior government relies on existing relationships or local governments to reach into communities. Occasionally, a senior government unit operates through a place-based model and can work with the community to build engagement initiatives. The ENGOs rely on connections through local resident members. The principle of *broad participation* requires that as many community members as possible be able to participate. While the interviewees referred to many aspects of inclusive engagement, challenges identified in the section 'Benefits and Challenges of Community Engagement,' above, covering time and travel constraints, maintaining interest and commitment, and technology and communication barriers can make it difficult to deliver on the principle in practice.

The participants in all groups spoke of *engaging communities early and throughout the process*. Once in, however, the intensity of participation or what constitutes *meaningful involvement in plan-making and power devolution* diverges. Community and ENGO group participants pointed out that a community decides to engage based on the

assumption of benefits or a need to change a course of action to avoid negative impacts. Once community members commit to participation, they expect that the entire process will be productive, collaborative, and meaningful.

Power devolution to collaborative decision-making depends on the willingness of a decision-making authority to share control. Collaboration, power sharing, and even power-devolution are the premises from which communities will agree to participate. The government group members spoke about collaboration, building community engagement capacity, and community-control, but drew a distinction between decision-support and decision-making. Communities might exercise power in other ways, however, including shutting down unpopular initiatives.

Reed (2008) proposed that meaningful participation be *institutionalized*. In Nova Scotia and many other jurisdictions, government agencies are required to inform and consult. Consultation beyond public hearings may be discretionary, however. Local government participants identified formal engagement structures to support participation in democratic processes, involving citizen-based, local area advisory committees in development of ideas from community members into planning solutions. Their recommendations go to council to accept or reject as part of representational democracy. Community group participants expressed interest in direct democracy and self-reliance for facilitating community-based engagement. The other groups outlined their role in supporting a community's entry into engagement, or balancing input from diverse stakeholders. They see themselves as providing *impartial facilitation*, although impartiality requires an arm's-length relationship with the process.

On the principle of *incorporating local and scientific knowledge*, the senior government and the industry and economic development groups value factual and objective information over opinion and subjective views. The community and ENGO groups stated that local knowledge and scientific knowledge require equal consideration. Context-specific information constitutes local knowledge for local government.

Discussion

Scholars of stakeholder and community engagement have critiqued inadequate practices for involving community members who are not aligned with well-established sector interests (Innes & Booher, 2004; Menzel *et al.*, 2013; Fainstein, 2014; Reece, 2018; Fritz & Meinherz, 2020) and have developed principles to guide participatory engagement (Table 2; Bell & Reed, 2021). The principles provide a standard that aspires to empower community participation in planning and related undertakings, especially where community-based groups and the public are the stakeholders.

A similar critique has emerged in the MSP literature (Flannery *et al.*, 2018; Clarke & Flannery, 2020), which suggests that MSP, usually developed through senior government initiatives, prioritizes economic development sector interests, driven by the blue economy agenda (Schultz-Zehden *et al.*, 2019; Tafon *et al.*, 2021). This priority results in a disconnect with community-level interests or fails to integrate economic and environmental with social sustainability (Gilek *et al.*, 2021). Attention to social sustainability, in particular, democratizes planning processes and promotes robust engagement in local-level plan-making (Hallstrom *et al.*, 2017; Pennino *et al.*, 2021).

While community and land use planning do not exemplify a perfect record of participatory engagement, this area of planning has 50 years of lessons learned from engagement practice. Community-based planning has evolved (Hrivnák *et al.*, 2021) to community members working with local councils, facilitated through diverse engagement processes, to collaboratively envision and plan for community development.

Reflecting on their perspectives of local-level engagement in community planning and coastal and marine management, the interviewees in this case study agreed with the literature-based best practice principles, but some of their responses also reflected the critique of MSP stakeholder engagement. For these interviewees, the principles are not realized in practice. However, the interviews also point to opportunities for meaningful community-level engagement in MSP, drawing upon practices in community-based planning and the affinity and vested interest of local communities in the marine environment (Manuel & MacDonald, 2020).

A consensus in the critical literature shows that as a legitimate and democratic process, MSP must proactively seek local community participation (Flannery *et al.*, 2018). Engagement should ensure representation of less advantaged groups and the processes should not further marginalize or discriminate against demographic groups (Luyet *et al.*, 2012). Flannery and Ó Cinneide state that ‘simply identifying stakeholders is not sufficient to ensure their participation; the decision-making procedures must systematically seek to include them’ (Flannery & Ó Cinneide, 2008, p. 982). A meaningful process, with broad representation, can lead to better decision-making (Luyet *et al.*, 2012; Cullen-Knox *et al.*, 2017; Munro *et al.*, 2017; Flannery *et al.*, 2018).

The interviewees raised concerns for both proactive inclusion and broad representation of local interests. The local government and the industry and development group participants cautioned about uneven representation of community interests with low response to recruitment or relying on voluntary participation and self-selection.

In engagement processes led by a government agency, where facilitators are unknown locally or historically strained relationships exist with the community, the challenges of recruiting a representative local population may be magnified. Distrust of government, disengagement, and apathy about further planning initiatives stemming from previous negative experiences discourages participation (Flannery *et al.*, 2018). Fraught relationships between local community groups and senior government have hampered marine conservation planning in Nova Scotia, for example (Moreland *et al.*, 2021). The community and ENGO group interviewees voiced frustration with the lack of communication with communities and perceived tokenistic engagement resulting in limited impact of their input to decisions that were already made. Flannery *et al.* found similar sentiments in Ireland, where stakeholder engagement, often restricted to the operational stage of MSP, effectively ‘limit[ed] debate about the overall purpose, scope, and utility of a planning initiative’ (Flannery *et al.*, 2018, p. 37). Repairing these relationships for MSP will require time, conflict management, capacity building, and shared decision-making to provide coastal communities a say in their futures that derive from marine environments.

Time also affects participation. Time to build relationships in a community (noted by the ENGO and senior government participants) where time is insufficient, can be problematic (Moreland *et al.*, 2021), as can the mis-matched community rhythms and

bureaucratic schedules (noted by community group, ENGO, and senior government interviewees). In contrast, the local government participants did not mention time constraints. Community engagement is routine in their decision-making and planning processes through established and *ad hoc* committees comprised of local councilors or citizens operating to local schedules.

Public participation conveys legitimacy to a process and garners public support and ownership (Flannery & Ó Cinneide, 2008). In MSP, ‘the public’ mostly lives and works in coastal communities. To be successful for both achieving government objectives and sustainable coastal community development, MSP needs engagement typical of community-based decision-making. The responses from participants in this study indicate that grass-roots community organizations, ENGOs with a local presence, local government staff and councilors, and industry and economic development organizations have strong local connections and know how to communicate locally to implement community-level participation. As one interviewee stated, local stakeholder groups can ‘identify who all the players are, and . . . reach out to them and see if they want to be involved, [and] how we can help them be involved’ (ENGO 2).

Working with local organizations involved in community development and planning can inform a collaborative approach to MSP. Just as ENGOs provide a bridge for community groups into engagement processes, other existing relationships can support meaningful local involvement. Senior government interviewees identified local governments among their constituents; provincial agencies can bridge federal MSP initiatives and municipal governments. Participants from municipal governments and the industry and economic development associations identified each other among their constituents and both groups included community organizations. Local governments draw from community organizations and the public, directly, to identify representatives to serve on advisory committees. These interconnections linked to community-level organizations, leaders, and processes provide an opportunity to move from top-down, hierarchical engagement, typically a critique of MSP, to a collaborative structure involving community-level participants.

Conclusion

Maritime nations are embracing MSP to manage marine space and resources and simultaneously protect marine ecosystems. MSP will be a significant spatial planning initiative in Atlantic Canada and while it will seek to meet national objectives, its greatest local contribution could be supporting the development and resilience of coastal communities. Thus, the people of coastal communities need to be fully engaged to help shape the policies and regulations that will affect their regions. Challenges for their engagement exist, however. The critique of MSP stakeholder engagement globally reveals weak local engagement practice, highlighting the need to improve MSP processes. In this case study, actors in different roles in community engagement shared concerns about its effectiveness. Community-level participants expressed skepticism based on past experience with coastal and marine management and planning initiatives. In addition, MSP is not well-known among the local government or industry and economic development agency participants, although they could simultaneously support and benefit from MSP.

Without a strong focus on proactive, continued local community participation, assisted by relationships with community-level organizations, leaders, and officials involved in community planning, local participation in MSP is not guaranteed. Linking with community planning, where institutional and citizen-driven processes already use community-based, participatory engagement, would benefit MSP. Connecting with local processes would lead to MSP outcomes that are relevant to people living in the coastal zone. Attending to community planning and development in MSP gives local governments the opportunity for input into decisions about coastal waters where they do not have jurisdiction, as is the case in Canada. Implementing MSP in Atlantic Canada provides an opportunity to model this connection. Beyond Atlantic Canada, this study is relevant to other communities and local governments considering their roles in MSP and development of sustainable coastal communities.

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Data availability statement

All relevant data are included within the paper.

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