Governance of Landscape Systems: A Dinner Party Approach

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affective governance of natural resources requires that diverse stakeholders feel comfortable and positively engaged in a collaborative effort. In this chapter, etiquette is used as a metaphor for manufacturing these conditions of sustainable agriculture and natural resource management governance. Here we use the common experience of eating together, a dinner party, as a practical means to express that metaphor. This chapter draws heavily on etiquette manuals and aphorisms culturally adapted to early to mid-20th century English-speaking upper classes. Other societies and cultures have their own systems of etiquette that also provide for civil exchange—how to get along in discomfiting social situations. Many of these etiquettes have been handed down from generation to generation through written and oral traditions such as stories and sayings, and often still are. This is why we should be listening to our elders, even if their substantive knowledge may seem less relevant in today's globalizing society. Etiquette facilitates the creation of an atmosphere of safe expression, drawing forth good intentions. Once created, this atmosphere allows for dialogue and interaction to move beyond the confines of formal etiquette to deeper levels of expression about landscape system concerns and the identification of commonalities on which governance decisions can be based.

Etiquette is built on commonly accepted (i.e., socially constructed) terms, and there may be quite a variety of ways to behave properly with respect to others across, and even within, regions. Take for example the belch: While quite likely to offend the middle and upper classes of Europe and the United States, a round little belch after dinner in most of the Middle East is quite proper. While we offer many examples, ultimately finding the best etiquette for a particular landscape setting will probably require some research and reflection on that specific life scape (Honadle 1999). The diversity of interests and power relations in any community setting is likely to pose challenging governance problems. Hence, etiquette's function is, as Eleanor Roosevelt put it in her 1962 Book of Common Sense Etiquette, to "find some difficult moments made easier." We hope you will come to agree.

The Dinner Party

An Albanian proverb goes, "Every guest hates the others, and the host hates them all." Too much entertaining is exactly like that, with no fun intended....When guests are invited to break bread for other than purely friendly reasons the entertainment is too often a failure, unless it so happens that such business acquaintances turn out to be congenial. (Vanderbilt 1954, p. 260)

Congeniality is the essence of success for any social event. Congeniality produces a setting of mutual respect and trust –high social capital. If you cannot establish and maintain trust, nothing else will follow; your dinner party will fail to achieve the resource-sharing consensus you seek. Integration of the guests with each other and the purpose of the gathering is essential, and achieving that integration is the duty of the host. Further, the host cannot suppose this will happen automatically simply by proximity. The host must be ready to quickly change place settings or even prepare an additional entree in response to the emerging nature of the interactions and the participants.

If we have only people who like and agree with each other at the table as we discuss complicated issues of natural resource management, we are unlikely to bring about change in the landscape. Thus our guest list focuses on inclusion, rather than like-mindedness. Nevertheless, despite different definitions of sustainability, all the guests should share sustainability of the landscape as a goal. Thus it is important to set up an opportunity for informal interaction around the resource, such as transect walks, for everyone to get similar experiences, although they may interpret them differently.

Your invitation should be explicit about the purpose of the event (transparency), which will often mean that a written invitation should be preceded by a personal conversation and perhaps another follow-up before the party so that each guest knows that they will meet with no surprises. When the purpose is clear, the guests will not suffer the embarrassment of arriving in their best formal attire and then be expected to peel potatoes for dinner. Such conversations let those on your guest list ask questions and voice doubts about the gathering. In some countries, many poorer people will not attend meetings with people that they regard as their superiors, for they feel their own knowledge to be inferior to that of people coming from higher rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. It will be important to explain to them the importance of the knowledge that they have and how it is critical for success of the endeavor.

Collective learning and decision making require stakeholders or their representatives to come together socially and negotiate space congenially, much like a dinner party. Dinner parties and adaptive management are not scientific meetings. They require at least as much feeling as thinking; they defy systematic management, replication, and regression analysis. There is no general formula that says, if you play tango music and serve caviar, you will have a great dinner party. However, a successful dinner party is not random; being a social occasion, it can make great use of insights from those with experience. Ultimately, developing local governance is more like a series of dinner parties than just one. But the etiquette will not change much from dinner party to dinner party. The attention paid to organizing the first party must be repeated in the subsequent events as circumstances change and new guests are needed to make the adaptive process work.

The Party's Host

Dinner parties do not just *happen*. They need a third-party catalytic agent, an organizer, someone to create a welcoming space and foot the bill: the host. (We use the term "host" generically. A host may be male or female.) The responsibilities of the host should not be taken lightly. So, if you are going to be the host, thank you for taking on this honorable chore. You may want to have co-hosts to give the party the right feel. If you are part of a government agency, you might ask the heads of a local business and a respected nongovernmental organization also to sign the invitation. This helps establish the legitimacy of the gathering with the invited guests.

Often, if you do not know the invited guest well, that individual or group may be hesitant to attend a gathering that might be uncomfortable. Thus you and your co-hosts must go to special pains to make it easy for all those invited to attend, even if it means changing the date, place, or menu to accommodate the more hesitant participants. That could include offering childcare and transportation, as well as not holding the meeting when those invited are likely to be at work or out of town. It means attention to religious holidays.

Every culture we can think of has some conception of a host, almost always with associated responsibilities of graciousness and generosity. Whether you are in Central Africa, East Asia, or South America, a good host offers a guest the best of what he has to eat and drink, sees that they sleep well, and generally keeps them entertained. Whether the language being spoken is Chinese, Swahili, or Spanish, expressions abound that a good host can use to make a guest feel at home. Adaptability is required by the host to make this happen.

"A true gentleman places pauper and prince at equal ease," goes the English adage. In dealing with local or regional governance, being a good host is important beyond just goodwill and propriety. Making people feel comfortable is the key to having them express themselves among others. But first, you must feel at ease to help others get there. How can they feel comfortable if you are not? As Amy Vanderbilt (1954, p. 260) puts it, "If the host and hostess are smiling, the guests will feel at home and at ease."

T.E. Byers (personal communication, 2008) recounts the following story illustrating the effects of a host offering the best of what he has:

At a breakfast party in Kadugli, Sudan, we were presented many different delicacies, all of which were interesting and some of which were exotic, and unknown. The host had made us feel quite comfortable and we all ate (the men all ate) the food with relish, some more than others. When we were finished, and after I as a good and willing guest had eaten several items that I had never eaten before, I asked my Sudanese colleague exactly what those delicacies were. He looked at me and said, "I don't know, I never eat those things." The host had made us comfortable, we had done things that we would never have done outside the breakfast party, we had developed a level of camaraderie that would not have existed without the experience and I think we agreed to utilize my Ford pickup to go hunting for guinea fowl ... an activity that later led to four flat tires. Breakfast parties can lead to ill-planned and poorly thought through immediate actions but the bonding can create a new stakeholder group that can then make a case known to those at other system levels.

Affability and trustworthiness are obvious characteristics of any good party host. A very good host can make perfect strangers feel welcome. Foreknowledge of guest interests and activities generally makes it easier to help guests mix with others. Multiple hosts can work well together if they know each other, for instance, the classic married couple as a host team. Host diversity is particularly important when there are traditions of separation between men and women. Integrating women into the party in a way that respects local customs and acknowledges women's special knowledge, access, and control of natural resources is critical. Thus a previous dinner for the women (or other less powerful group) might serve to make them more confident in working with men (or the more powerful) to define and address their common goals for landscape management.

If all stakeholders got along well with each other, there would probably be no need for a dinner party or a host. But most landscape conflicts arise among groups lacking social connection, with uneven political power and often ethnic, class, or gender differences. Getting everybody to

sit at the same table can be a colossal chore indeed. Whatever the reason that groups culturally do not to sit together (e.g., a culture where women and men, or different castes, traditionally do not eat together), your job is to find a culturally appropriate way around this. This could include finding a removed location where traditions can be relaxed, finding group representatives who are willing to be more flexible, or holding parallel events with a high level of sharing of information between them.

You and your fellow hosts are on the ground, informed by your fieldwork and contacts. Your openness to recognize immediate problems of collaboration and ways that different groups can contribute to improving the landscape is critical. As host, you are responsible for keeping the discussion polite, encouraging comments from those who sit shyly, and making sure no one goes home hungry—that is, disappointed with the event's outcomes. You must show yourself as fair, transparent, and accountable to your guests. And if at first you don't succeed, try, try again a different way.

The Theme of the Party

So you want to have a dinner party. Every party has an implicit theme for being held, a cause that brings people together, even if it is just to reaffirm commitment (friendship or a community celebration). Your guests must be assured that you have no hidden agenda but are transparent in the goals and accountable for the process. The theme is your landscape management issue at hand. It should be concise enough to fit on an invitation, clear enough that guests will understand why they have been invited, and interesting enough that they will want to attend. Invitations in person can help to clarify but can put people on the spot to say they will come. You can write different personal invitations to different people, but the theme must be consistent; you are not planning a surprise party. If you are still somewhat uncertain about how best to approach or even flesh out your landscape use issues, this itself could be a party theme.

Make each guest feel special. Let each person invited know why his or her presence is essential. In a proactive way if possible, the theme of the party should empower those stakeholders least empowered. They are your honored guests. People go to dinner parties because they feel socially obligated and/or think the party will be fun. Those who feel socially obligated are usually the empowered ones who will come anyway. The party needs to be appealing and interesting for those least likely to come. By "interesting" we mean that people should feel that attendance will be a rewarding experience ("fun"). How will the subject of the conversation be relevant to them? What do you think they will be able to contribute so they will not feel left out? Does the party offer a forum where they can comfortably express themselves? Who else will be there?

Whom to Invite, How Many

Your carefully chosen guest list should include knowledge of the relation of each to others in the landscape; their concern for its state can help with the interaction and the planning. No guest should be there as the sole representative of the stakeholder group he or she is presumed to represent. Two or three such representatives allow for affirmation but not the opportunity to simply set up a group apart from the main party.

This constraint of human scale makes stakeholder representation necessary. Stakeholder groups are not always neatly organized with ready and waiting representatives. Often a meet-

your-stakeholder-group-fellows dinner party will be in order first (more on this later). At any rate, you should be familiar with and have good rapport with all invitees before bringing them together.

Know Your Guests

It is good to know the intentions of people when planning any event. Your dinner party will be a bit like a group-prepared dinner in the sense that you will need to know who will bring what to the table. Participatory action researchers recommend, for the purposes of clarity, that there be something written down indicating who will do what and what each person might consider bringing to share with the group. For the important guests who do not write, preliminary discussion can help them in their preparation to contribute to complex adaptive landscape management. Such transparency as to theme and to negotiated expectations helps people remember their commitments to the hosts, each other, and the landscape.

At formal dinner parties of old, as at yours, being under the same roof was not sufficient introduction. That is, do not expect people to naturally introduce themselves to others simply because they are at the same party. Guests must be formally introduced to each other, though what constitutes an introduction can vary from place to place. If you work in your native society you should have some feel for local social graces, trust yourself, and recognize that they are appropriate for their adaptive management of complex adaptive landscape systems. If you are a non-native, you are probably developing a local etiquette feel from your fieldwork. Do not be afraid to ask those locals who seem to possess great social grace.

You might try to introduce guests in a way that shows commonalities with others at the party—"Luis, you're an avid soccer player, and so is Pedro. His village youth team just completed a fund-raising campaign to pay for participation in the tournament in Sao Paulo"—even if that is not how they would introduce themselves. If you are concerned about offending the person to be introduced, consult her or him beforehand and explain your reasoning. You are looking for common ground on which to found understanding among the group. Confiding in people, doing what you say, and representing them without surprises will help to build trust.

Location, Location, Location and Timing

If you want people to reach common ground around landscape management, you might as well start them off on common ground physically. Pick a location where everyone feels comfortable. If none exists, err on the side of making the least empowered more comfortable. Meeting time is also very important. Women are often excluded by meeting time, even in progressive communities. Local leaders explain, "We asked them, but they never come to our lunch meetings," not realizing that village women are busy preparing and serving lunch in their own extended households. They do not have the flexible work schedules and child care that men have.

Culturally, people may have different meeting styles. Passing around a Native American talking stick may well put off European-American ranchers. And handing out green hats to a group of Han Chinese as tokens of friendships will have the reverse effect (green hats are symbols of cuckolds in China). As the host, your job is to figure out what will make everybody physically and culturally the most comfortable.

The Menu: Who Might Be Offended?

Food, locality, and identity are highly interrelated, and your respect for multiple norms establishes you as a trustworthy and accountable host. A diverse group has diverse preferences, and often some among them may have different dietary restrictions. The host might provide a series of main dishes and beverages that honors dietary differences (pork and no pork, meat and no meat, alcohol and no alcohol) yet offer enough varied side dishes for most dietary restrictions to be met and preferences observed.

Beverages and Hors d'Oeuvres

People will arrive at different times, no matter what the invitation said. Beverages and hors d'oeuvres before the formal event gets under way give people a chance to interact informally and talk about the landscape in unstructured ways. The exchange of a few friendly words can have quite an impact on first impressions.

Depending on the scale of your project, the notion of having beverages and hors d'oeuvres can be interpreted on different levels. It could be as simple as explained above, or it could be as complicated as inviting each group to a separate get-to-know-your-fellow-stakeholders party at which you serve beverages only: tea, coffee, or special local concoctions. However, respect the differences of those you have invited. While the Austrian participants may feel right at home with beer and sausages, this is not a good option for your Muslim guests.

As you will not be able to invite more than one or two representatives from each stakeholder group due to the tendency of large groups to fragment, as explained earlier, the success of your dinner party will be greatly affected by the relationship between the representatives and their respective groups. For less organized groups this may be particularly tricky and will probably need one of these get-to-know-your-fellow-stakeholders beverage parties. If the group can elect someone it feels comfortable with but the individual lacks the social confidence to attend your dinner party comfortably, seriously consider coaching the person for the task.

While it might seem trivial, a gathering's beverage of choice should be well thought out with much cultural sensitivity. Alcohol may be usual in some cultures and taboo in others. In some countries, the Evangelicals do not drink and the Catholics do. If there are abstainers, better to avoid alcohol. If it is served, always have several nonalcoholic alternatives. In some cases, the selection of a universal beverage may be better suited to put all at ease with one another. Tea, for example, "has not the arrogance of wine, the self-consciousness of coffee, nor the simpering innocence of cocoa," art and cultural scholar Kakuzo Okakura wrote in 1906. Okakura, a native of Japan, found tea to be the curiously perfect beverage for which people the world over could come together:

Strangely enough, humanity has so far met in the tea-cup. It is the only Asiatic ceremonial which commands universal esteem. The white man has scoffed at our religion and our morals, but has accepted the brown beverage without hesitation. The afternoon tea is now an important function in western society. In the delicate clatter of trays and saucers, in the soft rustle of feminine hospitality, in the common catechism about cream and sugar, we know the Worship of Tea is established beyond question.

Facilitating the Conversation

The French philosopher Voltaire, known for his keen and witty discussion, was known to often begin, "Before I discuss anything with you, you must define your terms." You can expect various stakeholders to come to the table with different conceptions of the world, its assets, and who should own them. You cannot expect anybody to readily see things from another's perspective. You can request that all guests be forthright with their opinions about a subject and that they take the time to explain why they think the way they do; being a good and inquisitive host means inviting them into a respectful discussion. The gaps, discrepancies, and resulting questions that emerge are your opportunities for social learning.

Supposing that everyone is on the same page just because the same language is spoken is sure folly. Truly understanding people requires an appreciation of their cultural background and a communications approach respecting it. British and Americans do speak the same language, but as playwright George Bernard Shaw famously said regarding this illusion of similarity, "England and America are two countries separated by a common language." Another case of miscommunication is from Edward T. Hall's *The Silent Language*, retold by Eleanor Roosevelt (1962, p. 204):

[A]n American agriculturalist deeply offended a farmer in Egypt by a well meant question as to how much the man expected his field to yield that year. Nonplussed by the man's anger, the [American] farmer later made inquiries and found that the Arab had believed him to be crazy, since only God knows the future, and it is presumptuous even to talk about it.

As the host, do not undervalue your own input. Your perspective can help draw connections among such variant viewpoints. At the very least, you may try to make sure that the discussion does not stray too much into the same old static reductionist perspectives. Again, honest congenial communication will be of utmost importance to establishing a common vocabulary. A rapid rural reconnaissance is an excellent tool to help guests understand how others see the landscape and the problems, solutions, and opportunities that can serve as the basis for complex adaptive management.

As stated earlier, social learning by its nature is adaptive and develops according to the group's negotiation. Such negotiation may be best carried out experientially—through transect walks and sharing indicators of the condition of the ecosystem together in the field. The food, drink, and interactions at the dinner party allow the mindset of adaptive management of complex systems to be further developed as guests are surprised by and impressed with the different sorts of knowledge present at the table. The sense of shared discovery marks a truly successful event.

Seating and Honored Guests

Ordinarily, among people who see each other frequently, the hostess places to the host's right any woman who has obvious seniority over the rest or, if none has, any woman guest who will bring out her husband conversationally if he needs special incentive. To her own right the hostess places the husband of the guest of honor, if there is one, the man who has come the greatest distance and is an infrequent visitor to the household or a man who may be a little shy or difficult conversationally. (Vanderbilt 1954, p. 273)

Classical formal dinner parties had the hostess and host seated at opposite ends of the table. The point of this was to better monitor the enjoyment of every guest, invite each to discuss a subject of interest should he or she have an air of disengagement, or offer a fresh bowl should a fly have inadvertently strayed into the soup. If you are working with someone else, consider sitting at opposite ends. And consider who has the best rapport with which guests. Do keep those "difficult conversationally" close to you so as to give them special encouragement and invitation to speak. As our colleague Andrew Hochstetler says, "One of the things an applied researcher does, and what I think is the most fun, is not showing how smart you are but helping [others] to show how smart they are."

Your job as host-coordinator is to help bridge the gaps among your guests. Paying particular attention to making those whose voices are seldom heard feel comfortable and share their knowledge is critical.

Toasting

Often it is good to talk up the actions of a marginalized group or player to a dominant one in the terms of success used by the dominant. However, in some cultures it is not seen as proper to raise some above the rest, and other forms of praise may need to be sought. Toasting could simply be making an open statement recognizing an individual or group's efforts. If someone is shy or if culture discourages him or her from claiming successes, it may be necessary for you to make others aware of the person's strengths by proposing a toast. This might be in front of the distinguished person or not. It could be to a small group or a whole party. Remember, the objective is not to embarrass but to empower. A little bit of pride is not always a sin; in fact, confidence without arrogance will help things fly better than pixie dust.

Where Are We Going? What Can Be Accomplished?

In your own locality, the idea of getting people to sit down at the same table, let alone "develop instinctive consideration for the feelings of others" may seem hopelessly optimistic. Some gaps are so large with prejudices running so deep that they may take the passing of a generation to be overcome. Regardless, we start from where we are and cannot be deterred from at least imagining. Consider the methodologies laid out in this chapter simply as a means of bringing people together around managing a shared landscape. Even if you can bring together stakeholders from only one group, nothing can be lost by listening, talking, and learning. In fact, we have often found this too opens up unseen avenues, even in the bleakest of situations. In the beginning, it may take multiple small dinner engagements before the formal dinner party.

Good Night and Good Luck: Moving from Dinner to Healthy Landscapes

It has been a lovely evening. Thank you very much for coming. There is much to hosting a dinner party, and we hope this will set you in the right direction. No book of etiquette can possibly imagine every situation; this chapter is meant merely to stir the pot, shake out the wrinkles, and remind you to not open the oven or the soufflé will fall.

We also recognize that dinner parties are not expected to resolve disputes or come up with plans. For Eleanor Roosevelt, it was enough that shouting matches did not break out. But in governance of natural resources, groups come together to identify the desired future conditions for a landscape—to see where there is agreement and to work first on those issues in determining how to reach the desired future conditions.

Your dinner party has been a process, not a single event. In that process, you established the legitimacy of the collective enterprise by ensuring transparency and accountability throughout the process. You worked hard to be inclusive, for a wide variety of stakeholders is necessary to manage complex adaptive landscape systems. You made sure not only that there is a diverse set of perspectives at the table but that those perspectives are integrated and that all the guests increased their capability to act together to improve the landscape. Your handling of the dinner party should result in an adaptable network of relationships to address a complex system.

Managing and coordinating the human elements in complex adaptive systems require complex adaptive governance to successfully link the household to the larger policy setting. Governance is quite different from government. Governance does not exclude governments, but it also involves actors from the market and civil society, composed of what local actors can best muster to address landscape issues with, or sometimes despite, each other and in alliance with or in opposition to outside actors. Governance is about people working, asking questions, learning, and making decisions together. A variety of scholars (Davidson 2008a, 2008b; Flora et al. 2004; Gasteyer et al. 2002; Flora 2000; Wycroft-Baird 2005) have found that collaborative landscape management requires a process aimed at developing legitimacy, fairness, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, integration, capability, and adaptability.

We have seen how proper etiquette is integral to success in developing these characteristics. From successful invitations to providing the experience promised to adapting to changing circumstances, the good host embodies these virtues. We could not agree more with Eleanor Roosevelt (1962, p. ix):

Etiquette, from my point of view, is not just a matter of knowing how a lunch or dinner should be served, or what the "proper" behavior is in this or that situation. There are many correct ways of behaving in any situation, and many proper ways of doing those things for which there precise rules in formal etiquette books. But the basis of all good human behavior is kindness. If you really act toward people in your home and out of it with kindness you will never go wrong.

Now go forth, invite guests, make dinner, and enjoy it.

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