COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: A NEW APPROACH OR PARTICIPATION IN DISGUISE?

A Thesis Presented in Part Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree

of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN RESOURCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING

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CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a theoretical conceptualisation of a process that links international community empowerment strategies with community empowerment approaches and attributes at various political levels. The thesis has derived a theoretical set of guiding community empowerment attributes form current community empowerment approaches. Guiding attributes may provide a means of understanding of current actions by which community empowerment is being implemented. Guidelines may also be used as criteria for the evaluation of existing community empowerment approaches in terms of more democratic decision making. In addition, guidelines may be used to test the initial idea for the establishment of community empowered groups.

A comparison and contrast of one New Zealand community empowerment programme with the theoretical set of guiding community empowerment attributes is made. The comparison and contrast shows that when a community empowerment approach incorporates and implements the majority of theoretical attributes, it may result in greater community participation, responsibility and more democratic decision making at the community level. Such community cooperation has advantages for local authorities in the management of natural and physical resources.

LIST of FIGURES and MAPS page

CHAPTER ONE

Statement of problem

There are two principle problems forming the basis of this thesis. The first relates to the relationship between theory and the practice of planning. How common is the statement "Its fine in theory but..."? This statement of exasperation is reflected in McClendon's (1993) view that traditional theory, principles and practices of planning has repeatedly failed to produce results and satisfy customers. This leads to the second problem concerning the use of dated theoretical platforms for planning practice. The result, according to McClendon is the perception that theory lags behind practice, that it is out of touch with everyday planning. McClendon suggests what is needed is a new framework for practice and a new paradigm that links theory and practice to results of planning, participation and implementation. This thesis acknowledges the existence of a continuum from dated theories of participation to recent theories of empowerment. Empowerment is offered as one theoretical approach which could produce good environmental results and satisfies customers.

Justification

If the planning discipline is to develop a new framework for practice, as McClendon suggests it should, this thesis contributes to the need for bridging the gap between theory and practice. It can be further justified by its attempts in encouraging planners to explore the options available to them within the individual statutory framework of the planning system to the fullest extent possible.

Research Design

Figure One illustrates the overall research design followed by thesis. It shows the aim, objectives, research questions, methodology, analysis and conclusions and recommendations The following figure also clarifies the methodology.

Figure One: Research Design and Methodology

AIM

OBJECTIVES

Theoretical Conceptualisation of Empowerment:

Set of Ideal Empowerment Attributes

Chapter One

CENTRAL QUESTIONS

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Two

Literature Review of Empowerment & Associated Concepts;
-Democracy
-Participation
-Representation & Responsibility
-Social Learning Theory
-Group Theory

Case Study: Whritoa Beach Care Group;
-Semi Structured Interviews
-Review of Local Authority Documentation

Chapter Four

Chapter Three

Empowerment in Use;
-Conceptual Process for the Formulation of Community Empowerment Attributes
-Community Empowerment Approaches
-Derived Set of Community Empowerment Attributes

SYNTHESIS

-Comparison of Chapter Three and Four
-Critique of Literature
-Conclusions

Chapter Five

RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter Six

Thesis Aim

The overall aim of this thesis is to explore the extent to which further empowerment of local communities can assist local authority planners in the management of natural and physical resources for the benefit of communities and species. It will be argued that power and power relationships hold great significance for planners and influences the degree to which communities may be empowered. However, the contention is that local authority planners in New Zealand are able to use existing legislation to advance and enhance the sustainable management of natural and physical resources by empowering local communities to manage activities sustainably.

Objectives

The first objective is to provide a conceptualisation of a theoretical process that links international empowerment strategies with approaches and attributes of community empowerment at various political levels. Such a conceptualisation helps to show that approaches and attributes of approaches may be derived at any political level.

The second objective is to derive a set of empowerment attributes from empowerment approaches identified across various disciplines. These may provide a means of understanding of current actions by which empowerment is being implemented. Secondly, empowerment attributes may be used as criteria for the evaluation of community empowerment programmes in terms of more democratic decision making. Thirdly, empowerment attributes can provide a guide for the empowering process of communities to manage the sustainable development of natural and physical resources for the benefit of communities and species.

The third objective is to compare the derived theoretical set of community empowerment attributes against one practical approach in New Zealand to empower a community group. Such a comparison will illustrate the usefulness of the theoretical set of community empowerment attributes with respect to the second objective.

Central Questions

1. In what manner does empowerment currently manifest itself in society?

2. To what extent do planners empower their communities to assist in the management of natural and physical resources and to what extent can planners empower community groups.

3. Is it necessary to devolve further power to communities?

4. Can community empowerment, by utilising the theoretical set of community empowerment attributes, succeed in more democratic decision making and better management of natural and physical resources where other approaches have failed to do so adequately.

Methodology

Fieldwork Undertaken

Visits were made to the Waikato Regional Council offices in Hamilton and the Hauraki District Council offices in Paeroa during February 1995. There were discussions and interviews with appropriate staff and beach care group member. All interviews were conducted either in the homes of beach care group members or at the workplace of local government officers.

Documentation Review

In order to gain an insight into the establishment of the beach care group, there was a need to gain access to the beach care group files held by the Waikato Regional Council. Contact was made with the council's coastal scientist responsible for setting up the group. Due to time constraints it was not possible to complete the review at the time of the visit, so it was arranged that the files could be borrowed for one week, thus documentation review was completed at a later date.

Data Collection

During fieldwork two types of data were collected. Secondary data was collected from Regional Council beach care group documentation as well as accounts of beach care groups in Australia. Preliminary scientific investigation documents of Whiritoa Beach was also gathered. Primary data was collected using semi-structured interviews.

The evening of the first day was spent interviewing two staff members of the Hauraki District Council in Paeroa. The method followed was that of a semi-structured interview as explained below. It was not necessary to review the territorial authority files as they were duplicates of regional council files. However, to make certain that no omission of relevant data occurred, the Territorial Authority planner agreed to provide copies of their files.

All interviews were undertaken as qualitative semi-structured interviews. This form allows for a free exchange of information following a prescribed interview guideline around the topic of focus. (Appendix One).

Interviews were conducted with Beach Care Group committee members and three council staff officers over a period of three days. One beach care committee member is also the official representative of the local Maori hapu, Ngati Hako.

All interviews with Beach Care Group committee members were recorded with their permission. Each taped interview was later transcribed providing ready access to this primary data.

Limitations to Research Design

This thesis does not seek to build or suggest a detailed process by which community empowerment can be achieved. It will be shown that community empowerment cannot be achieved by following a designated series of steps. It is achieved if participants respect a general set of guiding principles or attributes of community empowerment. Empowerment is a complex concept and thus is extremely difficult to adequately define

and conceptualise. This thesis offers one of possibly many conceptualisation of empowerment.

This thesis does not attempt to produce a model of empowerment, as any model would be too cumbersome to implement if it incorporated the enormous array of possible theoretical and practical situations in which empowerment may be conceptualised. It will be shown that the development of a community empowerment programme also depends on the nature of the community, the issue or problem and the geographical location.

Community empowerment attributes in this thesis can not be regarded as full and final. The attributes of community empowerment provided in this thesis have been derived from the experiences of a limited number of documented attempts of community empowerment. It is envisaged that as community empowerment programmes are developed further, attributes may be added to the list.

The validity of community empowerment attributes provided in this thesis may be questioned because they are purely theoretical and have not yet been applied in planning practice. However, Chapter Four is an attempt to illustrate and compare theoretical community empowerment attributes with one practical community empowerment programme. The difficulty remains that community empowerment attempts in New Zealand are severely limited in number. In addition, any current attempts being made to empower local communities to sustainably manage natural and physical resources are themselves in early stages of establishment. The Whiritoa Beach Care Group illustrated in Chapter Four is the longest running of known community empowerment programmes. The validity of empowerment attributes will remain to a degree in doubt until experience provides a better understanding of the concept and its attributes in the New Zealand context.

Chapter Contents

The main body of this thesis is contained in the following four chapters. Chapter Two begins by defining the term empowerment used in this thesis. It then proceeds to

introduce five theories that relate to empowerment. They are the theories of democracy, participation, representation and responsibility, social learning and group theory. All five theories are considered essential for understanding empowerment and for the development of empowerment approaches and attributes.

Chapter Three provides an overview of empowerment and how it is currently conceptualised. The conceptualisation intends to provide one means for understanding current actions by which empowerment is being implemented. In addition, it provides criteria for evaluating empowerment of communities as well as a guide for the empowering process of communities to sustainably manage natural and physical resources for the benefit of communities and species.

Chapter Four is an illustrative case study of the Whiritoa beach Care Group as one of a limited number of empowerment approaches currently employed in New Zealand. The chapter outlines the process undertaken by the local authority and the community. Its purpose is to illustrate attributes of empowerment that correspond to theoretical empowerment attributes derived in Chapter Three.

Chapter Five means to provide answers to the central questions of this thesis. It does this by drawing together Chapters Two, Three and Four in an comparative discussion of the potential of empowerment approaches in achieving sustainable management of natural and physical resources. Chapter Six reintroduces central questions and provides recommendations for local authorities in the establishment and implementation of community empowered groups.

Chapter Two: Theories Relating to Empowerment

Introduction

Chapter Two provides a definition of empowerment that may be used throughout this thesis. The chapter also provides a brief outline of other theories that relate to empowerment. Theories that relate to empowerment offers a philosophical basis upon which to build a theoretical set of guiding principles as well as guide the recognition of genuine empowerment approaches to community empowerment and attributes of these approaches. Other theories relating to empowerment discussed in this chapter include theories of;

(1) Democracy.

(2) Participation.

(3) Representation and responsibility.

(4) Social learning theory.

(5) Group theory.

(6) The mass belief system.

Definition

What is meant by the word 'empowerment'? In order to conceptualise empowerment, one may simply cite dictionary definitions, but this alone does not capture the myriad of ways in which empowerment can be, and is interpreted. Forms of power also need to be explored.

The noun 'empowerment' is the result of empowering, the state of being empowered. Thus the verb 'empower' means to;

> *invest legally or formally with power or authority, to authorise, license, to impart power or bestow power to an end or for a purpose, to enable or permit (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1989).*

To empower is to;

> *give or delegate power or authority (The Longmans Dictionary of the English Language, 1984).*

Here, power is defined as;

> *the legal authority to act, the ability or capacity to do something, control or domination, or any political, financial social force or influence (The Longmans Dictionary of the English Language).*

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word power as;

> *the ability to do or effect something or anything or to act upon a person or thing; the legal ability to act or capacity to act (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1989).*

The form of power utilised in this thesis is power over human beings and their activities. Luke (1986) states power over human beings may be classified by the manner of influencing individuals, or by the type of organisation involved. An individual may be influenced by;

(1) Direct physical power over his or her body.

(2) Rewards and punishments as inducements.

(3) Influence on opinion.

The most important organisations are distinguishable by the kind of power that they exert. The army and the police exert coercive power over the body. Economic organisations, in the main, use rewards and punishments as incentives and deterrents. Schools, churches and political parties aim at influencing opinion. All these forms of power are exemplified among human beings (Luke, 1986).

For the purpose of this thesis, the following definition is used. To empower is to impart, bestow or delegate power, thus empowering the recipient with the legal ability or capacity to act or effect control or domination either politically, financially or socially over or upon a person or thing. The form of power relevant to this thesis is that which influences opinion. Nevertheless, these distinctions of power are not very clear cut since organisations use other forms of power in addition to the one which is most characteristic (Luke, 1986). For example, a democratic state will use the form of power that influences opinion as well as the power of law which is coercive albeit with limitations.

Palmer (1987) states New Zealand is governed both by rules which collectively make up the New Zealand constitution, and the election of representatives. Harris(1989) states these rules are found in statutes, common law and constitutional conventions (Appendix Two). The ability to govern is based on the premise that supreme power was attained at the time sovereignty was acquired. The acquisition of sovereignty by a colonial power, from an imperial viewpoint, legitimises its ability to control or dominate as well as the ability to further impart, bestow or delegate power. Orange (1987) describes Hobson's urgency to acquire sovereignty, and thus absolute control. Sovereignty in a legal sense;

> *is the supreme unaccountable power as defined by constitutional law through which the sovereign is defined [and one where] the exercise of sovereignty occurs within a legal framework... (McHugh, 1991, p317).*

Democracy

The exercising of power in democratic terms is fraught with philosophical dilemmas. Democracy can be a loaded word, Mulgan (1989) states it represents a powerful appeal to our fundamental political values and yet, through repetition, it is often no more than rhetoric, empty of any real substance. In other words, what Mulgan is describing is the failure of democracy to deliver its promise, a gap exist between theory of democracy and its implementation in so called democratic societies. One other philosophical dilemma is that democracy is both a political system and a philosophy. Mulgan (1989) argues that the two can be confused, stating that representative democracy is a less than ideal political system that has its roots in an ideal democratic philosophy. It is possible that such a gap and any confusion surrounding the term democracy can serve to limit the possibilities for local community empowerment, because, it is argued that democracy works best at the local level.

The roots of classical theory of democracy can be found in the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. so called 'Athenian Experiment', (Fagence, 1977). Herodotus the Greek historian recorded the essential features of democracy as;

(1) Equality before the law.

(2) Popular deliberation and the development of a popular consensus.

(3) Public accountability of the officials.

(4) Equality of speech.

Through time, democracy has not been without its critics, most Greek scholars and philosophers of the classical period as well as contemporary commentators have expressed doubts about both the philosophy and practice of democracy, Friedrich (1968), Mulgan (1989) and Fagence (1977) provide the following examples;

(1) The problem of political equity, that is, the weighting to be given to each persons view.

(2) The question of who is to deliberate and how? and who chooses who deliberates?

(3) That representative democracy creates elitism.

(4) The continuing problem of an acceptable definition of people (demos).

(5) The tendency to vote for personalities rather than policies especially at the national level.

(6) The influence of representation and responsibility on the theoretical preference for non-participation.

Joseph Schumpeter's (1954) theory of democracy is regarded as a major contribution to the definition of democracy, one that is in sharp contrast to classical democracy. It is also one which most accommodates Parry's (1971) elitist political theory. Parry describes elites as political leaders, where the power structure of any society is determined by the character and abilities of its political leaders. Political skill, or the lack of it, determines who will rule and how power may change hands.

Schumpeter (1954) defines democracy as a method which is well designed to produce a strong, authoritative government. No ideals are attached to the definition of democracy itself. It does not in itself imply any notion of civic responsibility or a widespread political participation. The chief part played by the citizen is the acceptance or rejection of political leaders. Once political leaders are elected they should be able to get on with the job of governing with little interference from the citizens.

Parry (1971) remarks that Schumpeter's definition seems to fit the democratic representative system, where political parties compete for election. In Mosca's (1939) view the ruling class is not a veto group which can expect on all occasions to deny the implementation of policies for which all other groups in society are pressing. Rather, the survival of the elite depends on its ability to adjust its policies to meet the demands of various competing interest groups. The elite aims at a compromise which will satisfy most interests, yet leave the elite in the position of power. Elites will then succumb to the demands of democracy by opening its ranks, particularly in the lower stratum to the newer elements in society and so modify the composition of that class and the interests it represents. Mosca suggests that the result is that the elite class is then renewed and invigorated by the ablest representatives of the new forces in the new society.

Planners also face many of the problems associated with dilemmas of democracy. For instance, theorising about the optimal size of towns (Figure Two) and its effect on democracy has challenged political philosophers since the time of Plato and Aristotle.

The assumption in Figure Two is that with the growth of cities over time, the ability of the population to strive for the ideal conception of democracy diminishes. Goldsmith (1980) makes the point that the difficulty with participative democracy as a form of government is that it is essentially appropriate only on a small scale. Dahl (1989) comments the small city with limited populations offered theoretical possibilities

Figure Two: A Conceptual Relationship Between City Size and Democracy
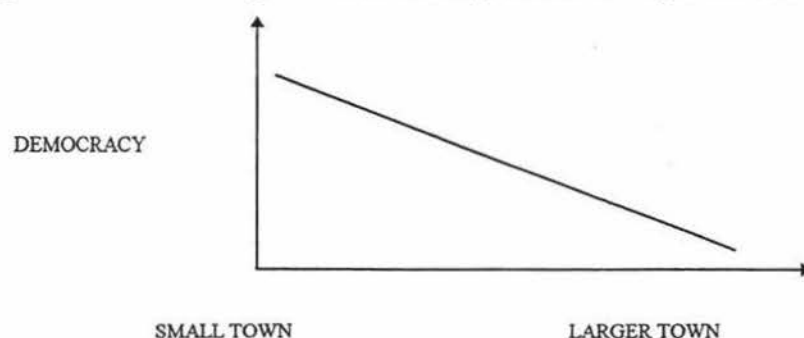
for direct participation that were eliminated by the larger scale of the nation state.

Indeed, this is not a new concept. Both Plato and Aristotle believed that the community, for good living, should be quite small, around 6000 inhabitants. Both believe that a well governed polis must rest on the foundations of common beliefs of shared convictions and that such sharing presupposed leadership of personal intimacy. Plato condemned growth of a city beyond this as disruptive of sound communal life and order (Friedrich, 1968). The optimum size of communities debate is to some extent critical to development of community empowerment. In building a set of principles of empowerment, this thesis draws some conclusions about the ability of small town empowerment programmes and the extent to which it they can be super-imposed on larger communities and still achieve satisfactory results.

In contrast with small towns, urban planners in larger cities while providing for democratic rights have to struggle with local politics. Lynch (1982) describes the political control over for example, water and air pollution, the dependence on exotic sources of energy and material and waste disposal. In addition, all planners must confront ensuing issues of representation, public interest, consultation, (non)participation and apathy. Lynch (1982) also comments planners are required to develop techniques and practices that adequately meet these needs and others in order to allow decision makers make democratic decisions.

Dahl (1989) acknowledges the constraints to democracy are set by reality and trade offs among various values, and that even in an advanced democratic country, there still would be significant inequalities among citizens in their political resources, capabilities and opportunities. Thus, an advanced democratic country would not focus on achieving perfect equality, but would seek to reduce inequalities in the capabilities and opportunities for citizens to participate effectively in political life. Any techniques and practices developed by planners need to recognise the causes of political inequalities.

Inequalities may result from deficiencies in resources and opportunities, and from deficiencies in knowledge, information and cognitive skills of potential participants.

The historic approach to the dilemma of achieving democracy has been to demand greater democracy. The pragmatist John Dewey's (1927) entreaty that democracy must begin at home, and its home is the neighbourly community appears to suffer under the weight of ever increasing urban size and the apparent hardships of implementing democratic characteristics. Planning approaches such as Forester's (1989) progressive planner and Healy's (1992) planning through debate, compliment Dewey's (1927) belief that there is no substitute for the vitality and depth of close and direct intercourse and attachment. Both Forester's and Healy's approaches attempt to work through Friedrich's (1968) earlier questioning of our ability to overcome the many complex problems in our societies.

Therefore a question can be asked of resource management in New Zealand. How is it possible to make decisions that everyone in society finds more or less acceptable in the light of the above dilemma? If Plato, Aristotle and Dewey are correct, only small communities have this capacity for full consultation and participation toward acceptable decisions. Lynch (1982) argues that in large cities at least, some of the above problems are due more to intensity and speed of growth rather than growth *per se*. Even if intensity is the cause, Lynch states one suggested alternative to deal with urban problems rests with power at the lowest level possible, for example city wards, presumably to overcome the democracy-citysize dilemma. Friend and Hickling (1987) offer strategic choice planning as a means of coping with, what they term as difficult problems amidst all the complex realities and perceptions of realities which contribute to organisational life. Unfortunately, Friend and Hickling give no indication of where power should reside to give the greatest benefit to their approach, only that working with strategic choice concepts, people from diverse backgrounds can make solid progress towards decisions based on shares understandings, with little or no explicit agreement at a more philosophical level.

It is possible to conclude several points from the above discussion about the earlier assertion, that difficulties in implementing characteristics of democracy serve to limit possibilities for empowerment of communities. There is a void between the theory and practice in implementing classical notions of democracy in contemporary planning practice. The lack of theoretical guidance limits the ability of those in power to exercise power in a democratic manner. Democracy is apparently more conducive to small populations rather than larger populations.

Nevertheless, in spite of the many difficulties with interpreting and implementing democratic values in planning, it will be argued throughout this thesis (and perhaps it is a utopian ideal) that community empowerment is possible, but it is the extent of empowerment which needs to be clearly delineated in each situation. Having stated that democracy can serve to limit empowerment, it is also important to consider recent planning theory suggestions that could, if implemented, extend empowerment possibilities by using concepts related to democracy such as participation, representation and responsibility.

Friedmann (1987), asks the question, are reason and democracy compatible? Can ordinary people be trusted to use their heads in the conduct of their own affairs, or is a superior wisdom needed? Friedmann maintains that industrial capitalism has answered these questions in the negative. It has placed its trust in men of wealth and power, the formally educated, and the experts. Faludi's (1973) belief is that both planning and democracy are based on the view of humankind endowed with reason and capable deliberate choice. Thus he concludes it is quite natural that the two should exist together. Friedmann (1987) defends the view that technical reason, when separated from democratic self governance, is bound to have destructive consequences. He reviews four traditions of planning and suggests where the emphasis on future planning should lie, and thus advocates a return to radical practice, a form rooted in the intellectual roots of social mobilisation, with the central idea of facilitating social emancipation.

This raises the second contention that underpins this thesis. It is all very well to want or expect those with power to willingly wield that power in a democratic manner as possible and improve the likelihood of empowerment of communities. However, if society is to be mobilised groups must also have a willingness to be empowered and accept the essential features and attributes that are inherently part and parcel of being empowered.

All parties involved in empowerment also need to be aware of the dual use to which democracy and power can be put. Lukes (1986) links democracy and power by exploring three modes of power, (see Appendix Three for explanation) they are the control of decision making, agenda setting and needs shaping. Luke suggests that these modes of power can thwart the efforts of planners and informed citizens who seek to participate in democratic processes. If used correctly, political action and the realisation of a democratic planning process may be encouraged. Consequently, it would be to the detriment of democratic decision making and empowerment if those in positions of power fail to use that power in a democratic manner.

The peril for planners Forester (1989) argues is that if they ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness. Forester focuses on practical ways by which planners can plan in the face of power. After analysing common theoretical views of power and information, Forester provides an alternative structure in which planners understand how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analysis and empower citizen and community action. Forester wants to provide a way in which planners could fulfil their legal mandate to foster a genuinely democratic planning process, and one which this thesis contends, could widen the opportunities for community group empowerment within the existing legislative framework. For communities to be empowered concepts of participation, representation and responsibility are essential, it is to these issues the discussion now turns.

Participation

The term democracy is used to refer both to a form of political regime, typically one in which the government is elected, and also to a particular method of making political

decisions, where all people have a say, thus linking democracy with community participation. Indeed, Burke (1968) states that citizen participation is part of our democratic heritage, often proclaimed as one of the means to perfect the democratic process. For example, it is possible to say that once people have chosen their government, they then have the right to re-elect that government at regular intervals. In this sense it is sufficient to provide a limited role for participation in decision making extending only to periodic free elections (Mulligan, 1989). Mulligan suggests the role of people in a democracy is not necessarily confined to choosing a government, but where all political decisions are made in a 'democratic' manner, that is, with each person having an equal say in making them.

Participation, in theory at least, offers a way in which each person can have an equal say. But, like democracy, there exists a void between the two. Since the 1960's (Arnstein, 1969; Bolan, 1969; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1976; Stewart and others, 1976; Fagence, 1979; Tomic, 1985; Wils, 1988; Dixon, 1989; Healy, 1992; McClendon, 1993; and James, 1994) planners have failed to adequately bridge the theory-practice gap. It is no surprise then, that criticism has been wide and varied, but so to has been the response to these criticisms. Bolan (1969) criticises past research for being preoccupied with power and influence while failing to examine the quality and effects of the decisions themselves and the planning process that contributed to such decisions. In an effort to encourage a more enlightened dialogue, Arnstein (1969) constructs a provocative 'ladder of citizen participation' (Figure Three) which, according to Fagence (1977) deliberately categorises citizen participation as citizen power to reveal the *locus operandi* of power to bring about or prevent change. Arnstein concedes that the participation ladder is simplistic in terms of the number of steps in the ladder and the restricted institutional base from which it was constructed (United States social welfare activities).

Nevertheless, Arnstein is also criticised by Fagence (1977) for ignoring the inherent resistance to power redistribution and the paternalism of governing bodies, the inadequate knowledge base and organisational potential of the aspiring participants. Fagence makes two points, the first is that while Arnstein's ladder is simplistic in nature,

Figure Three: Arnstein's Participation Ladder

Citizen Control	} Degrees of citizen power
Delegated power	
Partnership	
Placation	} Degrees of tokenism
Consultation	
Informing	
Therapy	} Non participation
Manipulation	
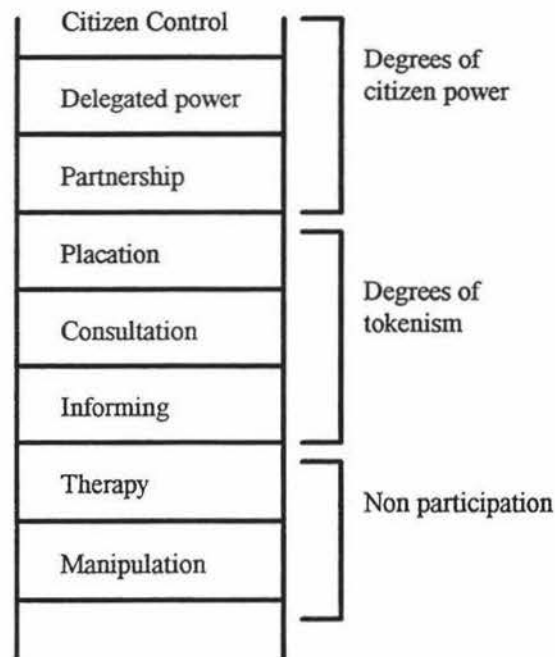
(Source: Arnstein, 1969, p. 217)

it does portray a useful concept against which participation in practice can be analysed, and secondly there are many policies for public participation so that Arnsteins ladder cannot be generally applicable. The same could be said for this thesis if it were to provide a ladder of empowerment instead of a set of guiding principles. Empowerment is undoubtedly a process, but advocates of that process cannot claim to consist of gradual steps, simplistic or otherwise, for a community or group to reach a state of empowerment.

Fainstein and Fainstein (1976) argue for the decentralisation of planning in place of central planning, while claiming to be non-political frequently represents the interests of more powerful or organised actors. Decentralisation of planning is an attempt to prevent planners being 'captured' by specific powerful groups or individuals in society. In theoretical terms it portrays a move away from social reform (a commitment to passive change from within existing power relations) to one of advocacy on behalf of less powerful groups or individuals in society. Advocacy planning is aimed directly at strengthening the negotiation power of weak groups in society. Planners, according to

Friedmann (1987) would give such groups a professional voice to defend their interests. Shatzow (1977) comments that the great weakness of advocacy planning is the definition of needs of under represented groups by people from different classes, with results often collapsing with the departure of the advocates. The collapse of results with the departure of the advocate is the principle Marxist criticism of advocacy planning. Friedmann (1987) remarks, while Marxist desire social change, advocacy planning theory in their view needed to recognise the dynamics between classes, the lines of demarcation between the interests of different groups, or it could not be said to be advocacy planning.

More recently Healy (1992) responds to the perceived failures of planning in the previous three decades, by proposing a new communicative, dialogue based, form of planning. Healy draws heavily on Habermas's theory of communicative action (Figure Four) to realise the democratic potential of planning, and as Goldsmith (1980) states overcome the dilemma that technical and administrative machinery's advocated and created to pursue social goals based on what is now seen as a narrow scientific rationalism

Figure Four: The Growth of Habermas' Communicative Action Theory
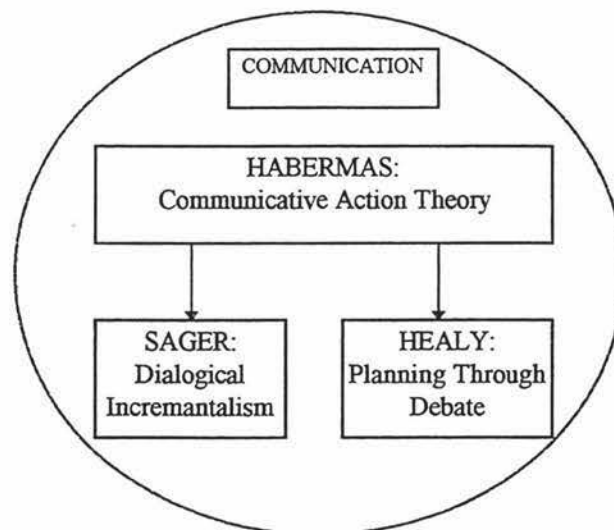
Healy calls this new form 'planning through debate', a respectful argumentative form appropriate given the recognition that pure reasoning has failed. At the same time

Habermas's desire to retain reasoning for argumentation and debate is incorporated. Habermas claims we need a reasoning capacity for these purposes.

Healy's planning through debate is comparable with McClendon's (1993) call for a new paradigm for empowerment. Specifically where;

(1) Face-to-face collaborative problem solving is more effective than top-down decision-making.

(2) The public should be the primary arbitrator of what constitutes the public interest.

(3) Planning is a service profession that cannot continue to ignore the frustrations, expectations and the demands of customers or the market place.

Healy (1992) argues that to engage in any other strategy which excludes debate is to generate forms of planning with anti-democratic dominatory potential inherent in them. 'Planning through debate' is in essence a demand for greater democracy. Healy suggests the field of environmental concern one of the critical arena within which such invention is being demanded and tested. The illustrative case study in Chapter Four is one where a more communicative approach has been taken toward enabling the empowerment of a coastal community to deal with a major resource management issue.

Sager (1994) also builds on Habermas's communicative action theory and has devised a new concept he calls dialogical incrementalism. The premise of Habermas's theory is that truth emerges from communication from which power relations are suspended. One relation of power is knowledge. According to Rousets (in Sager, 1994) the relationship between scientific knowledge and power has four components. One is that knowledge can be applied in order to achieve power, and it is one Sager states that permeates synoptic planning. The second is that power is used to impede or distort the acquisition of knowledge. Forester (1989) belief is that this may be countered if one listens and not just hears. Rousets further states that power can liberate us from the repressive effects of power and that power can be used to acquire knowledge.

Sager's dialogical incrementalism claims to overcome some of the short falls of synoptic (rational) planning and incremental planning by showing neither theory gives prominence to procedural planning, that is, how to design a planning process with intrinsic values. Incrementalism itself is criticised by Dror (1964) for a number of reasons;

(1) Tinkering is pointless if the policy is flawed.

(2) Policies or past experiences are inadequate in times of rapid change.

(3) The means for solving problems is expanding, presenting new possibilities are likely to be overlooked by incrementalists.

Dialogical incrementalism remedies this situation by requiring that communication in the incremental planning process (one which depends heavily on communication to enhance agreement and the need to understand the implications of proposed changes) must, as Sager (1994) claims, aim for the ideal speech situation in which only the compulsion of argumentation exists and in which genuine symmetry among all participants permits them to interchange role-taking completely. It is in reality an obligatory dialogue, one where inter-human aspects come out strongly and where personal growth is enhanced by dialogue and interaction on equal terms. Sager (1994) states that dialogical incrementalism cannot be criticised, unlike disjointed incrementalism, on the grounds of opportunism because changing a collective decision under communicative rationality (Habermas' influence) requires arguments that are comprehensible, true, right and sincere. Sager also states that dialogical incrementalism overcomes the weakness of advocacy planning theory that reflects the interests of the most powerful. Sager (1994) argues that when it comes to choosing direction of policy change, economic resources and political power have no effect. Under the rule of communicative rationality everyone is perfectly capable of assessing each argument, they judge as if unaware of their own capacities, resources, power and general standing in society. Whether this is possible in practice is debatable, it could be argued that for an individual to be perfectly capable of assessing each argument, that person must fully comprehend the issue at hand, the broader issues and other views about all relevant issues. This by implication, means that all the facts are known, a situation most likely not possible as pointed out by criticisms of rational comprehensive planning. John Dewey (in Boydson, 1984) notes that those

concerned in government are still human beings. They retain their share of the ordinary traits of human nature. Rarely can a person sink himself in his political function. Dewey questioned the ability of human beings to separate their positions as decision makers and as citizens. (Figure Five). Dewey thought this unlikely as duality would always lead to conflict.

Thus, if Dewey is right, Sager's notion that people can judge unaware of their capacities, resources, power and general standing in society, is dubious at best. Both Healy and Sager believe communication is the key component of the role of planning in the future. Communication once implicit in participation theory through the 1960's, 1970's and the 1980's, is made explicit in 1990's.

Forester (1989) believes communication implies the need to hear and listen, which, in his view, are separate and distinct phenomena. Listening is active while hearing is passive.

Figure Five: Dewey's Inseparable Human Traits
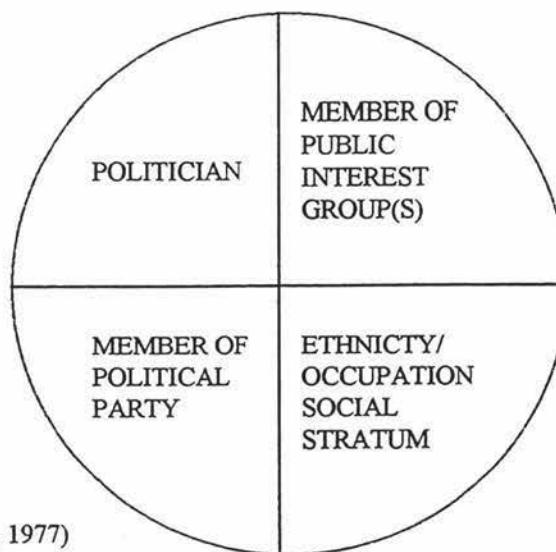
(Constructed from; Peters, 1977)

Listening requires the understanding of what was said, hearing only requires the ability to became aware of a sound. Forester lists five points that enables good listening, they are;

(1) Attentiveness of the listener.

(2) The asking of good questions.

(3) The exploration of meanings and implications of statements.

(4) Prevention of illusion and self-deception.

(5) Listening as an act of respect.

Listening critically then, can express concern and build relationships, it can uncover interests, fears, and more importantly in the context of this thesis, it can make enhance possibilities for empowerment. Forester (1989) contends if we listen so that we respond with sensitivity and care, our actions may be freeing, empowering others rather than mechanically generating feedback.

Burke (1968) comments, participation views the citizen as the ultimate voice in community decision making. It is of course naive to think that citizens can participate in all decision making functions. Schatzow (1977) points out an important distinction between participation and influence. He comments participation refers to the direct involvement of the public in decision making through a series of formal and informal mechanisms. But public participation in decision making does not necessarily mean that public influence is exerted, public views and opinions may be ignored by decision-makers.

Fagence (1979) considers the dilemma for planning is that the system of representative democracy cannot be easily or radically changed. What is more likely would be the development of special new forms of communication that focus on decision making, complementing rather than replacing mechanisms already in existence, such as representative democracy or past attempts for citizen participation. Unfortunately Fagence does not provide information about the means by which new forms of communication could be achieved. Empowerment, like participation is no less a manifestation of democracy. The linkages between them are so strong, so as to remove one would be to the detriment of the other. Two further variables considered to be pertinent to the democratic-empowerment relationship are those of representation and responsibility.

Representation and Responsibility

The variety of ways in which representation is used in society for implementing democracy is crucial when conceptualising linkages between democracy, participation and empowerment. Representation according to Birch (1964) can be understood in three main ways. A representative may be an agent or delegate whose function is to protect or advance the interests of the group on whose behalf the agent is acting. It is thus one avenue for participation in a democratic society, albeit a selective one, for the diverse interests and opinions in society. Representation may signify a person or groups of people as typical of a class, or where a small body is said to be representative of a large one if it mirrors the main characteristics of the larger one, that is, a representative sample. Representation may be applied to persons or a freely elected assembly of persons. Here, representation is not a matter of who, but how a person or assembly is elected. It is distinguishable from the first form of representation in that the representative here is not obliged to act in the interests of constituents.

The philosopher Edmund Burke in his discussion of parliamentary representation insists an elected representative must conceive of himself as a guardian of national interest. He states that an elected body may and is usually both a set of agents from different interests, and a representative group determining the common interest (Friedrich, 1968). The underlying assumption is that democratically elected officials are supposed to reflect in some manner the public interest. It is a persistent almost ethereal term, at one time or another it has inspired numerous definitions by as many planning commentators (Nisbet, 1973; Gans, 1973; Fagence, 1979; Dahl and Lindblom, 1963; and Grundy 1993). Friedmann (1973) was prompted to define it as that which expresses the notion of something shared or held in common. The shared notion creates a moral community whose members agree to be jointly responsible for that which is precious to them. The idea of public good or public interest implies the existence of such a community and the commitment of its members to it. Lynch (1982) is of the opinion that there is no such thing as the public interest, even with a single culture and a single settlement. There are a plurality of interests, all generally in conflict.

Boydston (1984) remarks that the philosopher John Dewey saw the duality of being a representative as well as a member of the public as the most serious problem of government. Those concerned with government still retain their share of ordinary traits of human nature. They still have private interests to serve and interests of special groups, those of family and class to which they belong (refer Figure Five). The best they can attain, is the domination by the public weal of their other desires. What is meant by representative government in Dewey's mind is that the public is organised with the intent to secure this domination. When the public adopts special measures to see that conflict is minimised and that the representative function overrides private function, political institutions are termed representative.

An idyllic form of representation, like democracy, is perhaps better suited to the classical era when personal participation was more important than the result. The word 'democracy' in Figure Two (page 12) could just as easily be replaced with 'representation', again illustrating the assertion that with increasing city size over time, both participation and representation are difficult to attain. More importantly, the notions of participation and representation are sub-concepts of democracy.

Dahl (1989) believes that on a large scale of a nation state, a diversity of interests and interest groups come into existence and factionalism and conflict become destructive. Political conflict is then regarded as normal, inevitable, even a desirable part of democratic order. Consequently, the classical belief that citizens should and could pursue the public good rather than private ends became more difficult to sustain, and even impossible, as the public good fragmented into individual and group interests. Thus, says Dahl, a conflict is created between theory and practice of representative democracy.

Representative democracy at any level requires adherence to several principles , for without, any decision is liable for criticism and public unrest. Fagence (1977) identifies these principles as accountability, responsiveness, legitimate expressions of power, and the process of marshalling popular opinion. One other principle may be added to this 'responsibility'. In terms of empowerment, responsible representation, or lack of it at any

level of authority, may be a decisive factor for the success or failure of community or group empowerment.

Friedrich (1968) explains from a historical standpoint the effect of securing responsibility in government is the central objective in all the various forms of representation. In strongly religious epochs the notion that the king represents God on earth may have been a powerful impulse toward making him and his officials responsible, accountable and responsive. Modern government can in some respects be interpreted as an effort to produce responsible public affairs without religious sanction and the standards supported by these sanctions. In the place of these sanctions terms like public interest have become the basis for evaluating the actions of officials.

Dahl (1989) writes that adult human beings are metaphysically free, meaning all people possess the capacity to reason and are capable of choosing how they shall act. Consequently people are responsible for their actions. Dahl believes that taking responsibility involves determining what one ought to do. Deciding what to do requires knowledge, reflecting on motives, predicting outcomes, criticising principles, and so forth. Unlike autonomy, responsibility cannot be forfeited, since responsibility is a consequence of human capacity for choice, they cannot give up or forfeit responsibility for their actions. They can, however, refuse to acknowledge or take responsibility for their actions.

Ideally for Birch (1964) responsible governments take heed of the groups in society when determining their policies. Thus, responsible representatives are servants not masters of the public. Responsible government invokes concepts of accountability, duty and moral responsibility. This can mean that a decision in some circumstances might not meet with current public approval, for example, a government pursuing a wise policy. It is here that the distinction is made between general current public approval and private interests of citizens, Bernard Bosanquet's 'will of all' and the 'general will'. Bosanquet states that governments should seek to further the interests of its citizens rather than their apparent wants, (Birch, 1964). A classic example of Bosanquet's distinction is the perceived need

to reduce the use of private motor cars,(a short term citizen want) in order to reduce global warming gases, (long term citizen interest). The essence of idealism is the focus on this distinction between immediate private interests and longer term interests of the society as a whole. Idealism also focuses on the problem of eliciting the highest measure of common agreement, the common will, from mass opinions and interests that exist in relation to any sphere of government activity.

Idealism in this sense necessarily invokes an act of facilitation in order to obtain the highest measure of common agreement. The art of facilitation is not without purpose in attempting some form of empowerment. Hunter et al (1994) belief is that facilitation is a necessary move from democracy to 'cooperacy'. They argue that New Zealand is a democratic society but not a cooperative one. Democracy requires cooperation, but says the majority is right and that majority decision making is the best way to make decisions. Hunter et al (1994) claim that cooperacy is the next major cultural shift since that step taken from autocracy to democracy. Hunter et al (1994) also claim that facilitation is not generally used in New Zealand society so that it may be useful if it replaces the vote at decision time. Having argued that it requires a cultural quantum leap to reach cooperacy, supporters of cooperacy offer values of equality, shared decision making, equal opportunity, power sharing and personal responsibility. Yet, these are also essential features of an idyllic democratic society and as such, cannot be termed a major cultural shift. Facilitation is at its best at the group level. At this level, it is more likely that full cooperation between all people is not only desirable but possible. Again, the argument comes back to the notion of size, smaller groups have the ability to reach a consensus when it is desired, whereas in a large democracy, a consensus decision can come unstuck. The ability of a small group to reach a consensus decision based on full participation of group members has obvious advantages for individual input at the decision making level and therefore an ability to effect the outcome, in essence individual empowerment.

Social Learning Theory

The theory of social learning is evident in all of the examples given in Chapter Three. What makes social learning useful in these examples is that the theory is rooted in the

philosophy of pragmatism. Thayer (1981) states pragmatism as a theory is concerned with knowledge and how knowledge can be validated. John Dewey, an American philosopher and educator, belief is that all valid knowledge comes from experience, by which he meant the interaction between human subjects and their material environment. Friedmann (1987) adds, through experience we come not only to understand the world but also to transform it.

Friedmann (1987) states, in the context of Dewey's pragmatism, the plans that are formed and the principles that guide action are not hypotheses that are to be tested in practice, rejected, or corrected and expanded as they fail or succeed in giving guidance. Smith (1978) notes that Dewey criticised empiricism for refusing to identify experience with knowledge and scientific gathered data. Generally, experience is not considered by empiricists as valid knowledge. Friedmann contends that pragmatists view each plan as an experiment itself, and history unfolds as a succession of experiments in a progressive movement. Yet this type of knowledge is criticised as only being valid for the individuals involved in the process, the problem being it could not be said to be shared with others.

Peters (1977) believes the pragmatist process of inquiry follows the tradition of Dewey. It is prompted and set in motion by practical needs, where knowledge is only for the sake of action. Friedmann (1987) states that social learning begins and ends with purposeful action, and that it is the essential essence of social learning tradition that practice and learning are construed as correlative processes, so that one necessary implies another, hence Dewey's pragmatist statement, learning by doing.

Dewey's 'learning by doing' expands pragmatism as a theory of knowledge. He is more preoccupied with the doing than the philosophising of the meaning of truth and how it can be ascertained. Simkin (1993) writes that for Dewey, knowledge is to be regarded as an instrument for action rather than as the aim of science or philosophy. Moore (1961) notes that for Dewey, thought is an instrument for resolving difficulty, and that thought needs to be actioned to see what it will do. Instrumentalism is Dewey's basis for the unity of theory and practice.

The principle focus of the social learning approach comments is task orientated group action (Friedmann, 1987). Group learning manifests itself as a change in practical activity, typically a form of tacit and informal learning. It is rarely systemised or articulated in the formal language of scientific discourse. In the social learning tradition, actor and learner are assumed to be one and the same. It is the action group that learns from its own action. Learning will also depend on the nature of inter group relations and the formal structure of authority.

Whyte (1974) believes social learning may also involve so called "change agents" who encourage, guide and assist an actor in the process of changing reality. They are generally professionals or para-professionals (trainers, facilitators, consultants). Such people bring certain kinds of formal knowledge to the ongoing social practice of their client group. To be effective, change agents must develop transactive (face to face) relationship with their client conducive to mutual learning. The effectiveness of good change agents, comments Whyte (1974) is reflective of China during the Maoist period. The relevant actors were said to be the peasant masses under the tutelage of political cadres (facilitators/change agents). Yet despite rhetorical references to the masses, small groups played an extremely important role in China's revolution.

As a result of the brief discussion of social learning theory, it is desirable to make further specific statements about social learning, they are;

(1). Action groups are a form of collective memory. Embodied in group relations, social learning is a cumulative process that lasts for the duration of a given action cycle. When a cycle terminates and the group dissolves or undergoes a major change in composition, what has been learned is dissipated and lost. Therefore, it is essential that information learned must be well documented by the group.

(2). Action groups are organised around specific tasks. In addition to the objective requirements of the tasks, group behaviour is influenced by the way personal needs of its members for esteem, self expression, recognition are addressed both within the group and the larger environment of which it forms a part.

(3). Social learning in small groups takes place primarily through face-to-face relations or dialogue. But dialogue requires personal skills, such as the art of listening, the ability to trust others and make oneself vulnerable to them, a willingness to suspend rank and material power and a responsiveness to others needs. These and related skills of dialogue can be acquired, at least in rudimentary from, through appropriate training.

(4). In social learning, objectives tend to emerge in the course of ongoing action. To bring about a significant redirection of objectives, however, may involve a long and painful process of double-loop learning. Double-loop learning requires an adjustment of the norms governing the action process, values and beliefs. It requires a major cognitive restructuring that will have far reaching practical consequences for human relations, formal authority, and the ultimate distribution of costs and benefits of action

(Source: Dunn, 1971, Mortiss and Chamala, 1991)

Group Theory

Group dynamics, that is, group formation and decline over time, and the development of roles and skills within the group is essential to community empowerment approaches. The case study in Chapter Three utilises a locally formed group to design and implement a dune stabilisation programme. This being the case, the consideration of group theory will help to answer the central questions of this thesis.

Napier and Gershenfeld (1987) believe there are three main reasons why people form groups, they are;

(1) They like the task or activity of the group.

(2) They join not to satisfy the groups need or task, but to satisfy their own needs, for example, to find clients.

(3) They like the people in the group, so they may stay a member long after task interests have waned in order to participate in pleasant personal associations.

Davidson (1994) contends that groups develop through a number of consecutive phases she has called forming, storming, norming, performing and dorming. Forming is the initial decision by a number of individuals to from a group or one individual to join a group. The storming stage occurs next, where a sense of purpose and task definition takes place. Members argue, freely voicing opinions and personalities become obvious. Norming is the stage where conflicts are resolved and some understanding of interests results. Cohesion and unity become apparent, with members starting to trust one another. Planning commences and a work plan is developed with goals and objectives clearly stated. The performing stage is the internal functioning of the group. Members are comfortable with the purpose and tasks and implementation mechanisms are put in place. The internal structure may change depending on the task at hand, but with little disruption to the group. At this point, leadership is given by the most suitable for the current task. The final stage dorming may or may not occur. Many members become content with the status quo, thus motivation to move forward and into new areas is lost. It is at this juncture that the groups mandate should be re-examined, the group has served its usefulness it should be disbanded, or provided with a new mandate with a fresh set of ideas and new faces.

What Davidson has indicated is that groups go through a cycle, from development to decline. Robinson (1984) has shown that group survival depends on three variables, size and activity as well as the phenomena of normative strength and structure. (Figure Six). Figure Six illustrates stable and unstable states which may result in a group holding together or cause the group to collapse. A stable state may be defined as Davidsons (1994) norming and performing phases. Unstable states may be defined as Davidsons storming and dorming phases.

Robinson contends that if a group stays about the same size and continues to do the same sorts of things despite a considerable change in membership, it remains the same group. Normative strength is the power of what Robinson calls normative structure. Normative structure is the central belief of the group that protects it from decline in the face of significant changes. Normative strength is a threshold which is determined by the group's

Figure Six: Group Structure and Variables in Stable and Unstable States
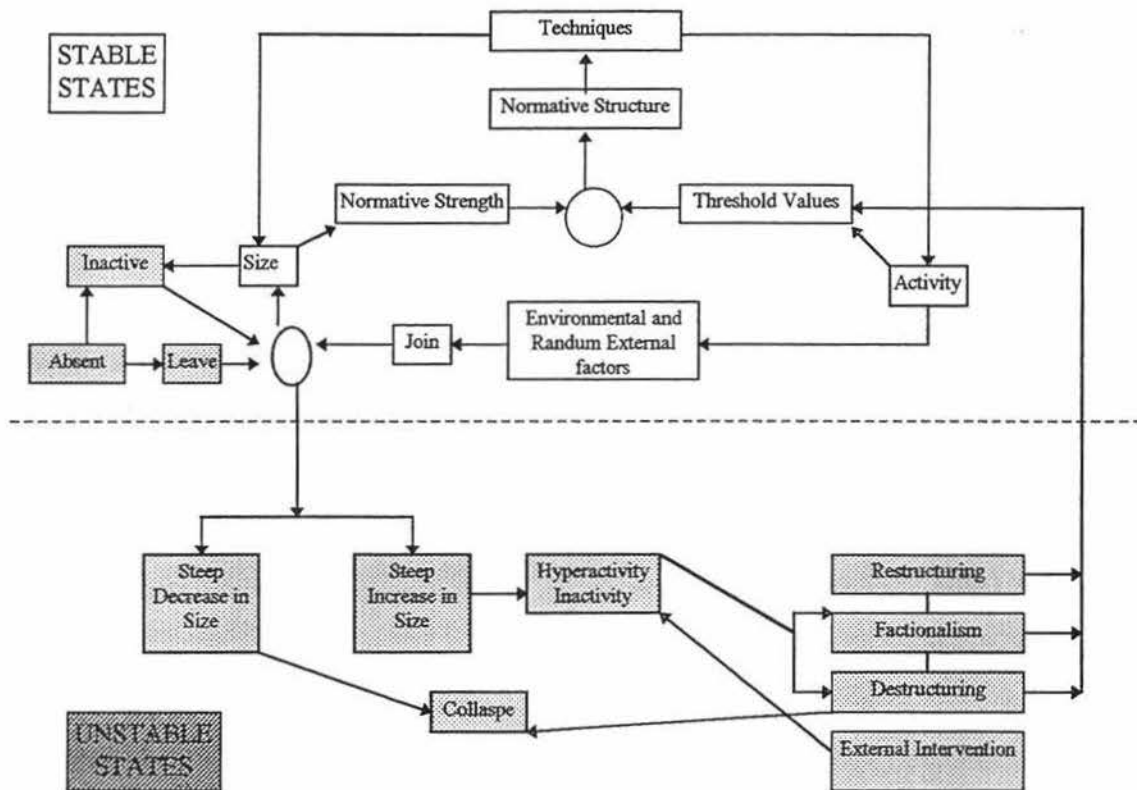
(Source: Robinson, 1984, p 292).

size and activity. All the variables combined, and if they remain stable, maintains the group identity. In Robinson (1984) high levels of inactivity (Davidson's dorming state) might precede people leaving the group, thus decaying the size and hence the groups normative strength. Alternatively, high levels of activity (Donaldson's performing state) creates a social visibility that encourages new people to join the group.

The diagram in Figure Seven illustrates that healthy fluctuations of group size can occur over time within an overall stable state. The normative structure (the groups belief) is the most important factor as it influences both size and activity and therefore group fluctuations.

Figure Seven: Group Variable Fluctuations in a Steady State
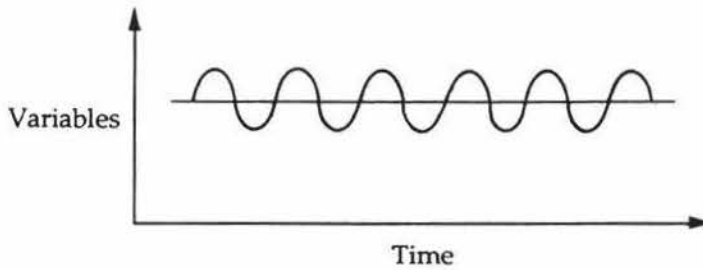
(Source: Robinson, 1984, p 293).

It is of interest that absenteeism may have a useful effect on group fluctuations. Robinson (1984) contends that absenteeism may allow disgruntled members time to recover rather than leave the group, maintaining the groups belief, while also providing a kind of reserve membership for times when group membership is low.

Both a steep increase or decrease in group size can lead to unstable states and may cause the group to disband. When steep increases or decreases occur, Robinson (1984) comments the group needs to reassert agreed aims, find alternatives and implement those alternatives to prevent the collapse of the group. Steep increases can lead to hyperactivity and high commitment changing the groups preference structure. In addition, Robinson (1984) has shown that interference of group normative structure (beliefs) can lead to group disbanding. A compromise of the group's activities are usually unsatisfactory, factionalism occurs perhaps leading to destructuring, inactivity, loss of commitment. As a result, it is possible that older members leave the group having being deprived of activity or the group disintegrates. Keyton (1993) supports the idea that at the end of the group cycle, there is a need to negotiate an end to the group, rather than an extension of the group's mandate. Keyton believes negotiating the groups end and for reasons of self assessment, should help group members retain positive and avoid negative attitudes towards other organisational group responsibilities. In addition, this kind of debriefing can maintain positive aspects for future relationships and new group formation and goals.

The debriefing should include a review of what was completed by assessing the outputs against the objectives. Keyton (1993) comments that research into performance feedback is a powerful force in shaping individual expectations about the success of tasks of future groups. Further, Keyton suggests a review of the process and procedures used in completing tasks as well as facilitating the end of group relationships while recognising and celebrating group accomplishment. How group members terminate the group activities affects the degree to which they will interpret what they have experienced and what expectations they will take to future group situations.

If a group is to survive, it's absentee group members can act as regulators by agreeing to take a greater role to maintain the group preferences. Alternatively, the group could attempt to restructure preferences and activities or introduce new members with the same preferences. To do this would mean opposition to Keyton's recommendations, and take the group back to Donaldson's storming phase which is inherently confrontational. It is here that defined roles such as leadership are extremely useful along with the experience and skill of the leader to guide the group through these phases.

Donaldson (1994) states the leader should not act in a superior manner in relation to other group members. The leader should act more as a motivator or animator of the group. The leader ensures the group sets, maintains and achieves its goals. Napier and Gershenfeld (1987) make a distinction between task orientated and person orientated motives. They state that if task orientated motives are most dominant, group members are more likely to arrive at group goals through problem solving approaches such as exchange of information, opinions and evaluation. If person orientated motives are most dominant, goals are apt to be determined only after arguments, negotiations, bargaining and the formation of coalitions.

Napier and Gershenfeld note that groups are made up of individuals and each can have hidden agendas as well as surface agendas that may conflict with the need for synergistic group goals if the group is to survive. Hence, operational goals need to be clear, have

well defined targets, action plans and specific times with specific steps to achievement. Good leadership is therefore an essential feature of group dynamics.

Mortiss and Chamala (1991) suggest the role of a leader is a learnt behaviour and that leadership has three main functions, these are for achieving the task, for building and maintaining the team, and for developing the individual and satisfying individual needs. Mortiss and Chamala state that leadership functions may be performed by any one person, or shared among a number of people. Initially, leadership style needs to be flexible and the group should be able to adopt the role and style best suited to the groups situation. Figure Eight illustrates how leadership style can change with the level of maturity (phase) of the group. Effective leaders are competent and confident and have a clear vision of what can be achieve. Mortiss and Chamala believe that, in a democracy, true leadership is based on empowerment and participation and that sharing leadership roles strengthen the group.

Gastil (1992) points out that people expect small decision making groups to conduct themselves democratically, often, in his opinion, the democratic process is taken for granted. Gastil states that research linking democracy and small group behaviour is limited until a clear definition of the central concepts of democracy emerge.

Figure Eight: Leadership Style Changes with Group Maturity
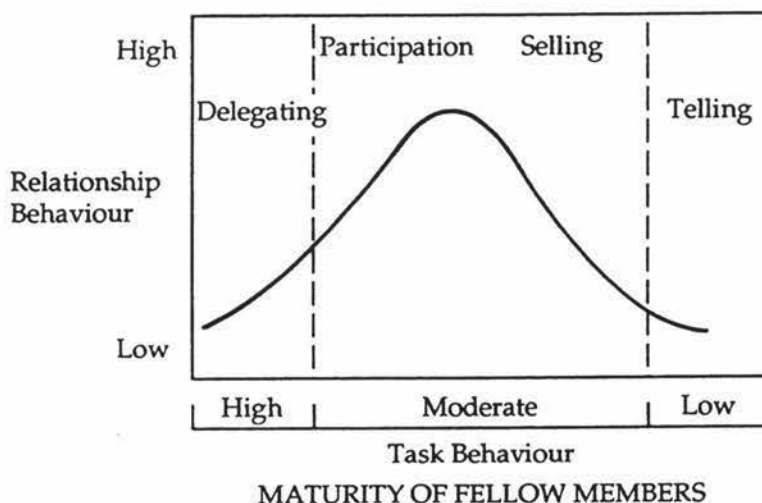
Task Behaviour
MATURITY OF FELLOW MEMBERS
(Source: Chamala and Mortiss, 1991, p.104)

Dahl (1989) belief is the definition must include;

    (1) Equal and adequate opportunity for members to participate.

    (2) Members must have voting equality.

    (3) Opportunities for members to develop their views on issues.

    (4) Member control of the agenda.

    (5) A membership directly affected by its decisions.

Gastil (1992) on the subject of group power states that influence along with jurisdiction must encompass items on the agenda. Because self government follows democracy and meaningful government requires power. Thus, a group with no power may be egalitarian. However, it is not democratic. So power must be distributed among members. If power is not evenly distributed Cartwright and Zander (1968) believe that one person with power could then perform an act that will result in a change in the other person(s) within the group. Such an act would be contrary to widely held notions of democracy.

One of the types of power described by Mortiss and Chamala (1991) and Cartwright and Zander (1968) is "knowledge". Theorists generally support the view that if one member of a group is identified as an expert, then his or her goal should be given a group weighting in selecting the group's goals. Despite the theoretical need for full participation in group development, most groups fail to meet fairness criteria in goal setting to some degree (Cartwright and Zander, 1968). This is due to differences in participation ability and power among members.

This apparent dilemma is common but is not necessarily destructive to the group overall (Donaldson, 1994). Donaldson's Multistakeholder Consensus Decision Making process described in Chapter Three, means that everyone present can live with the package that emerges from discussion. This means recognising that a group decision has been made which might not be the decision an individual reach acting on his or her on behalf, but one which is nevertheless acceptable overall.

Mass Belief System

The above discussion of theories relating to empowerment are essentially designed to provide mechanisms for better decision making whether at government or community group levels. It may follow that decisions, for example, about natural and physical resources, utilising one or a number of the above theories may provide the best decision possible in existing circumstances. But the assumption that people utilise societal decision making mechanisms to achieve the best decision may not be how people actually formulate societal decisions.

The Mass Belief System proposed by Converse (1964) begins with the premise that different people may conceptualise the same issue in radically different ways and that mass public opinion consists of loose and shifting coalitions based on peoples immediate circumstances. Thus, in theory, notions such as the public good or environmental movements can be misleading. De Haven-Smith states there are both theoretical and practical implications. De Haven-Smith (1988) also states it is often assumed that environmental attitudes reflect an ideology or philosophy that is more or less widely distributed among the mass public. In actual fact claims de Haven-Smith, only a small proportion of the public has sophisticated ideologies (for example, democracy or representational ideologies). In most cases, people's attitudes are narrowly focused and depend largely on their immediate circumstances.

The theoretical implication is that different environmental problems are likely to mobilise different subgroups of the population. Subgroups might be expected to have joined for reasons of interest to that subgroup. Napier and Gershenfeld (1987) state that they may like the task of the subgroup or activities or they may satisfy their own needs. The fact that subgroups join to form and support additional subgroups is not in itself problematical, but facilitators need to be aware of potential dominance of one interest group over another when decisions are being made (Whyte, 1974). The practical implication of the Mass Belief System is that facilitators of environmental initiatives and community empowerment approaches are likely to be more successful if they address

immediate, localised problems rather than assuming a local community holds larger, global ideological environmental beliefs.

Summary

This chapter has provided a philosophical basis upon which to build a theoretical set of guiding principles as well as to guide the recognition of genuine empowerment approaches and attributes. The recognition of forms of power and characteristics of theories related to empowerment provides facilitators of community empowerment approaches with fundamental characteristics of empowerment approaches.

The formal definition of empowerment provided in this thesis requires the bestowal or imparting of power, the legal ability or capacity to act or effect control or domination either politically, financially or socially, over or upon a person or thing. Lukes (1986) classifies power over human beings by the manner in which individuals are influenced or by the type of organisation involved. Lukes states individuals may be influenced by;

  (1) Direct physical power over his or her body.

  (2) Rewards and punishment as inducements.

  (3) Influence on opinion.

It is argued that power, however classified, needs to be understood by those contemplating enhancement of citizen participation through democratic processes - the ability to make a decision that everyone finds more or less acceptable. Lukes Forester (1989) argue that if planners understood how relations of power shape the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analysis and empower citizen and community action and more acceptable decisions. The particular forms of power utilised in community empowerment approaches outlined in this thesis appear to rely on rewards as inducements and the influencing of opinion. Rewards as inducements and the influencing of opinion, it is found, varies little among the empowerment approaches identified in this thesis.

Community empowerment approaches are best founded on essential features or characteristics of related theories of empowerment. The first such related theory is democracy. Fagence (1977) summarises essential features of democracy as;

(1) Equality before the law.

(2) Popular deliberation and the development of a popular consensus.

(3) Public accountability of the officials.

(4) Equality of speech.

Community empowerment approaches need to recognise and contain these features of democracy to guide the bestowal or imparting of power. Although democracy is fraught with philosophical dilemmas, not least the varied interpretations provided by Mosca (1939), Schumpeter (1955), Parry (1971) and Dahl (1989), democratic processes are greatest when those participating are few in number. Thus, for those facilitating the empowerment of community groups, the use of democratic processes are more likely to result in the empowerment of community groups.

Consideration of the relation of public participation theory with empowerment is considered desirable by facilitators of community empowerment approaches. Burke (1968) states that participation is one means to perfect the democratic process. Participation in an empowered community may be characterised by an influential involvement in decisions by all those affected by a decision. The form that participation takes also characterises an empowerment community. A number of authors Bolan (1969); Fainstein and Fainstein (1976); Tomic (1985); and Healy (1992) criticise the form of participation practiced during the past thirty years. Generally, the comment is made that planners in the past have often been captured by specific powerful groups or individuals in society. Such practices have repeatedly failed to produce results and satisfy customers (McClendon, 1993). A true community empowerment approach must recognise and provide for less organised sections of the community affected by any decision.

This chapter also contains recent theoretical discussion as to how it may be possible to overcome the perceived failures of past participation attempts and enhance recognition of

genuine empowerment principles, approaches. The central characteristic of Healy's (1992)'planning through debate' and Sager's (1994) 'dialogical incrementalism' is communication. Greater communication between participants aims to create respectful argumentative debate as well as personal growth on equal terms, thus, linking it with democratic processes. Fagence (1979) comments problematical representative democracy cannot be easily changed. It is more likely that special new forms of communication that focus on decision making should compliment existing mechanisms. In other words, participation mechanisms of the past must evolve rather than be replaced. Such evolving communicative mechanisms need to be characteristic of empowerment principles and approaches. Finally, Forester (1989) provided one further characteristic of good communication and subsequently a community empowerment approach characteristic, the ability to listen.

Representation and responsibility are also central for the recognition of genuine empowerment principles and approaches. Certain characteristics of representation and responsibility must also be characteristics of community empowerment approaches. If community representatives are to be the preferred form by which decisions affecting the community are to be made, they must be freely elected representatives. The representatives must act as an agent or delegate whose function is to protect or advance the interests of the community on whose behalf the agent is acting and not in accordance with individual preferences or interests (Birch, 1964). Representatives must adhere to principles of democracy such as accountability, responsiveness, legitimate expressions of power, the marshalling of popular opinion, duty and moral responsibility (Birch, 1964 and Fagence, 1977). Finally, representatives of an empowered community are servants and not masters of the public (Birch 1964; Friedrich 1968; Fagence 1977; Dahl 1989).

Characteristics of social learning theory may also enhance community empowerment approaches and therefore need to be incorporated in such approaches. Central to social learning is the notion of pragmatism. Thayer (1981) states pragmatism is concerned with knowledge and how knowledge may be validated. The American philosopher John Dewey belief is that knowledge may also be validated through experience. Friedmann

(1987) pragmatism begins and ends with purposeful action. Social learning is centrally characterised by the correlative processes between practice and learning. Social learning is also characterised by task orientated group action, where learning is manifests itself as a change in practical activity. Such learning is rarely in the form of articulated scientific discourse. Nevertheless, scientific knowledge may be passed to the group through group facilitators who are generally professionals working within the group. Such people bring certain kinds of formal knowledge to the ongoing social practice of the group (Whyte, 1974). Typically the social learning process revolves around small groups that are organised around specific tasks with face to face relations. Such groups form collective memories that requires documentation to prevent its loss once the group disbands.

The consideration of group dynamics and their characteristics is especially poignant for community empowerment approaches as most approaches reviewed in this thesis rely upon groups as the focal means for implementation of strategies. Small groups are also ideal vehicles for evolving empowering communication theories of Healy (1992) and Sager (1994). Group theory provides indicators for recognising genuine empowerment principles and approaches. For example, democratic virtues provided by Dahl (1989) will indicate whether a group is behaving democratically reflecting the philosophical basis of empowerment. Groups are characterised by dynamics illustrated by Robinson (1984) stable and unstable group states and Davidson (1994) cyclic phases of group formation and decline. Such information provides facilitators of community empowerment programmes to more successfully establish and maintain an empowered community group.

CHAPTER THREE: EMPOWERMENT IN USE

Introduction

Understanding the concept of empowerment requires a related understanding of concepts such as power, democracy, participation, representation and responsibility dealt with in Chapter Two. However, it is also important to understand theoretical conceptualisations of empowerment from which approaches and attributes of empowerment may be derived. This chapter begins with one theoretical conceptualisation of a possible process for the formulation of empowerment principles, approaches and attributes. It then suggests that international organisations have provided empowerment strategies from which guiding empowerment principles may be identified. Further, it is suggested that the formulation of empowerment approaches, whether at the national, sub-national or local level, may be guided by the identified empowerment principles. Next, as an example of how one nation may translate empowerment principles and formulate empowerment approaches, an opinion is offered whether New Zealand's legislative framework is capable of supporting and facilitating empowerment approaches. The chapter then provides examples of a range empowerment approaches that are currently employed, thereafter, attributes of empowerment are derived from the approaches provided.

Conceptualisation

A theoretical empowerment conceptualisation provides the means for; understanding current actions by which empowerment is being implemented; criteria for evaluating empowerment of communities in terms of better decision making; and provides a guide for the empowering process of communities to manage the sustainable development of natural and physical resources for the benefit of communities and species. Perhaps because empowerment is a very complex issue, the literature does not generally contain illustrative conceptualisations of empowerment which links empowerment principles, approaches and attributes to various political levels. The purpose of Figure Nine is to illustrate one possible process from which approaches and attributes of empowerment may be formulated. The objective of the illustration is to indicate major linkages between international strategies, guiding principles, approaches and attributes of empowerment at different political levels.

Figure Nine: Possible Formulation of Guiding Empowerment Principles, Approaches and Attributes.
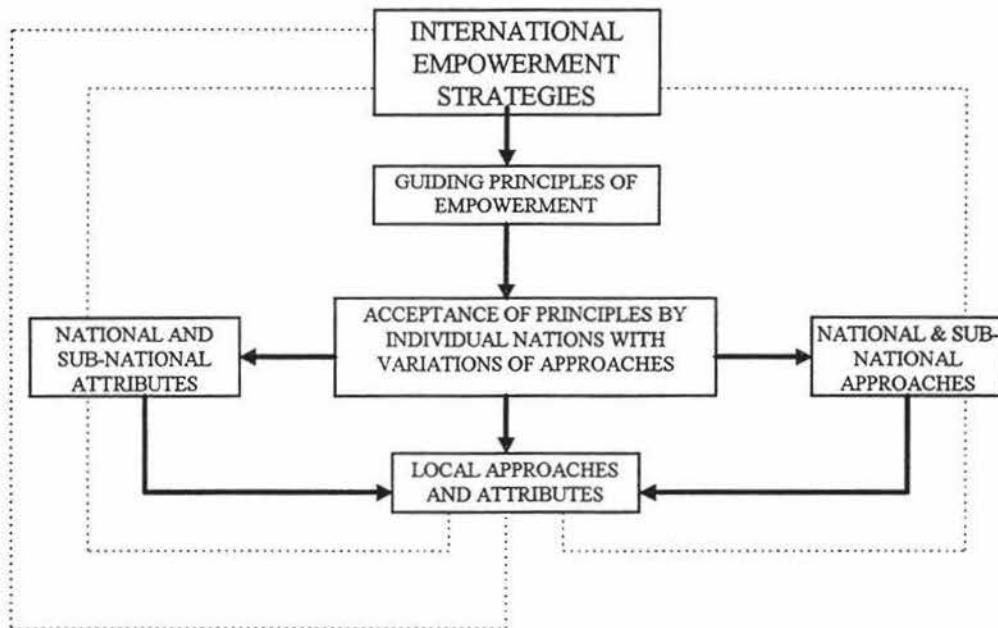
The more complex linkages of empowerment are shown by dotted lines. For example, local approaches and attributes may be formed at the local level possibly without knowledge of either international empowerment strategies nor possible guiding principles of empowerment. The Western Central Atlantic Spiney Lobster Cooperative Management empowerment approach, described below, is one example where grassroot resource users have formulated policy recommendations for higher level policy makers in an attempt to improve lobster resource management. The implication of such a linkage is that it illustrates that empowerment is not necessarily conceptualised at an international, national or sub-national (regional) levels. Empowerment is often initiated at the local level with similarities of approach and attributes to those conceptualised at higher political levels. In addition, the dotted line also links national and sub-national level representing a commitment to empowerment at these two political levels. The Landcare approach provided below is an example of an empowerment approach initiated at the national level to be implemented at the sub-national and local level.

It is important to note that there are no arrows on the dotted line, this represents the view that empowerment initiatives may occur in no particular direction. In other words, empowerment can be facilitated at any level or simultaneously across two or more political levels. Major linkages are illustrated as dark arrows in Figure Nine. For example, the international empowerment strategies formulated by the WECD (1987) the IUCN/UNEP/WWF (1991) and the IUCN (1992) (Table One) have contributed to the identification of possible guiding principles for empowerment of communities (Table Two).

International Empowerment Strategies

International organisations have endorsed the need to empower communities and groups. For example, Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992), Caring for the Earth Strategy (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991) and Our Common Future (WECD, 1987) provide strategies for community empowerment (Table One).

UNCED provides a number of themes for the formulation of a number of strategies to secure the Earth's survival. Local governments, communities, groups and individuals play a vital role in implementing these strategies.

The IUCN/UNEP/WWF strategy explains the need for sustainable societies, in essence it is a strategy for a kind of development that provides real improvements in the quality of human life while conserving the vitality and diversity of the Earth's resources. In terms of natural and physical resource management issues and communities, it provides a chapter on sustainable communities and the need for Primary Environmental Care (PEC). PEC is defined as the process by which communities organise themselves, strengthen their capabilities for environmental care, and then apply them in ways that also satisfy their social and economic needs (IUCN, 1991).

Table 1: International Agencies Community Empowerment Strategies for Sustainable Development.

UNCED, AGENDA 21 (Themes for Earth's Survival)
1. Each local authority should enter into a dialogue with its citizens, local organisations and private enterprises and adopt a local Agenda 21.
2. Local authorities should learn from citizens, communities, business and industrial organisations the information needed for formulating the best strategies.
3. Local authorities are encouraged to establish processes to increase the exchange of information, experience and technical assistance among local authorities.
4. Governments at all levels must adopt policies to allow a more decentralised structure for decision making.
5. Create mechanisms which allow active involvement by all parties in decision making.
6. Policy making should be delegated to the lowest level of public authority.
7. The support of local level programmes that should be rooted in the concepts of partnership and sharing responsibilities by all parties.
8. Run public awareness and training programmes to educate people and inform them of their important role.
9. Encourage active public participation, particularly groups that have often been excluded.
10. Local residents should be given a responsible role in the planning and execution of programmes.
11. Establish and implement low cost community management systems for the collection of information.
12. All concerned individuals, groups and organisations must be given access to all relevant information.
13. Any decision making process must allow for consultation of all concerned groups.
IUCN/UNEP/WWF, CARING FOR THE EARTH (Primary Environmental Care)
1. Develop more effective local governments, one that responds to citizen demands.
2. Local government must act more as the servant than the master, showing moral responsibility, duty and accountability.
3. Provide financial and technical support to community environmental action.
4. All communities should take action to care for their environment by developing local strategies.
5. Communities must be given the necessary powers to make full use of their own intelligence and experience.
6. Provide communities and individuals with secure access to resources and equitable share in managing them.
7. Improve exchange of information, skills and development.
8. Enhance participation in conservation and development.
WECD, OUR COMMON FUTURE (Sustainable Development)
1. Create an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction.
2. Protect the local institutions that enforce responsibility in resource use where they exist.
3. The recognition and protection of vulnerable groups.
4. Broaden education so that people are more capable of dealing with problems.

(Source: UNCED, 1992; IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991; WECD, 1987).

It is evident from Table One, that WCED (1987) focuses on the concept of sustainable development which may be defined as ensuring that development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The document explains sustainable development as:

> *a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investment, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs (WECD, 1987, p.46).*

The document does not necessarily focus on community empowerment, nevertheless, the organisation does offer principles for empowerment. International organisations such as those represented in Table One have begun to identify empowerment strategies which guide the formulation of;

    (1) Possible guiding principles for community empowerment.

    (2) National, sub-national and local level empowerment approaches.

    (3) Empowerment attributes.

Guiding Principles for Community Empowerment

Possible guiding principles for community empowerment, following the theoretical conceptualisation have been extracted from Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992), Caring for the Earth Strategy (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1992) and Our Common Future (WECD, 1987) are presented in Table Two. The table also contains empowerment principles specific to indigenous peoples in recognition of their long standing demands for empowerment. The purpose of the table is to highlight those principles formulated by signatory governments with the objective that each national government should be guided by the principles when formulating their own community empowerment approaches.

The conceptualisation provided here requires that nations adopt guiding principles and formulate their own national and sub-national approaches to community empowerment. National and sub-national approaches are likely to vary as they are adapted to national legislation, internal regional and local government structures as well as the environmental issues concerned. In turn, whether an empowerment approach is facilitated at the national, sub-national or local level, it is expected that attributes of empowerment approaches should in some way reflect internationally agreed guiding community empowerment principles.

Table 2: Possible Guiding Principles for Community Empowerment

GUIDING PRINCIPLES
1. To empower a community means to engage the full use of that community's experience and knowledge.
2. An empowered community will share all their knowledge and experience with others.
3. An empowered community fosters a community based learning environment.
4. For a community to be empowered it requires organisation in order to maximise benefits.
5. An empowered community uses as a tool dialogue and constructive debate as the primary basis for decision making.
6. In an empowered community initiatives for change requires the input of local people at all levels of decision making
7. Empowerment of a community requires that the local government be responsive to changes in that community.
8. Responsive local government in an empowered community will delegate power in some manner to that community.
9. An empowered community is where local business is integrated into national and local strategies, thus integrating development and conservation.
Principles Specific to Indigenous Peoples
10. Recognising the lack of homogeneity of cultures within a single country there should be no national generic settlements.
11. All settlements must be consensus driven, to do otherwise facilitates the dominance of one over another
12. National governments must move towards recognising that indigenous people have the right to self government and thus, self -determination.
13. National governments need to recognise the indigenous ownership of or interest in natural resources.
14. National governments must recognise that indigenous people have a priority of rights as against other users and that these rights must be protected.
15. National governments and indigenous people must take equal responsibility for the management of natural resources.

National Translation - New Zealand

As an example of how one nation may translate guiding community empowerment principles and formulate empowerment approaches, a brief review of New Zealand's legislative framework is provided.

The translation in New Zealand of guiding community empowerment principles depend on legislative Acts of Parliament which exert influence over local authority structures and their management of natural and physical resources. The Local Government Act (1974), The Local Government Reform Act (1989) the Resource Management Act (1991) and the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) are the principle Acts involved.

Guiding community empowerment principles suggests that there is a need for a more decentralised structure of decision making and that local government should show moral responsibility, duty and accountability to the public (Elwood, 1994). Local Government in New Zealand has been restructured using two key objectives. The better management of publicly owned resources, and the achievement of higher standard of accountability to the public at the political and managerial levels in the use of publicly owned resources (Elwood, 1994). The Local Government Act (1974), was amended in 1989 to facilitate all the changes necessary to achieve the key objectives and functions of local authorities were defined.

The Resource Management Act (1991) provides an institutional framework promoting sustainable management which means;

> *managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources*
> *in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their*
> *social, economic, and cultural well being and for their health and safety while-*
> *(a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals)*
> *to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and*
> *(b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems;*
> *and*
> *(c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the*
> *environment. (RMA, 1991, s.5).*

This definition of sustainable management mirrors the WCED (1987) definition of sustainable development in that provision for development in the present should not be at the expense of future generations. Part Four of the Resource Management Act (1991) provides functions, powers, and duties of central and local government to give effect to the Act. For example local authorities must prepare objectives, policies and rules to achieve the purpose of the Act. In doing so, local authorities must have regard to other means in addition to or in place of any objective, policy or rule that may be used in achieving the purpose of the Act (RMA, s.32 (a)(ii)). The case study in Chapter Four provides an example of an approach used in New Zealand to empower a community as a method to replace the formulated rule in regard to a specific coastal management issue. If a higher standard of accountability to the public is to be achieved, the expectation follows that any locally generated and financed community empowerment approach should be stated in annual plans.

In terms of translating international guiding principles for indigenous people, there is no specific recognition in any of the Acts to these principles, except in a vague manner. For example, the Resource Management Act requires anyone administering powers to recognise and provide for (s.6), or have particular regard to (s.7) or take into account (s.8), the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) is:

> *an Act to provide for the observance, and confirmation of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by establishing a Tribunal to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the Treaty and to determine whether certain matters are inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975, p 825).*

Unfortunately, interpretation of the meaning of the words in the Treaty of Waitangi principles differ, between the Crown, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal. In 1989 the Department of Justice formulated five Crown principles, and it is these five principles on which the government will act when dealing with issues that arise from the Treaty of Waitangi. The government considers the five principles to be consistent with the Treaty and observations made by the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1989).

Table Three compares the differing interpretations. The table is organised to be read form left to right. The first column contains the five principles as stated by the Department of Justice for the Crown. The two remaining columns are those principles stated by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal respectively. An attempt has been made to show as closely as possible (but not always possible) the corresponding response by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal to that made by the Crown. For example, the first Crown

Table Three: Differing Interpretations of Treaty Principles in New Zealand

THE CROWN	THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL	THE COURT OF APPEAL
1. The government has the right to govern and make laws.	1. The Crown must recognise tribal rangatiratanga, includes management of resources and other taonga according to Maori preference.	1. Maori are to retain chieftainship (rangatiratanga) over their resources and taonga and to have rights and privileges of citizenship.
2. Iwi have a right to organise as iwi, and, under the law, to control their resources as their own.	2. The treaty implies utmost good faith.	2 The treaty requires the duty to act reasonably and in good faith.
3. All New Zealander's are equal before the law.	3. Maori interests should be actively protected by the crown.	3. Crown duty extends to active protection of the Maori people and their taonga.
4. Both the government and iwi are obliged to accord each other reasonable cooperation on major issues of common concern.	4. The treaty implies early consultation.	4. The freedom of the Crown to govern for the whole community without unreasonable restriction
5. The government is responsible for providing effective processes for the resolution of grievances in the expectation that reconciliation can occur.	5. The Treaty a partnership and choice.	5. The obligation of the Crown to grant at least some form of redress for grievances where these are established.

(Source: Department of Justice, 1989, pp.7 & 19).

principle states that the Government has the right to govern and make laws. Correspondingly, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal prioritise the need of the Crown to recognise tribal rangatiratanga (Chieftainship). The purpose of the table is only to illustrate the general differences of interpretation between the Crown principles and those of the Waitangi Tribunal and Court of Appeal. The implication for the use of empowerment approaches, and without wanting to trivialise any interpretation, is that the possibility for empowerment are constrained when parties involved fail to agree on fundamental issues.

Many other statutes refer to the Treaty of Waitangi principles. For example, the State Enterprises Act (1988), the Fisheries Act (1983) and the Maori Fisheries Act (1989) refer to the principles, but the actual status in law is elusive. Chapman (1991) states the Treaty enunciated no principles so that it is not possible to give expression to the statement '...not to be inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. Further, Chapman argues

that the courts have side stepped the issue of interpreting principles in law, Justice Cooke P. *NZ Maori Council v. Attorney General [1987] 3 NZ Jur (NS) 72*, commented what matters is the spirit, what the Treaty text means is insoluble. As a consequence the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi remain vague. Alternatively, McHugh (1991) argues that the Treaty should not be assigned to a vacuum or solely as a policy document, Courts for instance, must adhere to statutes if they incorporate principles.

The legal failure of the Courts to interpret Treaty principles may lead local authorities to resist going beyond what is specifically required by the Act, especially in a policy statement which is binding on a council. For a council to act in a manner inconsistent with its stated policies or methods the action, omission or decision concerned could be deemed unlawful, (see *Duigan v Thames-Coromandel District Council 13/3/79, M201/77)*. Some local authorities when dealing with resource issues important to Maori, are willing to try a bi-cultural approach by providing a code of conduct or in some way give primacy to Treaty principles. Yet, at present, it is unlikely that local authorities will venture beyond stop gap measures until the Courts confront the issue of Treaty principles. As a result, it is also likely that such a position may reduce the possibilities for further empowerment of communities.

Empowerment Approaches

A review of current empowerment approaches (Table Four) will assist in understanding forms of empowerment currently used in areas such as natural resource management, business and urban development programmes. The review will also provide a foundation for a set of empowerment attributes so that empowerment programmes may then be evaluated using attributes as criteria. Nevertheless, several areas have been selected as a starting point to provide a broad picture of current empowerment approaches and their attributes.

The first approach, Cooperative Management, is defined as a wide range of agreements and efforts expressing community self reliance. Government attempts to solve difficult management and public policy problems by willingly sharing its resource management functions with resource users (Pinkerton, 1989). The second approach reviewed, the

Table Four: Current Empowerment Approaches In Use.

POSSIBLE APPROACHES
1. COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT, examples; International Spiney Lobster Forum. Canadian Fisheries Management Land Management Initiatives in NZ; (a) Tutira land protection (b) Rabbit eradication
2. MULTISTAKEHOLDER APPROACH
3. BUSINESS SECTOR APPROACH Participative Management
4. URBAN PROGRAMME APPROACH Public Choice
5. LANDCARE APPROACH

Multistakeholder Process, can be defined as a process that attempts to bring together a broad range of competing interests to work together toward a solution beneficial to all (Doering, 1995). Multistakeholder processes are essentially consensus driven processes of decision making requiring neutral facilitation and funding (Doering, 1995). Business sector approaches to empowerment are characterised by an increasing willingness to delegate decision making power to the work force. Such a change is in recognition of the contribution of the workforce in development and promotion of products and services (Anthony, 1978). Participative Management is an example of a widely accepted business empowerment approach. Participative Management is defined as a philosophy that demands organised decision making be made in such a way that input and responsibility are extended to the lowest level appropriate to the decision being made (Plunkett and Fournier, 1991).

Effective wider public participation is one approach that characterises Urban Empowerment. Urban Empowerment programmes can be defined as a redistribution of power. The assumption is that reduction in the difference of power between levels in society should be conducive to more realistic implementation of the democratic credo (Fagence, 1977). Public Choice is one such approach that strives to direct power away from bureaucracies and traditional enclaves of power into the hands of the communities themselves. Public Choice may be defined as giving people a greater voice in decisions that effect their lives while being open and responsive to new ideas and arrangements for empowerment of communities (Boston Foundation, 1986).

The final empowerment approach reviewed is the Landcare approach. The approach can be defined as programmes of action designed, constructed and driven by those being served, in doing so these people become agents of their own self development (Hartley et al, 1992). Landcare groups are mainly rural people cooperating to tackle land degradation problems and develop better farming systems (Campbell and Junor, 1992).

Cooperative Management

Four Cooperative Management approaches are illustrated in Table Five and are discussed in turn below. The table is structured to briefly illustrate the components of each approach, its design or the form the approach used to raise concerns, or the issues to resolve and the specific objectives each individual approach. The purpose of the table is to help in the conceptualisation of the internal processes of each approach. Without diminishing the importance of design and concerns of each approach in the table, it is the manner in which the specified objectives are reached that characterise a cooperative approach to empowerment.

Designs, concerns and specific objectives and benefits of Cooperative Management approaches are not necessarily confined within national borders. In some instances particular resources are international and the approach used must be flexible enough to cope. One example is the Western Central Atlantic Spiney Lobster forum. The forum enables active participation, the exchange of information, the broadening of education so those involved are more capable of dealing with problems and accept responsibility for their own resource. The forum appreciates the need for institutional support and has formulated recommendations to pressure their governments to change spiney lobster management regimes. The conclusion is that the forum has improved knowledge about regional problems through sharing their thoughts on management of a common resource (Villegas, L., et al, 1982).

The spiney lobster forum illustrates the desire of grass roots resource users to participate in higher levels of policy making, thus expanding their democratic rights. At the theoretical level, the forum challenged Schumpeter's (1954) and Parry's (1971) elitist model of

Table Five: Examples of Cooperative Management Approach Components

THE WESTERN CENTRAL ATLANTIC SPINEY LOBSTERS.	PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND AQUACULTURE CORPORATION	TUTIRA LAND MANAGEMENT	RABBIT LAND MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME
Design 1. Proposed a two day workshop	**Design** 1. A one -off consensus meeting between fishers and State of Alaska representatives.	**Design** 1. A series consensual meetings between farmers and Hawke's Bay Catchment Board.	**Design** 1. A series of consensual meetings between Regional Councils and farmers.
Concerns 1. Lack of expertise in lobster fisheries, thus 2. Doubt over government ability to propose plans. 3. Existing plans are believed to be; - Unrealistic. - Politically inept. - Unenforceable. - Inflexible.	**Concerns** 1. Fishers and State concern over; -Allocation of fisheries. -Conservation of fisheries. -Enhancement of fish stocks. -Data quality and data analysis. -lack of shared decision making.	**Concerns** 1. Soil erosion 2. Lost farm productivity. 3. Crisis point has been reached. 4. Disagreement over nature of problem and means to address problem. 5. Lack of trust.	**Concerns** 1. Excessive rabbit populations. 2. Crisis point has been reached. 3. Lack of agreeable solution. 4. Mistrust of councils by farmers. 5. Large scale of initiative.
Specific Objectives 1. Review existing management plans. 2. Identify procedures for preparing and implementing management plans. 3. Identify individual or cooperative action to obtain optimal benefits. 4. Identify cooperation among countries for exchange of information and experiences about management. 5. Determine ways to enhance capabilities for management.	**Specific Objectives** 1. Create forum for conflict resolution. 2. Enhance community ability to achieve a more sustainable economic development. 3. Create new relationships of trust, willingness and innovation. 4. Create and establish and informal, binding and flexible agreement.	**Specific Objectives** 1. Stimulate action toward a cooperative management approach. 2. A long term approach. 3. A change in land use behaviour. 4. Align private and public interest over erosion control. 5. Create trust and willingness between farmers and catchment board.	**Specific Objectives** 1. Stimulate action toward a cooperative management approach. 2. Take a long term approach. .3. Link appropriate area size with programme. 4. Create trust between farmers and councils. 5. Develop an integrated land management strategy.

democracy which does not support widespread public participation or public involvement in policy making. The forum's approach is more closely linked with Dahl's (1989) suggestion that it is better to seek to reduce inequalities in the capabilities and opportunities to participate effectively in political life. Yet the fact remains that an increase in community participation and a reduction in inequality between individuals and groups in a community requires considerable organisation;

> *Successful participative development depends ultimately on the degree to which people have organised themselves and have had the opportunity to discuss and agree on common areas of action, [and where sound management] largely rests on*

the observance of basic rules establishing clear responsibilities and guidelines, who can do what, how and when (Egger and Majeres, 1992, p 319).

Another example of Cooperative Management is the informal agreement between the State of Alaska and the Prince William Sound Aquaculture Corporation. The informal agreement has translated a long standing conflict within fishers ranks and between fishers and government into an important forum for conflict resolution. The Cooperative Management approach used here is summarised as being about building new relationships in addition to new institutions. Institutions and legal arrangements can only permit, support and create incentives for new relationships. It is the new relationships that generates communication, trust and willingness to risk innovation which make the benefits of Cooperative Management materialise (Pinkerton, 1989).

New Zealand applications of the Cooperative Management approach are found in two land management attempts, The Tutira Land Use Study and the Rabbit and Land Management Programme. Both applications demonstrate elements of Cooperative Management after recognition of a crisis point in the management of a resource. They recognise the need for new relationships based on cooperation and trust in an effort to change attitudes and thus behaviour of individuals and local authorities involved.

A number of studies have been undertaken concerning attitudes and there relation to behaviour, perceptions and preferences (Gambetta, 1988; Good, 1988; Luhmann, 1988; Williams, 1988; and Kuhn and Jackson, 1989). Cooperation requires trust in the sense that involved parties need some degree of assurance that the other party will not defect (Williams, 1988). For example, the landholders involved in the Rabbit Land Management Programme did not feel that they were active partners nor did they have confidence in regional council staff. Accordingly, council staff felt that no assurance on behalf of the landowner was apparent (Blackford, 1993). Cooperative behaviour and or trust is not simple and depends on the level of communication between parties and the rewards which are gained (Good, 1988). With respect to Table Five, the level of cooperative behaviour and

trust reached will determine to a large extent whether or not the specific objectives of each Cooperative Management approach are met.

The Multistakeholder Process Approach

In the last decade Canada has developed the round table Multistakeholder Process that attempts to empower communities and groups to make decisions. The Multistakeholder Process have been used to develop frameworks for sustainability strategies as well as for implementation and monitoring of strategies. The process is designed to bring about consensus decision making. Consensus decision making is a process whereby every participant has an equal voice, meaning that every participant has the power of veto (Donaldson, 1994).

To increase consensus and resultant effective action, Breed (1971) has identified three factors, the normative factor or shared values, the utilitarian factor or the need to allocate resources, and the process factor, the need to narrow alternatives and to define and sharpen issues (Breed, 1971). Breed notes that generally societies have a low consensus building capacity. He states that a country's social structure provides the background for it's consensus building. For example, when a state's power is high consensus tends to be postponed. Consensus is also strengthened by common values shared by its members. Breed offers three paths to greater consensus. There is a need to integrate control, knowledge and consensus building units. Planners for instance, must discover the perspectives of all decision makers and of those likely to be affected. If possible, a change of ownership may be required to bring control and consensus closer together. Finally, a rise in shared values may close the gap between consensus and control.

Consensus decision making is often confused with consultation. Consultation is where one party consults with a broad range of interests, usually to obtain comment on an already prepared draft document. In contrast, the Multistakeholder Process requires a proponent to identify a need or purpose. Once the need has been established and the stakeholder approach chosen, stakeholders have to be selected. In a true Multistakeholder Process anyone affecting or affected by the project, policy or plan is a stakeholder. After selection of

stakeholders, a group is formed. The group then must share a common vision and decide on roles and responsibilities. The success of the group depends greatly on the development of the group, its functioning, and the roles and skills development of the group (Donaldson, 1994). Donaldson suggests that a group does not come together as a unified, trusting entity immediately. There are several development stages common to most groups (see Chapter Two). It should be noted that groups may not go through the stages smoothly, they may go so far, regress, move forward, digress, move forward, and so on. Donaldson states experience has shown it takes on average, six months for a group to reach the level of trust and purpose necessary to work cooperatively, in many cases it has taken up to two years.

It has already been stated that Multistakeholder Processes can rarely achieve the desired goal without experienced, neutral facilitation. In most cases multistakeholder groups bring together long standing enemies, sectors profoundly adverse in interests, often with different values and world views. Thus management of such groups require sensitivity that only an experienced neutral facilitator can provide. The Multistakeholder Process is still developing, but the process is helping those institutions which are not coping well during the transition to sustainability (Doering, 1995).

Business Sector Approaches

Internationally the business community is increasingly willing to delegate power to their work force in recognition of the contribution the work force can play in the development and promotion of products and services. It is by no means universal, but it is indicative of a change in philosophy. There are various approaches to empowerment in the business sector, most conform to the philosophy illustrated in Figure Ten. Participative Management is one approach to this philosophy. In New Zealand, the Participative Management approach is rare in the business sector.

Empowerment in the business sector has been described as a force of reform developed primarily in business management to devolve more power down the management hierarchy (Figure Ten). Devolution, it is thought, enhances the quality of product and services to the consumer (Bennett 1964). Response to a change in philosophy remains highly elusive

because there is a natural resistance to change at all levels within the organisation, including at the top. Chief executive officers need to take a hard look at their existing organisation and culture and take concrete implementation steps to forge a preferred culture (Reynierse, 1994). This process is part and parcel of total quality management systems and the more recent trend for business to set up environmental audit systems (ICC, 1990).

Participative Management may be used to describe the process illustrated in Figure Ten. Organisations have developed with a firm belief that stability is essential to good management, and that Participative Management helps to provide stability (Plunkett and Fournier, 1991).

Figure 10: The Bottom Up Empowerment Cycle

Satisfying customers ——————— Feed back

To learn and make changes that continuously improve process capable of

Workforce

To be responsive (listen) and (change quickly) by empowering the

Companies

To choose among global opportinities and requires

Customer

Empowers

Read up ——→ Ownership of informaiton
from here
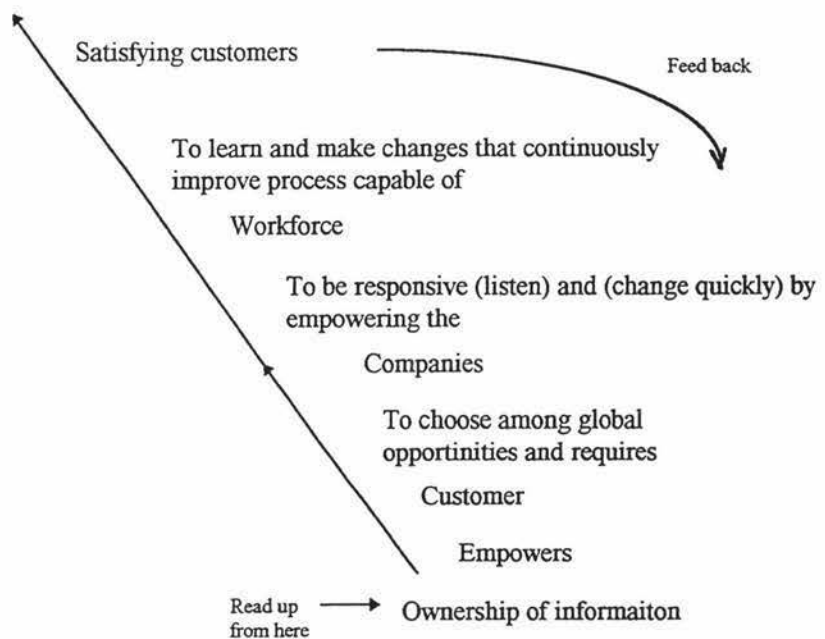
(Source: Johnson, preface ix, 1992)

In the past many businesses often upheld decision making control as a simile for stability. Control was valued as evidence of competent managerial behaviour, for example, specific control over the decision making process traditionally viewed as the fundamental prerogative of management (Anthony, 1978). True worker empowerment can have a synergistic effect (the whole is greater than the sum of the parts). A synergistic effect occurs where the

authority of the manager and the group is greater than the combined authority of the manager and the group when viewed separately (Anthony, 1978). Synergy, in terms of an empowerment approach is a positive effect because it creates a workforce where one employee is seen as just important as another irrespective of hierarchical positions.

Plunkett and Fournier (1992) believe the concept of Participative Management attack some of the basic beliefs and values upheld by business managers. Participative Management assumes everyone in the organisation has the capacity to contribute to those issues that affect their responsibility. Yet, a representative form of democracy is not the goal of Participative Management. The corner stone of democracy is voting and constitutional representation. Participative Management does not have the same goal or process. It has elements of democracy in the increase of participation and involvement in decision making, however, voting is not necessarily the key tool for resolution (Plunkett and Fournier, 1992).

Participative Management creates expectations for involvement and participation, and those expectations need to be managed. One view is that empowerment in the business sector cannot be stopped halfway, otherwise it will lead to disillusionment and thus no improvement in products or services (Bennett, 1994). A more cautious approach is that empowerment does not exist in a vacuum, it is not an all or nothing issue, it has boundaries that limit the degree of freedom. Nor is empowerment its own reward, rather it rewards people for accepting increased responsibility (Plunkett and Fournier, 1991).

Forms of Participative Management are difficult to ascertain in the private sector. Documenting forms of participative management in the public sector is marginally better. In Britain the government has empowered and funded local business leaders to set up and develop local training and enterprise councils to increase required skills. In doing so, the government has given up considerable power in order that new institutions are able to form at the local level (Bennett, et al, 1994). New institutions focus on two factors, the individual and local institutions. Focusing on the individual encourages a shift away from welfare that traditionally emphasises compensation and subsidy, toward incentives for individual

responsibility. A local institution focus places emphasis on decentralisation where state responsibility at the local level are replaced by local level institutions (Bennett et al, 1994).

In New Zealand, forms of Participative Management in the private sector are not documented nor available for public inspection. In the public sector, empowerment of communities does not appear to have advanced beyond participation through public submissions received by local authorities on local authority plans and policy statements. The Local Government Business Group (1992) found that numbers of submission are low, less than one submission per one thousand electors in most areas. The business group argued that plan submissions to council, as one single type of empowerment, are not enough. The most commonly used notion of empowerment is public notification in newspapers as required by legislation. However, significant numbers of councils supplemented newspaper notification with household mailouts and extended advertising.

It is argued that empowerment cannot be equated purely with public notification of local government (draft) plans and policy. Presenting a draft plan or policy document to the public is tantamount to a *fait accompli*, few alterations are made to draft plans and policies in New Zealand. Most local authorities made only minor changes to draft plans as a result of public submission (Local Government Business Group, 1992).

Community boards, established in 1988, provide local authorities and communities with an empowerment option. Community Boards are designed to allow for the recognition of communities within a district to increase involvement in the local government system and permit devolution of decision making to representatives of communities within a district on matters of particular concern to those communities (Local Government Amendment Act, No. 3, 1988). Community boards are seen by the Local Government Commission as an essential component of new local government systems, but they are not independent and autonomous units of local government. Territorial authorities should be able to empower the community boards in a manner which is appropriate within the management of the district as a whole (Elwood, 1989).

The extent to which community boards can be used as a vehicle for increasing local community empowerment is tempered by the relationship between community boards and local authorities. Two recent investigations of community boards, The Local Government Business Group (1991) and Marjoribanks (1994) conclude that community boards are viewed by local authorities as advisory bodies rather than decision making bodies to whom functions are delegated. A 1991 Local Government Business Group survey of 160 community boards and their functions reveal that overall 58.3% have advisory roles while 16.4% have a decision making role with 36.9% no avisory or decision making role. Moreover, Marjoribanks (1994) states that 71% of local authorities clash with community boards over areas of responsibility.

The above survey results further conclude there is a lack of central government direction as to what should be delegated to Community Boards as well as a narrow interpretation of legislation by local authorities. The Local Government Business Group (1991) states most local authorities have no immediate plans to delegate extensive new powers to Community Boards, this combined with continuing conflict between boards and local authorities, the use of Community Boards as a means to extend community empowerment appear slim.

Urban Programme Empowerment Approaches

Generally, the word 'community' implies something positive and something which counters the negative aspects of capitalism. We are reminded that the romantic view of community is one that is seriously flawed. Jacobs (1992) and Bolick (1988) tell of cramped inner cities, the rising crime rate in urban localities, racial and ethnic conflicts and the prevalence of class division. Even where there have been attempts to create a united community voice, social inequalities threaten to destabilise coalitions and lead to renewed political conflicts.

It is clear form Jacobs and Bolick's account that there is a necessity for urban programme empowerment approaches. Yet those approaches reviewd tend to opt for greater public participation similar to that discussed in Chapter Two. For example, in the U.S. urban programme empowerment approaches termed 'Public Choice' have been developed as an alternative to the welfare-liberal remedies relating to urban decline, the prevention of social

inequalities and communal disorder (Bolick, 1988). Advocates of empowerment in cities such as The Bostin Foundation, concentrate on improving local economic growth and the redirection of power away from bureaucracies. In implementing the 'Public Choice' concept decision makers sought to move away from centralised and bureaucratic ways of providing social and community services.

Ostrom and Whitaker (1974) provide one example of a Public Choice empowerment approach. They wrote about the advantage of community control over police services as an effective way of improving the quality of police services. Control in this instance means implementing a programme that allows the community to monitor police activities through regular opinion surveys. Opinion surveys provided an avenue for communities to express their views outside of traditional welfare orientated interest groups. In the past, such traditional interest groups tend to be regarded as being captured by and become part of the existing bureaucracy.

The Landcare Approach

Landcare as well as associated dunecare programmes developed in Australia challenge the linear extension or diffusion model of top down technological transfer. In one case the linear extension model supports the positivists dominant paradigm, that truthful knowledge is derived only from value free, objective and empirical scientific study. It is a view that often leads to human affairs and social issues being reduced to technical concerns (Capra, 1982). In the other case, Landcare philosophy is that any programme of action should be designed, constructed and driven by those being served. In doing so, these people become agents of their own self development (Hartley et al, 1992). The Landcare approach compliments rather than replaces technology transfer. It recognises an alternative paradigm that places technology in a socio-economic context. It is concerned with empowering communities, groups or individuals to be responsible for management of their own land resources. It is also about the need for community participation in natural resource management and the need for ongoing co-learning and education at the grassroots level.

The linear model may be summarised as;

Research ➔ *Knowledge* ➔ *Transfer* ➔ *Adoption* ➔ *Diffusion*

(Source: Hartley, Riches and Davies, 1992, p.217)

Woodhill and Wilson (1992) found that certain undesirable features of the linear extension model approach appeared as agricultural extension workers applied the model, they include;

(1) A tendency for extension agents to operate as experts.

(2) Farmer based knowledge and innovation is devalued.

(3) The lack of involvement of end users in the innovation development process.

(4) A Simplistic approach to problem solving.

(5) A simplistic model of education and learning processes.

As a result the traditional extension model has been challenged on its effectiveness to deliver services, the argument now is the importance of helping people to help themselves. An alternative extension model of empowerment (Figure Eleven) is now being employed in land and dunecare programmes in Australia and New Zealand.

Seine and Marten, (1992); Davies and Smith, (1992); Edgar and Pattern,(1992); Heartly, Riches and Davies; (1992) relate the importance of the need to build strong relationships with both national and local government. The alternative extension model (Figure Eleven) requires a truly synergistic relationship between government and community. It is one where output of the system is greater than the sum of the inputs of its individual parts. The right hand side of Figure Eleven describes the relationship between the level of empowerment of the system, that is , its confidence to make the right decisions in the face of risk, be that physical, economic or political and the demand for information necessary to make those decisions.

The model has a feed back loop reflecting the belief that communities or groups will demand more information as they feel more confident about their ability to make decisions and control their natural environment. This feeling of confidence is a measure of

Figure 11: Alternative Extension Model for Empowerment
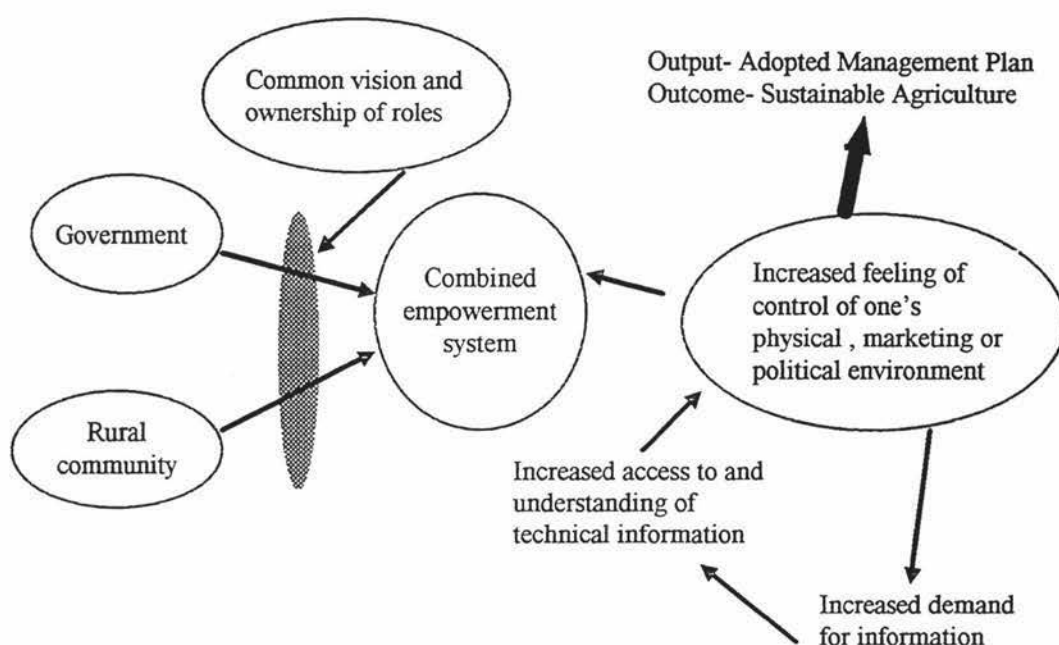
(Source: Hartley, Riches and Davies, 1992, p.3).

empowerment. Nevertheless, empowerment does not result from the provision of information alone. The model suggests that that government agencies, in particular, should concern themselves not only with the procurement of information but also with the empowerment of the overall system to achieve shared visions and goals (Heartily, Riches and Davies, 1992).

Attributes of Empowerment Approaches

Attributes of empowerment approaches (Table Six) is useful in explanation of the current understanding of empowerment and as criteria for evaluation of community empowerment programmes. Attributes may also guide future development of empowerment programmes. The empowerment attributes illustrated in Table Six represent a starting point to which further empowerment attributes and approaches can be added as they are developed. The empowerment approaches in table six are confined to those approaches discussed above. The approaches are current in nature and broad enough in scope to suggest that any future developed empowerment approach that fails to exhibit the majority of attributes shown in

Table Six: Attributes of Empowerment Approaches

KEY TO APPROACHES:
1= INDIGENOUS PEOPLE   2= COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT
3= MULTISTAKEHOLDER   4= BUSINESS SECTOR
5= URBAN DEVELOPMENT 6= LANDCARE
⋮=KEY GROUP OF ATTRIBUTES OVERALL

APPROACHES ➡

POSITIVE ATTRIBUTE CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6
Communication & Trust		✓				✓
Information Exchange			✓			
Community Participation	✓		✓			
Equal Opportunity			✓		✓	✓
Accountability			✓		✓	✓
Leadership		✓		✓		✓
Synergistic Relationship				✓		✓
Time Limits	✓		✓			
Devolution of Power		✓		✓	✓	✓
Compensation	✓			✓		
Self-Reliance/ Determination	✓	✓			✓	
Flexibility in Approach			✓	✓	✓	
Attitude/Behavioural Change		✓		✓		✓
Longterm Approach		✓				✓
Harness Immobilised Resources			✓	✓	✓	
Programmes Designed and Owned by Groups		✓	✓			✓
Conflict Resolution Negotiated Trade-offs.		✓	✓		✓	
Remedy Past Injustice	✓					
Future Development	✓					
Durable Settlement	✓					
Restoration of Political Voice	✓					
Small Areas		✓				
Respect Diverse Interests			✓			
(In) Formal Agreements		✓				
Recognise Crisis Point		✓				
Implementation of Agreed Decision			✓			
Align Public/Private		✓				
Technology in Socio-economic context						✓
Adequate Funding		✓	✓		✓	✓

the table cannot with confidence be regarded as empowering those for whom the approach is designed.

Table Six is organised into two columns, the left hand column identifies a number of empowerment attributes that have been derived from empowerment approaches outlined in

this chapter. The attributes and approaches in Table Six are given in no particular order of importance. Approaches are numbered one to six in the right hand column and refer only to the key above the table for identification of the approach. The ticks in the right hand column of Table Six are to be read from top to bottom of the table. Each tick is associated with a particular approach, the tick also reflects the weighting each approach gives to particular attributes. For example, if the primary empowerment attributes of approach three (Multistakeholder) are to be identified, it requires the reader to focus on the ticks beneath number three by moving down the right hand column, when a tick is encountered the corresponding attribute in column one is read. The first three identified attributes related to Multistakeholder are information exchange, community participation and equal opportunity.

It is obvious from Table Six that there is a large cluster of attributes (illustrated by the dotted oval shaped line) associated with most approaches. It is also possible to identify smaller heterogeneous attributes associated with particular approaches. There are three possible explanations for these occurrences. The first is that because of the small number of empowerment approaches available for investigation it is likely that most would have a number of reoccurring attributes familiar to the concept of empowerment. Secondly, the cluster of attributes reflects the observation that during research of each empowerment approach, the attributes within the cluster are explicitly mentioned in the text in preference to other attributes that may also be implicit in the approach. Thirdly, most approaches are site or issue specific, to suggest that every empowerment attribute should be contained in every approach is to deny the site and issue complexities. Attributes are interchangeable as well as being mutually inclusive or inherent of another attribute. For example, approach one (Indigenous People) contain four specific attributes, remedy of past injustice, future development, durable settlements, restoration of political voice. These four empowerment attributes have evolved specifically in New Zealand through Maori interpretation of globally recognised strategies and principles and of their own weighting given to issues of importance to Maori in New Zealand. Similar attributes are likely to have evolved globally from International Agencies Community Empowerment Strategies for Sustainable Development (Table One) and Possible Guiding Principles for Community Empowerment specific to indigenous peoples (Table Two). The four empowerment attributes have been explicitly

stated by Maori in their own approach for empowerment. This fact does not exclude that the same or similar empowerment attributes are applicable or implicit in other empowerment approaches contained in this thesis or elsewhere. Another exampleis that of approach six (Landcare) which requires all programmes to be designed, constructed and implemented by community groups. These same empowering attributes although explicit in Landcare are likely to be either explicit or implicit in other empowerment approaches. The more a particular empowerment attribute reveals itself in a number of other empowerment approaches can only work to strengthen those approaches.

The complexity of empowerment approaches is illustrated with an example. The attribute of setting time limits is shown in Table Six to be specific to approach one and approach three (Indigenous People and Multistakeholder). What is difficult to illustrate in Table Six is the relevance of a time limit for each approach. In one case the government of New Zealand, for example, has suggested a ten year period within which the government and Maori must finalise Treaty of Waitangi claims (Maori Fisheries Agreement, 1992). Generally, both Maori and the Courts of New Zealand do not accept the concept of a sunset clause for negotiation. The reason is that Treaty obligations are considered to be ongoing, and that they will evolve from generation to generation as conditions change (Cooke, 1990). In another case the Multistakeholder Process approach requires that time limits are set to encourage all parties involved to work to negotiate a consensus agreement. This approach considers open time frames result more often in delays and break down in communication between those involved.

A number of empowerment attibutes in Table Six can be linked to the fundamental philosophy of empowerment discussed in Chapter Two. The attribute of equal opportunity is a hallmark of of the concept of democracy. The empowering attributes of community participation and communication are central to new forms of participation advocated by Healy (1992) and Sager (1994). Accountability and leadership empowering attributes can be found in theories of representation and responsibility. The attributes task over role orientation and information exchange are important in social learning and group theory. The remaining attributes in Table Six have been drawn from empowerment approaches reviewed.

Nevertheless, all of these approaches are in some manner and to varying degrees founded on the underlying philosophy provided in Chapter Two.

This chapter has provided one conceptualisation of how community empowerment approaches and attributes of approaches may be derived. It has identified several empowerment approaches that are currently in use to provide an understanding of the concept of empowerment. In addition, the chapter offers a set of empowerment attributes that may be used as criteria for evaluating empowerment of communities to make better decisions and a guide for the process of empowering communities to manage the sustainable development of natural and physical resources to benefit both communities and species.

CHAPTER FOUR: WHIRITOA BEACH CARE GROUP: AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDY

Case Study Location and Community

This case study is one example of a very limited number of community empowerment programmes currently employed in New Zealand. The Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG) was established by the Waikato Regional Council (WRC) in conjunction with the Hauraki District Council (HDC) to deal with coastal erosion issues as an alternative to regulation.

This case study illustrates one current community empowerment that in its conception and implementation derived little guidance from theory. It reveals, perhaps unconsciously, a number of theoretical attributes of community empowerment formulated in Chapter Three. The WBCG has managed to date, to empower a small coastal community to assist local authorities in the management of natural and physical resources.

This chapter outlines the process undertaken by the local authorities and the community in the establishment and the implementation of the beach care concept. It begins with the background to the issues effecting Whiritoa Beach, for example, the potential erosion hazard, sand extraction, coastal subdivision and the likelihood of future sea level rise. It then turns to the adoption of the beach care concept and the roles of the local authorities and the local community. Key decisions and actions that illustrate attributes of empowerment that correspond to theoretical empowerment attributes derived in Chapter Three will be highlighted.

Whiritoa Beach and community is located on the Coromandel Peninsula's eastern coastline (Map 1). It falls within the authority of the WRC and the HDC. Essentially, Whiritoa is a retirement settlement with some younger families. The permanent population of Whiritoa is 277 this number increases substantially during the peak holiday season, as absentee property owners return along with holiday makers (Hauraki District Council, 1993). The beach is one of the many Coromandel beaches used for recreational swimming, sunbathing and surfing.

Map 1: Whiritoa Beach Community

PACIFIC OCEAN

INDICATIVE CMA BOUNDARY
(LINE OF MEAN HIGH WATER SPRINGS)

THE DISTRICT BOUNDARY FOLLOWS
THE LINE OF MEAN HIGH WATER
MARK ALONG THE COAST

Erosion Hazard Protection
Lines (Refer Performance
Standard 9.2.11)

Whiritoa Beach
Recreation Reserve

Whiritoa Surf Life
Saving Club

Erosion Hazard Protection
Lines (Refer Performance
Standard 9.2.11)

RURAL

RURAL
RESIDENTIAL

RURAL
RESIDENTIAL

Sewage Pond Buffer
Area (Refer Performance
Standard 9.2.12)

RURAL
RESIDENTIAL

Maori land and sand extraction site

RURAL

(Source: Hauraki District Council Draft Plan, 1994).

Land is used predominantly for housing with service facilities including a small dairy, service station and Surf Life Saving Clubrooms. Sand mining of the southern end of the beach by the local hapu is being phased out after negotiation with the WRC

Subdivision of the beach commenced in the late 1960's and now there are approximately 400 sections in the settlement. Valuation New Zealand as at 1.7.89 values the total number of dwellings present at Whiritoa to be $4,140,500. Subsequent to the installation of reticulated sewage in 1989, there has been a trend for further subdivision and cross-leasing of existing sections (Waikato Regional Council, 1992).

The beach itself is an embayed sandy beach, a well rounded bay (indented coastline) with an opening normally wider than its depth (Clarke, 1985). It is approximately 1400 metres long, lying between the Whiritoa and Ramarama streams. It is composed of medium to coarse quartzofeldspatic sands and is backed by a single frontal dune, typically five to seven metres high (Waikato Regional Council, 1992).

Background to Whiritoa Beach Care Issues

Prior to the formation of the WBCG a region wide coastal hazard assessment was conducted by the Waikato Regional Council. Initially the primary objectives of the investigation of Whiritoa Beach included the need to;

(1) Assess the impact of sand extraction at the southern end of the beach.

(2) Improve the definition of the near shore area at risk from coastal erosion.

(3) Identify appropriate hazard management and monitoring strategies for the beach.

The WRC (1992) investigation confirms the potential for serious coastal hazard problems along the beach. The principle findings revealed that beach is in equilibrium, an overall balance between sand supply and sand loss. The investigation shows that the beach is no longer receiving any significant sand supply from possible sources. Figure Twelve illustrates the possible sources and sinks (sediment store) that are theoretically available to a beach system. Sinks in Figure Twelve are shown in italics, sources of sand are shown as bold lettering.

Figure Twelve: Beach Sediment Sources and Sinks

River Supply   Cliff Erosion

Lagoons/Estuary Filling   *Dune Migration*

Littoral Drift In →

Store
Internal Biological Supply and Loss from Attrition

Littoral → Drift Out

Onshore Transport   **Offshore Transport**
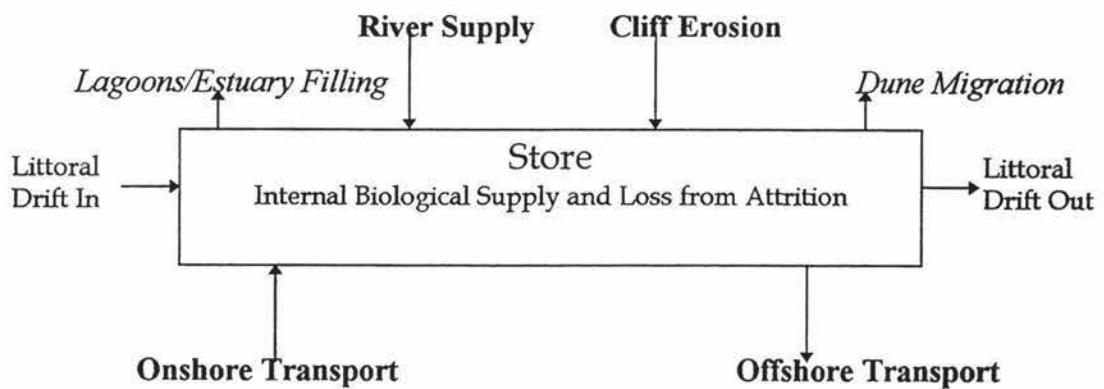
(Source: Davies, 1980, p 126).

McLean, (1979) identified sources of sand for Whiritoa Beach to include streams, providing minor quantities of material. Cliff erosion is also very minor through debris slides, rock falls and abrasion. Offshore sources are considered nil as there is no evidence to suggest sands in depths greater than 30 metres over four kilometres offshore reach the beach. Longshore (littoral Drift in) is again nil as there is no proof that sands move from around the headlands into the Whiritoa Beach system. Biogenic sources are also considered very low. McLean states

> *it thus becomes clear that the Whiritoa sand system contains a finite amount of sand that has slowly accumulated over the last few thousand years, and, that on a year-by-year basis both natural supplies and losses to the system are quite small. In this sense Whiritoa can be regarded as a non-renewable resource (McLean, 1979, p. 10).*

McLean also identified four principle morphological elements of the Whiritoa Beach system (the beach, the lagoons, the nearshore and the foredune) with large sand exchanges between them. Kirk (1990) comments longshore transports of sand occur in both swell and storm conditions and are also typically in both directions along the shore. In pocket beaches (closed systems) like Whiritoa, gross transports (the sum of northward and southward movements during the year) can be very large, But the net transports, the difference between the two, is commonly small or zero, the beach merely changing shape and orientation to accommodate varying wave conditions. Short term longshore transports are commonly at least an order of magnitude larger than onshore-offshore transports. Kirk also states, for the

most part, the lagoons at both ends of Whiritoa Beach are sinks rather than sources of beach sediment

Sand Extraction

The local Maori hapu, Ngati Hako, have extracted sand from the southern end of the beach (Map 1) since 1947 and continue to hold existing use rights under section 384 of the Resource Management Act 1991. Legally up to 4000 cubic metres of sand can be removed each year (Hauraki District Council, 1993).

Sand extraction by Maori has been a contentious issue since subdivision commenced in the early 1970's. Table Seven is a brief historic account of actions taken by statutory bodies and the Whiritoa Beach Ratepayers Association over the period 1973 to 1990, hereafter referred to as phase one. Its purpose is to illustrate the long process of debate, of discussion, community and council claims and counter claims, legal activity and scientific research that occurred prior to the formation of the WBCG in January 1993 and the first signs of sustained beach management. Column one reflects the decisions and machinations of the statutory bodies involved, column two, those of the Whiritoa Beach Ratepayers Association essentially prompting or responding to Ohinemuri County Council (OCC) actions.

Between the years 1973 to 1977 little was known about sand and sand movement within the Whiritoa system. On the one hand Whiritoa Beach ratepayers had begun to question the effect of sand mining on the beach and adjacent private properties. On the other hand the OCC appeared reluctant to halt sand mining until source and supply rate of sand had been established. The first scientific data of appeared in 1977, a Masters thesis, written by M.J. Christopherson of Waikato University. The thesis considered the beach a closed system as

Photograph 1: Picturing Whiritoa Beach foredune system facing southwards.Note particularly eroded dune face enscarpment cut by storm wave action.

Photograph 2: Note flat nature of foredune as a consequence of human intervention as well as recent attempts to revegetate and fence.

Photograph 3: Picturing Maori sand mining pit at southern end of Whiritoa Beach facing north.

Photograph 4: Maori sand mining pit facing south. Note, top right, entrance to lagoon at rear of pit area, acting as a sand 'sink' or store.

Table Seven: History of Sand Extraction at Whiritoa Beach

DATE	VARIOUS STATUTORY BODY ACTIONS	WHIRITOA BEACH RESIDENTS AND/OR RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION ACTIONS
Phase One April 1973	Ministry of Works (MOW) resident engineer states it is impossible to say if sand extraction effects the whole beach.	
March 1974	District Commissioner of Works concerned sand contractor is flouting mining license conditions.	Whiritoa resident complains that his land adjacent to mined Maori land and lagoon is endangering his property.
April 1974		Resident writes letter to The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment asking for investigation of effects of sand mining on the beach and sand contractors flouting mining licence conditions.
September 1974	Director of Water and Soil Conservation letter to Chairman of Hauraki Catchment Board (HCB) stating there are no limits to the amount of sand able to be extracted under the licence. Also, the licence does have a revoke clause but requires proof that damage to beach is due to sand extraction. Suggests investigation to define source and rate of sand supply, belief is that the beach is a 'closed system'.

Commissioner of Works letter to Ombudsman stating that continued sand extraction can only lead to deterioration and erosion. Asks Ombudsman to ask Maori to withdraw mining licence. Commissioner will continue to collect data. | Ratepayers ask OCC for moratorium to be imposed on sand mining. Result- Planning Committee of OCC believed there to be no evidence scientific or technical to substantiate ratepayer proposal. OCC agreed to continue investigation of Whiritoa Beach system. |
| 1975 | Investigations Section of the Water and Soil Division (MOW) observed that subdivision development has removed the natural buffer zone between the sea and the land. The resulting in dangerous implication, potential erosion of shoreline. Recommended the determination of rate of sand supply of sand to Whiritoa Beach: No sand be taken from the beach adjacent to developed areas until source and supply rate is determined; Leave intact existing buffer zones in areas threatened by future residential development.

Soil Conservator (OCC) reports on erosion at north end of beach resulting from undercutting by Ramarama Stream, wind erosion of dunes and sand deposits on roads and around private houses. Recommended rebuilding of dune using a dune fence, plantings of marram grass and establish walkways to reduce destabilisation impact of pedestrians. | |
| 1977 | M.J. Christopherson M.Sc. Thesis (commissioned in 1975 by the MOW) considered the beach a closed system, sand is unable to be replenished from natural sources, because of this sand mining will deplete the sand reservoir and cause beach erosion and dune recession. | Simpson Coates & Clapshaw (SC&C) engaged by Whiritoa Beach Ratepayers Association (WBRPA). SC&C contend that s. 77 of the T&CP Act 1977 can be used by the OCC to stop sand extraction. |
| August 1978 | Ohinemuri County Council (OCC) sends rates demand to concerned residents along with the statement that Maori have existing user rights extract sand (T&CP Act 1953). OCC considers it cannot interfere.
OCC admits it is not undertaking any particular erosion study of Whiritoa Beach. | |

Table Seven continued

DATE	VARIOUS STATUTORY BODY ACTIONS	WHIRITOA BEACH RESIDENTS AND/OR RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION ACTIONS
September 1978		Whiritoa Erosion Group Formed by ratepayers. Wrote to all ratepayers remarking on the lack of OCC action over sand extraction. Ratepayers Sand Removal Committee also in existence writing to OCC, politicians and HCB
February 1979	HCB and Regional Water Board notes that it had objected to the OCC subdividing , in particular where it was obvious that no suitable precautions had been adopted, thus subsidy assistance would be most difficult to obtain in event of erosion. Recommended recreation reserve along beach front (3 chains) from seaward edge of the foredune.	
November 1978	HCB commissioned Dr. R. McLean of the Department of Geography, Auckland University, to investigate further sand resources at Whiritoa and on the sand relationship between. mining and shore erosion.	WBRPA gained legal opinion that OCC as controlling body by authorising subdivision had to ensure that sections were safe from erosion.
February 1980	McLean Report released. Concludes Whiritoa Beach is a closed system; major sand loss undoubtedly through sand mining; Sand availability related to wind-wave energy is insufficient to maintain an equilibrium profile without continued erosion of the foredune; further sand mining will deplete reservoir and induce further erosion. Ministry of Transport (MOT) letter to WBRPA stating that the OCC is able to prevent sand mining under s.244 of the Harbours Act 1956.	
March 1980		WBRPA write to OCC stating that council has no reason not to stop sand mining using combined evidence of Christopherson and McLean. OCC has power under s 77 of the T&CP Act 1977 to prevent further sand mining.
May 1980	Water and Soil Conservation (MOW write to OCC that in view of scientific investigations of Christopherson and McLean, council has added advantage of using the Water and Soil Conservation Act 1967 s. 14(a)(ii) and (e) and Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Amendment Act 1959 s.35. to overcome sand mining problem.	
August 1980	OCC letter to SC&C stating council will make no decision until Minister of Transport investigation outcome. OCC believes the prime motivation for preventing further sand mining lies with the Ministry of Transport.	WBRPA waiting on OCC position. Comment council is procrastinating even after own lawyers recommend cessation of sand mining.
September 1980	MOT investigation confirms there is no justification for it to invoke s.244 of the Harbours Act 1956. States prime motivation lies with OCC under T&CP Act 1977.	
October 1980	MOT letter to OCC stating inspection of Whiritoa Beach revealed no sign of erosion only accretion.	SC&C receive letter form MOT commenting it would like to study sand movement at Whiritoa but would depend on availability of local finance.

Table Seven continued

DATE	VARIOUS STATUTORY BODY ACTIONS	WHIRITOA BEACH RESIDENTS AND/OR RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION ACTIONS
December 1980	OCC letter to SC&C stating that T&C P Committee has considered McLean report and agrees with it, but wants more information on mineralogy, suggesting all relevant government departments, OCC and HCB fund further studies.	
March 1982	HCB & Regional Water Board Resource Management Committee comment on contradiction of scientific reports of a closed system and likely erosion and physical surveyed evidence that shows no sea induces erosion.	
April 1984	Since the Resource Management Committee meeting (March 1982) The OCC chief engineer have monitored the beach to assist in defining sand movement at Whiritoa. Data is still be collated and checked, no conclusions yet drawn.	
August 1986		Various letters sent to Ministry for the Environment (MftE) by residents of Whiritoa concerning continued sand mining. In addition letters to local Member of Parliament.
December 1987	MftE letter to Whiritoa residents stating it is currently researching the sand mining issue. MftE second letter to residents commenting that the Ministry has no regulatory functions and thus no direct control over sand mining on private property. Ministry was advised by the HCB that no erosion exists and refers residents back to local authorities.	
January 1990		Letter sent to Department of Conservation (DoC) by residents asking for investigation into sand mining at Whiritoa Beach.
February 1990	Local Member of Parliament writes to DoC asking for information of concerning sand mining at Whiritoa.	
May 1990	DoC letter to WBRPA confirming that no license had been issued for sand mining as mining occurs on private land. DoC states that licence required if mining occurs below MHWM on public land.	
June 1990	Dr. R. Kirk Department of Geography, Canterbury University report for DoC. Report confirms Christopherson and McLean earlier investigations that Whiritoa is a closed system. Recommends cessation of sand mining as it can only accelerate future erosion. Kirk did note that there still is a lack of qualitative data concerning sand transfers within the closed system, thus recommended profile monitoring that has not been attempted previously.	

(Source: WRC Whiritoa Beach Correspondence File to June 1990).

sand is unable to be replenished from natural sources. The thesis concluded that sand mining will deplete the sand reservoir and cause beach erosion and dune recession. Christopherson's conclusion sparked further WBRPA attempts to halt sand mining. Based on the content of Christopherson's thesis, the WBRPA engaged the services of Simpson Coates and Clapshaw

(SC&C) Barristers and Solicitors, to further pressure the OCC to prevent sand mining. Between the years 1978 to 1990 a further two scientific reports were commssioned. The McLean report was released in February 1980, it confirmed Christopherson's theory that Whiritoa is a closed system and that major sand loss was undoubtedly due to sand mining. In June of 1990, R.M. Kirk's report confirmed both Christopherson's and McLeans conclusions. Occurring concurrently was a body of legal opinion that stated the OCC had the legal ability under four Acts of Parliament to forcibly close sand mining activities. Nevertheless, during this period the OCC maintained that they were legally unable to halt sand mining on private property in spite of considerable legal opinion to the contrary. In addition, and in spite of evidence to suggest that sand mining will detrimentally affect the beach, the OCC stated that further positive scientific evidence was required that specifically linked sand mining to shoreline erosion before it would consider stopping sand extraction. It is noted that the OCC had not itself, since the 1979 McLean report, investigated any likely connection between shoreline erosion and sand extraction.

Further, the OCC held the belief that The Ministry of Transport (MOT) had the prime responsibility to prevent sand mining under the Harbours Act 1956, forestalling any OCC decisive action on the issue. The MOT after visual inspection of Whiritoa Beach, concluded that no shoreline erosion was evident and that it could not justify their intervention (MOT, 1980). Similar views were held by the Hauraki Catchment Board (HCB, 1982) and the Ministry for the Environment (MftE, 1987). During this time visual and measured observations of shoreline accretion appeared contrary to scientific speculation that sand extraction would accelerate erosion, Kirk's (1990) report clarified this point. Kirk states:

> *in a system where supply of sand exceeds loss the beach will change... shape naturally from time to time... but over a period of years there will be net gain, the shore will move seaward and new dune ridges may be added. In a system where losses exceed gains the shore will function in the ways described but over a period of years the shore will retreat (net erosion) and the foredune will be progressively reduced. Effective coastal management thus requires awareness of both the shorter term beach dynamics and the underlying, longer term sediment budget status...Whiritoa appears to be a sand system of the longer term, underlying net loss type, substantially because of mining (Kirk, 1990, p4).*

In other words visual accretion of the dune and the beach may be expected in the short term, over a number of years, but the longer term underlying sediment budget (net loss at Whiritoa because of sand extraction) will eventually cause erosion. Kirk (1990) states with particular reference to Whiritoa Beach that;

> *a long history of comparatively low level sand extraction has cumulatively reached the stage where net degradation of the foredune system over most of the beach length is now manifest (Kirk, 1990, p6).*

Since 1990 one further scientific investigation had taken place. The WRC Whiritoa Beach Coastal Hazards Investigation Report (1991). The report drew the same conclusion that long term underlying effects of sand extraction can only be detrimental to the remaining dune system in the future. More recently the extraction of sand was central to a complaint to the Ombudsman but has been subsequently dismissed (Office of the Ombudsman, 1993).

What is significant about the actions during phase one, is that at no time had a solution to potential shoreline erosion ever been offered by either statutory bodies or the WBRPA. Few recommendations were made and even less practical attempts to prevent future erosion apart from the closure of sand mining were made. From the information available only one practical action was taken by the OCC that in the long term would benefit local residents in terms of hazard protection. It was to approve seven reserves along the beach front at the rear of the existing foredune (OCC, 1983). Reserve management objectives include the protection of the foreshore from unnecessary development especially that which could lead to erosion of the foreshore and for the maintenance of natural character. Specific reserve management include the planting of trees and grasses for dune stabilisation, the establishment of walkways, the possible use of low geomesh fences for the retention of sand, that foredunes should be left in their natural state, and that the extraction of sand within the reserve areas is not to be permitted (OCC, 1983). The Waikato Regional Council (1992) investigation estimates about five million cubic metres of sand is in the Whiritoa Beach system. The investigation concludes that the estimated 170,000 cubic metres of sand extracted by Maori since 1947 is significant relative to the limited volume of sand, about 330.000 cubic metres, remaining in the foredune (Figure Thirteen). In conjunction with sand mining, coastal subdivision has also removed from use about 5570,000 cubic metres of sand

available for dune growth. In addition, uncontrolled pedestrian and vehicular use of the remaining sand dunes must be considered as an underlying cause of dune erosion.

Figure Thirteen: Whiritoa Beach Sand Availability
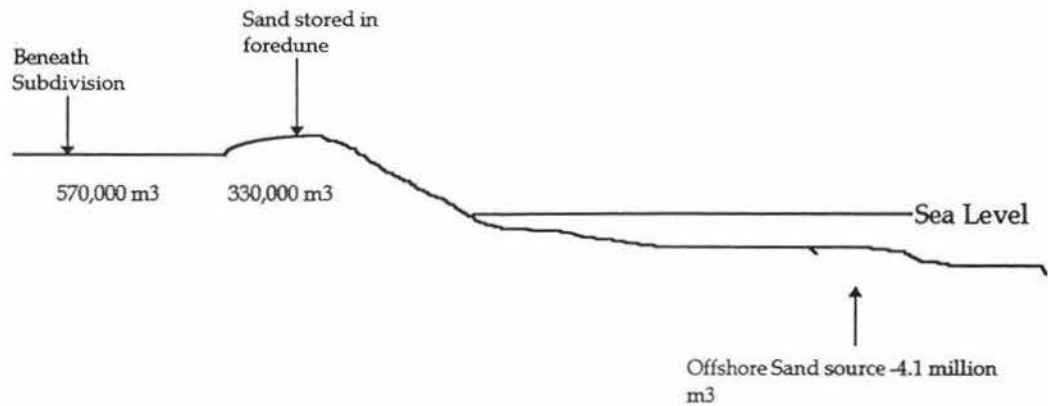
Coastal Subdivision

Approximately 40 years subdivision at Whiritoa Beach has resulted in the development of more than 400 residential lots and houses, most of which belong to absentee owners (Map One). More importantly, subdivision has effectively tied up approximately 570,000 cubic metres of sand, now not available to the beach without damage to property. This is in contrast to the 170,000 cubic metres removed by extraction over a period of 47 years. The Waikato Regional Council (1992) believes the combination of these two actions in conjunction with short term fluctuations and a net long term erosion trend as well as potential global warming effects, contributes significantly to the potential erosion risk to Whiritoa Beach over the next 50 years. The Waikato Regional Council (WRC) anticipates that approximately 35 to 50 metres of shoreline will be lost (Waikato Regional Council, 1992).

The Waikato Regional Council Hazard Investigation Report (1992) recommended the following actions;

(1) Closure of the sand extraction operations, preferably by negotiated phase out. The negotiation with the Maori land owners needs to adequately meet the primary environmental objectives without unnecessary hardship to the parties affected.

(2) A dune management programme. Due to the limited dune buffer reserves at Whiritoa Beach, the degraded state of the foredune and the vulnerability of the dune to wind erosion, dune management actions need to include dune reconstruction by planting native sand binding grasses on the seaward face of the dune. In addition, access to the beach needs to be managed in order to reduce the disruption of dune reconstruction in combination with public education on the importance of a foredune.

(3) Management of further development within the area of hazard risk. The findings of the investigation suggests that the present building restrictions provide adequate allowance for erosion risk over the next 50 years. However, in view of the present trend for erosion and limited dune reserves and the possibility of ongoing erosion beyond the next 50 years, it is considered that the Hauraki District Council should make no adjustment to the present building restrictions.

Statutory responsibility for subdivision lies with the Hauraki District Council (RMA, s.31 (c)). The district council in 1990 adopted a 60 metre set back in their district plan precluding new building or making building conditional between the 30 metre and 60 metre setback as a precaution against future foredune erosion and subsequent potential risk of valuable property. New buildings will only be permitted where the building is designed to be relocatable. The Hauraki District Council (HDC) may issue a building consent subject to an entry of the title that a building consent has been issued in respect of land which is subject to erosion (Hauraki District Council Draft Plan, 1994). The district council is aware that development is a legitimate expectation of property owners and is likely to be pursued by owners wishing to subdivide or cross lease. The district council hope is that the community apathy toward cross leasing and an increase in housing density will assist the council in promotion of voluntary controls and hazard avoidance (Hauraki District Council, 1992).

Local Authorities, Community Participation and Beach Care
Local governments are required under the Resource Management Act (1991) to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources (Appendix Four). The

empowerment of communities is one manner in which the Act's purpose may be achieved. However, empowerment is not a term that is used in the Resource Management Act, nevertheless there are a number of sections within the Act which provide for community participation and or consultation. Figure Fourteen illustrates the procedure for preparing and changing regional policies and regional and district plans under the Resource Management Act (1991). At particular stages in the procedure any person may participate by for example, preparing a submission to the local authority or perhaps appeal to the Planning Tribunal.

In addition to the procedure illustrated in Figure Fourteen there are four other mechanisms provided by the Resource Management Act that may be used to enforce its provisions. They are, declarations (ss.310-313, RMA), enforcement orders (ss.314-321, RMA), abatement notices (ss.322-325, RMA) and excessive noise directions (ss.326-328, RMA). Of the four, only enforcement orders can be applied for a member of the public, the remaining three requires application by a local authority.

Figure 14: Procedures for Preparing and Changing Regional Policies and Regional and District Plans Under the Resource Management Act 1991
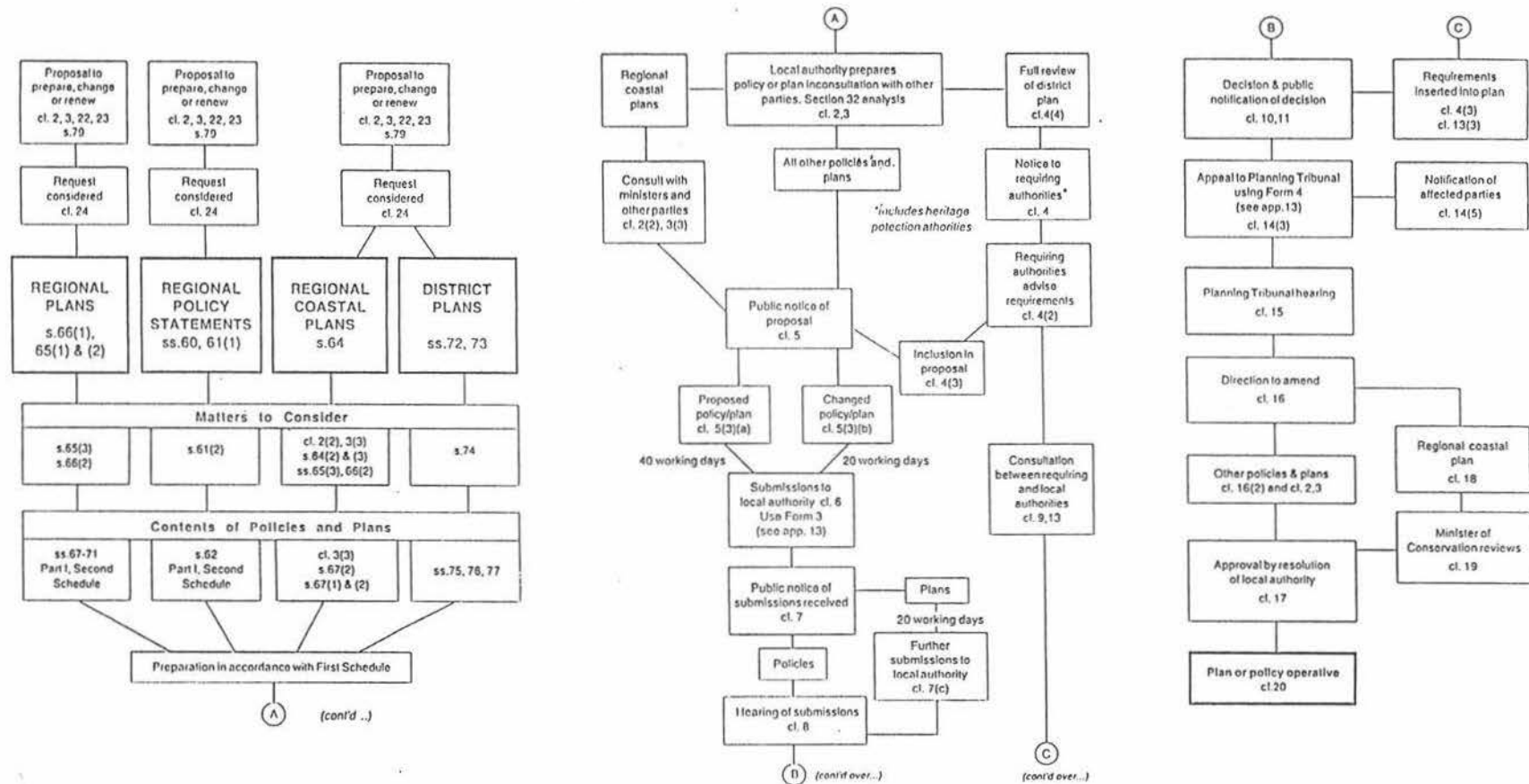
In terms of empowerment of local communities within existing legislation section 32(a)(ii) of the Resource Management Act (1991) holds the greatest potential. Section 32(a)(ii) of the RMA provides for:

> *other means in addition to or in place of such objective, policy, rule or other method which, under this Act or any other enactment, may be used in achieving the purpose of this Act (RMA, 1991, p.36).*

However, the Ministry for the Environment (1993) suggests section 32 is not an empowering section that enables councils to do certain things as it sees fit. The desired outcome of section 32 is not greater transparency or accountability in themselves but better decisions. The Ministry also suggests that the range of other means to achieve the purpose of the Act is limited only by the powers and limitations of the various statutes affecting local government and the imagination of local government.

Beach Care is one current imaginative empowerment approach that can be justified under section 32 (a)(ii). Beach Care as another means under section 32 has the potential for local authorities and communities to combine and make better management decisions over natural and physical resources that affect local people. The WRC has defined council and community roles within the Beach Care concept (Table Eight). Table Eight is organised to be read from left to right. Its purpose is to illustrate the roles of the WRC and the community as defined by the WRC. Clearly, the WRC confines it's role to that of facilitating an awareness, technical, funding and implementational input. Community roles include problem identification, goal setting, plan development and implementation of that plan. All of these roles conform to attributes of empowerment derived in Chapter Three.

Table 8: Waikato Regional Council Self-Defined Beach Care Council and Community Roles

Role →	Community	Local Authority
-Raise awareness.		✓
-Identify problem.	✓	
-Setting community goals	✓	
-Facilitation and technical input in setting goals.		✓
-Develop community action plan	✓	
-Facilitation and technical input into developing an action		✓
-Find funding	✓	
-Facilitate possible funding		✓
-Implement action plan	✓	
-Facilitate technical input in plan implementation		✓

(Source: Adapted from Waikato Regional Council Memorandum, 24/3/93).

Establishment of the Whiritoa Beach Care Group

The WRC (1992) states that in view of the local, regional and national significance of the Coromandel beaches as well as past hazard problems with hazard management options, for example, shoreline armouring, that has often compromised natural and amenity values of beaches the regional council initiated a programme to improve management of coastal hazard risk along the Coromandel coastline.

The WRC developed a hazard management strategy for Whiritoa Beach that was to include community participation and environmental education, dune management, management of coastal subdivision, closure of sand extraction and monitoring of coastal erosion. The regional council coastal scientist, having observed the 'Care' approach taken in Australia's Decade of Landcare, (Chapter Three, Landcare) decided to trial the Care approach in the Waikato region. Table Nine illustrates the establishment process of the Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG). The purpose of the table is provide an insight into the past history of Whiritoa Beach, particularly the extended debate over the sand extraction issue as wellas the sometimes lengthy processes required when undertaking an empowerment approach. Secondly, the table condenses details of the approach to more easily allow identification of

attributes of empowerment for comparison with theoretical attributes of empowerment in Chapter Five.

The Beach Care trial was initiated at Whiritoa Beach in January 1993 by the WRC in partnership with the HDC. The aim was not only to undertake particular works related to dune management, but also to develop appropriate changes in resource user understanding and practice within the relevant community. A key assumption of the Beach Care approach is that by encouraging resource users to assume responsibility for managing local environmental problems it will enhance understanding and accelerate appropriate attitude and behavioural changes. As such, the approach aims both to draw on and promote people's care for their environment (Waikato Regional Council, 1993).

While this thesis is not centrally concerned with the process undertaken, there are several key decisions that provide evidence that Beach Care contains attributes of empowerment and therefore can be said to be one illustration of a community empowerment programme. The first key decision was been taken by a combined WRC and HDC meeting on October 31 1992. The decision was made to maximise citizen participation in local coastal hazard affairs. This alone can not be considered community empowerment, but it did reveal a conscious willingness on behalf of the Councils to involve the public in the early stages of formulating a coastal management strategy specific to Whiritoa Beach. The willingness by an authoritative body to allow public participation in the very early stages of conception is one attribute of empowerment.

At the October 31 1992 meeting key community groups were asked by the Councils to attend a December 12 meeting at which the Councils introduced the groups to the concept of Beach Care. The groups included the: HDC; WRC; Waihi Community Board; Whiritoa Residents and Ratepayers Association; Whiritoa Surf Life Saving

Table Nine: Establishment Process of the Whiritoa Beach Care Group

DATE	LOCAL AUTHORITY ACTION	BEACH CARE GROUP ACTION
Pre RMA 1981 **Phase Two**	Hauraki Catchment Board: Coastal Hazard Report. recommend- 60m hazard setback.	
1990	Hauraki District Council (HDC) adoption of 60m hazard setback. New dwellings precluded within 30m of toe of dune (LGA, 1974, s.641).	
	Application for building permit within 30m of toe of dune.	
Post RMA 20/3/91.	Waikato Regional Council (WRC) Whiritoa Beach Coastal Hazards Investigation Report.	
June 1992	WRC Recommends- sand extraction closure; retain 30m setback; facilitate development of dune management programme.	
July 1992	WRC meeting with Maori land owner trustees to phase out sand extraction, operating since 1947.	
September 1992	HDC recommends- voluntary covenants for new dwellings; work to negotiate phase out of sand extraction; promote cooperation between community and local authorities for the implementation of appropriate measure to protect nearshore development and natural and amenity values.	
31/10/92	WRC and HDC resolve to undertake a joint planning initiative for long term dune protection measures at Whiritoa. It was decided to bring together key groups. Letter sent asking key groups to attend December 8 meeting.	
8/12/92	Initial meeting of key community groups at the HDC offices Waihi. Laid the ground work for a joint approach to environmental management, that is the setting-up of a beach care group to coordinate and implement a dune management strategy.	
Phase Three		
January 5/6 1993	A meeting and display outlining the coastal hazard erosion at Whiritoa was held in the Surf Club, Staff members from WRC and HDC were present to address queries.	Eight community members were elected to WBCG Committee at public meeting.
January 16 1993	WRC to prepare layout of proposed crossings and fencing and construction details. HDC to facilitate mailout and budget estimates for beach care plan. HDC to be correspondence centre for the beach care group.	First meeting of Beach Care Committee. Focus on dune management, work proposed include; dune crossings, repair and replanting, dune fencing and surf club area.
February 1993		Committee newsletter sent to Whiritoa property owners asking for submissions on dune management proposals. Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG) summarise submissions on proposals.
20/3/93 26/3/93	WRC internal memo re: Beach Care as an example of the care approach in action.	WBCG Committee meeting two. Considered proposals; beach access and types of access; fencing; dune repair; surf club area. Decision to prepare draft beach plan.
19/4/93	Councils facilitate Plan costings and technical advice. HDC to supply accessway funding WRC to fund	WBCG present Draft Whiritoa Beach Care Plan: Stage One (see Appendix ?) and costings to the HDC Policy

Table Nine continued

DATE	LOCAL AUTHORITY ACTION	BEACH CARE GROUP ACTION
	restoration and replanting of dunes.	and Finance Committee.
July 1993	HDC Draft Management Plan of the Whiritoa Beach Recreation Reserves. Beach Care Plan provided for in Reserve policy.	WBCG Newsletter No. 2. goes out to group members. Newsletter No. 3 Notification of first working bees for plan implementation and confirmation of funding.
18/9/93	Selected Council staff attend working bee.	Working bee ; construction of board walkways, wind break and fertilisation of sand binding grasses on dune.
October 1993	Selected council staff attend working bee.	WBCG Newsletter N0. 4, results of first working bee and notification of second working bee.
23/10/93		Working bee; further access paths and fencing.
16/10/93	WRC receives confirmation that the Chief Ombudsman turns down complaint regarding efforts to phase put Maori sand mining at Whiritoa Beach.	
19/2/94	Selected staff attend working bee.	Newsletter No. 5. WBCG working bee; Completion of walkway and start on removal of invasive weeds.
		Newsletter No. 6; FRI trial for establishment of Spinifex; Ideas required for Surf Club Concept Plan.
14/5/94	Selected staff attend working bee.	WBCG working bee; focus on planting, removal invasive plants and erection of signs.
		Newsletter No. 7; WRC and HDC entered WBCG project into National Customer Service Awards.
12/4/94	WRC internal memo regarding Maori land owners at southern end of beach and their request for technical knowledge to better understand wetlands and implement a management strategy.	
22/8/94		Letter to Mayor of HDC by WBCG committee member regarding the good work of council staff at working bees.
September 1994	WRC paper; Community Participation in Foreshore Management: Early Experience with Trial of the Care Approach in the Waikato.	
6/12/94	Selected council attend WBCG Committee Meeting.	WBCG Committee Meeting; draft questionnaire and Surf Club Concept Plan circulated for discussion..
		Special newsletter to WBCG members and ratepayers; Draft plans for Surf Club area given and suggestions welcomed; questionnaire included; notice of Annual Meeting.
27/12/.94	Selected council attend WBCG Committee Meeting.	WBCG Annual Committee Meeting; Majority of walkways completed; fertilisation trials completed; funding confirmed for 94/95 year from Councils; further discussion of Surf Club Concept Plan.
1/2/95		Committee meeting; considered next working bee; on-going maintenance; questionnaire result summary newsletter to members; problems with Christmas influx of people; signs; fencing.
18/2/95		Working bee: Pedestrian walkways; collection of

Table Nine continued

DATE	LOCAL AUTHORITY ACTION	BEACH CARE GROUP ACTION
		spinifex seeds; repair of one walkway. make a beach care pack concern of dropping numbers of attendance at bees.
28/3/95	Letter I Waihi Leader newspaper reports pros and cons of a consent application to Council by local Maori hapu to develop a camping ground on Maori land. Income from camping ground is to replace that lost by the phasing out of sand mining by Maori. Community divided.	
15/4/95		
15/7/95		Working bee: completed access at lagoon end of beach.; planting; small turnout of members.
		Committee meeting: arrange newsletters and beach care pack; letter to be sent beach front property owners highlighting erosion problem .set date for next working bee and next committee meeting.

(Source: Waikato Regional Council Whiritoa Beach Care file).

Club; Maori land owners; and the Department of Conservation (Hauraki District Council Memo, 1992).

While the meeting was portrayed by the councils as a forum for debate, the selection of the key groups was made on the assumption the groups are representative of the Whiritoa Beach community and that by 'winning' these groups over to the Beach Care concept, the Councils anticipated a rapid acceptance of the concept by the whole Whiritoa Beach community. It was a pragmatic beginning by the Councils, moreover, early identification of the key groups in the community provided the opportunity for information exchange and the possibility to harness immobilised human resources in the community, two further empowerment attributes. Each key group has in turn the ability to win support from their contacts within the community. Such intimate community contacts are unlikely to be held by Councils.

The inclusion of the Maori land owners, represented by the Whangamata 6B3B2 Block Trust trustees, (a legal arrangement whereby land title in this instance, is conveyed to nominated representatives, or trustees, of the local hapu Ngati Hako, to hold such property

for the benefit of those entitled to the beneficial interest, shareholders) proved to be critical to the success of the Beach Care concept.

The WRC realised the necessity to inform the Maori trustees of the consequences of sand extraction on the beach. By utilising the empowering attribute of sharing of information and not the thrusting of information on Maori, provided the Maori trustees with knowledge and therefore the empowering ability to make better decision about their extraction rights and the potential coastal hazard consequences of sand loss to the beach foredune.

Another key decision in the process was the desire for the democratic election of the WBCG by the public during the January 1993 public meeting. In addition, the conscious decision was made by the Councils that they should not be formally represented Beach Care Committee. This stance conformed with the facilitation role the council had given itself and Council commitment to the empowerment attribute that if local people are to be encouraged to take responsibility for and care of their environment, they should also be empowered to make all decisions and plan and implement actions.

One further key action taken by the Councils is their attendance at all WBCG working bees. Although the councils facilitate certain actions, for example, the trials of sand binding plants by the Forestry Research Institute, council workers along with community workers are seen to abide by and help implement the decisions made by the WBCG. This fact gives credence to the community's held belief that the Councils totally support the group's actions. The willingness of Council's to devolve decision making powers and the acceptance of the community not to abuse those powers may combine to build a strong binding trust relationship, that until broken may lend itself to long term support of group activities and possibly further redistribution of power in the community.

Whiritoa Community Involvement in Beach Care

Community involvement began with the councils inviting key representative groups to a forum for debate about how to best implement the coastal hazard management strategy.

Following democratic election procedures the Beach Care Committee was elected at the January 1993 public meeting. The Committee is a voluntary group of people that hold similar concerns for the state of the beach and dunes. Their goal is for a healthy dune system at Whiritoa Beach (Draft Whiritoa Beach Care Plan, 1993).

The Beach Care Committee consists entirely of local and absentee residents, although council representatives are present at committee meetings. The Whiritoa Surf Club and local Maori are also represented on the Committee. In spite of the WRC's self-defined role as facilitators, the Beach Care Committee is aware that councils have a particular statutory mandate in terms of their functions and duties as well as desired outcomes. During interviews in early 1995 some committee members voiced acknowledgement that the Council's have a particular mandate to fulfil. When asked the question 'Does the council agenda differ from that of the community?' one Beach Care Committee member replied, " yes, there is a strong council representation on committee... there is a lot of anti council feeling outside of the programme... " (Semi-Structured Interviews, 1995). The degree of anti council feeling is not known, the residue of ill feeling appears to stems from the long running and indecisive action on the part of previous councils over Maori sand extraction.

During interviews the question of council motivation in the programme was put to Beach Care Committee members. Overall members held no view that was substantially different to that of how the councils saw their own motivation and roles. Every member recognised the council had a mandate and thus a predisposed agenda as to the desired outcome. Although there was no consensus on the question whether or not one person drove the initial process, those that did affirm a council representative leadership initially rejected the suggestion that the disappearance of that person would dissolve the programme. Those committee members interviewed felt that the WBCG had within it's ranks leadership skills sufficient to continue in the event council representative leadership would be withdrawn. Emphasis was given instead to concerns of future funding and the Beach Care Group survival rather than the lack of leadership.

Within the Committee and the WBCG there is a definite expectation that the members and the community at large have an influential decision making role. This role was evident in the formation of the beach care plans scope, goal, objectives, policies and implementation of the beach care plan (Appendix Five). One committee member said the community role is one where it is "trying to look after themselves, but, finding the best way to do it through the two agencies" (Semi-Structured Interviews, 1995).

The WBCG make consensus decisions similar to that of Cooperative Management and Multistakeholder processes. The impression gained from interviews reveal that if the committee decided not to implement a local authority wish their decision would be respected. One explanation for this is that the actual power base of an empowered group or community lies in many hands rather than a few. For example, the Whiritoa Beach Care Plan resulted from substantial input across the community. The empowering quality of the Whiritoa Draft Beach Care Plan is that it was not initially formulated solely by local authority staff but in conjunction with committee members. A major empowering attribute is that those affected by decisions should be those who make the decisions.

The Whiritoa Beach Care Committee differs from most community interest groups in that there are no executive committee member positions, that is, chairperson, secretary nor treasurer. It is therefore viewed as a non-hierarchical, all members are equal in status. This non-hierarchical structure, if it continues to work, combined with decision making processes similar to Multistakholder and Cooperative Management overcomes one of the criticisms of practising democracy, the problem of political equity and the weighting that is to be given to each persons view.

Although council workers attend committee meetings, their special relationship to the programme as facilitators and those who fund the scheme, is acknowledge but all committee members feel the councils do not threaten the group's egalitarian status and final decision making powers. Nevertheless, with the exception of the sand extraction issue, there has not yet been a situation where council and community or groups within the community have

differed markedly. This situation is most likely due to the initial effort made in preparing the Beach Care Plan when programmes of work and mandates where agreed by the Beach Care Committee and the Councils very early on.

At time of writing there was little evidence to support the notion that this egalitarian consensus decision making group was not working. Interview results show all committee members feel the beach care plan was being implemented in the manner prescribed and that there was universal support by the community, as evidenced by the large numbers that turn out for the organised working bees. Some positive comments on the group's structure are as follows;

> *Exciting, various people with the main object to sustain the beach; Not too much dissension in the community; consistent in views; outlook, goals; consensus driven. (Semi-Structured Interviews, 1995).*

Funding is an attribute of an empowered community, The WBCG funding lies solely on the Council's continued financial support. The WRC envisages that as groups become more independent and as the number of groups grow throughout the region, it is probable that groups will have to bid for funding support as part of the Annual Plan cycle. It is also expected that while the WBCG continues to plan an implement successful hazard management strategy funding by councils will continue thus strengthening the relationship between the councils and the group.

The motivation for committee members joining beach care varied. Two questions where asked at different times during interviews. The first question asked, What motivated you to join?, the second question being, What is the motivation now? The range of responses to the first question were; interest in the beach; to reciprocate those who have already joined; have an effect on beach outcome; wish views to be heard; publication of the regional councils coastal hazard assessment of Whiritoa (Source: Semi-Structured Interviews, 1995).

The response to the second question did not vary at all. Every member acknowledged the need to finish what they had started. In addition, interviews revealed that most of the

committee members held their own visions for the beach in the future, and therefore the continuance of the group. But these personal visions remain outside of the agreed mandate of the Whiritoa Beach Care Group.

Although there is considerable support for the first and second stage of the beach care programme, there are emerging issues that will test the ability of the group to continue to support empowerment attributes such as communication, trust, consensual decision making as well as the essentials of a democratic and empowered group. The hope is that emerging issues such as; what occurs at the end of the group's mandated work; continued funding and council credibility; the move by some group members to extend their influence over backdune reserve areas; and the desire by the local Maori hapu to establish a camping ground on trust land to replace income lost from the phase out of sand mining, will continue allow dialogue and debate so that the above issue can be openly worked through and not allowed to fester.

CHAPTER FIVE: COMPARISON, CONTRAST AND SYNTHESIS.

Chapter Purpose and Structure

There purpose of this chapter is to compare and contrast the Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG) case study with of the theoretical set of community attributes derived in Chapter Three. The comparison and contrast intends to highlight those theoretical characteristics present or absent in the establishment and implementation of the WBCG. This chapter will show that the WBCG exhibits several attributes and objectives of other empowerment approaches identified in Chapter Three, for example, the establishment process of the WBCG (Table Nine). The explicit or implicit presence or absence of theoretical attributes of community empowerment within the WBCG may also allow recommendations to be made for future implementation of similar approaches for empowerment of community groups.

The chapter begins with an outline of the characteristics of the care approach and those community empowerment attributes considered to be present to some degree in the WBCG. The characteristics of each individual attribute present in the WBCG are summarised and discussed. Conclusions are then drawn about the degree to which the establishment and the implementation of the WBCG exhibit community empowerment attributes and the characteristics of the care approach.

The Care Approach

The WBCG is considered by the Waikato Regional Council (WRC) as a beach care, or simply, a care approach. The approach is modeled on a similar approach established in New South Wales, to address coastal dune management. Characteristics of the care approach are described in Chapter Three by the WRC (1993) as including;

> 1. An approach to environmental management that involves communities taking responsibility for land degradation.
>
> 2. Develop changes in resource user understanding and practice within the relevant community.
>
> 3. The approach also involves a partnership between communities, local authorities and central government agencies, with the role of all government agencies primarily focused on supporting and facilitating effective community based decision making and action.

Table Ten illustrates those theoretical community empowerment attributes which after analysis for this chapter, are considered to either to be present or absent to some degree in the establishment and implementation of the WBCG.

Table Ten: Whiritoa Beach Care Group Attributes

ATTRIBUTES OF THE WHIRITOA BEACH CARE GROUP
ATTRIBUTES PRESENT Communication Trust Information Exchange Community participation Equal Opportunity Accountability Leadership Synergistic Relationship Time limits Long Term Approach Devolution of Power Programmes Designed and Owned by Group Conflict Resolution Harness Immobilised Resources Recognise Crisis Point Small Areas Implement Agreed Decisions Technology in Socio-Economic Context Adequate Funding
ATTRIBUTES ABSENT Compensation Remedy Past Injustices Future Development Durable Settlements Restoration of Political Voice Formal Agreements Self-Determination Self-Reliance Align Public and Private Interests Respect Diverse Interests

Attributes Considered Present in the WBCG

ATTRIBUTES OF COMMUNICATION, TRUST AND INFORMATION EXCHANGE
CHARACTERISTICS; Dialogue
Face to face communication
Argumentative debate
Free exchange
Without fear of improper use
Increase tolerance of uncertainty

Communication and trust appear central to the Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG). However, in the past, during phase one History of Sand Extraction at Whiritoa, (Table Seven) in particular, it is possible to comment that a great deal of communication occurred between ratepayers, the Ohinemuri County Council (OCC), and various government departments in the form of letters and even threats of non payment of rates by disgruntled ratepayers. This form of communication appears to have contributed little to empowerment of the community nor the building of trust. Phase one, promised and contributed little in the way of practical action to prevent long term erosion. During phase two, Establishment Process of the WBCG (Table Nine) better communication became apparent and trust began to form. The Waikato Regional Council (WRC) for example, held face to face meetings with Maori landowner trustees concerning the extraction of sand on Maori land. The consequences of sand mining supported by technical information where conveyed to the local Maori. Local Maori where left to debate and decide how such information would ultimately affect them and the course of action they may take. As a result of better communication techniques, face-to face collaborative problem solving communication, advocated by Mc Clendon (1993), local authorities and Maori worked to promote the phasing out of sand mining. It became apparent, after interviews with local Maori land owners, that through better communication, trust had begun to build and empowerment became obvious. The chairperson for the local Maori trust commented that local authorities empowered Maori to freely request information from both the WRC and the Hauraki District Council (HDC). Such free exchange of information, without the fear of it being used inappropriately against any participant, appears absent in phase one of the sand extraction issue at Whiritoa. With the establishment of a better relationship between local Maori and local authorities, as a result of better communication, the WRC and the HDC resolved to undertake joint planning initiatives for the long term protection of the

remaining dune system. A meeting involving the local authorities and key community groups, was convened to lay the ground work for a what would ultimately be a joint approach to the sustainable management of the Whiritoa Beach system.

The form of communication that is taking place within the WBCG, and between the WBCG and the local authorities appears to be similar to that advocated by Healy (1992), Sager (1994) and Forester (1989). Healy and Sager advocate respectful argumentative debate where dialogue among participants stimulates personal growth on equal terms. Interviews conducted show that the committee members felt they could comfortably suggest an idea without condemnation from other members or local authorities. This new relationship is and continues to be facilitated with the free flow of information exchange. Technical information is supplied by the local authorities, enabling the WBCG to make more informed decisions regarding their aims.

However, in spite of more personal communication techniques employed by the local authorities, interviews with committee members show that there still remains a certain amount of reservation about the role of local authorities in empowerment approaches that strive for community based decision making. Committee member opinion range from a slight distrust of HDC motives to skepticism of future WRC and HDC involvement. A contrast is evident as community opinion varies between the need for the building of credibility among participants to the belief that the WRC and the HDC are always open to suggestions and support WBCG decisions. Nevertheless, those interviewed felt that much of the existing distrust and skepticism are residual perceptions caused by problems in phase one and not the relations between the community and WRC and HDC in phase two and three. Differences of opinions among committee members as to how agreed outcomes should be managed tends to encourage and stimulate respectful dialogue and debate.

ATTRIBUTES OF PARTICIPATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
CHARACTERISTICS; Active participation
Influential participation
Identification of those affected
Open, equal and free debate
Free flow of information
Joint moral responsibility
Community representation

Burke (1968) states that participation is one means to perfect the democratic process. Participation offers a way, in theory, for each person to have an equal say in decision making about issues that effect them. The ability to have an equal say links participation with democracy, as democracy is a particular method of allowing equal participation in decision making. It is believed that the both participation and equal opportunity are present in the WBCG. The WRC in fact, incorporated in the establishment process of the WBCG (Phase Two, Table Nine), the need to maximise citizen participation in the very early stages of formulating a coastal management strategy specific to Whiritoa Beach. The WRC sought to grant Whiritoa Beach residents a decision making role through the act of participation and equal opportunity. If local authorities wish to encourage community participation and equal opportunity, it must identify individuals or groups in communities who are effected by the issues at hand. Further, if enhanced participation and equal opportunity is to be attained and maintained, all participants must have the democratic right to equal speech during early development stages and beyond. These theoretical considerations appear to be absent during phase one, but became apparent in phase two. In phase two, key community groups were identified and invited to participate in a discussion forum concerning the implementation of a beach care approach. In addition, during the early part of phase three (Table Nine), the WRC and the HDC established the WBCG and its committee by way of a democratic election process at a public meeting. Neither council played any role in either the nomination nor the election of committee members. In keeping with stated care characteristics, council officers remained neutral, assuming a facilitators, not decision makers role. Theory also suggests (Friedrich, 1968; Friedmann, 1987; and Grundy, 1993), that all representatives, for example, WBCG Committee members, assert the notion of representing the public interest, or in this case the WBCG group interests. Such representation may create a moral community whose members agree to be jointly responsible for that which is

precious to them. Theorist in Chapter Two, (Dahl and Lindblom, 1963; and Boydson, 1984) also suggest that it is difficult for representatives to delineate personal interests from that of the community they represent. Members of the WBCG also face this difficulty. One WBCG committee member is also a member of another community group committee. When interviewed, the member conceded that beach care activities may also benefit the other community group's activities, thus creating a potential conflict of interest situation. Nevertheless, if the attributes of participation and equal opportunity are present in all group decision making, the dilemma of representation may be minimised.

In Chapter Two participation and equal opportunity are linked with democracy. It is also stated that democracy is enhanced with decreasing community size. Due to the relatively small population of Whiritoa Beach residents, it appears there is the genuine ability for WBCG Committee members and group members generally, to participate and contribute to the group's agenda and the decisions made by the committee. During interviews the question was asked who made the decisions?, What is the decision making structure? The combined results show that it is perceived by WBCG Committee members that it is the group that makes all the decisions. Nevertheless, decisions are only made after consultation with the community and local authorities. Several people who attended the initial forum debate and the establishment procedure of the WBCG, described the processes as open an unconstrained debate. All final decision are made by WBCG Committee members.

ATTRIBUTE OF ACCOUNTABILITY
CHARACTERISTICS; More servant than master
                             Moral responsibility and duty
                             Continued technical and financial support
                             Responsibility for actions

To date the WRC and the HDC, through phases two and three, have shown all characteristics of accountability with regard to the WBCG. As facilitators and not decision makers, local authorities may be seen to act as the servant and not the master. Continued technical and financial support by the councils to the WBCG, fulfill any moral responsibility and duty. Accountability may also be defined in terms of legislation, for example, statutes, common law, and constitutional conventions (Harris, 1989). While the

WRC and the HDC are accountable as local authorities, the WBCG is not a government agency, therefore the group is not as constrained as are local authorities by legally binding rules. The fact that the WBCG voluntarily conforms to notions of moral accountability in combination with, for example, responsibility, (accountability assumes responsibility, Dahl, 1989), appears to govern the group's activities and it's relationship with supporting local authorities. The group's continued adherence to self accountability also conforms to the care approach characteristics of community and local authority partnerships as well as communities assuming greater responsibility for environmental management.

Voluntary accountability to some extent, overcomes the dilemma of elected representatives, the need to serve impartially all interest groups in the community. As noted, all members of the WBCG are members of the Whiritoa Beach community, but they are also all affected by the group's activities. Because community size influences responsibility as it does accountability, it is likely that in larger communities fewer people are effected by certain activities, and it may be expected that elected representatives in these circumstances, succumb to human traits and become less responsible and accountable to interest groups to which the representative does not belong.

ATTRIBUTE OF LEADERSHIP
CHARACTERISTICS; Achieving a task Building and maintaining the group Satisfy individual needs within group Flexibility Change with group cycles

Davidson (1994) in Chapter Two maintains that leadership in a group is very important as a prime motivator. The attribute of leadership is present in the WBCG, interview results show the WRC and the HDC initially as prime motivators, particularly leadership displayed by one council worker. However, since the establishment of the group, interview results show that this has changed as the group moves through Donaldson's theoretical cycles (forming through to dorming). The WBCG now considers that no one person or organisation leads the group. Leadership appears to be dispersed among group members. The WBCG does not have an executive committee position creating a non-hierarchical, non-egalitarian group structure. An egalitarian structure minimises the abuse of power, for example, the ability of one person to influence others (Lukes, 1986). The

change of leadership as the group moves through the formulation of the group's goals, objectives, policies and implementation methods, used and developed individual group member skill, provides flexibility and allows individual member needs to be satisfied. The attendance of group members at organised working bees allow individuals to offer what skills and abilities they possess, contributing to the group's capacity to continue to build and maintain itself. The group's adherence to flexible leadership conforms with leadership theory (Mortiss and Chamala, 1991) appears to strengthen the group's performance.

ATTRIBUTES OF SYNERGY, TIME LIMITS AND LONG TERM APPROACH	
CHARACTERISTICS;	Whole is greater than the sum of its parts
	Equal ability to influence decisions
	Decisions are representative of the whole group
	Reduction of long delays
	Recognition of natural trends
	Enhanced management programmes

There are indicators within the WBCG that suggests a synergistic relationship exists between the group and the local authorities and between group members. Synergy assumes an egalitarian power distribution where no one person's power is greater than that of the combined group. It has been stated that the WBCG Committee has a non-hierarchical structure. Such a structure distributes the power to influence equally decisions among all group members, so that when a final decision is made it is representative of all group members and not just one, creating a synergistic relationship.

The WBCG has placed guiding time limits on their implementation schedule. Without such time limits, the implementation process may succumb to long delays and lack of action in deciding what to do? how? and when?. The WBCG at the outset produced an outline of their programme spanning two or more years in recognition of the need for time for group growth and maturity. The first year (Appendix Five) included only the initial plan itself and the requirement for council statutory consent and funding. The implementation stages, rather than set in stone, are being carried out as time, materials and member involvement permit. However, specific time limits are inappropriate with regard to group stages as outlined by Donaldson (1994). Time limits applied here may only put undue pressure on a group to perform more swiftly during inappropriate group

growth stages and consequently are likely to result in poor decisions and disharmony within the group.

The WRC and the HDC explicitly recognise the need for a long term approach to deal with problems related to land erosion and degradation . Beach systems, as explained by Kirk (1990) in Chapter Four, have both long and short term erosion trends. Kirk also explains that underlying long term trends need to be recognised if management programmes are to be successful. The continued extraction of sand at Whiritoa Beach, although being phased out, will still contribute to a long term erosion problem until such time as the beach regains an equilibrium. Thus a long term management programme is necessary at Whiritoa Beach. All parties involved agree that beach care as a concept and WBCG as one community empowerment approach, needs to be long term, with ongoing council and community activities.

ATTRIBUTES OF DEVOLUTION OF POWER, PROGRAMMES DESIGNED OWNED BY GROUPS, ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE
CHARACTERISTICS; Local community decision making Local community agenda setting Needs shaping Community responsibility

The existence of community decision making ability, agenda setting and needs shaping (the ability to change and modify desires and beliefs) in the WBCG provides evidence of the existence of all the community empowerment attributes. As shown in Chapter Four, the WBCG is able to design and implement, in conjunction with technical advice and funding from the councils, their own dune management plan. The group decided agenda items and management priorities and time tables. The ongoing implementation of the dune management plan is a testimony of the community's ability to design an appropriate plan of action. A community attitude and behavioural change has occurred since phase two, the community is now the driving force of the group. In phase one, the community persisted in the belief that the local authorities are responsible for dune management. Phases two and three show that the community has taken over dune management responsibility from the local authorities. The fact that the community has taken responsibility for dune management, shows that care characteristics desiring behavioural change and community and agency partnership are evident at Whiritoa Beach.

The connection between knowledge and power in theory, is inseparable (Sager, 1994). It may be that in the absence of facilitation, technical information or finance by the local authorities in the future, may cause the group to disband in the absence of alternatives. In addition, the ability of the WBCG to design and implement management plans is confined to the single specific hazard potential, at a specific site and within the statutory functions, powers and duties of the WRC and the HDC. Nevertheless, the ability of the WBCG to make decisions within these limits, essentially requires the delegation of power by the local authorities to do so. The point is made again, that the essential features of democracy, as described by Fagence, (1977) and Gastil (1992), are necessary if the WBCG is not to undermine the partnership between the community and the local authorities. The explicit establishment of clear boundaries of responsibility of empowered groups, at the early stages of group establishment, may lead to a strengthening of partnerships. Such boundaries may guide group formation, operation and subsequent design and ownership of resource management programmes.

ATTRIBUTES OF FLEXIBILITY, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND NEGOTIATED TRADE OFFS
CHARACTERISTICS; Capacity for self correction
Responsiveness
Greater participation
Responsibility
Equal opportunity
Information exchange
Accountability
Dialogue and debate

The capacity for self correction requires both responsive local authorities and empowered communities. The greater the responsiveness the more the flexibility. The greatest flexibility shown by local authorities is the change to a care approach after long protracted events of sand mining in phase one. The care approach, although not explicit in the approach, allows for conflict resolution and negotiated trade offs. The phasing out of sand extraction at Whiritoa Beach provides evidence of a conflict resolution process. In addition, the WRC negotiated and agreed with Maori to trade off the phasing out of sand extraction with the establishment of a camping ground to replace Maori income lost from sand extraction.

Conflict resolution and negotiated trade offs are attributes which evolve from community empowerment approaches calling for greater community participation, responsibility, sharing and exchange of information and accountability to the community. Such attributes are nor confined to the care approach alone. Both the Multistakeholder Processes and Cooperative Management approaches explicitly incorporate these attributes. The ability to utilise differing empowerment approaches as well as a greater range of empowering attributes, contributes to a flexible approach.

ATTRIBUTES OF HARNESSING IMMOBILISED RESOURCES AND RESPECT OF DIVERSE INTERESTS
CHARACTERISTICS; Utilise wide range of community resources
Community involvement
Tolerance
Dialogue and debate

An empowered community or group will offer a wide range of resources to be utilised for the benefit of the community or group. The WBCG has been shown to incorporate such attributes and therefore the ability to mobilise resources. Several examples are reiterated from Chapter Four, they include, working bees and beach care plan preparation harnessing human labour formerly untapped. The formation of a committee to organise and coordinate activities and plan implementation and the exercising of minds during meetings in terms of suggestions, respectful argument and debate.

The WBCG decision making process utilises the consensus decision making process employed by the Multistakeholder Process approach. The Multistakeholder approach explicitly recognises diverse interests in communities and groups. It is apparent in phase one, that existing Maori use rights to extract sand from their land had not been respected. Table Seven documents the long running, at times ill informed, debate that continually show disrespect for local Maori and their legal, albeit potentially damaging right, to mine sand to raise revenue for ongoing expenses. Such disrespect lead to a split in the community that is now only being healed through the use of the WBCG as a community forum. Although the sand mining issue is now confined to history, the lack of respect for diverse interests is again apparent at Whiritoa. As local Maori prepare to establish a camping ground to replace sand mining revenue loss, the Whiritoa community again appears to be divided about the prospects of a local camping group run by local Maori. However, it is possible that because the WBCG has set in place democratic,

consensus driven mechanisms for debate and decision making, it's use as a public forum for debate of other contentious community issues, although strictly inappropriate, the theory may well prove essential.

ATTRIBUTES OF RECOGNITION OF CRISIS POINT
CHARACTERISTICS;   Recognition of past and present causes.
                                  Scientific and social and economic proof of crisis

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The WBCG shows the attribute of the need to recognise a crisis point. The early stages of phase one show clearly Whiritoa Beach residents were concerned with the effect of sand mining on the sand dunes. However, in the case of Whiritoa Beach, residents did not perceived the loss of sand to the beach system caused by subdivision and subsequent residential development of the back dunes. The complexity of beach systems also need to be recognised. Here scientific evidence of a crisis helps to verify or disclaim social and economic fears, for example, potential loss of land and buildings. In the later stages of phase one and the early stages of phase two, research provided sufficient scientific evidence to verify potential future hazard to the shoreline and adjacent residential development.

ATTRIBUTES OF SMALL AREA
CHARACTERISTICS;   Clarified and distinct boundaries
                                  Induces smaller populations
                                  Allows for greater democracy in decision making

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The WBCG has been established to manage coastal erosion issues on one embayed beach defined by headlands. The group's mandate does not extend landward beyond the foredune system nor seaward of the foredune system. Thus, the group's area of responsibility is small and clearly defined. In terms of a community empowered approach, the delineation of area holds a number of advantages for the group. Once the boundaries are known, the group is better able to provide a specific management programme for that area. The group, however, may not extend their influence beyond the identified boundaries without redefining the group's mandate.

A small area of influence also allows the group to clearly understand the issues pertaining to that area following technical advice from the WRC. A further advantage for the WBCG is that the Whiritoa Beach community has a small population (less than 300 permanent residents). As discussed in Chapter Two, the smaller the population, the

greater the possibilities for democracy, community participation, representation on the group and democratic decision making. The ability of a population to strive for the ideal conception of democracy, diminishes with increasing size (Goldsmith, 1980 and Dahl, 1989). It is considered essential that consideration of area and population statistics become explicitly part of the care approach.

ATTRIBUTE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED DECISIONS
CHARACTERISTICS; Achievement of agreed goals

The planting of dunes stabilisation grasses, the construction of walkways to the beach, signs and fencing show that decisions agreed by the WBCG have been implemented. Alternatively, if an empowered approach is unable to implement agreed decisions, it may signal a general lack of empowerment. In theory, (Keyton, 1993) the successful implementation of group goals may allow a group to more easily negotiate it's existence or renew it's mandate. The implementation of agreed decisions will enable groups to maintain the positive aspects of their performance, carrying a positive attitude into future group activity. It is apparent from interviews with WBCG committee members, that in the establishment of the WBCG, the course of action (once the group's objectives are implemented) has not been considered. For the purpose of utilising a care approach, it is considered necessary to define the group's course of action, once the group has successfully reached it's objectives, during the early stages of the group's establishment process.

ATTRIBUTES OF TECHNOLOGY IN A SOCIO ECONOMIC CONTEXT AND ADEQUATE FUNDING
CHARACTERISTICS; Scientific, social and economic acceptable management plans
Long term implementation

In general, community empowerment approaches strives for a mix of scientific, social and economic characteristics, for example, the Landcare approach. The WBCG represents the Whiritoa Beach community. The group utilises the WRC technical support in their group decisions. A community empowerment approach requires that technical knowledge and skill is passed on to a lay community in ways that that community may understand and utilise in management plans. The expectation is that not all community members involved will totally understand all technical information. For this reason it is

likely that attributes of empowerment such as communication and the exchange of information will be continually necessary between those with technical information and the community to be empowered. In economic terms, funding of the group's management plan and its implementation by WRC and the HDC, appears to be an efficient use of council funds. It is of interest that interview results show, that the WBCG committee does not equate council funding with the power to constrain democratic group decision making.

Conclusion

It is considered that the WBCG exhibits the majority of the attributes of community empowerment. In addition, all the attributes, in some manner, characterise the care approach desired by the WRC. The attributes of communication and trust have contributed to the care approach that wishes to develop partnerships between government agencies and communities. The above attributes appear to be markedly absent in phase one, but have been employed in phase two and three. The utilisation of these attributes has contributed to the phasing out of sand mining at Whiritoa Beach and the establishment of the WBCG. A commitment to recent theories of communication in conjunction with the free exchange of information has enabled the establishment of trust, from which greater possibilities of empowerment may flow. Dunn (1988) comments that the advantages of thinking in terms of future planning in a framework of trust is found in its ability to increase tolerance of uncertainty.

It may be concluded that the WBCG establishment and implementation processes utilise attributes of participation and equal opportunity to a large extent. Such a process is consistent with the desired characteristics of the care approach. The explicit desire, during the establishment phase of the WBCG, that community participation and equal opportunities to become involved may have enhanced the group's functioning. It is possible that participation and equal opportunity are able to be implemented with relative ease due to the small size of the community. The case in Chapter Four tends to support the theoretical assumption made in Chapter Two that democracy is generally enhanced where populations are small.

It may be concluded that the voluntary adherence by the WRC, HDC and the WBCG to the attribute of accountability, allows the group to function as an empowered group. Dahl (1989) argues that on a large scale of a nation state, a diversity of interests and interest groups come into existence and factionalism and conflict become destructive. It may be that a group to refuse accountability and therefore, it's responsibility, may also lead to self destruction as group members factionalise. The initial adherence to a strong leadership from councils to a shared leadership among group members appears also to exhibit characteristics of the care approach, strengthening partnership and fostering community responsibility.

In terms of final decision making power is delegated to the WBCG. However, the real test of power of the WBCG to make decision will occur when the group makes a decision to which one or both councils disapprove of. It is suggested that this is an unlikely possibility if the group continues to extend full democratic rights to all members and effected parties. Clear boundaries of delegated power within a framework of democracy provides the potential for continued delegation of power.

The care approach includes the need to build good relationships between government agencies and between government agencies and communities. The WBCG appears to show that such a relationship while not present in phase one, has been attained during phases two and three. Such relationships may be termed synergistic when all those involved agree that the WBCG as an entity is greater than the sum of its individual members.

It may be concluded that the care approach taken by the WBCG and responsible local authorities utilises the empowering attributes of flexibility, conflict resolution and negotiated trade offs. Although these attributes are not explicit in the care approach as they are in other empowering approaches, they are attributes that may be utilised to advantage where necessarily. Advantages are also possible due to the very nature of the community and the coastline itself. The small nature of the community and the singularity of the management issue, is advantages for democratic decision making. Future implementation of care approaches, where possible, may need to consider incorporating small area and issue specific programmes.

Whiritoa Beach residents first exhibited the attribute of recognition of a crisis point early in phase one. The establishment of the WBCG continues to exhibit recognition of a potential crisis, indeed, its mandate is to reduce the potential for future disaster to the shoreline and adjacent residential development. However, deciding what is the best course of action for managing the perceived crisis does not necessarily follow its recognition. Phase one contributed nearly twenty years of debate concerning sand extraction and it's effect on the remaining foredune. In contrast, phase two and three has managed, using a care approach, to establishing a vehicle for management of that crisis. The care approach has succeeded in producing a management plan where previous attempts have not.

The WBCG also exhibits the attributes of both harnessing immobilised resources as well as respect for diverse interests. Plan design and implementation has benefited from local input. The respect for Maori rights and culture displayed by the WRC when dealing with the sand extraction issue, points toward the explicit incorporation of these attributes in an empowerment approach. The relative non action throughout phase one in comparison with phase highlights the difficulties that may occur if these attributes are not utilised.

The WBCG has to date, implemented all agreed decisions. However, the group needs to consider it's future prior to the implementation of it's objectives. Group theory suggests that all groups should terminate at the end of their original mandate, and then re-negotiate the future of the group. A clear vision of events and the end of the group cycle may contribute to a smooth termination or transition to future agreeable group mandates.

In terms of the care approach, council input is minimised, although ever present. The community, represented by the WBCG, has taken on the responsibility of managing the foredune stabilisation. Community labour is met equally with council technical and financial support, thus to some extent, placing technology in a socio-economic context.

Attributes Considered Absent or Irrelevant to the WBCG

ATTRIBUTES OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-RELIANCE
CHARACTERISTICS; Securing of access to resources
Equitable share in the management of resources
Formal national level agreement

Self-determination and self-reliance are attributes of indigenous people' s approaches to community empowerment. These attributes are not considered characteristic of the WBCG as it is doubtful whether the group may be able to survive without local authority financial and technical support. In addition, Table Three, 'Differing Interpretations of Treaty of Waitangi Principles in New Zealand' shows how extremely difficult and complex the issues self-determination and self-reliance are. Nevertheless, in time, it is suggested that the underlying principle of self-determination and self-reliance, power, in some sense, may be transferred to community empowerment approaches like the WBCG.

What may be possible is that community groups like the WBCG have power to the extent that they are able to make decisions within frameworks of existing legislation, utilising principles of democracy similar to consensus decision making approaches. Depending on the level of success and trust that is established between the group and relevant local authorities, the possibility exists that expansion of similar empowerment approaches to other environmental issues may evolve.

Self-determination may be defined in terms of modes of power practiced at the local level constrained only by essential elements of democracy and council statutory obligations. Self-reliance of groups such as the WBCG may be seen in terms of increased knowledge and experience over time and self funding by way of private or corporate sponsorship. With increased knowledge and experience groups pass through Davidson's (1994) stages of group maturity. As each stage is reached, the group is more capable of performing tasks and functions that initially may have been performed by council.

ATTRIBUTE OF ALIGNING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTERESTS
CHARACTERISTICS; Private funding/sponsorship
Green company image

Groups may also become self-reliant through funding by private or corporate sponsorship, a future possibility recognised by councils and WBCG Committee members. Private funding may provide one way in which public and private interests may be more closely aligned. Funding may take the form of sponsorship for material for group defined tasks, objectives and goals. Advertising of sponsorship of environmental initiatives,

private companies can take advantage of public exposure and align themselves closer with the 'green' image as a potential marketing platform.

ATTRIBUTES OF COMPENSATION, REMEDY OF PAST INJUSTICES, FUTURE DEVELOPMENT, DURABLE SETTLEMENTS, RESTORATION OF POLITICAL VOICE AND FORMAL AGREEMENTS

While these attributes are important to certain empowerment approaches they are not as a whole, specific to the case study in Chapter Four. For this reason specific characteristics of each approach have not been identified. These attributes are specific to indigenous people empowerment approaches based on possible guiding principles for community empowerment specific to indigenous people in Table Two. The results of interviews with Ngati Hako show that their representation on the WBCG committee is more to do with Ngati Hako reciprocating the efforts of existing members of the WBCG than exercising Treaty of Waitangi principles. Ngati Hako supports the WBCG for the same reason as non-Maori, the benefits to all of sustainable management of the foredune.

The WRC has concluded a formal agreement with Ngati Hako. It concerns the phasing out of sand mining at the southern end of the beach. In doing so, the agreement significantly contributed to the continued existence of the WBCG by removing a major obstacle to community unity.

Conclusion

Attributes considered absent or irrelevant to the WBCG may in some instances still hold relevance for community empowered groups of the future. The underlying principle of self-determination and self-reliance, power, may help to expand the existing relationship and balance of power between local authorities and communities. Both these attributes may be possible as knowledge and experienced increases over time. Private or corporate sponsorship of group controlled environmental initiatives may also contribute to self-reliance and self-determination.

CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter Six is to provide several recommendations for local authority planners who may be contemplating the use of an empowerment approach for the management of natural and physical resources. This thesis began with a statement of the problem that planning utilises dated theoretical platforms for planning practice, for example, participation theory, resulting in a gap between theory and practice. Mc Clendon (1993) suggests a new framework for planning practice, one that links the theory of planning closer to the practice of planning. This thesis acknowledges the existence of a continuum of dated theories of participation to more recent theories of empowerment. This thesis may be justified as one contribution, linking planning theory and practice to results of planning, participation and implementation. It may be further justified by it's attempt to encourage local authority planners to explore and consider to the fullest extent possible the options available to them to deal with local community resource management.

The aim of the thesis has been to explore the extent to which further empowerment of local communities can assist local authority planners in the management of natural and physical resources for the benefit of communities and species. It is contended that, by empowering local communities in some manner, local authorities can enhance the sustainable management of natural and physical resources. However, local authorities have to contend with minimal available community empowerment planning theory. The WRC and the HDC establishment of the WBCG has been implicit, that is, they have not had the benefit of planning theory, to guide the process of community empowerment.

The Whiritoa Beach Care Group (WBCG) case study shows that the use of an empowerment care approach and attributes, however implicit, has succeeded in the establishment and implementation of a dune management plan at Whiritoa Beach. The success of phases two and three of the WBCG relative to phase one, has shown that local authorities and communities bound together by an empowerment approach, has the potential to provide the sustainable management of natural and physical resources in the future.

The first objective has been to provide a conceptualisation of a theoretical process that links international empowerment strategies with approaches and attributes of community empowerment at various political levels. Figure Nine (Chapter Three) provides a diagram of one possible conceptualisation. Another objective has been to derive a set of empowerment attributes from empowerment approaches identified across various disciplines. Chapter Three provides five empowerment approaches from which empowering attributes have been derived. These attributes are shown in Table Six. Chapter four provides a case study of one community empowerment approach currently employed in New Zealand. The case study highlights an understanding of current actions by which community empowerment is being implemented.

The final objective (Chapter Five) has been to compare and contrast the theoretical community empowerment attributes derived in Chapter Three with the community empowerment approach case study in Chapter Four. Chapter Five shows that many of the identified theoretical attributes of community empowerment have been used to good advantage by the empowerment approach. Chapter Five concludes that the care community empowerment approach adopted by the local authorities has resulted in a mutual partnership between local authorities and the community involved. Communities have been able to take responsibility for planning and implementation of a dune management programme. The success of the care approach to an extent, provides vindication of identified community empowerment attributes. Such attributes may be used as criteria for the evaluation of community empowerment approaches. These attributes may also be used to guide future community empowerment approaches.

Central Questions and Recommendations for Local Authorities

To assist in achieving this thesis aim, four central questions have been provided, they are; Question One.

In what manner does empowerment currently manifest itself in society?

Five community empowerment approaches are discussed in Chapter Three. The Cooperative Management approach, the Multistakeholder approach, various Business Sector approaches, Urban Empowerment approaches and finally the Landcare approach. There are many similarities between these approaches, both implicit and explicit. A long term willingness and adherence to community empowerment in whatever form it may

take. In addition, approaches include a desire to strive for greater community participation toward a trusting partnership. The hope is provide greater democracy in decision making. Theories Relating to Empowerment in Chapter Two, for example, participation theory, representation theory and all encompassing theory of democracy, have particular relevance for a community empowerment approach.

Recommendation One

It is recommended that a local authority that wishes to establish and implement a community empowerment approach, it may need to be conversant with and committed to the relevant theories provided in Table Eleven. The table is to be read form left to right. The right hand side indicates theories relevant to empowerment approaches and possible implications of each theory for local authorities and communities.

Table Eleven: Theories Relevant to Empowerment and Possible Implications

RELEVANT THEORIES	IMPLICATIONS
Democracy	Leads to greater participation Equality before the law Equality of speech Popular deliberation and consensus Accountability of officials
Participation	Leads to greater democracy Inclusion in decision making; Enlightened dialogue Greater communication Produces citizen power to bring about change Decentralisation of power Increases citizen knowledge
Representation and Responsibility	Moral reflection of the community interest Overriding of private functions Leads to greater representative democracy Accountability to those represented Forfeiture of autonomy

Recommendation Two

Where possible, local authorities should incorporate as many community empowerment attributes provided in Table Six (Chapter Three), when establishing and operating a community empowerment approach. It is suggested that if a community empowerment approach does not include a high percentage of the empowerment attributes identified in this thesis, (Table Six, Chapter Three), it can not with confidence be termed a community empowerment approach.

Recommendation Three

Local authorities and communities wishing to participate in an empowerment approach should willingly enter the approach with a view to support and maintain the approach in the long term. A long term willingness on behalf of all parties involved in an empowerment approach is both implicit and explicit in many of the approaches identified in Chapter Three. It is explicit in both the Cooperative Management and the Landcare approaches. It is implicit in all other approaches, for example, Multistakeholder Processes where a willingness is required if consensus decision making is to be successful and where long term solutions are encouraged.

Question Two.

> *To what extent do planners empower their communities to assist in the management of natural and physical resources and to what extent can planners empower community groups?*

The discussion concerning community participation in Chapter Two shows that in the past, participation has been equated with the term empowerment. Studies of community participation over the intervening decades (Arnstein, 1969; Bolan; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1976; Tomic, 1985; Wils, 1988; Healy, 1992; Mc Clendon, 1993 and James, 1994) shows that participation as practiced during this period has failed in it's attempt to involve communities in decisions that affect their lives. Empowerment of communities it is argued, is more than merely participation, it requires the ability of communities to make influential decisions regarding issues that affect their lives. It is suggested that, due to the failure of participation in terms of both it's implementation in the past and differing interpretations of empowerment, planners have not successfully empowered communities to the extend where communities are empowered to make their own decisions.

It may be argued from the relative success of empowering approaches, for example, the beach care approach, both planners and local authorities may be able to extend influential decision making abilities to communities, if local authorities and communities commit themselves to an empowerment approach described in this thesis. Community empowerment approaches encourages local community involvement through community group representation. It is common that community empowerment approaches establish

and utilise groups to implement an empowerment approach. The case study of the WBCG in Chapter Four, shows that community empowerment may be best implemented through the establishment of community groups. Such groups are then charged with the planning and implementation of a strategy toward the management of a specific issue and within clear boundaries.

Chapter Three shows that many of the empowerment approaches reviewed are designed and implemented independently for specific issues. For example, the Cooperative Management approach is used to further the sustainable development of fisheries, land management as well as rabbit eradication. The relative success of each programme depends on the ability of those involved to recognise clearly the problematic issue. Without clear recognition of the primary issue, aims and objectives become more difficult to define. Further, the WBCG confined it's community empowerment approach to a well defined geographical area. The specific issue itself, may already be confined to a small geographical. The WBCG issue and responsibility is dune management, the nature of dunes physically confines their effects to a specific geographical area. The WBCG case study tends to support the successful functioning of the care approach. The WBCG's relative success, appears to be linked with community population size. The discussion in Chapter Two about democracy and other related theories of empowerment suggest that all are enhanced in situations of relatively small populations. Democracy is enhanced when most or all participants are engaged in decision making. The WBCG case study in Chapter Four has the advantage that it is part of a small populated community. Decisions of the group may be more easily debated contributing to a more democratic consensus decision making process.

Recommendation Four

If local authorities utilise groups as one means to establish a community empowerment approach, a sound understanding of group theory and group dynamics is essential for the establishment of and the continued operation of that group.

Recommendation Five

The empowered group should agree to negotiate it's ending, debrief it's members on the successes of the group and then re-negotiate the groups future mandate or end the group

entirely. More specifically, in order to reduce the likelihood of group disbanding after it's mandate ends or when it has completed it's aims, it is recommended that during the establishment stage of an empowered community group, clear direction should be given to the groups ending once the group has reached it's desired aims.

Recommendation Six

One specific issue in a small defined geographical area of responsibility should be the focus of the empowered group. Clarity of issue and boundaries may increase the likelihood of success of an empowered community. The group is more able to define and agree on it's goals, objectives and implementation schedule when faced with clarity, rather than confronted with a number of issues over much larger areas.

Recommendation Seven

Flexibility of approach concerning issues and area of responsibility is recommended. This may mean where an issue is contained in an expansive geographical area, the alternative may be to accommodate the approach to the issue, so that a small geographic area is maintained.

Recommendation Eight

In combination with recommendations four and five, where possible, confine an empowerment approach use to smaller populated communities, or small communities within larger communities. Empowerment approaches are also participatory and democratic approaches. The ability to participate in a democratic manner are enhanced in areas where populations are small.

Question Three

Is it necessary to devolve further power to communities?

The general thrust of thesis supports the notion that it may not be necessary to devolve further power to communities. Here power is defined as legitimate power, or power gained by statute. Power, in the form of community decision making ability, is obtainable if local authorities and communities combine in the establishment of an empowerment approach specific to their needs. The WBCG case study has shown that when as many community empowering attributes are present in an empowerment approach, power

necessary to make decisions about issues that affect communities is transferred to those communities.

Question Four

> *Can community empowerment, utilising the theoretical set of community empowerment attributes, succeed in providing more democratic decision making and improve management of natural and physical resources where other approaches have failed to do so adequately?*

This thesis supports the notion that it is possible for an empowerment approach, for example, the care approach discussed in Chapter Four, that utilises as many theoretical empowerment attributes in it's approach, may improve the management of natural and physical resources. Table Seven in Chapter Four shows that prior to the establishment of the WBCG, no adequate dune management programme had been implemented. However, since the groups establishment, a dune management programme has been implemented and continues to date to survive.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research may follow two possible strands. The first is that more theoretical development is required about the concept and practice of the term community empowerment. Mc Clendon (1993) suggests a new framework for planning practice, one that links planning theory with planning practice. However, this thesis acknowledges the existence of a continuum of dated theories of participation to more recent theories of empowerment. It may be that the framework is already in place, what is required is the development of community empowerment theory within the existing framework. Participation is acknowledged by theorists as having failed as an approach in planning, yet, this thesis shows that community participation may be acknowledged as the most important attribute, from which all other attributes flow, for example, the implementation of the principles of democracy. Therefore, it is suggested that future research about the role and importance of participation needs to be examined more closely in relation to associated empowerment approaches.

Future research also needs to consider the requirement for greater documentation of empowerment approaches and their attributes. This thesis only begins to identify attributes of empowerment approaches. A more complete empowerment approach

framework requires research of other forms of community empowerment approaches and their attributes. Greater understanding of the concept and practices of community empowerment may lead to a better evaluation of individual community empowerment approaches.

Evaluation of community empowerment approaches is another area for future research. Evaluation may take two forms, the first may be used to test existing community empowerment approaches. Alternatively, evaluation may be used to test the initial idea for establishment of a community empowered group. Particular attention may be given to evaluation of the existing care empowerment approach practiced in New Zealand. This thesis has identified one specific community which has worked with local authorities to implement a care approach. However, the case study of this group has raised several questions concerning the utilisation of empowerment approaches. Of particular concern is the need to better understand the relationship between community population size, ideal democratic processes within empowered groups and overall group success. A comparison and contrast of several care groups may help to determine the importance of these characteristics. In addition, the case study has also raised the issue over the requirement for specific issue and area of geographical responsibility, if a care approach is to be more easily planned and implemented. The case study shows that the WBCG benefited from defining a specific issue within a small geographic area. However, questions remain as to the advantages and disadvantages other groups may gain if all empowerment approaches were to follow suit.

More research also needs to be given to how empowerment approaches may be monitored. This thesis offers a set of attributes that may help the establishment, implementation and evaluation of an empowered approach, but the question remains whether or not such attributes may guide monitoring of empowerment approaches?

APPENDIX ONE

Semi-Structured Interview Format Questions for WBCG Committee Members

1. How would you define empowerment?

2. What motivated you to join?

3. At what stage where you motivated?

4. What is your motivation now?

5. Who instigated community involvement?

6. Who is or was the driving force behind the Beach Care Group?

7. Why did some members leave the Beach Care Committee?

8. What is the groups vision and goals?

9. What new goals have appeared?

10. Who develop the new goals?

11. What goals have been followed through?

12. What conflict appeared if any? How was it handled? By whom?

13. Was the conflict beneficial to the group?

14. Is there one particular group leader?

15. How are decisions made in the group-its structure?

16. What do you feel you have achieved?

17. What level of responsibility do you do you think you have? Do you have the ability to influence, the ability to make change?

18. What constraints, if any, do you perceive.

19. What level of responsibility do you want in the future?

20. Is knowledge important?

APPENDIX TWO

Explanation of: Statues, Common Law and Convention,

1. Statutes

By virtue of the United Kingdom (UK) acquiring sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840, all statutes applicable to the New Zealand circumstance in force in the UK in January 1840, became part of New Zealand's statute law, for example, the Magna Carta (1297) and the Bill of Rights (1688). In 1947 the New Zealand government adopted the Statute of Westminster 1931, giving Parliament full law-making powers. The UK Parliament also had the capacity to enact further statutes having the force of law in New Zealand from the time of acquisition until the New Zealand government enacted the Constitution Act 1986 It was not until the 1986 Constitution Act that principle pieces of statutory law were brought together as a coherent whole (Harris, 1989, Palmer, 1987).

2. The Common Law

The common Law is the second source of rules of the New Zealand constitution. Harris (1989) states it is the law which is recognised and developed by the courts independent of Parliament. The doctrine of precedent, which obliges the courts to follow the principles applied in indistinguishable previous cases, has played a major role in the development of the common law. The royal prerogative is one aspect of the common law as is the concept of the 'rule of law'. The rule of law is important in that it insists that all governmental action is within the law, this principle protects the individual from arbitrary government action.

3. Convention

The third source of rules for the constitution are constitutional conventions. These rules, which may be written or unwritten, are not recognised by the courts as strict law capable of judicial enforcement. Participants in the system of government feel obliged to comply with conventions for fear of criticism for 'unconstitutional' behaviour, from an inherent desire to follow precedent, and an appreciation of the good sense underlying the rules (Harris, 1989).

APPENDIX THREE

Steven Lukes Three Modes of Power

1. The Control of Decision Making

The control of decision making is concerned with the question- who can adversely effect the interest of whom? Interests are considered equivalent to revealed preferences. The control of decision making is fundamental to political behaviour. Political behaviour in decision making is to exercise power in order to prevail over the contrary interests of others with respect to key issues.

2. Agenda Setting

One exercises power by controlling the agenda either by mobilising the bias of the system, determining what issues are key issues, which issues come up for decision and exclude those which threaten the interests of the powerful.

3. Needs Shaping

Power may operate to shape and modify desires and beliefs in a manner contrary to peoples interests. In consequence, neither revealed preferences nor grievances and inchoate demands will always express them. Power in this mode may encourage and sustain attitudes and expectations that work against peoples welfare interests or subvert and thwart their pursuit of their ulterior, focal aims, or both.

APPENDIX FOUR

Resource Management Act 1991, Section 5 Purpose.

(1) The purpose of this Act is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical Resources.

(2) In this Act, "sustainable management" means managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while-

(a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations: and

(b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, eater, soil, and ecosystems: and

(c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.

APPENDIX FIVE

Whiritoa Beach Care Group Scope of Works, Goals, Objectives, Policies and the Whiritoa Beach Care Plan Programme Schedule.

SCOPE OF THE WORKS TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE BEACH CARE GROU

The Beach Care Group Committee held its first meeting on 16 January 1993. The Group has seen its role as concentrating on dune care. The works identified below reflect this role. The Beach Care Plan outlines these works in greater detail.

* Dune Crossings
  - vehicular
  - people   - public
                    - private

* Planting to beach side of the dunes

* Reinstatement of the beach side of the dunes

* Fencing with respect to dune crossings

* Communication to public
  - signage
  - other means

* Surf Club area.

The following other issues were identified as interfacing with the care of the dunes but are to be considered at a later stage.

* Carparking

* Planting to the top of the dunes

* Children's playground facilities

* Other recreational facilities, e.g. picnic areas.

GOAL, OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

Goal

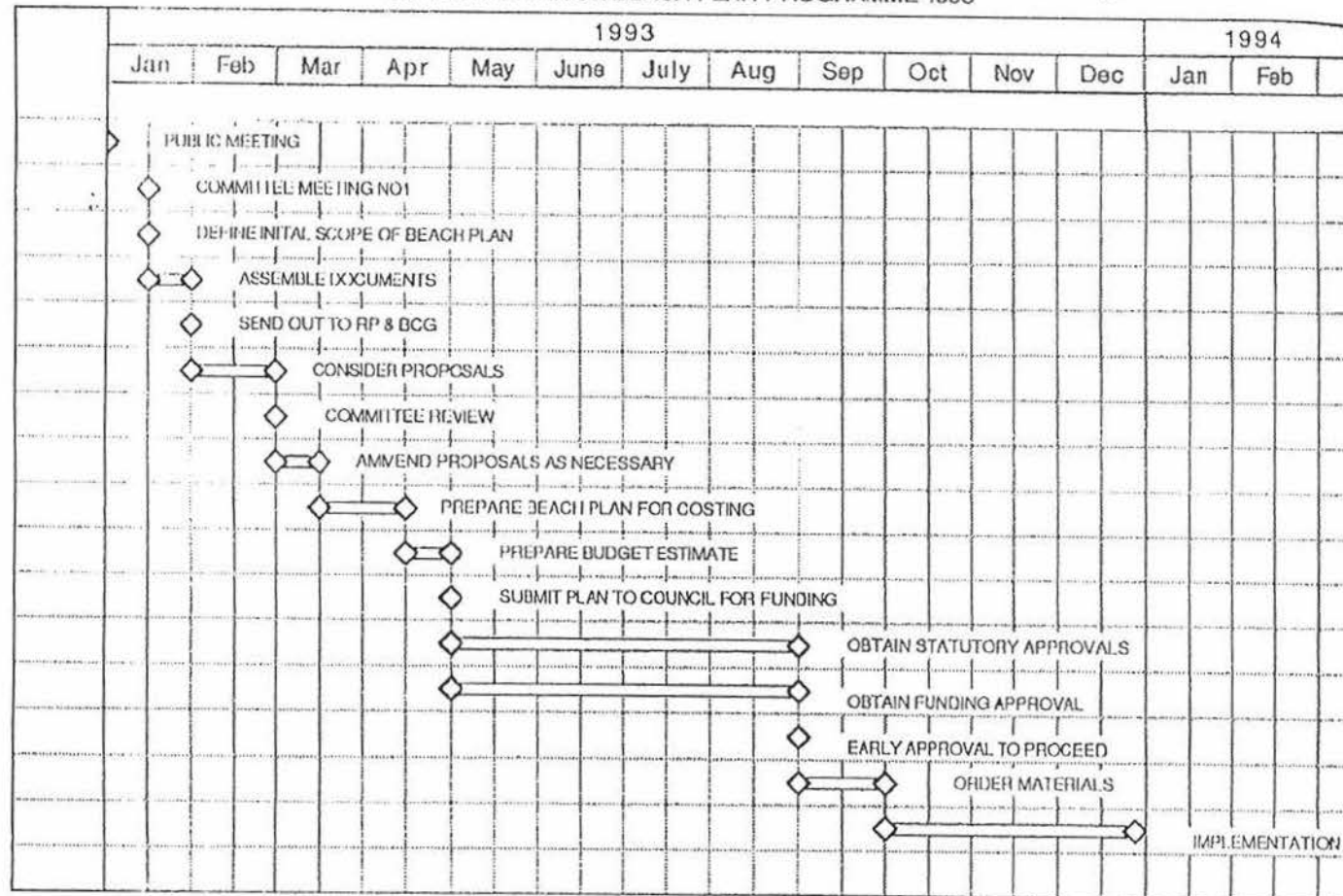*To have a healthy dune system at Whiritoa Beach.*

Comment

"Healthy" is defined to mean the beach's ability to cope with, and successfully regenerate following major episodic storm events. It is also the ability to retain present amounts of sand in the dune system.

Objectives

The objectives of this plan are;

1.   *To facilitate the restoration of the degraded dune buffer zone.*

2.   *To maintain the natural character of the beach.*

3.   *To promote sound beach care practises.*

4.   *To recognise and provide for recreational opportunities on reserves land adjoining Whiritoa Beach.*

5.   *To recognise and provide for the development of the Surf Club area as an area requiring special consideration.*

OUTLINE WHIRITOA BEACH PLAN PROGRAMME 1993

	1993												1994	
Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	

- PUBLIC MEETING
- COMMITTEE MEETING NO1
- DEFINE INITAL SCOPE OF BEACH PLAN
- ASSEMBLE DOCUMENTS
- SEND OUT TO RP & BCG
- CONSIDER PROPOSALS
- COMMITTEE REVIEW
- AMMEND PROPOSALS AS NECESSARY
- PREPARE BEACH PLAN FOR COSTING
- PREPARE BUDGET ESTIMATE
- SUBMIT PLAN TO COUNCIL FOR FUNDING
- OBTAIN STATUTORY APPROVALS
- OBTAIN FUNDING APPROVAL
- EARLY APPROVAL TO PROCEED
- ORDER MATERIALS
- IMPLEMENTATION

Friday, January 22, 1993

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