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Devolution and the decolonisation of local governance: Lessons from the Pākanae water supply

Divesh Mistry

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Environmental Management, The University of Auckland, 2012
Abstract

This thesis examines the ways that community-based service provision can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. Community-based service provision provides for Indigenous involvement in environmental decision-making. Proponents of community-based service provision argue that it addresses the failures of top-down decision-making frameworks because the distance between decision maker and recipient is reduced. Empowering discourses associated with community-based service provision have been the subject of criticism in recent neoliberal environmental governance literature. Critics argue that pre-existing inequalities manifest within devolved governance arrangements. In response to these critiques, I draw on postcolonial theory to argue that community-based service provision yields dangers and opportunities for Indigenous communities.

Postcolonial theory provides geographers with a conceptual apparatus to deconstruct the layered histories that influence contemporary governance arrangements. I will use a postcolonial critique of community-based service provision to examine the case study of the Pākanae water supply. Interview data obtained from Pākanae Water Board members and 5A Māori Land Block trustees affords insight into the ways that community-based service provision can be used as a mechanism to mediate cross-cultural relations. It will be argued that the historically strong relationships between key individuals involved with the Pākanae Water Board and 5A Māori Land Block Trust have enabled the organisations to open an alternative management paradigm. This management paradigm is premised on the recognition and respect of the land block’s pre-European territorial rights over the water source for the Pākanae water supply.

At a local scale, individuals can form tactical relationships to circumvent inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures. Thus, despite its vulnerabilities, community-based service provision retains progressive qualities. In response to the largely pessimistic orientation of recent contributions to community-based service provision literature, I will argue that if key individuals and organisations form tactical relationships, they can establish networks that can be utilised to progressively decolonise local governance.

**Keywords:** Community-Based Service Provision, Postcolonial Theory, Indigenous Self-Determination, Decolonisation, Local Governance.
In the loving memory of

Bhikhabhai Naranbhai Mistry

(1927-2011)
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Glossary of Māori Terms

Hapū = Sub-tribe
Hui = Meeting
Iwi = Tribe
Kaitiaki = Guardian
Kaitiakitanga = Guardianship
Kaiwhakakokiri = Negotiator
Kanohi ki te kanohi = Face-to-face
Karakia = Prayer
Kaumatua = Elder
Koha = Gift
Kōhanga reo = Pre-school
Mana = Respect, prestige
Manaakitanga = Hospitality, nurturing relationships
Mana whenua = Territorial rights, authority, control over land
Marae = Enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village common
Matariki = The name of the constellation that guided Kupe to New Zealand
Mātāuranga = Knowledge
Mauri = Life force
Mihi = Speech, greeting
Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga = Safe drinking water in the Hokianga
Pakeha = New Zealand European
Papatuanuku = Earth Mother
Rohe = Territory
Runanga = Peoples council
Te reo Māori = Māori language
Tikanga = Correct procedure, customs
Tūrangawaewae = Place of belonging
Whakapapa = Genealogy
Whanau = Family
Whanaungatanga = Relationship
Wharekai = Eating house
Wharehui = Meeting house

Definitions are provided from:


Abbreviations

AGM – Annual General Meeting
CBSP – Community Based Service Provision
CEO – Chief Executive Officer
DA – Discourse Analysis
DWAP – Drinking Water Assistance Programme
DWSNZ – Drinking Water Standards New Zealand
ESR – Environment Science and Research a Crown Research Institute
FNDC – Far North District Council
HDWAA – Health Drinking Water Amendment Act
HHET – Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust
IMF – International Monetary Fund
LGA – Local Government Act
MoH – Ministry of Health
NEG – Neoliberal Environmental Governance
NPHU – Northland Public Health Unit
NRC – Northland Regional Council
PCT – Postcolonial Theory
PD – Participatory Development
PMC – Pākanae Marae Committee
PWBI – Pākanae Water Board Incorporated
QSO – Queen’s Service Order
RMA – Resource Management Act
TPK – Te Puni Kokiri

*Note: See Appendix H – A pull out card attached to the inside back cover. This card is double-sided. It has a list of the key abbreviations and list of interviewees.
Chapter 1

Introduction: Community-Based Service Provision and Indigenous self-determination

1.1 – Research rationale, research question and objectives

In this thesis I use Postcolonial Theory (PCT) to highlight that under certain conditions Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP) can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. Over the last three decades increased scrutiny has been placed on linear, top-down management frameworks that tend to inadequately capture the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of environmental decision-making. It has been argued that the decentralisation of authority and responsibility can improve the outcomes of environmental management because it narrows the gap between decision-maker and recipient (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007). However, there is ongoing academic debate about the relative merits and disadvantages of devolved governance arrangements, particularly for populations that have been historically marginalised by the state. Academic literature on CBSP over the last decade has used understandings of Neoliberal Environmental Governance (NEG) to place devolution into its broader political and economic context. In doing so, CBSP scholars have revealed how the empowering discourses associated with devolution can be mobilised by the state to justify cost-cutting (Bakker; 2008; Miraftab, 2009; Spronk, 2009).

For Indigenous peoples, the devolution of service provision yields dangers and opportunities. Because the state is never able to obtain absolute authority over CBSP, it can be argued that devolution creates opportunities for Indigenes to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies. The intent of this thesis is to examine if the process of exposing and challenging state hegemony through CBSP can have a destabilising effect on the broader power disparities inherited from colonisation. PCT has been applied in this thesis because it reveals that the colonial and post-colonial eras are not exclusive. In doing so, PCT makes visible legacies of European imperialism, and reveals how these legacies have come to define contemporary relations between Indigenous and post-settler populations (Young, 2001). However, postcolonial theorists do not offer a simple
solution to inherently complex theoretical and practical issues. As a result, PCT has been the subject of criticism, with the term ‘postcolonialism’ becoming so heterogeneous and diffuse that it has become impossible to satisfactorily describe what its study might entail (Loomba, 2005). In response to these critiques, I will demonstrate that the strength of PCT is its ability to offer in-depth, as opposed to generalised insights into the complexities surrounding relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies. I will target key PCT concepts and reveal how they equip geographers with the tools necessary to deconstruct the inherited landscapes that CBSP is situated upon.

Contributions to PCT by Bhabha (1984, 1985, 1992, 1994a, 1994c) provide scholars from a diverse range of disciplines with conceptual tools that can be utilised to expose the vulnerabilities of hegemonic power structures. I will use three of his key concepts to interrogate whether CBSP can be used as a mechanism to destabilise power disparities inherited from colonisation: hybridity, ambivalence and the Third Space. Hybridity details how the superior/inferior binaries that underpin colonial discourse are rendered unstable by cross-cultural exchanges. Bhabha (1984, 1985) utilises the term ambivalence to refer to the inconsistencies in colonial discourse. For instance, “one of the most striking contradictions about colonialism is that it needs both to ‘civilise’ its ‘others’ and to fix them into perpetual ‘otherness’” Loomba (2005: 145). He demonstrates how these contradictions yield opportunities for colonised populations to exploit the gap between discourse and reality. Within PCT, this ‘gap’ is referred to as the Third Space (Bhabha, 1994a, 1994c). If applied to CBSP, I will argue that Bhabhaian postcolonial perspectives provide geographers with a conceptual apparatus to reveal how power disparities inherited from colonisation continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies, and the ways that these disparities can be destabilised.

The normative positioning of Western values and knowledge in environmental decision-making undermines the ability of Indigenes to maintain their relationships with culture, identity and the environment (Weir, 2009; Gibbs, 2009). PCT reveals that the Eurocentrism that pervades contemporary environmental decision-making stems from power disparities inherited from colonisation, as opposed to the proximity of Western values and knowledge to the truth (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). In recent decades, Indigenous scholars have been theorising strategies and tactics that can be employed by
Indigenous communities to destabilise these inequalities. This process of exposing, destabilising, reconstituting and reclaiming power is referred to as decolonisation. Indigenous and postcolonial scholars now recognise decolonisation as a long-term process of creating “holes in the fabric of settler-state hegemony” (Johnson, 2008: 48). In this thesis, these ‘holes’ will be interpreted as the Third Space (Bhabha, 1994c).

It has been suggested that devolution offers previously marginalised groups with an opportunity to engage in environmental decision-making (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007). In this thesis, devolution will be defined as the transfer of authority and responsibility from central or local government to a community-based organisation. Devolution can be perceived as facilitating ‘bottom-up’ management because it provides communities with the opportunity to assert a greater degree of autonomy over decision-making. Lockie and Higgins (2007) suggest that in certain circumstances, ‘bottom-up’ approaches have the potential to provide communities with an opportunity to develop agency, build social capital and create networks. In response to these claims, Lane and Corbett (2005) reveal how the devolution of authority can have adverse outcomes for Indigenous populations. They argue that if pre-existing power disparities are not addressed prior to the devolution of authority and responsibility, then those disparities will remain preserved within community management arrangements.

Recent contributions to CBSP literature have documented the disappointing outcomes of devolution (Yilmaz and Venugopal, 2010; Jones, 2011). The uncritical application of CBSP has resulted in a number of academics developing a deep-seated skepticism of the alleged benefits of CBSP. In particular, Miraftab (2004a, 2004b, 2009) and Bakker (2007b, 2008) provide vital insights into the dangers of devolution. They suggest that when devolution is analysed in relation to the broader political and economic changes that have occurred over the last three decades, evidence emerges that state and market actors may be using the empowering discourses ascribed to CBSP to obscure government inaction and corporate misconduct (Bakker, 2008). In this thesis I will respond to these critiques by using PCT to argue that the state does not knowingly subvert CBSP. Rather, postcolonial insights into Participatory Development (PD) demonstrate how the benevolent intent of the state obscures the underlying power structures that preserve inequalities inherited from colonisation. A key strength of PCT is its ability to expose the interconnectedness of historical and contemporary political,
economic, cultural and social processes. PCT can contribute to debates surrounding devolution because it offers a nuanced account of the numerous historical and contemporary, local and non-local factors that influence the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of CBSP. It will be argued in this thesis that if the heterogeneous outcomes of CBSP are negotiated, it may be possible to determine if the long-term outcomes of devolution are progressive or regressive. Specifically, I will demonstrate that because CBSP is subject to costs and benefits, it is necessary to move beyond surface level critiques, and examine the broader trajectory established by devolution.

Considering the potentially significant contributions that PCT could make to CBSP literature, the overarching research question for this thesis is:

*In what ways can Community-Based Service Provision contribute to the decolonisation of local governance?*

Guided by the research question, I formulated the following objectives to examine the relationship between CBSP and Indigenous self-determination:

1) To determine whether Community-Based Service Provision provides a basis to advance Indigenous self-determination.

2) To examine if Community-Based Service Provision can be employed as a mechanism to mediate cross-cultural relations between Indigenous and post-settler peoples.

3) To assess how the rhetoric and discourses of Community-Based Service Provision can obscure underlying inequalities in service and social provision.

4) To identify the governance, wellbeing, social and cultural benefits of Community-Based Service Provision.

1.2 – The Pākanae Water Supply, Hokianga, New Zealand

The Pākanae water supply is an appropriate case study through which to explore the research objectives outlined above. Pākanae is a small, predominately Māori community that is located in the South Hokianga (see Figure 4.1). The water supply services one marae, 56 households and two churches. In Chapter 4 I will detail the centrality of the relationship between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) to the water supply. The 5A Māori Land Block Trust
represents the interests of approximately 415 landowners who belong to Nga hapū o te Wa hapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe. Over the last 85 years the water supply has been a mechanism that has mediated cross-cultural relations between Māori and Pakeha in Pākanae. In comparison to other case studies in CBSP literature, the Pākanae water supply is unique due to its long history and cross-cultural dynamics. Significant changes occurred from 2000-2002, when the raw water supply was upgraded to a treated water supply as a part of the Hokianga wide pilot project, Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga (Safe drinking water for the Hokianga). The outcomes of the water supply have been widely discussed in research reports funded by central government (Watson et al., 2003a; Watson et al., 2003b; Jellie et al., 2003; Foote et al., 2005), with lessons from the water supply and Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga contributing to the development of the nationwide Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP) in 2005. Whilst the non-involvement of the Far North District Council (FNDC) burdened the PWBI with work that should have been completed by the local authority, the process of upgrading the water supply has yielded numerous ongoing health, social and cultural benefits (Watson et al., 2003a).

The Pākanae water supply lends itself well to a PCT analysis. The cross-cultural dynamics that underpin the water supply afford insight into the ways that Indigenous and post-settler organisations can circumvent inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures. The power dynamics between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI are grounded in conditions that were outlined in the original 1926 agreement between the 5A Land Trust and local farmer Glynn Fell (Senior) (See Appendix A). In 1958 the Pākanae water board was formed as a result of other farms and households connecting to the supply. Currently, the water board pays the 5A Land Trust an annual fee of $250 and provides the Pākanae marae with water at no charge. The 1926 agreement between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and Glynn Fell (Senior) established a equitable power dynamic, because implicit within the agreement is an acknowledgement of the 5A landowners mana whenua (territorial rights) over the water source. PCT is suited to an analysis of the relationship between the 5A Māori Land

---

1 ‘Nga hapū o te Wa hapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe’ is the collective name given to the three hapū (sub-tribes) belonging to Pākanae: Ngāti Korokoro, Te Pouka and Ngāti Wharara.
Block Trust and PWBI because it reveals how local level cross-cultural relations can expose inequalities that are preserved within broader socio-institutional structures.

When applied to the Pākanae water supply, the postcolonial concepts of ambivalence and the Third Space reveal how local level relationships can be leveraged to expose and challenge asymmetrical power relations between Indigenous and post-settler organisations. If decolonisation is perceived as a process, as is suggested by Indigenous scholars, it is essential that CBSP is analysed in relation to events that occur prior to, and after the implementation of the ‘project’. Too frequently, CBSP is analysed exclusively by its relationship to neoliberal reforms (see Spronk, 2009). Whilst these critiques of CBSP provide essential insights into the dangers associated with valorising civic participation, they tend to neglect the long-term outcomes of CBSP. PCT has the potential to make a significant contribution to CBSP literature because it is explicitly concerned with the inherited landscapes that influence contemporary decision-making (Sidaway, 2000). The Pākanae water supply is suited to this form of analysis, because when the 2000-2002 upgrade of the water supply is placed into its broader context, it emerges that the work completed through Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga has been a pivotal moment in the recent history of the community. Subsequent to placing the Pākanae water supply into its historical context, I will assess if the work completed by the PWBI has yielded progressive or regressive outcomes.

1.3 – Deconstructing Community-Based Service Provision

In order to deconstruct CBSP, it is necessary to place it into its broader historical context. PCT provides geographers with a conceptual lens to deconstruct CBSP because it is explicitly concerned with the ways that the post-colonial present is anchored to the colonial past (Loomba, 2005). Due to the diffuse nature of PCT it is necessary to adopt a targeted approach when engaging with the theory. This will be achieved by limiting an analysis of PCT to several key concepts. In Chapter 2 I will detail how the superior/inferior binaries that were proliferated through colonial discourse enabled the West to assume a positional superiority over Indigenous populations (Said, 1978). In response to these arguments, I will use the concept of hybridity to reveal how cross-cultural exchanges undermine the positional superiority of the West (Bhabha, 1994a). Postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development (PD) literature reveal how the seemingly abstract concepts of hybridity and ambivalence can make practical
contributes to CBSP literature. Subsequent to contextualising PCT, it will be possible to examine the specific tactics and strategies that Indigenous populations can use to destabilise Western hegemony. In particular, notions of the Third Space provide enable a nuanced account of the opportunities and dangers of attempting to destabilise hegemony.

In Chapter 3 I will use lessons from PCT to deconstruct CBSP. PCT provides an ideal basis to explore the contentions surrounding devolution because it is fundamentally concerned with how ‘norms’ get constructed to the disadvantage of certain groups (Sharp, 2009). Prior to examining CBSP, I will examine how the prominence of neoliberal ideology over the last three decades has undermined the non-economic and non-quantifiable values that society ascribes to water. I will employ PCT to argue that the prominence of Western values within neoliberal ideology is an example of the way that the positional superiority of the West is preserved within economic and political structures. Subsequent to detailing how neoliberalism has accentuated disparities inherited from colonisation, I will investigate the opportunities and dangers associated with the devolution of service provision. This analysis allows for an interrogation of the various costs and benefits that are ascribed to CBSP.

In Chapter 4 the methodological and contextual grounding for this research will be outlined. This thesis employed a qualitative research approach to examine how the Pākanae water supply can contribute to understandings of CBSP. Information obtained from interviews was submitted to Discourse Analysis (DA), which enabled an examination of the underlying assumptions and discourses that pervade discussions around CBSP. Consequent to outlining the methodological framework, I will place the Pākanae water supply into its broader historical context. This will provide a basis to interpret and interrogate the findings of this research in Chapters 5 and 6. The structure of this thesis provides a framework to deconstruct claims-making associated with CBSP. In doing so, I will be able to assess the ways that CBSP can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.
Chapter 2

Postcolonial Theory

2.0 – Introduction

Postcolonial Theory (PCT) can contribute to understandings of Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP) because it is explicitly concerned with how colonial legacies continue to shape relations between Indigenous and post-settler peoples. The utility of PCT resides in its ability to expose and deconstruct the layered histories that contemporary environmental management is situated upon. In section 2.1 I will trace the history of relations between Indigenous peoples and the West, and examine how the process of ‘othering’ enabled the West to obtain a positional superiority over colonised populations (Said, 1978). PCT reveals that the privileged position of Western values and knowledge in contemporary decision-making structures is not due to their proximity to the truth, but their proximity to power (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). However, the positional superiority of the West is contingent upon a constructed superior/inferior binary. Cross-cultural exchanges destabilise this binary because, “colonial identities – on both sides of the divide – are unstable, agonised, and in constant flux” (Loomba, 2005: 149). Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) uses the term hybridity to refer to the cultural changes that occur to coloniser and colonised as a result of colonisation. In doing so, Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) reveals the constructedness of colonial discourse, and how it can be destabilised to undermine the positional superiority of the West. In Chapter 6 I will argue that the concept of hybridity yields insight into the ways that local level cross-cultural interactions can be mobilised by Indigenes to expose and challenge inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures.

Subsequent to arguments in section 2.1, I will examine how asymmetrical power relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies can be destabilised. Bhabha (1984, 1985) argues that the disjuncture between colonial discourse and reality produces ambivalence in the coloniser’s conduct. The term ambivalence refers to the continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and its opposite (Young, 1995). For example, “one of the most striking contradictions about colonialism is that it needs both to
‘civilise’ its ‘others’ and to fix them into perpetual ‘otherness’” (Loomba, 2005: 145). In sub-section 2.2.3 I will apply the concept of ambivalence to Participatory Development (PD) literature. It will be argued that inconsistencies between the West’s rhetoric and its actions create politically exploitable interstices. In PCT these interstices are referred to as the Third Space. Subsequent to discussions in section 2.2, I will detail how postcolonial notions of the Third Space can contribute to Indigenous self-determination. However, it must also be acknowledged that because the Third Space belongs to everyone and no one, it can be put to regressive as much as progressive use (Kapoor, 2008). Nonetheless, it will be suggested that if Indigenes adopt a ‘tactical vigilance’ when exploiting the Third Space, these risks can be mitigated (Kapoor, 2008). The term ‘tactical vigilance’ is used to refer to the way that Indigenes must be aware to the potentially perverse outcomes of the Third Space. In this thesis, I will argue that postcolonial notions of the Third Space provide insight into the ways that CBSP can be mobilised to expose and challenge inequalities between Indigenous and post-settler societies.

2.1 – An anxious endeavour: (re-)constructing the Other

2.1.1: Introduction

PCT provides a theoretical basis to deconstruct and critique the unquestioned sovereignty of Western epistemological, economic, political and cultural categories (Banerjee and Linstead, 2004; Coombes, 2007). In this section I will examine how postcolonial critiques of colonisation yield an understanding of the ways the West has been able to obtain a “positional superiority” over colonised populations (Said, 1978: 7). PCT is advantageous to employ in geographic enquiries because it not only recognises the impact of colonisation on political and economic structures, but also places emphasis on the cultural products of colonisation (Wilson et al., 2010). In doing so, postcolonial theorists are able to reveal that the colonial and post-colonial eras are not exclusive (McKinley, 2005). However, due to its application across a diverse range of academic disciplines, the term ‘postcolonialism’ has become so diffuse that it is impossible to satisfactorily describe what its study might entail (Loomba, 2005). Consequently, in this section I will adopt a targeted approach to PCT. Firstly, I will examine how the process of ‘othering’ enabled the West to marginalise the culture, knowledge and values of Indigenous peoples. In response to these arguments, I will
utilise the concept of hybridity to reveal the instability of the superior/inferior binary that is advanced by colonial discourse (Bhabha, 1994a). The outcomes of this analysis will provide a basis to examine the ways that Indigenous communities can expose and challenge Western hegemony in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

2.1.2: Postcolonial Theory

Colonialism is a narrative in which the Settler’s power is the fundamental reference and assumption, inherently limiting Indigenous freedom and imposing a view of the world that is but an outcome or perspective on that power (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005: 601).

PCT can be broadly defined as the investigation of how colonial legacies continue to shape relations between West and Rest. The strength of postcolonial perspectives lies in their ability to make visible legacies of European imperialism, and reveal how those legacies have come to define contemporary relations between West and Rest (Young, 1995). Bhabha (1992: 48) suggests that: “the postcolonial perspective resists attempts to provide a holistic social explanation, forcing a recognition of the more complex cultural and political boundaries that exist on the cusp of these often opposed political spheres.” In his comment, Bhabha (1992, 1994b) reveals that PCT does not offer a simple solution to inherently complex theoretical and practical issues. However, by offering an in-depth analysis of colonial and post-colonial processes, PCT opens “layers of questions about what underpins and is taken for granted in geographical narratives” (Sidaway, 200: 607).

PCT is a diverse discipline, and it would be impossible in the space of a thesis to satisfactorily cover all of its major concepts. Consequently, it is necessary to adopt a targeted approach when examining how the theory can contribute to understandings of Indigenous CBSP. It will be argued that the complex and ambiguous nature of postcolonial studies, along with its reliance on textual analysis can be negotiated if geographers tactically employ PCT (McNeil, 2005). The exploratory nature of PCT affords an opportunity to go beyond surface level critiques of CBSP. In Chapter 3, I will use PCT to deconstruct the layered histories that contemporary environmental decision-making is situated upon.

Postcolonial insights into the process of ‘othering’ provide geographers with a conceptual framework to deconstruct the normative positioning of Western values and
knowledge in environmental management (Banerjee and Linstead, 2004; Coombes, 2007). In the following sub-section I will detail how the process of (re-)constructing the Colonised Other in colonial discourse enabled the Colonialist Self to assume a “positional superiority” over colonised populations (Said, 1978: 7). Representations of the Colonised Other as inferior to the Colonialist Self enabled the West to justify its political and economic hegemony. However, due to its constructed nature, the superior/inferior binary circulated through colonial texts was never stable. Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) uses the term hybridity to reveal that colonisation did not replace Oriental/Indigenous culture. Rather, he suggests that colonisation led to a cultural change in both the coloniser and colonised. Bhabha (1985, 1994a) argues that because cross-cultural exchanges alter Western and Indigenous cultures, they undermine the discrete categories that are at the source of imperial authority.

2.1.3: An anxious endeavour: [re-]constructing the Other

Said (1978) is frequently cited as the articulator of modern PCT, with his book entitled *Orientalism* revealing how the construction of the ‘Orient’ in colonial discourse enabled the West to position Occidental and Oriental culture in a superior/inferior binary. Unlike colonisation prior to the 16th century, European colonisation over the last 500 years has permeated through every facet of society – political, economic, spiritual and cultural categories were interconnected, creating a complex, and complete system of subjection (Legg, 2007). This subjection was, and still is, dependent upon socially created identities that function to delimit the agendas of colonised populations. The (re-)construction of the Other/Orient as inferior to the Self/Occident provided the West with a positional superiority that enabled it to justify its exploitative practices (Said, 1978). The process of (re-)constructing colonised populations through colonial discourse is referred to as ‘othering’. As a result of othering colonised populations, the West *believed* that it was in the interest of the (inferior) Other that they adopt the ways of the (superior) Self. For example, the dominant colonial discourse of ‘the White man’s burden’ led to a belief that Europe had a moral and ethical imperative to intervene in pre-colonial societies to ‘save and civilise’ the ‘savage, primitive and blasphemous’ Other (Sharp, 2009).

Said (1978) refers to the process of studying, objectifying and classifying the Orient as *Orientalism*. 
Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (Said, 1978: 3).

Said (1978: 8) argues that the identity of the Orient did not emerge as a result of an empirical reality, but by a “battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections.” The ‘constant repetition’ of the Orient in colonial discourse gave it reality and presence in and for the West. This constant repetition involved images, stories and myths of the Orient being circulated in cultural texts and practices such as “art work, atlases, cinema, scientific systems, museums, educational institutions, advertisements … and medical practices” (Loomba, 2005: 45). Through this process, the West was able to (re-)construct Oriental culture as inferior to the (superior) Self. The superior/inferior binary circulated through colonial texts provided the West with a basis to justify the political and economic subjugation of colonised populations. The process of ‘constant repetition’ reveals the constructedness of the cultural categories that underpin colonial discourse.

The process of ‘othering’ reinforced Western hegemony. For instance, rapid European colonisation between 1815-1914 was paralleled by an immense advancement in Orientalism (Said, 1978). Thus, Orientalism reveals that the (re-)construction of the Colonised Other enabled and reinforced European imperialism. However, the Colonialist Self does not exclusively define identity because the Colonised Other retains agency and can subvert the intent of essentialising discourses. As a result, Orientalism has been critiqued, because empirical observations have revealed that the superior/inferior binary was never stable (Frenkel and Shehnav, 2006). An example of this is the way that Gandhi (1909, 1927) employed Indian culture to destabilise British imperialism. Gandhi challenges the alleged inferiority of Indian culture by drawing on it as a source of renewal and resistance, which is evident in his symbolic use of the traditional chakra (spinning wheel) during the khadi (cotton) movement (see Figure 2.1) (Kohn and McBride, 2011). Gandhi’s use of the chakra during the khadi movement symbolised self-reliance and self-determination, which demonstrated that India did not need the British, and more importantly that Indian culture and identity could be mobilised to undermine imperial economic structures.
The case study of the khadi movement demonstrates that due to its constructed nature, colonial discourse can be destabilised. Accordingly, it can be argued that while the encounter between coloniser and colonised is not one of equals, Western hegemony is never absolute (Bhabha, 1994a). Postcolonial theorists argue that colonised populations can exploit cross-cultural exchanges to destabilise the superior/inferior binary that is at the crux of imperial authority. For instance, McKinley (2005) uses the case study of Maryanne who is a ‘Māori’ ‘women’ ‘scientist’ to displace the absolute cultural categories that denote colonial science as ‘objective’, Māori as ‘specimen’ and women as ‘intellectually subordinate’. In doing so, McKinley (2005) reveals the permeability of Indigenous and Western culture and how cross-cultural exchanges disrupt colonial discourse. Bhabha (1985, 1994a) argues that the hybridisation of Oriental and Occidental culture is dangerous for the West because it provides colonised populations with an opportunity to expose, challenge and destabilise imperial authority.

In this sub-section I have revealed how the process of ‘othering’ enabled the West to (re-)construct the Colonised Other. Whilst Orientalism exposes the constructedness of the superior/inferior binary that underpins Western hegemony, it has been unable to provide Indigenous populations with effective counter-hegemonic strategies. This is because Orientalism tends to imply that the superior/inferior binary is stable. However, Bhabha (1984, 1985, 1990, 1994a) argues that cross-cultural exchanges undermine the absolute cultural categories that are central to colonial discourse. Inconsistencies between colonial discourse and reality afford insight into a complex, layered and...
contradictory reality that exists beyond socially constructed binaries (Young, 1995). In the following sub-section I will explore how the hybridisation of Oriental and Occidental culture renders Western hegemony unstable.

2.1.4: Hybridity: exploiting the gap between discourse and reality

For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the “Third Space” which enables other positions to emerge. This Third Space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom (Bhabha, 1994c: 211).

In this comment, Bhabha (1994c) discusses how the hybridisation of Oriental and Occidental culture enables other positions to emerge. He suggests that these ‘other positions’ are the product of the gap between colonial discourse and reality. Prior to detailing how these ‘other positions’ can be mobilised by Indigenous peoples to destabilise the West’s hegemony, I will examine the concept of hybridity. Hybridity refers to the way in which “colonial/neocolonial discourse is inherently unstable, ‘split’ in its ‘enunciation’, so that ‘in the very practice of domination the language of the master becomes hybrid’” (Bhabha, 1994a: 33 in Kapoor, 2008). More succinctly stated, hybridity details how cross-cultural exchanges destabilise the absolute cultural categories that are proliferated through colonial discourse. Hybridity is able to reveal the instability of colonial discourse because it interprets cultures as inherently unstable, with “colonial identities – on both sides of the divide … agonised, and in constant flux” (Loomba, 2005: 149). In doing so, hybridity reveals the constructedness of the West’s positional superiority and the ways that its ascendancy can be destabilised.

The concept of hybridity reveals the constructedness of colonial discourse because it is able to demonstrate how the colonial encounter fundamentally alters both colonised and coloniser. Bhabha (1985) uses the case study of the ‘vegetarian Bible’ to affirm this claim. The case study of the vegetarian Bible details how a group of Indian villagers outside of Delhi resisted religious conversion on the grounds that the word of God could not come from the mouth of a meat-eater. Consequently, they demand an ‘Indianised Gospel’ that hybridises Hinduism and Christianity. Bhabha (1985, 160) argues that when the Indian villagers demand an Indianised Gospel they are using hybridity to:

Put the project of conversion in an impossible position. Any adaptation of
the Bible was forbidden by the evidences of Christianity … When they make these intercultural, hybrid demands, the natives are both challenging the boundaries of discourse and subtly changing its terms by setting up another specifically colonial space of power/knowledge (Bhabha, 1985: 160).

In the preceding quote, Bhabha (1985) reveals how the hybridisation of cultures that occurs as a result of the colonial encounter between a group of Indian villagers and a British catechist displaces the absolute cultural categories on which imperial authority is founded. Consequently, the encounter between the catechist and villagers was not just “an exchange between a muscular colonial Christianity that was keen to convert and an Indigenous tradition that resisted conversion,” but a colonial antagonism that produces a supplementary discourse (Bhabha, 1995: 114). By producing a supplementary discourse, the Indian villagers reveal the constructedness of the absolute cultural categories that are central to colonial discourse. Within a post-colonial context the concept of hybridity could contribute to Indigenous self-determination because it is explicitly concerned with destabilising the West’s hegemony from within its own discourse.

Kapoor (2008: 121) argues that the strength of hybridity resides in its ability to negotiate “polarisation without acceding to (its) foundational claims.” In his comment, Kapoor (2008) argues that compared to other critiques of colonisation, the cogency of hybridity resides in its ability to destabilise colonial discourse without responding to the superior/inferior binary that is central to imperial authority. Empirical evidence suggests that tactics which respond to superior/inferior binaries affirm colonial discourse because they force Indigenous populations into fixed identities that leave them susceptible to being assigned with a ‘repressive authenticity’ – that is, an identity which is only considered as legitimate if it conforms to caveats defined by the coloniser/settler state (Wolfe, 1999). Implications within a post-colonial context are significant, with Banerjee and Linstead (2004: 230) arguing that:

The construction of authenticity along with its binary opposite of the inauthentic indigene has both genetic and cultural applications – the anthropological obsession with the ‘full blood Aborigine’ is an example of the former and identity politics surrounding current discourses of indigenous land rights of the latter.

In the preceding quote, Banerjee and Linstead (2004) reveal how responding to binaries affirms the West’s hegemony because it forces Indigenous populations to conform to
categories that are defined by the coloniser. Consequently, the ‘authentic’ Indigene is defined in accordance with Western, as opposed to Indigenous understandings of indigeneity.

Increasingly, understandings of ‘Indigenous’ as an oppositional construct to ‘non-Indigenous’ are being abandoned in favour of more nuanced, contextualised and hybridised forms of indigeneity (Merlan, 2009). Weaver (2000: 221 in Escárcega, 2010: 21-22) argues that “Indigeneity weaves not only ideas such as race, marginality, imperialism, and identity, but also the ideas of hybridity, essentialism, authenticity, diaspora, and Third and Fourth Worlds.” Within a post-colonial context, these understandings of indigeneity can contribute to Indigenous self-determination because they reveal that the instability of colonial discourse creates opportunities for Indigenes to destabilise the West’s hegemony. Postcolonial notions of hybridity provide geographers with a conceptual lens that can be utilised to deconstruct asymmetrical power relations between Indigenous and post-settler populations because it reveals that the gap between colonial discourse and reality opens a Third Space. The Third Space refers to an ‘in-between’ space that straddles the divide between coloniser and colonised. It enables other positions to emerge because it opens alternative paradigms of ‘knowing’ by transcending existing categories and narratives (Bhabha, 1994c). It achieves this by displacing the cultural categories from which it emerges. In section 2.3 I will demonstrate the ways that these supplementary positions can be used to destabilise the West’s hegemony.

The concept of hybridity reveals that cross-cultural exchanges expose the constructedness of the absolute categories that are central to the West’s hegemony. Hybridity has the potential to contribute to Indigenous self-determination because it exposes inconsistencies between discourse and reality. In sub-section 2.2.3 I will use the concept of ambivalence to discuss how these inconsistencies create opportunities for Indigenous populations to exploit the gap between hybrid realities and the absolute categories that are advanced at an epistemological level. By highlighting the constructedness of the West’s hegemony, hybridity provides insight into a more complex and ambiguous reality. In Chapter 6, I will apply the concept of hybridity to reveal how the 5A Māori land block trust and Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) have been able to utilise their historically strong cross-cultural relationship to
open an alternative management paradigm.

2.1.5: Summary

PCT provides geographers with a conceptual apparatus to interrogate and deconstruct the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. It achieves this by revealing the constructedness of the West’s hegemony. Said (1978) provides an understanding that the positional superiority of the West is derived from the process of ‘othering’. The process of othering resulted in the (re-)construction of the Colonised Other. The images, narratives, prejudices and myths that were proliferated through colonial discourse enabled the West to (re-)construct the Other as inferior to the superior Self. In the following section I will detail how legacies of othering continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler peoples.

Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) argues that absolute cultural categories advanced by Said (1978) are inherently unstable. He uses the concept of hybridity to reveal how cultures and identities are never stable. As a result, he is able to reveal how cross-cultural exchanges undermine the absolute cultural categories that are central to imperial authority. It will be argued that the strength of hybridity resides in its ability to expose a Third Space. The Third Space displaces the cultural categories from which it emerges, and opens interstices that can be used by Indigenous peoples to destabilise the West’s hegemony. In this thesis it will be argued that hybridity can contribute to Indigenous self-determination because it provides a means for destabilising hegemony and (re-)imagining geographic practice from the perspective of Indigenous peoples.

2.2 – Exposing the ambivalence of the West

2.2.1: Introduction

In the previous section I detailed how the process of ‘othering’ enabled the West to obtain a positional superiority over Indigenous populations. In this section I will assess how colonial legacies continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler peoples. I will elaborate on the concept of hybridity by suggesting that the disjunction between colonial discourse and reality produces ambivalence in the West’s conduct. Ambivalence is a term that Bhabha (1985) borrows from psychoanalysis where it is used to refer to the continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and its opposite
(Young, 1995). For instance, “one of the most striking contradictions about colonialism is that it needs both to ‘civilise’ its ‘others’ and to fix them into perpetual ‘otherness’” (Loomba, 2005: 145). As a result of this ambivalence, inconsistencies emerge between the West’s rhetoric and its actions. I will argue that Indigenes can exploit these inconsistencies to destabilise the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation.

Due to its abstract nature, PCT has been accused of privileging the cultural over the material (Simon, 2006). In sub-section 2.2.4 I will respond to this critique by using postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development (PD) literature to reveal how PCT provides insight into the connections between power disparities and material inequalities. Postcolonial theorists argue that the benevolent discourses ascribed to civic participation deflect attention away from the underlying power disparities inherited from colonisation (McKinnon, 2007). Using the concept of ambivalence, I will reveal how these power disparities are maintained in the post-colonial era and the ways that they can be destabilised. The outcomes of this analysis will yield insight into the dangers and opportunities associated with CBSP.

2.2.2: The legacies of colonisation

In sub-section 2.1.3 I revealed how the process of ‘othering’ has enabled the West to obtain a positional superiority over colonised populations (Said, 1978). In this sub-section I will examine how power disparities inherited from colonisation are preserved within contemporary socio-institutional structures. Unlike colonisation, post-colonial processes of othering are much more complex due to the interconnectedness of political, economic and cultural categories. Consequently, it can be difficult to determine the specific ways that the present is anchored to the colonial past (Loomba, 2005). However, by utilising postcolonial critiques of Indigenous knowledge literature (Briggs and Sharp, 2004; Coombes, 2007), I will reveal how the normative positioning of Western values and knowledge in decision-making can be traced to the superior/inferior binary identified in sub-section 2.1.3. I will use arguments in this sub-section to reveal how CBSP can be employed to preserve power disparities inherited from colonisation in Chapter 3.
Prior to detailing the ways that colonial legacies continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies, it is necessary to examine how power is conceptualised within PCT. Postcolonial theorists use Foucauldian post-structuralism (1979, 1980) to highlight how inequalities inherited from colonisation are preserved within contemporary socio-institutional structures. Foucault (1977 in O’Farrell, 2005: 99) argues that power is not a ‘thing’ or ‘capacity’ which can be owned either by State, a social class or particular individuals. Instead it is a relation that never disappears because it is omnipresent, continuously circulating through the social body. Postcolonial theorists employ this notion of power to highlight how the circulation of power from military and national political institutions during the colonial period, into economic structures and macro-level global institutions in the post-colonial era has preserved inequalities between West and Rest (Sharp, 2009). I will affirm this claim by using postcolonial contributions to Indigenous knowledge literature, which reveal that the normative positioning of Western knowledge in environmental decision-making has preserved the superior/inferior binary inherited from colonisation.

The naturalisation of the superior/inferior binary inherited from colonisation has resulted in Western knowledge and values obtaining a positional superiority in contemporary decision-making structures (Radcliffe, 2005). This has occurred due to the complicit relationship that Western knowledge maintains with power. Briggs and Sharp (2004) affirm this claim by suggesting that the domination of Western knowledge is not explained through its proximity to the truth, but its proximity to power. The West has used power disparities inherited from colonisation to frame its values and knowledge as normative and universal (Oguamanam, 2008). Because Western ‘scientific’ claims are framed as ‘objective’, the West has been able to obscure the fundamentally political nature of how knowledge is applied (Banerjee and Linstead, 2004). An example of this is the way that Indigenous knowledge has been integrated into Western scientific and decision-making frameworks. Postcolonial theorists have argued that debates surrounding the application of Indigenous knowledge tend to be framed at a technical, as opposed to conceptual level (Briggs, 2005; Sharp and Briggs, 2006; Coombes, 2007). This has resulted in Indigenous knowledge being compartmentalised and used to address the agendas of Western organisations.

Indigenous knowledge is allowed to offer contained technical solutions that fit within the current scientific/development world-view, but not to challenge
The positional superiority of Western science in decision-making has enabled the West to ensure that its interests are preserved when it engages in ‘collaborative’ science with Indigenous peoples. This is because Western scientists and decision-makers determine what is considered to be policy relevant knowledge (Coombes, 2007). The implications of this have been significant for Indigenous peoples. For instance, Agrawal (2002) and Shiva (2007) demonstrate how Indigenous knowledge has been stripped of its cultural values and treated as a reservoir of knowledge by pharmaceutical multinationals and the World Bank.

The integration of Indigenous knowledge into Western scientific and decision-making structures reveals how the colonial and post-colonial eras are not exclusive. However, postcolonial theorists argue that Western scientists and decision-makers are not deliberately or knowingly deceitful (Legg, 2007). Rather, it is suggested that their benevolent intent is subverted by inequalities that pervade contemporary socio-institutional structures. These inequalities are grounded in power disparities inherited from colonisation. I will affirm this claim in sub-section 2.2.4 where I will use postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development (PD) literature to highlight how the ostensibly benevolent concept of civic participation has been used to preserve Western preferences (Kothari, 2006). Postcolonial theorists argue that the disparity between the benevolent rhetoric of the West and the outcomes of its conduct create inconsistencies that are politically exploitable (Bhabha, 1994a). In the following subsection I will detail how the postcolonial concept of ambivalence provides insight into the ways that Indigenous populations can destabilise the positional superiority of the West.

The intent of this sub-section was to demonstrate how the normative positioning of Western values and knowledge in environmental decision-making is not due to their proximity to the truth, but their proximity to power (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). In doing so, I was able to reveal how power disparities inherited from colonisation continue to influence relations between West and Rest. However, post-structural notions of power demonstrate that because power is not a ‘thing’ or ‘capacity’, the West’s hegemony can be destabilised (Foucault, 1979, 1980). Because power is a relation, Indigenous
communities can exploit inconsistencies between the West’s rhetoric and its conduct to reconstitute their relationship with Western institutions. In doing so, they can destabilise the superior/inferior binary that is central to the West’s hegemony.

2.2.3: The ambivalence of the West

As mentioned in sub-section 2.2.1, Bhabha (1985) adopts the term *ambivalence* from psychoanalysis where it was first developed to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and its opposite. For Bhabha (1985, 1994a), the term ambivalence refers to the internal contradictions and structural inconsistencies in colonial discourse. Loomba (2005: 145) provides insight into these structural inconsistencies, stating: “one of the most striking contradictions about colonialism is that it needs both to ‘civilise’ its ‘others’ and to fix them into perpetual ‘otherness’.” Bhabha (1994a) argues that because the West ambivalently maintains its positional superiority, its authority is fundamentally unstable. Within a post-colonial context the concept of ambivalence can be applied to reveal a deep-seated anxiety and guilt in the conduct of the West. In this sub-section I will reveal how the concept of ambivalence can offer insight into the ways that Indigenous communities can destabilise the West’s hegemony. I will affirm this claim by examining recent framings of Indigenous identity within academic literature (Goodale, 2006; Merlan, 2009; Kymlicka, 2010).

Prior to detailing the applicability of ambivalence within a post-colonial context, it is necessary to examine why the concept could help Indigenous communities to destabilise the West’s hegemony. In the sub-section 2.1.4 I used the concept of hybridity to reveal the constructedness of colonial discourse. The concept of ambivalence builds on hybridity because it reveals that the constructedness of the superior/inferior binary at the source of imperial authority creates inconsistencies in colonial discourse. Bhabha (1994a) illustrates the instability of colonial discourse through an analysis of ‘colonial stereotypes’. Colonial stereotypes (i.e. the noble savage) are “meant to be accepted as ‘fixed’ and ‘natural’; yet they are endlessly and anxiously repeated and reconfirmed by the coloniser” (Kapoor, 2008: 7). This ‘constant repetition’ reveals that the coloniser anxiously, and not authoritatively maintains power. Due to the constructed nature of absolute cultural categories, inconsistencies emerge in colonial discourse. For instance, colonial stereotypes are often contradictory, with the native “the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical,
primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar” (Bhabha, 1994a: 85, 111). Bhabha (1994a: 108) argues that the “double inscription” ascribed to the native reveals the instability of colonial discourse. In section 2.3 it will be argued that if Indigenous populations can exploit the inconsistencies inherent with colonial discourse, they can open supplementary positions that can be used to undermine the West’s hegemony.

The concept of ambivalence reveals that if Indigenous populations can exploit the gap between absolute cultural categories and hybrid realities they can reveal inconsistencies and contradictions inherent within existing power structures (Bhabha, 1985). Within a post-colonial context this could have a radically destabilising effect on the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. Merlan (2009) and Kymlicka (2010) examine how the permeability of Indigenous culture creates opportunities to challenge the absolute cultural categories that are circulated at an epistemological level. For instance, Kymlicka (2010) details how the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (U.N, 2007) has provided other ‘minority groups’ with a basis to highlight how they are distinct from the discourses that are circulated within Western institutions. In doing so, Indigenous and other ‘minority’ groups have been able to highlight how power disparities are inherent within socio-institutional structures. However, the concept of ambivalence also provides a means to destabilise the positional superiority of Western categories. I will use the case study of ‘Indigenous cosmopolitanism’ in Bolivia to affirm this claim (Goodale, 2006).

Goodale (2006) reveals how Indigenous activists in Bolivia have displaced cultural categories inherited from colonisation by hybridising global and Indigenous cultures. Goodale (2006: 634) uses the term “Indigenous cosmopolitanism” to refer to the way that Indigenous youth in El Alto have created new categories through hybridising hip/hop music with traditional Indigenous culture. In doing so, the youth rappers have revealed inconsistencies in existing representations of indigeneity in Bolivia. By exposing the disparity between absolute cultural categories and hybrid realities, the youth of El Alto have opened new spaces, which have contributed to the repositioning of political-economic problems (Goodale, 2006). The case study of Indigenous youth rappers in El Alto reveals that absolute cultural categories can be destabilised and
affirms claims that the permeability of Indigenous culture creates opportunities to challenge absolute cultural categories (Merlan, 2009; Kymlicka, 2010).

The concept of ambivalence affords insight to the way that the West’s authority is maintained anxiously, and not authoritatively. Using the case study of ‘Indigenous cosmopolitanism’ (Goodale, 2006), I demonstrated how inconsistencies between absolute cultural categories and hybrid realities create opportunities for Indigenous communities to reconstitute their relationship with the post-settler state. In the following sub-section I will argue that the ambivalence of the West is reflective of a deep-seated guilt (Bhabha, 1985). I will support this claim by revealing how the West attempts to address inequalities inherited from colonisation through Participatory Development (PD), whilst simultaneously maintaining its preferences through structural adjustment programmes. In section 2.3 I will use the concepts of hybridity and ambivalence to reveal how the inconsistencies emerging from the disparity between the West’s rhetoric and its conduct create politically exploitable interstices. In section 2.3 I will refer to these interstices as the ‘Third Space’ (Bhabha, 1994c).

2.2.4: Postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development

Postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development (PD) literature reveal how the benevolent discourses ascribed to civic participation can obscure the ambivalence of the West. It has been argued that PD can produce more appropriate forms of development compared to traditional, top-down approaches to development (Reed, 2008). Proponents of PD argue that top-down development has failed to meet the contextually specific needs of communities (Parkins and Mitchell, 2005; Reed, 2008; Schultz et al., 2011). The prominence of PD in the last three decades can be attributed to claims that it facilitates self-policing, improves decision-making through the utilisation of a broader knowledge base and strengthens legitimacy because the people affected by decisions are invited into the decision-making process (Schultz et al., 2011: 662). However, postcolonial critiques of PD reveal that the benevolent discourses associated with civic participation can function to obscure inherited power disparities between West and Rest (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Kothari, 2006; McKinnon, 2007). In this sub-section I will apply the concept of ambivalence to PD. In doing so, I will demonstrate how the seemingly abstract and theoretical arguments made by Bhabha (1984, 1985, 1994a) can
be employed to destabilise the asymmetrical power relations that produce material inequalities.

Kothari (2006) argues that by foregrounding PD, Western aid organisations are able to conceal the underlying power relations that position the West as ‘provider’ and Rest as ‘recipient’. Furthermore, it has been revealed that PD, far from empowering communities and promoting democratic governance has first and foremost functioned to enhance the image of the benevolent provider (Kapoor, 2008). Postcolonial critiques of PD reveal how ostensibly emancipatory terms such as ‘empowerment’ obscure the underlying disparities that necessitate aid. In section 3.2 I will apply these critiques of PD to reveal how the benevolent discourses associated with CBSP can be subverted by state and market actors to justify government inaction and corporate misconduct (Bakker, 2008).

Kapoor (2008: 68) discusses how PD has acquired a “subliminal aura” that leaves it devoid of scrutiny. Participation is an ideological construct that has an “institutional marketability” due to its alleged ability to improve decision-making (Kapoor, 2008: 60). However, by framing participation as a counter-hegemonic process, proponents of PD obscure the colonial legacies that have positioned the West as provider, and Rest as recipient (Biccum, 2002, 2005). Despite claims that participation operates outside of, or explicitly responds to power disparities, recent scholarship suggests that it can be used to preserve inherited inequalities (Kothari, 2006; McKinnon, 2007). For instance, Kapoor (2008) demonstrates how the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has promoted partnerships through PD to co-opt developing states and non-governmental organisations into structural adjustment programmes. In doing so, the IMF has been able to align the economies of developing states with neoliberal ideology (neoliberal ideology is detailed in section 3.1).

Postcolonial critiques of PD reveal how ‘participatory’ approaches can exacerbate inequities if existing power disparities are unaccounted for. It is suggested that:

The convenor or facilitator may well portray him/herself as a neutral and fair arbiter, but the fact is that s/he manages the proceedings almost every step of the way: deciding on the need for, and making up the agenda; choosing which participants speak, on what topic, and for how long; and/or shaping the form and use of the meeting outputs. There are no ‘objective’, or indeed intersubjective, rules or procedures governing meeting goals, logistics, or
discussions. Power is tilted decidedly in favour of the convenor, and while it may well be used accountably and democratically … it can just as easily be abused (Kapoor, 2008: 64).

Despite their appearance, criticisms directed towards PD do not suggest that it is inherently flawed. Rather, it is argued that PD is dangerous for Indigenous communities because it has been romanticised to such an extent that its complicit relationship with Western agendas remains devoid of scrutiny. It will be argued that the ability of the West to circumscribe critiques can be attributed to its mobilisation of ‘empty signifiers’ that allow it to outwardly claim that PD is addressing inequalities, whilst simultaneously ensuring that PD remains consistent with hegemonic preferences.

McKinnon (2007: 779) argues that PD is an example of an empty signifier, because:

What it stands for is not entirely clear, but it is an important symbol of a kind of development that will make poor and disadvantaged people stronger, more able to live healthy, fulfilling, and happy lives. It is based in a democratic ideology, bound up with ideas of fairness and visions of egalitarian society that are peculiar to a contemporary international context.

The ‘empty signifier’ stands for something that is universally meaningful because it is the ideological core at the crux of any social struggle (McKinnon, 2007). Examples of empty signifiers include justice, democracy and freedom. However, the empty signifier can be put to regressive as much as progressive use. For example, recent contributions to PD literature indicate that empty signifiers can obscure the underlying power structures that produce undemocratic, inequitable and unjust forms of development (Biccum, 2005). Nonetheless, it will be argued that emancipatory constructs of PD, and similar projects such as CBSP create an expectation because the West claims to be promoting democracy, transparency, empowerment, equity and freedom. This position of “desiring to appear benevolent while stage-managing community meetings” is inherently unstable, and produces interstices that are politically exploitable (Kapoor, 2008: 64).

Critiques of PD reveal that ambivalence is inherent within the West’s conduct. Such criticisms are not intended to vilify the West, or suggest that altruistic individuals and agencies explicitly endeavour to subvert empty signifiers for the purpose of accentuating disparities between West and Rest. Rather, it is argued that inherited power structures are conducive to the preservation of hegemonic preferences, and the
marginalisation of Indigenous agendas (Biccum, 2002). Such lessons are pertinent within the context of this thesis, and will be applied in section 3.2 to illustrate how broader governance structures affect CBSP arrangements. In spite of these limitations, it will be argued that the concepts of hybridity and ambivalence (see sub-section 2.1.4 and sub-section 2.2.3) provide a basis to suggest that asymmetrical power relations can be negotiated. PD provides an apposite example of how communities can resist subjection and destabilise hegemony because its consequences are not predetermined and its subjects are never completely controlled (Williams, 2004). It will be argued in section 2.3 that Indigenous communities can exploit interstices engendered by the gap between discourse and reality.

2.2.5: Summary

In this section I built on discussions in section 2.1 by revealing how the gap between colonial discourse and reality engenders ambivalence within the conduct of the West. The concept of ambivalence reveals how the structural inconsistencies inherent within colonial discourse render the authority of the West instable. Postcolonial theorists argue that inconsistencies between hybrid realities and the absolute categories that are circulated at an epistemological level create opportunities for Indigenous populations to destabilise the West’s hegemony. However, this task is difficult due to the extent of the power disparity between West and Rest, which has resulted in Western values and knowledge assuming a normative position within decision-making (see sub-section 2.2.2). Nonetheless, it will be argued that opportunities still exist for Indigenous populations to expose and challenge the asymmetrical power relations that shape relations between West and Rest. For instance, postcolonial contributions to PD reveal how Indigenous communities can juxtapose the benevolent rhetoric of the West against its policies that function to preserve power disparities inherited from colonisation. In the following section I will argue that Indigenous communities can exploit these inconsistencies to open new political sites, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom (Bhabha, 1994c).
2.3 – Reimagining geographic practice through the Third Space

2.3.1: Introduction

As will be recalled from sub-section 2.1.4 cross-cultural exchanges result in the hybridisation of Indigenous and Western culture. Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) argues that the hybridisation of Indigenous and Western cultures is inherently destabilising for the West’s hegemony because it reveals the constructedness of colonial discourse. It is the intent of this section to demonstrate how the concepts of hybridity and ambivalence provide insight into a *Third Space*. Bhabha (1994c) uses the Third Space to refer to the gap that emerges between absolute cultural categories and hybrid realities. He suggests that the strength of the Third Space resides in its ability to yield a new hybrid or ‘supplementary position’ that is inadequately understood through received wisdom. For instance, the case study of the ‘vegetarian Bible’ outlined in sub-section 2.1.4 reveals how a ‘supplementary position’ was created as a result of cross-cultural exchanges between a group of Indian villagers and a British catechist. In this section I will demonstrate how the Third Space can contribute to Indigenous CBSP. I will argue that if CBSP is perceived as a mechanism to create a ‘supplementary position’, it can be used by Indigenes to afford insight into an alternative management paradigm.

In sub-section 2.3.2 I will outline the concept of the Third Space. I will suggest that because the Third Space transcends existing categories, it “sets up new structures of authority” (Bhabha, 1994c: 211). This is because the Third Space displaces the absolute categories from which it emerges. I will argue that Indigenous populations can employ a Third Space strategy to reconstitute their relationship with the West. A key strength of the Third Space is its accessibility. I will affirm this claim by demonstrating how a Third space strategy can be employed by a small number of people within minimal-to-moderate levels of organisation (Bruyneel, 2007; Johnson, 2008). In response to the potentially progressive outcomes of a Third Space strategy, in sub-section 2.3.3 I will demonstrate how the Third Space must be approached with caution. This is because the Third Space relies on hybridisation to destabilise hegemony. However, because hybridity belongs to everyone and no one, it can be put to regressive as much as progressive use (Kapoor, 2008). Consequently, Indigenous populations must employ a ‘tactical vigilance’ when employing a Third Space strategy (Kapoor, 2008). I will argue that if Indigenous populations adopt a ‘tactical vigilance’, they may be able to pre-empt
the potentially regressive outcomes of the Third Space. The Third Space is of relevance to this thesis because it demonstrates how Indigenous communities can expose and exploit inconsistencies in colonial/post-colonial discourse to destabilise power disparities inherited from colonisation.

2.3.2: Destabilising hegemony through the Third Space

As indigenous populations have been forced toward the edge of the state, they have been forced to reassert their cultural values in order to fundamentally reinvent the relationship between coloniser and colonised. This “reinvention” of society, coming from the edges, propelled by indigeneity, is beginning to challenge the construction of the white settler-state. These challenges occur in places, not within arbitrary, theoretical space. They also vary in scale, from the single individual acting on behalf of her community to vast land claims by indigenous peoples. (Johnson, 2008: 29).

In his comment, Johnson (2008) argues that as a result of colonisation, Indigenous peoples have been forced to the periphery of the state. Consequently, they have had to reinvent their relationship with the post-settler state. Johnson (2008: 31) argues that they have been able to do this by exploiting “holes” in the fabric of the post-settler state. In this sub-section I will refer to these ‘holes’ as the Third Space. Bhabha (1994a in Meredith, 1998: 3) argues that the Third Space “initiates new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation.” In his comment, Bhabha (1994a) is referring to how the Third Space is fundamentally concerned with the production of ‘supplementary positions’ that are designed to expose and contest the categories, narratives and discourses that underpin hegemony. Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) uses the term ‘supplementary position’ to refer to the products of cross-cultural exchanges (i.e. the ‘vegetarian Bible’ – see sub-section 2.1.4). Postcolonial theorists and Indigenous scholars have argued that these supplementary positions can be mobilised by Indigenous populations to transcend existing categories and narratives inherited from colonisation (Dudgeon and Fielder, 2006; Bruyneel, 2007; Johnson, 2008; Kapoor, 2008). In doing so, it is argued that Indigenous communities can undermine the discourses that preserve power disparities inherited from colonisation (Johnson, 2008).

The Third Space is not simply an ‘in-between’ space, occupied on either side by distinct and absolute cultural categories because there is no ‘pure’ cultural space (Latour, 1993). As will be recalled from sub-section 2.1.4, cross-cultural exchanges have a
fundamentally destabilising effect on colonial discourse because they expose the
constructedness of the West’s hegemony. The Third Space can be defined as the site
where cross-cultural exchanges occur. However, due to the instability of the cultural
categories that the Third Space emerges from, its outcomes are not pre-determined
(Kapoor, 2008). Consequently, when attempting to articulate a Third Space strategy, it
is necessary to have an innate understanding of the complexity and ubiquity of existing
categories and power structures. I will argue that Foucauldian post-structuralism (1979,
1980) provides Indigenous communities with this understanding because it reveals how
power is a relation, and not a ‘thing’ or ‘capacity’.

As discussed in sub-section 2.2.2, postcolonial theorists utilise Foucauldian post-
structuralism to reveal how power disparities inherited from colonisation are maintained
within contemporary socio-institutional structures (Sharp, 2009). They argue that the
West achieves this by framing its values, knowledge and discourses as normative and
universal (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). In doing so, the West is able to preserve the
superior/inferior binary that is at the crux of its authority (Said, 1978). However,
because power is a relation, the West needs to maintain or ‘constantly repeat’ the
binary. Consequently, the West maintains power ambivalently and not authoritatively
(Bhabha, 1985). Given this nuanced understanding of power, Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) is
able to reveal opportunities engendered by the disparity between discourse and reality.
Dudgeon and Fielder (2006: 401) argue that Bhabha is able to achieve this because the
central objective of the Third Space is to “unsettle the narratives that inform the
deployment of imperial forces and problematise simplistic inversionary approaches to
resistance.” In their comment, Dudgeon and Fielder (2006) reveal that the Third Space
is shaped by, but does not adhere to oppositional categories. Indigenous scholars have
used this understanding of the Third Space to reveal how Indigenes can unsettle the
positional superiority of the West.

Bruyneel (2007) and Johnson (2008) detail how Indigenous communities have been
able to destabilise power disparities inherited from colonisation by using the Third
Space to reconstitute their relationship with the post-settler state. Johnson (2008: 45)
argues that whilst the Third Space is a “metaphorical spatial tool, it is as a descriptor of
actual places and their power dynamics.” In his comment, Johnson (2008) is revealing
how the seemingly abstract and theoretical notions of the Third Space are of practical
relevance to Indigenous populations in a post-colonial context. Bruyneel (2007) affirms this claim by examining strategies that Native Americans have used to reshape their relationship with the post-settler government.

In resistance to ... colonial rule, indigenous political actors work across American spatial and temporal boundaries, demanding rights and resources from the liberal democratic settler-state while also challenging the imposition of colonial rule on their lives. This resistance engenders what I call a “third space of sovereignty” that resides neither simply inside nor outside the American political system but rather exists on these very boundaries, exposing both the practices and the contingencies of American colonial rule. This is a supplemental space, inassimilable to the institutions and discourse of the modern liberal democratic settler-state and nation. (Bruyneel, 2007: xvii)

Bruyneel (2007) highlights how Native Americans have been able to reassert their sovereignty by opening a ‘third space of sovereignty’. He suggests that this Third Space of sovereignty has enabled Native American tribes to reconstitute their relationship with the United States government. This is because the Third Space refuses to “accommodate itself to the political choices framed by the imperial binary: assimilation or secession, inside or outside, modern or traditional, and so on” (Bruyneel, 2007: 217). An example of this is the way that Indigenous communities have occupied spaces vacated by the state. Conant (2010) reveals how Indigenes in the Chiapas region in Mexico have provided social services in abandoned government buildings. In doing so, Conant (2010) argues that they have been able to reconstitute their relationship with the post-settler state.

The concept of the Third Space has the potential to make a significant contribution to Indigenous CBSP because it is explicitly concerned with the production of supplementary positions that transcend disparities inherited from colonisation. For example, CBSP is frequently cited as conducive to contextually appropriate environmental interventions that address deficiencies associated with ‘top-down’ management approaches (see section 3.2) (Portes and Landolt, 2000; Fyfe, 2004; Ostrom, 2005). Consequently, it will be argued that CBSP could be perceived as a Third Space because it provides communities with an opportunity to occupy and reconstitute spaces previously defined by hegemonic preferences (debates surrounding the devolution of service provision are detailed in section 3.2). However, the Third Space is not a fixed or stable position. Dudgeon and Fielder (2006: 401) emphasise that
the Third Space represents a “radically hybrid space – unstable, changing, tenuous, neither here nor there.” Bhabha (1994a, 1994c) is very clear that the Third Space involves struggle and its outcomes are not predetermined. In the following sub-section I will offer a critique of the Third Space by suggested that it can be put to regressive as much as progressive use.

2.3.3: Critiquing the Third Space

Despite its potential, the Third Space is inherently volatile due to its reliance on hybridisation. Because the products of cross-cultural exchanges belong to everyone and no one, the Third Space can easily be used to preserve disparities between West and Rest. For example, the colonial tactic of ‘divide and conquer’ was employed by the West to destabilise anti-imperialist and nationalist movements during the colonial period (Kapoor, 2008). Consequently, Kapoor (2008: 143) argues that attempts to exploit the Third Space must be accompanied by a “tactical vigilance.” Kapoor (2008) uses the term ‘tactical vigilance’ to refer to the way that Indigenes must be aware to the potentially perverse outcomes of the Third Space. Another critique of the Third Space is that it has emerged from a form of analysis that privileges literary canons, and semiotic politics over materialist critiques (Parry, 2004). Impetus on cultural hierarchies obscures socioeconomic and organisational considerations that affect the ability of Indigenous populations to employ the Third Space. It will be argued that the inability of PCT to manage “questions of representation, language and culture on the one hand, and material and economic realities on the other” can result in the aggrandisement of Indigenous agency (Loomba, 2005: 34). However, in spite of these critiques, it will be argued that the concept of the Third Space remains relevant because it engenders a form of agency that “is about exposing the doubling and constructedness of discourse/power, while domination, to be domination, is about fixing or hiding them” (Kapoor, 2008: 121, italics original). In doing so, Indigenous populations call hegemonic power to account by revealing how cultural hierarchies and material inequalities are inextricably connected.

Material inequalities are a primary outcome of power disparities (Parry, 1996). For instance, limited access to social services inevitably affects the ability of Indigenous populations to engage in counter-hegemonic political strategies (Parry, 1996). The relationship between materiality and agency is significant, because the ability of
Indigenous populations to first destabilise hegemonic power structures, and secondly institute and practice new relations is undoubtedly determined by materiality. For example, in the previous sub-section I detailed how Indigenes in the Chiapas region have occupied spaces vacated by the state. As a result, they have been able to reconstitute their relationship with the post-settler government (Conant, 2010). Whilst this strategy has been effective, it has been contingent upon minimal to moderate levels of organisation. Despite Chiapas being one of the poorest regions in Mexico, local economies and access to basic infrastructure have provided Indigenes with the basic networks required to exploit inconsistencies in the post-settler states conduct (Conant, 2010). Consequently, it will be argued that materiality must be considered when attempting to determine the viability of a Third Space strategy.

To date, it has been argued that the Third Space is radical due to its opportunistic nature. This ability to produce supplementary positions that flummox hegemonic discourse/power has provided a basis to claim that if employed successfully, a Third Space strategy could contribute to the prioritisation of Indigenous agendas over hegemonic preferences. However, the Third Space is not an exclusive space. Consequently, the Third Space can be put to regressive as much as progressive use. Furthermore, where employed by Indigenous communities, a Third Space strategy must be accompanied by a “tactical vigilance” as to ensure that their benevolent intent is not subverted (Kapoor, 2008: 143). Such a claim is pertinent to consider within the context of this thesis, particularly given that empty signifiers such as ‘civic participation’ have been subverted by hegemonic power structures, which has resulted in the nation-state using communities as free labour (Sproker, 2009) (see section 3.2). Whilst subaltern communities are unable to mediate the actions of the West, they must remain attentive to the ways that the Third Space can be subverted by existing power structures. In spite of the potentially regressive outcomes, it will be argued that the Third Space remains relevant because unlike the West, Indigenous communities employ a Third Space strategy to expose the constructedness of discourse/power. However, the West can only use the Third Space to fix or hide inconsistencies between discourse and reality (Kapoor, 2008). In doing so, the West places itself in a perpetual cycle of deceit, which renders its authority unstable.
In this sub-section I have argued that the concept of the Third Space must be approached with caution. It has been argued that the material concerns of Indigenous populations are implicitly marginalised in PCT due to the privileging of cultural critiques (Simon, 2006). However, lessons from this sub-section suggest that whilst the Third Space is not explicitly concerned with materiality, it does provide insight into the asymmetrical power relations that produce material inequalities. In doing so, it has been argued that the Third Space can contribute to Indigenous CBSP. Nonetheless, the Third Space is inherently volatile because its outcomes are not predetermined, and as a result it can be put to regressive as much as progressive use (Kapoor, 2008). However, it will be argued the strength of the Third Space resides in its ability to produce supplementary positions (Bhabha, 1994c). Such lessons will be pertinent in Chapter 3 because the exploratory character of CBSP creates opportunities for communities to produce supplementary management arrangements that contravene existing power relations.

2.3.4: Summary

The intent of this sub-section was to demonstrate how the seemingly theoretical and metaphorical concepts detailed within PCT are of practical relevance to Indigenous communities. I argued that the concept of the Third Space finds relevance in this thesis because it is about “challenging the boundaries of discourse and subtly changing its terms” (Bhabha, 1994a: 119). By exploiting inconsistencies between discourse and reality, Indigenes are able to produce supplementary positions that can be used to expose and challenge the constructedness of colonial/post-colonial discourse. However, opportunities engendered by the Third Space must be approached with a tactical vigilance (Kapoor, 2008). This is because the outcomes of the Third Space are not predetermined. Consequently, the Third Space can be utilised by the West to preserve or accentuate existing power disparities. However, because the Third Space is explicitly concerned with producing supplementary positions, its strength resides in its ability to expose discourse/power, as opposed to preserving the absolute cultural categories central to colonial discourse. Consequently, it will be argued that the Third Space remains relevant, and whilst its outcomes are not predetermined, it does provide Indigenous communities with an opportunity to destabilise the asymmetrical power relations that produce material inequalities.
2.4 – Conclusion

The intent of this chapter was to examine how the concepts of hybridity, ambivalence and the Third Space provide geographers with a conceptual lens to reveal the constructedness of the West’s hegemony and how this hegemony can be destabilised. Postcolonial theorists reveal that the positional superiority of the West is not a function of its superior culture, but its proximity to political, economic and military power (Briggs and Sharp, 2004; Loomba, 2005; Sharp, 2009). Using Foucauldian notions of power, PCT reveals how the positional superiority of the West needs to be maintained. The West achieves this through the proliferation of superior/inferior binaries inherited from colonisation. In the following chapter I will reveal how the normative positioning of Western values and knowledge in neoliberalism has accentuated inequalities inherited from colonisation.

A strength of PCT is its overtly critical nature. The ability of PCT to expose and deconstruct the layered histories that contemporary environmental management is situated upon enables it to reveal how the colonial and post-colonial eras are not exclusive (Loomba, 2005). In doing so, PCT demonstrates how asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation are preserved within contemporary decision-making structures. However, PCT also affords insight into the ways that these disparities can be destabilised. Postcolonial theorists argue that because hegemony is never absolute, opportunities exist for Indigenes to reconstitute their relationship with the post-settler state. The concepts of hybridity and ambivalence provide insight into a Third Space that can be exploited by Indigenes to destabilise the West’s hegemony. Nonetheless, it is suggested that the Third Space must be approached with caution due to the extent of the power disparity between Indigenes and the post-settler state (Kapoor, 2008). In response to this caution, I will argue that if Indigenous communities are attentive to the possibly perverse outcomes of the Third Space they can adopt a tactical vigilance to ensure that it does not yield regressive outcomes.

The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter provides a basis to interrogate claims-making associated with CBSP in Chapter 3. Because PCT yields awareness about the power disparities that are embedded in socio-economic structures and cultural representational systems, it enables a critical analysis of the purported ability of CBSP to advance democracy, efficiency and freedom. In particular, lessons from sub-section
2.2.4 demonstrate how seemingly benevolent concepts such as PD can be subverted to accentuate inequalities between West and Rest. By placing CBSP into its broader neoliberal context in section 3.1, I will demonstrate how the emancipatory discourses associated with civic participation can be mobilised to justify government inaction (Bakker, 2008). However, I will also reveal how the process of devolution is inherently unstable because the state is never able to obtain absolute authority over the outcomes of CBSP. If perceived through a postcolonial lens, this instability could be considered as an opportunity for Indigenous communities to reconstitute their relationship with the state.

Whilst the utility of PCT has been outlined in this chapter, it is apparent that there are gaps within current postcolonial scholarship. Much postcolonial literature tends to place emphasis on relations between the West and ex-colonies (i.e. India). Consequently, this thesis could contribute to understandings of how lessons from PCT can be applied within a post-settler context. In particular, the concept of hybridity finds relevance in this thesis due to its ability to expose how relations between post-settler and Indigenous communities are inherently complex. Impetus will be placed on adopting a nuanced approach that attempts to place relations between Indigenous and post-settler communities into their broader historical, political, social, cultural and economic context. In doing so, it may be possible to reveal how shared histories and experiences through CBSP can act as a catalyst for the decolonisation of local governance.
Chapter 3
A Postcolonial Critique Of Community-Based Service Provision

3.0 – Introduction

Postcolonial Theory (PCT) provides geographers with a conceptual lens to interrogate claims-making associated with Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP). Using lessons from PCT, in this chapter I will argue that the devolution of service delivery yields opportunities and dangers for Indigenous communities. Postcolonial theorists stress the importance of locating contemporary decision-making structures into their broader historical context. By employing a postcolonial critique of CBSP I will be able to reveal how the devolution of service provision is grounded in power relations inherited from colonisation. However, by employing the concepts of hybridity, ambivalence and the Third Space, I will be able to afford insight into how CBSP could contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

In section 3.1, I will conduct a postcolonial analysis of neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism is based on a philosophical belief that the economy should dictate its rules to society (Power, 2003). Neoliberals argue that the market is the most effective and efficient way to organise society and distribute resources (Harvey, 2005). However, by using the concept of ‘othering’ (see sub-section 2.1.4), I will reveal how neoliberal ideology has strong connections with Eurocentric values. As a result, Indigenous scholars tend to frame neoliberalism as the continuation of colonisation (Bargh, 2007). In response to these claims, I will use hydro-social perspectives to reveal how the hybridisation of environmental, economic, social, political and cultural categories has a destabilising effect on neoliberal discourse (Swyngedouw, 2009). Using postcolonial notions of hybridity, I will reveal how hybrid realities challenge the absolute categories that underpin neoliberal discourse. I will argue that as a result of the gap between discourse and reality, opportunities emerge to expose and destabilise the Eurocentric values that underpin neoliberalism.
Subsequent to arguments in section 3.1, I will interrogate claims-making associated with the devolution of service provision. Proponents of devolution argue that it improves the outcomes of environmental management because it narrows the gap between decision-maker and recipient (Ostrom, 2005). However, critics of devolution suggest that it can be easily subverted by underlying power structures (Spronk, 2009). Bakker (2008) demonstrates how the benevolent discourses associated with civic participation have been used to obscure government inaction and corporate misconduct over the last three decades. This has resulted in claims that the devolution of service provision can be used to get “B to do what A wants by B’s own ‘choice’” (Miraftab, 2004a: 245). In response to the largely pessimistic orientation of recent contributions to devolution literature, I will use the concept of ambivalence to suggest that the gap between the state’s benevolent rhetoric and the disappointing ‘on the ground’ outcomes of CBSP creates opportunities for Indigenous communities to expose and challenge inherited power disparities.

Using the postcolonial concept of the Third Space (see section 2.3), I will afford insight into the dangers and opportunities associated with Indigenous CBSP. Because the state is never entirely in control of devolved governance arrangements, I will argue that opportunities emerge for Indigenous communities to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies (Lewis et al., 2009). However, it will be argued that if communities are not vigilant of the potentially regressive outcomes of CBSP, they could accentuate pre-existing power disparities (Hall and Lobina, 2007; Spronk, 2009). Nonetheless, because power circulates between the state, market and civil society, it may be possible to negotiate the increasingly hybridised, complex and divergent process of neoliberalisation (Foucault, 1979, 1980). Subsequently, I will be able to respond to recent critiques of CBSP, by suggesting that if the heterogeneity associated with neoliberal reform is negotiated, Indigenous communities may be provided with an opportunity to exploit the ambivalence of the post-settler state, and in doing so, catalyse progressive reform.
3.1 – Neoliberal Environmental Governance

3.1.1: Introduction

Critics of neoliberal reform argue that it obscures the underlying asymmetrical power disparities between those accumulating capital, and those being dispossessed of their resources and knowledge (Chomsky, 1999; Harvey, 2005). For Indigenes, neoliberalisation is not perceived simply as the imposition of Western ideals pertaining to the free market and individualism. Rather, Indigenous scholars have discussed neoliberalisation as the *continuation* of colonisation (Yeboah, 2006; Bargh, 2007; Robson, 2007; Skyes, 2007; Bargh and Otter, 2009). I will affirm this claim by revealing how the process of ‘othering’ is central to neoliberalism. However, critics that frame neoliberalism as a monolithic project fail to adequately account for the complexity and diversity of neoliberal reforms. Recent contributions to Neoliberal Environmental Governance (NEG) literature stress the importance of conceptualising neoliberalisation as a *process*, as opposed to a single monolithic project (Peck and Tickell, 2007; Furlong, 2010; Castree, 2008a, 2010a). By approaching neoliberalism in a more nuanced manner, I will use PCT to reveal how disparities between neoliberal discourse and the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of environmental governance yield opportunities to expose and destabilise the positional superiority of Western values in environmental decision-making. I will use hydro-social perspectives in sub-section 3.1.4 to argue that the hybridisation of political, economic, cultural and social categories creates opportunities for Indigenous communities to exploit the contradictory outcomes of neoliberalism.

3.1.2: Neoliberal ideology

As will be recalled from Chapter 2, postcolonial theorists argue that it is necessary to deconstruct the layered histories that contemporary decision-making structures are situated upon. Consequently, prior to detailing the opportunities and dangers associated with the devolution of service provision (see section 3.2), I will examine the broader socio-economic changes that have occurred over the last three decades. By locating CBSP within its broader socio-economic context, I will be able to assess how neoliberal discourses of ‘small government’ and ‘individual responsibility’ have impacted on the ability of Indigenous communities to implement CBSP in a manner that is consistent with their aspirations.
Neoliberalism advocates for the organisation of society and the administration of resources in accordance with market mechanisms. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Reagan and Thatcher administrations in the United States of America and United Kingdom asserted that the neoliberalisation of service provision, resource distribution and societal organisation was the only way to increase prosperity and enhance individual freedoms (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberal reforms in the 1980s were characterised by the ‘rolling back’ of the state, which resulted in deregulation, and a shift from state to private sector service provision. The reforms of the 1980s fundamentally altered relationships between state, civil society and market actors; termed by Blakeley (2010: 132) as a change in the “conduct of conduct.” At a global scale, this change in the ‘conduct of conduct’ has engendered a more destructive form of capitalism through the commodification, commercialisation, marketisation and privatisation of the society/nature nexus, colloquially termed as, ‘profit over people’ (Chomsky, 1999). It has been argued that neoliberalisation is a hegemonic process that services an elite capitalist class through the manipulation of state, civil society and market relations (Chomsky, 1999; Harvey, 2003, 2005). Discussed by Harvey (2003: 45) as “accumulation by dispossession,” the neoliberalisation of the society/nature nexus has resulted in contradictory and inequitable outcomes (see sub-section 3.1.3).

Subsequent to the ‘rolling back’ of the state, a gap emerged between the rhetoric of neoliberals and the socio-environmental outcomes of neoliberal reform. For example, assertions by neoliberals that market mediated social relations would create a more prosperous society and enhance individual liberties were juxtaposed against realities of high unemployment rates and the exacerbation of pre-existing inequalities (Bargh, 2007; Heynen et al., 2007). In response to these discrepancies, a reregulation, or ‘roll out’ occurred in the 1990s and 2000s, with ‘third-way’ arrangements emerging to address the adverse social and environmental outcomes of roll back neoliberalism. Third-way neoliberalism attempts to synthesise the contending interests of state, market and civic society actors. The prominence of devolved governance arrangements with NEG literature over the last 15 years coincides with a shift towards third-way neoliberalism. Lockie and Higgins (2007) demonstrate how third-way neoliberalism has resulted in the coupling of competing political discourses, such as the incorporation of social and environmental sustainability into economically ‘rational’ practices. In section
3.2 I will examine how the coupling of competing political discourses has yielded dangers and opportunities for communities engaging in CBSP.

Prior to detailing how third-way neoliberalism creates opportunities to destabilise the positional superiority of the West, it is necessary to examine the values implicit within neoliberal ideology. It is not uncommon for Indigenous scholars to refer to neoliberalism as the *continuation* of colonisation (Bargh, 2007; Robson, 2007; Skyes, 2007; Bargh and Otter, 2009). This is because neoliberalism is underpinned by a philosophical belief that the economy should dictate its rules to society (Power, 2003). The Eurocentrism that pervades neoliberalism has had significant implications for Indigenous peoples. This is reflected in the corporatisation of iwi (tribes) in New Zealand, the commodification of culturally significant resources and knowledge (see sub-section 2.2.2), and the vilification of the welfare dependent poor (Bargh, 2007). These examples highlight how the process of ‘othering’ pervades neoliberalism (see sub-section 2.1.3). Neoliberalism is a process that has gradually reconstituted norms and values around poverty, individualism and freedom through the naturalisation of Eurocentric perspectives. For Indigenous societies this means that their traditional forms of governance are regarded as inadequate, their connections to place as meaningless, and their historical subjugation as irrelevant (Bargh, 2007). The contemporary shift towards neoliberalisation maintains rich connections with colonial attitudes of civilising Indigenous peoples, with Bargh and Otter (2009: 155) arguing that neoliberal reform is “but the latest in a long history of colonial endeavours that have sought to inculcate Māori into Western forms of individualism.”

Neoliberalism accentuates the binaries inherited from the colonial era because it frames Western values as normative and universal (Harvey, 2005). However, recent contributions to NEG literature reveal the neoliberalism is not a cohesive, monolithic project (Perreault, 2005). Peck (2008) demonstrates that neoliberal reforms have been heterogeneous from the outset – evident in the diversity of reforms implemented across states complicit with neoliberal ideology. Accordingly, recent contributions to NEG literature stress the importance of conceptualising neoliberalisation as a *process*, as opposed to a single monolithic project with its own distinct ontological category and set of definitions (Larner, 2003; Heynen and Robbins, 2005; Larner and Craig, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2007; Castree, 2010a). I will use PCT to suggest that because the process of
neoliberalisation occurs on “inherited landscapes”, its outcomes cannot be pre-
determined (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010: 118). Consequently, it is necessary to
examine the contextually specific factors that shape the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of
neoliberal reform.

The intent of this sub-section was to provide insight into the Eurocentrism that
underpins neoliberal ideology. In section 5.1 I will reveal how distinctly Eurocentric
notions of ‘choice’ pervade decision-making structures in the Far North, New Zealand.
In the following sub-section I will detail the contradictory nature of neoliberalism. The
case study of Cochabamba will be used to highlight how the imposition of neoliberal
reforms can accentuate pre-existing inequalities. Lessons from Cochabamba indicate
that the celebration of CBSP can obscure the underlying reasons that necessitate the
devolution of service provision.

3.1.3: The contradictory outcomes of neoliberalism

Recent contributions to NEG literature have revealed how neoliberal reforms have been
subject to contradictory outcomes (Perreault, 2005; Furlong and Bakker, 2010; Castree,
2010b). Furlong (2010) argues that neoliberals tend to frame arguments at an
ideological level as opposed to a pragmatic level. She argues that contradictions emerge
due to the disparity between ideological arguments and the ability of the market to
impose neoliberal reforms. This claim is affirmed by Rückert (2007), who reveals how
the adverse outcomes of neoliberal reforms have forced governments to reregulate as to
ensure that social and environmental costs of neoliberalism are mitigated (i.e. avoiding
the significant social costs when people are cut-off from their drinking water supply).
Consequently, the neoliberal framework is dependent upon regulation. I will argue that
the contradictory nature of neoliberalism stems from its inability to adequately account
for the “inherited landscapes” that reforms are situated upon (Guarneros-Meza and
Geddes, 2010: 118). A PCT analysis of neoliberal ideology reveals that due to its
ignorance of broader historical processes, it has the tendency to accentuate inequalities
inherited from the colonial era.

The case study of water provision in Cochabamba, Bolivia provides an apposite
example of the potentially perverse outcomes of neoliberal reform. During the 1990s,
Bolivia was subject to International Monetary Fund (IMF) administered structural
adjustment programmes (see sub-section 2.2.4), with the IMF providing a loan to Bolivia in 1998 contingent upon the privatisation of a range of state enterprises, including Cochabamba’s water supply (Bakker, 2008). Justification for the privatisation of the city’s water supply was premised on the inability of the Bolivian government to provide an adequate level of service provision to the citizens of Cochabamba, with only half of the population connected to the municipal supply (Olivera, 2004). Neoliberal reforms were justified on the assumption that increases in efficiency would result in the extension of the city’s water supply to poorer areas (Bakker, 2008). However, the reasons why the state was not able to provide an adequate level of service provision were complex. Over-consumption by the wealthy, institutionalised corruption, agricultural allocations, a lack of new water sources and the exclusion of Indigenous groups were all contributing factors to the city’s inadequate water supply network (Bakker, 2008). As opposed to addressing these issues, the privatisation of Cochabamba’s water supply exacerbated pre-existing inequalities. It can be argued that the failure of Tunari Waters (a consortium headed by the US-based firm Bechtel) to improve service provision in Cochabamba was due to its prioritisation of business models over good governance, and its inability to contextualise neoliberal reforms (Olivera, 2004; Perreault, 2005; Bakker, 2008).

A crucial component of the Bolivian government’s effort to privatise Cochabamba’s water supply was the implementation of Law 2029, which governed drinking water and sanitation (Olivera, 2004). Law 2029 made autonomous community water supply systems illegal, eliminated any guarantee of water distribution to rural areas and ‘dollarised’ water payments (i.e. water bills had to be paid in US dollars) (Olivera, 2004). Inevitably, Law 2029 had adverse consequences for the urban poor, rural farmers and Indigenous populations who had to sustain price increases, whilst simultaneously being denied access to alternative sources. The creation of Law 2029 provides insight into the contradictory nature of neoliberalism, and reveals that the state, as opposed to the market facilitates neoliberal reform (Rückert, 2007; Furlong, 2010).

In sub-section 3.1.2 I revealed how neoliberal ideology is underpinned by Eurocentric framings of the world. This is reflected in how water is treated as an abstract commodity within neoliberal discourse (further detailed in sub-section 3.1.4). In Cochabamba the commodification of water undermined the historical and cultural
connections that the local Indigenous Quechua population have with water in the Cochabamba valley (Bakker, 2008). Oscar Olivera, an activist involved with the organisation Coordinadora de Defensa del Agua y de la Vida (Coalition in Defence of Water and Life), discusses Law 2029 from the perspective of Cochabamba’s marginalised:

The most contentious points of Law 2029 were clearly the monopolistic character of the concession contract, the arbitrary level of consumer cost, and the confiscation of wells and alternative systems of use. In each respect, the government followed the wishes of transnational capital and adopted a posture of confrontation toward us. Their criterion for water distribution was a one-sided, business centred plan designed to maximise profitability (Olivera, 2004: 12).

From the perspective of the Coordinadora, the deal between the Bolivian government and Tunari Waters was perceived as a form of neocolonisation (Olivera, 2004). Heavily indebted, the Bolivian government was coerced into negotiating a contract that was highly favourable for Tunari Waters. For example, the contract guaranteed a profit of 15% to the consortium, and gave Tunari Waters exclusive rights to all water in the Cochabamba valley (including rainwater tanks and wells) (Bakker, 2008).

The prioritisation of the market over the poor resulted in sharp price increases, with government sources and anti-privatisation campaigners reporting increases as high as 300% in a city where the minimum wage is $41 (U.S) a month (Olivera, 2004). Consequent to the price increases, previously disparate groups, such as the urban wealthy and urban poor, unified and resisted Tunari Waters through widespread civil disobedience. From February to April in 2000, the citizens of Cochabamba engaged in sustained, mass protests that forced the Bolivian government to repudiate its contract with Tunari Waters (Olivera, 2004). The victory over Tunari Waters is widely cited as an instance of spectacular resistance, whereby a diverse and largely poor group of citizens from a developing country defied the hegemonic institutions of the IMF and World Bank (Assies, 2003). However, an extensive examination of Cochabamba reveals that the pre-existing conditions that created an opportunity for the neoliberalisation of the city’s water supply are yet to be resolved (Bakker, 2008).

Subsequent to the termination of the contract with Tunari Waters, attempts by the Coordinadora to gain greater control of SEMAPA (the city’s state water supply utility)
have been prevented (Bakker, 2008). The dilution of the activists’ demands has resulted in a two-tier water supply system in Cochabamba. Six years after the Water War, less than 50% of the population is connected to the municipal supply, with SEMAPA remaining unresponsive to the needs of the poor. Wealthy areas continue to be provided with a higher quality service, whilst poorer urban and rural areas have had to engage with foreign aid agencies to raise funds to implement community operated systems (Bakker, 2008). Whilst community systems are consistent with local agendas, they require voluntary labour and burden communities with ongoing maintenance costs. The outcomes of the Water War in Cochabamba reveal the dangers of isolating CBSP from its broader socio-historical context. This is because, “in celebrating community resourcefulness, we risk condoning both government inaction and corporate misconduct” (Bakker, 2008: 239).

The case study of Cochabamba affords insight into the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of neoliberalism. Firstly, Cochabamba reveals that the process of neoliberalisation occurs on “inherited landscapes,” with the historically marginalised and dispossessed more vulnerable to the adverse consequences of reforms (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010: 118). Secondly, Cochabamba exposes a Eurocentrism that pervades neoliberal ideology. Finally, the case study highlights that the celebration of community resourcefulness can function to obscure the underlying inequalities that necessitate CBSP. In the following sub-section I will use the concept of hybridity (see sub-section 2.1.4) to reveal how neoliberal ideology can be subverted. Using hydro-social perspectives, I will reveal how the hybridisation of environmental, economic, cultural, social and political categories renders neoliberal discourse unstable.

3.1.4: Hydro-social perspectives

The present debate over water resources often sacrifices democratic governance on the altar of technological or economic efficiency, while safeguarding existing power relations. Exploring the relationship between democracy, water governance and social power is a vitally important research question (Swyngedouw, 2009: 59).

Because neoliberalism is underpinned by an assumption that effective business models equate to good governance, it has been unable to adequately capture the unquantifiable and non-economic values that society ascribes to water (Swyngedouw, 2005a). The intent of this sub-section is to reveal how the postcolonial concept of hybridity can be
applied to undermine neoliberal discourse. As will be recalled from sub-section 3.1.2, neoliberal ideology affirms binaries inherited from colonisation because it is underpinned by distinctly Eurocentric values (i.e. the ‘economy’ dictating its rules to ‘society’) (Power, 2003). In contrast, hydro-social perspectives provide insight into how society and water are fused together in inseparable ways (Swyngedouw, 2009). Hydro-social perspectives expose the constructedness of neoliberal discourse, and reveal how communities can use water as a mechanism to mediate power relations with state and market actors.

Recent freshwater management literature tends to refer to the relationship between water and society as a ‘hydro-social’ contract that is affected by complex socio-institutional structures and processes. For example, contributions from Ethnographic studies demonstrate how water is part of a broader material-symbolic domain:

Water is not simply an exploitable productive resource or a physical input for agriculture. It is also a medium through which a variety of social relations have been structured ... water systems are repositories of symbolic resources – they are a part of the symbolic production of locality (Mosse, 2003 in Bakker, 2008: 247).

Geographers are progressively discarding Eurocentric constructs of water in favour of nuanced framings that place impetus on socio-natural actors and hydro-social contracts (Bakker, 2009; Gibbs, 2009, 2010; Swyngedouw, 2009). Such perspectives could contribute to community-based water provision because they highlight that interventions in the organisation of the hydrological cycle are always political in character, and are therefore, contested and contestable (Swyngedouw, 2009).

Using the case study of the Murray-Darling Basin, Weir (2009: 7) demonstrates how Eurocentric constructs of water as a commodity undermine the ability of policy makers to engage with water as the “meaningful, connected and critical life force that it is.” Weir (2009) argues that the imposition of Eurocentric perspectives onto the Murray-Darling Basin has undermined the life-supporting capacity of the Murray and Darling Rivers. She argues that the marginalisation of Aboriginal perspectives within Australian freshwater management is the product of power disparities between Aboriginal communities and the post-settler state. Such realisations have led to a claim that:

Water research has for too long concentrated on either the physical side or the managerial side of the water problematic, often tiptoeing around the
vexed question of how political economic power relations fuse the physical and the managerial together in particular and invariably socially uneven ways. (Swyngedouw, 2009: 58)

Hydro-social perspectives reveal that water is a medium through which power relations are structured. Consequently, it can be suggested that community-based water provision provides Indigenes with an opportunity to reconstitute hydro-social relations. In doing so, it may be possible for Indigenes to challenge the privileged positioning of Eurocentric perspectives, and produce ‘supplementary positions’ that enable them to affirm their connections to place and identity (see section 2.3).

The postcolonial concept of hybridity affords insight into the way that Indigenous communities can exploit the gap between discourse and reality to expose and challenge the positional superiority of Western values and knowledge in contemporary decision-making frameworks (Bhabha, 1994a). Because hydro-social perspectives reveal the permeability of environmental, economic, social, political and cultural categories, they provide Indigenous communities with an opportunity to undermine the absolute categories that underpin neoliberal discourse (Swyngedouw, 2009). Whilst inevitably constrained by broader socio-institutional structures, community-based water provision does enable some degree of autonomy in regards to hydro-social connectivity. The seemingly unspectacular act of re-affirming hydro-social connections through CBSP has the potential to have a radically destabilising effect on broader power structures. For example, Trawick (2003) uses the case study of Indigenous Andean farmers to argue that the most effective freshwater governance mechanisms in the alpine regions of Peru are derived from practices that predate colonisation. Such a claim has two significant implications. First it reveals the constructedness of neoliberal discourse, which provides Indigenes with an opportunity to undermine Western management approaches. Secondly, it provides Indigenes with an opportunity to assert their historical, cultural and social connections to water and place (Trawick, 2003). In Chapter 6 I will support this claim by highlighting how the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) and 5A Māori land block trust have used the Pākanae water supply as a mechanism to affirm their connections to place and each other.

This sub-section has demonstrated how hybridised socio-natural flows fuse nature and society together in inseparable manners (Swyngedouw, 2005a, 2005b). Exploring the relationship between democracy, water governance and social power provides scope to
examine how water is a medium through which power relations are structured (Swyngedouw, 2009). It was argued that CBSP could be utilised by Indigenes to affirm their connections to water and place. In doing so, it is suggested that the seemingly unspectacular act of water provision enables Indigenous communities to expose and challenge the positional superiority of Western values in environmental decision-making.

3.1.5: Summary

In this section I revealed how neoliberalism has fundamentally altered the relationship between the state, market and civic society over the last three decades. By examining neoliberal ideology through a postcolonial lens, I was able to reveal how neoliberalism is underpinned by distinctly Eurocentric values. In sub-section 3.1.2 I used the postcolonial concept of ‘othering’ to reveal how neoliberalism has positioned Western values as normative and universal. Consequently, it is not uncommon for Indigenous scholars to frame neoliberalism as the continuation of colonisation. Subsequent to these arguments, I explored the contradictory nature of neoliberal ideology. Due to the prioritisation of business models over good governance, neoliberalism has been unable to adequately account for the inherited landscapes that it is situated upon. Using the case study of Cochabamba, I provided insight into the disparity between the rhetoric of neoliberals and the ‘on the ground outcomes’ of neoliberalism. Subsequent to the case study, I revealed how hydro-social perspectives afford insight into the way that Indigenous communities can expose the constructedness of neoliberal discourse. Using the postcolonial concept of hybridity, it was suggested that the hybridisation of political, economic, social, cultural and environmental categories renders neoliberal discourse susceptible to being destabilised. In the following section I will suggest that the devolution of service provision provides Indigenous communities with an opportunity to decolonise local governance. Using the concept of ambivalence, I will reveal how inconsistencies between the benevolent discourses associated with devolution, and the on the ground outcomes of CBSP yield dangers and opportunities for Indigenous communities.
3.2 – The Ambivalence of Devolution

3.2.1: Introduction

As will be recalled from sub-section 3.1.2, the emergence of ‘third-way’ neoliberalism during the 1990s and 2000s has seen increased emphasis placed on hybrid governance arrangements that attempt to mediate competing state, market and civic society interests (Lockie and Higgins, 2007). Within this context of third-way neoliberalism, the devolution of service provision has become increasingly prominent within NEG literature (Pearce and Mawson, 2003; Hall and Lobina, 2007; Bakker et al., 2008; Jaglin et al., 2011). Third way governance arrangements frequently place impetus on the hybridisation of community-based and market-oriented solutions that fuse neoliberal discourses of small government, fiscal austerity, individual freedom and private property rights with environmental and social sustainability agendas (Lockie and Higgins, 2007). Allegedly, this shift has facilitated a decline in state power, with civil society and the market acquiring increased leverage in environmental decision-making (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007). An assumption associated with the devolution of service provision is that participation improves the responsiveness of organisations, which subsequently results in more efficient, transparent and democratic forms of service provision (Agrawal and Gupta, 2005). However, the benevolent discourses associated with civic participation have been the subject of criticism, with claims that the devolution of service provision can be employed to obscure broader inequalities (see sub-section 3.1.3) (Bakker, 2008). Critics argue that the devolution of service provision enables the state to relinquish from its responsibilities, which results in communities being burdened with tasks that should be completed by government agencies (Miraftab, 2004a, 2004b; Rückert, 2007; Blakeley, 2010; Jones, 2011). The intent of this section is to respond to these critiques using the postcolonial concept of ambivalence. In sub-section 3.2.2 I will outline the arguments made by proponents of devolution. In response to these claims, I will use recent contributions to NEG literature to highlight the potentially perverse outcomes of devolved governance arrangements. I will conclude the section by using the concept of ambivalence to highlight how inconsistencies in the state’s conduct can be exploited. Subsequent to this analysis it will be possible to examine how a Third Space strategy (see section 2.3) could be employed in conjunction with CBSP to decolonise local governance.
3.2.2: The shift from state-based to hybrid governance arrangements

Bakker (2008) argues that the involvement of communities in water sector reform is necessary if tensions regarding the allocation of water, maintenance, and the recovery of costs are to be effectively mediated. However, the allocation of responsibility and extent to which authority is devolved remains a contentious issue within NEG literature (Miraftab, 2009; Walker, 2009; Yilmaz and Venugopal, 2010; Jones, 2011). In an attempt to contribute to understandings of devolution, it will be argued in this sub-section that while NEG has been associated with discourses that are ignorant of social justice, it has also subscribed to optimistic discourses, such as empowerment, partnership and social capital (Lockie and Higgins, 2007).

As discussed in section 3.1, neoliberalism has fundamentally altered political and economic discourses over the last three decades. Agrawal and Lemos (2007) argue that the influence of the state is declining, with community-based and market-oriented solutions increasingly prominent within contemporary regulatory strategies. Changes engendered by neoliberal reform have catalysed a broader shift away from government and towards governance (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). Government refers to the actions and institutions of the state, whilst governance is concerned with the institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing (Jordan, 2008). Justification for this shift is premised on the inability of government bureaucracies to address complex and ubiquitous environmental problems (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006; Jordan, 2008). Furlong and Bakker (2010: 354) argue that conventional state driven resource management approaches tend to adopt a “silo approach,” which has resulted in compartmentalised and fragmented bureaucracies managing interconnected and complex environments. In response to the universalising tendency of conventional reductionist government structures, there has been advocacy for localised governance arrangements that are embedded within their socio-ecological context.

Within contemporary environmental management literature there is an implicit assumption that top-down decision-making frameworks are ineffective at responding to local concerns. In response, participatory approaches, including the devolution of service provision have been discussed as yielding more equitable outcomes:

There follows the belief that higher levels of participation, coupled with actual powers devolved to the lowest appropriate level, will yield more
equitable social outcomes and improved environmental conditions, because
the distance between decision maker and recipient has been reduced (Brown,
2011: 172).

It has been argued that multilevel, consultative, and delegated governance models that
give communities a prominent role in the decision-making process can address
deficiencies associated with traditional top-down management structures (Portes and
Landolt, 2000; Fyne, 2004; Ostrom, 2005). Furthermore, the devolution of authority to
communities has the potential to address the mismatch between geopolitical and
ecological boundaries (i.e. watershed committees) (Jordan, 2008). Community
empowerment, social capital and building partnerships signify the possibilities
engendered by the devolution of environmental governance. This is reflected in an
increasing amount of case study based research that investigates the efficacy of
decentralised management structures. Examples include: commons forest management
(McCarthy, 2006; Agrawal and Chhatre, 2006); community-based conservation
(Berkes, 2004); and community-based service provision (Trawick, 2003; Batterbury and
Fernando, 2006; Lewis et al., 2009; Brown, 2011). It will be argued that while
devolution can be associated with empowering shifts that attempt to prioritise the
interests of marginalised communities, it can also be co-opted by neoliberal discourses
of small government, fiscal austerity and private property rights.

Divorcing devolution from its broader socio-historical context obscures the underlying
inequalities that necessitate CBSP (see sub-section 3.1.3). It will be argued that if these
inequalities are not addressed prior to the devolution of service provision, they can
manifest within CBSP arrangements (Bakker, 2008; Taylor, 2011). Because the
devolution of service provision fuses competing discourses (see sub-section 3.1.2), it
needs to be conceptualised as a hybrid governance arrangement that is mediated by
local and non-local agendas. Locating devolution within broader institutional,
organisational and governance structures provides an opportunity to identify the specific
non-local agendas that compromise community autonomy. Table 3.1 summarises the
often contending interests of the state, market and community actors.
Table 3.1: Water supply delivery models: contending state, market and community preferences (Adapted from Bakker, 2007a: 443).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource management institutions</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Community</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary goals</strong></td>
<td>Guardian of public interest</td>
<td>Maximisation of profit</td>
<td>Protect community interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulatory framework</strong></td>
<td>Conformity with policy</td>
<td>Efficient performance</td>
<td>Effective performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Property rights</strong></td>
<td>Command and control</td>
<td>Market mechanism</td>
<td>Community defined goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public or private property</td>
<td>Private property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Commons or private property</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>Resource management organisations</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary decision makers</strong></td>
<td>Administrator, experts, public officials</td>
<td>Individual households, companies</td>
<td>Leaders and community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organisational structure</strong></td>
<td>Municipal department</td>
<td>Private company</td>
<td>Cooperative network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business models</strong></td>
<td>Municipally owned utility</td>
<td>Private corporate utility</td>
<td>Community cooperative</td>
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<th>Resource governance</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Accountability mechanism</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Key incentives</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Key sanctions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Consumer role</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Participation of consumers</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 affords insight into the different institutional, organisational, and governance mechanisms that influence how state, community and market preferences are mediated. Increasingly, hybrid governance arrangements are effected by neoliberal discourses, which attempt to achieve a compromise between cost recovery and good governance.
(Jaglin, 2002). Whilst Table 3.1 provides an effective summary of the diverse mechanisms and interests affecting the devolution of service provision, it fails to adequately address the heterogeneous nature of ‘state’, ‘market’ and ‘community’ categories. This issue will be addressed in section 5.2, where I will reveal how key individuals can catalyse progressive change from within state agencies. In spite of this limitation, Table 3.1 provides an effective summary of the mechanisms and divergent interests that influence the outcomes of devolved governance arrangements.

Academic debates pertaining to devolution are fundamentally concerned with how authority and responsibility are allocated between state, market and community organisations (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010; Blakeley, 2010). It will be argued that neoliberal ideology has reconstituted discourses associated with devolution, resulting in academic debates giving ascendancy to the mediation of divergent state, community and market interests, as opposed to community autonomy. This shift in discourse can be attributed to a tendency within NEG literature to celebrate community resourcefulness, without giving adequate consideration to the underlying power structures that necessitate CBSP (Bakker, 2008).

3.2.3: Critiquing devolution

Critical to a discussion of citizen participation in the neoliberal era is the recognition of how neoliberalism, as a strongly ideological project, relies on legitimation and citizens’ perception of inclusion to achieve hegemonic power (Miraftab, 2009: 33).

Recent contributions to NEG literature have demonstrated that the devolution of service provision, as opposed to being an empowering shift, can be employed as a ‘tool’ to preserve inherited disparities (Miraftab, 2004a). It has been claimed that devolved governance arrangements facilitate the responsibilisation of service delivery, which refers to the coercive techniques employed by the state to control individuals and communities without being responsible for them (Rose, 1996; Kemshall, 2002). It will be argued in this sub-section that the disappointing outcomes associated with the devolution of service provision can be attributed to ineffective conceptualisations of power within NEG literature (Blakeley, 2010). Ignorance of broader power structures that mediate how authority and responsibility are allocated between state, community and market actors has resulted in CBSP being divorced from its broader socio-historical context.
In sub-section 2.2.4 postcolonial critiques of Participatory Development (PD) were used to demonstrate how the benevolent intent of aid agencies obscures underlying disparities that position the West as ‘provider’ and Rest as ‘recipient’ (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Biccum, 2005; McKinnon, 2007). Claims made in sub-section 2.2.4 resonate with recent contributions to NEG literature which have demonstrated that the devolution of service provision, as opposed to empowering citizens, can function first and foremost as a cost-cutting exercise (Spronk, 2009; Yilmaz and Venugopal, 2010; Jones, 2011). For instance, Spronk (2009: 403) illustrates how in El Alto, Bolivia a ‘tri-sector’ partnership between the consortium Aguas del Illimani (and its multinational parent company, Suez), the municipal government of El Alto, and a loose confederation of neighbourhood committees was created to improve service provision to poorer neighbourhoods in the city. The ‘participatory’ programme devolved the planning, construction and maintenance of urban water and sewage systems to neighbourhood committees. Aguas del Illimani framed it as a ‘win-win’ situation because households belonging to the neighbourhood committees would get a 30% reduction of the normal installation cost (Spronk, 2009: 404). However, independent evaluations have shown that Aguas del Illimani used the free labour of the neighbourhood committees to subsidise the cost of service provision. It was estimated that over a five-year period, after incurring ongoing maintenance costs, residents in the poorer suburbs had paid $85 (US) more than residents in wealthier suburbs. The case study of El Alto highlights how the benevolent rhetoric ascribed to civic participation can obscure social justice and ethical concerns.

Blakeley (2010: 130) suggests that the disappointing outcomes of devolved governance arrangements can be attributed to ineffective conceptualisations of power. She argues that NEG literature has tended to adopt a “zero-sum” conception of power, whereby an increase in the power of non-state actors implies a decrease in state power (Blakeley, 2010: 131). Evidence of this emerged in sub-section 3.2.2, with claims that the prominence of community-based and market-oriented regulatory strategies over the last three decades has resulted in the decline of state power (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007). However, lessons from sub-section 2.2.2 stipulate that power is not a ‘thing’ or ‘capacity’ which can be owned, or accumulated (Foucault, 1979, 1980). Instead it is a relation that never disappears because it is continuously circulating through the social
body (Foucault, 1977 in O’Farrell, 2005). Consequently, it is essential to examine the underlying power relations that influence how state, market and community agendas are prioritised. If pre-existing power disparities are not accounted for, they can manifest within devolved governance arrangements, such as CBSP. Blakeley (2010) argues that a zero-sum conception of power obscures the underlying power structures that influence how authority and responsibility are allocated within devolved governance arrangements.

**Responsibilisation** is a neologism that refers to the subversive techniques employed by the state to control individuals and communities without being responsible for them (Rose, 1996; Kemshall, 2002). It has been argued that devolved governance arrangements facilitate the *responsibilisation* of service provision because they tend to burden communities with the costs of service provision (i.e. maintenance), without giving them authority over how the system is implemented (Blakeley, 2010). This results in communities being burdened with tasks that should be completed by the state. Consequently, it has been argued that the devolution of service provision can be employed by the state as a cost-cutting mechanism (Miraftab, 2004a). However, whilst it is important to critically examine the actions of the state, it is also “important to acknowledge that state intervention is not automatically malign” (Brown, 2011: 183). I will support this claim in section 5.2, where I will examine how Ministry of Health (MoH) employees and the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust (HHET) *facilitated* the devolution of authority to the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI).

It was not the intent of this sub-section to suggest that devolved governance arrangements such as CBSP are inherently flawed. Rather, I argued that it cannot be assumed that the devolution of service provision will result in progressive outcomes. Increasingly, it is recognised that participatory approaches can work if power structures are successfully negotiated (Blakeley, 2010). However, existing critiques of devolution tend to underestimate the vulnerability of power structures to subversion. As will be recalled from sub-section 2.2.4, postcolonial theorists argue that because the outcomes of PD are not predetermined and its subjects are never completely controlled, opportunities exist to destabilise power disparities between recipient and provider (Williams, 2004). Using lessons from PCT, I will argue that because the state is never entirely in control of devolved governance arrangements, interstices emerge to expose
and challenge inequalities within local governance. Applying the postcolonial concept of ambivalence, it will be argued in the following sub-section that Indigenous communities can exploit the paradoxical outcomes of devolution to catalyse progressive change.

3.2.4: Exploiting the ambivalence of the state

Those participating in local governance projects … recognise that they are involved in a power struggle where the odds are stacked against them. That they continue to participate is not due to any ‘false consciousness’ on their part, but is rather testament to their belief that their participation does make a difference, however small that difference might be (Blakeley, 2010: 143).

In this section I have juxtaposed the emancipatory discourses associated with devolved governance arrangements against the disappointing ‘on the ground’ outcomes of CBSP (see Spronk, 2009). Using the postcolonial concept of ambivalence (see section 2.2), I will argue that the gap between rhetoric and reality is politically exploitable. In this sub-section I will respond to the largely pessimistic orientation of recent contributions to CBSP literature (Hall and Lobina, 2007; Spronk, 2009; Jones, 2011), to reveal how the devolution of service provision provides opportunities for Indigenous communities to decolonise local governance. It will be argued that NEG literature too frequently frames the state as a cohesive, monolithic entity. Whilst scholars have been attentive to diversity at a local scale (i.e. Cooke and Kothari (2001) demonstrate how community-based management can be subject to elite capture), they tend to disregard the opportunities engendered by diversity within the state.

In response to the largely pessimistic orientation of NEG literature over the last decade, there have been recent attempts to articulate counter-hegemonic strategies that enable historically marginalised communities to circumvent inherited asymmetrical power relations (i.e. ‘insurgent planning’ (Miraftab, 2009); ‘progressive spaces of neoliberalism’ (Lewis et al., 2009)). In the following comment, Miraftab (2009: 34) argues that civic participation creates opportunities to challenge the underlying power structures that produce inequalities.

Although in low-density democracies neoliberal governance legitimises its dominance, by creating sanctioned spaces of participation, the process also creates a disjunction that insurgent movements are able to take advantage of. Symbolic inclusion does not necessarily entail material re-distribution. Counter-hegemonic movements may use such contradictory conditions to
destabilise the neoliberal hegemonic order.

The hybridisation of state, market and civic society interests through third-way neoliberalism (see sub-section 3.1.2) renders underlying power structures unstable because the state is never entirely in control of communities. Furthermore, the concept of ambivalence reveals how the paradoxical outcomes associated with neoliberalism undermine neoliberal discourse. For instance, Furlong (2010) discusses how proponents of neoliberalisation have adjusted reforms in the last decade in an attempt to avoid adverse impacts on the poor. ‘Pro-poor’ programmes tend to adopt a “new minimalist approach,” which places impetus on the expansion of the informal sector and retention of rudimentary neoliberal tenets, such as privatisation, cost-recovery, the removal of subsidies and tendering contracts (Altenburg and Drachenfels, 2006: 387; Furlong, 2010). Furlong (2010) argues that resulting contradictions, such as the tension between democracy and marketisation, renders neoliberal discourse unstable.

Even though it is restricted, the autonomy devolved to communities creates an opportunity to exploit the gap between discourse and reality. This is reflected in recent NEG literature that reveals how the process of devolution opens politically exploitable spaces (see sub-section 3.3.2) (Lewis et al., 2009). It will be argued the postcolonial concept of ambivalence can contribute to CBSP literature because it enables Indigenous communities to expose the constructedness of neoliberal discourse.

As will be recalled from Chapter 2, inconsistencies between discourse and reality create politically exploitable spaces. Postcolonial theorists refer to these interstices as the ‘Third Space’ (see section 2.3) (Bhabha, 1994c). When employed in conjunction with CBSP, a Third Space strategy has the potential to open ‘supplementary positions’ that enable Indigenous communities to expose and challenge inherited power disparities (Kapoor, 2008). ‘Supplementary position’ is a term that refers to spaces, ideas and categories that are inadequately understood through received wisdom. Because the state is never entirely in control of devolution, communities can co-constitute CBSP with political projects, such as Indigenous self-determination. Furthermore, the Third Space could be utilised to provide insight into alternative and more effective management arrangements that engender progressive relationships between Indigenous and post-settler communities. When synthesised with CBSP, a Third Space strategy has the potential to contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. These claims will be
examined in Chapter 6 using the case study of the Pākanae water supply.

Findings from this sub-section indicate that ambivalence pervades contemporary power structures (Mirafabet, 2009). It was suggested that a Third Space strategy could be employed by Indigenous communities to exploit these inconsistencies. If employed successfully, the strength of a Third Space strategy resides in its ability not only to exploit inconsistencies inherent within neoliberal discourse, but to also produce ‘supplementary positions’ that undermine the West’s authority (Kapoor, 2008). In doing so, it may be possible to envisage CBSP as an act of resistance that enables Indigenous communities to decolonise local governance.

3.2.5: Summary

Debates that surround the devolution of service provision are fundamentally concerned with how authority and responsibility are allocated between state, community and market actors. Inevitably, pre-existing power relations influence how authority and responsibility are allocated. In sub-section 3.2.2, I detailed the potentially progressive outcomes of devolution. However, the co-option of devolved governance arrangements such as CBSP by neoliberal ideology has resulted in NEG literature giving ascendancy to the mediation of divergent state, community and market interests, as opposed to community autonomy. Implications of this discourse shift were disclosed in sub-section 3.2.3. For example, it is increasingly recognised that devolved governance arrangements can facilitate the responsibilisation of service provision (Blakeley, 2010). As a result, CBSP is stymied by paradoxical outcomes, which provides a basis to suggest that it cannot be assumed that the devolution of service provision will result in progressive outcomes. However, by using the concept of ambivalence, it was argued that opportunities exist for Indigenous communities to exploit inconsistencies between the claims made by proponents of devolution, and the on the ground outcomes of community-based management. In the following section I will examine the effectiveness of CBSP arrangements, and discuss specific tactics that can be employed by Indigenous communities to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies.
3.3 – Community Based Service Provision

3.3.1: Introduction

In section 3.1 it was argued that neoliberal ideology has fundamentally altered the discourses, narratives and norms associated with environmental governance. These changes have yielded largely regressive outcomes for Indigenous communities due to the Eurocentrism that underpins neoliberal ideology (Yeboah, 2006; Bargh, 2007). However, using PCT, it was suggested that the hybridisation of competing political discourses through third-way neoliberalism creates opportunities for Indigenous communities. In sub-section 3.2.4, it was argued that Indigenous communities could employ a Third Space strategy, to not only exploit the ambivalence inherent within neoliberal discourse, but to also produce supplementary positions that challenge the West’s authority (Kapoor, 2008). Nonetheless, it cannot be assumed that a Third Space strategy is inherently progressive because its outcomes are not predetermined. Ensuring that the devolution of service provision addresses community agendas requires a comprehensive understanding of the ‘inherited landscape’ on which CBSP is situated. In sub-section 3.3.2 I will examine the tactics that Indigenous communities can employ to destabilise existing power relations. In doing so, I will be able to reveal the potentially beneficial outcomes of CBSP. I will juxtapose these claims against the costs that can be ascribed to CBSP in sub-section 3.3.3. Subsequent to examining the dangers and opportunities associated with CBSP, it will be possible to assess how lessons from the Pākanae water supply can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.3.2: The benefits of Community-Based Service Provision

It will be argued that the effectiveness of CBSP can be determined by its consistency with community agendas. Specific strategies that communities can employ to achieve this include, but are not limited to: manipulating relationships between state, community and market actors; establishing andreviving community networks; increasing social capital; and ensuring equity through the democratisation of decision-making (Ostrom, 2005; Lockie and Higgins, 2007). The efficacy of these strategies remains subject to academic debates due to the diverse outcomes of third-way neoliberalism (Lewis et al., 2009; Bargh and Otter, 2009; Brown, 2011). It will be argued that if this heterogeneity is negotiated, these strategies can be effective. For
instance, Underhill-Sem and Lewis (2008) and Lewis et al., (2009) demonstrate how gains made by Te Oranga, the Family, Health and Education division of Te Runanga o Te Rarawa (located in the Far North, New Zealand), were contingent upon the ability of Te Oranga to remain ahead of policy agencies through the implementation of creative political strategies. It will be argued that tactics employed by Te Runanga o Te Rarawa are consistent with a Third Space strategy – as reflected in the ability of Te Oranga to not only assume service delivery contracts, but to also redefine its relationship with state agencies (Lewis et al., 2009).

Te Oranga assumed responsibility for the delivery of social services in the rohe (territory) of Te Rarawa from the Ministry of Social Welfare in late 1999 (Lewis et al., 2009). It will be argued that lessons from the case study of Te Oranga demonstrate that Indigenous communities can subvert the ‘new minimalist approach’ employed by state agencies (see sub-section 3.2.4) (Altenburg and Drachenfels, 2006: 387). As will be recalled from section 3.1, attempts by the state to reduce costs, increase efficiency and foster market conditions have resulted in adverse outcomes for already marginalised communities (Harvey, 2005; Bargh, 2007). However, the case study of Te Oranga indicates that the ‘rolling back’ of the state provides communities with the opportunity to occupy and reconstitute spaces vacated by state agencies.

In late 1999, Te Runanga o Te Rarawa … moved its social programmes division, known as Te Oranga, into a building previously occupied by the Ministry of Social Welfare. This moment symbolised a dramatic turn in the responsibility for imagining and delivering social services in this northern most region of New Zealand (Lewis et al., 2009: 166).

It will be argued that the devolution of authority provides communities with an opportunity to manipulate their relationship with state and market actors through the implementation of creative political strategies. For instance, in their following comment, Lewis et al., (2009: 177) detail how Te Oranga reinterpreted policy documents, which allowed Te Oranga to remain ahead of state agencies.

Te Oranga was thus positioned to contest the deficit mapping of its people and begin to redefine the meaning of well-being and what constitutes successful interventions to enhance well-being, as well as sustain its competitive edge in winning social service delivery contracts.
Tactics employed by Te Oranga demonstrate that interstices are both literal and symbolic. Reinterpreting policy documents allowed Te Oranga to subvert funding streams, such as the Whanau Development Action Research Project and reconstitute discourses associated with service provision in the Far North (Lewis et al., 2009). In doing so, Te Oranga ensured that the provision of social services was defined by community agendas, as opposed to funding limitations.

Te Oranga provides a salient reminder that communities are not passive recipients of neoliberal reform. CBSP provides communities with a perceived influence that inaugurates their agency. Over the long-term this agency has the potential to affirm or enhance existing political agendas such as Indigenous self-determination. I will support this claim in Chapter 6, where I will reveal how the implementation of the Pākanae water supply created a confidence within the community. Whilst it is acknowledged that broader socio-institutional structures constrain this agency, communities are able to influence the outcomes of CBSP (Blakeley, 2010). This process of contextualising CBSP can have significant benefits for communities.

The case study of Te Oranga resonates with the arguments made by proponents of CBSP (Fyfe, 2004; Ostrom, 2005). It has been argued that by narrowing the gap between decision-maker and recipient, the social and environmental outcomes of environmental governance are improved (Brown, 2011). For instance, Armitage (2005) demonstrates how the participation of communities in resource management increases the validity of decision-making because devolved governance arrangements respond to the concerns and ambitions of locals. Furthermore, the process of implementing a project can generate a number of non-quantifiable benefits, such as environmental education, the internalisation of skills and the creation of networks within and between communities (see sub-section 5.3.2) (Portes and Landolt, 2000; Kull, 2002; Batterbury and Fernando, 2006). In Chapter 6 I will demonstrate how networks established through the Pākanae water supply have been used to enhance Indigenous self-determination. Also, Lemos and Agrawal (2006) claim that the community management arrangements have the potential to include groups that have been previously marginalised within broader decision-making structures. However, lessons from section 3.2 indicate that if the benefits associated with CBSP are divorced from their broader context, they can be co-opted by state and market actors to justify cost-cutting.
Furlong and Bakker (2010) argue that CBSP has been the subject of assumptions that tend to overemphasise the ability of communities to implement service delivery in a manner that is consistent with local aspirations. Even Te Oranga, Te Runanga o Te Rarawa was unable to exercise absolute authority over service delivery, due to contractual funding arrangements (Lewis et al., 2009). Ultimately, constructs of CBSP as inherently empowering have a tendency to disregard how communities have come to be disempowered. As a result, it is essential to examine the assumptions that pervade CBSP literature.

3.3.3: The pit-falls of Community-Based Service Provision

The point that organisational change is not identical to governance change is important. … Specifically, it suggests that organisational restructuring is insufficient for improvements in sustainability, and that the success of the organisational reforms associated with ASD (Alternative Service Delivery) is linked to broader governance reforms.

In this comment, Furlong and Bakker (2010: 352) provide a pertinent reminder that CBSP cannot be divorced from broader governance reforms (for a distinction between organisational and governance change refer to Table 3.1). In the previous sub-section I argued that the effectiveness of CBSP is contingent upon whether communities are provided with sufficient autonomy to ensure that CBSP is consistent with local aspirations. Assumptions that pervade CBSP literature have a tendency to overstate the ability of communities to exert authority over CBSP. This has resulted in a pronounced gap between claims made in the previous sub-section and the disappointing outcomes associated with devolved governance arrangements (Jaglin, 2002; Rückert, 2007; Norman and Bakker, 2009). In this sub-section I will argue that advocates and critics of CBSP tend to rely on essentialised, as opposed to nuanced notions of ‘community’. Consequently, CBSP has been subject to assumptions that tend to exaggerate the ability of communities to exert authority over devolved governance arrangements. This sub-section will identify and examine these assumptions (see Table 3.2). It will be argued that the pervasiveness of these assumptions within CBSP literature can be partly attributed to a shift in discourse engendered by third-way neoliberalism, with CBSP increasingly perceived as a policy initiative, as opposed to a strategy that facilitates community autonomy.
As will be recalled from sub-section 3.2.2, there has been a tendency within NEG literature to exaggerate the ability of communities to address urgent, ubiquitous and complex challenges (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007). Such a claim follows an assumption that it is easier to confront environmental and social challenges when “they are still small enough to manage” (Mueller 2009: 1048). However, in sub-section 3.2.3, Spronk (2009) demonstrated how state and market actors can manipulate CBSP. It will be argued that the failures of CBSP stem from assumptions that pervade CBSP literature. It will be suggested that the eight assumptions identified in Table 3.2 leave CBSP vulnerable to disappointing outcomes.

Table 3.2: Assumptions that pervade CBSP literature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumption</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a)</td>
<td>Advocates of CBSP assume that community management implies greater accountability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b)</td>
<td>However, Cooke and Kothari (2001) have demonstrated how community management projects can be co-opted by local elites, resulting in the exclusion of marginal groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>CBSP can often obscure the reasons why government and market actors desire greater community involvement (see the case study of El Alto, sub-section 3.2.3). Bakker (2008) suggests that distinction must be made between participatory practices that are empowering and those that are exploitative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a)</td>
<td>There is a tendency to assume that CBSP will automatically give rise to desired management outcomes because the distance between decision maker and recipient has been reduced (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b)</td>
<td>However, in reality CBSP is influenced by informal arrangements that are inadequately accounted for at the theoretical level (Furlong and Bakker, 2010).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>CBSP has been subject to essentialised constructs of ‘community’. Ignorance of diversity at a local scale can result in historical inequalities between different groups being preserved within CBSP arrangements (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Brown, 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>Bakker (2008) argues that it is too frequently assumed that improvements to governance will enable communities to deal effectively with technical issues such as financing, access to resources and operational management (Bakker, 2008).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a)</td>
<td>CBSP is often framed as an apolitical process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b)</td>
<td>However, offering technical solutions to problems that are political in nature can exacerbate power disparities (Furlong and Bakker, 2010: 353) (see ‘hydro-social’ perspectives in sub-section 3.1.4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a)</td>
<td>CBSP often assumes that state involvement is automatically malign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b)</td>
<td>However, certain aspects of service delivery lie beyond local control (i.e. access to resources) and government intervention is necessary (Brown, 2011).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>Furlong and Bakker (2010) argue that CBSP tends to place complex socio-environmental issues in a policy vacuum where they are meant to be resolved at a local level, immune to and unsupported by broader governance processes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assumptions identified in Table 3.2 illustrate that the efficacy of CBSP is constrained by generalised, as opposed to nuanced understandings of ‘community’. It will be argued that the effectiveness of CBSP is contingent upon the ability of state, community and market actors to contextualise and embed CBSP within a given context (Blakeley, 2010). Thus, if CBSP is perceived as an approach to service provision, as opposed to a model, it can adapt and respond to community agendas over a long-term period.

As a result of the assumptions identified in Table 3.2, CBSP has generated paradoxical outcomes. For instance, the benefits identified in sub-section 3.3.2 can be juxtaposed against recent critiques of CBSP, which detail how devolved governance arrangements can have significant costs for communities (Miraftab, 2004a; Jones, 2011). Specifically, it is suggested that communities are burdened with the responsibility for fulfilling tasks that should be completed by the state. The consequences of this are significant because it can place an immense burden on individuals involved in CBSP. Nowlan and Bakker (2007) highlight how CBSP can result in a small group of individuals being burdened with the ongoing maintenance of projects. This can result in ‘volunteer burnout’ (see sub-section 5.3.3). Also, as will be recalled from sub-section 3.2.3, Spronk (2009) highlights that state and market actors can use CBSP as a cost-cutting mechanism. Furlong and Bakker (2010) affirm this claim by highlighting how CBSP has tended to result in increased financial costs for communities over the long-term. Furthermore, Bakker (2008) argues that because communities cannot afford to upgrade their systems, they can be left with redundant pieces of technology that have high on-going maintenance costs. Finally, it has been suggested that CBSP obscures the underlying reasons that necessitate the devolution of governance (Bakker, 2008). This claim will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6, where I will highlight how the work completed by the PWBI enabled the Far North District Council (FNDC) to relinquish from its statutory obligations.

The intent of this sub-section was to examine the assumptions that pervade CBSP literature. It has been argued that these assumptions have resulted in CBSP being subject to disappointing outcomes. Critics argue that proponents of CBSP tend to divorce the devolution of service provision from broader governance reforms (Bakker, 2008). This has resulted in CBSP being framed as a policy tool, as opposed to a community inspired approach. Ultimately, critics of CBSP argue that it burdens
communities with responsibilities that should be fulfilled by the state (Brown, 2011). However, because the process of devolving governance is inherently unstable (see section 3.2), opportunities exist for Indigenous communities to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies. In sub-section 3.3.2, Lewis et al., (2009) highlighted how communities are not passive, which means that they can employ creative tactics to ensure that CBSP remains consistent with local aspirations. In Chapters 5 and 6 I will explore the circumstances surrounding the implementation of the Pākanae water supply, and examine how the costs and benefits of CBSP co-exist at a local scale. It will be argued that because CBSP is subject to costs and benefits, it is necessary to move beyond surface level critiques and determine the broader trajectory established by devolved governance arrangements.

3.3.4: Summary

In sub-section 3.3.2 I detailed the opportunities engendered by CBSP. I used the case study of Te Oranga to demonstrate the potentially progressive outcomes of CBSP (Lewis et al., 2009). It was suggested that CBSP has the potential to yield benefits for communities because it narrows the gap between decision-maker and recipient. Consequently, it has been suggested that CBSP enables contextually appropriate governance arrangements (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). However, CBSP literature has been plagued by assumptions. These assumptions tend to simplify the complex and layered histories that CBSP is situated upon. As a result, critics of CBSP argue that its benefits have been overstated (Bakker, 2008). They demonstrate how state actors can use CBSP as a policy tool to obscure the underlying reasons that necessitate the devolution of service provision. Ultimately, lessons from this section demonstrate that CBSP is subject to costs and benefits. Consequently, it is necessary to locate CBSP in its broader socio-historical context when attempting to determine if the devolution of service provision has yielded progressive or regressive outcomes. However, in order to determine whether the outcomes of CBSP are progressive or regressive, it is necessary to place devolved governance arrangements into their broader socio-historical context. Thus, in the following chapter I will examine the contextually specific factors that influenced the ‘on the ground’ outcomes of the Pākanae water supply.
3.4 – Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated how CBSP cannot be divorced from broader governance reforms that have occurred over the last three decades. In section 3.1 I detailed how neoliberal ideology is underpinned by a philosophical belief that the economy should dictate its rules to society (Power, 2003). The Eurocentrism inherent within neoliberalism has had significant implications for Indigenous communities (Bargh, 2007). Using the case study of Cochabamba I demonstrated how the neoliberalisation of environmental governance has accentuated disparities inherited from colonisation (Olivera, 2004). However, it was argued that due to the contradictory outcomes of neoliberalism, opportunities exist to destabilise the privileged position of Western values within neoliberal ideology (Furlong, 2010). By conceptualising neoliberalisation as a process, as opposed to a monolithic project, it is possible to offer a nuanced, as opposed to generalised critique of neoliberal reform (Peck, 2008). This is pertinent given the shift towards ‘third way’ neoliberalism over the last 15 years. Third-way neoliberalism synthesises competing political discourses in an attempt to address the perverse outcomes associated with ‘roll back’ neoliberalism. Using the postcolonial concept of hybridity and recent contributions to hydro-social literature, I argued that the hybridisation of contending economic, social, cultural, environmental and political agendas renders neoliberal discourse unstable. This is exemplified in the opportunities and dangers associated with the devolution of service provision.

In this thesis I define devolution as the transfer of authority and responsibility from central or local government to a community-based organisation. In section 3.2, I examined the competing claims associated with the devolution of service provision. Proponents of devolution argue that it results in more efficient, transparent and democratic forms of service provision (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). It is suggested that by narrowing the gap between decision-maker and recipient, devolved governance arrangements are responsive to the needs of communities (Portes and Landolt, 2000). However, critics of devolution argue that it facilitates the responsibilisation of service delivery, which refers to the coercive techniques that the state uses to control communities without being responsible for them (Miraftab, 2004a; Blakeley, 2010). Using lessons from sub-section 2.2.2, it was revealed that the influence of the state has not declined, but changed over the last three decades. In response to the largely
pessimistic orientation of recent NEG literature (see Spronk, 2009), it was argued that the state is never entirely in control of the process of devolution. I used the postcolonial concept of ambivalence to highlight how communities can exploit the contradictory nature of neoliberal discourse to destabilise broader power structures (Miraftab, 2009).

In section 3.3 I outlined the progressive and regressive potential of CBSP. Using the case study of Te Oranga (Lewis et al., 2009), it was suggested that CBSP provides Indigenous communities with an opportunity to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies. The process of reclaiming and redefining spaces through CBSP resonates with a ‘Third Space strategy’ (see section 2.3). Subsequent to analysing the case study of Te Oranga, I outlined the beneficial outcomes that can be ascribed to CBSP. In sub-section 3.3.3, I examined the assumptions that pervade CBSP literature. It was suggested that these assumptions have resulted in CBSP being divorced from its broader socio-historical context. Consequently, CBSP has been subject to surface level critiques, which has resulted in the costs and benefits of CBSP being traded-off. In response to these assumptions, it was argued that CBSP needs to be subject to a much broader analysis. If CBSP is placed into its broader socio-historical context it may be possible to determine if the long-term outcomes of the CBSP ‘project’ have been progressive or regressive. Consequently, in Chapter 4 I will examine the broader context surrounding the Pākanae water supply.

In this chapter I have highlighted how the devolution of service provision yields opportunities and dangers for Indigenous communities. A postcolonial analysis of CBSP reveals that the instability of ‘third-way’ neoliberal projects (i.e. devolved governance arrangements) creates opportunities to expose and challenge the privileged position of Western values in environmental decision-making. Recent contributions to hydro-social perspectives reveal that interventions in the hydrological cycle are always political in character (Swyngedouw, 2009). Thus, community-based water provision has the potential to reconstitute relations between Indigenous and post-settler communities. This could be achieved through the implementation of a Third Space strategy (see section 2.3). A Third Space strategy provides Indigenous communities with an opportunity to synthesise CBSP with progressive political and economic projects, such as Indigenous self-determination. Using the case study of the Pākanae water supply it is
the intent of this thesis to examine the ways that CBSP can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.
Chapter 4
Methodological and Contextual Framework

4.0 – Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to provide a methodological and contextual grounding for this thesis. In Chapter 2 I used Postcolonial Theory (PCT) to demonstrate the importance of examining the layered histories on which contemporary environmental management is located. Consequently, in this chapter I will place the Pākanae water supply into its broader national, regional and local context. In doing so, I will be able to examine a wide range of factors that influence Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP). Prior to providing this contextual grounding, I will outline the methodology and methods employed during this research.

PCT provides insight into the importance of examining the inherited landscapes that contemporary research is situated upon. Lessons from PCT indicate that the uncritical application of research methods that are grounded in Western ways of knowing has the potential to create significant ethical issues when engaging with Indigenous communities. Consequently, the methodology and methods employed during this research were informed by contributions to Indigenous methodology literature (Smith, 19995; Smith, 2005; Howitt, 2005; Louis, 2007; Getty, 2009; Nakamura, 2010; Gaudry, 2011). Cross-cultural research requires the researcher to remain critically self-aware throughout the research process due to the innocuous ways that Western norms pervade relations between Indigenes and researchers. During engagements with Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokiang a nui a Kupe, emphasis was placed on the ‘process’, as opposed to working towards pre-determined objectives. However, it is also acknowledged that I was unable to engage in a collaborative research model, as is suggested by Louis (2007). In section 4.2 I will outline the data collection and data analysis methods used in this research. This research was based around a qualitative approach that placed impetus on providing an in-depth analysis of the values and assumptions that pervade discussions around CBSP.
The case study of the Pākanae water supply provides an apposite example of why it is necessary to locate CBSP into its broader historical context. In section 4.3 I will trace the history of the provision of drinking water to small, predominately Māori communities in New Zealand. In doing so, I will be able to highlight how Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga can be perceived as another instance of passing the buck that has long plagued the provision of water to Māori communities. In section 4.4 I will examine the socio-economic and environmental conditions specific to the Far North, and demonstrate how the provision of safe drinking water cannot be divorced from broader concerns pertaining to the impacts of deprivation and environmental change. In section 4.5 I will provide a local history of the Pākanae water supply, and assess how the 1999 floods in the Hokianga region acted as a catalyst for dramatic changes to service delivery in Pākanae. The methodological and contextual framework detailed in this chapter provides a basis to unpack the case study of the Pākanae water supply and assess how lessons from the case study can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

4.1 – Research and Indigenous Peoples

4.1.1: Cross-cultural research and positionality

The main aim of Indigenous methodology literature is to “ensure that research on Indigenous issues is accomplished in a more sympathetic, respectful, and ethical fashion from an Indigenous perspective” (Louis, 2007: 133). Historically, Indigenes have been the ‘objects’ of Western researchers, with Smith (1999: 1) suggesting that the word ‘research’ is “probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary.” Objectification, mystification and subjection at the hands of Western research have had a permanent impact on the way that Indigenes perceive research and non-Indigenous researchers. Contributions to Indigenous methodology literature resonate with claims made by postcolonial theorists, who suggest that colonial legacies continue to shape relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies (Loomba, 2005). However, recent contributions to Indigenous methodology literature demonstrate that there are measures that can be implemented by ‘outside’ researchers to mitigate the ethical concerns that emanate from their presence in an Indigenous community (Getty, 2009; Nakamura, 2010).
Howitt (2005) stresses the importance of ‘process’ when engaging in cross-cultural research with Indigenous communities. Getty (2009) illustrates that Indigenous communities place emphasis on the collective, as opposed to the individual. Consequently, prior to inviting individual community members to be a part of the research, it was first necessary to obtain permission from the wider community. I achieved this in Pākanae through a pre-consultation process, which is detailed below.

I initially obtained information about the Pākanae water supply through Hone Taimona who is part of the HHET community development team and a member of the Pākanae Marae Committee (PMC). I was fortunate in that I had established a working relationship with Hone in 2010 while I was completing my Honours dissertation. This relationship was critical to the research process, as Hone directed me towards the appropriate individuals that would be able to assist me in establishing a working relationship with the wider community. Subsequent to initial discussions with Hone, it was suggested that it would be necessary to discuss the research proposal with Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, who is the chairperson of the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI).

The involvement of Ian Leigh-Mackenzie at an early stage of the research process was critical. The PWBI is a cross-cultural organisation that represents the interests of Māori and Pakeha community members. Consequently, it was essential to ensure that I engaged with Māori and Pakeha members of the community, as to ensure that I did not inadvertently marginalise any perspectives. Ian facilitated an initial meeting with PWBI members, and with the assistance of his wife, distributed a hard copy of the research proposal to every household in Pākanae. This ensured that members absent from the meeting were aware of the research. Subsequent to the mail drop, a second meeting was organised by Ian at the Opononi Town Hall where community members could raise any concerns they had pertaining to the research proposal. During the second meeting, a representative from the Pākanae marae requested that I attend the next PMC hui. This phase of the pre-consultation was vital because it provided members of the PMC with an opportunity to raise any concerns they had with the research in a place where I was engaging on ‘their terms’ (see sub-section 4.2.2).

Subsequent to the hui, the PMC granted me permission to proceed with the research. Ian received no objections from any PWBI members, and also gave me permission to
proceed. However, in order to ensure that I remained accountable to the community, the PMC requested that I continued to attend their bi-monthly hui and offer progress reports until the completion of the research. Furthermore, it was requested that at the completion of the thesis I offer an oral presentation to the PMC and also provide the committee with a hard copy of the thesis. Such measures while seemingly innocuous are significant given the history of research between external agencies and locals in the Hokianga. For example, in earlier research completed by ESR it was revealed that most of the communities in the Hokianga “have been surveyed to death” (Foote et al., 2005: 14). The history of research in the Hokianga was raised during this research, with suggestions that researchers need to ensure that the research has benefits for those involved.

Well you know as well as I do, that there is a lot written up about how Māori get researched or are the ‘researched’ but they don’t get anything out of the research – nothing comes back to them. It actually ends up with the ‘researcher’ getting all the accolades. And nothing to the people. (Marara Rogers-Koroheke, Interview, 24/11/2011)

From the perspective of communities in the Hokianga, research has historically been defined by government agencies coming into the Hokianga, extracting information and never returning (Foote et al., 2005). This historical context meant that I had to ensure that I was not simply another ‘outsider’ that treated the community as a reservoir of information. Just as important was to ensure that I did not ‘over promise’ during hui. I suggested that a benefit from this research for the community would be that it would provide them with an opportunity to assess the progress that they have made over the last decade. These lessons could help the community to affirm or enhance existing practices and relationships, as determined by them. I only made promises that I could deliver on, and placed emphasis on relationship building and reciprocity, as opposed to ‘selling’ the research.

By placing emphasis on the research ‘process’, as opposed to working towards pre-determined objectives, it was possible to remain attentive to the concerns and aspirations of the community. Furthermore, it also provided an opportunity for mutual learning. Nakamura (2010: 100) suggests that researchers should perceive themselves as “a learner” when engaging with Indigenous communities. In doing so, it is argued that the researcher can remain open-minded and put in place measures to avoid the
misinterpretation of Indigenous perspectives (Nakamura, 2010). Another benefit associated with placing emphasis on the process is that it provides the researcher with an opportunity to reaffirm their relationship with the community by incorporating protocols into the research process. An example of this is the formal mihi (speech) I completed on my whakapapa (genealogy) prior to presenting my research proposal on the Pākanae marae. I also offered a koha (gift) as a gesture of reciprocity when attending hui and prior to interviews with members of the PMC and 5A Māori Land Block owners. Whilst cross-cultural research requires the researcher to remain critically self aware throughout the research process, this is not to suggest that the process is arduous. Rather, I found the process enlightening because cross-cultural research provided me with insight into alternative ways of knowing, and in doing so, revealed the constructedness of what I consider as ‘normal’.

‘Positionality’ is a significant consideration when commencing cross-cultural research. Positionality is a term that refers to how the personal characteristics of the researcher affect their interactions with research participants (Winchester, 1996; Mullings, 1999). It is suggested that factors such as gender, class, nationality, age and race can affect the positionality of a researcher (Haraway, 1991). In the context of this research, issues of positionality were a significant consideration because I am an outsider to the Pākanae community. I am of Indian ethnicity, with a ‘hybrid identity’ because I was born and brought up in New Zealand. Whilst my status as an ‘outsider’ was undoubtedly accentuated due to my ethnicity, it also yielded benefits, particularly when engaging with Māori participants. For instance, informal discussions prior to, and after interviews, provided an opportunity for cross-cultural story sharing. In particular, my family story, cultural and religious perspectives, along with broader philosophical discussions around Indian, Māori and Western constructs of society and the environment provided a basis to share my values and perspectives with interviewees, and vice versa. I believe that this process of engagement was enhanced by my limited knowledge of te reo Māori, which was well received, particularly during initial engagements. Being neither Māori nor Pakeha, yet being brown, placed me in a unique position, which enabled me to transcend discrete categories. I would consider that my unique positionality was an asset during the research process, and in instances, enabled me to engage in more candid discussions with research participants.
4.1.2 Ethical considerations and anonymity

Whilst cross-cultural research provides a number of opportunities, it can also create significant ethical issues. Such issues are pertinent due to the reliance on interviews as the primary data collection method. The sharing of contentious perspectives combined with the small size of the Pākanae community had the potential to create conflict if information was not managed or represented appropriately. Consequently, measures were taken to safeguard the sanctity of the collected data and provide research participants with the opportunity to request anonymity. These measures included ensuring that the research was consistent with the guidelines outlined by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) and adhering to tikanga (correct procedure) wherever possible.

I was conscious of the potential ethical issues that could emanate from my presence within the community. Given the cross-cultural dynamics between Māori and Pakeha in Pākanae I was concerned that I could inadvertently simplify complex relationships by placing the Pākanae community into a Māori/Pakeha dichotomy, which could act as a catalyst for anxiety or conflict. I attempted to mitigate this issue by making a concerted effort to meet potential research participants face-to-face prior to organising interviews. The use of third parties was kept to a minimum, and they were only used to obtain contact details in order to facilitate face-to-face meetings. The relationships established at an early stage of the research process provided me with an opportunity to develop a nuanced understanding of the cross-cultural dynamics in Pākanae. Furthermore, Stuart et al., (2003) suggest that kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) meetings are consistent with tikanga (correct procedure) because they demonstrate to the research participant that the researcher is accountable in person for the research project. Face-to-face meetings also provide an opportunity for mutual learning because I could clarify the intent of the research and address any concerns in person (Nakamura, 2010). This process was beneficial because it enabled participants to provide additional insights into the Pākanae water supply by highlighting content that was absent from my proposal. Subsequent to the initial face-to-face meetings it was essential to consider the potential ethical concerns that could result from the data collection process.

Interviews were conducted in a manner consistent with the guidelines outlined by the UAHPEC (UAHPEC approval is attached in Appendix C). The UAHPEC (2010)
requires researchers to demonstrate that they have obtained full informed consent from research participants prior to commencing interviews. This was achieved through face-to-face meetings and a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) that provided participants information about the intent of the research. Subsequent to reading the PIS, interviewees signed a Consent Form (CF) to acknowledge that they were comfortable with being involved with the research (see Appendix D to G for the PIS and CF). In the CF I provided research participants with a range of options in regards to how they wanted to be identified, and also made it clear that at the completion of the research a digital and/or hard copy of the thesis would be made available to them.

Prior to the start of an interview, it was made clear to the research participant that they could request anonymity without giving a reason. In such an instance a pseudonym was used in place of their name (for examples, see Table 4.1). Anonymity can minimise anxiety for research participants, particularly if they consider their perspectives to be controversial. Nonetheless, I explicitly stated in the PIS and CF that regardless of the pseudonym they may still be identifiable. In total, four research participants requested anonymity. It was also important to provide interviewees with the option to be identified by their name, due to the significant amount of work that has gone into the Pākanae water supply. It was essential to ensure that I did not impose any one form of identification upon research participants.

Other measures that were taken to mitigate ethical concerns included providing interviewees with the opportunity to withdraw information up to one month after their interview without giving a reason. Whilst it was not possible to predict or avoid every ethically contentious situation, it was possible to put in place measures to mitigate adverse outcomes. For example, it would have been ideal to employ a collaborative research model, as suggested by Louis (2007) and Gaudry (2011). However, this was not possible due to the time frame of the thesis being a year. Consequently, I placed emphasis on pre-consultation, and ensured that I provided research participants with a range of options in regards to what material I could use, the degree of involvement in the research and how they would be represented if they did agree to participate.
4.2 – The Qualitative Approach and Discourse Analysis

**4.2.1: The qualitative approach**

This research employed a qualitative research approach to assess the ways that CBSP can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. The qualitative approach attempts to provide an in-depth analysis of the different values that people ascribe to various social and environmental phenomena (Davidson and Tolich, 2001). A key strength of qualitative research is that it brings to attention the values of the researcher by examining how issues of positionality and subjectivity influence research outputs (Dwyer and Limb, 2001). A wide variety of qualitative methods are available to geographers. Qualitative methods range from the analysis of secondary documents to one-on-one interviews (see sub-section 4.2.2) (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).

Consequently, it is difficult to define the qualitative approach because its application varies between different disciplines. Nonetheless, Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 3) provide a generic definition:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices... attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Qualitative research enables geographers to give voice to a diverse range of actors and interests (Smith, 2001). It achieves this by revealing the subjectivity of ‘truths’ (Waitt, 2005). Consequently, the qualitative research approach is not concerned with identifying ‘universal’ truths. Rather, it attempts to ascertain how different social and environmental phenomena influence how people make sense of the world. As a result, qualitative research offers an in-depth, as opposed to surface level insight into the different factors that influence the values that people ascribe to social and environmental phenomena. However, this has its limitations because it requires the researcher to engage in time-consuming and intensive analytical methods, such as Discourse Analysis (DA) (see sub-section 4.2.3). This can result in narrow research findings that are influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher. Nonetheless, the qualitative approach was employed in this research because it is explicitly concerned with offering nuanced, as opposed to generalised insights into the different factors that influence the values that shape environmental decision-making. Consequently, the qualitative approach finds relevance in this thesis because it compliments the
postcolonial imperative of deconstructing the layered histories that contemporary governance arrangements are situated upon. In the rest of this section I will detail the qualitative methods employed during this research.

4.2.2: Interviews

The primary method of data collection was face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with individuals that have been directly or indirectly involved with the Pākanae water supply or freshwater management at a regional or national level. The semi-structured nature of the interviews provided interviewees with the opportunity to raise any issues that I had overlooked. Compared to alternative qualitative methods, such as focus groups or surveys, interviews enable a more sensitive and people oriented way to conduct research (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). For example, Secor (2010) suggests that controversial questions can generate anxiety and/or discomfort in a focus group. Interviews were conducted between 5th October 2011 and 1st December 2011. The length of interviews varied, lasting from 30 minutes to 2 hours. In total, 18 interviews were completed. See Table 4.1.

The range of interviewees enabled me to ascertain what local and broader factors affect the ability of the PWBI to remain consistent with the community’s agendas (see sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5). This was essential given that ‘inherited landscapes’ affect how CBSP is implemented (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010), which was highlighted in Chapter 3. Interviews allowed me to trace the history of the PWBI, and place the Pākanae water supply into its broader temporal and spatial context. In doing so, it was possible to examine the national, regional and local organisations that enhance or constrain community autonomy.

Whilst interviews provide a number of benefits, they can also be exclusive and generate significant ethical issues. Secor (2010) demonstrates that the relation between researcher and interviewee is asymmetrical because the researcher directs the conversation, and stands to gain the most from the interview. Lessons from PCT suggest that power disparities stemming from colonial legacies continue to affect relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities (Sharp, 2009). Consequently, interviews took place at a time and location suitable to the interviewee in an attempt to mitigate this power disparity. Ensuring that interviewees are comfortable
with the location of the interview is important because it allows the interviewee to engage on ‘their terms’. Furthermore, it was essential that I remained accountable to research participants; prior to, during and after interviews (see sub-section 4.1.2).

**Table 4.1:** List of interviewees (See Appendix H attached to the inside back cover for a pull out card of this table and list of acronyms). *Note: Interviewees belonging to multiple organisations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pākanae Water Board Incorporated members</td>
<td>Ian Leigh-Mackenzie</td>
<td>PWBI Chairperson</td>
<td>7/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mervyn Dove</td>
<td>PWBI Treasurer</td>
<td>11/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney Matthews</td>
<td>PWBI Member</td>
<td>19/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Marsich</td>
<td>PWBI Member</td>
<td>20/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A Māori Land Block trustees</td>
<td>Alan Hessell*</td>
<td>Chairperson of 5A Land Trust/PMC member/ PWBI member</td>
<td>19/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheryl Turner*</td>
<td>5A Land Trustee/PMC member</td>
<td>19/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pākanae Marae Committee members</td>
<td>Harerei Toia*</td>
<td>PMC Chairperson/5A Land Trustee</td>
<td>19/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngawati Mau</td>
<td>Kaumatua/PMC member</td>
<td>11/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees of HHET</td>
<td>John Wigglesworth</td>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>12/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hone Taimona*</td>
<td>Community Development Team Member/PMC member</td>
<td>21/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marara Rogers-Koroheke</td>
<td>Community Development Team Member</td>
<td>24/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member from the Northland Public Health Unit</td>
<td>Drinking Water Team Member</td>
<td>Drinking Water Assessor</td>
<td>7/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health Employees</td>
<td>Dr. Michael Taylor (QSO) (Retired)</td>
<td>Developed the pilot project Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga</td>
<td>3/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Health Engineer</td>
<td>Involved with the implementation of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga</td>
<td>1/11/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beca Employee</td>
<td>Philip La Roche</td>
<td>Engineer involved with assessing Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga</td>
<td>1/12/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNDC Employees</td>
<td>FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure</td>
<td>Involved with water infrastructure projects in the Far North</td>
<td>5/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNDC Employees</td>
<td>FNDC Employee</td>
<td>Involved with water infrastructure projects in the Far North</td>
<td>5/10/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRC Employee</td>
<td>Jan-arie Jongkees</td>
<td>Processed the most recent PWBI resource consent</td>
<td>6/10/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secondary sources of data supplemented interview transcripts. Secondary documents included: legislative documents; policy documents; annual reports; the PWBI resource consent; and funding applications. These documents were supplemented by minutes from the PWBI meetings, risk management plans, engineer reports and maps, MoH DVDs, newspaper articles and a number of research reports and articles published on Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga by ESR, Beca and the MoH. The diversity of secondary documents was essential because it enabled an analysis of a wide range of policies, structures (i.e. institutional, organisational and governance – see Table 3.1) and processes (i.e. the devolution of funding from the MoH to HHET) that affected the ability of the Pākanae community to implement a water supply that was consistent with their aspirations. Subsequent to the collection of primary and secondary data, Discourse Analysis (DA) was employed as the primary method to analyse the information.

4.2.3: Discourse analysis

DA was the primary analytical technique employed in this research. Hajer and Versteeg (2005) describe a ‘discourse’ as an assemblage of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena. Contemporary DA has emerged from the work of Foucault (1979, 1980). Foucault’s use of post-structural thought enabled him to reveal that the relationship between knowledge and power is central to hegemony. Specifically, he suggests that discourse is a “system of representation” through which certain perspectives are given legitimacy (in Hall, 1997: 72). Representations that are considered as ‘legitimate’ are given ascendancy in decision-making. Implications of this are significant, as demonstrated by Briggs and Sharp (2004) in section 2.2 who argue that the ascendancy of Western perspectives in environmental deliberations is not due to their proximity to the truth, but their proximity to power.

DA provides insight into the socially constructed nature of objects and events. Consequently, DA provides an understanding that it is not the social and/or environmental phenomenon that is important, but the way society makes sense of it. Furthermore, DA reveals how the imposition of a particular framing can affect the nature of discussion around an object or event. Wetherell et al., (2001) suggest that discourses are grounded in a particular reality, which is affirmed by the ‘language in use’. For example, Hajer and Versteeg (2005: 44) discuss how the assumption of
“mutual understanding” conceals discursive complexity. Consequently, it is critical to assess what perspectives shape the ‘language in use’.

Framing certain perspectives as normative has significant implications due to the diversity of meanings, representations and understandings attributed to objects and/or events (Paul, 2009). For example, where there are contending values attributed to the same phenomenon, actors can explicitly influence the definition of the problem (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). The imposition of a particular framing can affect the ‘language in use’ around an object or event (Wetherell et al., 2001). Thus, it becomes evident that there is a relationship between the ‘language in use’ and power (i.e. the ability of a given group to influence the framing of social and environmental phenomena) (Foucault in O’Farrell, 2005). Implicit ‘norms’ reflected in the ‘language-in-use’ represent unspoken assumptions that determine how environmental problems and solutions are defined. Hajer and Versteeg (2005: 182) discuss how seemingly static ideas within environmental policy are complemented “backstage” by tacit knowledge. It can be asserted that some ideas, values and experiences cannot be codified into text. The absence of these ideas, values and experiences within text requires a critical analysis of why certain ‘texts’ are included into documents, and others excluded.

DA provides an understanding that the prominence of certain perspectives and values in environmental deliberations can be attributed to their proximity to power. Consequently, examining the power politics attached to the ‘language-in-use’ is critically important (Wetherell et al., 2001). Within the context of this research, DA was employed to identify and examine the unspoken assumptions and values that influence how CBSP is framed at a national, regional and local level. To do this, it was necessary to collectively analyse interview transcripts and secondary data in order to determine prevalent trends and themes transcending different documents. This was achieved by first employing narrative analysis. Narrative analysis facilitates the DA imperative of ‘looking beyond the text’ because it enables the researcher to interpret nuanced “interview talk” (Wiles et al., 2005: 97). Interpreting ‘interview talk’ provided me with an opportunity to place information obtained through the interview process into context. This was achieved by ascertaining what national, regional and local factors influence how individuals frame social and environmental phenomena. Subsequently, it was possible to achieve the DA imperative of providing insight into the unspoken values,
perspectives and knowledge that influence how individuals frame a certain object or event (i.e. the ‘value’ of the Pākanae water supply). However, in order to achieve this outcome, it was essential to organise data in a logical and time effective manner due to the volume of information.

The first task of my analytical analysis was to transcribe all 18 interviews. Once this was done I utilised the computer software NVivo to categorise and organise the primary and secondary data into appropriate headings and subheadings. Headings and subheadings were determined by key themes that emerged from the literature review. Subsequent to the classification of information, it was possible to examine how perspectives expressed were consistent or contradictory with lessons from the academic literature. Consequent to this process, the DA imperative of ‘looking beyond the text’ was facilitated because it provided me with an opportunity to place the results from the classification process into their broader social, cultural, environmental, political, historical and economic context. In doing so, it was possible to assess the prevalence of certain perspectives and the absence of others. This process provided insight into the power politics associated with the ‘language-in-use’, and the unspoken assumptions and values that accompany perspectives associated with CBSP.

4.3 – National Context

4.3.1: Introduction

This section will examine the broader historical context surrounding the provision of drinking water to small, rural and predominately Māori communities in New Zealand. Placing the 2002 upgrade of the Pākanae water supply into its historical context provides insight into the issues that have historically constrained the provision of safe drinking water to all New Zealand communities. Lessons from this section indicate that the responsibility for the provision of safe drinking water to New Zealand’s poorest communities has been afflicted by ambiguous legislation that has generated a culture of institutionalised negligence. Consequences of this institutional inertia have had significant and adverse health, cultural and social outcomes. The following sub-section will examine historical drinking water programmes and their effectiveness in reducing health disparities between Pakeha and Māori.
4.3.2: A history of drinking water programmes in New Zealand

The history of government funded drinking water programmes stretches back over 100 years in New Zealand. Work completed by the Māori councils from 1910 to 1930 resulted in a number of Māori settlements establishing safe drinking water supplies (Maclean, 1964). These supplies were subsidised pound for pound through public funds and, combined with an improvement in sanitary conditions, contributed to the first recorded rise in the Māori population from 50,309 in 1906 to 63,670 in 1926 (Maclean, 1964: 204). However, given the marginal socio-economic position of Māori the subsidy scheme failed to make a significant impact at redressing the health disparities between Pakeha and Māori because it required communities suffering from high levels of poverty to generate funds they did not have. An attempt to redress this disparity in 1937 by Sir Apirana Ngata who recommended that the government should provide financial assistance for the implementation of water supplies in Māori settlements was constrained by a concern within the Department of Health that it would place an additional burden on its existing budget (Dow, 1999). This resulted in the Department of Health deferring responsibility for the provision of safe drinking water to the Māori Affairs Department. This culture of passing the buck has stymied the provision of drinking water to Māori communities in New Zealand over the last 100 years (Dow, 1999).

The responsibility for the provision of safe drinking water should rest with local authorities, as outlined under the Health Act (1920) and its successor; the Health Act (1956) (see sub-section 4.3.3). In spite of these legislative obligations, there was a history of deferring the cost of the implementation and maintenance of water supplies onto communities. For instance, when the Māori Affairs Department made available subsidies subsequent to the passing of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act (1945) it was expected that communities would raise at least half the cost for a supply (Pomare, 1954). Furthermore, the supply would not be plumbed into the house, which is an issue that still exists with the DWAP today. An inability of subsidy schemes in the first half of the 20th century to deal with underlying conditions of poverty constrained the improvement of water supplies in small, Māori settlements. Attempts to redress deficiencies by shifting impetus back onto local authorities through the Health Amendment Act (1970) resulted in the creation of a graded subsidy scheme that made
available funds to local authorities for capital construction costs (Department of Health, 1982).

In 1969 the government authorised schemes for subsidising the cost to local authorities for certain water supply and sewage disposal works (Department of Health, 1982). The maximum subsidy available to local authorities was 40% of the total capital cost for systems supplying 1,000 people or less. Whilst the subsidy scheme was designed to encourage local authorities to implement water supplies in smaller and presumably poorer communities, it did nothing to ensure that supplies would be implemented where necessary. In spite of its deficiencies, the Department of Health subsidy scheme did recognise the need to establish safe drinking water supplies where they did not exist. However, subsequent to government cutbacks from 1985 to 1990 the subsidy scheme was scrapped, and local authorities no longer had assistance from central government to establish safe drinking water supplies.

For three years between 1985 and 1990 every government department got a 25% cut in its budget each year. By the end of the third round of cuts there was “precious little fat left” (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

The Ministry of Health (Department of Health) went to the government and asked it, saying ‘we're going to have to make cuts, what are your priorities? What shall we cut?’ Government declined to set priorities, and essentially the agreement that came out was, that if the thing is in regulation it will carry on, if that is not in regulation it will not be done (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

Because the provision of drinking water was the responsibility of local authorities, the subsidy schemes administered through the Department of Health were cut. It was not until funding was made available through the pilot project Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga (safe drinking water in the Hokianga) (see section 4.5.4) in 1999 that the government attempted to address the public health risks emanating from inadequate water supplies. Lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga contributed to the creation of the nationwide Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP) in 2005 (Public Health Engineer Interview, 1/11/2011). The DWAP enabled local authorities and communities to directly obtain funding from the government on a graded scheme, with 95% of funding (excluding plumbing the water supply into houses) provided for systems that would be supplying deprivation index ten communities with a population of less than 2000 (MoH,
The DWAP criteria have since been revised, and after 2015 its future is uncertain (MoH, 2011c). The fraught history of drinking water programmes and the vulnerability of the current DWAP can be attributed to ineffective drinking water legislation, which is detailed in the following sub-section.

4.3.3: Drinking water legislation in New Zealand

In 2010 123,000 New Zealanders were serviced by registered drinking water supplies that did not comply with the bacteriological guidelines outlined in the 2005 Drinking Water Standards New Zealand (DWSNZ) (MoH, 2011a). New Zealand has relatively high rates of preventable enteric or gastro-intestinal disease, with the campylobacteriosis rate in New Zealand twice that of England and three times that of Australia and Canada (MoH, 2011b). Deficiencies in drinking water legislation have social, economic and cultural costs that are borne largely by New Zealand’s poorest communities. Tracing the history of drinking water legislation, this sub-section will examine why some communities in New Zealand are still being supplied with contaminated drinking water in 2011.

Contemporary drinking water legislation finds its origins in the Health Act (1920). This piece of legislation reduced the powers of Medical Officers of Health as stipulated under the Public Health Act (1900), and gave local authorities greater autonomy to make bylaws to enforce regulations outlined in the Health Act (1920) (Maclean, 1964: 434, 438). Local authorities were given the responsibility of safeguarding public health through preventative public health strategies such as prohibiting insanitary conditions, collecting and disposing of refuse, and animal control. A central duty of local authorities outlined in the Health Act (1920) was to ensure houses had a ‘wholesome’ supply of water. Consequently, it was an offence to:

Erect, or rebuild, or sell, or let any house unless it was provided with—
(a) An adequate and convenient supply of wholesome water.

This clause had a major loophole that was not amended until 2007 through the Health (Drinking Water) Amendment Act (HDWAA) when the term ‘wholesome’ was replaced with ‘potable’ (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2008).

There had been so many amendments to the Health Act (1920) that it was in need of consolidation by the 1950s. This resulted in the creation of the Health Act (1956)
(Maclean, 1964). The Health Act (1956) and HDWAA (2007) provide the legislative framework for the provision of drinking water in New Zealand today. Prior to the HDWAA (2007), the responsibility vested in local authorities to provide safe drinking water was progressively neglected in smaller, rural communities. For example, although Section 378 of the Local Government Act (LGA) (1974) gives territorial authorities control of all water courses, streams, lakes and other sources of water supply within its district for the purposes of providing water supplies, the Act states only that the council may provide such a supply; it does not require a supply (Foote et al., 2005). Whilst Section 378 of the LGA (1974) has since been repealed by the LGA (2002), there remains no legislative requirement to supply safe drinking water to communities that do not have an existing supply.

It was not until 1984 that New Zealand developed a set of nationwide drinking water standards (MoH, 2011b). It has been estimated that 29% of the population is served by supplies that are either not compliant or not known to be compliant with the DWSNZ (2005) (Hodgson, 2006). This is because until the HDWAA (2007), compliance with the DWSNZ was voluntary. This history of institutional inertia has enabled territorial authorities to relinquish from their obligations outlined in the Health Act (1920), which has resulted in the prevalence of preventable enteric or gastro-intestinal disease in small, rural and predominately Māori communities in New Zealand (see sub-section 4.5.3).

The HDWAA (2007) introduced ‘Part 2A Drinking Water’ into the Health Act (1956). Part 2A requires water suppliers (e.g. the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI)) to fully comply with the DWSNZ (2005), and if it is “too expensive, technically impossible or will result in too little (benefit) as against the cost … it can show it really has taken all practicable steps (to comply)” (MoH, 2011b). The HDWAA (2007) requires all water suppliers that service over 500 people to create a Public Health Risk Management Plan (PHRMP) (DWSNZ, 2005). Whilst amendments made to the Health Act (1956) through the HDWAA (2007) are likely to be effective in ensuring that existing water suppliers comply with DWSNZ (2005), it provides little direction in regards to the provision of safe drinking water to communities that currently have no supply. This means that there is no legislative obligation to preserve the DWAP, which was designed to establish safe drinking water supplies in small, rural communities that currently have no supply.
Improvements to public health as a result of the HDWAA (2007) are currently unquantifiable due to it being relatively new and any time lag between its implementation and the public health outcomes. However, it can be suggested that, given the history of drinking water legislation in New Zealand, the HDWAA (2007) can be perceived as a watershed in drinking water legislation because it has closed loopholes that have existed for nearly a century by setting a clear benchmark (i.e. compliance with the DWSNZ (2005)). Whilst these gains are significant given the historical context of drinking water legislation, there still remains an urgent need within legislation to ensure that all communities are provided with access to safe drinking water.

4.3.4: Summary

This section has provided insight into the history of the provision of drinking water in New Zealand. In 2011 there remain communities in New Zealand without access to a safe drinking water supply. This can be attributed to a degree of ambiguity within legislation prior to the HDWAA (2007) that resulted in the deferral of responsibility. This culture of negligence will be highlighted in sub-section 4.5.4. In the Far North high levels of deprivation exacerbate these institutional deficiencies. The following section will examine these factors and assess how the socio-environmental context provides added challenges for communities seeking to implement their own water supply.

4.4 – Regional Context

4.4.1: Introduction

The Far North is subject to unique social and environmental challenges relative to the rest of New Zealand. The challenges facing communities in the Far North mean that the provision of safe drinking water is one of many issues that need to be addressed. The vulnerability of the Northland Region and, in, particular the west coast of Far North District to drought and flooding can exacerbate these socio-economic conditions. This section will detail the specific challenges facing communities in the Far North, and examine how they affect the ability of communities to implement and maintain their own water supply.
4.4.2: Deprivation in the Far North

Pākanae is located in the South Hokianga (see Figure 4.1). The Hokianga falls within the jurisdiction of the Far North District Council (FNDC) and Northland Regional Council (NRC). The Far North, and in particular the west coast of the Far North, suffers from high levels of deprivation (Goodchild et al., 2005). Pākanae scores ten on the deprivation index, with ten being most deprived and one being least deprived (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Socio-economic hardship was accentuated in small rural communities such as Pākanae during the government rollbacks of the 1980s and 1990s (HHET, 2011a). As discussed in Chapter 3, proponents of neoliberalism frequently argue that the ‘hollowing out’ of the state enhances individual freedom. However, during interviews it became apparent that the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s took away the freedom of individuals to earn a living close to home. The hollowing out of small rural centres resulted in an exodus to regional centres.

The Roger Douglas stuff resulted in quite a shift in population … there was no continuity of employment in this area. Some of the workers still got jobs, Māori workers especially, with transit and the other private contractors … if they were permanent members they worked away from home. Over 90% of the time obviously, because there was not the 100% work here (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

The closure of post offices and banks in the Hokianga and the amalgamation of the Hokianga County Council into the FNDC had severe impacts on the local economy and social fabric of the community (HHET, 2011a). Reduced employment opportunities resulted in a population decline in the Hokianga during the 1990s as people moved away to find work. The impact of the reforms of the late 1980s and 1990s is something that the region has not fully recovered from, and based on current projections it is likely that the population will continue to decline in the South Hokianga over the next 20 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2011).

The demographics of the South Hokianga are distinct from most of the rest of New Zealand because there are more Māori living in the area than Pakeha. In Pākanae, it is estimated that out of the 66 households, 65-75% of the residents are Māori (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 2011). The predominance of Māori in the Far North, particularly on the west coast can in part be attributed to the ability of Māori to retain control over a significant amount of their land relative to other parts of the country. The demographics
of the South Hokianga have resulted in unique cross-cultural dynamics in the region, which will be the subject of discussion in Chapter 6.

Socio-economic indicators demonstrate that areas with a proportionally high Māori population, such as the Far North and South Hokianga suffer from disproportionate levels of deprivation in New Zealand. See Table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2**: Table comparing key demographic and socio-economic indicators between the South Hokianga, Far North and New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) *Note: there is some cross over in ethnic categories due to people identifying with more than one ethnicity. Consequently, the ‘total’ % for the South Hokianga and Far North exceeds 100%.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South Hokianga</th>
<th>Far North</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>55,845</td>
<td>4,027,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori % of population</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakeha % of population</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>$14,000</td>
<td>$19,200</td>
<td>$24,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal qualification</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics in Table 4.2 were collected in the 2006 census, prior to the 2008 recession. Consequently, it can be suggested that the unemployment rate is currently higher than that indicated in Table 4.2. The socio-economic context of the Far North provides barriers for communities that want to implement their own water supply. During an interview with a drinking water team member at the Northland Public Health Unit (NPHU) (Interview, 7/10/2011) it was suggested that communities in the Far North have other concerns that are prioritised over the provision of safe drinking water. Unemployment, alcoholism, drug use, getting petrol for the car and getting money for food and electricity are all issues that co-exist alongside the provision of safe drinking water (Drinking water team member, Interview, 7/10/2011). The reality of socio-economic hardship for families in the Hokianga was succinctly highlighted by Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) who stated that five or ten dollars is a lot of money for people in the Hokianga. Implications of this socio-economic context are significant for the long-term economic sustainability of the Pākanae water supply.

Whilst socio-economic indicators defined by Statistics New Zealand (2006) suggest that the Far North and, in particular, the Hokianga is ‘poor’ compared to the rest of the country, it was emphasised during an interview with Marara Koroheke-Rogers
(Interview, 24/11/2011) that the true wealth of the area remains invisible to state agencies.

We live in a very rich land. We live in a very rich environment. And the people are rich in their thinking and in their eagerness to do things – their eagerness to help each other. You know, you don’t get that same richness in a concrete jungle, say like Manukau City because you don’t know your neighbour … It’s a way of life for us. If Whirinaki needs something Pākanae will always be there and vice versa.

The use of distinctly Western metrics to measure wealth and poverty has had significant implications for Māori in the Far North. An assumption that deprivation can be addressed primarily through economic growth has resulted in the prioritisation of Eurocentric values in local and central government policy. The implications of this will be discussed in section 5.1.

**4.4.3: Freshwater management in Northland**

This sub-section will place the Pākanae water supply into its environmental context by highlighting the socio-environmental pressures that affect freshwater management in the Northland region. The allocation and use of freshwater in the Northland region is subject to increasing demands from a variety of consumptive users. Consumptive water users include agriculture (38%), horticulture (34%), municipal supply (23%) and industry sectors (4%) (1% of water used is for ‘other’ activities) (NRC, 2007: 198). Water quality is being adversely affected by agricultural, horticultural and urban runoff, deforestation resulting in soil erosion and point source discharges (NRC, 2007). The implications of insufficient water quantity and poor water quality are significant for the Northland region given its vulnerability to flooding and drought. On average, the west coast of the Far North experiences a drought every four years and receives above average rainfall in comparison to the rest of the region (Griffiths *et al.*, 2003). Elevated regions, such as the mountain range Te Rararoa a Kupe receive on average 2900 mm a year, which is considerably more than the 900 mm experienced in low-lying areas (NRC, 2007). The environmental context of the Pākanae water supply provides insight into the ‘value’ of freshwater in the Far North.

The contamination of surface freshwater from animal effluent and fertilisers in Northland is a major environmental management issue and has significant implications
for small, predominately Māori communities that want to use their traditional freshwater sources.

Based on the results from the River Water Quality Monitoring Network and recreational bathing programme there would be no rivers in Northland, including rivers in pristine native forested catchments, which have microbiological water quality that meets the NZ drinking water standard of less than 1 E. coli/100 mL (MoH 2005) … water taken directly from rivers and streams in Northland is not suitable for human drinking water without treatment (NRC, 2007: 323).

With 50% of Northland’s land area in pasture, non-point source pollution from dairy farming is a major freshwater management issue in Northland (NRC, 2007). This issue is being accentuated by higher intensity farming practices such as feed pads and the use of imported supplementary feed. These practices have resulted in an increase in the number of cows per hectare (NRC, 2007). The pollution of rivers, streams, estuaries and harbours has undermined the ability of Māori to use water and collect food from traditional sources. Lake Omapere in the centre of the Far North District provides an apposite example of the implications of agricultural runoff on freshwater bodies in Northland (see Figure 4.1). Prior to the implementation of a restoration plan from 2003 onwards, Lake Omapere was classified as being in a hypertrophic state and in serious risk of total environmental collapse (NRC, 2006). The lake had become so nutrient enriched as a result of runoff from surrounding farmland that there were no submerged exotic or native plants living below the lake surface (NRC, 2006). This example demonstrates that non-point source runoff is having an adverse impact on the quality of freshwater in the Northland region. The implications of this for public health are significant and will be further detailed in sub-section 4.5.3.

Due to the sub-tropical climate of the Far North and the vulnerability of the district to drought, water quantity is another major management issue. The most recent drought in 2009/2010 resulted in severe water restrictions being imposed on Kaitaia, Omapere and Opononi due to demand exceeding environmental flows (Stuff, 2009). This issue is exacerbated during the summer period due to less rainfall and an increased population as a result of tourism (FNDC, 2011). From the perspective of Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011), diminishing freshwater sources in the Hokianga can be attributed to deficient management practices:
They (FNDC) did a water feasibility survey in this whole area, and they named all these rivers that they tried. But the flow rates weren’t sufficient … out of those, 13 of those supplies have dried up, and there isn’t even a river now. And that is because the aquifers (the groundwater supplies) – the draw off is so great that they aren’t replenished.

As a consequence of the 2009/2010 drought, the PWBI was approached by the FNDC to supply Omapere and Opononi with water (see Figure 4.1). However, by the time a decision could be made by the community, a rainfall event occurred (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). Nonetheless, this issue remains pertinent given the likely impact of climate change and an increasing demand for freshwater in the Far North. The unsustainable use of freshwater in the Far North will be exacerbated by climate change, with Griffiths et al., (2003: 34) suggesting that temperatures could rise 1.8°C to 2.2°C and mean rainfall could fall anywhere between 1.6% to 9.0% in the Hokianga region during the period 1980 to 2080. Rainfall will become more spasmodic with less frequent, but higher intensity rainfall events occurring on the west coast of the Far North (Griffiths et al., 2003). The implications of this are significant given the vulnerability of communities in the Hokianga to high intensity rainfall events (see sub-section 4.5.3). The combination of extended drier periods and higher intensity rainfall events will put increased pressure on water supplies, and if the unsustainable allocation of freshwater continues, the PWBI is likely to come under increased pressure to supply Opononi and Omapere with water.

4.4.4: Summary

The regional socio-economic and environmental context provided in this section provides insight into the pressures on the Pākanae community. In particular, deprivation, the impact of climate change and pressure from the FNDC to supply Opononi and Omapere with water will affect the long-term environmental and economic sustainability of the community water supply. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the Pākanae water supply provides lessons about sustainable freshwater management and the ways communities can draw on their own relationships and knowledge to protect their drinking water supply and environment from unsustainable management practices. The following section will place the Pākanae water supply into its local historical context.
Figure 4.1: Map showing the Hokianga region (Source: ArcGIS).
4.5 – Local Context

4.5.1: Introduction

This section will examine the factors that contributed to the upgrade of the Pākanae water supply from 2000 to 2002. The history of Pākanae and its water supply provides insight into the way water can shape relations between society and nature. Furthermore, the history of the Pākanae water supply also reveals how water can act as a common thread to weave cultures together. Prior to examining the specific factors that contributed to the upgrade of the Pākanae water supply, it is necessary to examine the history of Pākanae and the nature of cross-cultural relations between Māori and Pakeha. It will be argued that arrangements made between the 5A Pākanae Māori Land Block Trust and the Pākanae Water Board are central to the water supply.

4.5.2: A history of Pākanae and its water supply prior to 1999

The history of Pākanae is intertwined with the history of the Hokianga harbour, with Pākanae translating from te reo Māori into English as ‘the home’ (Pā) of ‘mullet’ (kanae). Stories of the Māori and Pakeha explorers that settled in the Hokianga are critical to the story of New Zealand and central to the identity of Pākanae residents.

This is where New Zealand started. It didn't start in the Bay of Islands, it didn't start at Waitangi – it started here. So that's our perspective of this place, and it is a recorded history as well (Harerei Toia, Interview, 19/11/2011).

Local oral history states that Hokianga is the site where Kupe, who is claimed to be the first explorer and navigator to New Zealand, arrived and settled.

The first place that was touched by Kupe was Pouahi on the other side of the sand hills (north side of the harbour). That's when he first came into the harbour. But the first place that was settled was down here – Ro Iho … where the cemetery is down here, that's where Kupe's papakaianga was. (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011).

King (2003) suggests that the number of place names associated with Kupe, particularly in the Hokianga, Mercury Bay and Cook Strait regions, make it probable that he was one of the earliest ancestors in those parts of the country. In Pākanae, Kupe assigned a number of landmarks with the name Matariki after the constellation that guided him to New Zealand (Alan Hessell, Interview, 19/11/2011). For example, the source of the Pākanae water supply is Matariki Stream (Figure 4.3), with the headwaters of the
stream beginning in the mountain range Te Ramaroa a Kupe. Matariki Stream is considered to be a place of cultural and spiritual significance by Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe, which is the collective name of the three hapū belonging to Pākanae: Ngāti Korokoro, Te Pouka and Ngāti Wharara.

I remember when my grandmother was alive, she used to take us when we were kids to the water, and they had a special washing. … If we had any sickness on us when we were kids they would take us to the stream, up in the area, where we were staying in Matariki and give us a washing down of water while it was dark. It is a special place (Ngawati Mau, Interview, 11/10/2011).

Another major event to occur in Pākanae during the pre-European period was the birth of Rahiri, who was the 17th century founder of the Ngapuhi iwi. Whiria pā is the site of Rahiri’s birth (Figure 4.2) (HHET, 2011a). The pre-European history of Pākanae provides insight into the significance of the place to the local tangata whenua, Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.

Figure 4.2: An image of Whiria pā. At the base, to the left of Whiria is the urupā (cemetery), which is the site in local oral history where Kupe is said to have made his first settlement.

It is speculated that the first European settler in the Hokianga was John Marmon in the mid 1820s (Lee, 1987). During the period of European settlement prior to 1840, chiefs of the Hokianga exerted greater political influence compared to chiefs in the Bay of Islands, which Lee (1987: 9) ascribes to:
… the relative permanence of (European) settlers, and their reliance on the goodwill of the Maori people, who controlled the resources of the country on which they depended for their livelihood. The European living there were thus unlike the crews of the whalers, the dominant group at the Bay who at times numbered many hundreds, but who had no stake in the land.

Aside from isolated incidences such as the Dog Tax War in 1898, race relations between Pakeha and Māori in the Hokianga have been largely defined by cooperation and partnership (Lee, 1987; HHET, 2011a). The cross-cultural dynamics unique to the Hokianga are a defining feature of the Pākanae water supply, and will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

The story of the Pākanae waters supply begins in 1901 when the New Zealand timber company built the Koutu sawmill (for the location of the sawmill see Figure 4.3) (Lee, 1987). The Pākanae water supply was originally built in 1912 to supplement the sawmill’s supply due to problems it was having with its steam boiler. Due to dwindling Kauri stocks the sawmill closed in 1916. Mill Wreckers, an Auckland based demolition firm acquired the water supply and sold 1 mile of the three-inch galvanised pipe to Pākanae farmer Glynn Fell (senior) (Glynn Fell (junior), correspondence, 2011). Glynn Fell (senior) made an agreement in 1926 with the Pākanae 5A Māori landowners ensuring that they would be paid an annual fee of one pound and the marae or “Pākanae natives” would be supplied with water for free in exchange for access to the water source (see Appendix A for this agreement). Overtime, other Pākanae farmers and residents connected to the supply at their own cost. In 1958 Glynn Fell (junior) surrendered the water supply to the community. In exchange, it was agreed that he would be supplied with water for free and the Pākanae water board would take over maintenance of the water supply. As a result of this, the Pākanae water board was formed on the 28th April 1958 (Pākanae Water Board minutes book, 1958-2011). The formation of the Pākanae water board enabled the collection of money from farmers and households that were connected to the supply. In return for access to the supply, the Māori landowners at the time ensured that the marae would continue to be supplied with water for free and the rates on their land be paid by the water board, although this agreement was not formalised by the 5A Land Trust until 1991 (Alan Hessell, Interview, 19/11/2011). Between 1958 and 2002 the Pākanae water supply was an untreated, gravity fed supply that serviced the marae and two churches, five to six dairy farms and approximately 50 households (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).
From the outset, the Pākanae water board has operated on a largely ad hoc basis. The informal nature of the water board remains today, and will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6. The agreement between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and the Pākanae water board underpins the water supply. In saying this, the two organisations are not mutually exclusive because a number of members on the Pākanae water board are also 5A landowners. Individuals involved with the water board also interact through other community organisations such as the cemetery committee and Pākanae Marae Committee (PMC). During an interview with the PWBI chairperson, he emphasised that:

> It’s community owned. I don’t see the whole thing as being owned by the water board. I see it being owned by the community. And we are just acting for the majority of the consumers, that’s why we do what we do. They all own it. (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011)

The history of Pākanae and its water supply changed dramatically following the 1999 floods in the Hokianga. The floods can be perceived as the catalyst for a series of events at a national and local scale that culminated in the implementation of a new, treated water supply in 2002.

**4.5.3: The 1999 Floods**

In the late afternoon of January 21st 1999 a high intensity rainstorm swept down the western side of Northland (Watson et al., 2003a). Heavy rain in the tops of the steep hills that surround the inhabited valleys of the Hokianga caused extensive slips, with Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) stating that there were 50 acre subsidences in the mountain range Te Ramaroa a Kupe. Whilst minimal rain fell in the inhabited valleys, significant erosion caused by torrential rain at the tops of steep hills caused huge volumes of debris, logs and boulders to flow downstream. Silt and debris shifted rapidly downstream into the valleys causing extensive damage to property and infrastructure. In total, the flash flooding damaged 51 houses on the north side of the Hokianga harbour and 37 houses on the south side (Watson et al., 2003: 2). In Pākanae seven houses were flooded and extensive damage was caused to the community water supply.
Figure 4.3: A map of Pākanae. For a more detailed map of the water supply see Figure 4.4 (Source: Land Information New Zealand)
Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) provides insight into the impact of the floods on the community water supply, and the response of the Pākanae community.

It chopped the community supply off. Basically there was no water coming down from the dam – the only water left available was tank water and we were fortunate to have the tanks of water. It lasted for about 12 days, of no water supply, so the whole community, just about every household was working on the supply. And we had to carry up a new section, about 200m of pipe that weighed about half a ton and lay it out by hand through the bush.

A plaque in the wharekai (eating house) on the grounds of Pākanae marae commemorates the devastation caused by the 1999 floods. The fragment of wood on which the plaque is placed is a piece of a log that was washed down the hills into Pākanae. This seemingly innocuous reminder provides a glimpse into the profound impact that the 1999 floods had on the Pākanae community.

The flash floods that occurred on January 21st and 22nd 1999 in Hokianga demonstrate the power and destructive potential of natural events. However, by placing the 1999 Hokianga floods into their broader temporal context it is possible to examine how floods can act as a catalyst for renewal. The ‘hollowing out’ of the Hokianga region in the previous two decades resulted in the fragmentation of communities as populations dispersed to find employment (see sub-section 4.4.1). Unlike the economic reforms that splintered small rural communities such as Pākanae, the floods in the Hokianga brought people together. It will be argued that the act of coming together to repair the water supply immediately after the floods and the use of the Pākanae marae for civil defence purposes strengthened relationships within the Pākanae community. The collective response of the Pākanae community to the floods created a basis from which individuals and families within the community could reaffirm their connections to each other. Relationships affirmed during the floods would turn out to be essential to the ability of the Pākanae community to implement and maintain a water supply in the subsequent decade.

At a national level the floods provided Dr. Michael Taylor (Ministry of Health (MoH) employee) with an opportunity to “break a log jam in environmental and public health management” (Interview, 3/11/2011). Prior to the 1999 floods, the Northland Health Board established the Waioara Project in 1997, which aimed to educate the Northland public about drinking water (Jellie et al., 2003). Monitoring carried out during the
Waiora project found persistent faecal coliform transgressions in many Northland schools and marae (Watson et al., 2003b). Implications of this were significant, with a *Hepatitis A* outbreak occurring in 1998 at one of the marae in the Hokianga (Foote et al., 2005). Despite the urgent public health need, there was little political will to remedy the situation, with funding constraints used to justify inaction (Jellie et al., 2003). Consequent to the 1999 floods, Dr. Michael Taylor was instructed by the then Minister of Health, Wyatt Creech to evaluate the condition of drinking water supplies in the Hokianga at the request of Alamein Kopu (Member of Parliament).

I ran a survey around the district, and I collected water samples and I took them back to the labs, and the results were frightening. The standards, still say less than one faecal coliform/ 100 mL. The streams up there were regularly over 1000/100 mL (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

The 1999 floods reinforced the urgent need to address contaminated drinking water supplies in the Hokianga. Dr. Michael Taylor demonstrated in his report to Wyatt Creech that “drinking water supplies in the area were indeed a public health risk, but this was not merely a result of the flooding but was an endemic problem” (Interview, 3/11/2011). Whilst problems pertaining to contaminated drinking water supplies had been known within Northland Health and the MoH prior to 1999, it was only as a result of the floods, the report compiled by Dr. Michael Taylor and the political maneuvering of Alamein Kopu who exploited the rivalry between Roger Sowry and Wyatt Creech that funding was made available to address drinking water contamination in the Hokianga.

I had to cease an opportunity. The Hokianga floods gave me an opportunity to needle Wyatt Creech into doing something about drinking water in the Hokianga region. And thanks to the way that Alamien Kopu set it up, it was done in such a way that the usual sweeping it under the carpet couldn't occur. They were aware that it wouldn't be possible to hush it all up. So, that was very, very helpful (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

Consequent to obtaining $1.65 million of funding, the pilot project *Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga* emerged to address the urgent public health concerns emanating from contaminated drinking water in the Hokianga (Watson et al., 2003a).

### 4.5.4: *Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga*

Once Dr. Michael Taylor obtained funding, he had to find a contractor to manage the installation of drinking water treatment facilities. Government restructuring over the
previous two decades meant that “the MoH was purely a policy organisation and had no internal resources to carry out operational programmes itself” (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011). However, when approached by Dr. Michael Taylor, local agencies relinquished from their statutory obligations.

I went down in descending order, where the responsibilities ought to lie … I approached the regional council but they said 'oh yes, that's not at our level of operation, that sort of thing will be at the local authority level’ … I went up to the local authorities and said ‘this is your job’, but they didn't want a bar of it – ‘if we did this, even though it’s government money, sooner or later there will be deferred maintenance to be carried out … and we don't want to be landed with those costs.’ So they wouldn't touch it. The mayor was very, very emphatic on that point. I then went to the local health authority who had been doing the Waiora project and they didn't have the competence for dealing with that sort of thing; it was outside of their comfort zone … luckily we found the HHET was prepared to pick it up, and run with it (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

The devolution of funding to the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust (HHET) was not the result of Dr. Michael Taylor determining that they would be the best agency to improve drinking water supplies in the Hokianga, but a lack of willingness on the part of other agencies to fulfil their duty to safeguard public health. The reluctance of the Far North District Council (FNDC) to become involved with improving drinking water supplies in the Hokianga will be further discussed in section 5.1.

The willingness of the HHET to take on the contract was critical to the ultimate success of the pilot project Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, with Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) stating that “it wouldn't have happened without them.” HHET is a charitable health trust and was formed in April 1992; although the history of the organisation stretches back to 1909 when the Hokianga Hospital was first established in Rawene (Williams, 2010). During interviews with research participants it became apparent that HHET is an organisation that has an excellent rapport within the Hokianga, which in part can be attributed to its adherence to the principle of subsidiarity. The principle of subsidiarity refers to a belief that power belongs with the people, with HHET being a mechanism that the community can employ as they require (HHET, 2011a).

We belong to the community and they know it. We go out and re-emphasise that. We practice that model of governance, where we remind the community all the time that they own this. Like next week I am going out to do a round of 10 community meetings, and I go into the communities with a governing body and ask: What are your thoughts? What are your
aspirations? What would you like us to be doing? (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

The strong, pre-existing relationships that HHET had with communities enabled them to engage in an extensive consultation period to inform communities about the pilot project. HHET employed two kaiwhakakokiri (negotiator) to act as an interface between the communities and trust. The ability of the kaiwhakakokiri to operate in both the Māori and Pakeha worlds enabled communities to make informed decisions, which was critical to the success of the project (Watson et al., 2003b; Foote et al., 2005). Subsequent to consultation with communities, drinking water treatment facilities were implemented across the Hokianga.

Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was launched on 1st October 1999 and completed in October 2002 (Watson et al., 2003a). The project resulted in the provision of safe drinking water to 36 marae and two communities, servicing approximately 6,500 people (Williams, 2010: 173). The success of the project resulted in the HHET winning a ‘highly commended’ award, coming second out of 193 entrants at the 2003 New Zealand Health Innovations Awards (Stuart et al., 2003). Lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga contributed to the development of the Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP) in 2005, which resulted in $154 million being set aside by the government to improve drinking water supplies in small communities throughout New Zealand (MoH, 2006). Foote et al., (2005) argue that the success of the pilot project can be attributed to five key factors – subsidiarity, partnership, devolution, ownership and community participation.

The Pākanae water supply was implemented as part of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. The new community water supply runs adjacent to the old raw water supply and sources water from the same location (Matariki Stream). Concerns pertaining to the age of the raw water supply and quality of water provided from that supply provided impetus for the Pākanae community to become involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. The following section details the work that the PWBI completed during and after Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga to improve the quality of drinking water in Pākanae.
4.5.5: The Pākanae Water Board Incorporated

As detailed in sub-section 4.5.1, Pākanae had a raw water supply prior to Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. In order to take on the contract from HHET the Pākanae water board had to turn into an official, “bona fide” non-profit incorporated society (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). The transformation from the Pākanae water board into the ‘Pākanae Water Board Incorporated’ (PWBI) was the only organisational change required, and was regarded as a straightforward process (further detailed in sub-section 5.2.4) (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). Aside from a change in title, the organisational structure remained the same. This was significant because unlike other communities considering the implementation of a community water supply, Pākanae had a long-standing governance structure that provided it within an opportunity to complete the consultation phase of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga in a short period of time. Implications of this were significant because the supplier for the community water supply systems was Pall, and they tendered on the basis that they would be supplying 33 communities. This meant that because Pākanae was the first community to commit, it received the tendered rate (Watson et al., 2003b). The only other community that implemented a community water supply as a part of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was Whirinaki (see Figure 4.1). However, by the time Whirinaki had come to a consensus, Pall realised that there would be no more community installations which meant the cost of the Whirinaki system was more than twice that of Pākanae (Watson et al., 2003b). During Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, Whirinaki received a total of $708,071 of funding, whereas Pākanae only required $168,000 (Watson et al., 2003b). More detailed figures are presented in Table 4.3.
Table 4.3: Total cost of the Pākanae water supply and sources of funding (sources – Watson et al., 2003b: 28; CAP application, 2007). *Note: the total figure does not include an undisclosed amount contributed by the chairperson and treasurer of the PWBI. Furthermore, annual water rates collected from the Pākanae community by the PWBI have been used since the completion of the water supply for upgrades to the system and maintenance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>During Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
<td>$90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub Charities</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASB Community Trust</td>
<td>$46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Employment Group</td>
<td>$23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existing water supply account</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health (DWAP – Capital Assistance Programme)</td>
<td>$72,562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Contribution to Capital Assistance Programme (5% of total)</td>
<td>$4,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$244,972.50</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not included in the total cost is the voluntary work completed by the PWBI (see section 5.3). Lower cost construction methods such as securing pipes along fence lines also reduced the initial cost. The total cost of the Pākanae water supply is described as “very reasonable” by Philip La Roche (Interview, 1/12/2011) who was an engineer employed by the MoH to assess Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

The Pākanae water supply was commissioned in May 2002. The relationships that existed within the community between the Pākanae marae, 5A Māori Land Block Trust and Pākanae water board prior to Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga were critical to the community’s ability to come to a consensus and implement the water supply. During interviews it became apparent that the motivation for the Pākanae water supply varied between interviewees, but differing perspectives were largely compatible. For the PMC chairperson and 5A land trustee Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011), the implementation of the Pākanae water supply provided an opportunity to achieve a long-standing aspiration that had existed within Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe prior to the 1980s. He suggests that this was, and still is the basis of the agreement between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI, which is detailed in sub-section 4.5.1.

See the greatest thing that uncle Mick Wilcox wanted to do was make sure that the marae would always be available. So the water supply was always for the marae. The community getting water was a byproduct of the marae.
getting a supply. So it is always the marae and the community. It is never the community and the marae. The marae always comes first.

Alternatively, John Marsich (Interview, 20/10/2011) states that the primary reason for his involvement in implementing the water supply was for his grandchildren. He also suggests that the act of implementing the water supply was motivation in itself because it demonstrated that Pākanae did not adhere to negative stereotypes that can be ascribed to deprivation index ten communities.

The only reason I got really involved in this thing was for my grand kids. Cos I wanted my grand kids to come here without me boiling water ... And I liked what we were doing because we were achieving something; we were a pilot scheme and we had to prove to everybody that we weren’t useless, and I think we done that.

It became apparent during interviews that there were numerous motives for implementing the Pākanae water supply. Whilst these differences could have delayed the consultation phase of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, it can be suggested that the relationships that preceded the pilot project and the common goal of improving the quality of drinking water provided a basis from which the community could come together as a collective and implement the water supply.

The water treatment facility and new pipes implemented between 2000 and 2002 service the Pākanae marae, two churches and 65 households (see Figure 4.4 for a detailed map of the Pākanae water supply) (Watson et al., 2003b). The health, social and cultural outcomes of the Pākanae water supply have been tremendous for the Pākanae marae and community, and will be further discussed in section 5.3. The PWBI extended its resource consent for the water take in 2009 until 2043 (see Appendix B) and is currently in the process of burying the pipes. Households currently pay annual rates of $220 a year to the PWBI, with 5 to 6 part-time farmers and one full-time farmer paying extra for access to the raw supply.² The PWBI is hoping to save enough money over the long-term to ensure that the water supply is self-sustaining (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

² The cost to the farmers is dependent on the size of their farm.
Figure 4.4: Map drawn by an engineer from Cook and Costello (2000) showing the site of the water treatment plant and pipes implemented during 2000-2002 (Map amended by Ian Leigh-Mackenzie).
4.5.6: Summary

The case study of the Pākanae water supply provides insight into the often fortuitous nature of CBSP. Improvements to the Pākanae water supply from 2000 to 2002 were contingent upon the ability of Dr. Michael Taylor, the HHET and the Pākanae community to seize opportunities. This sub-section also highlights the centrality of cross-cultural relationships to the Pākanae water supply and the ways that the PWBI affirms historical ties between Māori and Pakeha. Ultimately, this section demonstrates how water is more than an abstract resource, which is central to discussions in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.6 – Conclusion

In section 4.1 I outlined the methodology underpinning this research. It was argued that cross-cultural research requires the researcher to remain critically self-aware throughout the research process. Whilst cross-cultural research provides a number of challenges, it also creates a number of opportunities. Mutual learning, relationship building and the incorporation of Indigenous protocols into the research process enriched this thesis. It was suggested that whilst it was not possible to address every ethical issue that emerged, it was possible to put in place measures to ensure that I remained accountable to the community. Pre-consultation was central to this research and provided me with an opportunity to establish relationships at an early stage of the research process. These relationships were critical and ensured that I remained attentive to the concerns of research participants prior to, during and after data collection.

Semi-structured interviews are the primary source of data for this thesis, with secondary documents supplementing interview transcripts. It was argued that the value of interviews resides in their ability to provide the researcher with insight into the contextually specific factors that affect how individuals construct social and environmental phenomena. Subsequently, it is possible to facilitate the DA imperative of ‘looking beyond the text’ because interviewees can highlight what is taken for granted in geographic debates. Conversely, assumptions that underpin the perspectives of interviewees also provide insight into the pervasiveness of certain discourses within environmental deliberations.
PCT reveals how it is necessary to unpack the layered histories on which contemporary environmental deliberations are situated (Sidaway, 2000). The intent of this chapter was to establish a basis from which I would be able to interrogate the inherited landscape that the Pākanae water supply is situated upon in Chapters 5 and 6. It is envisaged that this will provide an opportunity to offer nuanced, as opposed to generalised insights into CBSP. The contextual grounding in this chapter has afforded an understanding of the contextually specific factors that influence the Pākanae water supply. In section 4.5 I suggested that it would be unwise to isolate the Pākanae water supply in time and space from other events that occurred prior to and after the implementation of the water supply in 2002. Furthermore, cross-cultural dynamics unique to Pākanae provide insight into the connections between culture and water. Ultimately, lessons from sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 enable the contextualisation of data sourced from interviews. Placing findings from this research into their broader historical context is essential if I am to ascertain how devolution can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.
Chapter 5

Examining the Influences on the Pākanae Water Supply

5.0 – Introduction

The methodological and contextual framework outlined in Chapter 4 provides a basis to interrogate claims-making associated with community-based service provision (CBSP). In this chapter I will juxtapose the findings from this research against the largely pessimistic orientation of recent CBSP literature (Hall and Lobina, 2007; Bakker, 2008; Sproker, 2009; Jones, 2011). By applying lessons from Postcolonial Theory (PCT) it is the intent of this chapter to offer a contribution to CBSP literature by examining the different factors that influence the devolution of service provision. In doing so, I will suggest that CBSP is the product of the inherited landscape upon which it is situated. Using PCT as a conceptual apparatus, I will provide insight into the ways that colonial legacies continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies, and the ways that these relations can be destabilised through CBSP (Loomba, 2005; Kapoor, 2008).

In section 5.1 I will examine how neoliberal ideology has influenced discourses surrounding the rights of citizens in the Far North. Results from this research are consistent with claims made in Chapter 3 that the prioritisation of business models over good governance has undermined the rights of citizens to a basic level of service provision (Harvey, 2005). I will suggest that by placing impetus on business models, the Far North District Council (FNDC) has been able to obscure the political nature of its decision not to provide the predominately Māori communities on the West Coast of the Far North with a basic level of service provision. The inability of the FNDC to fulfil its statutory obligations forced the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust (HHET) and Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) to engage in CBSP. Interpreting this finding through a PCT lens reveals how the empowering discourses that are frequently associated with CBSP can obscure inherited asymmetrical power relations (Biccum, 2005).
Subsequent to detailing how neoliberal assumptions pervade the priorities of the FNDC, I will reveal how its non-involvement in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga (safe drinking water in the Hokianga) created an opportunity for the HHET to establish safe drinking water supplies across the Hokianga. In section 5.2 I will reveal how the HHET leveraged its relationship with key individuals at the Ministry of Health (MoH) to provide Pākanae with a unique amount of autonomy over the implementation of its water supply. Lessons from PCT suggest that broader asymmetrical power relations can be destabilised because the state is not a cohesive, monolithic entity (Kapoor, 2008). Findings from this research suggest that if key individuals can form tactical relationships, they may be able to provide communities with an opportunity to mitigate, or even circumnavigate broader asymmetrical power relations at a local level. As a result, it can be suggested that in certain situations CBSP can help draw attention to inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures.

In section 5.3 I will examine the benefits and costs that can be attributed to the Pākanae water supply. Findings from this research reveal how the Pākanae water supply has had beneficial cultural and social outcomes. All the Pākanae community members interviewed expressed an immense sense of pride in their water supply and perceived that the project had been a success. However, by examining the costs associated with the project, I will expose broader justice concerns emanating from the PWBI taking responsibility for work that should have been completed by the FNDC. The burden that this has placed on certain individuals is immense, and raises concerns about the long-term sustainability of current management arrangements.

5.1 – Neoliberalisation in the Far North

5.1.1: Introduction

In this section I will affirm claims made in section 3.1 that neoliberal ideology has fundamentally altered discourses surrounding the rights of citizens to a basic level of service provision. I will argue that the FNDC has been able to relinquish its responsibilities because it has framed the provision of water as a ‘loss leader’, as opposed to a necessary service. By framing the provision of safe drinking water to small communities on the West coast of the Far North as uneconomic, the FNDC has been able to obscure the fundamentally political nature of its decision not to provide...
communities in the Hokianga with safe drinking water. It will be suggested that the ability of the FNDC to neglect communities on the West Coast stems from broader asymmetrical power relations between Māori and the state. Subsequent to justifying this claim, I will examine the values and assumptions that permeate the FNDC’s assertion that service provision in small, rural communities is above and beyond what it can afford. I will also examine how the normative positioning of Western values within FNDC policy has resulted in the marginalisation of the non-economic connections and relationships that Māori have with their tūrangawaewae (place of belonging). Evidence presented in this section provides a basis to suggest that neoliberal discourses have transformed citizens into consumers in the Far North.

5.1.2: Identifying the priorities of the Far North District Council

Economic reforms during the 1980s and 1990s have had a profound impact on discourses of citizenship (Harvey, 2005). It is the intent of this sub-section to highlight how neoliberal ideology influences the priorities of the FNDC. Findings indicate that the rights of citizens to a safe drinking water supply, regardless of location, have been undermined by the prioritisation of business models over good governance in the Far North.

It would be assumed that in New Zealand all citizens are provided with a basic level of service provision. However, during interviews with HHET employees it became apparent that many communities in the Hokianga are unable to access basic services such as safe drinking water, adequate housing and functioning wastewater and sewerage disposal systems. The inability of the FNDC to fulfil its obligations as stipulated under the Health Act (1956) and HDWAA (2007) (see sub-section 4.3.3) and provide all households in the Far North with potable water is concerning given the serious health implications of water contamination. For example, in 1997 several children from a kōhanga reo (pre-school) in the Hokianga contracted Hepatitis A as a result of drinking contaminated water (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011). Whilst the FNDC is aware of the public health risks emanating from drinking water contamination, it argues that the financial cost of supplying potable water to small, isolated communities in the Hokianga is above and beyond what it can afford.
The Achilles heel of the Far North are that your costs of living from the point of view of travel and services will be higher because there are less of you up here to pay for the things that you want (roads take 40% of the council’s income) (FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure, Interview, 5/10/2011).

Assessing the validity of the claim by the FNDC that it is unable to afford the cost of supplying small communities in the Hokianga with safe drinking water requires an analysis of the council’s expenditures and its broader priorities. In the 2010/2011 FNDC Annual Plan the council identified eight key strategic priorities as part of its Long Term Council Community Plan 2009-2019. These priorities are presented in Figure 5.1. It is apparent that the FNDC has placed impetus on cost-recovery, reducing costs and increasing revenues in its strategic priorities, which suggests that it has adopted the neoliberal assumption that economic growth is the key determinant of a prosperous society (Heynen et al., 2007). When asked if these priorities influence how the council approaches the provision of water, the FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure (Interview, 5/10/2011) stated:

It has considerable influence because for council at the moment water supply is a loss. A loss leader if you like. It has to be subsidised through general rates. And in actual fact under the LGA (2010) the council has the responsibility to balance costs against income.

By framing water as a ‘loss leader’ as opposed to an essential life-supporting thread that underpins the health of the natural and human environment, the FNDC has prioritised cost reductions over the social, environmental and cultural benefits that are associated with a safe drinking water supply. In doing so, the FNDC has been able to commodify water and frame access to water as an economic choice as opposed to a citizen’s right.

With water systems we can in fact say it’s an optional resource. You can put a tank in if you want to. You can make yourself self-sufficient if you want to. You can go and buy water if you want to (FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure, Interview, 5/10/2011).

Treating water as an ‘optional resource’ has significant ethical and justice implications due to the public health risks associated with contaminated drinking water supplies. During his work in the Hokianga following the 1999 floods (see sub-section 4.5.3), Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) stated that a resident in the Hokianga considered it “perfectly normal” for his children to get diarrhoea about five times a year.
Figure 5.1: Page from the FNDC Long-term Council Community Plan showing the eight strategic priorities of the FNDC from 2009-2019 (FNDC, 2010: 10).
Relinquishing the provision of water on the basis that it is not profitable undermines the significant social and cultural costs that exist where communities do not have access to safe drinking water. It also indicates that the reasons why small, predominately Māori communities are not provided with safe drinking water supplies in the Hokianga are more political in nature than economic. This claim is based on comments made by CEO of the HHET who highlighted how the FNDC reallocated central government funding targeted for high needs communities in the early 2000s.

The FNDC received money for high needs communities like the Hokianga to develop wastewater schemes but they put those resources into the wealthiest communities in the Far North … So they got the money but they put the resources into areas like Kerikeri. And in the Far North we have this chalk and cheese socio-economic situation of very wealthy communities on the East coast and poor on the West – and the council put those subsidies into the Kerikeri wastewater scheme (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

Even where funding has been made available by central government, the FNDC has been unwilling to address the urgent socio-economic needs of small, predominately Māori communities in the Hokianga. The $160,000 that the council has allocated for a car park in Kerikeri (the initial cost to establish the Pākanae water supply was $168,000 – see sub-section 4.5.5) is emblematic of the disparity between the East and West coast in the Far North (FNDC, 2010: 9). Such disparities also suggest that the claim made by the FNDC that it is unable to afford the cost of service provision in small communities is contestable. I will argue that whilst service provision and the cost of deferred maintenance can be higher on a per capita basis in communities such as Pākanae (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011), the lack of development on the West coast over the last two decades can be largely attributed to a lack of political will as opposed to insufficient capital.

I mean to your treasury and people like that, small rural communities are not economic anyway. Your pure economist would like everyone living in Auckland because it would be much cheaper to supply everybody. And so in isolated communities the roads are more expensive; the water is more expensive; the schools are more expensive. So it ultimately comes down to a political decision – are you going to help these communities or not? (Public Health Engineer, Interview, 1/11/2011).

Findings from this sub-section suggest that by adopting neoliberal principles the FNDC has been able to deflect attention away from the political nature of its decision to
relinquish from its statutory obligations in the Hokianga. In the following sub-section I will use PCT to examine the values that underpin the priorities of the FNDC and assess how these values are influenced by distinctly Eurocentric notions of ‘choice’ and ‘freedom’.

5.1.3: The subjectivity of freedom

In the previous sub-section I demonstrated how the FNDC has withdrawn from its statutory obligations to provide communities in the Hokianga with a basic level of service provision on the pretence that it is unable to afford the cost of servicing small, rural communities. Whilst it is acknowledged that the financial cost of servicing smaller communities can be higher (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011), the extent of the disparity between the East and West coast suggests that political choice is likely to be a major contributing factor to underdevelopment in the Hokianga. Applying PCT, it will be argued in this sub-section that the values that underpin FNDC decision-making structures provide insight into why many households in the Hokianga remain unable to access a basic level of service provision, and how these values are grounded in distinctly Western notions of ‘choice’.

It can be suggested that there are a range of factors that contribute to the disparity between the East and West coast in the Far North. John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) suggests that the amalgamation of the Hokianga County Council into the FNDC in the late 1980s failed to deliver the promised outcomes of more development in the Hokianga.

The idea was that larger was better and that smaller councils were not efficient. And of course that was not the case. It would’ve been the case 20 years earlier but the irony of Hokianga was that we were beginning to get on a role prior to amalgamation and a lot of good things were happening … Amalgamation happened with the promise that more of this would occur … but of course nothing has happened since then, so amalgamation took us further away and we lost local representation in the council. We’ve never had a Hokianga councillor since amalgamation, so we’ve not been influential in the FNDC and been able to say wastewater and drinking water are important in Hokianga. So effectively we have been left to our own devices to sort these problems out.

This comment is analogous to other comments made by interviewees from the Hokianga who consider their region to be invisible within FNDC decision-making. An assertion that larger organisations are able to deliver higher quality services assumes
that resources pooled through amalgamation are distributed in an equitable manner. However, because the decision of how resources are distributed is political, the interests of communities without effective political representation are marginalised within larger, centralised decision-making organisations (Bakker, 2007a). In section 6.2 I will use PCT to examine the reasons why the interests of smaller, predominately Māori communities are marginalised within contemporary decision-making structures.

The values that underpin FNDC decision-making structures have had a profound effect on how resources are allocated in the Far North. By prioritising the economic costs and benefits over social, environmental and cultural considerations (see sub-section 5.1.2), the FNDC has inadvertently transformed the citizens’ right to water into the consumers’ right to water. Framing citizens as consumers is significant because it implies that citizens that are unable to pay their rates are not entitled to services irrespective of their socio-economic circumstance. For instance, when asked if the smaller population size was the reason why the FNDC has been unable to provide water to many communities on the West coast, the FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure (Interview, 5/10/2011) stated that was the primary reason, but there is,

Also the risk of those who will pay against those who will not … Now we have a very high level of people who don’t pay rates and we have a very high level of what I call theft in our water system. People who connect illegally to our water systems and take without paying. And there are a bunch of people who think they can take it unmetered and not pay (FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure, Interview, 5/10/2011).

Whilst illegal connections are economically unsustainable and detrimental to the water supply network in the Far North, it must be acknowledged that these actions are likely to be the product of a complex amalgam of historical, social, economic and political factors. However, by framing these actions in a purely economic sense, it is possible to obscure these more complex factors. During an interview with a Drinking Water Team Member (Interview, 7/10/2011) from the Northland Public Health Unit (NPHU) it was emphasised that there are many problems facing small, predominately Māori communities in the Far North, and that these problems stem largely from high levels of deprivation. However, if the actions of citizens are framed exclusively in an economic sense their engagement in illegal activities and inability to pay their rates is considered as a ‘choice’ as opposed to a symptom of poverty.
With prime Maori land it’s not a problem of rating it’s a problem of collection. We are 16 million dollars in the hole at the present time on rateable land. And effectively people are saying we can’t pay. Why? Because this land block that we have here doesn’t give us any income. Why doesn’t it? Because we choose not to graze it … the problem is the use of land is seen to be their right. As I have a right to land. But I also have an obligation to pay for that land that I have. Now there is a problem between my right to have it and my obligations to pay. (FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure, Interview, 5/10/2011).

This comment is indicative of the profound impact that neoliberal ideology has had on discourses surrounding citizenship over the last three decades, and affirms suggestions in sub-section 3.1.2 that neoliberalism is grounded in Eurocentric values (Bargh, 2007). In particular, the use of the term ‘choice’ simplifies and divorces the inability of citizens to pay their rates from broader and more complex issues. Framing challenges exclusively in economic terms undermines the non-economic values that individuals and communities ascribe to their environment. This is particularly true for Māori who have cultural, spiritual, social and environmental obligations that transcend the economic values that dominate the FNDC’s priorities.

You want them to understand that there is no rural community – we’ve always been here! So where we live it’s always been a home. And to push those values of why we are still here – whakapapa (genealogy) and responsibility of looking after the environment (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

Contrasting the cultural and environmental obligations in this comment with the economic obligations identified earlier provides insight into the contestability of what is considered to be ‘responsible citizenship’. The subjectivity of ‘responsible citizenship’ is reflective of a deeper incommensurability that exists between Māori and Western worldviews. Perspectives expressed by Māori interviewees suggest that to them, one of the most important freedoms is the freedom of being able to remain connected to their tūrangawaewae (place of belonging).

As I got older I had to get home. I don’t want to be in this concrete city (Manakau City) because that’s not home. That’s an existence … there’s a link between your home and yourself that is very, very strong. It’s your roots. Your roots are there. So by choice or not, at some stage people go home. Like me to live there and to exist there, and some people come home in their coffins. So the choice of living in these rural areas – it is our home (Marara Rogers-Koroheke, Interview, 24/11/2011).
The way that the term ‘choice’ is used in this comment is considerably different from how it was used by the FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure (Interview, 5/10/2011) when questioned about the pronounced socio-economic disparity between the East and West coast of the Far North.

If I want to live in that environment and get the benefits of that environment, and I want to be close to family – whatever the reason, I’ve got to understand the limitations, the pluses and minuses of that situation. I’ve seen Indigenous populations around the world where they say I have a right to live here. And I shared in a meeting with some Navajo in the States, and they said we want to live on our reservation. Fine. But guy’s it’s desert! And you’re hundreds of kilometres from anywhere. It’s cheap to live. But the fact of the matter is you have to drive 200 or 300km to get your groceries. That’s your choice.

Framing the obligations and connections that Māori have to their tūrangawaewae as a ‘choice’ undermines the non-economic values that underpin Māori ontology. It is also reflective of how Western values are framed as normative within discussions around ‘freedom’. Contributions to PCT suggest that the normative positioning of Western values in environmental deliberations in the Far North is not due to their proximity to the truth, but their proximity to power (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). The positional superiority of Western values in decision-making structures has significant implications for the relationships that Māori have with their environment, and will be further discussed in section 6.1.

This sub-section has indicated that the prioritisation of economic values in decision-making structures in the Far North has resulted in the normative positioning of Western notions of choice and freedom. This finding is consistent with arguments made in subsection 3.1.2 that neoliberalism is underpinned by distinctly Western notions of the environment and society (Yeboah, 2006). Informed by PCT, I will suggest that the ability of institutions, such as the FNDC, to privilege Western values in environmental deliberations stems from asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation, as opposed to the relationship of Western values with the truth (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). The consequences of this are significant for Māori and Pakeha in Pākanae who ascribe non-economic values to water and their community water supply. In the following sub-section I detail how this research contributes to hydro-social perspectives, and how lessons from the Pākanae water supply suggest that there are benefits associated with
treating water as a life-supporting thread that weaves society and the environment together as opposed to an economic commodity.

5.1.4: Freshwater management in the Far North

In sub-section 5.1.3 I detailed how Eurocentric values are framed as normative in discussions around freedom. In this sub-section I will apply concepts from PCT to assess how the privileged position of Western values in environmental deliberations undermines the ability of Māori to fulfill their obligations as kaitiaki (guardians) of the environment. This sub-section contributes to hydro-social perspectives by examining how neoliberal ideology is unable to accommodate the non-economic values that Māori interviewees’ attach to freshwater. Findings from this sub-section affirm arguments made in Chapter 3 that the commodification of water undermines the complex and essential socio-environmental relationships that are central to cultural identity (Swyngedouw, 2009; Weir, 2009).

Contemporary freshwater ‘management’ can be traced to the philosophical tradition of modernity, which emerged during the enlightenment period in 18th Century Europe (Weir, 2009). This approach to freshwater management is based on a belief that society is abstract from nature, meaning that it is necessary for humans to dam, divert and use water in order to make it productive (Weir, 2009). Evidence from this research suggests that this Eurocentric notion of water as an abstract resource continues to pervade management approaches in New Zealand. The chairperson of the 5A Māori Land Block Trust, Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011), expresses his frustrations when asked if he thinks that the FNDC recognises the complexities associated with freshwater management.

They understand it all right, but it is a business to them. And water is the business they are about – getting the supply and getting a return from that supply. It's not about all these other factors. They don't factor that in. So the cultural side they don't look at, at all – it's fiscal. Now we are dealing with three council operated and run rivers at the moment in our area, and they are misusing all of them. And two of them are at the point where there is no flow at all – there are no migratory fish, we've got several fish species dying off, the shellfish beds where they enter the harbour are getting so deplinished now that its incredibly noticeable. We have surveyed the harbour for the last 6 years – we have done full comprehensive dive surveys and it has proved our claims. Now the council’s answer to those sorts of things is – they had a fish expert come and talk to us about how great the biodiversity of the stream was, but they couldn't take any readings because there was no flow in the river! And I said to them, how do you suppose fish can go upstream in a
dry river? And he said well they can't. And I said thank you for wasting my time for half an hour!

The claim by Alan Hessell that the local council perceives water as a commodity is consistent with findings from sub-sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3. A local kaumatua (elder), Ngawati Mau (Interview, 11/10/2011), affirms the claim that there have been significant environmental changes in Pākanae over his lifetime. He reveals how these changes have adversely impacted upon food gathering.

In the times (1940s to 1950s) we were growing up we had a lot of food around Pākanae itself … we had fish available and shellfish was plentiful. Fresh water fish – we had plenty of that. I remember the times that the old people used to go fishing for tuna (eels) at night, like with a lamp. That was quite active and plentiful, but not so much now.

Perspectives expressed by Māori interviewees’ indicate that water is central to the cultural and social practices that are fundamental to their identity. This finding resonates with arguments that water creates inseparable ties between nature and society (Swyngedouw, 2005a, 2009). The perspectives of Māori interviewees demonstrate that water is more than a biophysical element or economic commodity; it is a life force that creates and enhances the relationships that underpin their existence. Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) argues that Western perspectives of water undermine this relationship between water and society because they neglect the most fundamental of truths.

I'll put it this way. We have as human beings have a whanaungatanga (relationship) tie to water. Without it we are dead. It doesn't need us; we need it. So we have got to do everything in our power to make sure that our mother; literally our mother is safe. So we have a whanaungatanga tie, and that whanaungatanga tie only goes one way. So we have got to protect it.

This perception of water as ‘literally our mother’ is decidedly different from Eurocentric perspectives that frame water as a commodity or a management unit. I will suggest that this finding is indicative of the irreconcilable differences that exist between Māori and Western perspectives of the environment. Within te reo Māori (the Māori language) water is placed within the ‘o’ category³, which means that it is considered to

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³ In te reo Māori ‘a’ and ‘o’ markers are used to distinguish between activities, objects and events that are superior in relation to the possessor, and activities, objects and events that are inferior in relation to the possessor. The ‘a’ marker denotes if something is inferior in relation to the possessor (i.e. an individual from a younger generation), and the ‘o’ marker denotes if something is superior (i.e. an individual from a older generation) (Moorfield, 2001).
be in a superior position in relation to the possessor (Moorfield, 2001). However, Western perspectives derived from modernity position water in an inferior position in relation to humans because water is considered as abstract from society (Weir, 2009). These fundamental differences create irreconcilable tensions within environmental management in New Zealand.

The intent of this sub-section was to contrast the perspectives of Māori interviewees against the decidedly Eurocentric values that underpin freshwater management in the Far North. Claims made in Chapter 3 that top-down management frameworks underpinned by neoliberal ideology are unable to account for the multiple non-economic values ascribed to water were confirmed in this sub-section (Swyngedouw, 2009). Consequently, the non-economic values that Māori ascribe to water remain marginal within broader decision-making structures that are underpinned by Eurocentric values. Ethical concerns emanating from this will be discussed in Chapter 6. In the following section I will suggest that community-based water provision has the potential to take into account these non-economic values because it connects communities to their environment. In doing so, Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP) provides Māori, whose values remain marginal within broader decision-making structures with an opportunity to destabilise the normative positioning of Western values in environmental management.

5.1.5: Summary

Neoliberal ideology pervades contemporary governance structures, with Eurocentric notions of society and nature influencing the values that shape environmental decision-making. The positional superiority of Western values in environmental decision-making has significant implications for Māori whose historical connections to the environment can be undermined by distinctly Western notions of ‘choice’ and ‘freedom’ (Bargh, 2007). The normative positioning of Western values in environmental deliberations is reflective of the extent that power disparities are embedded within decision-making structures. Such findings affirm lessons from PCT that suggest that the power disparities inherited from colonisation continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies (Loomba, 2005). The rest of this chapter will examine how these disparities can be destabilised and if the devolution of service provision provides an opportunity for the decolonisation of local governance.
5.2 – Responding to critiques of devolution

5.2.1: Introduction

In Chapter 3 I applied the postcolonial concept of ‘othering’ to demonstrate how Neoliberal Environmental Governance (NEG) preserves inequalities inherited from colonisation (Bargh, 2007). Postcolonial critiques of devolution indicate that it is necessary to locate CBSP within its broader historical context and examine the pre-existing power relations that influence how responsibility and authority are allocated within devolved governance arrangements (Kothari, 2006). Responding to the largely critical nature of recent contributions to NEG literature (see Spronk, 2009), I will argue in this section that the devolution of service provision can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. However, it will be suggested that the potentially progressive outcomes of devolution are contingent upon the ‘inherited landscape’ that CBSP is situated upon (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010). Findings from this research suggest that because the Pākanae community was able to leverage its strong relationship with the HHET, it was able to implement a water supply that was consistent with the community’s aspirations. Whilst it is acknowledged that the reasons why Pākanae had to implement its own water supply stem from institutionalised neglect (see section 5.1), it will be argued that due to the specific circumstances surrounding Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, they were able to exert a degree of autonomy that would have not otherwise existed. I will suggest that the opportunistic nature of the upgrade to the Pākanae water supply is analogous with notions of the ‘Third Space’ (see section 2.3). The case study of the Pākanae water supply can contribute to understandings of PCT and CBSP because it highlights how communities can seize opportunities and form tactical relationships to circumvent the broader structural power disparities that constrain community autonomy.

5.2.2: The philosophy of the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust

MoH and HHET employees emphasised that it was fortuitous that funding was made available for the pilot project Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga (see sub-section 4.5.4). Whilst the availability of funding created the opportunity for the Pākanae community to upgrade its water supply, it will be argued in this sub-section that the upgrade would not have occurred if it were not for the involvement of the HHET. Due to strong pre-existing relationships with communities in the Hokianga, the HHET was able to devolve
the responsibility and authority it had obtained from the MoH to the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI). Findings from this sub-section indicate that it is necessary to locate CBSP into its broader historical context. NEG literature will be critiqued because it tends to imply that if asymmetrical power relations are realigned then communities can exert greater autonomy over CBSP (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006). Based on arguments made in Chapter 2 and findings from interviews, I will argue that even if asymmetrical power relations are realigned, the historical relationships between state, market and civic actors still influence the decisions that communities make in a contemporary context.

During interviews, PWBI members and MoH employees expressed how HHET was pivotal to the implementation of Nga Punā Wai o Hokianga. As will be recalled from sub-section 4.5.4, HHET operates under the principle of subsidiarity. This guiding principle is reflected in its governance structure, which is designed to ensure that decisions made by the HHET are consistent with the aspirations of the people (HHET, 2011a). HHET places communities at the top, as opposed to the bottom of its decision-making structures, meaning that it not only remains accountable to them, but also depends on their involvement. Consequently, the HHET ensures that the people of the Hokianga actively retain their power over the trust. In the following quote the CEO of the HHET contrasts the principle of subsidiarity against the term ‘empowerment’ which tends to be associated with progressive discourses within CBSP literature.

I don’t like to use the word empowerment because I think that people already have that power. It’s not like we give people power. We just allow them to exercise it ... empowerment implies that someone in a superior position is giving power away to someone in an inferior position, while subsidiarity means that power does not have to be given away – power properly belongs where it should. So we are very careful about using the word empowerment because it is easy to say – people understand it. But it leads to another problem because you are conceding that people don’t have this power, and really all power belongs to the people (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

This comment is consistent with Foucauldian conceptualisations of power (in O’Farrell, 2005) (see sub-section 2.2.2). A PCT analysis of this comment reveals that due to the benevolent discourses associated with the term empowerment, it can be used to obscure underlying power disparities (Kothari, 2006). Consequently, it can be suggested that
‘empowerment’ is the product of asymmetrical power relations, as opposed to community enterprise.

An understanding of the philosophy that directs the conduct of the HHET provides insight into the nature of its relationship with communities in the Hokianga. Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) suggests that the involvement of the HHET was critical to the successful implementation of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga because the HHET enabled marae and communities in the Hokianga to make an informed and autonomous decision.

This isn’t big brother coming in. This is your own hospital. This isn’t wellington, this isn’t northland health, this isn’t the health act, this is the hospital – ‘oh look it’s the hospital – come in and have a cup of tea.’ Then we can say we are able to provide this, do you need the assistance? And they can say no. But they are given time to look internally and talk amongst themselves, and say hey this is a great kaupapa (topic/platform) – we can see a vision, we always had this vision. See a lot of the work that has been done was thought about three or four generations back, but because of not having opportunities, and because everything ‘stays up here’ (institutional level) those opportunities were never fulfilled.

In his comment, Hone Taimona reveals the pivotal role that the HHET played in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. The comment also provides insight into the broader-socio-historical context on which Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was situated. During his work in the Hokianga, Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) came to realise that there are many “small units (marae and communities) in the Hokianga that regard themselves as autonomous – completely autonomous. Even from central government.” This socio-historical context is the product of histories of colonisation and strained relationships with central and local government. A consequence of this socio-historical context is that marae and communities in the Hokianga remain suspicious of external involvement in their affairs (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011). This finding affirms a claim made in Chapter 2 that the colonial past continues to shape relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies (Loomba, 2005). For MoH employees this meant that it would not have been possible to obtain the trust of marae and communities in the Hokianga without the involvement of the HHET.

We couldn’t have done it without them because the HHET had the trust of the community. And just me turning up from Wellington in a suit saying: ‘oh I’ve got this great idea for you to put in water supplies wasn’t going to work. They might say we will take the money; but then they might use it on
something else. The HHET was critical to get their trust. To get all the different communities together – some of the communities were arguing amongst each other. And to show the importance of a safe water supply. Yeah it was a pivotal point where the communities could get together and the HHET knew how to work with the communities (Public Health Engineer, Interview, 1/11/2011).

The pre-existing relationship that communities in the Hokianga had with the HHET was central to Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. It will be argued that it was this relationship that enabled the HHET to devolve responsibility and authority down to the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI). The importance of trust and relationships was emphasised during an interview with John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011), who argues that if the FNDC were given the responsibility of being the conduit between the MoH and communities, it would have been unlikely to succeed even if it had adopted the same approach as the HHET.

I think it matters who the organisation is. And the history and everything is really important in regards to building trust. It’s like a bank account. Trust is built up by a series of events of giving and taking I suppose. If the history with an agency feels like or it has been all take - ‘I’ve given my rates all these years and what have I got back?’ That sort of conversation often happens. It might not be real, it might be a perception, but that has a strong effect.

This quotation highlights that ‘it matters who the organisation is’. In NEG and CBSP literature, emphasis is placed on the power relations that define how responsibility and authority are devolved to communities (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006; Bakker, 2008). Implicit within these arguments is an assumption that if asymmetrical power relations are negated than communities can exert greater autonomy over CBSP. However, lessons from PCT and the quotation above highlight that even if power relations are realigned, the historical relationships between state, market and community actors will still influence the decisions that communities make in a contemporary context.

The viability of CBSP is contingent upon the ‘inherited landscape’ on which it is situated (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010). Evidence from this sub-section indicates that without the involvement of the HHET, communities in the Hokianga would have been unlikely to support Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. However, this sub-section also highlights deficiencies within existing NEG literature. Applying PCT, I revealed how ostensibly progressive discourses associated with ‘empowerment’ can be used to preserve asymmetrical power relations. In the following sub-section I will examine how...
the HHET leveraged key relationships to ensure that communities such as Pākanae had a degree of autonomy over how their water supply would be implemented.

5.2.3: Circumventing power disparities

The case study of the Pākanae water supply provides insight into the ways that relationships can be leveraged to circumnavigate asymmetrical power relations. Results from this research indicate that the devolution of responsibility and authority from the MoH to the HHET was underpinned by strong relationships that provided the HHET with autonomy in regards to how funding for the project would be used.

When I talked to them (HHET) about how to do it, they said you don't know anything about the way in which the Māori community works, which I had to agree with. They took me around to two or three marae. It was quite an eye opener for me to find out about the protocols and how the system worked … after talking to them it was fairly obvious that with the abilities of the Hokianga Health Trust and Hone (Taimona) that they would be able to run it quite well (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

The ‘hands off’ approach taken by key MoH employees enabled the HHET to invest in an extensive consultation phase, as to ensure that marae and communities in the Hokianga had autonomy over their decision to become involved with the pilot project. It is recognised in previous studies of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga that whilst time consuming, this consultation was critical to the ultimate implementation of 36 marae supplies and two community supplies (Jellie et al., 2003; Watson et al., 2003b; Foote et al., 2005). Critical to the consultation phase was the involvement of two kaiwhakakokiri (negotiators) who ensured that information was communicated effectively between the HHET and communities. Ultimately, this research indicates that whilst broader socio-institutional structures delimit community autonomy, asymmetrical power relations can be circumvented because ‘the state’ is not a monolithic entity, as is often implied within PCT literature.

When I was working in the civil service, there was a standard arrangement … the central government agencies are supposed to talk with one voice, but they have many tongues in fact. And under them are the regional authorities. And under them the local authorities (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

This comment reveals that the state is not a cohesive, homogenous entity. As discussed in Chapter 2, Kapoor (2008) provides insight into how instability inherent within ‘the
state’ creates opportunities to destabilise broader asymmetrical power relations. Findings from this sub-section indicate that the ability of Dr. Michael Taylor, John Wigglesworth and the two kaiwhakakokiri to seize an opportunity (see sub-section 4.5.3) provided marae and communities with a degree of autonomy that otherwise would not have existed.

During interviews it became apparent that “the water project was unique in that there was a lot of trust” (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011). To highlight the importance of trust, John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) contrasts the way that the HHET devolved responsibility during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga against the inability of the FNDC to trust the Whirinaki community after the 1999 floods (see Figure 4.1).

The council also had some responsibilities after the flood. For instance the rivers needed cleaning up. The Whirinaki River was completely blocked and the community wanted to get their diggers out and unblock the river. But it was council’s responsibility. And one day I was going to a meeting at Whirinaki and the council were there. And I was going to talk about how I was going to devolve the resources down to the community (laugh) so they could build the water scheme, and the council had just been there to say that there is no way that you are going to have the resources … the CEO was saying I can’t trust that you will complete the job in accordance with the standards that I have to meet. I was going there saying that I can trust you. So in the end it came to trust. So the person with authority was able to pass that authority on to the next party. But then again somewhere along the line that has got to happen. To be effective at a local level you have to pass on that trust at some point.

Whilst it is acknowledged that accountability is a major consideration for central and local government, evidence from this research suggests that accountability and trust are not mutually exclusive. I will argue that because the HHET had a track record of remaining accountable to the communities of the Hokianga, it was able to trust them with the responsibilities that it had received from the MoH. This is because when trust is devolved from an organisation or agency that has proved that it is committed to safeguarding the interests of a community, that community in turn develops a sense of obligation to that organisation or agency. Such reciprocity ensures that the interests of both parties are preserved. This claim is affirmed by findings from this research. For
instance, when John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) was asked if he thought that communities in the Hokianga had a sense of obligation towards the HHET he stated:

Absolutely. When you give away that responsibility and pass that responsibility on, people hold that responsibility even stronger then you would. As we did when the MoH gave us responsibility. We gave a much broader response to it and so did the community. But the reason why that occurs is because there is an alignment of ideals and aspirations. You know if you can align with the community’s aspiration, and the MoH can align with ours, you have a very powerful mechanism to achieve positive outcomes. And everybody can be confident because everybody’s intent is so strong. And really that is the recipe for success.

Based on the perspectives of interviewees from Pākanae, I will argue that this sense of obligation was a contributing factor to the successful implementation of the marae and community water supplies.

Crucial to the ‘alignment of ideals’ was the involvement of two kaiwhakakokiri (negotiators) who were employed by the HHET to act as an interface between the trust and the communities (Foote et al, 2005). The kaiwhakakokiri were from hapū (sub-tribes) of the Hokianga and their knowledge of tikanga (correct procedure) and awareness of the relationships within the community enabled them to ensure that the aspirations of the community were effectively communicated to the HHET and vice versa. The ability of the kaiwhakakokiri to translate local and scientific esoteric knowledge was critical to the ability of individuals and communities to make an informed decision about whether they wanted to be involved with the project. Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) who was one of the kaiwhakakokiri involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga discusses his role at the HHET in the following quote.

Being able to work for Hauora Hokianga (HHET), you are working for a legal entity but mainly you are working with your own people, and the people are working with you. And you are able to work things out quite simply, quite easily, because you know the barriers, because you know your community and you know certain tikanga (correct procedures), certain kaupapa (topic/platform) that is all associated with how we live today, how we lived in the past. So all of those kinds of personal and individual things, as well as the collectiveness in regards to relationships are empowered by Hauora Hokianga.
Hone highlights how the HHET is in a position of power due to it being recognised as a ‘legal entity’. However, he also reveals that the HHET actively manages this power disparity by ensuring that it empowers the communities of the Hokianga. Whilst this finding affirms the claim made in sub-section 5.2.2 that ‘empowerment’ is the product of asymmetrical power relations, it appears that the term can be used in a progressive sense where organisations negate asymmetrical power relations by actively ensuring that they transfer their power to communities. Results from this research indicate that regressive empowerment is where communities have to seek the power that properly belongs to them; and progressive empowerment is where state organisations/agencies actively ensure that power resides in its proper place – with the people.

Miraftab (2004a: 245) suggests that terms similar to empowerment can be subverted to bring “B to do as A wants, by B’s own ‘choice’.” Whilst findings from this research support this claim to a certain extent, evidence from this sub-section suggests that more nuanced notions of ‘empowerment’ are required within NEG literature. Because the HHET employed two kaiwhakakokiri, it was able to ensure that the Pākanae community was making an informed and autonomous decision. By applying lessons from PCT, it can be argued that individuals, organisations and communities can seize opportunities and form tactical relationships to ensure that the asymmetrical power relations that pervade broader socio-institutional structures are mitigated, or even circumvented at a local level. However, in order to achieve this, organisations and individuals must be willing to relinquish their power, as to ensure that power is devolved down to its proper place. Evidence from this research suggests that Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was unique because Dr. Michael Taylor and John Wigglesworth were able devolve the responsibility and authority that they had obtained from the MoH, down to the marae and communities of the Hokianga. In light of the findings presented in this sub-section, I will examine the specific ways that the PWBI was constrained and assisted in its ability to exert autonomy over the implementation of the Pākanae water supply in the following sub-section.

5.2.4: The devolution of authority

In this sub-section I will place Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga into its historical context and examine the ways that Pākanae was able to exert a degree of autonomy over the implementation of their water supply. Prior to detailing the ways that the PWBI was
able to exert a degree of autonomy over the implementation of its water supply, I will reveal the seemingly innocuous ways that Indigenous self-determination is compromised. Despite these findings, and lessons from section 3.2, that suggest broader socio-institutional and legislative structures constrain community autonomy (Bakker, 2008; Blakeley, 2010), it will be argued in this sub-section that due to the circumstances surrounding Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga the Pākanae community was able to exert a unique amount of autonomy over the implementation of their water supply.

As has been emphasised throughout this section, the HHET played a pivotal role in ensuring that communities such as Pākanae were making an informed and autonomous decision about becoming involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

The Health Department (MoH and HHET) didn’t force anything upon us that we didn't want, apart from making sure the legal side of things was all right. That was the only thing that was compulsory. We had to have easements, and everything had to be legal (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

It can be argued that there will always be regulations and laws that communities will have to adhere to due to the broader obligations that government has to safeguard public health. Consequently, it can be suggested that at a pragmatic level, categorical autonomy can only ever be discussed in hypothetical terms. During interviews with PWBI members it became apparent that they did not consider compliance with certain regulations to be an issue.

All we had to do was turn ourselves into a registered non-profit society - incorporated society. So that was easy. And we had a lot of assistance with surveying and easements, and because we already had a water board setup it was a lot easier for us to make decisions and for the Health Department (MoH and HHET) to deal with us – to deal with someone who had a system in place (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

In this quotation, Ian highlights that if you are ‘recognised’ as a bona fide organisation by government agencies then it is easier to access assistance. Whilst he did not consider the transformation into an incorporated society to be a major issue, he did concede that the incorporated society model is based on a European style of governance. Whilst the PWBI has been able to transform this model through the incorporation of tikanga into meetings (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011), it does reveal the seemingly innocuous ways that broader socio-institutional structures compromise Indigenous self-
determination.

Whilst the transformation into an incorporated society was not perceived as a major issue, it was conceded that by doing so, the PWBI constrained its ability to exert autonomy over the long-term financial management of the water supply. A condition outlined in the agreement between the Crown and PWBI is that the water supply can only be used for non-commercial purposes (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011). During interviews there were suggestions that if this clause did not exist in the contract the community could bottle and sell water from the supply to supplement its income, as to ensure that there is enough money for maintenance and upgrades (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). However, if the community did decide it wanted to engage in a commercial venture it would be unable to do so due to its status as an incorporated society. Nonetheless, it was suggested that a commercial venture would be unviable due to the stress it would place on Matariki Stream (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011).

The chairperson of the PWBI suggested that the transformation of the Pākanae Water Board into the PWBI did not impact on the ability of the organisation to remain consistent with the community’s aspirations (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). Evidence from this research indicates that the ability of the PWBI to remain consistent with the community’s aspirations stems from its relationship with the HHET identified in sub-section 5.2.3, and the fact that the PWBI is the community.

It’s community owned. I don’t see the whole thing as being owned by the water board. I see it as being owned by the community. And we are just acting for the majority of the consumers – that’s why we do what we do. They all own it. So for example, if we did sell it, we would either have to pay the money back to the Health Department (MoH and HEHT) or give each consumer their share. Divide it all by 60 (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

The PWBI has annual general meetings (AGMs), sends out annual chairman reports, and has three unofficial committees to deal with different areas of the community. The governance structure of the PWBI is largely informal. For instance, it was suggested by interviewees that if anyone in Pākanae had any issues with the water supply they know whom to contact. Evidence from this research affirms a claim made in section 3.2 by proponents of devolution. That is, management at a community scale can be beneficial
because the distance between decision-maker and recipient is reduced (Agrawal and Lemos, 2007; Brown, 2011).

Due to the governance structure of the PWBI, the smallness of the community and pre-existing informal relationships within the community, the PWBI was able to effectively gauge if the community wanted to become involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Once a consensus was reached, the community had to decide how it was going to implement the water supply. A major talking point at PWBI meetings during this consultation phase was how the water was going to be treated.

So we had to have meetings with the people before hand. And virtually at every meeting it was stipulated by the community that there were to be no chemicals, which would mean we would put in ultra violet (… and micro-filtration) (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011).

Due to the devolution of authority down to the PWBI, the community was able to install a treatment system that was consistent with their aspirations. The implemented system is chemical free and uses a combination of membrane micro-filtration and ultra-violet disinfection to eliminate any viruses or bacteria present in the water (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). The Public Health Engineer (Interview, 1/11/2011) involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga and the Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP) suggests that the ability of the PWBI to decide how the water would be treated was unique compared to previous subsidy schemes.

If you had put it in 30 years ago, when the Ministry of Works was told to put in water supplies, it would have bought package deals, and it would’ve said to a community ‘you’re getting that treatment plant’. That would’ve been cheaper but the communities wouldn’t have had any choice, and they probably wouldn’t have accepted it. But the Ministry is not overseeing it at that technical level; it is assisting communities to get the water treatment they want. Obviously, we want to check that it is a reasonable price, but it’s not the Ministry putting in the water supply it’s the community.

Aside from the cost, another factor that could have impinged upon the community’s ability to make an autonomous decision was compliance with the Drinking Water Standards New Zealand (DWSNZ). However, because the MoH is only concerned that drinking water suppliers comply with the DWSNZ, and not how they comply (HHET, 2011b), the PWBI’s choice of treatment was not undermined. The ability of the PWBI to source funding from other sources (see Table 4.3) ensured that it did not have to compromise on its desire to have chemical free water. As will be recalled from sub-
section 4.5.5, the final cost of the Pākanae water supply was considered as “very reasonable” by the assessor employed by the MoH (Philip La Roche, Interview, 1/12/2011). While critics of devolution suggest that broader legislative requirements constrain community autonomy (Furlong and Bakker, 2010), lessons from this research suggest the imposition of regulations does not necessarily compromise the ability of a community to implement a water supply that is consistent with their aspirations.

The intent of this sub-section was to highlight how CBSP is influenced by broader legislative and socio-institutional structures. When imposed upon communities, the values implicit within these structures can undermine local structures and systems. Such findings are consistent with claims made in section 3.2 (Miraftab, 2009; Furlong and Bakker, 2010; Blakeley, 2010). However, this sub-section indicated that Pākanae was not a passive recipient of external intent, and was able to ensure that the community did not compromise on its aspiration of a chemical free water supply. Since the implementation of the water supply, the PWBI has been able to exert autonomy over the everyday management of the water supply. This claim is affirmed by Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) who suggests that because the PWBI manages the water supply, “the community has a say in how things go. With a council driven scheme they don't. They get an opportunity every 25 years to discuss the resource consent.” When contrasting the current management arrangement against previous subsidy schemes and neighbouring council run water supplies (i.e. the Omapere/Opononi town supply), it appears that the Pākanae community has been able to secure a considerable amount of autonomy over its water supply. However, this autonomy is constrained by broader socio-institutional structures that impinge on self-determination agendas. Ultimately, lessons from this sub-section indicate that the ability of Pākanae to exert autonomy over key aspects of the project ensured that the final outcomes were consistent with the community’s initial aspirations.

5.2.5: Summary

Findings from this section affirm claims made in section 3.2 that the ‘inherited landscape’ on which CBSP is situated matters (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes, 2010). During this research it became apparent that the pre-existing relationship between the HHET and communities in the Hokianga was critical to the implementation of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Specifically, the ability of the HHET to leverage key
relationships provided the Pākanae community with an opportunity to make an informed and autonomous decision about becoming involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Evidence from this section suggests that whilst the autonomy of the PWBI was limited during the implementation of the water supply, the organisation was still able to ensure that the final water supply was consistent with the community’s aspirations. When contrasting lessons from this section against claims made in section 3.2, it becomes apparent that the success of CBSP is contingent upon factors internal and external to the community. Existing literature places heavy emphasis on the broader asymmetrical power relations that delimit community autonomy, with findings from this section affirming claims that CBSP is influenced by agendas external to the community (Blakeley, 2010). However, findings from this research reveal that the ‘state’ is not a monolithic entity. Consequently, opportunities exist where individuals such as Dr. Michael Taylor are able to seize opportunities and catalyse progressive change from within government agencies. Using PCT as a conceptual apparatus, I will argue in Chapter 6 that the opportunity created by Dr. Michael Taylor has enabled the PWBI to destabilise asymmetrical relations between itself and local and central government.

5.3 – The outcomes of CBSP in Pākanae

5.3.1: Introduction

In the previous section I detailed how responsibility and authority were devolved to the PWBI. Based on findings from interviews I argued that the PWBI was able to exert a degree of autonomy over the implementation of the water supply. In this section I will examine how the water supply was implemented and detail the ongoing management arrangements. In doing so, it will be possible to examine the outcomes of the PWBI and assess the benefits and costs that can be attributed to the water supply. In sub-section 5.3.2 I will detail the beneficial outcomes of the Pākanae water supply and suggest that because many of the benefits are non-quantifiable, the true value of the project remains hidden to government agencies. Whilst the Pākanae water supply was unanimously regarded as a success by interviewees, in sub-section 5.3.3 I will suggest that the water supply has had significant costs. These costs stem largely from issues related to volunteer burnout. Also of significance is the fact that the issue of institutionalised neglect, which is the underlying reason why the PWBI had to take responsibility for
water provision in Pākanae, is yet to be addressed (see section 5.1). Findings from this section resonate with claims made in section 3.3 that CBSP is subject to a variety of costs and benefits that are influenced by exogenous and endogenous factors (Jaglin et al., 2011). In comparison to other case studies in CBSP literature, the case study of the PWBI is unique because the Pākanae water supply has been operational for over 80 years (see sub-section 4.5.2). Whilst the 2000-2002 upgrade of the supply has created more ongoing work for the community, I will argue that the history of the water board is pivotal to the story of Pākanae. This finding provides a basis for claims in Chapter 6, which suggest that the Pākanae water supply is a mechanism that has been instrumental in shaping cross-cultural relations and identity in Pākanae.

5.3.2: The successful outcomes of the Pākanae water supply

In section 5.2 I revealed how the pilot project Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga provided the Pākanae community with an opportunity to implement its own water supply. The water supply was implemented over a 3 to 4 month period between November 2001 and July 2002. The laying of the alkathene pipe was completed by a work gang of approximately 15 local volunteers, who worked up to 14 hours a day (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011). Engineers installed the treatment plant, but the PWBI has subsequently made alterations to the plant as a result of deficiencies with the initial designs (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). The water supply was officially opened on July 13th 2002, and since that time has provided the Pākanae community with a continuous, safe supply of drinking water (PWB Minutes Book, 2002). In this sub-section I will detail the benefits that emerged as a result of the upgrade and examine the value that interviewees from Pākanae ascribe to their water supply.

The primary motivation for the work done on the Pākanae water supply between 2000 and 2002 was to improve the quality of water being supplied to the community. Prior to the upgrade, Cheryl Turner (19/11/2011) discusses how manuhiri (visitors) to the Pākanae marae would get a “sore puku (stomach)” after drinking the water. The reasons why manuhiri would get a sore puku stem from the presence of viruses and bacteria in the water.

We had Giardia in the water almost all the time. We also had quite a lot of bacterial diseases as well. But the local community and the marae people became immune to it. You would just get a quick guts full of it for half an hour or so, but when manuhiri came, they always got it, they always got
The cultural implications of serving manuhiri contaminated water are significant because it has an adverse effect on the mana (prestige/respect) of the marae and hapū. Lessons from sub-section 4.5.3 indicate that due to inadequate treatment, communities such as Pākanae were at risk of contracting much more serious diseases, such as Hepatitis A (Foote et al., 2005). The serious health risk posed by inadequate treatment prompted their involvement in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Since the implementation of the treatment plant, the Pākanae water supply has never failed to comply with the DWSNZ (2000 and 2005).

The health outcomes of the water supply have been tremendous for the community. It was suggested by all the interviewees from Pākanae that water borne diseases are no longer an issue and that the community is “definitely healthier” as a result of the upgrade to the supply (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). During interviews, Pākanae residents would often state how proud they are about their water supply and the fact that the water is chemical free. For instance, Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) contrasts the quality of the water from the Pākanae water supply, with the quality of water produced by the neighbouring Opononi/Omapere supply, which is operated by the FNDC.

One of the reasons that I got involved with the water was the Opononi/Omapere water supply. Now my kids would go to school and they would have to take a drink from home because the water from the tap was so disgusting to drink, and that is a council supply. Now what they do is, the water comes in and goes into a holding area to suspend the clay particles in the water. They then put aluminum chloride and that makes the suspended particles stick. Then the acidity is so high that they put caustic soda in it to regulate it. And then we drink it! And just the thought of that to me ... Oh, I'm gonna live in this area (Pākanae).

Numerous interviewees contrasted their water supply against council supplies. John Marsich (Interview, 20/10/2011) stated that he takes a three-litre bottle of water with him when he visits friends in Kaikohe or Auckland so that he can make his own cup of coffee. However, this sense of pride is reflective of something much more meaningful then the water simply being chemical free. A local kaumatua, Ngawati Mau (Interview, 11/10/2011), stated that for him, there is no higher source of water then the source that is used for the Pākanae water supply.
One of the main things with the water line is the significance of where it comes from, right up there, to me the entrance of Matariki itself, in the maungas (mountains). When we were growing up as kids we used to see it just flowing you know, the big water fall itself. But never ever, ever dreamt that one day it would be used to provide for people down here in the village of Pākanae and even the marae itself. Never ever dreamt of that as a kid growing up. Now all these things just come to pass and I think that water line is really a huge thing for the community itself because of where it comes from and its significance.

The significance of the source provides insight into the cultural values ascribed to the Pākanae water supply. Also of significance are the indirect benefits that can be associated with the water supply. Interviewees frequently discussed how the water supply has had unexpected, positive spin-offs for the community.

As will be recalled from Chapter 3, CBSP is often associated with emancipatory discourses (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006). Evidence from this research indicates that the act of implementing the water supply had many positive benefits for Pākanae. As previously stated, a work gang of approximately 15 locals completed the implementation of the water supply. The gang consisted of 4-5 semi-retired or retired residents, with the rest being young men from the area (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011). During interviews it was suggested that the project acted as a catalyst for change in the lives of volunteers.

We had a good crew. We used to wake the young fullas up and as a community we bought a lot of the young people to the fore, where everybody else had said the kids around here are hopeless. Yet if it wasn’t for the kids we wouldn’t have got nothing done … I think its made them feel a lot better in themselves, a lot of them have got jobs now. So that feeling that they are worth something and it started from that. And if we didn’t have that, maybe they wouldn’t be working and they would be on the dole now, you know (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011).

Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) also suggested that the work done implementing the water supply had a positive impact on the lives of the young volunteers. Such lessons affirm claims made in sub-section 3.3.2 that CBSP has the potential to catalyse progressive change within communities (Ostrom, 2005).

Other benefits to occur as a result of the project include the internalisation of skills, environmental education and the strengthening of relationships (see section 6.1). For instance, Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) suggests that the water supply has raised
awareness on the marae and in the community about the importance of conserving water.

I tell you one of the things that has changed in my life since understanding about the water here is I don't leave the tap on the whole time when I'm brushing my teeth. It may sound something minute, but in a place where you have to restrict your water it is huge. Even at home now I don't do it. Those types of actions come from it.

This comment highlights how the water supply has enabled individuals to connect their behaviours to social and environmental outcomes. This finding affirms claims made in Chapter 3 that CBSP has the potential to yield progressive social and environmental outcomes as a result of the gap between decision-maker and recipient being reduced (Brown, 2011). In Chapter 6, I will argue that the direct and indirect benefits associated with the Pākanae water supply are the product of a considerable amount of hard work and strong relationships within the community.

Findings from this sub-section suggest that the Pākanae water supply has had a profound impact on the community. The cultural and social benefits of the water supply have engendered a sense of pride within that community that is inadequately captured within any form of written text. Lessons from this sub-section are consistent with the conventional arguments made by proponents of CBSP (Fyfe, 2004; Ostrom, 2005). In comparison to top-down management structures, CBSP engenders contextually appropriate forms of development and management that are sensitive to the concerns of local people. However, as will be recalled from sub-section 3.3.3, the devolution of service provision can also burden locals with responsibilities that the state has relinquished from (Blakeley, 2010). This can result in adverse health, economic, cultural and social outcomes for individuals involved in CBSP. In the following sub-section I will detail how the initial involvement and enthusiasm of the community progressively dissipated overtime resulting in key individuals being burdened with a high workload.

5.3.3: The burden of Community-Based Service Provision

In this sub-section I will examine the costs that can be associated with the Pākanae water supply. Emphasis will be placed on volunteer burnout and issues pertaining to the long-term viability of current management and financial arrangements. Another issue
raised during interviews was that by implementing the water supply, the PWBI deflected attention away from the underlying problem that necessitated the implementation of a treatment plant. That is, the contamination of waterways from stock effluent. Concerns were also raised about the FNDC’s non-involvement, and the financial burden that this has placed on the community. The costs associated with the implementation of the Pākanae water supply are consistent with claims made in subsection 3.3.3 that suggest CBSP can generate significant ethical concerns if voluntary community labour is used by state agencies to subsidise the cost of service provision (Hall and Lobina, 2007; Spronk, 2009).

During an interview with a drinking water team member from the Northland Public Health Unit (NPHU) (Interview, 7/10/2011) it was suggested that the main long-term issue facing the Pākanae water supply is finding individuals to replace Ian Leigh-Mackenzie and Mervyn Dove. Ian plays a pivotal role in the monitoring and management of the treatment plant, and Mervyn and his wife look after the finances of the PWBI. Both Ian and Mervyn have put their own money into the PWBI at various times to keep it out of debt (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). Ian’s work is time consuming and requires a high level of technical knowledge about the treatment plant. He visits the plant approximately three times a week and completes maintenance as required. Whilst there is a group of about five to six volunteers who are on call to fix leakages, Ian is currently the only individual that has the knowledge to carry out maintenance on the treatment plant.

Getting into it, it’s really only Ian who has the knowledge. Which is not good. We went to Hamilton for Ian’s father-in-laws 80th and we were both away, and being in Hamilton we were away for quite a few days. And there had been a minor hiccup there at the plant. I checked it the last thing before we left, but thought I might have to tear up from Hamilton because there was no one else to come in (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011).

In this comment, Mervyn provides insight into the prominence of the water supply in his life. It was suggested that due to the amount of work that the “two man band” put into the water supply, current management arrangements are unsustainable and need improvement (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011). However, finding individuals who are able to commit to the work, and are happy to complete the work on a voluntary basis is difficult, as suggested in the following comment.
The main thing is the commitment. We have people back home who are able to come on, but we still haven’t jelled in regards to putting some kind of time frame, or planning schedule together. Like when we should start training. Because Ian is waiting on others. He’s been waiting for a couple of years now! Because we have people doing monitoring, but monitoring is different to servicing, monitoring is tick off, tick off. So we have to get that up and running (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

Exacerbating issues identified in this comment is the fact that the training process would take in the vicinity of 7-8 months. Another significant consideration is that most of the individuals involved with the PWBI are retired or semi-retired. Due to broader socio-economic changes that have occurred over the last 20 years (see sub-section 4.4.2) a lack of employment has seen people in their 20s and 30s move out of the area in search of work. The implications of this are significant, as suggested in the following quote.

I’ve talked to Ian, and we realise we need to get some younger persons in. That’s going to be hard. A lot of the people around here, they are good workers, but they’ve never done anything like this. So it will take a little while. They can fix up the breakages, but when it comes to the unit, that is the technical part. It requires training. We’ve got another guy, who just moved into the area, who’s keen to get involved. But he must also be in his 50s. So he’s got another 10 years or so. So we’ve got to find somebody who can take our place … because the enthusiasm is good for the initial work, but there are a lot of us who don’t want to give up our day job if you understand what I mean (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011)

Given the age of volunteers involved and the physically arduous nature of the work, there is a risk that by taking on too much work, individuals are compromising their health. For instance, when I asked John Marsich (Interview, 20/10/2011) if his high workload with the PWBI contributed to his heart attack in 2005/2006, he stated.

Yeah. The pressure, plus a lot of that was my own fault as well. Because I was a drinker and a smoker. And then I had a bypass in 2008 and that slowed me down. And that’s when Ian took over, and it’s been marvellous. But now I’m back on my feet if they ever need a hand I’m always here.

Given the adverse health outcomes, and social and financial costs that are borne by a small group of residents, it can be argued that the current management arrangement raises significant ethical issues. Despite its statutory obligations (see section 4.1), the FNDC has been unwilling to offer the PWBI any assistance. These findings affirm a claim made in CBSP literature that voluntary labour is used to subsidise the ‘true’ cost of service provision (Spronk, 2009).
As a result of the work completed by the PWBI, the FNDC has been able to relinquish its statutory responsibilities. Interviewees often expressed a sense of frustration about the FNDC not offering any form of assistance.

I don’t reckon it should’ve been the hospital; it should’ve been the council who did it. Because they are responsible for those sorts of things I would’ve thought. But anyway there you go (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

Whilst it was argued in section 3.2 that the FNDC’s non-involvement in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was beneficial due to its tenuous relationship with communities in the Hokianga and its reliance on top-down management approaches, it can also be suggested that they could offer some form of assistance to help the community with the costs associated with operating the water supply (Foote et al., 2005). Ian Leigh-Mackenzie (Interview, 7/10/2011) suggested that some form of subsidy from the FNDC would be ideal. However, given the FNDC’s prioritisation of business models over good governance this is unlikely to occur (see section 5.1). Such outcomes raise significant ethical issues, as suggested in the following comment.

Some of these questions come back to the Omania community. We asked them did they want to do the work, and they said no. They wanted the council to take the responsibility. And essentially that’s where we need to go. We need to get local government body to take full responsibility so that communities don’t have to battle with looking after every aspect of their lives. These are small communities. They are also looking after their marae, they’ve got a local town hall, they’ve got their water and wastewater to look after, they’ve got school boards to go to, and the whole business of sustaining their communities falls on everyone’s shoulders. Voluntary St Johns ambulance, voluntary fire brigade – it’s a burden. To live in small communities demands a lot (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

This comment suggests that the inaction of the FNDC is a symptom of a much more systemic problem. I will argue that in Pākanae, the refusal of the FNDC to fulfil its statutory obligations forced the HHET and PWBI into CBSP. Such lessons affirm a claim made in sub-section 3.3.3 that the benevolent discourses associated with CBSP can obscure underlying issues pertaining to institutionalised neglect (Bakker, 2008).

Another issue raised during interviews was that by implementing the water supply, the PWBI has deflected attention from the underlying issues that necessitated a treatment plant. As will be recalled from sub-section 4.4.3, non-point source pollution is a major
environmental management issue in the Northland region. This issue has had significant cultural implications for Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.

Get the water turn the tap on – and that work that has been done is great. The water you get out is pretty much the same that hits the land. But that there is a form of manaakitanga (hospitality), that is not kaitiakitanga (guardianship), that’s manaakitanga – being able to provide … so what we’ve done is stuck a pipe in, side tracked everything. When we first did everything, Hally (Harerei) and I, when we went out, it wasn’t about water, it was always about kaitiakitanga. Because we aren’t looking after the water, now we have to put this in … you know because the ultimate is not to have a line in. If you go outside your house, you should be able to go to the stream with a bucket and drink the water. That would be the ultimate. We have sidetracked things (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

This quote is emblematic of a sense of frustration expressed by Māori interviewees who perceive that state agencies only care about the quality of the water coming out of the tap, and not about the underlying causes that necessitate treatment systems. I will substantiate this claim in Chapter 6, where I will reveal how the privileging of reductionist management approaches has resulted in the marginalisation of the values that Māori ascribe to freshwater. The inability of CBSP to address the underlying concerns of Māori in Pākanae is indicative of the ways that emancipatory discourses can be used to obscure inequalities that pervade socio-institutional structures (Biccum, 2005; Miraftab, 2009). Using lessons from PCT, I will suggest that the prioritisation of Eurocentric values in freshwater management is the product of asymmetrical power relations that are inherited from colonisation (Loomba, 2005).

Results from this sub-section are largely consistent with arguments made by critics of CBSP (Bakker, 2008; Miraftab, 2009; Furlong and Bakker, 2010). The costs that can be associated with the Pākanae water supply raise concerns about the long-term sustainability of current management arrangements. Another major concern is the ethical issues that emanate from the FNDC’s non-involvement in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. These concerns provide an apposite example of the ways that colonial legacies continue to affect Indigenous communities (Loomba, 2005). Ultimately, lessons from this sub-section demonstrate that underlying asymmetrical power relations need to be addressed so that they are not preserved within CBSP arrangements.
5.3.4: Summary

This section has provided an account of the benefits and costs that can be attributed to the Pākanae water supply. Findings from this section affirm claims made in section 3.3 that CBSP is subject to a range of benefits and costs (Jaglin et al., 2011). I will suggest that ‘trading-off’ the benefits and costs is insufficient when attempting to delineate the ethical and justice concerns that emanate from CBSP. Rather, findings from this research indicate that CBSP needs to be subject to a much broader analysis so it is possible to determine the trajectory that it establishes. Whilst I suggested that the health, cultural and social benefits emanating from the Pākanae water supply have been immense for the community, findings from sub-section 5.3.3 indicate that the work done by the PWBI enabled the FNDC to relinquish from its statutory obligations. The consequences of this have been significant. Specifically, the ongoing burden placed on a small group of volunteers involved with the PWBI raises concerns that CBSP is being used by state agencies to deflect attention away from underlying issues stemming from institutionalised neglect (Bakker, 2008; Spronk, 2009). However, it can also be suggested that based on the findings from interviews that if the PWBI had not implemented the water supply between 2000-2002, residents in Pākanae would still be subject to significant public health risks. Also, due to the poor relationship that the FNDC has with communities in the Hokianga and its reliance on top-down management frameworks, it is unlikely that a council run supply would be consistent with the aspirations of the community. Nonetheless, interviewees did suggest that the FNDC could offer assistance in the form of an ongoing subsidy to assist the PWBI with maintenance costs. In terms of the precedence that the Pākanae water supply has established, it can be argued that whilst the work of the PWBI has deflected attention away from institutionalised neglect, it has also drawn attention towards broader justice concerns. In the following chapter I will detail how this has provided the community with leverage in its dealings with state agencies, and inaugurated an agency that has had a destabilising effect on asymmetrical power relations.

5.4 – Conclusion

Findings from this chapter reveal how it is necessary to submit the outcomes of CBSP to a nuanced analysis. Contending arguments were made in this chapter about the relative merits and disadvantages of using the devolution of service provision to
improve the outcomes of environmental management. Lessons from PCT provided a basis to interrogate claims that the benevolent discourses associated with CBSP can obscure underlying asymmetrical power relations (Biccum, 2005). Whilst this claim is affirmed by findings from this chapter, it can also be suggested that the act of implementing the water supply has placed increased scrutiny on these inequalities. In section 5.2, I argued that the asymmetrical power relations preserved within broader socio-institutional structures are susceptible to subversion because the state is not a cohesive, monolithic entity. If interpreted using PCT as a conceptual apparatus, this instability can be perceived as an opportunity to reconstitute power relations between Māori and Pakeha (Bhabha, 1994c). Findings from this chapter affirm this claim. Specifically, the actions by Dr. Michael Taylor and the HHET, suggest that CBSP can be used as a mechanism to reconstitute relations between Māori and state agencies. Findings from section 5.2 suggest that as a result of key individuals seizing opportunities as they emerged, Pākanae was provided with a unique amount of autonomy over the implementation of its water supply. However, by seizing this opportunity, the PWBI has enabled the FNDC to relinquish from its statutory obligations. Consequently, it can be suggested that when trying to determine if CBSP has been ‘successful’, it is necessary to examine the broader trajectory that it has established.

An advantage of using the Pākanae water supply as a case study to examine the merits and disadvantages of CBSP is its relatively long history compared to other examples available in CBSP literature. As a result of this long history, Pākanae provides insight into the trajectory or precedence that CBSP can establish. Findings from sections 5.1 and 5.3 suggest that the work done by the PWBI has enabled the FNDC to relinquish from its statutory obligations. However, as will be detailed in Chapter 6, the Pākanae water supply has also acted as a catalyst for other community projects, and provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with leverage in its dealings with the FNDC (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). Consequently, I will suggest that findings from sub-section 5.3.2 are more significant than they appear. If interpreted in isolation, the benefits ascribed to the Pākanae water supply by interviewees seem fairly consistent with lessons from section 3.3. However, by locating CBSP into its broader temporal and spatial context, I will argue that the implementation of the Pākanae water supply has been a pivotal moment in the history of the community. Prior to Nga Puna
Wai o Hokianga, Pākanae had been suffering from the economic reforms that occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. However, unlike the reforms that forced communities apart, Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga provided impetus for people to come together. It will be argued that as a result of coming together, the residents of Pākanae have been able to strengthen their connections to their environment and each other. In Chapter 6 I will argue that the affirmation of these relationships has strengthened self-determination agendas that exist within Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.
Chapter 6

Postcolonial Insights into the Pākanae Water Supply

6.0 – Introduction

In Chapter 2 I used Postcolonial Theory (PCT) to demonstrate how the continued marginalisation of the values and rights of Indigenes is the product of asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. However, PCT also demonstrates how cross-cultural relations can be utilised to challenge the West’s positional superiority. In this section, I will demonstrate how cross-cultural relations facilitated by the Pākanae water supply have enabled the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) to circumvent inequalities inherent within broader institutional structures. Subsequent to deconstructing these claims, I will argue that Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP) has the potential to be a mechanism that enables Indigenous and post-settler communities to reconstitute the asymmetrical power relations that preserve inequalities inherited from colonisation.

In section 6.1 I will examine the cross-cultural relations that are central to the story of the Pākanae water supply. Strong formal and informal relationships within the community have contributed to equitable power relations between the PWBI and 5A Māori Land Block owners. Because the PWBI recognises and respects the 5A Māori Land Trust’s mana whenua (territorial rights) over the water source, the two organisations have been able to engage in an alternative management paradigm. Nonetheless, this alternative management paradigm has been constrained by broader legislative frameworks that undermine the pre-European rights and values of Māori. In spite of these structural inequalities, the 5A Land Trust and PWBI have been able to preserve their historically strong relationship due to crossover membership between the two organisations. Lessons from the Pākanae water supply provide insight into the progressive outcomes where the distinct pre-colonial rights and values of Indigenes are recognised and respected within environmental management.

Subsequent to detailing the emancipatory qualities of CBSP, I will use PCT to examine the ways that benevolent discourses deflect attention away from inequalities inherent
within socio-institutional structures. In sub-section 6.2.2, I will examine how institutionalised neglect resulted in the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust (HHET) and PWBI being burdened with work that should have been completed by the Far North District Council (FNDC). Findings from this research indicate that this institutionalised neglect is the product of state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing the predominately Māori communities of the Hokianga. I will confirm this claim by detailing how political apathy has adversely affected the way that the PWBI volunteers have been treated by state agencies.

Bakker (2008) argues that the celebration of ‘community’ can obscure the failures of state actors. In response to this critique, I will use the concept of the ‘Third Space’ to give a more nuanced account of CBSP (Bhabha, 1994c). By placing the upgrade of the Pākanae water supply into its broader temporal context, I will reveal how the project has acted as “a catalyst for creating confidence within the community” (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011). This confidence has enabled the community to affirm its connections to place and identity. The process of affirming connections through CBSP has enhanced self-determination agendas because it provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with leverage in their dealings with local and central government. Results from this research indicate that this political leverage can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

6.1 – Cross-cultural relations in Pākanae

6.1.1: Introduction

The formal and informal relations between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI moderate power dynamics between the two organisations, with suggestions that there is no issue that could not be sorted out over a cup of tea (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). As a result of long-established relationships within the community, the PWBI has been a mechanism through which cross-cultural relations have been mediated. I will argue that as a result of the power dynamics between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI, the Pākanae water supply has opened an alternative management paradigm. This alternative paradigm exposes inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures and reveals how the recognition of the knowledge, rights and values of Māori improves management outcomes. Submitting findings from
this section to a PCT analysis, I will suggest that if CBSP is perceived as a mechanism that provides communities with an opportunity to bypass broader asymmetrical power relations, it has the potential to contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

6.1.2: Cross-cultural relations in Pākanae

The reciprocal relationship between the PWBI and 5A Māori Land Trust underpins the Pākanae water supply and is the product of historically strong cross-cultural relations between Pakeha and Māori in the community (see section 4.5). John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) suggests that the strong cross-cultural relationships in Pākanae can be found throughout the Hokianga. He states that these relationships are unique to the Hokianga and are the product of mutual respect.

The Māori world is strong and is the majority culture here, and yet European culture is very strong in New Zealand. As Europeans living in this community we are very aware of our culture. And it comes into sharp focus when you are living in Māori communities. So you know what these two worldviews are. Māori in the rest of New Zealand are forced to live in two worlds. They have to have the skills of living in the Māori world and European world. But most Europeans in New Zealand are just living in their European world … it is common for Europeans living here to know the Māori world and know that these cultures can live side by side. So where Māori are the majority they ultimately hold the power. And the Europeans here are often serving what the greater needs of the Māori are, and this is the case for HHET. Improving the health of Māori is clearly the goal of our organisation, but we know by doing so we improve the health of all people in the Hokianga.

Claims made in the preceding extract resonate with lessons from PCT. That is, the dominant position of Western culture in post-colonial states is not the product of its affiliation with the truth or equality, but its relationship with power (Sharp, 2009). However, because Māori culture is the majority culture in the Hokianga, the values, rights and concerns of Māori are given increased prominence compared to the rest of New Zealand. In Pākanae it was emphasised that the prominent position of Māori values, rights and culture has contributed to a unique sense of identity.

I think Pākanae is a good community to highlight that because … there is a great deal of respect for each others culture. Mutual respect and its something you don’t see often in New Zealand – the respect and acknowledgement that a Pakeha community have towards the Māori community. When you live in the valley you look after everybody in the valley. You don’t go ‘oh he’s a Pakeha or he’s a Māori ’ you live together, and you solve problems together and you work together (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).
Of critical importance when interpreting this quotation is identifying who defines the goals that the community are working towards. As mentioned in section 5.2, due to the extensive consultation phase that the HHET engaged in during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, Pākanae was enabled to make an informed and autonomous decision. I will suggest that because Māori culture is the dominant culture in Pākanae, this consensus-based decision-making process ensured that the concerns and values of Māori underpinned the decisions that were made by the community (i.e. chemical free water).

Postcolonial theorists tend to place emphasis on how colonial legacies continue to adversely influence relations between Indigenes and the descendents of colonialists (Biccum, 2005; Kapoor, 2008). Whilst findings from this research affirm claims that the colonial past continues to have a detrimental affect on the postcolonial present (see section 6.2), they also reveal that it cannot be assumed that the historical relations between Indigenes and the descendents of European settlers are always regressive. A more nuanced analysis of the relations between Māori and Pakeha in Pākanae provides insight into how the historically strong cross-cultural relationships have provided a basis for progressive outcomes in a contemporary context (see Chapter 4). I will argue that the strong relations between key individuals involved with the PWBI and 5A Māori Land Block Trust are the product of relationships that were forged between the first European settlers and Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.

Those two are Pakeha – you are right. Those two actually come to the marae and they are part of the marae. The Mackenzie family have been there for over 100 years, you know, and Merv the same probably. Even though they have been there for years and years and years they still have an appreciation of what we as Māori do on our marae and they are very respectful of that. They are very respectful of the tikanga. In fact they go and find out from Hone first before they move this way or that way. So their relationship with the Pākanae marae is really close because that is where they belong (Marara Rogers-Koroheke, Interview, 24/11/2011).

Interviewees suggested that the cross-cultural relations in Pākanae are unique in comparison to the rest of New Zealand. I will argue that these strong cross-cultural relations are premised on the high level of respect that Pakeha interviewees have towards the pre-European rights and values of Māori. This is reflected in their acknowledgment of the 5A Māori Land Block owner’s mana whenua (territorial rights) over the source, despite freshwater being a Crown owned resource within the postcolonial states legal framework (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011). 5A
Māori Land Block owners stated that the involvement of individuals such as Ian Leigh-Mackenzie in the PWBI was a pivotal factor in their decision-making process during the early 1990s when they formally granted the Pākanae water board with an easement to access the source.

A lot of it was to do with the trust that was there. People like Ian Mackenzie, Merv, Siddy Matthews, and Alan (Hessell) ... So I think, that swayed it, because when you look at the people involved with the water board the intention was to supply the Pākanae community with water, that swayed it for me (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011).

The PWBI and 5A Māori Land Block Trust are two organisations that are not mutually exclusive. Crossover membership between the two organisations has been a significant contributing factor to the strong relationship between the two organisations. For instance, the informal ‘eyes and ears’ role of Alan Hessell has ensured that information has been relayed from the PWBI to the 5A land trustees (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). However, it was stated by 5A Māori Land Block owners that they would like a formal representative from the 5A Land Trust on the PWBI management committee to ensure that the quality of existing relations are preserved into the future.

While we have the current system that we have in terms of personnel, we are talking about Ian Mackenzie; there is really no problem. Yes we have the day-to-day disagreements, but overall there is no problem. But beyond that we don't know. As we previously discussed, these are people whose parents were here, who came here and settled. Whose grandparents had done that. So what we get beyond that we don't know. But the way that I look at it is that we have this leverage (control of access), and we have got to use it to the maximum benefit. Until we can get someone from the trust on the water board, we are out in the dark really (Harerei Toia, Interview, 19/11/2011).

In his comment, Harerei affords insight into the quality of the relationships between key individuals involved with the PWBI and 5A Land Trust. Irrespective of these relationships, there have still been ‘day-to-day disagreements’. In the following subsection I will reveal how these disagreements stem from miscommunication, as opposed to an inherent power disparity between the PWBI and 5A Land Trust. Based on comments outlined in this sub-section, it can be suggested that progressive local level relationships can engender a unique sense of identity. Later in this chapter, I will reveal how this unique identity or sense of ‘togetherness’ has contributed to the decolonisation of local governance.
6.1.3: The 2009 resource consent

During discussions with 5A Māori Land Block owners, it became apparent that there have been points of contention between the land trust and PWBI in the last five years. A major point that was raised during interviews was that the 5A landowners were ‘very concerned that no effort has been made to consult with us’ when the PWBI renewed its consent in 2009 (Cheryl Turner, correspondence with the NRC, 2009). When I asked the PWBI chairperson (Interview, 7/10/2011) about this issue, he stated that he thought the Northland Regional Council (NRC) would have notified all parties when the PWBI was due to renew the consent.

That was accidental I would say. Because we had to get it in a hurry … I didn’t realise that we should have … I thought the council notified all parties prior to renewal? Next time we would organise a meeting to tell them (5A land trust) what it’s all about because that’s most important actually.

Because the PWBI recognises the 5A Māori Land Block owner’s mana whenua (territorial rights) over the source of the Pākanae water supply, it was presumed that the NRC would have sent the same information to the 5A Land Trust. However, because the NRC considers freshwater to be owned by the Crown, the PWBI were not required to directly notify or consult with the 5A Land Trust. Rather, the NRC sent a copy of the application to iwi (tribe) groups in the area and the information was then disseminated to the 5A Land Trust (NRC S42/113 RPT, 2008). I will argue that this process diminishes the pre-colonial connections that the 5A Land Trust have over the water source of the Pākanae water supply. When I asked the NRC employee who processed the PWBI resource consent about the ways Māori landowners are consulted when water is taken of their land, he stated:

I want to clarify that. Taking water from a river system is not owned by the Māori it is owned by the Crown. So you can’t claim ownership of water … it is quite often that they have a pump located next to the take and that’s where you need to get permission, but we (NRC) are not dealing with that … The person who is applying for the consent. He needs to make a private arrangement with the landowner … and quite often it is asked during the application if there are going to be any people affected by the take. And quite often we are looking downstream of the take point (Jan-aire Jongkees, Interview, 6/10/2011).

Because the water take for the Pākanae water supply is on the edge of a property boundary, it was not considered as necessary to consult the 5A Land Trust. Whilst it
was suggested that it would have been beneficial if the PWBI did consult, they were not mandated to do so (Jan-arie Jongkees, Interview, 6/10/2011). When juxtaposing this comment against the perspectives of the PWBI chairperson, it becomes evident how competing ownership claims over freshwater are rendered invisible within legislative frameworks.

It’s probably our fault because we recognised, in our dealings with block 5A, we recognise them as having some sort of proprietary claim over the water, because if we had been different type of people and rang the council (NRC) and said block 5A want this that and the other to get their water. The council would’ve told us that they don’t own it; we own it you know, and so on. But we probably didn’t give that full consideration as to who owned it. We recognised the 5A input into the whole matter (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

The Northland Regional Council (NRC) being a Crown institution considers itself as responsible for the management of freshwater in the Northland region. The rights of the NRC are derived from the post-colonial states legislative framework. However, the 5A landowners’ ownership claims stem from their connections to the landscape that predate European settlement. These connections are the basis for their claim that they have mana whenua (territorial rights) over the source of the Pākanae water supply (Harerei Toia, Interview, 19/11/2011). Whilst this is recognised by the PWBI, it is not recognised by the NRC or FNDC. It was suggested that the issue of ‘perceived rights’ is a complex issue that is a source of tension between Māori and Crown institutions in the Far North (FNDC General Manager: Assets and Infrastructure, Interview 5/10/2011). I will argue that the competing claims over the ownership of freshwater are irreconcilable because the ownership rights claimed by the Crown are grounded in power disparities inherited from colonisation. However, in Pākanae, because the PWBI recognises the 5A Land Trust as holding mana whenua (territorial rights) over the source, the relationship between the two organisations is not stymied by colonial legacies.

Existing points of contention between the PWBI and 5A Māori Land Block Trust are the product of misinterpretation and miscommunication. I will argue that these differences could have been a major source of tension if there had not been strong pre-existing relationships between key individuals in Pākanae. This finding provides insight into how broader socio-institutional structures that are stymied by asymmetrical power relations can undermine relationships between Māori and Pakeha at a local level. Such findings affirm claims made by postcolonial theorists, who suggest that colonial
legacies continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies (Loomba, 2005). I will argue in the following sub-section that the case study of the Pākanae water supply undermines the Māori/Pakeha dichotomy and asymmetrical power relations preserved within broader legislative structures. This is because the PWBI recognises the mana whenua (territorial rights) claim of the 5A Māori landowners. Consequently, the power dynamics between the PWBI and 5A Land Trust are equitable. Applying lessons from Bhabha (1994c), I will suggest that by recognising the mana whenua claim of the 5A Māori landowners, the PWBI has established an alternative management paradigm that does not conform to either ‘European’ or ‘Māori’ management structures. This alternative paradigm exposes inequalities inherent within legislative frameworks, and reveals the progressive potential where the knowledge, rights and values of Māori are respected.

6.1.4: Pākanae as an alternative management paradigm

Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) contrasted the decision-making methods of the PWBI against the decision-making structures of the FNDC and NRC.

They are not making decisions guided by policy. They are making decisions because they know what will and will not happen. And the abstract we were talking about, the council will use the policies of the council to guide their decision. The decisions made here by Ian and others will use what they know will happen, to guide their decision. I stick behind that 100 percent (Harerei Toia, Interview, 19/11/2011).

This comment is consistent with a claim made by proponents of CBSP who argue that the devolution of service delivery enhances the social and environmental outcomes of management because the gap between decision-maker and recipient is reduced (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006) However, it also provides insight into how decisions are made in Pākanae. Unlike the FNDC and NRC who use the Resource Management Act (RMA, 1991) to guide their decision-making process, the PWBI relies on consensus-based decision-making. This decision-making process relies on local knowledge and is shaped by the values and concerns of Pākanae residents. 5A Māori Land Block interviewees contrasted this decision-making approach against the ‘abstract’ decision-making frameworks used by the FNDC and NRC. In their comments, they exposed how the assumed technocratic neutrality of the RMA (1991) is grounded in Eurocentric constructs of society as abstract from the environment (Weir, 2009).
The RMA (1991) assumes that the social and environmental outcomes of management decisions can be quantified and that these decisions are objective because they are based on ‘facts’ (Hardy and Patterson, 2012). As a result of the Eurocentrism that pervades the RMA (1991), complex biophysical processes are compartmentalised and reduced to sets of quantifiable variables. This decision-making process is fraught with difficulties due to variations in environmental conditions and a lack of resourcing that constrains the ability of regional authorities to complete comprehensive monitoring. This claim is confirmed in the following comment:

One of the problems is that resource consents at the moment for a sewage treatment system; I've seen several of them where they take two samples a year. If they were actually going to monitor it properly, you need to be taking something like 20 samples a day. That's the extent of the lack of knowledge (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

Contrasting the quantitative approach embodied within the RMA (1991) against perspectives expressed by 5A Māori Land Block owners provides insight into the irreconcilable differences between Māori and Western perspectives of freshwater. For instance, Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) argues that the complexities associated with freshwater management have never been, and will never be adequately accounted for within the RMA (1991). In doing so, Harerei reveals how values, as opposed to knowledge underpin decision-making.

There was never any provision made for the customary uses … I consider keeping the land viable a customary use. Ensuring that the plants around the water body has enough so it can draw water to itself, and draw water so it goes beyond itself. When a tree draws water up from under the ground it draws it to its roots, but it is also pulling it for other trees who will drag it further. That is what I consider to be the customary use, and it is a customary use of the environment - not humans. That was never, ever considered, and it still hasn't been considered and in my opinion will never be considered. And in my opinion … that is the first take to be recognised before human consumption. Then human consumption. Then animals. The actual looking after Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) itself is never, ever considered in any of the legislation … and it's going to take forever for the legislators to understand that Papatuanuku needs it more then anyone else … the thinking of legislators is all back to front. The time we are taking the most water is the time when Papatuanuku needs it the most. It is the time we should be leaving it alone … underline all that when you do your thesis.

In his comment, Harerei provides insight into the complexities and interconnectedness of the environment. However, because the RMA (1991) relies on the quantification of
the effects of management and development, such complexities are inadequately captured within decision-making. In spite of these deficiencies, evidence from this research does not suggest that the quantitative methods are redundant. Rather, as opposed to perceiving the numbers produced through quantitative methods as a representation of the world, these numbers need to be perceived as a tool that assists society in understanding the many complex and interconnected relationships that sustain the ability of the Earth to support life. For instance, the 5A Land Trust has requested that the PWBI quantify the amount of water taken from Matariki stream for the water supply (Cheryl Turner, correspondence with NRC, 2009). Underpinning this request are the values and obligations that the 5A Land Trust ascribe to Matariki stream and the surrounding environment (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). I will argue that if the intent behind management decisions were examined, it would be possible to place increased scrutiny on the values that underpin environmental decision-making.

Evidence from this research indicates that the normative positioning of Western knowledge in environmental management has resulted in the marginalisation of mātauranga Māori (Māori science/knowledge) in decision-making. When I asked a NRC employee how tensions between the two approaches or worldviews are reconciled, he stated:

> I wouldn’t say Western; I would say global approach. That’s why the rules have been covered to make submissions on that matter. And we have invited iwi groups – all groups in fact, to make submissions on those suggested rules at that time. As I said before the Regional Policy Statement has gone out, and Māori groups have been invited to make submissions (Jan-arie Jongkees, Interview, 6/10/2011).

A postcolonial analysis of comments made by Jan-arie provides insight into how Western values and knowledge are positioned as normative within environmental decision-making. The ‘othering’ of the knowledge and values of Māori has had adverse implications for 5A Māori Land Block owners in their deliberations with the regional and territorial authorities. As will be recalled from sub-section 5.1.4, Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) discusses his frustrations about the FNDC’s mismanagement of water supplies and the adverse effects this is having on the environment in the Hokianga. The assumed objectivity of Western science, and the invisibility of the Eurocentric values that pervade decision-making structures, has adversely impacted perceptions of the qualitative, holistic and learnt knowledge of Māori.
Sometimes I perceive that the issue that they have is not so much the effect on the environment, and more to do with feelings, and cultural feelings of water, rather than the actual effects on the environment. And European or local people would have a different view on that. It’s the same as Pike River Mine. Some people are having a problem with the dead bodies not being retrieved yet. Other people will think leave them there, that’s okay. That’s where they died. People have different feelings about it and you can’t compare one feeling with another feeling (Jan-arie Jongkees, Interview, 6/10/2011).

Implicit within this comment is the framing of Māori knowledge and values as ‘emotive’. The ‘othering’ of Māori knowledge, and its placement in a superior/inferior binary is indicative of the way that colonial legacies continue to shape relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies. However, in Pākanae, these inequalities have been avoided due to the dominant position of Māori culture in the community. In doing so, the PWBI and 5A Land Trust have opened an alternative management paradigm.

Because Māori culture is the majority culture in Pākanae, the PWBI does not consider the distinct values, rights and knowledge of Māori as supplementary to their decision-making process. For instance, in sub-section 5.2.4 it was detailed how the PWBI opted for a chemical free treatment system. At the time Pākanae chose the system, the science behind ultra-violet filtration was still being contested (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011). Consequently, it was considered as experimental, and less cost-effective than a chemical based system. I will argue that the decision of the PWBI to opt for the more expensive chemical-free system was influenced by distinctly Māori values that suggest that it is detrimental to the mauri (life force) of water if chemicals are used in the treatment process.

Maori spiritual values conflict with scientific measures. For example, from a western science perspective drinkable water may carry contaminants but at a level that is not toxic to humans. In contrast, Maori require drinking water to be protected from spiritual pollution, which means certain discharge activities, regardless of the level of physical contamination, are prohibited (Tipa and Teirney, 2006: 7).

Examining the outcomes of the decisions that have been made by the PWBI provides insight into the progressive potential where the values and knowledge Māori underpin decision-making. For instance, when contrasting the Pākanae water supply against the neighbouring Opononi/Omapere supply that is run by the FNDC, it becomes evident how the values that underpin decision-making have significant influence over the
outcomes of environmental management.

The council has poured money into the Opononi scheme to upgrade the water treatment plant, but they didn’t improve where the source is coming from. So they have not solved the major problem of the actual supply … they put the investment into the treatment of the water to remove that brown colour instead of using a better source … they were too arrogant to believe that a community could have the solution and that their own engineers were needing to be humble to come ask those communities (Pākanae and Whirinaki) how they provide their drinking water (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

In his comments, John provides insight into how the FNDC perceives freshwater. The values underpinning their decisions have resulted in the mismanagement and over allocation of water. Such findings confirm suggestions that the privileged position of Western values in environmental decision-making is due to their proximity to power, as opposed to their proximity to the truth (Briggs and Sharp, 2004).

The consensus-based decision-making approach of the PWBI that is underpinned by distinctly Māori values has opened an alternative management paradigm. In saying this, the PWBI is not entirely consistent with Māori decision-making structures because it is constrained by broader legislative frameworks. Consequently, it occupies an ‘in-between’ space that does not conform entirely to Western or Māori management approaches. Using postcolonial insights into CBSP, I will argue that by occupying this ‘in-between’ space, the PWBI has been able to reveal the progressive potential where the rights, values and knowledge of Māori are recognised and respected in environmental management.

6.1.5: Summary

Postcolonial theorists emphasise how the colonial past continues to adversely influence the post-colonial present (McKinley, 2005; Kothari, 2006). In this section I responded to these critiques by demonstrating how historically strong cross-cultural relations in Pākanae have contributed to a unique sense of identity. Nonetheless, I also acknowledged that there have been tensions between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI. I argued that these tensions stem from miscommunication, as opposed to asymmetrical power relations between the Māori landowners and PWBI. Findings from this research indicate that this miscommunication can be traced to power disparities inherent within broader legislative frameworks. Whilst findings from this section
demonstrate how the post-colonial state is able to frame the values and rights of Māori as subordinate to the interests of the Crown, they also reveal how these inequalities can be destabilised. In sub-section 6.1.4 I used PCT to demonstrate how the recognition and respect of the pre-colonial rights and values of Indigenes can expose the constructed nature of the state’s authority. These findings resonate with claims made by Bhabha (1994c) who suggests that hegemony is never absolute. Interstices created by strong relationships at a local level can be employed to demonstrate the progressive potential where the rights and values of Indigenes are respected. However, it must also be acknowledged that the outcomes of the ‘Third Space’ are not pre-determined (Kapoor, 2008). Using lessons from PCT, I will argue that the benevolent discourses identified in this section can obscure inequalities within CBSP arrangements.

6.2 – The complicit relationship between benevolence and power

6.2.1: Introduction

Postcolonial contributions to Participatory Development (PD) literature reveal how framings of civic participation as counter-hegemonic obscure the underlying power disparities that necessitate ‘aid’ (see sub-section 2.2.4) (Biccum, 2005; Kapoor, 2008). By applying these lessons to CBSP in Chapter 3, I was able to reveal how power disparities are preserved within CBSP arrangements (Spronk, 2009). In this section I will use PCT to demonstrate how power disparities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures adversely influenced Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. I will suggest that the benevolent intent behind the project deflected attention away from the underlying power disparities, which resulted in the PWBI being burdened with work that should have been completed by the FNDC.

In sub-section 6.2.2 I will reveal the specific ways that benevolent discourses can obscure inequalities inherent within socio-institutional structures. Subsequent to these findings, I will examine the values implicit in these structures in sub-section 6.2.3. In doing so, I will be able to demonstrate how the work and knowledge of locals is considered as subordinate to the recommendations made by external experts. Findings from this section indicate that the allegedly emancipatory qualities of CBSP can, and have been used to obscure the significant social justice concerns emanating from institutionalised neglect. Such lessons are consistent with claims made by postcolonial
theorists who argue that benevolence functions to conceal inherited disparities between Indigenous and post-settler societies (Kothari, 2006; Kapoor, 2008).

6.2.2: Obscuring institutionalised neglect

Findings from this research indicate that the benevolent intent of MoH and HHET employees was constrained by a lack of funding. As discussed in section 5.2, MoH employees emphasised the fortuitous nature of obtaining funding for Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. However, the total amount of funding that Dr. Michael Taylor was able to obtain was $1.65 million (Watson et al., 2003a). Whilst a substantial sum, it was never going to be enough to ensure that every household in the Hokianga would have a guaranteed safe drinking water supply. Consequently, the MoH employees had to investigate ways to make the funding go further.

We knew how much the Minister could sign off, and it was about 1 million dollars. So we put a proposal – there are x number of marae, and we think we could put in some basic treatment, if we put it in a package deal for most of those communities. To keep the cost down they would have to do a lot of the work themselves, and it sort of went from there (Public Health Engineer, Interview, 1/11/2011).

Due to funding limitations, CBSP was the only avenue available to marae and communities that wanted to improve the quality of their drinking water. In the following extract, the CEO of the HHET provides insight into why it is difficult to get funding from local and central government for projects in the Hokianga.

It’s very hard to get funding it’s very hard to get the government to commit to something like this; it’s a big thing. When I’ve talked to people like (Public Health Engineer) and Michael (Taylor) about it, they describe how fortunate it was, how lucky it was that the funding was approved … Normally something like this it’s very difficult to get the resources for. So the Hepatitis outbreak would have been invisible for the Ministry of Health. It would have been a report for the medical office of health and it probably would have been invisible or people wouldn’t have known how to solve that problem (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

Given the seriousness of the public health risks emanating from contaminated drinking water supplies, it is concerning that these issues can remain invisible at an institutional level. The invisibility of small, predominately Māori communities combined with the lack of funding raises significant social justice concerns. For instance, it would be hard to envisage an outbreak of Hepatitis A at a pre-school located in an affluent Auckland
suburb remaining ‘invisible’ to the MoH. However, as will be recalled from section 4.3, a culture of ‘passing the buck’ has stymied the provision of safe drinking water to Māori communities over the last 100 years (Dow, 1999). I will argue that the invisibility of predominately Māori communities and the inability, or perhaps unwillingness of the state to address their urgent public health needs, is indicative of the way that colonial legacies continue to have an adverse impact on Indigenous communities (Loomba, 2005).

Voluntary work completed by the PWBI was necessitated by the lack of political will to address the public health risks facing communities in the Hokianga. Even when the Minister of Health made funding available in 1999 for Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, he only did so to avoid adverse political outcomes. Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) stated that the opportunity to make funding available for improving drinking water supplies in the Hokianga was premised on the circumstances within government at the time, which meant that “the usual government cover up couldn’t occur.”

There was a parliamentary question in the house by Alamein Kopu who asked if the towns in Northland affected by the floods were still on a boiled water notice. But this might have been a month after the floods. So we sought information as you do. We went to the (Northland) Public Health Unit, and asked if those towns were on boiled water notice and we got a response back – ‘yes they are always on boiled water notice’. When we conveyed that to the Ministers office that set off a political reaction, because they couldn’t say that (Public Health Engineer, Interview, 1/11/2011).

Self-preservation was a major factor that contributed to the then Minister of Health, Wyatt Creech making funding available for Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. However, this was not additional funding. Rather, the amount had to be taken from the existing MoH budget.

It was quite amusing because the government didn't actually give it – they said, ‘right that will come out of your budget.’ The Ministry of Health had already worked out how it wanted to spend its money and that wasn't part of it. So I was the subject of quite a bit of argument within the Ministry for quite awhile, but I had a ministerial signature so they couldn't do anything about it (Dr. Michael Taylor, Interview, 3/11/2011).

Despite being confronted with findings from the report compiled by the Northland Medical Officer of Health, there remained indifference within the actions of the Minister. Evidence from this research suggests that due to the ‘invisibility’ of the
predominately Māori communities of the Hokianga, local and central government have been allowed to get away with relinquishing from their statutory and moral obligations. I will argue that these findings only ‘scratch the surface’ of much more systemic issues of state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing Māori.

Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) expressed a sense of frustration about the lack of political will to address the public health needs of Māori communities. He suggests that this apathy can on occasion be the symptom of prejudices that are held by elected officials.

I know when the health officer went there they walked through sewage to get to the door of a Māori guy they wanted to interview. I talked to the local council member and he said, ‘oh hell, we are not going to spend money on helping those darkies’. There's obviously very strong racial discrimination there, and I bumped into it on the West Coast when we were dealing with the housing issues. Quite often the representatives have their own axes to grind. They are frequently, partly racial. And things like that. So I don't see any easy way of getting around that. We originally set the Drinking Water Assistance Programme so it was targeted at the small communities who couldn't get money through any other sources; that's one way of doing it. The other way would be to go the way of the Scots went and to make drinking water a national responsibility. I don't know which is most effective. It depends upon the way in which the government's operational style is.

In his comment, Dr. Michael Taylor highlights the difficulties of circumventing political apathy. It also confirms claims made in this thesis that “inequalities are interwoven into the fabric of our societies” (Beebeejaun, 2006: 15). Postcolonial theorists argue that these inequalities are too frequently obscured by benevolent discourses (Kothari, 2006). Evidence from this research indicates that the devolution of funding to the HHET was necessitated by institutionalised neglect, as opposed to a perception amongst locals and decision-makers that CBSP would be the most effective way to address the health concerns emanating from inadequate water supplies.

Findings presented in this sub-section are consistent with claims made in sub-section 2.2.4 (see Biccum, 2005; Kothari, 2006; McKinnon, 2007; Kapoor, 2008). In Pākanae, CBSP was necessitated by state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing Māori communities. The unwillingness of local and central government to address the urgent public health needs of predominately Māori communities. Whilst the government did make available funds to improve drinking water supplies following the
1999 floods, evidence from this research indicates that this decision was motivated by political, as opposed to altruistic reasons. In the following sub-section, I will investigate the values that underpinned the devolution of funding to the PWBI. I will argue that these values raise significant ethical issues about how government agencies perceive the voluntary work completed by PWBI members.

6.2.3: Examining the values implicit within devolution

If inequalities between state and community actors are not addressed prior to the devolution of service delivery, they can manifest within CBSP arrangements. An example of this is the way that state agencies privilege the recommendations of external contractors over the knowledge of local experts. At Pākanae the implications of this were significant, because PWBI volunteers were under-resourced and not provided with any form of remuneration. When contrasting this against the deficient advice provided by external ‘experts’ who were paid a significant amount by the MoH, significant ethical and justice issues emerge. Specifically, I will argue that the privileged positioning of contractors in CBSP is the product of assumptions and biases inherent within socio-institutional structures. These assumptions position the knowledge of local experts as supplementary to the advice of external contractors. Based on findings from this research I will suggest that the asymmetrical power relation between external contractors and local experts needs to be inversed, so locals are able to contextualise CBSP.

As will be recalled from section 5.3.3, findings from this research affirm claims made in CBSP literature that voluntary community labour can be used by state agencies to subsidise the cost of service provision (Hall and Lobina, 2007; Spronk, 2009). During interviews it became apparent that the burden borne by the PWBI volunteers was significant. However, despite the willingness of PWBI volunteers to complete the work, state agencies have been unwilling to provide the water board with the necessary resources to complete the job. When John Marsich (Interview, 20/10/2011) was asked whether the volunteers had the resources they needed to implement the water supply, he replied:

Nah. We did most of it by hand. We actually did hire a digger to bury the line where we could, but money doesn’t grow on trees … a lot of that was very, very hard work. You know like a lot of the lines are quite heavy to pull through, around trees, around rocks and up hills and down hills, and you
know whatever. It’s all brute force I think. As far as tractors, Dove and Ian lent us their tractors. So we didn’t really hire out too much. Nobody had the money. Dove put some money in to help us out. And I think Ian has done the same thing too. Hopefully Dove and Ian got the money back that they put in.

In his comment, John is highlighting the ‘on the ground’ implications of the lack of funding and resources made available by state agencies. When analysed in isolation, such concerns could be perceived as inconsequential from the perspective of the government because the PWBI and HHET realised that the MoH was on a fixed budget for Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Consequently, this would have been factored into the community’s decision-making process prior to becoming involved with the pilot project. However, when placing this comment into its broader context, significant ethical and justice concerns emerge over the disparity between the value ascribed to the work done by community volunteers and the work done by external contractors.

Interviewees employed by the HHET expressed frustration about the value that state agencies ascribe to the work done by community volunteers. In the following extract, Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) provides insight into the different value that state agencies ascribe to the work done by external contractors and the work done by local volunteers.

If contractors do it, the government pays out no problem. They have all these letters attached to their name – big money. Yet when we do it, you don’t get anything from the government. They do not acknowledge you as a worker. When you do the same job. Same thing with the council. When Waima got over a million dollars (through the DWAP), the guy from the council said ‘that money is nothing. We wouldn’t even touch that because of contractors and so forth.’ He said he would like to do it with more community involvement but his hands have been tied by the rules he has to follow. So the council still hasn’t installed there thing and we’ve got Waima up and running (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

In this comment Hone provides insight into the different value that the government ascribes to the work done by community volunteers, and the work done by contractors. Furthermore, the comment also reveals that funding constraints may be the product of structural deficiencies, as opposed to a lack of funds. The disparity between the ‘big money’ paid to contractors and the lack of resources made available to the PWBI provides insight into how socio-institutional structures can constrain the ability of communities to exert autonomy over CBSP.
As will be recalled from Chapter 4, $1.65 million dollars was made available by the MoH for Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. The total cost of the treatment plants for the 36 marae was $475,057 (Watson et al., 2003b). Combined with the $90,000 and $100,000 received by Pākanae and Whirinaki, the total amount spent by the MoH on treatment facilities, pipes and other necessary equipment was $665,057 (Watson et al., 2003b), which is 40% of the 1.65 million dollars allocated for the project. The other costs were, the HEHT costs, the engineering consultant’s costs, and the costs of site works over and above the installation of the treatment system itself (Watson et al., 2003a). In a previous research report completed on Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, it was estimated that $800,000 was spent on consultancy and administrative costs (Foote et al., 2005: 31). I will argue that the disproportionate amount spent on consultancy and administrative costs provides insight into the values implicit within socio-institutional structures. These values privilege the knowledge of external experts, and as a result, state agencies pay them ‘big money’ for their time. Such findings raise significant ethical and justice concerns given that the MoH was ‘unable’ to remunerate the PWBI volunteers that on occasion worked 14 hour days to ensure that the water supply was implemented (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011).

Whilst it is acknowledged that the implementation of a water treatment plant will inevitably require some form of technical assistance, it can be argued that the reason why PWBI volunteers have not been remunerated by local or central government stems from values implicit within socio-institutional structures. I will argue that these values are influenced by Eurocentric definitions of the term ‘expert’.

The experts in our communities are right there. And it’s those people who determined that the pipe wasn’t big enough … and the other thing to remember is that these experts or consultants never walk the line. Never walk the river … and hey this is probably quite foreign to them. It is a really foreign way of developing a community water supply … you know Merv is over 70 and he walks that line – he is fit as. And yet the engineers didn’t do it once. So our local experts they’ve been maintaining it ever since. Our local experts know what’s required. There have often been tensions between the recommended experts and the experts at home. But we live here, and they live there, and we know, and we’re going to do it our way at the end of the day (Marara Rogers-Korohke, Interview, 24/11/2011).

Ian Leigh-Mackenzie (Interview, 7/10/2011) affirms claims made in the previous quotation, by providing insight into the difficulties that emerged as a result of the substandard work completed by contractors. He stated that if there was one lesson to
take from the work done on the water supply, it is “never accept what ‘experts’ tell you.”

We built a little shed for the plant. Which Cook and Costello didn't really do a very good job on, because the specifications were far too small. They gave us a tiny little, um you know ‘you only need to build a shed this size’, and it turned out you could only just fit the bloody plant in it. And once you got the plant there was no room for anything else. So it was just dumb, and they are professionals, which is what really annoyed me. The Health Department (MoH) didn't get good value for money. And with the other people, the setup professionals, I can't think of their name, they didn't do a good job. You know the pipes were too small in diameter and things like that which we've learned since (Ian Leigh-Mackenzie, Interview, 7/10/2011).

In his comment, Ian expresses his frustration about the quality of work completed by engineers contracted during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. In doing so, Ian highlights how the funding and resources made available to the external ‘experts’ were not effectively utilised. The implications of the substandard advice and work completed by engineers resulted in the PWBI volunteers having to do a significant amount of additional work to the treatment plant at their own expense.

When the plant was done the pipe that was used was not high density or high-pressure material. And that was blowing out. The vibrations from the compressor were splitting the pipes and we had to replace them. But we replaced them with better quality. And we also took the compressor of the plant, and parked it beside the plant, and we’ve never had any more trouble with that. But these are learning things that we’ve had to pay for ourselves. You would’ve thought that the engineers would have come up with something better (Mervyn Dove, Interview, 11/10/2011).

Whilst this work was time consuming and highly technical, state agencies did not offer any form of remuneration. However, if contractors had completed the same work on a council operated water supply, they would have received a substantial sum of money. Such findings affirm claims made by postcolonial theorists who suggest that civic participation can be used to obscure broader inequalities inherent within socio-institutional structures (Biccum, 2002; Kapoor, 2005).

A Drinking Water Team member (Interview, 7/10/2011) from the Northland Public Health Unit (NPHU) stated that volunteers from the PWBI had ‘gone the extra mile’. I will argue that this commitment stems from the largely altruistic reasons why individuals got involved with the water supply (see sub-section 6.1.4). When contrasting the intent of the PWBI volunteers against the intent of the engineers, it
becomes apparent why there was such a significant disparity between the quality of the work completed by the PWBI volunteers and the work done by contractors.

We had the engineers come out and do surveys, and they said it would never work – and this and that (laugh). I wasn’t very impressed with the engineers that came out here because we knew ... the waterline has been in since the early 1900s and that was just the raw water for the farms. And we’ve had plenty of pressure down here, and the engineers said we wouldn’t be able to supply – I’ve got 97 psi outside my place. You only need 45-60 anyway. So we just proved the engineers wrong. When they initially gave us the okay they bought out this machine and we stuck it together – it didn’t actually work. As far as I was concerned Pall bought the machine in and all they wanted to do was sell it. So after they left we actually (me, Ian, Dove) talked about upgrading it ourselves. So we made it work without the engineers. The engineers were only doing what they were told to do, and so we just improvised like little communities do. We sat down had a little talk, and we improved it to what it is now. It might have worked elsewhere, but it didn’t work here. We had to upgrade it every now and again. So we just talked and tried to improve what they gave us. It went from say about 10% to 100% now – 10% as in the volume that was coming out (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011).

The collective nature of the work completed by the PWBI inaugurated a sense of obligation amongst volunteers towards each other and the community. The importance of this sense of obligation cannot be emphasised enough.

I’ve worked with the council on a lot of things. There are too many people with egos out there. We never had egos. We just had true grit, we just wanted to help our community out – help ourselves out as a matter of fact (John Marsich, Interview, 20/10/2011).

During interviews, PWBI members expressed an immense sense of pride about what they had achieved. As a result of their efforts, their friends and neighbours no longer face significant health risks from contaminated drinking water. However, despite the emancipatory qualities associated with the work completed by the PWBI, it must be acknowledged that the lack of support they received placed a significant amount of stress on a small group of individuals. When juxtaposing the lack of support offered to the PWBI against the amount that was invested in engineers it becomes apparent that there are significant ethical and justice issues surrounding the value that state agencies ascribe to the work done by community volunteers.

Lessons from this sub-section indicate that the asymmetrical power relations between external contractors and local experts are the product of inequalities inherent within socio-institutional structures. These inequalities have resulted in the recommendations
of contractors being privileged over the learnt knowledge of local experts. Whilst it is acknowledged that technical assistance may be required on occasion, there is no adequate justification as to why a contractor is paid large sums of money for doing a substandard job, whilst PWBI volunteers are not even acknowledged as workers by state agencies. I will argue that the relationship between contractors and locals needs to be inversed so that CBSP is grounded in its local context. Whilst the PWBI has been able to make the necessary adjustments, this work has been time consuming and resulted in additional expenditures for the water board. However, by doing the work the PWBI has developed a strong sense of ownership over the water supply. In the following section I will reveal how this sense of ownership has acted as a catalyst for self-determination agendas within the community.

6.2.4: Summary

In this section I demonstrated how state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing Māori communities provided Dr. Michael Taylor with an opportunity to catalyse progressive reform. The political apathy shown towards the health concerns facing Māori communities provide insight into how “inequalities are interwoven into the fabric of our society” (Beebeejaun, 2006: 15). As will be recalled from Chapter 4, these inequalities have pervaded the provision of safe drinking water to Māori communities over the last 150 years. The non-involvement of the FNDC in Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga can be perceived as another instance of passing the buck that has long plagued service provision to Māori communities (Dow, 1999). This apathy towards to public health risks confronting predominately Māori communities provides insight into how inequalities inherited from colonisation continue to shape relations between Indigenes and state agencies. In sub-section 6.2.2 I revealed how these asymmetrical power relations influence CBSP projects. The disparity between the value that state agencies ascribe to the work done by external contractors, and the work done by local volunteers is an apposite example of how broader inequalities can manifest within CBSP arrangements. In the following section I will use PCT to reveal how these inequalities can be destabilised through CBSP. Using the concept of the ‘Third Space’ I will suggest that CBSP can be employed as a mechanism to expose inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures (see section 2.3). Lessons from Pākanae indicate that the water supply acted as a catalyst for creating a confidence within the community. This confidence strengthened relationships between and within
communities in the Hokianga, creating networks that have been utilised to affirm self-determination agendas. Furthermore, the outcomes of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga contributed to the establishment of the nationwide Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP) in 2005. Lessons from the Pākanae water supply could help contribute to PCT because they provide insight into how local acts of resistance can destabilise broader power structures.

6.3 – The Third Space and Community-Based Service Provision

6.3.1: Introduction

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 have revealed the contestable nature of CBSP. By juxtaposing the beneficial outcomes of the Pākanae water supply in section 6.1, against the way that CBSP can obscure institutionalised neglect in section 6.2, I have been able to provide a nuanced account of the potentially progressive and regressive outcomes of CBSP. In this section I will negotiate the heterogeneous outcomes associated with CBSP by placing the Pākanae water supply into its broader temporal context. A postcolonial critique of CBSP reveals the importance of deconstructing the layered histories that devolved governance arrangements are situated upon. Consequent to this analysis, it may be possible to determine if the trajectory established by CBSP has been progressive or regressive. Using the concept of the ‘Third Space’ (Bhabha, 1994c) I will argue that the PWBI has created a ‘supplementary position’ that is inadequately understood through received wisdom (see section 2.3). This supplementary position has provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe leverage in its dealings with local and central government. The outcomes of the Pākanae water supply provide insight into the progressive outcomes where the pre-European rights and values of Māori are recognised and respected (see section 6.1). The unique sense of identity that this has fostered within Pākanae provides insight into the ways that relationships can be employed to reconstitute CBSP. I will argue that this reconstituted form of CBSP has contributed to regional and national programmes that have attempted to destabilise inequalities inherent within broader institutional structures. Using findings from this research I will contribute to existing gaps within PCT by demonstrating the ways that local acts of resistance can destabilise broader power disparities.
6.3.2: Reclaiming responsibility

In CBSP literature there is often an assumption that the devolution of responsibility yields regressive outcomes because it enables state agencies to rescind from their statutory obligations (Bakker, 2008; Miraftab, 2009; Blakeley, 2010). In section 5.1 and section 6.2 I affirmed these claims by revealing how the work done by the HHET and PWBI has enabled the FNDC to relinquish its responsibilities. However, when Harerei Toia (Interview, 19/11/2011) was asked whether he thought that the non-involvement of the FNDC was a good thing, he stated: “I think the best way of putting it is that the council was forced into abdicating, because the community wouldn't allow them to come in.” Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) affirmed this claim stating that if the FNDC had control over the Pākanae water supply they would perceive it as a revenue stream. Whilst the 5A trustees did suggest that some form of support from the FNDC should have been provided (i.e. a subsidy), it was indicated that by taking on the responsibility through Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga, Pākanae has been able to exert a unique degree of autonomy over the management of its affairs.

John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) discussed how state agencies have progressively taken responsibility away from Māori communities. He suggests that the Pākanae water supply and the other marae and community supplies implemented as a part of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga have provided communities in the Hokianga with an opportunity to reclaim this responsibility.

Kaitiakitanga (guardianship) was a word that was used a lot during the water project. Which is about being responsible, being a guardian for the environment. You know you hear Māori saying this quite a lot. But the government takes away peoples responsibility by saying ‘we are responsible’. But in fact Maori will say no we are responsible for our environment. And a lot of that is often taken away from people by government agencies … the government takes away our responsibility, and says ‘we are responsible for that, we hold the funding, we’ve been given the resources and we are the experts’. And overtime that has happened and people’s responsibilities have been taken away from them, from us. So it’s a call for, return that responsibility to us … So devolution is giving back the responsibility (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011).

This comment provides insight into how the regressive discourses associated with the devolution of responsibility ignore the inextricable connection between responsibility and autonomy. I will argue that critiques of CBSP need to remain nuanced, so that the benefits associated with the devolution of responsibility are not overlooked.
Specifically, by applying lessons from PCT, I will be able to reveal how the devolution of responsibility and authority provides Indigenes with an opportunity to affirm their connections to place. Lessons from the Pākanae water supply indicate that this process of affirming relationships has created networks that have been used to advance the agendas and aspirations of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.

As detailed in section 2.3, the Third Space “displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom” (Bhabha, 1994c: 211). By using the Third Space as a conceptual apparatus to interrogate the outcomes of the Pākanae water supply, I will be able to demonstrate how the project has acted as a catalyst for creating confidence within the community (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011). Whilst interviewees did not suggest that the water supply was a catalyst for Indigenous self-determination or greater autonomy, they did provide insight into how the confidence or ‘track record’ obtained during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga has been a significant contributing factor to the development of other community projects.

What we did, before we finished the work (Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga), is that we got in the ASB trust. Took them around to ever single marae area. What we were able to do with marae was, the money we spent in each of the marae areas we used that as their contribution to get money from ASB trust … And then when the programme (Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga) finished at the end of 2001 by the middle of 2002 ASB gave about over 4 million dollars to the marae areas that applied. About 27 out of the 36 marae. We also got lotteries in and did the same. I think in the end 5 or 6 million dollars came in for marae upgrades – wastewater, new ablution blocks, new wharekai, some wharehui. All came from the ability to leverage. As in you know a track record. ‘Look this marae has done this work – they are prepared to do something else’. This fulla came in from ASB and said hey I can see your fulla’s vision, and then he walked around the marae, he said look we can fund this, we can fund that and so on (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

This comment provides insight into the importance of locating CBSP within its broader context. Too often CBSP is perceived as a ‘project’ within academic literature (Jones, 2011). Consequently, it can be isolated in time and space from events prior and subsequent to the implementation of the ‘project’. For instance, having a community owned and operated water supply has contributed to the ability of communities to establish community gardens (Marara Rogers-Koroheke, Interview, 24/11/2011). However, the water supply has not only provided the water necessary to cultivate fresh
produce, it has also created confidence within the community that they can overcome barriers and achieve collective goals – “you can always go back to the water line and say ‘hey yes we’ve done it in the past. Have we got examples? Look at the water!’” (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

The opportunity seized by the HHET and PWBI through Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga has yielded unexpected outcomes. When placing the water supply into its broader temporal context, it becomes apparent that it was a pivotal moment in the recent history of Pākanae. As discussed in Chapter 4, prior to the 1999 floods Pākanae was adversely affected by the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. The economic restructuring during this period fragmented the community as individuals left the Hokianga in search of work. However, the water supply created a reason for people to come together. As a result, the water supply has established a confidence within the community. However, as will be recalled from section 2.3, because the outcomes of the Third Space are not pre-determined, it has the potential to be put to regressive as much as progressive use (Kapoor, 2008). In the following sub-section, I will argue that the trajectory established by the Pākanae water supply has been progressive because it has contributed to community projects that have given Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe political leverage in their dealings with the FNDC. This leverage has enabled Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga to affirm their connections to place and rights to self-determination.

6.3.3: Destabilising inequalities through Community-Based Service Provision

In sub-section 5.3.3, it was illustrated how some of the individuals belonging to the Pākanae Marae Committee (PMC) perceived the upgrade to the water supply during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga as a diversion from the underlying reasons that necessitated a treatment plant. Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) suggested that the ‘ultimate’ would be the ability to go down to a stream with a bucket and drink the water. These aspirations are founded on the belief that as the kaitiaki (guardians) of their rohe (tribal territory), Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe have obligations to safeguard the relationships that sustain life. Local kaumatua, Ngawati Mau (Interview, 11/10/2011) provides insight into the environmental changes that have occurred over his lifetime, and how these changes have had an adverse effect on the quality of the relationships between locals and their environment.
There have been some big changes. The rivers were wider, deeper then (1940s and 1950s). I remember when we were kids we used to swim in there, it was a lot cleaner and a lot deeper then ... we used to park up at the gorge, it used to be called Pākanae gorge school and swim there. There used to be a big swimming hole there and there was another one down by the bridge way – that is now the Pākanae junction there. A culvert is there now. There used to be quiet a big swimming hole there and when the rugby players finish playing rugby at the Pākanae flats, they’d all come in there and have a swim, clean up from the mud and that. And we used to swim there also when we were young; the water was plentiful there. I remember when I was young and I was able to lie down on the edge of the stream and drink the water. It used to be that good, that clean then.

When asked how the quality of the freshwater has changed over his lifetime, Ngawati responded, by saying:

The stream is a lot shallower now and you can see the green stuff, I dunno what you call it in the water, doesn’t look nice at all even to hop in it, or stand in it, let alone swim. Then again it’s really shallow. Yeah things have changed; closing in a lot of trees have fallen into it, growth, and animals in the streams.

During the interview with Ngawati he discussed how the streams and rivers bought people together in his childhood. The riverbanks were a place of social interaction and the gathering of food strengthened relationships between people and their environment. I will argue that the ability of water to bring people together was a critical aspect of Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. Whilst the nature of the relationships differed to those that were described by Ngawati, they were discussed as bringing a lot of energy back to Pākanae.

You know with the supplies that have been put in, it has joined the people up again. It has joined them up, as in, to their responsibilities to look after the water. At the moment there is a lot of energy happening, and you probably heard in Pākanae – all voluntary and so on, looking after this line (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

In the preceding comment, Hone discusses the progressive aspects of responsibility. As previously suggested in sub-section 6.3.2, responsibility has inextricable connections with autonomy, or in this instance a sense of ownership. Findings from interviews suggest that the responsibility devolved to the PWBI during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga acted as a catalyst for inaugurating a confidence within the community. I will argue that this confidence was a significant contributing factor to subsequent community projects that have provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with political leverage in their dealings with the FNDC.
A trustees described how the confidence inaugurated by the work done on the water supply has contributed to other projects within the community. For instance, the Pākanae marae was able to leverage the water supply to obtain funding from the ASB trust for a new wharekai (eating house). Furthermore, upgrades to the Pākanae marae wastewater treatment system in 2007 were in part the result of a self-belief that can be traced to the water supply. The wastewater treatment system is based on a model designed by Pakeha Kaumatua, Len Parker (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). Prior to its implementation, the ‘Len Parker System’ had not been implemented elsewhere. However, it was suggested by PMC members that they were confident that they could address challenges as they emerged.

They put the system in 2007. We have been the first marae with the system, and since then there have been another 3 marae that have taken up the system. Again we pioneered in that area, they have been absolutely no issues for us - there maybe for other people. There has been no leakage (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011).

See if the community try on their own, they can't succeed. If the marae try on their own they can't succeed. But if we merge we succeed and that is what is happening (Alan Hessell, Interview, 19/11/2011).

As a result of the work completed over the last 10 years, the PMC and the community have strengthened their relationship through the projects that have been completed on the marae and in the community. These findings resonate with typical arguments made by proponents of CBSP, who suggest that community management empowers individuals, creates partnerships and enhances social cohesion (Lockie and Higgins, 2007). However, by interpreting these findings using the concept of the Third Space, I will be able to reveal how CBSP has given Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe leverage in its engagements with the FNDC.

PMC members discussed how they have been able to use the work done on the water supply and wastewater treatment system as leverage in their dealings with the FNDC. Alan Hessell (Interview, 19/11/2011) discussed how the marae treatment system had shown the FNDC that Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe ‘walks the talk’ in regards to wastewater management.

When Alan and Cheryl go and make an argument, no one can say anything near that. Because they can bring them out here and prove that. The tests will
prove that what we are arguing for can be done (Harerei Toia, Interview, 19/11/2011).

We are fighting sewage discharges, and if we are going to be pioneering and fighting that, we have to set a good example. And we are doing that ... the tests that have been done. It is so clean; it is actually cleaner than rainwater (Alan Hessell, Interview, 19/11/2011).

The wastewater treatment system has provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with political leverage in its dealings with the FNDC. In the following extract, Cheryl Turner (Interview, 19/11/2011) discusses how this political leverage has enabled Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe to challenge and defeat the FNDC in the environment court.

Our wastewater doesn't go straight into the harbour it seeps naturally. And we've been told that it takes a number of years before the water actually gets to the Harbour. There is surface water and that is what we test. It does give us leverage because we always give that spiel, 'our marae has got one of the best septic systems'. We are forever arguing against the council in that regard. We've won a few cases you could say. We've held the council accountable to a certain area where they can't expand beyond that – in Omapere. So we've stopped that – put constraints on development. Because any more growth would put too much pressure on the environment. We've held up in court twice now, and council has agreed (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011).

Whilst not directly related to the water supply, it could be suggested that the work completed during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga has contributed to the ability of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe to hold the FNDC accountable. If perceived through a PCT lens, findings from this sub-section demonstrate how CBSP can be employed as a mechanism to destabilise asymmetrical power relations (Johnson, 2008). The implications of this are significant because it provides Indigenes with an opportunity to expose and place increased scrutiny on the inequalities that exist within decision-making structures. Findings from this research highlight the relevance of the 'Third Space' to CBSP literature because they demonstrate how the devolution of service creates an opportunity for Indigenes to challenge the positional superiority of the state (Kapoor, 2008).

Relationships that were reaffirmed during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga inaugurated a ‘collective confidence’ within the community. This sense of self-belief has been critical in the development and implementation of subsequent marae-based and community-based projects. As a result of these projects, Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a
Kupe has been provided with political leverage in its deliberations with the FNDC. Such findings highlight the relevance of the ‘Third Space’ to CBSP literature. In the following sub-section I will build upon these findings by revealing how the Pākanae water supply was crucial to the development of the Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP).

6.3.4: The Drinking Water Assistance Programme

Within PCT literature there is a limited understanding of how local acts of resistance affect broader power structures (Kapoor, 2008). Lessons from the Pākanae water supply have the potential to contribute to this gap in PCT literature. During interviews with HHET, NPHU and MoH employees, it became evident that the work done by the PWBI on the Pākanae water supply was a catalyst for a series of events that culminated in the development of the nationwide DWAP in 2005.

The water supply implemented by the PWBI during Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga enabled surrounding communities to ‘realise their vision’ (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011). Pākanae was the first community to implement a water supply, and it provided an example to surrounding communities that were still deciding or had declined the offer to implement a community water supply through Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

Pākanae because of the hapū dynamics, Pākanae is going to do it. Whirinaki was unable to do it initially. There are a lot of hapū bits and pieces. And that process was favourable but it also had a lot of ups and downs. But it occurred. But through those examples, if the programme was extended to 2 years, all the rest would have come on board. Because as soon as Pākanae was 30% done Whirinaki realised its vision. They realised their vision. Waimamuku came, Panguru came out – “we want to do it now”. Too late though. The programme was gone. Waima came out, Taheke came out. When Pākanae was installing and up and running these communities came out … Pākanae was the catalyst for others to come on board. The work that Whirinaki done. They done it from examples of what happened at Pākanae (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011).

Subsequent to viewing the Pākanae water supply, Whirinaki committed to implementing a community water supply through Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga (for the location of Whirinaki see Figure 4.1). As a result of the work that the PWBI and Whirinaki Māori Committee several research reports were completed by Environment Science and Research a Crown research institute (ESR), the MoH and the engineering
firm Beca (Watson et al., 2003a; Watson et al., 2003b; Foote et al., 2005). MoH interviewees indicated that these research reports were critical to the development of the DWAP.

MoH employees who were interviewed provided insight into the numerous factors that influence the development of government policies. The Public Health Engineer (Interview, 1/11/2011) involved with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga suggested that the research reports completed on the pilot project had a significant influence on the political decisions that culminated in the emergence of the DWAP in 2005.

The assistance from those reports, and from the pilot project, was used for information in the cabinet papers to government, to show that you could successfully get small communities onto safe drinking water at a reasonable cost. And they were used to show the benefits, where we couldn’t show benefits from a cost-benefit analysis. The sort of social report by ESR, we were able to quote bits from it to show the benefits to the community as a whole. And then the politicians make their decision on that. So it helped on the costings, it helped in our arguments – so bits would be taken from those reports, and used to demonstrate the benefit of having a national scheme.

A critical lesson from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga was the unwillingness of the FNDC to take responsibility for the provision of safe drinking water to small, predominately Māori communities. As will be recalled from sub-section 5.1.2, even when funding was made available by central government for the implementation of sewerage and wastewater schemes in high needs communities, the FNDC pooled that funding and used it to improve infrastructure in wealthier communities on the East Coast of the Far North (John Wigglesworth, Interview, 12/10/2011). Consequently, Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) discussed the need to create a programme that bypassed local authorities. In response to this claim, I asked if the negligence shown by the FNDC was unique at a national scale. In response, he replied:

I don't think it's unique. The picture we got going around the country was that there was always a complete dichotomy within the local authority structure. The elected members have certain aspirations, community has completely different aspirations and frequently completely antagonistic to those of their supposed representatives. We found that out over and over again. After a meeting we would find two groups; one group were saying thank heaven somebody is saying that, we were waiting for you for years. And you would have elected members saying, oh no no no.

This comment supports claims made in from sub-section 6.2.2, which suggest that Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga and the DWAP have been necessitated by institutionalised
negligence, as opposed to a perception amongst communities and decision-makers that it is the most effective way of delivering services to small communities. However, as will be recalled from sub-section 6.2.2, the other option would have been to make drinking water a national responsibility. I will argue that whilst this would be ideal, the ‘on the ground’ implications would be uncertain due to the colonial legacies that influence relationships between state agencies and hapū in the Hokianga. Another option that was suggested by PMC interviewees would be to devolve the funding through the runanga (peoples council). Nonetheless, this would still enable local authorities to relinquish their statutory obligations.

The DWAP can either be perceived as a perpetuation of institutionalised negligence, or as a solution to problems that have plagued the provision of safe drinking water to Māori communities over the last 150 years. I will argue that it is both, and that the long-term impacts of the work completed by the PWBI continue to reverberate throughout the country through the DWAP. In the Hokianga, the communities of Panguru, Waima and Matihetihe have all implemented water supplies through the DWAP (see Figure 4.1). The health and social outcomes of these projects have been immense. A Drinking Water Team Member from the NPHU (Interview, 7/10/2011) indicated that because the projects have bought people together, they have been a catalyst for communities to address other environmental and social challenges. Furthermore, the community water supplies have provided an opportunity for hapū from the North (Te Rarawa) and South (Ngapuhi) sides of the harbour to strengthen their relationships with each other (Cheryl Turner, Interview, 19/11/2011). However, these projects have also obscured the issues that necessitated the DWAP (see sub-section 6.2.2). Findings from this research tend to indicate that the costs and benefits of CBSP co-exist, with the unexpected outcomes of the Pākanae water supply providing an apposite example of why it is necessary to locate CBSP into its broader context.

In this sub-section I have detailed how the Pākanae water supply has acted as a catalyst for a series of events that culminated in the nationwide DWAP. However, it was emphasised that the DWAP would not have emerged, had there not been a political will to address the public health risks facing predominately Māori communities (Public Health Engineer, Interview, 1/11/2011). The Pākanae water supply demonstrates how momentary opportunities can have a profound and lasting impact on the relationships
between local, regional and national actors. Evidence from this research indicates that key individuals and organisations have leveraged their relationships in an attempt to negotiate inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures. In doing so, communities have been able to reconstitute their relationship with local and central government. Hone Taimona (Interview, 21/10/2011) suggests that the MoH have not imposed themselves upon communities through the DWAP. Rather, the MoH have been a waka (canoe) that have worked alongside communities to provide assistance where it has been requested. This process of engagement has allowed hapū in the Hokianga to assert autonomy over their decision to become involved with the DWAP. Whilst broader self-determination agendas have been constrained by broader legislative frameworks (i.e. the resource consent process), the trajectory established by CBSP has enabled communities to reconstitute their relationship with the state. In doing so, they have provided insight into the ways that CBSP can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

6.3.5: Summary

In this section I used PCT literature to interrogate the outcomes of the Pākanae water supply. I argued that if CBSP is perceived as a mechanism that can be used to exploit the Third Space it has the potential to destabilise inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures (Bhabha, 1994c; Kapoor, 2008). In sub-section 6.3.2 I demonstrated how CBSP has enabled communities to reclaim their responsibility from local and central government. This process of reclaiming responsibility has inaugurated a confidence within Pākanae that has been used to implement other marae-based (i.e. wastewater treatment) and community-based projects (i.e. community garden). As a result of this work, Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe has been provided with leverage in its deliberations with the FNDC. Furthermore, the Pākanae water supply has also contributed to the development of the DWAP. Whilst this has enabled local authorities to relinquish from their statutory obligations, it has also provided a solution to problems that have plagued the provision of water to Māori settlements over the last 150 years. The Pākanae water supply provides insight into the unpredictability of the Third Space. I will argue that the unexpected outcomes of the Pākanae water supply have been largely progressive, and MoH, HHET, NPHU, PWBI and PMC interviewees were unanimous in their belief that the Pākanae water supply has been a success. Whilst the FNDC has been given an opportunity to relinquish from its
responsibilities, findings from this research suggest that if they had implemented the water supply, it would have undermined the self-determination agendas of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe.

6.4 – Conclusion

In this chapter I used PCT to interrogate the outcomes of the Pākanae water supply. Results presented in section 6.1 demonstrate how cross-cultural relations can be used to open an alternative management paradigm. Nonetheless, it was suggested that progressive cross-cultural relations at a local level are constrained by broader socio-institutional structures. The process of ‘othering’ has resulted in Western values and knowledge obtaining a privileged position in environmental decision-making. The assumed technocratic neutrality of the RMA (1991) has resulted in the marginalisation of the relationships, knowledge and values that Māori ascribe to their environment. This process of ‘othering’ the values and knowledge of Māori provides an apposite example of the ways that colonial legacies continue to influence relations between Indigenous and post-settler societies. However, in Pākanae, the 5A Māori Land Block owners and PWBI have been able to provide insight into the progressive potential where the pre-European rights of Māori are recognised and respected.

In section 6.2 I demonstrated how state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing Māori communities created an opportunity for Dr. Michael Taylor to instigate progressive reform. However, when juxtaposing the lack of support offered to the PWBI community volunteers, against the disproportionately large sums of money paid to external contractors, it can be argued that the emancipatory discourses associated with civic participation can act as a Trojan horse, which enables state agencies to use community volunteers as free labour (Miraftab, 2004a). This finding is consistent with postcolonial critiques of participatory development (Kothari, 2006). However, it must also be acknowledged that responsibility has inextricable connections to autonomy. Consequently, in section 6.3 I used contributions to PCT to demonstrate how CBSP can be used as a mechanism to expose and undermine inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures.

PCT enables geographers to deconstruct the inherited landscape that CBSP is located upon. In section 6.3 I used PCT notions of the ‘Third Space’ to argue that CBSP needs
to be placed into its broader temporal context. By examining the unexpected outcomes of the Pākanae water supply I was able to demonstrate how the work completed in Pākanae has acted as a catalyst for a series of events that culminated in the creation of the DWAP. Consequently, it was possible to provide insight into how CBSP can impact upon broader socio-institutional structures. Using findings from Chapters 5 and 6, it can be suggested that relationships and networks are critical to the ability of Indigenous communities to expose, circumvent and challenge inequalities inherited from colonisation. Based on findings from this research, I will argue that these relationships and networks can progressively contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. The following chapter will examine the implications of findings from this thesis for future research and policy pertaining to the involvement of Indigenes in CBSP.
Chapter 7

Devolution and the Decolonisation of Local Governance

7.1 – Decolonising local governance

In this thesis I used Postcolonial Theory (PCT) to examine how the devolution of service provision can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. In Chapter 3 I applied lessons from PCT to demonstrate how Community-Based Service Provision (CBSP) yields opportunities and dangers for Indigenous communities. In response to the largely pessimistic orientation of recent contributions to CBSP literature (see Bakker, 2008; Miraftab, 2009; Spronk, 2009; Jones, 2011), I used postcolonial notions of the Third Space to reveal how critics of CBSP tend to neglect the possibilities engendered by the process of devolution (Bhabha, 1994c). By interpreting the devolution of service delivery through a postcolonial lens, I was able to reveal how CBSP can be used as a mechanism to circumnavigate inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures. Evidence from this thesis suggests that the process of exposing inequalities can have a destabilising effect on inherited asymmetrical power relations between Indigenes and state agencies. Findings from Chapters 5 and 6 resonate with a claim made by Panelli (2008), who argues that debates surrounding indigeneity present an opportunity to decolonise and reimagine wider functions for/of geography.

Exposing and destabilising hegemony is a defining aspect of a Third Space strategy (Kapoor, 2008). In this thesis I have argued that the Third Space can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance because it provides insight into the ways that Indigenous communities can reassert their cultural values in order to fundamentally reinvent the relationship between coloniser and colonised (Johnson, 2008). This understanding of the Third Space aligns with contributions to Indigenous geographies, which suggest that decolonisation is a long-term process of reclaiming and reconstituting spaces vacated by the state.

Decolonisation, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognised as a long-term,
process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power (Smith, 1999: 98).

By conceptualising decolonisation as a process, as opposed to an event, I have been able to demonstrate the relevance of the Third Space to debates surrounding CBSP. For instance, findings from Chapter 5 indicate that the opportunity seized by key Ministry of Health (MoH) employees and the Hokianga Health Enterprise Trust (HHET) provided the Pākanae Water Board Incorporated (PWBI) with an opportunity to implement a water supply that was consistent with the community’s aspirations. By seizing this opportunity, the PWBI has been able to expose long-standing issues of state ambivalence towards the public health risks facing Māori communities. Furthermore, CBSP provided the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI with an opportunity to circumnavigate broader inequalities and open an alternative management paradigm. Lessons from the Pākanae water supply indicate that if CBSP is perceived as a mechanism that provides communities with an opportunity to bypass broader asymmetrical power relations, it has the potential to contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

By tracing the history of the Pākanae water supply in Chapter 4, I was able to demonstrate how it has shaped cross-cultural relations between Māori and Pakeha in Pākanae over the last 85 years. The power dynamics between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI are mediated by crossover membership between the organisations and strong pre-existing relationships between key individuals involved with the organisations. The strong relationship between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI has engendered a unique sense of identity in Pākanae and opened an alternative management paradigm that is based on the recognition and respect of the 5A Land Trust’s mana whenua (territorial rights) over the water source for the Pākanae water supply. The alternative management paradigm opened by the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI has enabled the organisations to circumnavigate inequalities inherent within broader socio-institutional structures. In doing so, the 5A Land Trust and PWBI have exposed the constructedness of the post-colonial state’s claim over freshwater, and revealed the progressive outcomes which can be achieved when the distinct pre-colonial rights of Māori are recognised and respected. These findings resonate with claims made by postcolonial theorists who suggest that because hegemony is never absolute, opportunities exist to destabilise power disparities (Bhabha, 1994c; Kapoor, 2008).
Whilst PCT can be applied to exploit opportunities engendered by CBSP, it must be emphasised that because the outcomes of the Third Space are not predetermined, it can be put to regressive as much as progressive use (Kapoor, 2008). Recent contributions to CBSP literature detail how the benevolent discourses associated with civic participation obfuscate the underlying inequalities that necessitate devolution (see Miraftab, 2009; Jones, 2011), with Bakker (2008: 239) suggesting that, “in celebrating community resourcefulness, we risk condoning both government inaction and corporate misconduct.” This statement resonates with claims made in Section 6.2, where I suggested that Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga could be perceived as another instance of buck passing that has long plagued the provision of safe drinking water to Māori communities (Dow, 1999). In response to the largely pessimistic orientation of recent contributions to CBSP literature, I argued that it is necessary to move beyond surface level critiques of CBSP, and examine the broader trajectory established by devolution.

By placing Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga into its broader temporal context, I was able to reveal how the work done by the PWBI has been a pivotal moment in the recent history of Pākanae. I argued that the implementation of the water supply inaugurated a confidence within the community that has contributed to the development and implementation of other marae-based and community-based projects. In Chapter 6 I demonstrated how the Pākanae water supply and subsequent marae-based and community-based projects have provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with political leverage in its deliberations with the Far North District Council (FNDC). Evidence from this thesis suggests that the track record, relationships and networks established through CBSP provided Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe with a basis to reconstitute its relationship with the FNDC. The act of confronting state agencies, and holding them to account, can have a destabilising effect on the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. Consequently, it can be suggested that if the surface level costs and benefits of CBSP are negotiated, Indigenes can mobilise devolution to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies. Based on findings from this thesis, it can be argued that if the heterogeneous outcomes of CBSP are negotiated, the devolution of service delivery can contribute to Indigenous self-determination and the decolonisation of local governance.
7.2 – Reflections on the research process

The original intent of this research was to examine the lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga. At an early stage of the research I was attentive to the challenges that emanated from my status as an outsider to the Hokianga. Consequently, I developed a list of five potential case studies (Pākanae, Whirinaki, Waima, Matihetihe and Panguru), and intended to examine two so I could ascertain how lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga were applied to the Drinking Water Assistance Programme (DWAP). It was foreseeable given the political dynamics in the Hokianga and the high workload of individuals involved with the water supplies that some of the communities would not be in a position to support the research. Thus, the original list of five communities was a contingency measure, to increase the probability obtaining permission from at least two communities. By examining one case study from each side of the Hokianga Harbour, I intended to ascertain how networks established through the water supplies have mediated inter-tribal relations between Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa, and contributed to Indigenous self-determination in the Hokianga.

During the consultation phase of this research, I encountered several challenges when attempting to engage with the five community water boards. Firstly, key individuals involved with the water supplies tended to be involved with other marae-based and community-based projects. When combined with their employment and whanau (family) commitments, I quickly recognised that I would have to approach consultation with caution. For instance, when I contacted key individuals involved with the Matihetihe and Waima water supplies, I discovered that they were dealing with significant personal and whanau health issues. Consequently, I decided that it would be ethically inappropriate to attempt to involve those communities in the research because I knew that if I proceeded, it would put unnecessary stress on individuals who were confronting life-altering challenges. A second issue to emerge was the pre-existing tensions that existed within the Whirinaki water board. In Whirinaki I initially approached the water board chairperson about the possibility of tabling my research proposal at their monthly hui (meeting). He suggested that due to the internal dynamics of the water board at the time, it would be likely that my presence could act as a catalyst for further tension within the water board. As a result, I decided not to seek research approval from the Whirinaki water board. The challenges that emerged during the early
stages of this research altered the intent of the project and resulted in a much more focused approach.

Subsequent to narrowing the research to two communities, I engaged in a series of face-to-face meetings with individuals involved with the Panguru and Pākanae water supply. In Chapter 4 I detailed how this engagement process culminated in the Pākanae Marae Committee (PMC) and PWBI offering their support for the research. However, in Panguru I failed to obtain support from the Waipuna Marae Committee. This can be attributed to an ineffective consultation process. In Panguru I relied too heavily on the water board chairperson, and as a result, was not accountable for the research in person. As a result of the Waipuna Marae Committee hui being rearranged at short notice, I asked the water board chairperson to raise the research on my behalf. This request was inconsistent with tikanga (correct procedure) because I was not accountable for the research in person (Stuart et al., 2003). Consequently, the Waipuna Marae Committee declined the invitation to be involved with the research. Whilst not initially intended, my correspondence through the water board chairperson raised significant ethical issues because it was culturally insensitive and could have created false expectations about the research. If placed in a similar situation again, I would relinquish from engagement if I knew that my actions were going to be inconsistent with tikanga.

As a result of the project being limited to the Pākanae water supply, I had to redefine the objectives of this research four months after starting the thesis. Whilst this was a source of anxiety at the time, a retrospective analysis provides insight into the benefits associated with adopting a focused approach to research. Results from this thesis indicate that the initial proposal was too ambitious because I would not have had the space or time to offer quality insights into more than one case study. However, by being limited to Pākanae water supply, unexpected opportunities emerged. For instance, interviews with a range of 5A Māori Land Block trustees and PWBI members provided insight into how the water supply has mediated cross-cultural relations in Pākanae. If I had engaged with two communities this opportunity would not have existed as I would have only had enough time to interview individuals involved in leadership roles. Subsequent to reflecting on the outcomes of the research process, I have recognised the importance of adopting a much more narrow focus to qualitative research. In this thesis I believe that I have made a sincere attempt to offer an in-depth analysis of the
complexities and nuances associated with CBSP. However, in spite of adopting a much more focused approach than initially intended, there remained constraints upon the research process.

Winchester (1996) suggests that by adopting a focused approach to research, the researcher risks privileging what they consider as important. Sharp and Richardson (2001) argue that issues of subjectivity are an inevitable aspect of conducting qualitative research. Consequently, they argue that if the researcher explicitly acknowledges the impact of subjectivity and positionality on the research, the reader can take into account these factors when interpreting the text (Sharp and Richardson, 2001). During this research I attempted to address possible biases in my research proposal by engaging with PMC and PWBI members, and asking for their feedback on the research prior to the formation of interview questions. This enabled me to challenge my own assumptions and make amendments where necessary. Nonetheless, this process was consultative and not collaborative as recommended by Louis (2007). As a result, the central research question and objectives that underpin this thesis responded to gaps in academic understandings of CBSP, as opposed to the priorities of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe. It could be suggested that if I engaged in collaborative research I would have been able to achieve both. However, this was not possible due to funding and time constraints. In spite of the limitations associated with the research process, I ensured that I was critically self-aware, as to how my own pre-occupations influenced Chapters 5 and 6.

As will be recalled from Chapter 4, Indigenous scholars stress the importance of ensuring that the outcomes of research have tangible benefits of the communities involved with the research (Smith, 1999, 2005; Louis, 2007; Gaudry, 2011). Louis (2007) argues that this can be achieved if researchers engage in an extensive and culturally sensitive collaborative research process. In this research I was unable to achieve this due to time and funding constraints, and a limited understanding of te reo Māori (Māori language). During the initial hui I attended on the Pākanae marae, it was indicated that the hapū resource management committee would benefit from a quantitative research project that detailed the causes and impacts of groundwater and surface water contamination in the rohe (territory) of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe. It was suggested that this type of research would provide the
committee with leverage in its dealings with the FNDC and Northland Regional Council (NRC). However, due to the qualitative nature of this research, I emphasised that the research would not cover these issues. Lessons from the research process indicate that it would have been desirable to engage in a collaborative research model because it would have contributed to the political agendas of Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe. In spite of this, this research still has the potential to be of benefit to Nga hapū o te Wahapū o Hokianga nui a Kupe because it provides them with an opportunity to assess how the relationship between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI can be affirmed and enhanced. Whilst seemingly innocuous, lessons from this research highlight how strong local level relationships create opportunities for Indigenes to expose and destabilise broader inequalities.

7.3 – Future policy directions

The results outlined in Chapters 5 and 6 afford insight into how state agencies could improve the way that they approach CBSP. State agencies tend to adopt a narrow approach when assessing CBSP because they utilise a cost-benefit analysis to determine the outcomes of a ‘project’ (Watson et al., 2003b). This limited analysis has constrained the potentially progressive outcomes of CBSP because it divorces the ‘project’ from its broader context. Arguments made in Chapter 6 suggest that the invisibility of the non-quantifiable, long-term benefits of CBSP undermine its true value. It will be suggested that state agencies could address these issues if they adopted a holistic approach to analysing CBSP. This would entail placing the environmental, cultural, social and economic costs and benefits into their broader historical context.

Dr. Michael Taylor (Interview, 3/11/2011) expressed frustration about the way that state agencies allocate funding, and the emphasis placed on outputs within state agencies. He suggested that the outcomes of CBSP could be improved if state agencies placed emphasis on outcomes, as opposed to outputs.

I'm unhappy with output-based management. Ideally, an outcome is great because you have a high level aspiration that you want to achieve, but frequently there are a number of different ways of achieving this. It is like going up a hill, you can go one path or another path or another path, and in each one, you can work out a series of milestones on your way up there. The big problem is making sure that the milestones on the path you choose actually get you to the final outcome. And that's what most state agencies don't do. They produce a few outputs and call them outcomes.
This statement resonates with findings from this thesis, which suggest that state agencies tend to align themselves with the priorities of central and local government, as opposed to addressing the concerns of the community. Consequently, CBSP tends to be implemented and assessed against metrics that are defined from outside of the community (i.e. the per-capita cost of CBSP). This research indicates that if state agencies align themselves with the aspirations of communities, they will be better placed to ensure that CBSP delivers the desired outcome. John Wigglesworth (Interview, 12/10/2011) suggests that this occurred in Pākanae because the intent of key MoH employees, the HHET and PWBI aligned. Insights provided by this research highlight the importance of moving beyond an output based analysis of CBSP and examining how CBSP can contribute to redressing the significant social justice and ethical concerns that emanate from communities being provided with contaminated drinking water.

In Pākanae the amount of autonomy that was devolved to the PWBI was critical to the ultimate implementation of the water supply. This autonomy also enabled the PWBI to maintain its historically strong relationship with the 5A Māori Land Block Trust. Given the unique amount of autonomy that was devolved to the PWBI, it can be suggested that the devolution of authority is critical to the ultimate success of CBSP. Too frequently, state agencies devolve responsibility without giving adequate consideration to how communities will be able to exert authority over CBSP. For instance, the transformation of the Pākanae Water Board into a non-profit, incorporated society has constrained the ability of the PWBI to secure the economic sustainability of the water supply. Contingent upon evidence presented in this thesis, it can be argued that state agencies need to devolve a greater amount of autonomy to communities. This autonomy would enable community organisations such as the PWBI to contextualise CBSP.

Another issue that constrains the efficacy of CBSP is institutional fragmentation. In Section 6.2 I examined the different values that state agencies ascribe to the work of external contractors, and the work completed by PWBI volunteers. It was suggested that the disappointing outcomes of the work completed by external contractors is the product of structural deficiencies that position the knowledge of local experts as supplementary to the recommendations of external contractors. HHET employees suggested that the
failure of the state to recognise the value of the work and knowledge of the PWBI volunteers is a symptom of institutional fragmentation.

If the ministry worked with housing, what they can’t give, housing could give, but they didn’t do that. WINZ (Work and Income New Zealand) they didn’t do that, TPK (Te Puni Kokiri) they didn’t do that, any other funding agencies didn’t do that … they don’t even know what this Drinking Water Assistance Programme is about. Even housing NZ didn’t know what it was about. What! Don’t they all stay in Wellington? Don’t they have cups of tea and kai (food) together? (Hone Taimona, Interview, 21/10/2011)

We found it really weird that those state agencies at the top don’t really talk to each other. Why didn’t the Ministry of Social Development put a package in to employ people? Why didn’t the Ministry of Education put a package in to train people? And then perhaps economic development could look at business relationships. But it wasn’t there. So we’ve got the Ministry of Health and we’ve got all these volunteers working that line for nothing. They even bring their own lunch (Marara Rogers-Korohëke, Interview, 24/11/2011).

Evidence from this thesis suggests that the state needs to improve how it approaches CBSP. As will be recalled from Chapter 6, the efficacy of CBSP has been constrained due to the way that funding is allocated. I argued that if the relationship between external contractors and local experts were inversed, locals would have access to the necessary resources to ensure that CBSP achieves the desired outcome. This could be achieved through the creation of an inter-agency community development programme that provides community organisations such as the PWBI with the authority, funding, training and resources necessary to improve housing, wastewater treatment and drinking water supplies. Given findings from this research, a cohesive community development programme would provide employment in areas that have been hollowed out by economic reforms over the last two decades, and address the institutional fragmentation that currently constrains the ability of the state to fulfil its statutory obligations.

7.4 – Future research directions

In this thesis I have maintained that academic critiques of CBSP need to remain nuanced because the costs and benefits of devolution co-exist within CBSP arrangements. Too frequently, CBSP is subject to surface level critiques, whereby it is positioned exclusively by its relation to neoliberal reforms (Spronk, 2009). This form of analysis, whilst valid to determine the short-term implications of CBSP, can obscure the more complex and heterogeneous long-term outcomes. By applying PCT as a
conceptual apparatus to deconstruct claims-making associated with CBSP, I was able to reveal how CBSP needs to be located into its broader temporal context. I argued that a wide range of local and non-local factors need to be examined in order to determine if the trajectory established by CBSP is progressive or regressive. Claims made in this thesis resonate with arguments made by postcolonial theorists, who stress the importance of opening “layers of questions about what underpins and is taken for granted in geographical narratives” (Sidaway, 2000: 607). I have demonstrated that if PCT is employed in a concerted manner, it provides geographers with the tools necessary to move beyond surface level critiques of CBSP. In doing so, PCT reveals the explicit and implicit ways that colonial legacies are imbued within CBSP arrangements.

Academic contributions to CBSP over the last decade tend to frame devolution by its relationship to neoliberal reforms (Jaglin, 2002; Miraftab, 2004a, 2009; Hall and Lobina, 2007; Bakker, 2008; Spronk, 2009). Whilst it is acknowledged that neoliberal ideology has had a profound impact on the underlying discourses that influence environmental decision-making, it must also be acknowledged that some of the problems within CBSP arrangements pre-date the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s. Evidence from this research suggests that the underlying ambivalence of the state towards the health risks facing Māori communities emanates from colonial legacies. Consequently, I have argued that issues of buck passing and cost-cutting that have long plagued service provision to Māori communities, whilst accentuated by neoliberalism, are grounded in colonialism. Findings from this thesis indicate that CBSP provides Indigenes with an opportunity to destabilise these long-standing inequalities because the process of devolution is inherently unstable. This is reflected in the ability of key individuals to catalyse progressive change from within state agencies.

In Chapter 5 I argued that because the state is not a cohesive, monolithic entity as is often implied within CBSP literature, opportunities exist to circumnavigate the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. Tactical relationships formed between key Ministry of Health (MoH) employees and the HHET provided the PWBI with a unique amount of autonomy over the implementation of its water supply. When juxtaposing findings from this thesis against claims made in CBSP literature, it becomes evident that current understandings of CBSP tend to neglect heterogeneity within the state. Whilst CBSP literature has highlighted the dangers of valorising ‘community’
(Miraftab, 2009), it has tended to neglect the heterogeneous nature of the state. In doing so, it has obfuscated the opportunities that emerge from within the state. Evidence from this thesis indicates that future CBSP research could benefit from PCT because it demonstrates that the state is not deliberately or knowingly malicious. Whilst PCT highlights the dangers of succumbing to the emancipatory narratives that have been associated with CBSP in the past, it also reveals the lack of control that the state has over devolution. In doing so, PCT reveals that CBSP provides Indigenes with spaces to assert self-determination. Evidence from this thesis indicates that this ongoing process of reclaiming and reconstituting spaces can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance.

7.5 – Community-Based Service Provision and Indigenous Peoples

Throughout this thesis I have maintained that CBSP can contribute to the decolonisation of local governance. If the contemporary and historical, local and non-local factors that influence CBSP are successfully negotiated, it may be possible to articulate the potentially progressive outcomes of community-based management. In Pākanae the historically strong relationships between the 5A Māori Land Block Trust and PWBI have opened an alternative management paradigm. By examining the trajectory established by the Pākanae water supply, I have been able to reveal how CBSP can act as a catalyst for progressive changes within the community.

Despite its vulnerabilities, CBSP retains progressive qualities because it provides Indigenes with a mechanism to reconstitute their relationship with state agencies. I have argued that if key individuals and organisations can form tactical relationships, they can establish networks that can be utilised by Indigenous peoples to progressively reconstitute the asymmetrical power relations inherited from colonisation. Whilst this could be perceived as insufficient at addressing the immediate social, political, economic and environmental concerns of Indigenes, it can also be argued that this process of exposing and destabilising state hegemony addresses the underlying causes of injustice.
between the Takarua District Board and Board, hereinafter called the "said Board") of the one part and Archibald C. Wexford (hereinafter called "the Grantee") of the other part witnesses that it is hereby agreed as follows.

(1) The said Board agrees to allow the Grantee the right to run water-pipes over Sections 4, 6 and 7 Block (along the route hitherto used by the previous Grantee, the New Zealand Company Ltd., and to take water through such pipes from the existing dam on Sections 5, 6 and 7.

(2) The term is to be 15 years from 1st April 1926 and the rental payable to the Board is to be £1 per annum.

(3) The beneficial owners of the Sections 5, 6 and 7 shall be entitled to the use of water from the said pipes for the benefit of the Takarua settlement without payment to the Grantee for the use of either the pipes or the water, provided that this shall not imply restrict the amount of water available for the Grantee for his own farm and home purposes.

If the water from the pipes be used for the Takarua settlement, the Takarua people will require to make their own connections with the pipe line and to refrain from damaging it.

(4) The Grantee agrees on his part to pay the annual sum of £1 to the Takarua District Board as Board of Counties clear of exchange or other deduction on the 1st April of each year, throughout the term, the first payment to be made on the 1st April 1926.

The Grantee agrees further that he will allow the Takarua natives to use water from the pipes as set out above, and that he will not make a profit out of the water-rights by selling the rights or sub-letting them to any person or local body. He will not charge anyone for the use of the water carried by the pipes, but may charge anyone except the Takarua natives, a reasonable sum for the use of his pipes.

If water be supplied to any outside person or local body, the said Grantee shall promptly notify the said Board of the name and address of such outside person or local body and the Board shall have the right to charge a reasonable amount for the use of such water by such outside person or local body.
Appendix A

The said Board reserves the right to cancel, this
grant of water-rights upon breach by the grantsee of any
of the terms and conditions set forth above.

The grantsee hereby accepts the said water-rights
upon the conditions set forth above.

In witnesses whereof these presents have been executed
by the parties this... day of... 19...

Signed by the said Archibald
Archibald J.P., Esq.

The Seal of the Tokerau District
District Board was hereunto affixed
in the presence of:—
PAKANAE WATER BOARD, C/O M B W DOVE, PO BOX 6, OPONONI 0445

To take water from the Matariki Stream on Pakanae No 5A Blk V Waoku SD, at or about location co-ordinates 1639662E 6070674N, for community and stock water supply purposes at Pakanae.

Note: All location co-ordinates in this document refer to Geodetic Datum 2000, New Zealand Transverse Mercator Projection.

Subject to the following conditions:

1 The total quantity of water taken shall not exceed:
   a 100 cubic metres per day, nor
   b 36,500 cubic metres within the 12 month period between 1 April and 31 March.

2 The Consent Holder shall maintain a meter with an accuracy of ±5% on the water intake system to measure the quantity of water taken from the Matariki Stream. This meter shall be used to determine compliance with Condition 1.

Advice Note: The Ministry for the Environment has released the National Environmental Standards for Water Measuring Devices (NES). The NES sets out the minimum requirements for the measuring devices. The NES requires that measuring devices:

▪ be able to continuously measure the amount of water taken;
▪ be capable of recording daily volume in cubic metres to an accuracy standard of ± 5 percent for pipes, and ± 10 percent for channels;
▪ be capable of providing output in a form suitable for electronic data storage;
▪ be appropriate to the qualities of the water it is measuring (including temperature and sediment content); and
▪ be sealed and as tamper proof as practicable.

It is recommended that the Consent Holder considers the above proposed requirements when selecting a meter to be installed. Consideration of the above requirements will promote compliance with the NES in the event that the NES becomes regulation.

3 A screening device shall be installed and maintained on the pump intake which shall limit the intake velocity across the screen to less than 0.3 metres/second. The screen shall have no holes or slots with a diameter or width greater than 5 millimetres.

4 The water supply reticulation system and components shall be maintained in good working order to minimise leakage and wastage, and maximise the abstraction rate.
5 The Consent Holder shall keep a written record of the weekly quantity of water taken. A copy of these records for the previous 12 month period (1 April to 31 March) shall be forwarded to the Council's Senior Programme Monitoring Manager by 1 May each year, and also immediately on written request by the Council's Senior Programme Monitoring Manager.

6 This consent shall not be exercised until Resource Consent CON19940376601 has been surrendered.

7 The Council may, in accordance with Section 128 of the Resource Management Act 1991, serve notice on the Consent Holder of its intention to review the conditions of these consents annually during the month of August. The review may be initiated for any one or more of the following purposes:

(a) To deal with any adverse effects on the environment that may arise from the exercise of the consent and which it is appropriate to deal with at a later stage, or to deal with any such effects following assessment of the results of the monitoring of the consent and/or as a result of the Council's monitoring of the state of the environment in the area;

(b) To require the adoption of the best practicable option to remove or reduce any adverse effect on the environment;

(c) To take into account any relevant national environmental standards;

(d) To provide for compliance with rules in any regional plan that has been made operative since the commencement of the consent;

(e) To deal with any inadequacies or inconsistencies the Council considers there to be in the conditions of the consent, following the establishment of the activity the subject of the consent;

(f) To deal with any material inaccuracies that may in future be found in the information made available with the application. (Notice may be served at any time for this reason).

The Consent Holder shall meet all reasonable costs of any such review.

EXPIRY DATE: 31 AUGUST 2043

ISSUED at Whangarei this Fourteenth day of May 2009
MEMORANDUM TO:

Dr Brad Coombes
Environment

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 7558)

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your project titled *Devolution and the decolonisation of environmental management: lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga ['safe drinking water in the Hokianga']* on 26-Sep-2011.

Ethics approval was given for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is 26-Sep-2014.

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to the Committee for further consideration.

In order that an up-to-date record can be maintained, you are requested to notify the Committee once your project is completed.

The Chair and the members of the Committee would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals if you wish to do so. Contact should be made through the UAHPEC secretary at humanethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

All communication with the UAHPEC regarding this application should include this reference number: **7558**.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

Secretary
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
Participant Information Sheet
(Manager/Employer)

Project title: Devolution and the decolonisation of environmental management: lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

Researcher: Divesh Mistry

My name is Divesh Mistry. I am a student at the University of Auckland, completing a Master of Science Degree at the School of Environment. I am conducting my thesis on community based service provision.

You are receiving this Participant Information Sheet because you are the employer/manager of a suitable research participant(s). Your employee(s)/staff member(s) has been selected as a potential participant due to their involvement with Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga and/or the Drinking Water Assistance Programme.

The research is concerned with how the Pākanae community implemented its own waterline. I am particularly interested in how the waterline was implemented, and what barriers emerged during its implementation. I am interested in how barriers were overcome and if the implemented waterline is consistent with the aspirations and agendas of the community. Furthermore, the research will attempt to assess if Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga is consistent with the principals of the Treaty of Waitangi. I am interested in additional issues that research participants consider significant.

I would appreciate the opportunity to invite your employee(s)/staff member(s) to participate in this research project. Participation in the research involves your employee(s)/staff member(s) sharing their perspectives and experiences about Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga and/or the Drinking Water Assistance Programme. This will require the project researcher to conduct an interview with your employee(s)/staff member(s) in person. However, to conduct the interview, I must first have your permission to interview the employee(s)/staff member(s), and an assurance that their decision to participate will not affect their employment status. This assurance can be given by signing the attached Consent Form. Interviews will be recorded using a digital audio recorder, and will be 1-2 hours in length. If suitable, the interview will be during work time, unless a time outside of work hours would be more convenient for you and/or your employee.
Participation in this study is voluntary. Participants may withdraw from the project and withdraw their authorisation for the use of any information they have provided either during the interview or within one month after the interview.

**Project Procedures**

This research will employ a qualitative study design, relying on the perspectives and experiences of individuals involved with the Pākanae waterline. I would appreciate the opportunity to interview your employee(s)/staff member(s), but they are under no obligation to be interviewed.

It would be desirable to record the interview on a digital audio recorder. However, this can only happen with your permission, and the permission of your employee(s)/staff member(s). The recorder can be turned off at any time during the interview. In such an event, the project researcher will take hand-written notes during the interview.

The audio recording of the interview will be transcribed in full by the project researcher. Both the audio recording and the transcript will be kept confidential on the researcher’s computer, under password protection. Information and findings attained through the interview process will be used for the results section of the Masters thesis. Furthermore, information and findings attained through the interview process may be used at a later date for publishing in an academic journal and/or for future reports and/or presentations. The information attained during the interview will be kept in a secure manner for a period of 6 years. Digital files will be kept under password protection on the researcher’s computer, and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet. Consent forms will be kept separate from the data. All consent forms are stored in a locked cabinet on University premises, in the supervisor’s office. All consent forms will be kept for a period of 6 years, and shredded at the completion of the 6 year period. The transcript of the interview will be shredded and digital copies of the interview will be deleted after a period of 6 years.

**Right to Withdraw from Participation**

Your employee(s)/staff member(s) has the right to withdraw from participating at any time during the interview. They also have the right to withdraw their data from the research from up to 1 month after the interview date.

**Anonymity and Confidentiality**

The project researcher intends to maintain the confidentiality and privacy of participants during the research process. Consequently, you and your employee(s)/staff members(s) will not be identified by name, unless approved by the research participant. Rather, participants will be identified by their role/job/position title to protect anonymity. However, it must be emphasised that the anonymity of participants cannot be fully guaranteed because community members may be able to identify individuals from a role/job/position title.
Thank you very much for your time. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me at (09) 4260908 or 021 263 0833. You can also email me at dmis011@aucklanduni.ac.nz. If there are any concerns regarding the project you can also contact my supervisor:

**Contact Details and Approval Wording**

**My supervisor is:** Dr. Brad Coombes  
School of Environment  
The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
Telephone: (09) 373-7599 extn. 88455  
Email: b.coombes@auckland.ac.nz

**Head of Department:** Professor Glenn McGregor  
School of Environment  
The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
Telephone: (09) 373-7599 extn. 85280  
Email: g.mcgregor@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 27/9/2011 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 2011/7758
CONSENT FORM
(Manager/Employer)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Devolution and the decolonisation of environmental management: lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

Researcher: Divesh Mistry

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I understand the nature of the research, and why my employee(s)/staff member(s) has been selected to participate in the project. I understand that information submitted during the interview will be used in a Masters thesis. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research. These questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to my employee(s)/staff member(s) participating in this research. I will ensure their participation in the research will not affect their employment status.

- I understand that the interview will take between 1-2 hours to complete.

- I consent / do not consent to the interview being conducted during work time.

- I consent / do not consent to the use of the employee(s)/staff member(s) name in the research.

- I understand that the use of their job title will inevitably mean that the organisation will be associated with the research.

- I consent / do not consent to the use of the employee(s)/staff member(s) job title in the research.

- I understand that my employee(s)/staff member(s) can withdraw at anytime during the interview. I understand that they can withdraw any information traceable to them up to 1 month after the interview(s) without giving a reason.

- I agree / do not agree to the interview being recorded on a digital audio recorder.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 27/9/2011 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 2011/7758
Appendix E

• I understand the information will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years. At the completion of the six year period all data will be destroyed.

• I understand the data and/or findings may be used at a later date for academic journal purposes or be the subject for future publications and/or presentations.

Name (please print clearly) __________________________________________________________

Signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
(Interviewees)

Project title: Devolution and the decolonisation of environmental management: lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga

My name is Divesh Mistry. I am a student at the University of Auckland, completing a Master of Science Degree at the School of Environment. I am conducting my thesis on community based service provision.

You are invited to participate in my research and any assistance you can offer me would be kindly appreciated. The research is concerned with how the Pākanae community implemented its own waterline. I am particularly interested in how the waterline was implemented, and what barriers emerged during its implementation. I am interested in how barriers were overcome and if the implemented waterline is consistent with the aspirations and agendas of the community. Furthermore, the research will attempt to assess if Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga is consistent with the principals of the Treaty of Waitangi. I am interested in additional issues which you consider significant.

You have been selected as a potential participant due to your involvement with the Pākanae waterline.

Project Procedures

This research will employ a qualitative study design, relying on the perspectives and experiences of individuals involved with the waterlines. I would appreciate the opportunity to interview you, but you are under no obligation to be interviewed. The interview will take place at a time, and will be in a location suitable to you. The interview will take between 1 and 2 hours.

It would be desirable to record the interview on a digital audio recorder. However, this can only happen with your permission, and the recorder can be turned off at any time during the interview. In such an event, the project researcher will take hand-written notes during the interview.
The audio recording of the interview will be transcribed in full by the project researcher. Both the audio recording and the transcript will be kept confidential on the researcher’s computer, under password protection. Information and findings attained through the interview process will be used for the results section of the Masters thesis. Furthermore, information and findings attained through the interview process may be used at a later date for publishing in an academic journal and/or for future reports and/or presentations. The information attained during the interview will be kept in a secure manner for a period of 6 years. Digital files will be kept under password protection on the researcher’s computer, and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet. The information attained during the interview will be kept separate from the consent form. All consent forms are stored in a locked cabinet on University premises, in the supervisor’s office. All consent forms will be kept for a period of 6 years, and shredded at the completion of the 6 year period. The transcript of the interview will be shredded and digital copies of the interview will be deleted after a period of 6 years.

**Right to Withdraw from Participation**

You have the right to withdraw from participating at any time during the interview. You also have the right to withdraw your data from the research from up to 1 month after the interview date.

**Anonymity and Confidentiality**

The project researcher intends to maintain the confidentiality and privacy of participants during the research process. Consequently, you will not be identified by your name, unless you give approval for this to occur. Rather, participants will be identified by their role/job/position title to protect anonymity. However, it must be emphasised that the anonymity of participants cannot be fully guaranteed because community members may be able to identify individuals from a role/job/position title.

Your participation in the research is kindly appreciated by the researcher. As a gesture of reciprocity the researcher will make available to you a digital copy of the final thesis, and a hard, loosely bound copy upon request. Furthermore, the Pākanae Water Board and Pākanae Marae Committee will each receive a hardbound copy of the thesis at the completion of the research. Furthermore, I will make an oral presentation on the research findings to the Pākanae Water Board and Pākanae Marae Committee.

Thank you very much for your time and your participation in this project. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me at **(09) 4260908 or 021 263 0833**. You can also email me at **dmis011@aucklanduni.ac.nz**. If there are any concerns regarding the project you can also contact my supervisor:
Contact Details and Approval Wording

**My supervisor is:** Dr. Brad Coombes  
School of Environment  
The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
Telephone: (09) 373-7599 extn. 88455  
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**Head of Department:** Professor Glenn McGregor  
School of Environment  
The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
Telephone: (09) 373-7599 extn. 85280  
Email: g.mcgregor@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee,  
The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019,  
Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn.83711.
CONSENT FORM
(Interviewees)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Devolution and the decolonisation of environmental management: lessons from Nga Puna Wai o Hokianga.

Researcher: Divesh Mistry

• I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I understand why I have been selected to participate in the research. I understand that information submitted during the interview will be used in a Masters thesis. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research. These questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

• I agree to take part in this research.

• I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime during the interview and I can withdraw any information traceable to me up to 1 month after our interview(s) without giving a reason.

• I agree / do not agree to the interview being recorded on a digital audio recorder.

• I understand the interview will take between 1 – 2 hours to complete.

• I consent / do not consent to the use of my name in the research.

• I understand that although I will be identified by my role in the community and not by my name, I may still be identifiable.

• I consent / do not consent to the use of my role in the community or job title (as appropriate) in the research.

• I wish / do not wish to receive a digital copy of the thesis and/or summary of findings.
• I understand that both the Pākanae Water Board and Pākanae Marae Committee will be presented with a hardbound copy of the thesis at the completion of the project. I would / would not like a loosely bound copy of the thesis (see attached form).

• I understand the information will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years. At the completion of the 6 year period all data will be destroyed.

• I understand the data and/or findings may be used at a later date for academic journal purposes or be the subject for future publications and/or presentations.

Name (please print clearly) ___________________________

Signature ___________________________ Date _________________
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