



<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz>

ResearchSpace@Auckland

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage.

<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback>

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](#) and [Deposit Licence](#).

Note : Masters Theses

The digital copy of a masters thesis is as submitted for examination and contains no corrections. The print copy, usually available in the University Library, may contain corrections made by hand, which have been requested by the supervisor.

Towards deliberative environmental governance:
Rethinking participation

Rendt Gorter

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of PhD in Geography, The University of Auckland, 2011.

Abstract

In the face of more and more conflicting demands for management of the environment, deliberative governance approaches are failing to build the institutions that scholars and leaders advocate as solutions to the complex pressures. While the practice of participation has become a mandatory principle in the conduct of environmental governance, little attention has been paid to the lack of participation in conceiving deliberative processes. This thesis argues that neither the creation of deliberative environmental governance processes, nor deliberative processes for the reform of environmental governance have been achieved.

This dissertation explores alternative perspectives of participative processes, as seen both from theory and practice, to construct a situated approach. A multi-layered research methodology is used to reveal the juxtaposed dimensions where circumstances and possibilities shift participative practices into unforeseen dilemmas and contradictions.

The starting premise is that the environmental problematic is complex and multidimensional, which generates variety of problem definitions and diagnoses, projections of environmental futures, evaluations of solutions, and policy prescriptions.

Extensive attention to how scholars are grappling with the diverse facets of stakeholder participation organises a 3-dimensional theoretical framework, drawing on principles and ideas from a variety of disciplines including sociology, political science, environmental studies, public policy and development studies. And by anchoring myself in my own professional, community and scholarly grounding, I endeavour to maintain the self-conscious attitude that a post-structural view expects.

The empirical research focuses on the overlapping social and governance processes on Great Barrier Island. This is preceded by an exploration of three empirical contexts that offer insights into the experience of deliberative approaches. Beginning with general reflections on practitioner experiences in community-based development project in Mauritania, the preparatory work considers the introduction of community-based governance of coastal resources in Fiji, and also an ad-hoc alliance of recreational fishing amateurs with Maori *iwi* challenging central government reforms of fishing regulations. Data in the preliminary and the main studies was collected with participant observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis.

The empirical evidence points to much more complex processes that do not render easily to theoretical or procedural reduction. A situated approach promises to develop a new culture of deliberative environmental governance for increasingly complex 'managed environments'.

Preface

This thesis investigates possibilities for engagement in environmental governance. Concentrating on non-urban locations at the interface of society-nature relations, it examines the tensions revealed by governance reforms. It analyses how the processes of discursive deliberation can be understood and conceptualised. This work should be seen as a response to the shortcomings of traditional research methods available to inquire into contemporary processes of engagement with environmental governance reform. What is available in the literature proves to be overly theoretically formulated, lacking sufficient appreciation of the subjective perspectives always present and posits conceptions that are reductionist and idealised.

This study was prompted by the conflict that arose at community level and with government agencies over the proposed marine reserve on Great Barrier Island. My curiosity to engage with the socio-political context of this and other issues, and arriving at analyses relevant to practice, cannot only be traced to critical scholarship of, for example, Jürgen Habermas (Habermas, 1979) or Richard Howitt (Howitt, 2001) but also my own interests that have grown out of academic training as a conservation ecologist, a ten-year career in international development cooperation working with activist humanitarian organisations as well as personally identifying with the community interests found on Great Barrier Island.

As a resident by choice of Great Barrier Island, I had for years returned there from overseas assignments to 'development' projects of communities in Africa and Asia. For nearly 10 years I managed aid projects on behalf of European non-governmental organisations like Oxfam, and then would return home between missions, posing similar questions here: How could my community become more empowered to develop its potential and make the best out of the opportunities and constraints the context posed? With an island that historically always had been characterised by economic and aesthetic appreciation of its natural resources, my original education as conservation biologist fuelled a desire to imagine a win-win outcome for nature and people.

During my field work, my engagement with the literatures and through conversations with a range of practitioners that I encountered, I gradually developed the perspectives that form the core of this project – how change agents come to possess different “ways of knowing”, different ways of elaborating framings that structure actors and action in changing human – nature settings. Readers should realize that my own ideas developed within a broader context that influenced me. In particular, this included the present interpretative paradigm in the social sciences; a sense of self-consciousness within social studies during a post-modern turn that distinguishes itself from a supposedly less self-aware approach to knowledge acquisition; the process of decolonization and

the politics of knowledge that go with it; and a personal background in development practice and reflections on the research process that was stimulated by hermeneutic concerns.

During the field work, it was possible to obtain a richer engagement and relationships with other community members on Great Barrier Island since I had already previously established a distinct identity that was never fully displaced by the temporary identity of researcher. At the outset of this study, I was a community member known as scuba diving instructor, international aid worker, local journalist, resident and home owner. At the same time, my ostensible and consistent academic interests in community affairs encouraged a level of reflexivity by fellow community members that after some time often prompted individuals to approach me with questions and reflections on community issues and perspectives. However, after empirical data collection was completed and thus my reluctance to become involved in community issues receded, my role in the community had clearly changed from peripheral observer and I was now repeatedly invited to collaborate on solving issues confronting other Great Barrier island residents at community level.

As a veteran development practitioner, I should be expected to have a well-developed interest for social change and to bring first-hand experience with participatory approaches. I therefore set out with a strong practice orientation that was enriched with an interest in other cultural and alternative perspectives. This prepared me well for questioning taken-for-granted truths and for appreciating cultural resources that were accessible from my particular position.

Lastly, an earlier MSc degree in marine ecology ("Survey Methodology for Marine Conservation", 1993, University of Auckland) produced several reports in collaboration with and on behalf of the DOC that were later used to support marine reserve applications (Gorter, 1992a). The familiarity with DOC procedures and staff perspectives from that period again aided in better understanding the operational parameters that framed the collective actions of government agencies.

Arriving thus with the tools and baggage from my previous engagements with ecological, conservation and social development issues proved both helpful and frustrating. It made it possible to enter familiar contexts and appreciate the different viewpoints that were present. At the same time, it required effort to overcome the blockages that existing conceptions and discourses presented, framings that I had also unconsciously integrated. This dissertation represents a chronicle of my efforts, failures and successes at overcoming these obstacles.

Such a struggle with ideas of participatory practices - and also the thinking about ideas of these practices - reflects the actual experiences of both practitioners and scholars. It is to both I address myself in this dissertation, to help rethink participation not simply as a administrative procedure or a political concession but as a discourse opening a diversity of spaces that require a situated, actor-

oriented conceptualisation which can step outside the boundaries of universal framings. The language I use, therefore, must also reflect my criticism of the disconnect between theory and practice to revitalize the thinking and reflection that I call for. I endeavour to remain conscious of the particular viewpoints that I achieve through my own positionality as I proceed through the discussion and to listen to the different voices that I encountered along the way, which I highlight and reflect on in the text.

“I have come to believe that the whole world is an enigma, a harmless enigma that is made terrible by our own mad attempt to interpret it as though it had an underlying truth.”
(Eco, 2000)

Knowledge is a double-sided sword, as expressed by Eco. But mad or not, attempts at interpretation drive the plans of reformers and the reactions of the reformed. To enter into these spaces of interpretation and arrive at better understanding of the complex processes at play, will have to at least imagine that an ‘underlying truth’ does exist – or maybe diverse truths - by the mere fact that society is organised and animated by this assumption.

Lastly, thanks to Nell, Dan, mum and everybody else ...

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	II
PREFACE	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VI
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: INTERROGATING ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE 1	
1.1 Public participation in environmental decision making	2
1.2 Challenges to a universalist participation discourse	4
1.3 New approaches to participation	6
1.4 Conflict and tension in participation	9
1.5 The evolving debate around participation	10
1.6 The research problem	11
1.7 Overview of the empirical work: Placing the local into context	13
CHAPTER 2 UNFRAMING THE SCHOLARSHIP OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: DELIBERATING DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY	14
2.1 Introduction	15
2.1.1 The rise of the deliberative paradigm	16
2.1.2 Participation in development: practice-based vs theoretical views, really?	17
2.2 Designing an environmental democracy: A normative framework	18
2.2.1 Approaching the political with complementary scholarships	29
2.3 Reframing deliberation	30

2.3.1	Forms of power: Fragmented power, power effects and discourse as instrument of power	32
2.3.2	Conceptualizing deliberation: Environmental governance as an adjustable lens	33
2.3.3	Rethinking deliberation as subjective performances: Questioning environ-mentality	34
2.3.4	Governmentality and active subjects	37
2.3.5	Towards a post-positivist model of practical deliberation: In search of alternative epistemological methods	38
2.3.6	Rethinking participation with a post-structuralist perspective	40
2.4	Preparing to enter the empirical: Co-constructing new framings	41
2.5	In conclusion	42
CHAPTER 3 REASSEMBLING WAYS OF KNOWING: A SITUATED METHODOLOGY		44
3.1	Introduction: Developing a situated methodology	45
3.1.1	Overcoming research challenges	47
3.1.2	Methodological exigencies	48
3.1.3	Opening different perspectives on public participation in deliberative processes by re-imagining actor relations as processes	50
3.1.4	Chapter overview: Developing a process-based, actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical form of analysis	51
3.2	Assembling multiple 'ways of knowing' environmental governance processes	53
3.2.1	Introduction: Theoretical frames for participative governance	53
3.2.2	Method or methodology: Or, how to produce knowledge	56

3.2.3	Entering actor horizons with a critical hermeneutic analyses	60
3.2.4	Mapping intersubjective actor relations with process analysis	65
3.2.5	Revealing knowledge and framing with discourse analyses: Understanding stakeholder perspectives	68
3.2.6	Approaching environmental politics from practice with critical analyses70	
3.2.7	A situated approach: A practitioner perspective	74
3.3	Theorizing research practice and situating the researcher	76
3.3.1	The dialectical theory of Scott Warren: Guideposts into conceptual spaces of interaction between critical theory and reflective practice.	76
3.3.2	Dialectical research can rethink conceptual relations in multiple ways to add new meanings (Ollman) .	79
3.3.3	Developing an interpretative approach: Letting knowledge emerge from a dialectical clash	81
3.3.4	The researcher and the researched: Performative research rethought as deliberation	83
3.3.5	Action research and participant observation	86
3.3.6	A dialectical investigation: Focus on knowledge production and deliberation	87
3.4	Operationalizing interactive research methods	90
3.4.1	Locating spaces of environmental governance: issues, actors, knowledge and participation	90
3.4.2	Implementing a dialectical method	92
3.4.3	Research as dialogic processes can attend to subjectivity and intersubjectivity	93
3.4.4	Implementing the research process	95

3.4.5	Research chronology	99
3.4.6	Ethical research	100
3.4.7	Selecting analytical tools	103
3.4.8	Selection of interviewees	104
3.4.9	Methods for participant observation	104
3.4.10	Methods for semi structured interviews	105
3.4.11	Methods for documentary analysis	107
3.5	Conclusion: What this chapter has achieved	109
CHAPTER 4 REFLECTIVE RESEARCH IN PRACTICE: STORIES FROM AFRICA, FIJI AND AOTEAORA		111
4.1	Introduction	112
4.1.1	Situating the researcher	112
4.1.2	Chapter overview	113
4.1.3	Entering the empirical	116
4.2	The view from Africa	116
4.2.1	Approaching participation from practice	116
4.2.2	Guelbet Nour, Mauritania, January 2005: A consultative meeting	117
4.2.3	The popularity of community-based conservation: A role for civil society, but where is the community?	125
4.2.4	Theoretical interpretation: A process view of development projects	127
4.2.5	Reflecting .. Reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action	130
4.3	Fijian horizons	132
4.3.1	From protected areas to integrated development	133

4.3.2	The Community-based rationale of Locally Managed Marine Areas	137
4.3.3	The Qoliqoli Trust	140
4.3.4	Developing approach and method	143
4.3.5	Learning in action	145
4.3.6	Reflecting ..	147
4.4	(De)liberating fisheries policy	149
4.4.1	Bay of Islands 2005: “kia timata nga whanaungatanga: Let the relationship building begin”	150
4.4.2	The Shared Fisheries Proposal: Background	151
4.4.3	The Hokianga Accord	158
4.4.4	The huis of the Hokianga Accord	160
4.4.5	Shared discourses	161
4.4.6	Relationships	162
4.4.7	Discussion	163
4.4.8	An emergent discursive design	164
4.5	Conclusion	165
CHAPTER 5 ENACTING PARTICIPANT RESEARCH: EXPERIENCES OF ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE PROCESSES ON GREAT BARRIER ISLAND		166
5.1	Introduction	167
5.1.1	Projects, processes and places	168
5.1.2	Frame-reflective	169
5.2	Abstracting Great Barrier Island: Subjects and relations	170
5.2.1	Great Barrier Island: A rural geography	171

5.2.2	A contested environment: Culture, civil society and conflicting visions	178
5.3	Explicating Great Barrier Island: Meanings and perspectives	182
5.3.1	November 2006, The Barrier Bulletin: Community actors in dialog	183
5.3.2	The powers of a community board: Social capital or new spaces of engagement?	189
5.3.3	January 2008, The Great Barrier Island Community Board calls an extraordinary meeting	191
5.4	Interpreting Great Barrier Island: Processes and framings	192
5.4.1	Deliberating the proposed marine reserve	193
5.4.2	The Hauraki Gulf Island's District Plan Review	207
5.5	Performing Great Barrier Island: Co-constructing and reimagining	219
	Participant observation and merging horizons: Entering Great Barrier Island from within	219
5.5.1	Re-imagining planning: The Iwi Environmental Management course	221
5.5.2	Enacting the social: Community-based journalism	223
5.6	Conclusion	225
5.6.1	Community participation: Places, imagined communities and identity	226
5.6.2	Re-imagining spaces of deliberation	228
CHAPTER 6	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: REFLECTING ON THE MEANINGS OF PARTICIPATION	229
6.1	Introduction	230
6.2	Bringing actors into perspective	232

6.3	Deliberative democracy is an inadequate framing of deliberative participation	235
6.4	Relocating participation in a political landscape	236
6.5	Towards a post-environmentalism?	238
6.6	Environmental governance rethought and a research agenda	240
BIBLIOGRAPHY		I

**Chapter 1 Introduction:
Interrogating environmental governance**

Society-nature relations have always constituted social problems. Nature has multiple meanings as habitat, resource base or for cultural reasons, and therefore any environmental scarcity creates economic value and contested issues over access and allocation for communities and societies. But in recent years these problems have escalated. In the context of an environment that is no longer easily delimited from a human space and an increasingly complex socio-political environment, the multiplicity of demands are rapidly growing. The political organisation of allocation has challenged social and political institutions to resolve conflict and to provide just government that can earn and maintain its legitimacy. But government of the environment, like other sectors as well, is increasingly involving citizen, civil society and the private sector. To look for better ways of thinking about public involvement in environmental governance, the notion of participation has to be problematized. The research problem that then emerges, with the questions that open alongside, sets the direction for this dissertation.

1.1 Public participation in environmental decision making

In past decades, public participation in environmental decision making has been part of a trend towards decentralisation and greater citizen involvement in policy making processes (Bulkeley & Mol, 2003). In the field of international development, the use of participation is seen by many practitioners to have provided a new paradigm in research and practice, indeed one that can be seen as a distinct departure from the more conventional top-down approaches (Campbell & Salagrama, 2001). However, both the discourses and the practices that employ the term are diverse (Perez, 1997).

While the term participation is in wide use, at least in development policy and practice, three fields can be delimited in which participation constitutes a definitive element. Following Mohan and Stokke (2000), these are participatory governance and decentralization; NGOs and participatory development; and social movements. These three fields will serve as entry points for the three preparatory studies respectively later on.

The main motive for the current emphasis on public participation can be traced in many instances to widely held beliefs that this will improve the quality of decision making (Fritsch & Newig, 2006). In the development sector, participative approaches are strongly encouraged, if not pre-requisite by funding agencies (Shah, Kambou, & Monahan, 1999). Similarly in conservation, effective management of resources is seen

as requiring community-based participation in conjunction with cooperation, sensitivity, and commitment to the community (S. C. White, 1996, p. 10). However, the same authors will point out that these are claims that remain insufficiently substantiated – neither in terms of enhanced implementation nor compliance.

In the field of development, even if it was initially a marginal concern, most development agencies now would agree that ‘some form of participation by the beneficiaries is necessary for development to be relevant, sustainable and empowering’ (Sam Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 238).

Ecological sustainability and civic self-determination are widely accepted as two of the most important public goals. Participation offers an appealing way to combine the two (Mason, 1999).

The complex and dynamic character of environmental issues requires flexible and transparent decision-making that has to engage with a diversity of knowledges and values. With this rationale, public participation in environmental decision-making has been increasingly sought and integrated in governmental policy (Beierle & Cayford, 2002). If public participation is seen as the engagement of individuals with the various structures and institutions of democratic government that includes but goes beyond the act of voting, then the immediate question this poses is to how the institution of citizen involvement, both that of individuals and of social groups, has played out normatively.

Democratic values have driven this evolution. Participation is now increasingly seen as universal legitimation of government (Barnett & Low, 2004). Images of the politically active citizen represent democracy in action. The direct involvement of citizens in political life is invariably seen by theorists as a fundamental part of a democratic polity, particular when that involves challenges to government and authorities (Clark, 2000). But in practice, at least in European liberal democracies, according to the British author, political involvement is a multi-faceted phenomenon with many disparate forms.

In New Zealand, it is ‘good practice’ for public servants to involve affected citizens in decision making. It is policy of government agencies to take action both at the planning level and in their day-to-day activities to involve the community and voluntary sector in policy-making and service delivery, states the website of the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) goodpracticeparticipate.govt.nz. “The active involvement of

community, voluntary, iwi and Maori organisations in decisions that affect them is a sign of a healthy participatory democracy.”¹ In a section entitled ‘Benefits of community participation’, the web publication contends that building relationships with community, voluntary and iwi / Māori organisations is very much in the interest of government. According to the MSD, this has utility by improving the quality of policies and services, to help solve complex problems and to measure progress more effectively.

Beyond that, this view of participation by the MSD Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector expects to build ‘active relationships’ that transform counterparts and relationships to build trust, mutual understanding and confidence. In addition, this approach ensures the government will fulfil Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities to ensure “Māori are involved in making decisions on matters that affect them, and to take positive steps to ensure that interests of Maori are protected” (ibid).

The right of citizens to participate in decisions that affect them as a matter of principle is also recognized and contributes to a goal of creating a more inclusive society in which “People feel more powerful, more fairly treated and more valued when government acts in co-operation with diverse communities” (ibid).

As a government rationale for engaging with citizens the MSD policy offers an important rationale for initiating participatory processes while at the same time setting up privileges and opportunities. But on closer examination, this rationale is exposed to criticism from different quarters.

1.2 Challenges to a universalist participation discourse

Increasing criticism from many quarters, both from practitioners and from theorists has continued to pose questions about the actual benefits achieved by the participatory agenda. In the field of international development the positive connotation that has been associated with participation since it achieved ‘buzzword’ status in the mid-1990s has turned into what more recently has become labelled as controversy (Bliss & Neumann, 2008). All too often, development projects may have been successful when measured by planning objectives, but have fundamentally failed at empowering the poorest villagers. It turns out that development projects by themselves cannot be reasonably

¹ Visited 1.6.2008

expected to reform the local systems of politics or stratification (Kumar & Corbridge, 2002).

Even if participation had its roots in a 'counter-hegemonic approach to radical social transformation and, as such, represented a challenge to the status quo' (Leal, 2007, p. 540), the approach once institutionalised by bilateral agencies was reduced to 'a series of methodological packages and techniques' (ibid). Such criticism was taken up by other commentators who warned of the aggravation of existing power inequalities and marginalization (Mendelberg, 2002; Minhinnick, 2004; G. Mohan, 2000).

Not surprisingly then, disappointing experiences from the field have been brought back to gatherings of practitioners and into practice oriented literatures. Legally required participation has been found to not meet basic goals for public participation but also frequently proved to end up counterproductive, causing anger and mistrust (J. E. Innes & Booher, 2003).

Where outcomes have not been outright failures, important limitations have been noticeable on the extent of what participation can actually deliver, such as in a six-country study across South America, Africa and Asia carried out by Blair (2000). Researchers advise of a need for greater reflection, learning from empirical experiences of participatory processes (Stringer et al., 2006).

The variety of failures has also multiplied. There have been mixed accounts of success and limitations of public participation (Winter, 2007). Some researchers have noted that public participation remains top-down, expert led activities that fail to engage the public, while others conclude that public participation must be a prerequisite for sustainable development, peace and social justice. Winter's study found that committed community groups are in fact able to not only contribute positively to participatory processes but also are able to build 'social capital' in which there is greater access to knowledge, skills and expertise unavailable to individuals or institutions acting alone. The questions that this then raises is what effect this 'capital' produces in new or parallel governance processes involving the public.

A 1999 study of public participation in New Zealand and Australia for an international conference on participation found divergent views from practitioners (ANON, 1999). At both the legislative and policy level the extent of actual public participation varies.

The Resource Management Act (1991) review process collected much input but according to respondents showed few signs that these were considered. Businesses and NGOs found that the RMA processes are too time consuming and costly and “nothing changes”. The "old" way of submission processes is very inadequate where there is limited analysis of submissions and where they get ignored. Why bother?

Theoretical criticism and debates have widened, prominently raised in the text ‘Participation: The new tyranny’, edited by Cooke and Kothari (2001). The author’s assertion that participatory government can lead to the unjust and illegitimate exercise of power, mobilised critics prompting the need for practitioners and advocates of public engagement to re-examine old assumptions. The most substantial defence perhaps came with the a text edited by Hickey and Mohan (2004) that moved the debate deliberately into the political field, recognising the multiplicity of actors involved and the current theoretical context. With it, a promise was produced that participation was ready to move beyond the simplistic notions of the first generation and ready to be better theorised.

New ways to effectively engage people need to be found so that they can fully participate in decision making, the report said. Overall, "required" and statutory consultation was increasing but the quality was decreasing at the same time.

1.3 New approaches to participation

In response to the on-going debates and increasing disillusionment, alternative approaches have arisen in a range of fields, such as social learning (Muro & Jeffrey, 2006), integrated natural resource management (Lal, 2001), or co-management (Jul-Larsen, Kolding, & al, 2003), to name just some examples. A common theme in the public participation debate has been the need for new approaches that emphasize two-way interaction between the public and decision makers as well as deliberation among participants (Abelson et al., 2003).

The growth of participatory approaches has delivered successes, criticism notwithstanding. In a survey of 239 cases from recent experience to dating further back over the previous 30 years, Beierle and Cayford demonstrated that public participation has not only improved environmental policy, but at the same time also played an

important educational role, resolved conflicts and reduced the mistrust that typically surround environmental issues (2002).

With the growing trend - across the world - that citizens should play a role in informing and shaping environmental policy, the role of the state needed to be re-imagined and innovative approaches have been developed. Recognising how power relations and institutional contexts critically affect the outcomes of participatory processes, attempts have been made to link such processes to broader processes of policy change. For instance Holmes and Scoones (2000) work with a set of approaches described as 'Deliberative Inclusionary Processes' and find that across a range of 35 case studies from North and South, the need to link such processes with their political context proves critical.

Pimbert and Wakeford (2001) expand on this caution by warning that participatory methods can be used either for instrumental ends or for genuine citizen empowerment. They draw attention to the implicit and explicit intentions and underlying values that always inform 'participation', the framing of issues, the form of any initiative and its operating principles. This is important, because different values and intentions support or undermine a) the right to participate at all levels of the policy making process from an equal position, b) the right to self-representation and autonomy, and c) the right to political, economic and cultural self-determination.

A long running challenge has accused utilitarian and instrumental oriented practitioners of neglecting the potentially more important transformative effects of participation. In a report of the 'state of the art' of participation in international development, the authors find that in many development programmes participation is seen and implemented in a functional and utilitarian way in order to achieve objectives defined in advance without regard to the transformative potential (Bliss & Neumann, 2008).

The concept of participation carries a sense of including citizens otherwise outside the formal institutions of governance, potentially transforming their perceptions and behaviour with respect to environmental and perhaps social issues in general. Such a conceptualisation fails to allow for transformation in the opposite direction. Authors like Van Tatenhove and Leroy (2003) link modernisation dynamics with changing relations between participants, environmental issues and the governors, opening new possibilities of participation that carry a rule-altering potential.

Another unresolved debate puts in question the turn to deliberative theory that has been advocated to address the shortcomings of first-generation approaches to participation. The models of deliberation applied to participatory practice across different fields draw on a field of democratic theory dominated by Habermas (Morris, 2001).

The notion of deliberation proposes a common frame of reference that may be harder to find than process planners allow for. As Eden explains (1996), to design effective environmental policy it is necessary to consider the ways in which people relate to their environments as well as through scientific description, i.e. how people 'understand' their environments through culture, morality and social interaction.

Such an understanding remains in striking contrast with the global scientific discourse as it emanated from the Brundtland report (1987) and the 1992 UN Biodiversity Convention. Although often holistic and integrative in aspiration, in practice these strategies largely followed the same conceptualization that reified and protected the natural world as if quite distinct from the human world (Garritt, 2006). In consequence, local relevance, and consequently the degree of public and stakeholder participation is compromised. Lay knowledge is thus rendered insignificant and is marginalized together with the subjects of participation.

There is recognition that public participation in environmental decision making is both shaped by and, quite often, constrained by the form in which environmental issues, problems and their solutions are defined, or framed (Depoe, Delicath, & Elsenbeer, 2004). Framing is a cognitive habit and thus exposed to conceptual shaping with language and reason. Communication has a great effect on this. The ways in which environmental issues, problems, and solutions are defined, i.e. how they are framed, is determined through the strategic communication practices of the participants (Graham, 2004).

Framing is also affected by social characteristics shared by groups of stakeholders. So, for example, class, ethnic, and gender differences among fishers in the Philippines have been shown to powerfully influence the perception of benefits and costs of coastal resource management programs (Eder, 2005).

1.4 Conflict and tension in participation

An important observation shared among experiences drawn not only from the environmental practice field but in other related areas of local development, is the political nature of participatory processes. Bergh (2004) for instance, draws that observation from a review of recent literature on decentralization. Democratic decentralization is a key aspect of the participatory governance agenda, and is associated with the institutionalization of participation through regular elections, council hearings and, more recently, statutory consultation (Menocal & Eade, 2004). This theme has received widespread attention in recent years, particularly in development, since they form part of the discourse on 'good governance' promoted by many donor agencies and development institutions. The main argument emerging from the works of Bergh is that more recognition should be given to the fact that 'real', i.e. democratic, decentralisation is inherently a political process.

Similarly, a review of the practice literature in the field of forestry found that specifically power has been identified by practitioners themselves as problematic (Buchy & Hoverman, 2000). It turns out that issues of stakeholder status quo, 'representativity', transparency of processes and the availability of resources to facilitate the process, are often underestimated. To engage in a participatory process, the authors warn, 'will ultimately change the relationship patterns and affect the relationships' in the social context of such projects (p. 15).

Approaches based on participation principles can in fact have quite adverse outcomes. Co-management agreement among indigenous peoples, state agencies, and other stakeholders may promise a way of resolving conflicts over natural resources, but according to Castro and Nielsen (Castro & Nielsen, 2001) experience has shown potential for quite the opposite, with new conflicts set into motion, or causing old ones to escalate. In part, this can be attributed to the divergent interests and motives of state agencies in planning and implementing co-management systems.

Theorists in turn have raised significant questions about popular participatory methodologies such as Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA). The practice orientation of PRA with its aims of enabling local people and communities to take control over their own development, received much attention in development circles. But critics argue that PRA's empiricist orientation causes it to be insufficiently theorised and

politicised. Questions about inclusiveness, the role of facilitators, and the individual behaviour of elites overshadow, or even ignore, questions of legitimacy, justice, power and the politics of gender and difference (Kapoor, 2002). According to Mosse (1996), such perceived shortcomings make a strong call for better theoretical reflection on practice.

1.5 The evolving debate around participation

International field research challenges simplistic, dualist or reductionist conceptualisations that fail to reflect a much more messy reality. Frances (1999), for instance, calls for a critical attitude towards the classic concepts underlying participatory approaches in international development. She singles out institutions and models of individual action as needing closer examination.

One promising thread has turned away from structural universalisms and pursued the particularities of local settings to recognise the theoretical significance of subjective context and actor perspectives in shaping these particular configurations with theoretical significance. Adopting an ‘actor-oriented’ methodology, researchers in Belize set out to analyse the social, political and technical processes involved in participatory approaches to developing protected area projects (Few, 2000). Using this approach revealed how planning officials endeavoured to mitigate, or even circumvent, social and political dissent rather than foster an ‘active, broad-based form of community participation’ (p. 401).

This approach promises new insights into what Hickey and Mohan term ‘participation as citizenship’, which they argue can provide a basis for a “conceptual relocation of participation in a radical politics of development” (Sam Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 238). For these authors, the notion of citizenship offers an anchor to attach normative and theoretical interpretations that recourse to ‘free-floating set of values’ fails to provide. As they argue, mainstream participatory approaches, which see *any* form of participation as positive, alluding to Chambers and PRA (1997), lack a strong theoretical basis and have therefore been easily co-opted within disempowering agendas (see also Rahman, 1995).

1.6 The research problem

The issues thrown up in the literature around participatory practices in development and also around environmental problems to a large extent revolve around different practices of democracy. The work on deliberative democracy, more of which will be treated in the next chapter, especially in terms of the continental school following the normative work of Jürgen Habermas, has laid the foundation for the normative standards that give it authenticity and that generate the legitimacy that is produced. A closer inspection however reveals the issues raised above that paint an ideal of deliberative democracy at an unattainable height.

The problem that then poses itself is whether deliberative democracy can actually provide an adequate framing for the work that participation is intended to do. My aim in addressing this problem must begin with interrogating the literature about the origins, manifestation and approach to participation and the democratic precepts that underlie it. A key strategy adopted here is to seek to integrate a practice perspective in theoretical debates.

With that understanding I can then circumscribe the research question proper which asks, how processes of public participation could be (better) understood within a political and social context.

I propose to use an actor-oriented approach because both my background in praxis has sharpened my interest in the subject, and because the scholarship points in that direction.

More specifically, this carries an interest in framing which orientates the whole situation from the perspective of the actors, I will seek to prepare a methodology that will allow me to achieve an actor-oriented, interpretative, critical and frame-reflective approach to addressing this question.

The wider questions that open for discussion then include: What can an actor-oriented approach contribute? How can insights from research become relevant to the theoretical

Process-based: Tracing relations in complex processes. Theorise “new ways of seeing” in their full complexity.

Actor-oriented: Appreciating subjective experiences of public participation.

Frame-reflective: Locating knowledge production.

Critical: Maintaining a normative stance.

debates around participation? And in terms of methodology I will also need to ask how framing become visible in the first place? How are relations and processes constituted?

The rationale for these questions will be expanded on in the subsequent chapter.

In the preceding attempt to problematize environmental governance several concerns were encountered that remain unresolved. Firstly there is a lack of adequate views from the ground. So scarce at least that an attempt to gain better insights from an actor-oriented positions appears promising.

It also appears to be important to maintain a critical position that is sensitive to inequalities and economic influences. The political economy of environmental governance is important.

This dissertation sets out to explore whether the thesis that a reflective, actor-oriented approach is relevant to theory and practice. To confirm this, a situated, actor-oriented approach has to demonstrate the capacity to produce insights that are representative of the diverse and fragmented field of participative practices at the beginning of the new century. I claim that it holds promise because it not only creates possibilities for new insights into the often inadequately explained processes but can at the same time engage with the theoretical debates.

This work then sets out to contribute not only to the on-going debates around the value and limitations of participatory approaches with respect to society-nature relations, but more importantly seeks to step back and ask how the framing of theoretical debates can be made more productive to open the subject better to both practitioners and scholars as well as revealing new possibilities for approaching participation with alternative framings. What could be achieved by thinking of participants not simply as stakeholders, beneficiaries or even partners in a shared enterprise, but as citizens with a full complement of rights and roles?

This work aims to demonstrate how a much more nuanced view of grounded perspectives and discourses can help explain the obstacles and failures experienced by governance reform processes. By doing that, I want to put in question the theoretical assumptions that the paradigms in use keep in place.

1.7 Overview of the empirical work: Placing the local into context

While extra-local policy initiatives are important, the local settings should not be underestimated. Much of the work available to scholars and practitioners paints people in stereotyped settings as recipients and beneficiaries, or resource consumers and regulatory offenders.

This study concentrates on several detailed case studies that explore different governance reform contexts. These studies emerge from particular positioning, made possible for me through membership in a local residential community, and also specific communities of interest, including that of academic researcher. They are based on over a hundred interviews carried out between 2005 and 2008, as well as informal observation and interaction throughout this period.

The studies are contextualised with extensive reviews of unpublished material, media reports and background literature. An analysis of these cases provokes some interesting insights into the struggles and complexities of public engagement processes. Through an examination of how policies are made and implemented in these different settings, the prospects for participation and inclusion, particularly of more and less articulate interest groups, are explored throughout and returned to as a central theme in the final discussion.

My examination of this process must take account of the institutional location of such actors, and the political context within which decisions are made. Thus, the cast of characters in the case study analyses that form the empirical sections include scientists, bureaucrats, non-governmental organization (NGO) activists, community leaders, media professionals and others. I draw a case material from several detailed examination of *environmental governance* reform in New Zealand and Fiji, in particular also to reflect on the positionality of a researcher entering such settings. In particular, opportunities to enter overlapping processes on Great Barrier Island are pursued to achieve alternative, actor-oriented perspectives.

Chapter 2 Unframing the scholarship of public participation: Deliberating deliberative democracy

A more dynamic approach to the understanding of social change is therefore needed which stresses the interplay and mutual determination of 'internal' and 'external' factors and relationships.

("Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives" Long, 2001, p. 12)

Within a now deeply rooted paradigm of deliberative democracy, scholars and practitioners continue to struggle with institutionalising public participation as a political process to address complex social problems such as environmental governance. A review of the literature, tracing the roots of deliberative governance in democratic theory and its trajectory through environmental and development domains, show that idealised conceptions continue in circulation, attracting well-developed criticism.

How can participation by the civil society actors and the public in general be rethought more productively? To seek a fresh approach that can ambiguate and unframe existing theory, I will argue here, and in the following chapters, requires better situated methodologies that must draw on complementary ontological domains, to explicate the social and political developments that interact in environmental governance processes.

2.1 Introduction

Scholars and decision makers are converging from a wide range of policy sectors around a public participation agenda. Whereas previously attention was given more to normative discussions of the merits of, and conceptualisation of, public involvement, current interest seems largely focused on efforts to develop more informed, effective and legitimate public participation processes. Whether the decisions fall into the environmental, educational or local government sphere, for example, policy makers, regulators, experts and public advocacy groups will agree on the importance of involving the citizenry in the decisions that affect them. But at the same time these actors are struggling with how best to do this (Arun Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Brzeski & Newkirk, 2007; Bulkeley & Mol, 2003; Frances, 1999; Leeuwis, 2000; Rowe & Frewer, 2004; Turnbull, 2004; A. T. White, 1994)

This common interest has been reached from different underlying motivations—those derived from ideological reasons (i.e., adherence to democratic ideals of legitimacy, transparency and accountability) or more pragmatic interest (i.e., intent to achieve popular support for potentially unpopular decisions) according to commentators (Bliss & Neumann, 2008; Rowe & Frewer, 2004). Much of the current emphasis on participation methods is also a response to the prevailing view that methods used in the past are no longer appropriate for current decision making processes or for a more educated, sophisticated and less deferential public (Inglehart, 1997).

An additional rationale is the belief that more effective public participation techniques might increase, or even act as a substitute for, social capital, which is seen as critical for improving governance (broadly and in the environmental governance domains) and manifested through collaborative problem solving among citizens in communities and organizations (Ostrom, 2000; Putnam, 2001; Rydin & Pennington, 2000). Calls for increased civic participation, capacity-building and the creation of social capital envision a re-created community as the cornerstone to improvements in social and economic conditions (Coglianese & Nash, 2001; Dukes, 1996; Johannes, 2002; Kiss, 2004; Minhinnick, 2004).

2.1.1 The rise of the deliberative paradigm

A common theme encountered in the current participation debate is the need for new approaches that emphasize two-way interaction between decision makers and the public as well as deliberation among participants (Abelson et al., 2003; Bromley & Feeny, 1992). Increasingly complex decision making processes, it is argued, require more informed participants that have evaluated the evidence on the issue, discussed and debated policy options and decision outcomes, and have arrived at a mutually agreed upon decision or at least one by which all parties can abide. An active, engaged citizen (rather than the passive recipient of information) is the prescription of the day (Marinetto, 2003).

The deliberative paradigm has thus gripped the environmental policy sector over the past decade or two, with governments, research organizations and environmental authorities using deliberative methods to engage the public in values-based discussions about their environmental resources and in priority setting processes to inform local authority decision making (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004; Buchy & Hoverman, 2000; Carney & Farrington, 1998; Grimble & Wellard, 1997; Howitt, 2001; Plummer & Armitage, 2007; Pretty, 2003; Selfa & Endter-Wada, 2008; Wiber, Charles, Kearney, & Berkes, 2009).

This current trend has followed, inevitably, from the neo-liberal consumerist and client-oriented public sector management philosophy that dominated the 1980s and 1990s, and also from a governance philosophy that fosters reciprocal obligations between citizens and governments and emphasizes participation for collective rather than individual purposes (Kjær, 2004; Lemke, 2007; Marquand, 1988).

The creation of an appropriate public sphere (Habermas, 1984) for dialogue has become a recent pre-occupation in the environmental domain as pressures mount for governments to clarify the relative roles of the private and public sectors in funding and administering what have historically been largely seen as ‘public goods’.

2.1.2 Participation in development: practice-based vs theoretical views, really?

The practice orientation of Robert Chambers’ work on Participatory Rural Appraisal (Chambers, 1997, 2007), which aims at enabling local people and communities to take control over their own development, has received much attention in development circles (Blackburn, Holland, & Chambers, 1998; Brock & Pettit, 2007; Holland, Blackburn, & Chambers, 1998). Less interest has been given to its theoretical underpinnings. Kapoor (2002) argues that PRA’s practice / empiricist orientation causes it to be insufficiently theorised and politicised. As a result, questions about inclusiveness, the role of PRA facilitators, and the personal behaviour of elites overshadow, or sometimes ignore, questions of legitimacy, justice, power and the politics of gender and difference.

Criticism of the rush by development practitioners towards participatory approaches has been well developed, alongside dissection of equally popularized concepts such as ‘sustainable development’, ‘basic needs’, ‘capacity building’, and ‘results based’ (Sachs, 1992). In participation, official development found what Majid Rahnema has called ‘a redeeming saint’ (Rahnema, 1990, p. 20).

What scholars like Rahnema warned of, was that participation had become part of dominant development practice, because the concept had been modified and depoliticised. Once purged of all the threatening elements, participation had been ‘re-engineered’ as an instrument that could play a role within the status quo, rather than one that defied it. Co-optation of the concept depended, in large measure, on the omission of class and larger social contradictions. As such, participation became another ingredient in the prevailing modernisation paradigm, Rahnema insisted.

The suspicion of the term was taken deeper with debates animated by the publication of the volume ‘Participation, the new tyranny’ edited by Cooke and Kothari (2001). Contributors argued that participatory government can lead to the unjust and illegitimate exercise of power. In doing so, the discrepancies between an almost universal rhetoric of participation, which promised empowerment and appropriate development, and equally widespread outcomes that fell short of such aspirations were

emphasised. Looking at what actually happens when consultants and activists promote and practice participatory development, the book offered a sharp and provocative challenge to the advocates of participatory development.

In response, an article by Hickey and Mohan ("Participation, from tyranny to transformation?"2004), became a reference in the on-going debate. Declaring sympathy with many of the critical points that had been lodged against participatory approaches to development and governance within international development, Hickey and Mohan sought to relocate participation within a radical politics of development. They argued that participation should be theoretically and strategically informed by a radical notion of 'citizenship', and be located within the 'critical modernist' approach to development. Using empirical evidence, the article sought to show that participatory approaches are most likely to succeed: (i) where they are pursued as part of a wider radical political project; (ii) where they are aimed specifically at securing citizenship rights and participation for marginal and subordinate groups; and (iii) when they seek to engage with development as an underlying process of social change rather than in the form of discrete technocratic interventions.

To pursue this thread, I begin exploring the recent fascination with deliberation methods by examining their origins within the political theory and public participation literatures, and then focus more specifically on their use in the environmental governance field. I will also show how theorising human-nature relations inevitably encounters the political dimensions that transect this domain. In doing so, I can identify the potential contributions of deliberative methods to environmental systems decision making as well as the theoretical and methodological challenges faced in their utilization. These issues that are so highlighted form the themes that this study sets out to explore.

2.2 Designing an environmental democracy: A normative framework

One of the most influential recent trends in theoretical thinking about democratic processes relates to the notion of discursive or deliberative democracy. It is based on the precept that democratic legitimacy is to be found in authentic deliberation among those affected by a collective decision (Biebricher, 2007; Dryzek, 2002; M. A. Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Pimbert & Wakeford, 2001).

In consequence, the idea is upheld that citizens should play a pivotal role in a policy making process that sustains rational argumentation and considered political interaction (Fischer, 1993; Marinetto, 2003; Pimbert & Wakeford, 2001). Involving citizens is thought as the most direct way for government to meet the interests of its citizens, but this rationale rests on critical assumption that are not usually made explicit (Abelson et al., 2003; Clark, 2000; Mathie & Cunningham, 2008). Working through the position developed by one of the most influential proponents of a discursive democracy, John Dryzek, can reveal some of these assumptions.

The critical communicative theory of Jürgen Habermas has been applied to interpret the normative nature of political participation in general and also more specifically in the environmental policy field (Parkins & Mitchell, 2005; Renn, Wiedemann, & Webler, 1995). For instance, Chilton and Cuzzo sketch an extensive theoretical framework that attempts to connect modes of existing political participation to wider processes of rationalisation by arguing that participation should not be considered as a value in itself but be related to the conditions in which it occurs (2005).

At the heart of Habermas' work is a normative concern with exposing the conditions that disrupt rational and meaningful political debate (McCarthy, 1978; Sitton, 2003). In short, this represents the ideal of socially coordinated action that is built upon less distorted political arrangements in which the force of an open argument holds sway. This is ultimately seen as the source of rational public debate, and Habermas argues that this democratising tendency needs to take the institutional form of citizen participation. The public sphere in the sense used by Habermas, refers to the concrete spaces, or a multiplicity of interconnected spaces, in which citizens are able to discursively interact in order to discuss and shape the development of public policies.

A key question that continues to plague those interested in these themes might be put in this way: How are the existing avenues of political participation likely to facilitate the tendencies that Habermas identifies? To what extent do participative practices correspond to the conditions that Habermas assumed? Where can the public sphere be delimited?

There remains an unresolved conflict between the ideal of public deliberation and the reality of disjointed public action. The problem with Habermas is not that he fails to recognize that communication is often broken or perverted, but rather that he insists, in

spite of this recognition, that reason, ethics and democracy can be grounded in an ideal speech-act situation. By so doing Habermas resorts to an ideological masking of the ultimate failure of the social to constitute an all-encompassing space of representation. Analysts of those environmental governance changes that embrace communicative principles, note the ambiguous vision offered to how such ideals should be realized (Kuentzel, 2004).

Thus there is an inherent tension between the democratic ideals of environmental governance and the instrumental rationality required to construct ever more complex resource management systems. The ineffectiveness of instrumental rationality – and the political institutions in which it is manifested – to resolve social causes of resource conflict and environmental degradation, is a symptom of this paradox (Frantzeskaki & Thissen, 2009; Kuentzel, 2004).

At the same time, rational democracy attracts theoretical and activist interest, because it carries a promise to solve governance problems in the face of environmental crises. Dryzek extends this argument, to claim that the most effective problem-solving form of social organization is not centralized planning or Weberian bureaucracy but an open society in which instrumental rationalists can freely criticize one another's designs (1990).

“...discursive democracy offers an escape from at least some dimensions of crisis. It offers a way of resolving seemingly intractable conflicts and stalemates, a means for coping with seemingly irresolvable complex social problems, and a procedure for defining and providing public goods” (p. 79).

Working with this idea of an open society and critical rationalism drawn from Popper (1966), Dryzek takes a critical approach to determine the normative basis for a theoretically authentic public sphere and communicative rationality that would have to underlie any practice of environmental governance fulfilling its normative claims.

However, there are several assumptions that underlie such an ideal (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Open access in terms of admission to the discursive spaces – be they physical encounters or via media, access to knowledge and access to resources comprise one set. But another assumption presumes effective communication towards achieving common understanding and validating positions. And also the institutional practice must be in

place to support a continuous process from communicative engagement to decision action. Lastly, but not least, the agenda setting and thematic realization must respond to the problem framing participants bring to discursive engagement.

An initial list of assumptions that Flybjerg lists does raise concerns that not only put the idea of a discursive design in question but will help focus the interest of this study in exploring and evaluating democratic discourse processes. When later on Seyla Benhabib's criteria of democratic deliberation are compared, it raises normative expectations, that these assumptions cannot fulfil. How is this contradiction played out?

In Habermas conception, the ideal of communicative rationalization is a form of uncoerced and undistorted interaction among competent individuals. However, the ideals of discursive rationality proposed are not so easily encountered in empirical settings. As Root (1993) will readily assert, public spaces are sites of political conflict that represent uneven spaces which social science cannot treat uncritically.

In an effort to show that critical theory can do better than critical rationalism, Dryzek develops a normative model - discursive design - for social institutions of discursive democracy (1990). This model provides parameters that are useful for this study for they can be evaluated for 'empirical relevance' to locate and discuss sites of citizen action.

Thus a deliberative forum that carries the properties of a discursive design, is a social institution around which the expectations of a number of actors converge. It is therefore a place in their conscious awareness as a site for recurrent interaction among them. But while Dryzek's model identifies characteristic structural features, he inadequately specifies the subject of discourse in terms of deliberative criteria. In particular, if democratic ideals nourish the emergence of deliberative forums, the question arises if deliberation supplants the need for political and instrumental action. For instance, can deliberation achieve an equitable and efficient allocation of resources?

Naturally, Dryzek begins with specifying open access and absence of hierarchy as part of a discursive design that embodies principles of deliberative democracy. He goes further and also disdains autonomous formal constitutions or rules.

Turning to participants, Dryzek gives importance to a requirement of communicatively competent individuals, emphasizing availability of information and communication,

possibly overcoming a pre-requisite of face-to-face contact. If necessary, some educative mechanisms should promote “the competent participation of persons with a material interest in the issues at hand who might otherwise be left out” (p. 43).

Dryzek imposes no expectation of ideal speech and consensus, acknowledging that different values and interpretations are inevitable, or simply practically not attainable in real-world circumstances. But such potential for disagreement ignores an important distinction between private and public interests. One strategy of conflict resolution aims to transform private interests into publicly defensible values in unrestricted debate (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000; Dukes, 2004). The transformative potential of deliberation gives possibility to rational consensus.

The examples of incipient discursive designs that Dryzek offers share idealised features of problem focus, treatment and resolution, which provide the identifying characteristics of a deliberative situation.

- 1) A pressing unresolved problem of interest to all parties, likely to involve a degree of conflict, indicating interaction between divergent ends that are favoured by these actors.
- 2) Discussion among actors is prolonged, face to face, and governed by formal or informal canons of reasoned discourse.
- 3) Product of the process is a reasoned, action-oriented consensus.

One immediate assumption that stands out in such a schema is the isolation from other actors and processes that is implied. A more pragmatic assessment of a *deliberative situation*, therefore, must also take account of linkages with other actors and processes outside not necessarily immediately concerned with the identified problem, but that can and do frame or otherwise influence the evolution of the deliberative process.

Dryzek establishes a number of parameters for discursive designs (ibid, p.43). While these are appealing to a Habermasian logic, they are based on some unrealistic assumptions.

Dryzek describes *discursive designs* as social institutions around which the expectations of a number of actors converge. Dryzek steps back from rational models of negotiated interests as are prevalent in the conflict management literature (see e.g. Axelrod, 1997).

Instead he speaks of expectations that are in part also shaped by the processes of deliberation within the emergent institutions.

However, this overlooks the fact that governance practices and institutions are mostly formed around a set of historical precedent, cultural values, and rational expectations that do not necessarily represent an intersection of actor interests. For instance, ostensibly democratic consultation processes over environmental issues in New Zealand frequently turn into a contest over sovereignty where indigenous Maori are involved. Waitangi Tribunal decisions so erode the theoretical legitimacy of established governance institutions.

The institutionalisation of deliberation is therefore creating a place where validity claims can be and are communicatively asserted. Such public spaces are accessible to those citizens with shared concerns. They are identified as a site for recurrent communicative interaction in the conscious awareness of participating citizens. That means these are actual or imaginary places that are named, rhetorically defined and assigned with functions that raise expectations.

The same ideals of representation concern also the actual subject of deliberation and presume democratic agenda setting. The focus of deliberations should include, but not be limited to, the individual or collective needs and interests of the individuals involved.

In practice, institutional parameters of administrative efficacy and procedures severely constrain the realisation of such ideals. Spatial and temporal constraints of authority, will force issues into forms that do not necessarily correspond to participants priorities and concerns.

To enable this institutionalisation of deliberation presumes democratic process. Individuals must be able to participate as citizens, not as representatives of the state or any other corporate or hierarchical body. There should be no hierarchy or formal rules, though debate may be governed by informal canons of free discourse. The event structure, the speaking rights, and other communicative parameters of these encounters must conform to democratic ideals of egalitarian access and participation. And as in a meeting of equals, the decision rule of consensus should obtain. Finally, participants should be free to reflectively and discursively override any or all of these precepts.

As Dryzek himself concedes, critical theory has not been the inspiration of great political reforms. But the normative ideas of the theoretical program that Dryzek outlines are embodied in diverse attempts to resolve social problems, without necessarily paying any tribute to communicative reality. Conflict management and sophisticated negotiation procedures reflect incipient or at least partial forms of discursive designs. Social movements also represent many of the features that an ideal discursive practice according to Dryzek would exhibit.

As ideal such criteria are laudable, but they would prove hard to locate in any real world setting, let alone situations already loaded with inequity and conflict. Rather it raises the question why such unrealistic parameters are put up as normative criteria?

One critic that has pursued this line of questioning is Cooke (2000). Cooke cites five major arguments generally marshalled on behalf of deliberative democracy and finds that most of them are insufficient on their own grounds.

The five arguments are: 1) That public deliberation has an educative power. The arguments of John Stuart Mill and Hannah Arendt are frequently cited in this regard. As citizens engage in the reasoning processes of public deliberation their understanding of both the substantive matter at hand, and democratic processes themselves, are enhanced through the demands of building and marshalling convincing arguments that meet the ideals of democratic deliberation. Cooke argues a) if such benefits exist, they are side effects, and can't be used as a defence of deliberative democracy in its own right; b) there are no grounds for distinguishing the alleged educative benefits of deliberative democracy from those achieved through non-deliberative participation; c) even if such educative change results, how does one assess the benefits of that change? Is the change from any education necessarily desirable from a democratic perspective?

2) That a community member can only become fully aware of his or her membership in the community through the experiences of publicly reasoning with others who owe their identities to the same values and traditions. This communitarian version of deliberative democracy is closely associated to the work of Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor. It's also closely associated with Habermas' "discursive" version, which highlights empathetic reasoning: looking for reasons that persuade requires tapping into, and thereby highlighting and strengthening, those shared communal values and traditions. But Cooke says the same three criticisms that limit the educative-value argument for

deliberative democracy apply to the community-building argument: how can we say deliberative democracy is superior to non-deliberative participation; it's not an argument in itself but a side effect at best; and are all communities necessarily desirable in a democracy?

3) That the procedure of public deliberation improves the outcomes of the democratic process by making them more fair: everyone affected can speak, and can say whatever they like as long as it is rooted in reason and not coercion. But, Cooke asks, why this is more fair than merely flipping a coin – the purest procedural resolution, and since it leaves no room for inequalities in resources of eloquence, persistence, intelligence or education, may be the most fair. This standard of fairness does not stand on its own, but needs to be defined and defended.

4) That the outcomes of public deliberation are superior, and thereby contribute to enhanced practical democratic rationality. Again, Habermas is closely associated to this line of argument. But like the 3rd argument above, this argument tends toward tautology: the fairness or rationality of outcomes is more democratic due to being achieved via deliberative democratic means, and so deliberative democracy produces more democratically fair and rational outcomes. But without some independent criteria for defining or assessing democratic fairness or rationality, how do we really know that public deliberation is really achieving these ends? Aside, of course, of the tautology that deliberative democracy produces democratic outcomes because their produced by democracy.

5) That deliberative democracy posits and relies upon the inescapable principles founding the modern world. By way of an elaborate comparative analysis pitting the virtues of Habermas' version of deliberative democracy against Rawls, Cooke arrives at an affirmation of the fifth argument that also retroactively buffers and affirms the prior four arguments. The notion of "knowledge," "self" and "the good life" developed in the Western tradition holds that: a) All standards are fallibilistic, and none are independent of historical or cultural context. b) Autonomous reasoning is a valuable part of human agency c) Publicity is important, especially in politics and law, and d) Everyone is in principle deserving of equal respect as an autonomous moral person with a distinct point of view. With this set of shared foundational principles, deliberative democracy is both called forth and affirmed. It allows for public scrutiny of politics and law, while

engaging human agency, providing the necessary conditions of equal access to participation, while creating the conditions for maximizing input into the formulation of fallibilistic standards. At the same time, identifying these deliberative democracy-based principles provides a criterion by which educative and community-building consequences can be judged: do they contribute to these ideals, or detract from them? Likewise with the fairness as rationality of outcomes argument: if they enhance publicity or equal opportunity for participation, for instance, they can indeed be said to optimize democratic benefits. In Cooke's estimation then, it is the fifth argument, rooting deliberative democracy in the very fabric of the Western modern tradition that is the pivotal one.

The communicative foundation of a deliberative democracy

The issues that practitioners are confronted with, and which the scholarship only serves to question deeper, share a concern with rational communication. Actor relations are expressed and modulated through communication. Whether this is the process of framing and abstracting exercised by 'experts', the debates during consultative procedures, the emergence of 'discursive spaces', or the interfaces between institutions and 'participants', in all such dimensions the negotiation of claims forms a communicative foundation for the politics of social change. To work in these spaces requires a conceptual basis that will allow theory and practice to engage without losing the opportunity of drawing on the diverse theoretical positions that can be put to work.

Scholars as prominent and diverse as Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls have engaged with deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is characterized by principles of interpersonal and public reasoning.

In the frequently cited essay of Seyla Benhabib (1998), democratic deliberation is characterized by three aspects that give legitimacy to practical, collective decision-making processes and which define a normative model of democracy that underlies the literature of deliberative democracy. Deliberative processes ..

- Impart new information;
- Help individuals to order their preferences coherently; and
- Impose reflexivity on individual preferences, forcing participants to adopt an 'enlarged mentality.'

Democratic theory provides a language to work with, although it will be necessary to be selective to avoid opening to the same criticism of theoretical abstraction that the scholarship of Habermas and communicative politics has been exposed to (Sitton, 2003). But Habermas offers a systematic and comprehensive conceptualization of a social world oriented towards communicative principles. In effect I will to some extent adopt the strategy of Habermas himself and appraise key concepts from his work, and that of others, to critically reconstruct an approach to help re-conceptualise the social world in order to connect theory and practice.

A network society

There is a school of political studies that has worked extensively with the developments that Habermas describes as communicative reality, studying practices of policy making and politics that are also relevant to resource governance politics. This has been signalled by a shift in vocabulary in recent years towards terms such as ‘governance’, ‘institutional capacity’, ‘networks’, ‘complexity’, ‘trust’, ‘deliberation’ and ‘interdependence’ which have come to dominate public and scholarly debates, while terms such as ‘the state’, ‘government’, ‘power’ and ‘authority’, ‘loyalty’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘participation’ and ‘interest groups’ have evidently lost their grip on the analytical imagination.

Working in the heart of European urban culture in a traditionally very consensually governed society, the work of Hajer and Wagenaar has constructed a field of deliberative policy analysis. Recognising that policy-making today is often carried out in loosely organized networks of public authorities, citizen associations and private enterprises, the two Dutch scholars have developed the concept of network society. Rather than drawing on macro-sociological insights to explain political phenomena, they focus – empirically – on the manifestations of policymaking and politics in a network society, to analyse such issues as “the way in which different actors nowadays conceive of politics, which actors participate, what they see as effective political action, how actors frame conflict, and to what extent the classical-modernist institutions indeed hamper finding effective solutions to problems people want to see resolved” (M. A. Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003, p. 6 #269). The work of Hajer and Wagenaar has created pioneering linkages between deliberative democracy, critical deliberative analysis, and

governance in the network society that are relevant here in order to examine linkages between observed phenomena.

Locating discursive spaces

Actually locating the spaces of discourse requires looking beyond the deliberative institutions that Dryzek situates in the public sphere. But as active subjects, partisans in coalitions work to create alternative sites of discourse. For Brick and Cawley (2008) the development of mutually attractive ideas is a precondition that make coalitions possible. In essence, discursive creativity leads to a discursive commons, which then enables coalition building. The argument of Brick and Cawley is that creative, commons-building discourse(s) then reshape policy discourse and impact ledger politics. They argue that pessimistic assessments of the social movements may be a function of limitations in the way we understand the political life of social movements. This elevates the importance of the discursive commons where “largely invisible movement framing activity is important strategically for agenda-setting” (ibid p. 200).

In international development, the networks and movements that constitute the aid sector are not always restricted to experts and practitioners. They also extend to those that are more broadly categorized as participants in place based initiatives and social action. Participant engagement in planning can be viewed as a continuum ranging from local inclusion in synoptic planning schemes devised by the state to participation in grassroots social movements that seek broader social transformation. Again, professional and participant actors in these spaces connect in informal and institutionalised networks to widen the discourse commons but also sites where processes are expanding.

This continuum is incomplete because it does not elucidate how local people plan and articulate themselves for social transformation within social and political constraints. Even in highly restrictive political environments where responses to social activism encompass real physical and social harm, social transformation is achieved through 'covert' participation. Beard (2002) reports on cases from Malaysia and Indonesia how collective action through alternative channels can achieve social goals. Grass root activism is not only a form of political opposition but can also adapt more subtle and nuanced form of collective action. This is achieved through activating alternative channels of relationships and influence, leveraging overlapping interests and political

opportunities. These are linkages that grow alternative discursive space in which agendas are formed, social action is planned and the discourses of policy makers are challenged.

From another direction, natural resource management has created opportunities for involvement of international agencies in forums where government and citizens interact. In Pakistan, to take one example, the programmes of large conservation and development agencies with participatory philosophies like the Aga Khan foundation and Conservation International, has prompted the creation of provincial round tables that nominally are open to wider range of users. In practice, experience warns that such forums continue to be dominated by traditional elites. In Pakistan, this also includes army representatives who consider wilderness management a security issue. Nevertheless, according to Mahmoud (2002), such round tables represent a promising development of participatory local government.

With spaces of discourse and action fragmented, locating discourse spaces becomes more difficult. Entering processes with a widened view of the possibilities and dimensionalities becomes a pre-requisite for situating research practices in context.

2.2.1 Approaching the political with complementary scholarships

By working with Habermas' distinction of formal and informal spheres of politics, it is possible to focus on that which is outside the arenas that are specifically designed to make and implement decisions. Nevertheless, a political analysis in the spirit of democratic theorists utilising Habermas' theorisation still fails to enter the haphazard, subjective realities at the society-nature boundaries. Another continental school that perhaps is better prepared to enter those spaces are French thinkers, and in particular Michel Foucault.

A Foucaultian analysis would engage in a historical study of the changing governing rationalities that increasing consultation processes represent and that supposedly animate and give coherence to the state. It would be a highly idiosyncratic account of the state that aims to grasp it as a strategic relation or strategy. In adopting such stances, Foucault's ultimate aim is to provide a strategic account of the state. This, however, requires the unit of analysis to shift from the interactions of motivated agents – within the roles they bear – to anonymous actors that the state groups into categories. Employing Foucault's historical interest in genealogy, an analysis of the categories

constructed by state discourses would attempt to un-frame the subjects of these discourses.

Rather than rejecting the ideal of communicative rationality, Habermas's concept of deliberative democracy could greatly benefit from a strategic account of the state. In that way it would be possible to formulate an approach without falling into the trap of ignoring strictly incompatible assumptions that underlie complementary elements. The result of combining the two approaches, or, at least to import a Foucaultian analysis into the Habermasian framework, would be an approach that promises to yield critical knowledge, both normative and strategic, as for instance Biebricher suggests (2007).

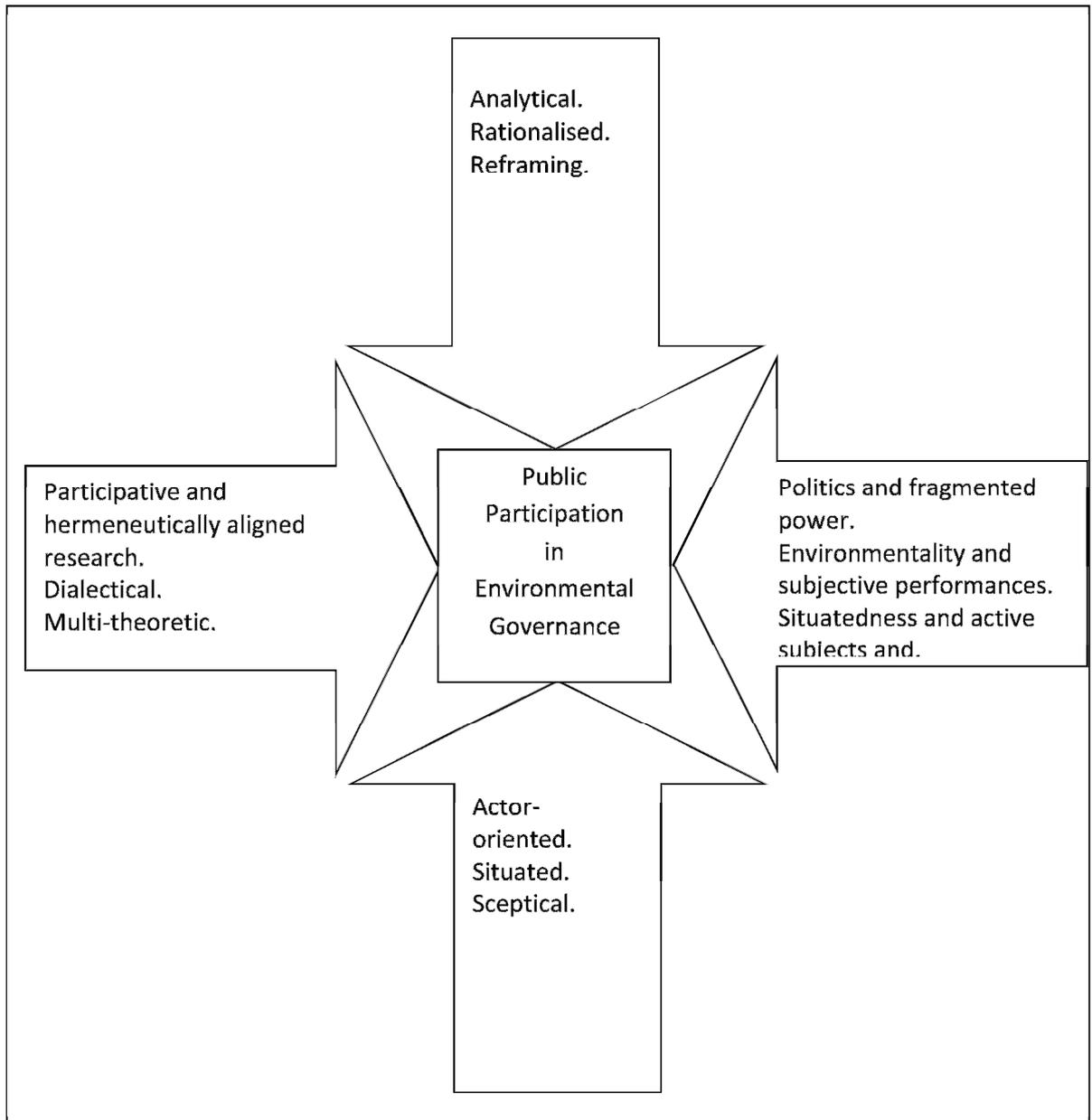
Habermas and Foucault represent archetypical orientations in the social science literature that serve here to illustrate how complementarity can be drawn from distinctive modes of thinking. If Foucault can be brought to engage with Habermas, then that opens the potential to draw in a similar vein on more contemporary workers to construct complementary vantage points.

2.3 Reframing deliberation

Public sector organisations have faced, and continue to face considerable criticism by increasingly sceptical and vociferous publics. The new emphasis on accountability, efficiency and transparency has demanded challenging transformations. To what extent these efforts have achieved their aims or have effectively responded to criticisms remains the task of in-depth institutional analysis. But underlying the perhaps soluble demands for restructuring, there are more fundamental constraints, which undermine improvements in the capacity of the public sector to stimulate, facilitate and regulate pluralistic, market driven economies (Carney & Farrington, 1998).

In particular, the 'paradox of power' (Rondinelli, 1993) concerns the fact that for reforms to be successful there must be widespread political support and participation, yet such change is viewed as a threat by those in power. The guarded hesitancy is often interpreted by participants as reflecting hidden agendas, but a conflict exists between an idea of participation that cedes power outside an institution and an administrative rationality that demands adherence to an institutional logic. This emphasises the political nature of the public sector which has historically been studied with a range of paradigmatic approaches.

The 'top-down' perspectives offered by academia, and ideological strategists, are based on universalising rationales that remains sensitive to critical examination, as I showed earlier. While the importance of citizen participation is rated highly in such views, the difficulty to actualise effective dialogue testifies of fundamental contradictions. From the bottom up, where practitioners and activists stand, the motives and agendas of local political leaders, organisations and administrations are challenged on much more subjective grounds. This offers alternative, more political and less structural explanations. But where this is addressed with power sharing and collaborative arrangements, the story lines fragment and contradictions remain. To step away from this tension, I want to offer a dialectical move and take up a reflective position that considers the performative aspects of deliberative processes.



I begin this section by first clarifying my understanding of politics, power and discourse. By re-thinking deliberation in terms of the subjective performances that are involved I can attend to the performative effects that arise in any routine process of participation. This will make possible thinking in terms of active subjects, hermeneutical situatedness, and the circulation of imaginaries. The reflective position that this produces will aid me in thinking myself as observer back into the picture.

2.3.1 Forms of power: Fragmented power, power effects and discourse as instrument of power

Classic policy analysis is at risk of applying models of political processes that eliminate important sites of politics (Bardach, 2005). A more relevant conception posits a diffuse,

societal power that is in effect at multiple levels at multiple locations (Rose, 1999). This Foucaultian view imagines an anti-hierarchical contemporary politics shaped by post-material values and split into a range of specific conflicts and localized issue-driven struggles (Michel Foucault, 1966; 2002). But such an analytical use of intangible effects and diffuse influences still does not altogether eliminate the risk of rendering important actors and places invisible.

Common textbook definitions of power revolve around the ability to influence the actions of others, but inevitably will ignore important linkages when used to analyse power relations. It is not necessary at this point to pursue the various attempts at fixing the meaning of this term but simply to acknowledge that it is of concern to analysts, policy makers and policy subjects (Allen, 2008; Baron & Eisen, 2004; Brass, 2000; Bryant, 1998; Sachs, 1992) and that of interest here is to also reveal powers that are not coercive and not visible but are active outside the traditional spaces of politics and administration.

Developing such an interest in power will look beyond 'powerful' actors and consider other categories of power effects, in particular structural. The ideas of Foucault take this forward, allowing power to be conceived as a quality dispersed throughout a society, in different locations and political sites. By disconnecting it in this way from agents and their agendas, it opens up to examination of the wider context of a given situation. It then remains for the analyst to retrace the chain of links along which power circulates. Most importantly, Foucault also locates power within the subject as an internalized governmentality. But this suggests, I will argue, that the first point of resistance is also within the subjective self.

If power cannot be reduced to state authority, and as we will see, is not replaced with economic power, then the sources of power will diversify. A non state-centric analysis of power, positions government as one of many agents in a setting, who will utilize non-authoritative, discursive instruments of politics. This is how discourse becomes an instrument of power.

2.3.2 Conceptualizing deliberation: Environmental governance as an adjustable lens

Participation is a contested term that also poses challenges for the notion of environmental governance. For the purposes of this work, **environmental governance**

is best be treated both as assembly of practice and as a body of theory that is doing political work. To reconnect theory and practice will be the task of this chapter.

As a conceptual lens the notion of deliberative practice can bring into relation different sets of actors with distinct interests.

Table 2-1 'Environmental governance' as adjustable lens

Modes	Perspectives	Interest
As domain of practice	Policy makers / practitioners	Normative
As shared concern	Scholars / ideologues	Discourse analysis
As conceptual language	Analysts / participants	Framing
As problematisation	Researchers / research subjects	Epistemological
As political theory	Political leaders / civil society activists	Critical

2.3.3 Rethinking deliberation as subjective performances: Questioning environmentality

There is a wide range of concepts used by scholars to represent internalized states that are motivating action. Approaching with widely different theoretical framings and intentions, researchers have made many attempts to theorize and study social behaviour and moral judgements that are explained with beliefs, conviction or values (Fehr & Gintis, 2007). Economists, sociologists, anthropologists, and poststructuralists often refer to similar empirical phenomena, even when the terminology varies, and have developed models accordingly. To consider such 'cognitions' as stable, internally-represented conceptions of the world constrains the view of how these are produced, as artefacts that serve interactional and/or institutional purposes (Antaki, 2006). This becomes evident from empirical studies.

Locating the environment: Environ-mentality

What is perhaps the most interesting and underexplored question in relation to environmental regulation is concerned with the development of an 'environmentality': When and for what reason do socially situated actors come to care about, act in relation to, and think about their actions in terms of something they identify as "the environment"? To determine an answer requires the actors' behaviour to be interpreted not only as a social subject but as one whose actions shape patterns of cognition.

Research that studies government and community involvement finds that a form of subjecthood is produced. Work by Agrawal (2005) illustrates how that can be empirically explored. He shows the deep and durable relationship between government and subjecthood and how regulatory strategies associated with and resulting from community decision making help transform those who participate in government. With the term subjecthood, Agrawal attempts to express how people become the subject of ideology and discourses that reshape beliefs. Using evidence drawn from archival records and field work in India, he reports the extent to which varying levels of involvement in institutional regimes of environmental regulation lead to new ways of understanding the world, forms of 'environmentality'.

Agrawal's concept of environmentality relates to a rather distinct strand of environmentally concerned political theory, stressing the role of discourses in shaping subjectivity and citizen attitudes towards environmental matters. This is related to work of authors such as Maarten Hajer (Dingler, 2005; M. Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; see also M. A. Hajer, 1997; see also Sharp & Richardson, 2001; Swyngedouw, 2005). These scholars are centrally concerned with Foucaultian questions of knowledge and power in both the construction of, and policy responses to, environmental problems.

Governmentality theorists warn that forms of power beyond the state can often sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions, enlarging and maximising its effectiveness. This is not achieved through coercive control, but through a more complex and subtle diffusion of techniques and forms of knowledge through which communities "can be mobilised, enrolled, deployed in novel programmes" and "techniques which encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances" (Rose, 1999, p. 176).

Subjectivity as prior hermeneutical situatedness: Entering the horizons of the research subject

There is another way of approaching the subjectivity that Agrawal describes, a way that accounts for history and rehabilitates prejudice from its pejorative status. Gadamer's treatment of prejudice draws from a framing of understanding and knowledge as simultaneously subjective and social (1989; orig 1960). One could object that involvement in a situation cannot but remain subjective or emotional simply on the grounds that it is always determined by particular dispositions of the subjects, to experience things in certain ways rather than others – that such involvement is thus always based on subjective 'prejudice'. Gadamer takes issue directly with this view of prejudice, and the negative connotations often associated with the notion, arguing that, rather than closing off, prejudices (or 'pre-judgments') are themselves what open the subject up to what is to be understood.

Gadamer responds by employing a notion of our pre-theoretical thinking. Prior hermeneutical situatedness represents the 'fore-structures' of understanding, in terms of the anticipatory structures that allow what is to be interpreted or understood to be grasped in a preliminary fashion. This founds beliefs, preferences and actions on the revisable presupposition that what is to be understood constitutes something that is understandable, that is, something that is constituted as a coherent, and therefore meaningful. I will develop this notion of prior hermeneutical situatedness as part of the methodological approach since it theorizes what ethnographic research aims to achieve, to enter the 'horizons' of the research subjects.

Changing relationships: Self-interest, action and the malleability of beliefs

Demonstrating a type of dialectical move, Agrawal showed that against the common presumption of actions following beliefs, people involved in community based forestry management in India actually often first come to act in response to what they may see as compulsion or as their short-term interest and only then develop beliefs that defend short-term-oriented actions on other grounds as well. He also showed that the subjects studied vary in their beliefs about forest protection and that these variations are related to their involvement in regulatory practices rather than their social-structural location in terms of caste or gender. In the process it helps explain transformations over time and

differences at a given point in time in how people view their relationship with the environment.

This opens up a quite different notion of beliefs and their malleability, as beliefs that are moulded by experience. "My argument is that beliefs and thoughts are formulated in response to experiences and outcomes over many of which any single agent has little control. There is little doubt that one can change some aspects of the world with which one is in direct interaction, but equally certainly the number and types of forces that affect even one's daily experiences transcend one's own will and design" (Arun Agrawal & Gupta, 2005, p. 163).

Deliberation seen in subjective terms in the way Agrawal has, illustrates how deliberation can be rethought. By attending to the subjective performances that institutional reform incites, the changing relationships and the underlying shifts in framing become visible.

2.3.4 Governmentality and active subjects

Agrawal showed restraint by not creating notions of passive actors subject to manipulative governmentalities, as authors drawing on Foucault have been criticised (Taylor, 2007). He is more concerned with how beliefs that underlie action are transformed.

Active subjects in an 'actor-oriented' sociology

Governmentality theory does help to explain the ways in which state power persists even when governing is increasingly devolved; however, it also allows for the possibility of active subjects, who can shape and influence the new spaces into which they have been invited. This is a concept also taken up in an 'actor-oriented' sociology of development (Long, 2001) which looks beyond broad social forces at the social cognitive dimensions of social behaviour.

In this sense, at any given moment, people may plan to act in accordance with their beliefs. But all plans are incomplete and imperfect, and none incorporate the entire contextual structure in which actions lead to consequences. For these and other reasons, actions have unanticipated outcomes. Agrawal argues from this that outcomes inconsistent with one's beliefs about the world are thus revised. In these situations, actors have an incentive to work on their beliefs, preferences, and actions, incorporating

into their mentalities new propensities to act and think about the world. Even if these adjustments are small, the incremental effect over time can lead to opportunities to arrive at subject positions that are quite different from those held earlier. "In this way of thinking about subject positions, the durability of subjectivity or the notion of subjectivity as the seat of consciousness is what is being contested" (ibid.).

History as an artefact? Assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration shapes subjective understanding

With subject positions and their immutability thus conceived as contextually sensitive variables, the question arises of what the mechanisms are that allow for beliefs to be reformulated. Agrawal suggests that this is related to involvement in practices rather than simply resorting to a structural explanation in terms of social position. Another researcher, Toren working in Fiji (1999), aimed to "to arrive at an idea of human beings that is rooted in inter-subjectivity and the history that is its artefact, and to show how, exactly, we humans can be understood to embody the history of our own making" (p2). Toren resorts to Piaget's cognitive scheme to describe 'self-regulating transformative systems in which "... all behaviour has innate roots, but becomes differentiated through functioning; and all behaviours contain the same functional factors and the same structural elements. The functional factors are assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration" (p2).

But Toren concedes that the idea of a schema as a self-regulating, transformational system in which structure and process are aspects of one another has not been widely understood. It follows that the theoretical usefulness has not been recognized. But while this holds promise, this does not represent the most promising approach since it must depend on assumptions about inaccessible cognitive processes. Hermeneutics offers an alternative that I will make more reference to.

2.3.5 Towards a post-positivist model of practical deliberation: In search of alternative epistemological methods

Post-modern critique for decades has been chasing the elusive ghosts of positivism, but along the way scholars have also opened new directions. Flyvbjerg (2001) developed this criticism by 'reviving' a phronetic social science, which asks value-rational questions and aims to move beyond an epistemic social science modelled after the natural sciences. If the social sciences modelled themselves then after the notion of

phronesis, Flyvbjerg argues, they would be strong where the natural sciences are weak, namely in the deliberation about values and power that is essential to social and economic development in modern society.

Hay (2002) in turn, argues that alternative epistemological methods from diverse paradigms, including a holistic ecology, a teleological Gaia theory, phenomenological investigations and eco-feminism, can come together in a coherent framework opening the possibility of a Kuhnian paradigm shift. While Hay proposes an ambitious project, his readiness to re-assemble epistemological tools challenges a critique of reductionist sciences to respond with fresh approaches and relevant frameworks.

I will propose that the task for theorists and resource managers does not lie in revising methodologies and technologies as such but that theory, practice and subjects must find new ways of engaging that are deliberatively based.

Practice based epistemologies can integrate both established and alternative methods to achieve contradictory goals, and can produce the creative tension necessary for a shift in orientation, if not an outright paradigm shift. It will need to construct a coherent map through a complex world that must fragment taken for granted categories. It needs to connect across scales, map linkages between systems and reveal the interaction between complex processes. In other words, a deliberative practice needs to adopt a relational approach to rearrange categories of abstraction in use.

In response to his scathing criticism of the 'empirical social sciences', Fischer suggests a 'post-positivist model of practical deliberation' (1998, p. 129). As a discursive orientation grounded in practical reason, this approach situates empirical inquiry in a broader interpretive framework. Fischer's practical deliberation points to a direction that makes it possible to address the multi-dimensional complexity of social reality and reconnect the empirical data, the normative / ontological assumptions, the interpretative judgements of the researcher, the situational context and the conclusions thus obtained. Most importantly, a model of practical deliberation holds out important implications for transforming the institutional structures and practices of policymaking in general, a point I will take up again in the closing discussion. For now interrogating how motivation for action around human environment is actually constructed suggests a beginning to reconstruct a model of 'practical deliberation'.

2.3.6 Rethinking participation with a post-structuralist perspective

This section has addressed three key implications inherent to a post-structuralist perspective: the fragmented nature of politics and power, the subjective performances of governance practices and the recognition of active subjects in an actor-oriented sociology. In the following chapter I elaborate these implications, contrasting them with the understandings that tend to prevail in mainstream participative practice and highlighting their relevance in the empirical contexts that I explore.

One cluster of interdisciplinary scholarship that directly concerns itself with society-nature relations is political ecology, using concepts and methods of political economy. A central premise of the field is that ecological change cannot be understood without consideration of the political and economic structures and institutions within which it is embedded (Neumann, 2009). The nature–society dialectic is the fundamental focus of analysis.

Incorporating a commitment to empirical observation of biophysical and socio-economic phenomena in place, political ecology as conceived by Piers Blaikie and others, added a practical intent to contribute to material as well as social change: a practical political ecology of alternative development underlies much of this work (Rocheleau, 2008). “An emergent wave of political ecology joins Feminist Political Ecology, post-structural theory, and complexity science, to address theory, policy and practice in alternatives to sustainable development. It combines a radical empiricism and situated science, with feminist post-structural theories of multiple identity and “location”, and alternative development paradigms.” (ibid, p.716).

This readiness to employ an action-oriented, situated science with alternative theoretical framings can be encountered in recently emerging work, and also markedly in the Asia-Pacific region. Le Heron (2007) for instance, argues that post-structural political economy (PSPE) offers geography and geographers interesting potential for the development of a style of geographic inquiry that can add to the repertoire of political strategies available to practice-oriented scholarship. To better understand the connections between individual choices, governing practices and the emergence of globalizing constructs, Le Heron advocates that a PSPE approach be incorporated into research processes.

2.4 Preparing to enter the empirical: Co-constructing new framings

This chapter has established that **environmental governance** can best be treated both as assembly of practice and as a body of theory that is doing political work. From a post-structuralist perspective there are three key implications apparent: the fragmented nature of politics and power, the subjective performances of governance practices and the recognition of active subjects in an actor-oriented sociology.

Research by governmentality theorists that studies government and community involvement finds that a form of subjecthood is produced. This can be empirically explored, by stressing the role of discourses in shaping subjectivity and citizen attitudes towards environmental matters. Deliberation seen in subjective terms in this way illustrates how deliberation can be rethought. By attending to the subjective performances that institutional reform incites, the changing relationships and the underlying shifts in framing can be made visible.

The subjective, self-regulating systems Toren sketches out represent a model of imaginaries that circulate in response both to structural parameters and subjective performances. Behaviour is socially and motivationally conditioned. It falls to the researcher to elicit the conditions that make new imaginaries possible while excluding others. Imaginaries that are circulating along existing communicative pathways, also become available to be used in political projects and cultural institutions.

One promising concept is that of active subjects. Governmentality theory allows for the possibility of active subjects, who can shape and influence the new spaces into which they have been invited. This is used in an 'actor-oriented' sociology of development that sees subjectivity as malleable both by broad social forces and the social cognitive dimensions of social behaviour.

There is another way of approaching subjectivity by accounting for history and prejudice as Gadamer's does. Looking at the framing of understanding and knowledge as simultaneously subjective and social can account for prejudice. By using a notion of prior hermeneutical situatedness it is possible to theorize what ethnographic research aims to achieve, to enter the 'horizons' of the research subjects.

Lastly, phronesis suggests that a deliberative practice can adopt a relational approach to rearrange categories of abstraction in use. That makes it possible to address the multi-

dimensional complexity of social reality and reconnect the empirical data, the normative / ontological assumptions, the interpretative judgements of the researcher, the situational context and the conclusions thus obtained.

Notions such as this can be assembled to increase the dimensions of a given situation that a theoretical analysis intends to open up. For instance Habermas and Foucault represent archetypical orientations that were used above to illustrate how complementarity can be drawn from distinctive modes of thinking. If Foucault can be brought to engage with Habermas, then that opens the potential to draw in a similar vein on more contemporary workers to construct complementary vantage points. For example, with a non state-centric analysis of power that Foucault offers, government can be positioned alongside other agents in a setting, who will utilize non-authoritative, discursive instruments of politics and all are subjects of a governmentality.

Politics, power and discourse appearing discursive spaces Dryzek describes can thus be interpreted in terms of the subjective performances that are involved. I can then attend to the performative effects that arise in any routine process of participation.

Concepts such as subjecthood, active subjects, governmentality and hermeneutical situatedness can be drawn on to rethink deliberative situations identified analysed with the normative models offered by Dryzek or Habib.

The reflective position that this produces will aid me in thinking. This positionality I will discuss further in the following chapter.

2.5 In conclusion

In this final section elaborating an analytical framework, I attempted to liberate the social actors from the constraints that a structural view – even with a critical attitude – places around actors, as well as from the intractable struggles that an actor-oriented bottom-up perspective focuses on. By appropriating notions of environmentality and active subjects, the spaces of deliberation can also be seen to become spaces of political and subjective action.

If the process of co-constructing the rationales for action is open to the subjects of governance, the research interest then turns to what conditions can possibly explain active engagement by governance participants that successfully reframes environmental governance processes. With relevant myself back into the picture conditions identified,

it then becomes possible to recognize the possibilities for future opportunities in which actors can realign their knowledge systems in constructive or destructive orientations. To see how this may be achieved, it is necessary to reveal the imaginaries circulating in a range of empirical interventions, which the reports will present after the methodological approach has been elaborated in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Reassembling ways of knowing: A situated methodology

“The need for an epistemological grounding - for understanding and being able to justify what makes something count as knowledge in a situation of methodological and epistemological pluralism - requires more of the researcher than a deeper exploration of the epistemological assumptions and paradigms underlying contemporary methods of inquiry. “

(Mindful Inquiry in Social Research, Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 14)

3.1 Introduction: Developing a situated methodology

I began this discussion by bringing attention to the paradoxical failure of participative approaches to environmental governance reform to actually deliver outcomes accepted as democratically made decisions. While deliberative practices are widely institutionalised, and are typically implemented with constructive intent and supported by well-developed administrative technologies, decision outcomes are frequently contested, when processes have not become outright intractable without delivering a resolution. This puts in question much of the theoretical efforts associated with governance reform of managed environments. More profoundly, it also poses the question why in spite of a wide scholarship advocating deliberative democracy for social change, and the identification of environmentalism with decentralisation, public participation remains so problematic.

To develop a fresh conceptual approach to citizen involvement, in the context of the reform of governance of managed environments, i.e. environmental governance, I emphasized in the previous chapter that it is necessary to work both at analytical and at subjective levels, without omitting a self-conscious, critical attitude. This is particularly important in a project that grows out of a critical orientation reflecting an emancipatory interest in human values like social justice and ecological sustainability, a position I develop further on. This normative dimension comes out of my starting position as a veteran social change leader and inevitably must shape the reflection I can bring to this enterprise.

Beyond such epistemological concerns, Bentz' insistence above to go deeper evokes the ontological concerns I developed in the first chapter. Preparing to work with a diversity of views of participation, to develop a richer understanding of contexts in which research practice and theory can be situated, must not only attend to epistemological requirements but demonstrate adequate appreciation of the processes in which subjects of participation make knowledge claims, actors enter or defend political spaces and discursive representations are framed.

In this chapter I develop an actor-oriented, interpretative analysis for a situated methodology that emphasises the roles and positioning sought out by the investigator to draw on multiple theoretical and empirical positions and so to open the research subject for inquiry. And with that, I intend to demonstrate that the framing I myself bring into

this exploration must not only be made explicit but can be utilised to illuminate additional dimensions of such a study.

Participative governance is deeply enmeshed with political and bureaucratic contexts. Specific histories of state and society interaction are significant in shaping the path of a given reform process in a particular setting. Governance reform does not move neatly from stages of agenda-setting and decision-making to implementation; proposals are often contested, substantially reshaped or even initiated from a range of places from points between macro and micro levels. It is this complexity and the dynamisms that arise, so I argue, that may allow for the assertion of alternative storylines and practices by participant actors. The coalitions and discourses this nourishes, in turn, can gradually result in substantial challenges to, and shifts of knowledge and practices associated with, the dominant discourses.

Through examining environmental governance process across different settings, this thesis suggests that scientific and other forms of knowledge - and the interests they reflect and shape - interact in a range of different ways. Distinctions between the technical and the political become blurred, and contests occur in the process of developing scientific facts, in official decision-making fora and in the implementation of projects, programmes and policies. Spaces of deliberation emerge, what Keeley and Scoones (2003) call spaces for engagement, which allow alternative perspectives room to challenge the power of more totalizing discourses, influential social interests and particular patterns of state formation.

This work prepares for the next chapter, where I will enter governance reform processes and will find myself searching out positions of 'purposeful interaction' to participate in participative practices. The conceptual and theoretical basis that determines how I approach such an intervention is the subject of this chapter. In reviewing efforts from fellow researchers to theorise relationships - and therefore interactions - of research practice I am led to theorizing the relationships of my own research practice. In this way, I will indicate what I did as research practice, broadly theorised and re-understood with a retrospective examination.

This will allow me to reflect both theoretically and empirically on the research encounters and the various positioning I adopted. Entering into processes with multiple actors, who are grappling with multiple problems, will require multiple positions. In

this way the settings can be better accessed, understood and the possibilities I so reveal can be discussed more fully, strategically, and insightfully.

3.1.1 Overcoming research challenges

This research problem poses several challenges to the researcher. With environmental governance turning towards people as not only the subject of management but also as interlocutors in management decisions, the object of study has become less easily circumscribed. An interest in the production and circulation of knowledge must work with ambiguous language, communication and discourses. Interpretation of discourses, worldviews and knowledges entails subjective factors that are not easily pinned down.

The literature and practices of environmental governance do not offer clear guidance on overcoming these challenges. While much of the writing discussed earlier attempts to integrate and define the human in the ecological, the debates tend into theoretical and idealized abstractions (e.g. Parkins & Mitchell, 2005). The resource management professions in turn are concerned with goals and strategies, requiring efficient and comprehensible categories that rationalise complex contexts. The potential value of an outcome oriented focus notwithstanding, theoretical explanations must penetrate deeper to reveal obstacles to potential social transformation in the environmental domain.

The shortcomings of resource management policy analysis served to reinforce my conviction that the main theoretical challenge facing us was in fact to explain how heterogeneity was generated and contained within the politico-economic structures that were studied: communities, networks, geographic units and social categories. An approach was needed that stressed the importance of analyzing the interrelations and interpenetration of different processes.

So I attempted to develop such an approach by means of a series of studies dealing with different types of governance issues and by adopting a self-conscious attitude to entering these studies. Attending simultaneously to practice of and reflection on participation in environmental governance, I wanted to trace the politics of becoming (Gibson-Graham, 2006) as it was manifested in the performativity of discourses, the materiality of subjectification, the practices of sedimentation and, particularly, the resistance to, often inevitable, change. I also aim to show the usefulness of such an approach for providing new insights into critical areas of empirical enquiry that environmental governance, as defined here, overlaps with - particularly a variety of key

practice areas: Integrated development, Community based conservation, Resource and environmental management, Community development, Social capital building, and the interrelations of Globalisation and Localisation. While engaging sympathetically with this scholarship and practice experience in these fields, I want to maintain a critical attitude and be able to engage with concepts and discourses from a distinct position.

3.1.2 Methodological exigencies

In the previous two chapters I sketched the problematic situations that deliberative processes created, and organized research interest into three perspectives. In this chapter I will describe how the empirical subject can be entered and theoretically organized.

How to develop an empirical situation as a resource is very much the subject of this dissertation. By adopting a relational ontology, the focus shifts from actors and substances to the meanings that form relationships. However, that meaning still resides within the subjectivities of the actors and therefore can best approach the relationships *via* the actors and their perspectives. Such an actor-oriented, hermeneutical methodology will be expanded below.

Apart from imposing an actor-oriented approach, a relational methodology must fulfill a number of other requirements. The research problematic I earlier sketched out, was also concerned with process, framing and maintaining a critical stance. I begin here by clarifying the epistemological requirements of a methodology that can address multiple theoretical interests.

Table 3-1 Identifying phenomena of interest.

	Phenomena	Abstractions and framings	Positioning/methodological emphasis
Actor-perspectives	First-hand accounts, culture, economic context.	Actors/voices.	Interpretation from participant observation.
Issue framing	Institutional and participant action, discourses.	Imaginaries encountered; Abstractions of interest.	Discourse analysis for a hermeneutical account.
Process	Events and relations, development, alliances, conflicts.	Emerging deliberative practices; Temporary coalitions.	Narrative analysis of storylines and imaginaries in action.
Possibilities (of action)	Process pathways, opportunities and possibilities,.	Diverted processes, Framed and unframed possibilities; Possibilities foreseen/foregone.	Critical .. explanation, .. performances, and .. reflection.

3.1.3 Opening different perspectives on public participation in deliberative processes by re-imagining actor relations as processes

To re-approach the area of governance of managed environments, I decided earlier for an actor-oriented, relational approach that aims to employ multiple positions. With the preceding orientation into theoretical approaches, I have so far distinguished empirical-analytical, top-down perspectives from research that seeks out hermeneutic-subjective bottom-up framings, complemented by critical-reflective positions that draw the research intervention itself into the field of interest. Moving from the meta-theoretical dimensions that this opens up, in this chapter I want to develop this methodology, and work with the scholarship this is derived from, to consider how the research subject can be conceptualised and approached. I do this by re-imagining the relationships of actors, with each other and with subjects, as social processes connected by a shared subject of interest. Thinking in terms of processes emphasises key properties that shape relationships.

Instances of citizen involvement in environmental governance reform, either organised or spontaneous, take the form of deliberative processes. Citizens can be involved in reform processes simply as individuals or as part of a group with some level of organisation. I will refer to citizen involvement in deliberative processes from here on as public participation.

An interest in actors within deliberative processes also entails an interest in actor relations. How these are played out in framing and politicising environmental issues will be explored further on. To be able to work conceptually with actor relations in institutional reform will demand attention to communicative interaction. But rather than conceiving of actors positioned in static networks structured by some theoretic concepts of power, economics or meaning, I will be more tentative, taking a relational approach, and simply consider relations to be structured dynamically within processes that connect participants in roles that have rich, dynamic interpretations. It is the purpose of a situated methodology to recover the multiple meanings that are embedded in social relationships according to the situation that these are played out in.

3.1.4 Chapter overview: Developing a process-based, actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical form of analysis

Unlike general works in the field of development studies or environmental management, this dissertation focuses on the theoretical and methodological dimensions and particularly develops a process-based, actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical form of analysis. Situating the work in this way, intends to contrast with - and complement - more orthodox approaches such as structural, institutional or political economy analyses. This chapter sets out the relations of process, actors and meaning to open it for conceptual analysis. To do that, a foundation is established employing key notions from the theoretical work of Jürgen Habermas as well as other authors in the wider 'genre' of critical and democratic theory. This will enable me to theoretically and critically frame relationships and interactions that take place between actors in processes of environmental governance deliberation.

An interest in relationships leads to an interest in actor-perspectives, not only of relationships with other actors but also with other subjects. Which subjects are relevant to process development is not simply a question of the process agenda but can only be appreciated from actor-perspectives other than the process leaders. To understand the subjective context that is drawn into deliberative processes, will require positions that can bring these into view. The subjectivities that play a role in social processes are inevitably occluded – at least in part - not only from particular theoretical perspectives but also from observers that fail to bridge the separation with the subject of the study. To overcome this, I develop a situated methodology that aims to be context oriented in its theoretical and empirical approach but also draws on concepts from multiple theoretical and empirical positions.

Stepping outside established disciplines and shifting social positions entails the risk of not maintaining theoretical rigour and misreading empirical situations. At the same time it opens possibilities of unsettling frozen framings and shifting conceptual boundaries. To achieve a theoretically disciplined but not doctrinaire view, I turn to dialectical thinking. In spite of the varied uses it has been employed for in its academic history, dialectical approaches remain a critical key to producing new ways of thinking about relationships, processes and knowledges that are active in such settings. In particular, dialectic thinking is essentially relational and with that able to critically reconstitute

boundaries to reflect the dynamics of interactive processes. Dialectics in this sense aims to relate people, places, things, relations and possibility of action.

With the argument made for a dialectical approach, it remains to translate this into a methodological approach that can be realized. In this chapter the conceptual groundwork and the overall methodological approach are introduced, to orientate the structure of this dissertation. It makes reference to some key themes further explored in the following chapters. It prepares an in-depth discussion that orientates the specific methodologies within the underlying paradigms and pays particular attention to theorizing the act of research. Further reflection on the approach is part of the findings and lastly is brought back into the theoretical discussion that closes this dissertation.

This chapter falls into three parts. The first prepares a conceptual and interpretative approach. The second focuses on theorizing research practice by examining the role of researcher as interpreter and the need to enter into dialogue with the research subject, closing with reflections on the methodological insights encountered in the journey into this project. The final part then describes how such interactive research methods can be operationalized.

3.2 Assembling multiple 'ways of knowing' environmental governance processes

3.2.1 Introduction: Theoretical frames for participative governance

The notions of environmental governance processes so far touched on sketch a range of institutional performances that share certain characteristics, particularly about how institutional and individual actors are drawn into processes around environmental governance reform. The relations, events and possibilities this conjures can be approached in different ways from the social sciences. A multi-theoretic approach as it is proposed here, can open up to research traditions drawing on divergent understandings of the social. How such multi-method triangulation can be epistemologically rational will be discussed in a following section.

An openness to method can survey the social science methodologies as grouped into three broad families, positivist, interpretative and critical. The ontological differences are well familiar to any trained social scientist and contain enough ambiguity to fuel plenty more debate. Rather than stalling over the logical and practical distinctions, I want to open up the diversity of approaches as a resource for imaginative and exploratory research.

Signposts through ontologies: Complementary views of participative practices

To orientate a researcher through the methodological maze a few signposts can be useful. An interest in arriving at alternative conceptions of participatory processes, must look beyond traditionally used methodologies and consider how alternative theoretical views can bring new dimensions of a social problem situation into view.

Table 3-2 How would different social science approaches see participative governance practices?

Approach	Knowledge interest	Varieties	Primary Subject	Rendered visible	Rendered invisible
Positivist/ empirical	Empirical: Discover abstract laws, derive instrumental technologies.	Naturalism, behaviorism, post-positivism, empiricism.	Empirical facts.	Causal connections, categories, objects.	Meaning, social context, humanism.
Interpretative/ hermeneutic	Descriptive: Document meaning of action, shared meanings.	Hermeneutics, constructionism, phenomenology, anthropology.	Actor's (subjective) world views.	Meanings, relations, subjectivities.	Broader, long-term context; false illusions.
Critical/ Dialectical	Political: Explanatory, practical, and normative.	Dialectical materialism, democratic theory.	Underlying structure of conditions.	Imbalances, oppression, dependencies.	Socio-political environment, subjectivities.

These complementary views guide the selection of stances a researcher may adopt in a given situation. Acknowledging that different stances render different aspects visible and invisible alerts the investigator to consider the subject from multiple directions.

Qualitative methods

The interest of this study is concerned with the paradox of social participation in unsuccessful environmental governance reform processes. Relating inherently complex political processes with an explicitly complex environment renders a diverse literature with wide-ranging debates difficult to approach for answers. By grounding issues in my own experience of social change agent in development, and the self-reflection that is encouraged in this milieu, I want to formulate questions and empirical methods that are relevant to both theory and practice. What answers can the literature on society-nature relations offer a practitioner? More specifically, how can new approaches to empirical practice be epistemologically grounded in the existing scholarship?

Theoretical approaches in the social sciences have radically diversified since the time of a much simpler post-war division into functionalist and symbolic-interactionist camps, even if that would be retrospective simplification. The engagement within the Anglophone literatures with continental schools, and scholars from France and Germany in particular, has accompanied a fragmentation into often segregated camps spanning a range as wide as from grounded theory to neo-classical economics. With that the time has passed that a scholar was able to survey and organize the social science discipline in a comprehensive manner. Instead, one is left with a rich resource of theoretical tools that have to be positioned with respect to paradigmatic approaches and cultures of practice relevant in a particular field of study such as the domain of environmental governance.

The empirical approaches available to a social scientist are equally diverse. A quantitative approach which samples across categories can provide important information. A standard social science approach that echoes methodologies employed in the natural sciences will look for variation that can be explained with causal factors. By locating contrasting cases from which data sets can be collected that correlate variation, a theoretical claim that explains this variation could be argued. However, as (Liebersohn, 1987) points out in a criticism of social research practices, there are serious

shortcomings to such logic. If such observed variation can demonstrate the explanatory utility of a given hypothesis, it cannot prove its universal validity. And because issues of scale - that is the inseparability of processes interacting at multiple geographical and systematic levels - conclusions drawn based on contrast at one level forcibly ignore the inevitable linkages across cases that will exist at some other level.

A qualitative approach, instead, must be considered which needs to be based on a conceptual underpinning made explicit. This section outlines a conceptual approach that can underlie a qualitative methodology.

3.2.2 Method or methodology: Or, how to produce knowledge

"Social research is one among many ways of constructing 'representations' of social life."

(Ragin, 1994, p. 2 "Constructing social research: the unity and diversity of method")

An important caveat for a mixed methods approach, concerns the methodology–method relationship. It is often maintained that specific methods of analysis presuppose particular methodological presumptions (Baronov, 2004). Other writers specifically concerned with social research methods, likewise assess which methods of analysis are consistent with specific philosophical approaches in social research.

I want to argue that this concern with the ‘internal’ methodological consistency of argument, by requiring methods to reflect a particular ontological structure, does put constraints upon the use of research methods. However, to address this unease, and precisely because a dialectical methodology maintains a different ontological structure from that implied in existing discussions of research methods, it can be shown that specific methods of analysis do not, necessarily, need to be linked to other ontological positions, but that their combination can be employed in analysis. Thus, combining methods in the process of inference does have an ontological—and not merely a practical—basis.

In this respect there is an important difference between methodology and method. Olsen and Morgan (2005) make an explicit distinction, arguing that methods are techniques of data collection and transformation, whereas methodologies comprise combinations of methods, the practices involved in implementing them and the interpretation placed on

this act by the researcher. This shows, as echoed by Grix (2002), that methodology is essentially concerned with the logic of enquiry and ‘in particular with investigating the potentialities and limitations of particular techniques or procedures. The term pertains to the science and study of methods and the assumptions about the ways in which knowledge is produced’ (p. 179). In the same sense, this discussion focuses specifically upon the alternative nature, practice and interpretation placed upon the combination of different methods of analysis.

After method: Decolonizing methodologies

Methods don't just describe social realities but also help to create them. This assertion by John Law (2004) may seem radical, but it warns of the performative nature of social research. Methods are political which raises the question not only how research should be conducted ethically, but more politically, what kinds of social reality we want to create.

That social science must be aware and even embrace its normative effect is explicitly embraced by the critical realists of the Frankfurt School who have animated subsequent generations of activist students in the German universities before and after the second World War. Scholars like Root (1993) take this further by arguing that social scientists must be politically partisan. His criticisms of methods and ideals that guide research and teaching in the social sciences reveal the at times radical agenda of social scientists.

Without alleging conspiracies growing in the dungeons of modern universities, there is concern that at the intersections of imperialism, knowledge and research, social science of indigenous culture for one, is a medium of Foucaultian governmentality (Smith, 1998). In setting an agenda for planning and implementing indigenous research, Smith shows how such programmes are part of the wider project of reclaiming control over indigenous ways of knowing and being.

Retroduction: data validation and multi-method triangulation

An epistemological specification of study method should also consider how, and whether, findings can be validated. In social research, observations are generally not repeatable, particularly with qualitative studies. An alternative can be to return to the subjects and present the research findings for confirmation. While that provides and intuitively satisfying procedure for ‘double-checking’ data, this would be a fallacious

exercise for any data subject to interpretation in the recording and abstraction process. Simple notes from participant observation, selected statements from recorded interviews or analysis of documentary material involves a theoretical imposition of concepts and relations that moves such knowledge out of the knowledge systems of the subjects. To expect research participants to identify with conceptual constructs underlying the abstracted data would presume an ontological identification which contradicts the researcher's role as observer.

However, there is another way to consider a 'return to the subject'. In a hermeneutic study, a coherent effort is made to enter the 'horizons' of the study subjects. That implies the ability to communicate within a shared knowledge system. To return at a further stage of the study, present interpretations and collect new data describing the 'interaction' then does not undermine the epistemological validity of the data gathering process.

A more sophisticated method consists of 'triangulation'. The term is used across different fields by researchers eager to emphasize the validity of their study findings. Field researchers value triangulation to provide opportunities for cross-checking of opinions and facts, as well as important inputs into analysis. (Martin O'Connor, 2000). Although the logical validity of some triangulation exercises can be questioned, there is a range of methods that attempt triangulation in different manners (Downward & Mearman, 2007). Data triangulation is the most basic form, gathering data at different times and situations. Investigator triangulation simply exchanges field researcher, or, in a laboratory situation, represents the replication of a controlled experiment.

Theoretical triangulation involves making explicit references to more than one theoretical tradition to analyze data. This is intrinsically a method that allows for different disciplinary perspectives of an issue. This could also be called pluralist or multi-disciplinary triangulation (ibid). Lastly, multi-method triangulation involves the combination of different research methods.

Social research generally employs qualitative methods. These methods reflect an 'interactionist' epistemology⁷ where, for instance, an interviewer will be creating the interview context and with the interviewee engaging in a dialectic over the definition of the situation. In this respect, research reflects social relationships which are inherently subjective and not objective, i.e. reflects a relational ontology.

Interactionism, or transactionism as it was described above, as an epistemology, has been much less influential in an analytical economics than in other social sciences. In the latter literature, it touches on a wide range of methods and methodological positions. Content analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory, ethnography, postmodernism, post-structuralism, hermeneutics and phenomenology are examples of the epistemological variants. But, in general, interactionism recognises hermeneutic concerns that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful; that meanings must be ‘personally’ understood; and that the interpretation of an object or event is affected by its context.

However, an interactionist stance does not lend itself to multi-theoretic treatment without clarification. Seeing action in context creates a very subjective understanding that does not permit theoretical methods to be mixed readily. Positivism in turn has an even narrower view of social facts that does not permit alternative knowledges from alternative methods to be put alongside each other. Realists argue however, that to explore complementary research findings does not need to make the assumption of comparability but simply of complementary knowledge. Downward and Mearman find that multi-method approaches raise fallacious contradiction in critical realism, positivism and interactionism. But, they argue, “adequate explanation will require ontic depth, that is, moving beyond the immediately postulated level of events and/or texts. Retroduction is advocated in this regard” (2007, p. 88).

Retroduction is not so much a formalised logic of inference, but describes a thought operation “that moves between knowledge of one thing to another, for example, from empirical phenomena expressed as events to their causes. The key is that the researcher moves beyond a specific ontic context to another, hence generating an explanation that embraces ontological depth” (ibid p.89). A process of abduction, whereby specific phenomena are recontextualised as more general phenomena, can be a part of this process.

For Downward and Mearman, combining methods is central to retroduction, to be necessary to reveal different aspects of the constituency of phenomena. The logical and explanatory coherence of this approach can be understood in linguistic terms. This carries with it the (linguistic) notion that a ‘question and answer’ theoretical structure is preferable to the view that embraces a deductive/inductive emphasis. This then implies

that the choice of method is not paradigmatic or one of ontology, but reflects the specifics of the question being asked. If the questions probe different features of a phenomenon, different methods might be needed, while focusing on the same phenomenon and simply stressing different aspects of abstraction.

It seems clear, thus, that the logic of retrodution makes some form of multi-theoretic methodology not only possible but also necessary to reveal different features of the same layered reality without the presumption of being exhaustive.

3.2.3 Entering actor horizons with a critical hermeneutic analyses

Hermeneutics is used to explore the socially constructed contexts of institutions and organizations (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, as an approach to meaning analysis, it has been used in many disciplines, including education, medicine, anthropology, sociology and architecture. In critical hermeneutics the interpreter constructs the context as another form of text, which can then, of itself, be critically analysed so that the meaning construction can be understood as an interpretive act.

Critical hermeneutics takes seriously the reflective critique of the interpretation applied by the researcher and so offers insights about how understanding takes place. Critical hermeneutics requires the researcher to become aware of his or her own historicity.

The practice of ethnographic interpretation and critical hermeneutics finds value in focusing attention on the nature of understanding using a conceptualization that gives importance to pre-theoretic understanding and contextual interpretation. This situates knowledge firmly in context.

Conceptualizing self-understanding in a communicatively constructed lifeworld: Using an actor-oriented, phenomenological analysis of lifeworld and action situations

Working in areas that can be conceptualized as policy networks, and ‘interfaces of knowledge and power’ (Long, 2001), a key interest lies in the dynamics of policy discourses and planned interventions addressing environmental issues. This interest centres upon the notion of human agency, since it locates individuals in the specific lifeworlds in which they manage their everyday affairs. It also means recognizing that, within the limits of the information and resources they have and the uncertainties they

face, individuals and social groups are 'knowledgeable' and 'capable' - that is, they devise ways of solving, or if possible avoiding, problematic situations, and thus actively engage in constructing their own social worlds. Hence the lifeworlds of individuals are not pre-determined for them by the logic of capital or by the intervention of the state, as is sometimes implied in theories of development.

Psychological and sociological models of an isolated actor in a situation, affected by stimuli or acting according to plans can only gain focus through being connected with an actor-oriented, phenomenological analysis of lifeworld and action situations. This is what gives relevance to a phenomenologically informed situation analysis that conceives of actors as environment systems for one another, just the same way social systems are.

The actor-world relations that become the subject of social action construe a lifeworld. Habermas has taken this concept of lifeworld from the work of Husserl, and integrated it into an elaborate theoretical body founded on a communicative theory (Habermas, 1984). For empirical research interested in discourse analysis, this communication-theoretic concept of the lifeworld offers a coherent framework. Without needing to enter into the systems analysis that Habermas undertakes with the help of this notion, this conceptual framework can be put to good use here.

From the perspective of participants the lifeworld appears as a horizon-forming context of processes of reaching understanding. Only the limited segments of the lifeworld brought into the horizon of a situation constitute a context of action oriented to mutual understanding. This is the totality of hermeneutically accessible historical or socio-cultural facts.

An everyday concept of the lifeworld – at least in the German sense of the word *Lebenswelt* that Habermas uses – represents the means by which communicative actors locate and date their utterances in social spaces and historical times. Actors give narrative presentations of events that take place in the context of their lifeworld. This everyday concept delimits from the objective world the region of describable and knowable events or historical facts. It serves the function of self-understanding of persons as well as arriving at mutual understanding among members trying to coordinate common tasks. To render this common sense notion theoretically useful,

Habermas has developed a reference system for descriptions and explanations relevant to the lifeworld as a whole and to search for higher-level reproduction processes.

The reproduction of the social lifeworld is fulfilled with the medium of language. In coming to an understanding with one another about their situation, participants refer to a cultural tradition that they at once use and renew, i.e. they are relying on membership in social groups and strengthening the integration of these groups. Habermas refers to these functions of mutual understanding, coordinating action and socialization as the functional aspects of communicative action. *“The symbolic structures of the lifeworld are reproduced by way of continuation of valid knowledge, stabilization of group solidarity, and socialization of responsible actors.”* (Habermas, 1984)

Overcoming relativist hermeneutics: Reconstructing social processes

Habermas wants to overcome what he deems to be a flawed scientific conception of the relationship between theory and observation on the one hand, and what he considers an equally inadequate hermeneutic, interpretative approach to scientific statements which relinquishes any claim to objectivity and explanatory powers. The hermeneutics of Gadamer focuses instead on transcendental conditions of understanding. According to Habermas, Gadamer’s hermeneutics end in a relativist position that is incompatible with a critical project. With that he does not dismiss the hermeneutic project, but in overcoming a particularistic approach, Habermas intends to preserve an interpretative, critical role for the social scientist. This addresses a critical concern for this study stated at the outset.

Habermas achieves this with a rationally based method (McCarthy, 1978; Pedersen, 2008), that sets out a linguistic object domain, that has patterns which can be theorized and which situates the observer within this domain.

The object domain of a reconstructive science belongs to a symbolically structured reality of the social world, i.e. a language system that structures the world, through which each individual is socialized and through which norms and rules become internalized. But linguistic symbols require interpretation.

Rational reconstruction seeks to go deeper than a mere hermeneutic interpretation of semantic forms to find underlying rules and structure. It seeks out a pre-theoretical knowledge that can be accessible empirically, even if as an intuitive knowledge it is not

immediately available to the subject themselves. A performative attitude is needed to do this, a participant perspective on behalf of the one who attempts to reconstruct the symbolic processes.

These reconstructions wish to reveal a universal “know how” as well. That which is produced through reconstruction thus represents a parallel to general theories with regard to extent and status (Habermas, 1979, p. 14). What is reconstructed is a competence that acting subjects possess.

Habermas leaves the a priori analysis for a semi-transcendental or quasi-transcendental analysis, and wants to uncover reason through an investigation of the use of language, and for this investigation the access to empirical material is needed.

Rational reconstruction represents an alternative to the objectivist and the subjectivist paradigm. It is an attempt to establish an epistemological position that makes strong theoretical claims and demands (anspruch), at the same time as it opens up for a critical, non-relativistic foundation for the social sciences. Contrary to empirical analytical sciences, which seek to replace pre-theoretical knowledge with a more adequate scientific explanation, reconstructive sciences seek to understand and uncover the structures on which our pre-theoretical knowledge is built. Thus reconstructionist science appears as an alternative paradigm both in relation to empirical-analytical and hermeneutic, subjectivist approaches. As a result any proposed hypotheses cannot be evaluated by the standards that are valid within empirical-analytical sciences or by the ones valid within the hermeneutical paradigm.

However, while Habermas offers a sophisticated methodology, it is much harder finding him applying it to empirical data. Instead his hypotheses are based on more classical philosophical ways of working with a material: reflection on his own intuitions, conceptual analysis in addition to a critical appropriation of the relevant literature.

Critical hermeneutic analysis: Situating the observer in the dialogue

Gadamer's positive conception of prejudice can be seen as connected with a number of different ideas in his hermeneutics. The way in which prejudices are themselves capable of being revised exhibits the character of his conception of prejudice, and its role in understanding, as itself constituting a version of the hermeneutic circle. The

hermeneutical priority Gadamer assigns to prejudice is also tied to the indispensable role of prejudice in understanding that connects directly with Gadamer's rethinking of the traditional concept of hermeneutics as necessarily involving, not merely explication, but also application. In other words, all interpretation, even of the past, is necessarily 'prejudiced' in the sense that it is always oriented to present concerns and interests. It is precisely those present concerns and interests that allow us to enter into the dialogue with the matter at issue, always determined by the practical context out of which it arises.

The prejudicial character of understanding means that understanding comes out of an involvement in a dialogue that encompasses both self-understanding and externalized understanding of the matter at issue. This becomes important when self-understanding is linked to identity. One consequence of Gadamer's rehabilitation of prejudice is a positive evaluation of the role of authority and tradition as legitimate sources of knowledge.

In the dialogue of understanding the actor's prejudices come to the fore, both through a crucial role in opening up what is to be understood, and also as they themselves become evident in that process. Gadamer acknowledges that prejudices can sometimes distort -- the point is that they do not always do so (Harvey, 1995).

Inasmuch as understanding always occurs against the background of our prior involvement, so it always occurs on the basis of the actor's history. Awareness of the historically effected character of understanding is, according to Gadamer, identical with an awareness of the hermeneutical situation and he also refers to that situation by means of the phenomenological concept of 'horizon' -- understanding and interpretation thus always occurs from within a particular 'horizon' that is determined by our historically-determined situatedness. This sets the task for the empirical researcher to access and enter that horizon.

The basic model of understanding that Gadamer finally arrives at in his book 'Truth and Method' is that of conversation. Conversation or dialogue always takes place in language and similarly, Gadamer views understanding as always linguistically mediated. In this sense, all understanding is interpretative and gives primacy to language and conceptuality in hermeneutic experience. This then focuses the object of study as the communicative act.

The way in which Gadamer conceives of understanding, and interpretation, is a practically oriented mode of insight based on the Platonic idea of phronesis ('practical wisdom'). And practical wisdom is not much different to what is also called 'common sense'. The concept of phronesis can itself be seen as providing a certain elaboration of the dialogic conception of understanding Gadamer had already found in Plato, and, taken together, these two concepts – dialogue and phronesis – can be seen as providing the essential starting point for the application of Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics to empirical research. This requires the working through the texts in a way that not only enters into the dialogue and dialectic set out in those texts, but also repeats that dialogic movement in the attempt at understanding as such.

Practitioners of mediation and conflict resolution will place much emphasis on the role of the mediator as applying this capacity that Gadamer identifies as phronesis, to reach an understanding between conflicting parties and thus merge the hermeneutic circles sufficiently to resolve disputes, as the founder of the Canadian judicial mediation system, Justice Louise Otis, explains (pers. comm. and Otis & Reiter, 2006). This is the understanding that a researcher using a critical hermeneutics is also seeking.

Hermeneutics is used to explore the socially constructed contexts of institutions and organizations (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, as an approach to meaning analysis, it has been used in many disciplines, including education, medicine, anthropology, sociology and architecture. Critical hermeneutics takes seriously the reflective critique of the interpretation applied by the researcher and so offers insights about how understanding takes place. Critical hermeneutics requires the researcher to become aware of his or her own historicity.

The critical hermeneutic perspective leads to the recognition that any ethnography is a form of historiography. The critical ethnographer is essentially situated in history, the history of the situation and of the interpretation, and is also part of a wider set of social, economic and political relationships. One of the key tasks of a critical ethnographer is to be aware of the historical context in which research takes place and to reflect this critically on to the research process itself (Harvey, 1995).

3.2.4 Mapping intersubjective actor relations with process analysis

Actors rationalise values that motivate action in response to the situations encompassed within their lifeworlds. A process-based view of policy can map the way in which

participants in a decision process seek to realize their values, through interaction and through institutions.

Policy science is typically associated with a narrower style of analysis, but the man who coined that term, Harold D. Lasswell, was a chief proponent of an interdisciplinary approach that widened the focus of inquiry beyond positivist concerns (Torgerson, 1985). Influenced by Freud and Marx, Lasswell emphasized the contextual orientation of policy analysts. Lasswell proposed a mode of contextual-configurative analysis whereby the inquirer could locate himself or herself in an “all-encompassing totality” (ibid:242), which he urged policy scientists to adopt.

Such concerns align Lasswell with the post-positivist modes of inquiry of Habermas (see McCarthy, 1978). In particular, Lasswell’s reflexive moves echo demands for an immanent critique of ideological framing by analysts, Torgerson asserts. In this conception, policy analysis aims at knowledge both from outside and from within the policy process (Lasswell, 1948). At one moment the analyst regards his subject matter as an objective phenomenon, but then alternates with another in which the analyst views himself or herself as actively involved in the phenomenon under investigation. While inquiry can and should employ a variety of methods, there is to be a fundamental reliance on participant-observation. This places emphasis on not simply adding further dimension to an analysis but that knowledge from both viewpoints provides an orientation that is necessary for the investigation. Instead of being detached, action and analysis are intertwined in a process through which the inquirer seeks to make sense of the world.

The bi-modal analysis that Lasswell advocates finds echoes in Habermas’ notion of a “dualistic” re-conception of contemporary society. “In order to comprehend the dynamic of social life, society must be conceived as both a meaningful whole (from the standpoint of the participants) and as a self-maintaining system constituted of subsystems fulfilling various functions (an observer perspective)” (Sitton, 2003, p. 61). Actors in the lifeworld maintain coherence communicatively in such a way that they can construct coherent life histories by participating in social life.

How did Lasswell propose to achieve a contextual orientation? First off, by disavowing a final conclusion but by creating “a condition in which the potential for enlightened action is enhanced” (Torgerson, 1985, p. 246). Contextual orientation is predicated on

an “understanding of people” attained in conjunction with “insight into the self” (p. 246). Through the ongoing interplay of knowledge of and knowledge in the policy process, the analyst can attain a creative orientation which renders him or her a self-conscious actor. Neither fully detached from the process nor fully immersed in it, the analyst above all requires flexibility as one capable of directly participating in the process and then contemplating it from a distance. In this effort, one participates as an actor in situations and networks of interaction comprised of values and meanings recognized and sustained in the continuing interplay among participants in the social process.

For Torgerson this tension between inside and outside also has critical significance for the role of the policy science profession. Lasswell ascribes a role to intellectual endeavour at the vanguard of the struggle of democrats against oligarchs, a political development distinctive of the present historical period. For him, the contribution of policy science is necessary to cope with the complexities of large-scale modern civilization (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950). The essential role of the policy science profession, for Lasswell, is to promote rationality in the policy process.

Models of social and decision-making processes

Lasswell was an action-oriented social scientist and he developed methods for policy actors to deal with complex problems. To perform interactive processes of analysis he conceived models of social and decision-making processes that remain valuable (Parsons, 1995). This process-based view of policy making offers a way to examine linked events and to draw on alternative literatures for abstracting key elements in evolving policy settings. Mediating relations between actors and with objects, processes are of particular interest in a relation ontology.

Lasswell identifies seven categories to construct an understanding of social processes with which to map the way in which participants seek to realize their values:

- Participants;
- Perspectives (values, expectations, identities);
- Situations;
- Base values;
- Strategies employed;

- Outcomes sought, and
- Effects of participation.

To ask what values and how institutions are employed to realize these, Lasswell draws attention to eight categories (adapted from Parsons, p. 447):

- Power: government, law, political parties;
- Enlightenment: languages, mass media, scientific establishments;
- Wealth: farms, enterprises, property;
- Well-being: social attractions, recreational facilities;
- Skill: vocational, professional, arts;
- Affection: families, friendship;
- Respect: social classes, social status;
- Rectitude: ethical and religious associations.

With these conceptual categories, Lasswell offers a language to examine the deliberations encountered in environmental governance reform processes and to discuss the experiences of participation.

3.2.5 Revealing knowledge and framing with discourse analyses: Understanding stakeholder perspectives

Discourse analysis has produced something of an eruption on the social science publishing landscape, with a proliferation of book and serial titles from many major publishing houses. The promise and the desire for discourse analysis circle enticingly around the invitation to de-mystify brute or opaque data through the elegant display of masterful interpretations. The researcher is saved, it seems, from both the reductive thinness of positivism and the subjective logic of much of interpretive inquiry.

Discourse analysis appears to offer ‘method’ and thus some better access to a greater truth.

But there are some necessary prior considerations, not only of discourse analysis and of its promise, but also of assumptions made by the researcher about the nature of the enquiry itself. This must begin with a positioning viz-a-viz different schools of discourse analysis and the epistemological foundation the inquiry will be constructed on.

A survey of the literature relating to discourse analysis soon reveals strong criticisms and debates about the most appropriate modes of doing discourse analysis.

Conversation analysts, for example, are scathing about the ways in which Foucaultian and critical discourse analysts go beyond the data while those interested in 'big discourse' are frustrated by the micro-performative focus of conversation analysis or ethnomethodology. These debates have been particularly played out in discursive psychology but involve issues that are relevant to the analytic practice of any discourse researcher.

I will try and remove the theoretical objections to developing an unseemly but more capacious and eclectic approach which includes the study of cultural resources, contextual histories and hermeneutic 'texts'. I will be arguing that this opens up new spaces for phronetic analysis that remain more difficult to access by adherence to dogmatic constraints of established protocols.

Characterising, analysing and comparing the expressed perspectives of a group or groups of people that belong to various relevant interest domains has received growing attention from both scientific and political communities (Brown, 2003).

In this discussion the term 'interest groups or domains' is preferred to 'stakeholders' as the former phrase is used for the purpose of establishing contexts for the study rather than situating them in a real or imagined project or program that involves external parties interference (Brown, 1998). Interests have been recognised, at a global scale, as drivers that shape the contribution of differentiated social groups, on the emergence of environmental problems and the efforts to find ways to tackle them at the same time (Elias, Jackson, & Cavana; Ramirez; Ross, 1993).

There have been a growing number of studies that have productively developed discourse analysis in the area of environmental issues (e.g. Dryzek, 1990; Fischer & Hajer, 1999; M. Hajer & Versteeg). As supported by these authors, discourse analysis is believed to have the capacity to offer more insights about a particular problem, in comparison to the sole reliance on conventional techniques such as standard economic analysis. The contexts of the studies vary greatly from sustainability in general to specific niches of environmental disciplines such as ecosystem valuation and environmental policy. Adapting discourse analysis to this research task required some conceptual work.

To approach the topical issues empirically, I began by considering what perspectives, that is what subject areas or disciplines, the matter at hand touched on. Beginning with those perspectives already brought to bear in statements made on this issue, I would seek an informed position that could then also include those views invoking other domains that would potentially also arrive in the issue setting. Specifically of interest were explanations of the situation and particularly those tied to normative statements.

Without labelling these discourses yet, overlapping and contrasting explanations permitted subjects and core concepts to be identified. Then the **constructs** (variables, models and phenomena) these core concepts are concerned with, and those that were relevant here could be teased out.

The discourse that an interest group identifies itself with has been reported to have a partly determinative influence on the ‘actions’, ‘strategies’, and ‘directions’ adopted by the group (McGregor, 2003). Such different perspectives and indication of stances are evident in discourses adopted, and are subject to influence by varying paradigms, including sets of values, beliefs, attitudes, and priorities that certain groups of people can cling to in their lives (M. A. Hajer, 1997).

If interest groups are conceived to have a ‘voice’ it then needs to be asked if it can and has been adequately captured by researchers and if and how it has then been fed into relevant policy development processes.

These ideas could then be analysed respectively to determine how they arranged the situation, that is how the actors, and subjects were put into relationship with each other and the normative factors in effect.

3.2.6 Approaching environmental politics from practice with critical analyses

A cursory examination of the social science literature finds authors engaged in ‘grand’ debates that sustain abstract divisions such as between ‘structuralism’ and ‘agency’ (Chouinard, 1997), or constructivism and realism (Hannigan, 1995; Irwin, 2001). While this offers rich scope for scholars to break out of assumed camps by pointing to the ambiguous nature of the boundaries, it renders much of the theoretical material inapproachable and not easily adapted to practice concerns. An engagement with the literatures of sociology and the environment must be selective.

The purpose here is not so much to adjudicate between variations of rationalist, behavioralist or constructivist approaches, but to assemble analytical instruments that can be theoretically grounded and retain coherence. This is a pragmatic orientation that agrees with Hay (2002) who advocates for a political analysis more conscious of underlying assumptions and sensitive to the consequences of theoretical choices. Resource management must be approached with a political lens.

A classic definition of the political is concerned with "the distribution, exercise and consequences of power" (ibid., p. 3). This however does not say much about the actors, the processes and the effects involved. An unqualified view of power seen in these terms will give undue importance to decision-making and inputs into political systems that behaviouralism would emphasize, without accounting for institutional context, cultures and knowledge among other. Importantly, the concept of politics needed here must emphasize a sense of emerging out of process, rather than a quality associated with and exchanged between actors.

An initial definition to delimit the domain of interest here can begin like this:

- Politics is a collective activity involving people who have some common identity and/or face shared problems. It is about what matters for a group of people or a society.
- There is some kind of diversity of different views on how such problems should be addressed and solved. Disagreement or conflict is acknowledged to be part of the political process.
- Politics involves the reconciliation of such differences through different forms of deliberation (discussion, persuasion, negotiation ..), to arrive at collective and legitimate decisions.

(adapted from Lewis 2005:16)

This definition focuses on the social aspects of common concerns, and the deliberative nature of political processes characterized by tensions. It excludes private endeavours and uncontested knowledge. It thus needs to be accompanied by questions about how identities are constructed, how issues are problematized and how alternative views enter the political arena.

But this definition also serves to reveal the political nature of resource management decisions. It draws attention to the antagonistic nature of the spaces in which environmental democracy takes place.

Politics involves the continuous struggle to fix meaning, to eliminate alternatives and to impose a representation that structures action. A shift towards discourse as the central metaphor of social life has enabled new formulations in social and political philosophy, by tracing the establishment of hegemony through persuasive expansion of a discourse into shared values, norms, and perceptions of immutability. To develop a critique of these processes requires a dis-figuring, or pulling apart, of figures that have emerged from articulated connexions but have congealed into common sense (Angus, 2000).

Scholars after Lasswell have also increasingly been reframing resource management questions as political issues. Social theory research is focusing on concepts such as 'governance', 'networks', and 'deliberation', instead of classical terms such as 'the state', 'government', and 'participation' (M. A. Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). Such an emphasis is prioritising empirically based explanations over new macro theories. This is leading to a reframing of resource management questions as issues wherein different actors explicitly conceive the issues as political, engage through politics, understand them in conflict terms and seek solutions through more reflective political action. This reframing acknowledges that multiple interests and worldviews are usually prevalent and active in any context. Conflicting interests are manifested in institutionalised governance and in extra-institutional claim making.

Environmental politics in this sense involves processes by which stakeholders - meaning the people, groups and public institutions that are prompted to express an interest and to seek influence over decision making - who appear with initially divergent opinions or interests, make claims during statutory procedures, in public spaces or through political means. This begins to circumscribe a category of public, deliberative processes that are concerned with the environmental issues and that will be addressed here. Used academically, such as by the journal also named ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS, this represents scholarly interest in several aspects.

Environmental politics firstly provides analysis of the making and implementation of public policy in the area of the environment at international, national and local levels. I.e. it focuses on environmental issues which are of increasing public concern at

different and overlapping scales. Environmental politics also examines the evolution of environmental movements. Furthermore, it reflects on ideas and abstractions generated by the various environmental movements and organisations, and by individual theorists.

The coverage found in this journal, as the editors admit, draws attention to the division in scholarly interest that, where developing countries are concerned, much of the same topics will be treated by development studies. With that comes reduced attention to institutional and theoretical issues and relatively more practice oriented or ethnographic interest. This reflects the difference in treatment that will also be encountered in the literature about the notion of participation, and it imposes a need to also attend to the literatures of development studies that I will continue further on.

Political Ecology can address a 'politicised environment'

An increasing recognition of the political roots of environmental failures in developing countries - the 'Third World' - contributed to the growth of the field of political ecology since the 1970s (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Such an approach applies a framework of analysis centred on the idea of a 'politicised environment'. A focus on the politics of environmental change in the Third World looks beyond classical state-society divisions, examining the roles and agendas of various actors - state agencies, multilateral institutions, businesses, environmental non-governmental organisations, poverty-stricken farmers, shifting cultivators and other grassroots' actors - in the development of the Third World's politicised environment.

An important reason for the distinctiveness of Third World political ecology as a research field in comparison with other environmental research fields is the radical perspective upon which work in this field is typically based. This means that explanations based on policy or market failures i.e. outcomes blamed on technical implementation problems are questioned and re-examined to consider political and economic forces.

Scholars of political ecology have adopted different approaches to the subject-matter, and have worked in a number of areas of enquiry. Multi-scalar perspectives have proven important. Attempts to reintegrate environmental politics at different scales require that wider processes of social and political change must be taken into account (Keil & Debbana, 2005). Clearly, larger scale processes are normally active in local

complexities (Abel, 2003; Berkes; Schroeder). But globally defined issues provide universal, and often illegible, templates that are applied at local scales (Adger, Kelly, Nguyen, & ebrary, 2001).

Political ecology has always had a strong empirical orientation (e.g. Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003) motivating repeated attempts to achieve theoretical coherence. This can come from linking political ecology with related fields (Forsyth, 2003; Hayward, 1998). Others have attempted to reconnect ecology with the political (Page, 2003).

To the extent that Third World political ecology already constitutes a coherent research field, it does so in part based on an understanding of political ecology as being predicated on the assumptions and ideas of political economy (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). While this assertion opens another wide field of interpretations, political ecology can most usefully be complemented through a selective engagement with the political-economy literature as, and when, that literature is appropriate to the argument.

Political ecology thus approaches a 'politicised environment' with an empirically based, actor-oriented approach that can examine struggles and conflicts of interests with a critical perspective - especially when refined with concepts from political economy.

3.2.7 A situated approach: A practitioner perspective

The concerns for development practitioners outlined above offer a frame for approaching environmental governance reform. Development studies can offer well-documented insights to resource a study such as this. I have attempted to demonstrate this relevance by explicitly constructing a position for a researcher. In the following sections it remains to develop a conceptualization of environmental governance reform that permits entry into the settings, to engage with actors on the ground and to 'return' with critical insights.

Constructing a critical practitioner perspective: From development practice to environmental policy analysis

The entry point for this study, and through it to the conceptual and theoretical positions that I want to draw on, is the perspectives on local conversation initiatives that I encountered among fellow resident of Great Barrier Island. While my interest in conservation, and particularly marine conservation, predates my arrival on Great Barrier

Island, I also carried with me baggage from a career in development aid that had shaped my views and demands of knowledge for social change. As a professional development practitioner for 10 years, active from the mid-1990s until the beginning of this study, my working milieu, and in particular the philosophies institutionalized in the aid organizations and the donor agencies I worked with, were a product of the international development discourses. These languages were being co-produced by the agencies I was working with. Both the Oxfam and Medecins Sans Frontieres movements are groups of international organisations that share a well-recognised name among several founding offices in Europe, with sister offices on most continents, as well as in Australia and New Zealand (Oxfam at least) ². Both movements were prominent in stimulating and leading debates within the aid sector, with well-resourced departments respectively dedicated to developing policy, advocating aid issues and participating in international collaboration on formulating aid standards, determining issues of human rights and criticizing governmental policies. Both organizations also publish extensive libraries used by a wide number of organizations in the development sector such as manuals of practice, periodicals, reference works and case histories that serve to feed a *discursive community* of aid professionals for self-reflection and discussion. In that sense, the aid profession shares these characteristics with many other domains of specialists and experts and with it also the paradigmatic mind-sets that discursive communities produce.

² Oxfam International is a confederation of 13 organizations working together with over 3,000 partners in more than 100 countries. Their 2005 Annual Report notes that their annual budget was US\$528 million (<http://www.oxfam.org/en/about/>, accessed December 2007). Médecins Sans Frontières is active in 80 countries, has support offices in 19 countries, including five 'operational centres' which directly control field projects, while others recruit volunteers, carry out advocacy and raise funds. MSF received the Nobel Prize in 1999. Its total income from institutional funding and private donations (approx 20:80% respectively) in 2005 was US\$804 million (www.msf.org, 2008). The GDP of Samoa is US\$537 million (IMF 2008).

3.3 Theorizing research practice and situating the researcher

Scientific activities are always embedded in the cultural matrix that gives purpose to the enterprise, and so we need to develop a rich and meaningful view of social reality. In doing so we realise that we all live different lives, but each of us can broaden our knowledge of the social world through dialogue with others. If scientific questions, which relate directly to society, were researched in a 'dialogical' manner, ways would be sought to understand the concerned individuals, populations or stakeholders. While never rejecting concern for internal coherence and rigour, science can cope better with future uncertainties, and better solve the problems of those peoples that make up society, by extensively utilising social dialogue.

(Dialogue and debate in a post-normal practice of science: a reflexion M. O'Connor, 1999, p. 672)

In this section I want to focus on the act of research and in particular on the role of the researcher as interpreter. In a qualitative study much effort is devoted to clarifying the underlying assumptions and framing that the research process imposes. Rather than isolating that as a bias that can be adjusted through fine-tuning of research techniques, I need to go deeper than that and will do that by examining the relationships between subject, knowledge and researcher. The above quote above from Michael O'Connor serves well to support the argument that I am developing here, that research must be interactive, ready to deliberate with the 'research subjects'.

If the democratization of the environment has diversified the spaces of engagement for an increasing number of actors then alternative views of social processes, the roles of social science researchers and of possible entry points become possible. In this section I want to develop some reflections that follow the researcher through **observational**, **interpretive** and **performative relations** with the subject of the study.

3.3.1 The dialectical theory of Scott Warren: Guideposts into conceptual spaces of interaction between critical theory and reflective practice.

According to Scott Warren (1984), the emergence of a distinct dialectical theory can be defended as a third-voice in the debates between positivists and behaviouralists. In a little cited book, a distinct path is described that links the philosophical foundations of

dialectical theory in the thought of Kant, Hegel, and Marx with dialectical phenomenology and the dialectical concern within a contemporary critical theory and a special emphasis on Juergen Habermas. This moves the ideas of a dialectical method into an approach to the conceptual spaces of interaction between theory and practice.

Warren (ibid. p. 190-195) identifies a number of ‘theoretical and practical guideposts’. There are several that deserve repeating explicitly here in order to prepare for the empirical approach adopted in this study. Scott begins with perhaps the most important insight that dialectical theory offers:

- Self-critical and reflective theory: “Informed by dialectical theory, political inquiry would be involved in continual reflection on the assumptions and nature of its enterprise. Insofar as we take a critical stance toward reality, we must also take a critical stance toward our own theory and criticism.”

More generally, this principle applies all kinds of relations, not only the relationship between reality and theory.

- Beyond causality, codetermined relations: “... relationships between man (or knowing subject) and reality (or known object) are not simple causal ones, but involve an element of codetermination and co-creation.”

This is founded on a distinct view of reality as a totality of relations that would not ignore how the parts are constituted by the relations of the whole.

- Totality: “The ontological assumption of a relational totality instructs us to recognize in our research the interconnectedness and radical openness of any ‘factor’ of society and politics we choose to investigate.”

The epistemological unity of theory and practice has formed the focus of much of dialectical theory. One of the most powerful efforts to do so in the process of inquiry itself has come out of the theory of cognitive interests that Habermas has developed. This has implications on the function of dialectical theory in practice that will be taken up again in later discussion.

- The unity of theory and practice: “The notion that knowledge and human interests in emancipation are joined together in the act of knowing is a significant insight of a critical science of politics.”

Perhaps the most valuable outcome of the evolution of dialectical theory is the emergence of a spirit of radical openness and a call for reflection.

- Radical openness: “Dialectical theory recognizes not only the need for human inquiry to remain open to reflection, to the past and the future, and to all modes of knowing and expressing, but also the need to remain open to the movement of concrete, practical life itself.”

In this concluding discussion, Scott does not fail to recognize the inevitable ambiguity that accompanies an ‘authentic dialectical theory’ but which at the same time demands commitment. In acknowledging this tension, he gives courage for the inquirer to act out of ambiguity.

- Ambiguity and commitment: “Most of the individuals involved in the evolution of dialectical theory of knowledge and society have cried out for human inquiry to become committed to the creation of a truly human world, where man is free from domination and control and emancipated to fulfil that which he [sic] is and can become.”

What distinguishes this work is that it offers an alternative to the impasse of postmodernism by arguing for a dialectical theory as a way through the debates of positivists and behaviouralists. This work deserves much more attention and offers guiding principles to researchers tempted to retreat to public policy analysis or to the clarification of antiquated conceptions of political science. “Dialectical theory is in search of a political science and a politics that fit our lived experience and the highest potential that lies within us.” (Warren, 1984, p. 196)

The epistemological unity of theory and practice has formed the focus of much of dialectical theory. One of the most powerful efforts to do so in the process of inquiry itself has come out of the theory of cognitive interests that Habermas has developed. The notion that knowledge and human interests in emancipation are joined together in the act of knowing is a significant insight of a critical science of politics. This has

implications on the function of dialectical theory in practice that will be taken up again in later discussion.

3.3.2 Dialectical research can rethink conceptual relations in multiple ways to add new meanings (Ollman) .

What we understand about the world is determined by what the world is, who we are, and how we conduct the study (Ollman, 1993, p. 10).

This is such an obvious statement that it is worth repeating because it draws out important distinctions: The world with properties of its own, the framing adopted by the observer and the process of observation. In other words, thinking in terms of objects in the world, the subjectivity of the observer, and the ways these are put into relation need to be rethought.

Ollman's handbook, *Dialectical investigation* (1993), offers an entry into how it may be possible to restructure our thinking. By replacing the common sense notion of "thing," as something that has a history and has external connections with other things, with notions of "process", which in itself and distinct from any "thing", contains its history and its possible future, and "relation," which has qualities of its own and contains ties with other relations as essential qualities, it becomes possible to shift framing in the interlinked spaces of theory and practice. "Nothing that didn't already exist has been added here. Rather, it is a matter of where and how one draws boundaries and establishes units" (ibid. p. 11-12).

The effort to re-focus the study of social phenomena in this way is a question of redrawing boundaries and establishing alternative units, that is to abstract new meaning with which to think about the world. To achieve this, dialectical research must step back and proceed from the whole to the part, from the system inward, to locate historical processes and strategic relations that will contribute to a fuller, a richer understanding of the whole.

Ollman distinguishes four kinds of relations that dialectical research is particularly interested in, drawing heavily on the work of Marx. Rather than categorising things as either different or identical, things can relate in contradictory ways depending on how the relation is framed. The importance lies in retaining 'multiple frames' in the abstraction, so that for instance a commercial and an amateur fisherman have one kind

of relation by belonging to respective identities that takes quite a different form when seen as the relationship of a professional fisherman with a recreational fisher not seeking to support a livelihood. Both these relations remain present at any given social moment.

A different kind of relation takes into account the perspectival element, recognizing that things appear very different depending on who is looking at them. Ollman refers to this as the 'interpretation of opposites' and draws attention that many phenomena are open to quite different views. Events are attributed meaning and significance with narratives that reflect the position of the actor. An analyst must look for these narratives without conferring judgement in order to abstract meaning about relations and processes that contribute to an understanding of the whole.

Another juxtaposition of distinct notions that Ollman presents is called the 'quantity/quality relation'. With that he wants to draw attention to a critical but often invisible notion when quantitative change in the frequency or abundance of some phenomena, leads to a qualitative change in a process. In terms of its main constituting relationship nothing need change, something else has been produced. This emergence, as I will refer to it, is a qualitative change that may be marked by the introduction of a new concept to designate what the process has become.

The notion of dialectic finds its strongest expression in the relations of 'contradiction'. Processes can be distinguished with elements that can be simultaneously different and identical. Opposing interpretations are subject to continuously changing conditions and interactions, hence differences are changing and consequently are reframing interpretations. This change and qualitative development sets up contradictions inherent in relations and processes. Locating contradictions offers a means for bringing such change and interaction into focus. Rather than singling out contradiction as evidence of concealed strategy, recognising this as integral to relations allows the ambiguity of social systems to be acknowledged and worked with analytically. Without a conception of things as relations, it is difficult to focus on the different sides of a contradiction at the same time, inevitably causing critical factors to be obscured or framed out.

3.3.3 Developing an interpretative approach: Letting knowledge emerge from a dialectical clash

In the introductory discussion, Fischer (1998) was cited as arguing for an interpretative approach, an argument that can be followed further to locate its utility for addressing the research problem. An interpretative approach finds relevance in developing Ollman's notions of relations and multiple frames. Because such an approach enters territory that can too easily be dismissed as relativist, Fischer's position must be explored in detail.

Key to an interpretative approach is the insight that a certain conception of the way scientific method should proceed, and its grounding in beliefs about epistemology, almost inevitably lead to a certain conception of society; that is, an understanding of how society should be organized and managed.

Social knowledge, that is the assembly of shared knowledge models, is shaped discursively. Fischer draws on a social understanding of how varying cognitive elements interact to shape discursively what becomes taken as knowledge. "Given the perspectival nature of the categories through which social and political phenomena are observed, knowledge of a social object or phenomenon emerges from a discursive interaction – or dialectical clash – of competing interpretations," (Fischer. 1998, p136). Only by examining empirical data through conflicting frameworks can the presuppositions that give meaning be uncovered. Emphasis shifts from the narrow concerns of empirical-analytical theory to the development of a rich perspective on human affairs. From this perspective, social scientific theories can be understood as "assemblages of theoretical presuppositions, empirical data, research practices, interpretative judgements, voices, and social strategies" (ibid.:136).

How can such frameworks be assembled? According to Fischer the models of reasoning employed by formal models misrepresent both the scientific and practical modes of reason. In pursuit of an alternative methodological framework, post-positivists have therefore returned to the Aristotelian conception of **phronesis**, that is the informal logic of practical reason. For example in a multi-disciplinary project developing co-governance models for fisheries management, Kooiman, Jentoft and others draw on this notion as a basis for rethinking governance (see also Bavinck et al., 2005; Jan Kooiman, 2003; J. Kooiman, 2005).

This inquisitive attitude insists on probing both the incompleteness and imprecision of existing knowledge, to reconceptualise our understanding of evidence and verification in investigations that have been either neglected or mistreated by formal logics.

Informal logic emphasizes sensitivity to and an assessment of the problem within its particular context, in order to decide which approaches are most relevant, i.e. questioning universals to arrive at socially meaningful approaches.

For Fischer and Holland this does not necessarily entail a hopeless relativism, but simply can increase the number of relevant perspectives (2003, p. 140). Because this is not an arbitrary exercise but a hermeneutic process led by an issue or question, any critical interpretations are 'world-guided', i.e. oriented towards texts, institutions, practices, and never detached altogether from the world. Recognizing social context to be a theoretical construct, practical deliberation focuses on the competing understandings of a particular problem and the range of methods to investigate them. The notion of question-led hermeneutic processes demands of the researcher to step outside the given frames, but in a social world, frames will always overlap. At the junctures are located key concepts that are contested. How to examine these, a dialectical method can address.

Interpreting by showing understanding rather than explaining

Adopting an interpretivist view brings into focus the role of knowledge by actors. The amount of 'knowledgeability' consigned to an actor in social theory is not merely a theoretical or empirical question. In common parlance, this term developed by Giddens is also referred to as wisdom. How knowledgeable or 'wise' a person is thought to be about the "conditions of reproduction of the society of which he or she is a member" has a number of moral and political ramifications. (Giddens, 1979, p. 5)

In doing so, Giddens takes clear sides, emphasizing that institutions should not be seen to work 'behind the backs' of the social actors who produce and reproduce them. Every competent member of every society knows a great deal about the institutions of that society. This counters a common tendency in many otherwise divergent schools of sociological thought that adopt the methodological tactic of beginning their analysis by discounting agents reasons for their action, in order to discover the 'real' stimuli of their activity, of which they are portrayed to be ignorant. "Such a stance ... implies a derogation of the lay actor" (Giddens, 1979, p. 71). This he characterizes as the

downfall of functionalist, structural theories such as the work of Parsons, because it underwrites ideologies that promote social programs to re-educate ignorant subjects. Social incompetence "is commonly attributed to people in lower social economic groupings by those in power positions, or by their associated experts" (ibid., p. 72).

This is perhaps where one can find the core idea of hermeneutic approaches to the social world. Hermeneutic, phenomenological, or more broadly interpretive social science theory is motivated by an interest in knowledge which is rather different from the more general scientific interest in understanding and explaining processes in the social world. Outhwaite revives ideas of Merton to emphasize the value of insider knowledge. "One way of putting this is to say that it [an interpretative science] is interested in insider knowledge rather than, or as well as, outsider knowledge — in knowledge of what it is like to be a social actor of a particular kind, and in how such people understand their social situation. Another way of expressing the same idea is to say that "interpretivists are more interested in understanding (from the inside) than in explaining (from the outside)" (Outhwaite, Stephen, & al., 2007, p. 460).

3.3.4 The researcher and the researched: Performative research rethought as deliberation

From the outset, this study acknowledges the political relevance of any social science discussion and particular the study of critical concerns that the politics of the environment represents. Talking about people is fundamentally inseparable from talking with people. The performances enacted by social and historical analysis will be treated as central concern in this work.

The subjective process of research is a two-way interaction. Ethical concerns highlight the awareness of researchers of the impacts of the act of research. The empowering effect on worldviews that new conceptualisation brings was already at the heart of the social reformer of Marxist thought. Class consciousness in essence is political thinking mobilising the social. But in a 'post-post' world that on the one hand is characterized by the fading of reductionist dualities and categorisations, and on the other by increasing reflexivity of scholars and their role in producing diverse conceptualisations this directs the researcher to re-think the processes of theorisation that accompany research.

How can we see our choices of what to think about and how to think about it as ethical/political decisions? Gibson-Graham (2008) ask this question to position the

academic as voluntary or involuntary activist in societies re-shaping their realities. They see the academic activist as co-implicated in processes of changing ourselves, changing our thinking, changing the world.

This follows from a realisation that social inquiry and its methods are productive: they (help to) make social realities and social worlds. They do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it, as Law and Urry express it (2004). It follows then that if social investigation makes worlds, then it can, in some measure, think about the worlds it wants to help to make. It gets involved, in other words, in the business of 'ontological politics'.

What would it mean to view thinking and writing as productive ontological interventions? The challenges for this research project identified earlier recognized the shifting boundaries and subjective latitude for interpretation. That is interpretation not only by the observer but also by the protagonists. And if these subjective exercises cannot be clearly delimited by imagining a glass pane or microscope between the observer and the observed, then this must be a complicit process.

To appreciate what that means it is necessary to attend to the conceptualisation that is employed. The reason post- continues to prefix the modern, so Law and Urry argue (2004), is that while criticism of the modern and its ways of planning the world has followed a path from critical theory of the Frankfurt School to the deconstruction of Derrida and the paranoia of entrenched governmentalities of Foucault, it has left the imagined structures such as economy, society and culture still standing back in the 19th Century. Such criticism only affirms an ultimately essentialist, usually structural, vision of what is and reinforces what is perceived as dominant.

The historic foundations of the 19th Century that are thus seen to underlie contemporary outcomes of the succeeding developments, evolutions and revolutions create lines that continue to obscure the nature of the multiple worlds that constituted globalized spaces. Gibson-Graham thus turn away from a 'globalised economy' to reveal 'diverse economies' that make up multiple realities.

The consequences are very relevant to researchers imagining and 'performing' the social. Law and Urry see classic categories as much less productive of 'global' (let alone post-colonial and civilizational) realities at the beginning of the twenty-first

century, a world that enacts itself to produce unpredictable and non-linear flows and more mobile subjectivities. They raise the concern that “much of social life escapes our capacity to make models of it, not only in the technical sense that it is beyond the grasp of current research methods, but in the more profound sense that it is constitutively resistant to the process of being gathered together into a single account, description, or model.” (ibid, p. 399).

But it should not be ignored that the enlightenment model has been quite successful at doing just that. So to understand the growing doubt in - and failures of - rational-based institutions of government to resolve issues of environmental governance, one must go back to the times when belief in those successes became established.

The 19th Century was the heyday of colonial empires. The industrial revolution was made possible not only by new technologies but by a colonial enterprise that could supply resources for production and control markets for monetizing these. The origins of managed economies and for that matter, managed environments, finds its rational foundations in expert-based, centralised government of the founding times of today's nations. Mitchell (2002) focuses on one example, the British colonial project in Egypt, that illustrates how notions of ‘calculability’ permeated imperial governance, notwithstanding the disastrous and unpredictable consequences of such politics.

Bringing the story to the 20th Century, Mitchell illustrates how the realization of the economy made possible new practices of development, management, and government. As Mitchell points out, these new practices appeared not because but as a consequence of colonialism. The economy as a notion appeared in the context of the collapse of imperial order. “The economy was constructed by definition and default as a national rather than imperial space” (ibid., p. 83).

In a similar vein, as the imperial world contracted into the nations that were first represented at the League of Nations, governments inherited constructs that could be managed by government, including national economies as well as, later, the environment. Statistics and experts turned oceans into fisheries that were quantifiable and could be managed. Nature could become a resource territory subjugated to expert-guided government.

Attributing such power to experts, as Mitchell develops in his book 'Rule of Experts' (ibid.) should highlight, rather than obscure, the haphazard reality of expertise in action. What experts produce, at least in the case of Egypt as Mitchell tells the story, are rational dualities that overlook the mixed way things actually happen.

Seeing the social researcher as another expert is a dialectical move that intends to recognize that experts are not simply anonymous laboratory technicians in the service of the same governments that have aroused deep mistrust that was noted earlier. Social research is performative in giving attention, offering framing and rehearsing discourses. As passive as participant observation may be described, the mere presence of an outside observer identified with social institutions like academia and research institutes, media and an anonymous public can re-inscribe constructs that have deep roots in social history.

Social research does not have to be neutral. Rather than thinking of research settings and actors as vulnerable to interference by the act of research, a more productive view is to see research as one of many dialogs in which the interviewees are engaged in. This lets the expert escape from the ivory tower, and perform a co-construction of knowledge in dialogue with the research participants.

3.3.5 Action research and participant observation

Action research is a school of practice that makes this process of co-construction explicit. Action Research has its academic roots in sociology, social psychology, psychology, organizational studies, and education (Cameron & Gibson, 2005; Ferreyra, 2006; Wadsworth, 1998). Action research can be described as a family of research methodologies which pursue action (or change) and research (or understanding) at the same time. In most of its forms it does this by using a cyclic or spiral process which alternates between action and critical reflection. In the later cycles, it alternates between data collection and interpretation in the light of the understanding developed in the earlier cycles. It is thus an emergent process, which takes shape as understanding increases; it is an iterative process, which converges towards a better understanding of what happens. In most of its forms it is also participative and qualitative.

Action Research is a methodology, which is intended to have both action outcomes and research outcomes. The action is primary. In distinction, there are some forms of action

research where research is the main emphasis and the action is almost a fringe benefit. The responsiveness of action research allows it to be used to develop hypotheses from the data, "on the run" as it were. It can therefore also be used as a research tool for investigative or pilot research, and generally for diagnosis or evaluation.

From a practice perspective, action research offers a developed methodology with procedural strategies for incorporating reflection into practice. As an orientation for 'outsider research' it can frame participant observation for theoretical reflection.

3.3.6 A dialectical investigation: Focus on knowledge production and deliberation

In this section I have discussed a theoretical view of this type of social science investigation and how this translates into practice. An interest in discourse approached with a dialectical questioning opens up alternative framings derived from alternative knowledge bases. In conclusion I must explain how a dialectical investigation can work with the respective knowledge systems that are reflected in actors discourses and actions.

Deliberation involves an exchange of arguments drawing on different knowledge bases. I will consider knowledge as essentially a social construction that results from and is constantly being reshaped by the encounters and discontinuities that emerge at the points of intersection between actors. I will argue that power differentials and struggles over social meaning are central to an understanding of knowledge processes.

- A dialectical investigation is interested in the use of knowledges in communication by actors.

If science is seen as one mode of understanding, used within and across discursive communities, the formation and interaction with other modes of understanding can be followed. This throws light on how knowledge is taken up in public deliberation and how the use of knowledges defines communities.

What constitutes discursive communities will be formulated by considering the assertion and circulation of discourses in networks of actors that represent a coherent rationality. Communicative interaction can then be analysed as deliberations between discursive communities, with an understanding of knowledge as rooted not only in science but equally in political practice. Treating communication as deliberation allows

for knowledge to be seen as re-constructed and co-constructed, open to multiple interpretations, rather than assuming a rigid knowledge system represented by arbitrary actors taking part in public discourse.

- A dialectical investigation takes up an actor-oriented perspective, rather than emphasising structural conditions.

An actor-oriented narrative aims to account for multiple rationalities, which is something that a dialectical approach makes possible. Asking how social change is shaped in this way, makes reference to empirical processes that operate at multiple levels. Firstly, social change in open democratic societies described by democratic theorists as processes of deliberative evaluation of normative claims (Habermas, 1984). Secondly, the argument will be developed further on that deliberative analysis, drawing on the multiple theoretical positions which I will construct, can provide insights into complex phenomena that are simultaneously part of multiple processes. But the inability to separate theory from empiricism will prove indicative of the difficulty, or even impossibility, of establishing any conceptual space that is theoretically static. In acknowledgement of the dangers of searching for reductionist and totalizing abstractions, a dialectical approach will be developed to engage constructively with unavoidable ambiguities.

- A dialectical investigation can offer insight into the relations between abstractions.

A focus on deliberation will highlight boundaries between discursive communities, i.e. the relations between knowledges in use. Such boundaries mark points of view, tensions, and conflict. Issues that trace these boundaries and relations can reveal the sources of tensions out of which issues and new social phenomena emerge. In this dissertation I will argue that knowledge in use represents categories of abstraction that need to be approached with a dialectical attitude that does not seek rational resolution of tensions, but sustains interest in the relations between abstractions. A dialectical investigation can thus show the relations in a productive way.

- A dialectical investigation is a qualitative, self-reflective inquiry.

Dialectical thinking is concerned with critically examining abstraction through visible tensions that are present. It is interested in internal contradictions, inconsistencies, contested notions, reductions, and false dualities. It brings an explicit reflexivity to the task, taking into account positionality, totality, co-determination and unity of practice (Ollman, 1993). It aspires to a radical openness to knowledge and abstraction. As I will seek to show, dialectical investigation asserts that knowledge is subjective and thus demands a self-conscious research practice.

This attitude must also extend to the research problem itself. Rather than insisting on demonstrating a predetermined hypothesis – and without insisting that such research is generally flawed – a deliberative approach must be explicitly reflective. Part of the strategy of qualitative inquiries, that is, a key advantage of the flexibility that one can claim, is that the research questions themselves remain under continual scrutiny. Nothing should prevent a research question or problem statement from undergoing the same metamorphosis as the researcher during the course of a study.

With this clarification of the position of a reflective and critical researcher, the ground has been laid to consider the analytical tools required.

3.4 Operationalizing interactive research methods

This chapter aims to open environmental governance, and in particular, citizen engagement, up to scrutiny and offers a conceptual map for understanding reform processes. The framework that emerges forms the basis for the analyses of the empirical studies reported in the subsequent chapters. Two key challenges have shaped this work: firstly, to examine how reforms are introduced and developed through the institutions of science, government and administration; secondly, to examine how they are contested, where they are open to incremental change and where alternative discourses are emerging and finding expression in the reform processes. By focusing on the margins of policy formation, on the space extending beyond institutionalized consultation processes, I intend to re-focus environmental democracy away from technocratic instrumentality of the formal policy arena to spaces where direct democracy is emerging. In this section I will show how such spaces can be accessed.

3.4.1 Locating spaces of environmental governance: issues, actors, knowledge and participation

The issues described in this study are examples of protected-areas conservation, fisheries policy development, rural resource management and community-based conservation. The settings chosen cut across local national and international dimensions, reflecting the multiple scales on which ideologies and discourses operate. The processes described all reflect global themes of biodiversity protection and sustainable development arriving in local contexts.

Rural communities are strategic locations in the changing relations between human society and the natural environment. Their low population densities, spatial isolation, increasing lack of diversity, and persistent levels of poverty restrict the range and depth of choices that are available to their urban counterparts. These are vulnerabilities that are critical at the opening of the 21st Century. "In the face of these vulnerabilities, rural communities remain, however, a vital link between society and the natural environment. This link highlights the importance of their survival, and makes them crucial to the study of sustainability." (Sumner, 2005, p. 4)

It is not only the vulnerabilities that attract a researcher's attention to rural communities but also as a location of social responses to the globalizing universalisms and ideologies

that encroach on civil commons. These are sites in which conflicting paradigms about society-nature relations are exposed and tested. The discourses this prompts can help us trace the sources of conflict to longer threads of ideology in social development that are shaping society. To find the mechanisms that expose competing ideologies, requires entry into the narratives of social actors at the forefront of political activism and institutional change, in order to understand the role of knowledge and networks of relations.

The actors that appear represent central and local government agencies, diverse local residents, local elected and traditional leaders, tribally-based authorities, environmental groups, civil society groups, universities, international organisations, local and national media, and even the New Zealand Environment Court.

Actors are also protagonists that are able to reflect themselves about the practices, learn from experience and draw on knowledge to engage with the world. As such, they draw on pre-theoretic knowledge to position themselves in the political contexts and their understanding of the world. These are actor perspectives that contribute, mediate and resist the processes of knowledge production. This theme will be taken up, but it is important already to note the range of categories of actors present that an analysis can work with to interpret the differing points of view that will frame the issues.

The participative practices also cover a wide gamut. Consultation meetings, advisory committees, 'visioning' workshops, inviting written submission, face-to-face 'clinics', information dissemination, community-based management. And protest action, signature campaigns and organized activism are other, albeit unplanned, forms of participation.

The themes that are already present here suggest questions to develop in this study. The universalising rationale of biodiversity protection, national marine protection planning and economic fisheries management draw attention to a conflict with locally-based worldviews and priorities. The rational, science driven paradigms that these universal derive from contrast with the subjective reasoning expressed by opponents and protesters to top-down proposals.

Rather than reducing the complexity of this investigation and address an abstracted research question derived from a singular situation, the aim here is instead to lay open

the complexities, draw attention to the interlinking relations and emphasize the complex nature of environmental governance. This can best be achieved by examining the fundamental contradictions inherent in the tensions between administrative universals and subjective experiences of participation which the empirical work in the next chapter will set out to do.

3.4.2 Implementing a dialectical method

The argument developed earlier for employing a dialectical approach here is that socially constructed knowledge should be examined dialectically. The notion of dialectic complements a hermeneutic process of inquiry. The multiple meanings that this term is associated with, if it is not treated for its dogmatic signification, enrich its value as a tool for rethinking established categories.

The term can also refer to a discursive method of presentation of ideas and/or conclusions. The aim of the dialectical method, is to try to resolve disagreement through rational discussion. As used with reference to Socrates, it is a method that sets out to show that a given hypothesis leads to a contradiction; thus, forcing the withdrawal of the hypothesis. Another way of trying to resolve a disagreement is by denying some presupposition of both the contending thesis and antithesis; thereby moving to a third (syn)thesis or "sublation". In such a dialectic, the rejection of the participant's presuppositions can be resisted, which might generate a second order controversy.

Dialectic can also refer to an assertion that the nature - and so the ontology - of the world outside one's perception, is interconnected, contradictory, and dynamic; i.e. to the epistemological understanding of how we can or should perceive the world. Dialectic suggests an epistemological strategy for investigating the world and to echo this in a 'dialectical discussion'. Thus conceived, dialectic lends itself to working in a conceptual space that is process based, made up of elements with distinct relational properties and intrinsically complex.

But another way to understand dialectic is to view it as a method of thinking to overcome formal dualism and monistic reductionism. Dialectical thinking rejects both views. The dialectic method requires identification and focus on both elements of a conceptual relationship at the same time. It looks for transcendence or fusion of opposites, which (1) provides justification for rejecting both alternatives as false and/or

(2) helps clarify a real but perhaps veiled integral relationship between opposites that are normally held to be kept apart and distinct (Howitt, 2001). Ollman's work brings the focus on four kinds of relations: multiple frames, interpretation of opposites, quantity/quality, contradiction.

As such a tool of critical analysis, dialectic will be developed here as a deliberative method that will seek out and pose contrasting ideas as a challenge to established analyses. Rather than simply seeking out inconsistencies and contradictions in scholarly argument, the purpose is instead to be grounded in practice, draw on reasoning relevant in a given context and expand from overlapping framing to arrive at richer, action oriented views of problematic situations.

The techniques of Ollman, described earlier - multiple frames, interpretation of opposites, quantity/quality, contradiction – can reframe a researchers interest in empirical observation and theoretical interpretation. But to depart from a Marxist conception of change, and to move beyond mere 'thinking techniques', needs to reconnect dialectics with contemporary scholarship.

A dialectical research perspective seeks to shift focus from actors and objects to the inter-subjective spaces in between. How these are socially constituted becomes the subject of social analysis. To make this a fruitful analysis requires a conceptual elaboration that allows empirical observations to be theoretically interpreted.

3.4.3 Research as dialogic processes can attend to subjectivity and intersubjectivity

Research within a postmodern frame moves us into arenas where subjectivity is both assumed and appreciated. Attending to how subjectivity (of researcher[s] and of research participants) and inter-subjectivity (between/among researcher[s] and between researcher[s] and subjects) relate to each other can enhance the research process. One way of doing that is to follow Russell (2002) and understand qualitative research as an interconnected and mutually influential series of dialogic processes.

Research as process

Any empirical research must proceed through a series of moments that are important to distinguish. Elsewhere I have reproduced the chronology of this research process that followed these stages, while at the same time deliberately repeating the cycle with

fresh research questions and narrative trajectories to refine insights into the research problem.

1. Situating the researcher
2. Conceptualising the subject
3. Observing the social
4. Accessing and identifying the subjects
5. Interacting with the subject
6. Analysing and interpreting
7. Returning to the subject
8. Writing up

The research process thus takes a number of steps, even if in practice these will not always proceed consecutively in the same sense. As an interactive process, it provides rich opportunity to develop a culture of interaction that offers much development for research in institutional contexts, where the distance to the empirical subject is more entrenched. One setting where this methodology has been implemented with a range of research methods is in the VALSE project (Martin O'Connor, 2000, p. 176). "Scientific enquiries and analyses are 'tested' -- validated or invalidated -- partly by reference to 'internal' norms of coherence and rigour, and partly by reference to 'external' considerations relating to the particular social and ecological context of the enquiry." Through reference to four Europe wide case studies, O'Connor showed how the application of a chosen method of analysis structures the enquiry, while the researcher also learns about the reality through listening to what is said about the situation and about the research method itself from 'other points of view'.

This sequence portrays a linear research process which is not necessarily actualized in practice, but had nevertheless to be conceived and mapped out in this way to ensure coherence in the conceptualisation of processes and interpretation. What remains masked and therefore needs to be brought out is the essentially reflexive nature of such a process. This is derived from an important hope for any research program as the creation of synergistic communication with and/or among participants.

Locating the researcher

With the research interest and geographic focus determined at the outset as described in the opening chapter, I had to begin by locating myself in the empirical setting as both a

researcher and participant at the same time. This was determined by the theoretical stance I assumed.

I had to adequately conceptualize the research subject, that is, imagine where the meaning that would answer my research interest was located. If I was going to think in terms of networks of actors then I would need to be clear what relations formed these networks. If the negotiation of knowledges and explanations was the focus, I would need to be clear of where and how expressions of this could be accessed, recorded and interpreted. Reflecting on this would lead me to strategically select issues and contexts that would achieve this.

Preparation for empirical research had to begin with asking what should be observed. In the first instance this had to scope the empirical context, identify issues, processes, protagonists, and spatio-temporal boundaries. Then it was necessary to plan and organize for field work. This went beyond logistics to developing a vocabulary to describe and work with observations.

Entering into dialogue with the research subject: Initial questions and topics

The empirical work itself was concerned with the interactions and communication around the identified issues. I asked, which resources or practices were contested, and how was there a negotiation of knowledges visible? What was the nature of involvement by actors in issues, how was that expressed, and how was that connected with other issues and actors? Specifically, how were the concerned policy, planning and management issues elaborated in terms of the actor's interaction?

Entering the social as a researcher of course also entailed interaction. From inquiry directed at orientating among agents, objects and issues to engaging with actors to participate in social settings and interrogate protagonists, this produced performative effects that had to be taken into account, both on ethical grounds and to maintain consistency in the identity that I was constructing.

3.4.4 Implementing the research process

The development of the field work was circumscribed by several factors. The conceptual development that resulted from engagement with reports by other researchers, and the insights gained from adopting a questioning attitude to the empirical, saw a progressive closer examination of the observed situations. In practice

this involved an alternation between analytical and interactive reflection that was stimulated by the theoretical ideas described in earlier chapters. Interaction found its way into the data collection through allowing for reflective moves with semi-structured interviews in which thematic ideas drawn from content analysis provided themes for inviting reflection by interviewees on concepts in use.

Gaining access to empirical setting was also progressive. The initial stages of research were concerned with scoping sites, actors and issues that were pertinent to the research interests. The processes thus identified had to be mapped out and documented to make it possible to enter research sites with adequate preparation, at relevant moments and with access to key informants. This required orientation, building relationships and maintaining information flows. The latter aspect was critical for the actor-oriented approach that had been adopted. Entering sites of conflict had to be respectful and cautious. At the same time, conflict situations do not tolerate neutrality easily, placing explicit or implicit demands on the observer to choose sides, to award sympathy and validation of the interlocutors position. The oft quoted phrase 'you're either with us or against us' captures that notion. This proved possible to overcome through developing an explicit academic position through repeated emphasis and especially through relationship building that transcended anonymous roles and labels.

Development of the processes that were the subject of the studies were also subject to external factors. Both of the principal consultation processes followed were not resolved by the end of the study, with the first - the GB Marine Reserve Proposal – having come to an interim conclusion of sorts through the rejection of the application in its present form by the Minister of Fisheries.

The research process actually followed had to adapt to these factors, accompanying key developments and retreating from the field to take time to engage with the theoretical and empirical literatures. This proved satisfying even if management and framing of the research project had to be released at times to let events run their course.

Interactive research methods: Data collection and analysis

The methodological approach elaborated so far, has taken into account research interests, the position of the researcher and how to orientate the conceptual approach. The following section will detail the data collection process and procedures.

A review of the literature on qualitative research showed that many different approaches for analysis used, but there is a lack of standardised procedures, distinctions are often not clear and there appear to be no widely accepted criteria for what constitutes quality or good practice (Achorn, 2004; Becker & Vanclay, 2003; Bennett & Elman, 2006; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano, & Morales, 2007; Denzin, Lincoln, & Lincoln, 2000; Lofland & Lofland, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 1998; Ragin, 1994; Yin, 2003). There is a historic focus on findings being 'intuitive', 'well grounded' or 'emerging from the data'. And the literature is dominated by focus on data management and coding, but not interpretation.

I therefore needed to adapt and develop qualitative research and analysis methods that would fulfill epistemological criteria for this study while at the same time being workable within the given parameters. Data collection and analysis procedure would have to fit the data, which was discursive and in the zone between institutionalized and casual idiomatic language. It should not involve trying to fit abstract categories to real world communication across a range of settings from marae to formal publications from central government, and not vice versa, trying to fit the data into established formats.

Concomitant with that, I began to experience an increasingly growing distrust of standardized and routinized methodical procedures which, in my eyes, do not promote an "understanding" ("Verstehen" to use the language of Habermas) of objects under scientific scrutiny within the field of intercultural sociology. Disappointing experiences with data collection through the extensive use of interview methods for needs assessments in my previous, very real-world oriented career in humanitarian aid, contributed to this. My efforts towards finding a method, which would generate results/findings that could be applied to the subjective worlds of experience (the perception of problems, ways of conceptualizing, vocabulary of the objects of study) were a result of this impression. I therefore searched out a methodology that:

- Should be dynamic and flexible to develop with frameworks.
- Encourage consistency, reflection and reframing.
- Would facilitate text-based data management, with efficient data organisation and retrieval.
- Allow flexible levels of analysis - descriptive, associative or explanatory - rather than rigid categorisation.

The empirical material that I collected was therefore text based and essentially ethnographic in nature.

Interpreting the research dialogue

The interpretation of empirical findings necessarily began in situ simply through the choice of moment and language to record. This raises the subject of construct validity. The procedures of coding will be described in more detail, but were focused on key aspects that characterized the process. Questions were used to construct understanding of the situations around the issues studied. How did actors identify, locate, and frame issues? What were the sets of understandings of the specific and knowledges of the generic that shaped their involvement? What was their potential to mobilise resources and knowledges formed in other places? What positions do actors occupy in the networks? What access to other networks is available and how is that modulated? What are the institutions of governance that are active around the issues? What are the choices of effective governing instruments and legitimate governing action?

The interpretation and analysis continued through several further steps. Transcribing and reflecting on records brought back from the field performed another arranging and selecting of data. Generalisations and abstractions are part of the process of analysis. Working with a method of weak theorizing involved a procedure integral to grounded theorizing which attributes a central role to memo writing to connect observations and conceptualization with an iterative reflection process. Grounded theory also works with text coding as a means of inspecting and relating conceptual elements in text. This proved an effective means to manage the volume of data generated, but needed to be used selectively to focus the interrogation of textual material and field observations.

Validating research through exposure to subjects

The factual validity of observation and interpretation, and the theoretical constructs that are derived from the data, is critical. In the first instance the onus is on the researcher to ensure accuracy in recording and transcribing observation and interview data. At another level, data interpretation intended to enter the theoretical discussion of social science, represent truth claims about the world. As a communicative act in the sense of Habermas, this must remain open to challenge. This does not only represent a silent audience when preparing reports but was an opportunity for interaction that I utilised.

Throughout the research process, I would use opportunities to prepare a written account of data assembled, about context, chronologies and also public events, and share these with 'objective' participants. This had several purposes. Firstly, it provided additional incentive to clarify and verify facts taken into the report. Exposing it to knowledgeable participants also provide an effective means to verify the accounts compiled. Perhaps more importantly, it cultivated a relationship of openness that moved me as researcher and silent observer to a speaker in the network of relationships, exposing my hermeneutic perspective. In a research process of on-going interaction, this is an important element to achieve the interpretivist position that a critical hermeneutics seeks.

Writing up with a dialectical attitude

The final stage of the research process is of course the writing up of findings. By this time the categories in use have been repeatedly applied and operationalized, and an argument is in development. At this stage, more than any, it remained important to retain a dialectical attitude that tested conceptualisations for implicit dualities, extensions and contradictions that needed to be exposed.

3.4.5 Research chronology

Empirical research between 2005 and 2008 was divided between three locations: Great Barrier Island, Northland and Fiji. Some follow up of case studies involved meetings and interviews in Auckland City and Suva respectively.

- A. Because the literature on environmental policy reform is not yet rich enough to provide a satisfactory conceptual foundation for investigating governance processes, an exploratory qualitative study was undertaken to investigate the concept. To orientate the situation within its contexts, national and international perspectives were collected from selected actors in the domains of interest, in the Summer 2004/05. In parallel, an interdisciplinary literature review was conducted that focused on the thematic overlap of environmental issues, social processes and governance reform. Key documents were selected and analysed to situate actor networks in the immediate and wider context of the policy issue that stimulated the research interest. Other methodologies were used in a secondary role to help formulate the research issues during an exploratory

phase. These were described in the previous chapter, together with how they contributed to focusing the research interests on an actor-perspective. Guiding questions included ... What was at stake? (e.g. environmental management efficiency, indigenous assertion, contested governance authority, political struggles ...?); And how can one look at this? (Points of view? Framings? Scope of / Delimit domains?)

- B. The subsequent study phases then alternated with reflection into the literature. Through accompanying policy processes, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and content analysis of texts, actors could be positioned in conceptual spaces accessible to analysis and thus within the case studies. The guiding questions for this phase were ... How were the issues and contexts conceptualised by actors? What was being produced? (Rules, institutions, social impacts, ...?) Who was considered relevant? (Who was framed in or out?)
- C. With a basic understanding of the empirical processes and settings it was then possible to proceed with the next study phase in New Zealand and Fiji. (Oct 2006) This part aimed to situate theoretical concepts within empirical contexts by exploring the relevance of analytical conceptions and mapping discourse formations. It asked: What questions and problems does that pose? How has it been explained?
- D. To complete field work, a final phase sought to validate initial conclusions and re-construct these in dialogue with study subjects in New Zealand and Fiji (Apr 2007).

3.4.6 Ethical research

The previous discussion already touched on a core issue of research interacting with social actors and potentially re-shaping contexts. This places responsibility on the social researcher to be judicious and reflective in the process of research. An observer may provoke action and public expression of actors through creating attention and opportunity. Outputs from research may enter debates as argument, position actors unfavourably or alter perceptions of issues.

Confidentiality of responses was respected on principle. Quotes were mostly selected from public statements in media, documents or from public statements. Standard

participant consent forms in use by researchers with the School of Geography and Environmental Sciences were used and respected. Interviewees were not cited in other public or private meetings.

The performative effects of participatory observation can be subtle. But posing research questions enters a dialogue that can also prompt action. So, for instance, questions about unresolved issues may prompt interlocutors to take position earlier than they may have and / or resolve to translate that to action. For example, in the course of the study, I observed a community meeting which was discussing developments in the district plan review that was taking place. During the meeting participants urged that action should be taken to demonstrate that the process conditions had become unacceptable to participants (in slightly more colorful language). I choose not to ask the obvious question to meeting participants, of "What will you do now?". This could have prompted those perhaps yet unresolved after the public discussion to take position earlier than if they had gone home first, reflected with those closer to them and perhaps spent time composing a 'letter to the editor' instead.

Some basic measures can guard against negative effects. The University of Auckland has established clear guidelines on approaching and agreeing the research format with study participants. This involved written documentation of the research intent and utilisation of data collected, opportunity to obtain more information from the researcher or the university, if required, and a written agreement with interview subjects. These were obtained and preserved for all the interviews.

The research in Fiji followed a different format. Since I participated in a research project of the Institute of Applied Sciences of the University of the South Pacific in Suva, I completed all steps of project identification and interaction participant interaction in coordination with the head of the institute, Bill Aalbersberg. An "agreement for overseas researchers with FLMMA members" was completed, "to satisfy key requirements on prior informed consent and equitable benefit sharing". Initial entry to the field sites, involving formal introduction to the village leaders, was done in the company of the USP field coordinator for the village governance project in Korolevuiwai District, Alifereti Bogiva. Because the village had an established relationship with the university, previous researchers had followed similar protocols and I was received with less potential for misunderstandings. Trip reports were

completed and provided to key project members. Since funding was obtained from New Zealand Post-graduate Scholarships, reporting of research outcomes was also shared with this institution.

The empirical research also touched on Maori cultural and political subjects. The research design therefore needed to clarify how data collection and use of findings should be carried out ethically.

A significant part of this research took part on marae where events related to environmental governance processes were taking place. This was not an anthropological study of Maori culture, and there was no underlying intent to divide the social subject area into ethnic divisions. At the same time, *tangata whenua* are a recognised stakeholder category in resource management and conservation legislation. Marae and iwi authorities are proactive actors in this sector. Marae are sites of consultation, education and activism. It is therefore natural that this research also entered cultural spaces of Maori identity and activism.

Marae were not approached independently but always in the course of organised events. Therefore protocol followed that laid out for the organisation of such occasions according to the specific circumstances: a marae hosting an activist meeting, a local government or ministerial consultation with *tangata whenua*, or an occasion initiated by the marae committee itself.

Research followed some simple precepts of participant observation to ensure ethical standards were adhered to. All activity on marae, from approach, entry, interviews and activities were agreed with individuals that could represent the marae. An opportunity was sought early during public events to present myself to participants, my objectives for participating and the intended use of research data. Generally, personal behaviour was discrete without creating an artificial distance. Breaks and mealtimes were used to introduce myself, take part into discussion and clarify points coming out of the group session. Over the course of a series of sessions or events this helped to grow familiarity and for me to become an accepted participant in the group.

Unless otherwise indicated, quotes are from interview notes, verified with taped recordings were available. The anecdotes are paraphrased material drawn from field notes. Some informants expressed unwillingness for comments to be disseminated

within the community. I have therefore used some pseudonyms or initials or omitted names throughout the text.

3.4.7 Selecting analytical tools

Asking about the emergence of deliberative forums and where active participation can develop is essentially an exploratory approach to this subject. In contrast to specific hypothesis testing questions, this does not immediately constrain the variables of interest. Determining appropriate analytical methods in geography research can follow conventional approaches and prioritize quantitative procedures, or enter the debates about the framing of qualitative work as Crang has done to end up asking for richer interpretation of empirical findings (Crang, 2005).

During the initial phase of the empirical research I evaluated a number of data gathering and analysis options. I worked with interview literal transcripts made from recordings, experimented with text analysis software, carried out systematic concept coding of documents, designed automated questionnaires with run-time scripting, automated concept analysis of textual material, experimented with a various forms of concept mapping, did semantic analysis of interview transcripts and tried statistical analysis of texts.

To compare and evaluate the analytical options, I specified some simple criteria against which I evaluated each tool's output, utilization and effect:

- Relevance to research question.
- Accuracy of coded data against empirical observations.
- Practicality of field use.
- Utility within larger research programme (ie 'value for money').
- Paradigmatic effect relating conceptualization, method and analysis.

From the outset I had been strongly concerned with the re-framing effect of any theoretical or pragmatic approach to empirical questions. This has also motivated my turn to hermeneutical methods. Thus the last criteria interested in the framing effect that any analytical abstraction imposes also prompted me to limit the use of methods to clearly defined functions. Thus I used systematic methods during the initial stage in each context to identify and scope predominant themes, inventorize actors and issues, and validate thematic analyses. Once the empirical studies were focused, I endeavoured

to compile and enrich the documented and observed empirical material in order to be able to give a rich and faithful account of the experiences of actors and participants in sites of environmental governance.

3.4.8 Selection of interviewees

Theoretical samples were used to investigate the situations in this study. This involved small, irregularly distributed and diverse sampling populations and had the goal to explore individual narratives in depth as justified in the above discussions of methodology. In these situations it was more relevant and helpful to obtain detailed and rich information from a small number of individuals who encompass the diversity of opinion relevant to the issue.

In this study, interviewees were selected using a snowballing technique. This is a purposive sampling technique in which potential future informants are identified during the on-going process of data collection. Each person interviewed was asked to name other individuals who were thought to be relevant informants. As the detailed analysis of completed interviews proceeded, additional interviews were arranged to round out the sample, seeking to maximize the diversity of opinion. Saturation was achieved when additional interviews added little new information or understanding.

In total, 114 interviews were undertaken.

3.4.9 Methods for participant observation

There were a number of public events that I observed formally. These were events in which public actors and participants would work with topics related to the research interest. In its most routine form, there were numerous Great Barrier Island Community Board meetings which I attended. Special meetings were called as hearings and consultation meetings as part of the processes studies. In total I was present at over 10 community board meetings.

The ethnographic approach to the field work produced rich transcripts and observations of public events. The approach in each case involved obtaining an introduction to event facilitators through known interlocutors, a brief public presentation at the outset of each meeting which allowed me to present the interest and objectives of the research as well as the method for transcribing participant statements, my availability to discuss

questions with discussion participants in the intervals and the eventual use of outcomes in a thesis project and possible publications.

The procedure for any public event was straightforward: A preparatory session would put the event into context of research to date, review any documentation such as agenda's and background reading. Where relevant, I would also review prior research notes.

On this basis the key actors were identified, their known positions put into context and the key issues at stake for the event made clear. This allowed questions about facts and positions to be prepared. Typically this was structured under thematic headings.

During the event notes were recorded against the questions prepared. Supporting documentation was collected. Participant and interviewee details were noted. Interviews were either held when possible, or arranged for a convenient time with minimum delay.

At the earliest opportunity following an event, I would review, complete and transcribe my notes. Computer files were prepared and indexed for each event and interview recorded. Notebooks used for series of events were catalogued and stored for later reference.

Participant consent forms were collected for each interview made, or where private information was accessed. The human participant ethical committee requirements prescribe that these remain stored for safe keeping for a duration of five years following the study.

3.4.10 Methods for semi structured interviews

Selected decision makers, decision influencers and consultation participants were asked during in-depth interviews to express their views and opinions about the policy issue in their own words and in a way that reflected their own priorities.

Interviews followed a semi-structured approach built around thematic interests prepared from relevant background information and preliminary analysis. However, this stage of the field work also featured on-going relationships with key actors which saw reflective discussions extended over time. Field notes had to be compiled carefully with dated transcripts re-arranged under thematic and interviewee categories. For ethical reasons,

participants were always kept informed when statements made were treated as 'on-the-record' and could be noted as attributed quotes.

Semi structured interviews were held with mostly open ended questions, maintaining relevance to the roles of informants. Interview structure followed Spradley (1979) with ethnographic interviewing designed to uncover cultural meanings through the use of mixed categories of questions.

Most interviews were recorded with a small, digital voice recorder, when that was accepted by interviewee. This not only permitted freer discussions but at the same time added a note of formality. This was considered important to emphasize the interest in public positions rather than subjective interpretations. Recording devices were not used in private settings where that would have been considered an imposition.

All interviewees were informed of the purpose and background of the study. Ethical concerns were discussed and approved consent forms were used.

The interview format used was structured in sequence, beginning with a warm up explaining the research interest and discussing the informant's own role and relevant background, professional priorities and key experiences. This often added themes to supplement questions prepared from the documentary analysis. This focused on details of the role and practice of institution with respect to resource management, the relationships with other institutional actors, processes around issues and governmental policy formation, and relations with the general, non-associated public.

Specific subjects discussed in semi-structured interviews varied according to the organizations mandates and were interested in relevant policy and implementation processes such as those concerned with marine reserves, the Resource Management Act and Maori-government relations.

A number of interviews were followed up with a specifically developed method that aimed to structure position statements by asking participants to complete a narrative text with multi-choice statements supplemented with free comments. It used a macro-enabled Microsoft Word template that referenced and summarized inputs dynamically. While this method provided complementary information, it proved unsatisfactory as an effective data collection technique. This was principally due to respondents reacting inconsistently to both the technological format (a word document form with drop down

boxes and input fields) and the survey format assuming confident literacy to express nuanced opinions. In other words, the quality of the data reflected respondents relative confidence to express themselves in writing.

Interview transcripts were analyzed qualitatively. The overall approach was based upon the process of comparative categorization developed by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Haig, 1995) in their model of grounded theory. This involved taking taped transcripts or notes of the interviews and then systematically recording the beliefs, feelings, and intentions that were articulated by the interviewees. These were grouped into broad categories based upon responses to the initial questions regarding issue definition, roles and responsibilities, and preferred outcomes, but extended to include other issues that emerged. The key ideas and relationships were then summarized, one for each interview. They represented the individual's frame of reference for the management issue in the terms defined above.

For van Dijk (2001), the advantage of such an approach is that it accounts not only for the role of social representations, such as attitudes and ideologies in discourse, but also allows a more subjective explanation of discourse and its variation in terms of personal mental models. And since contexts are by definition unique and personal, context models of framings precisely allow an individual approach to contextualization to be combined with a more social one, in which shared representations, groups, and other societal aspects play a prominent role.

The cognitive patterns that underlie social behavior are not easily accessible to the researcher. Conceptualizing mental models that can account for communicative behavior in a way that relates to settings and context must represent basic notions of cognition such as ideology, knowledge and values.

3.4.11 Methods for documentary analysis

Extensive documentation from both published and unpublished sources was collected. This sought out theoretical and practice literature, policy documents, practitioner perspectives and participant perspectives as they were documented.

Sources used were publicly available hardcopy and electronic versions from the internet, of government institutions, non-governmental organisations and media. An automated search with daily email updates tracked issues around locality (Great Barrier

Island) and subject (marine reserves). This was supplemented by key word searches to gather background information that informed specific stages of the research.

I was not able to systematically analyse this data as a whole (with the exception of letters to the editor in the local media over a specific time frame) but documentary material was used selectively as necessary to address specific questions.

The procedure for topical analysis involved determining sources and documents pertinent to the stated interest, selecting authoritative text (author, date, subject) and carrying out a two pass analysis providing thematic and conceptual analysis. For several sets of documents this was formalised when it was possible to work with electronic documents only. With the help of a small custom written macro, text clips could be identified, and transferred to an Excel sheet for analysis to compare document in terms of subjects and scope while retaining links to the original text. This aided in the quality of the interpretation.

This part of the work provided me with positions on issues by institutional actors, the narrative framing of contexts and a set of quotes that reflected the discourses of which they were part. It also allowed me to compare interview records and situate the statements of individuals in institutional discourses.

3.5 Conclusion: What this chapter has achieved

As I have shown from the perspective of a number of theoretical viewpoints, an actor-oriented, interpretative analysis can make a useful contribution to a more insightful and reflective understanding of processes of environmental governance reform. A relational perspective emphasizes the meanings that link actors and subjects. Therefore it is critical to see change practices as shaped by the interactions among the various participants, rather than simply the ideal-type constructions that planners and managers use to establish processes.

An interest in communicative practices allows one to focus on the emergent forms of interaction, procedures, practical strategies and types of discourse present in specific contexts. It also makes it possible to reflect on the ‘multiple realities’ of reform projects. Long (2001, p72) uses this term to mean ‘the different meanings and interpretations of means and ends attributed by the different actors’. And out of differential perceptions and expectations arise struggles that need to be accounted for.

Knowledge, understood as the content of meanings and representations, is central in communication. In this chapter I have begun to respond to the demand by Bentz for researchers to “be able to justify what makes something count as knowledge in a situation of methodological and epistemological pluralism.”

Long (2001) takes this line further, and describes interventions and projects as ‘transformational processes’ that are continuously re-shaped by intrinsic organizational, cultural and political dynamics, and by the specific conditions it encounters or itself creates, including the responses and strategies of local groups who may struggle to define or defend their own social spaces, cultural boundaries and positions within the wider power field.

The interactions between outside agencies and the impacted populations thus cannot be adequately understood through the use of generalized language such as ‘state-citizen relations’ or by the use of normative concepts such as ‘local participation’. These interactions need to be examined as part of the continuous process of negotiation, adaptation and transformation of meaning that takes place between specific actors.

Boundary analysis, which is concerned with the contrasts present in a socio-political context, and in particular differences of normative values and social interest, is

concerned not only with understanding of the struggles and power differentials that relate the parties involved, but also with the dynamics of cultural accommodation that allow various world views to interact. This makes up a challenging research project but one which is central to understanding the intended and unintended results of policy reform projects carried out by change agents acting top-down or bottom-up. The following chapter describes in more detail how these knowledge production strategies can be and actually were operationalized.

**Chapter 4 Reflective research in practice:
Stories from Africa, Fiji and Aoteaora**

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the process of participatory research at a time when social scientists are increasingly suspicious of the possibility of “objectivity” and value-free research, and when the acceptance of the socially constructed and situated nature of knowledge is increasingly commonplace - among social scientists at least (England, 1994). In particular, I focus on and problematize fieldwork, a term that I use as shorthand for those research methods where the researcher directly confronts those who are researched. I approach this task simultaneously as a academic researcher and as a ‘veteran’ aid worker which sets up a tension that I aim to explore here dialectically.

To develop this discussion I pass through scenes from three countries to highlight the relational nature of field work. Since the mid-1980s reflexive anthropologists, sociologists and feminists have produced seminal work with a cultural orientation. The main point they make is that academic and other knowledges are always situated, always produced by positioned actors working within or between all kinds of locations, and working through all kinds of research relations/-ships. All these make a huge difference for what is seen, how it is seen and what is produced, for varying audiences. Thus, so the argument goes, writing about academic knowledge is a relational process, rather than a straightforward documentation, that may highlight the politics of knowledge in academic research, produce more modest, embodied, partial, locatable and convincing arguments and, in the process, make it possible for researchers and their audiences to see and make all kinds of political insights (Cook, Atkinson, Jackson, Sibley, & Washbourne, 2005).

4.1.1 Situating the researcher

A number of years preceding this study, on returning from an overseas research assignment to the Middle East on behalf of an international aid organisation, I became aware of my comparatively limited knowledge of my own community on Great Barrier Island. While I could explain in relative detail the critical omissions entailed in a binary reduction of Iraqi society into Sunni and Shii’a factions, it seemed that I had relatively less knowledge of the values and experiences that shaped the opinions of Great Barrier Island residents about ‘development’ here. I resolved to remedy that by resorting to a familiar method of research for international aid interventions: Face-to-face conversations with key informants identified from within the community.

As I proceeded, I was soon directed to opinion leaders and respected elders, including the chair of the community board, a third-generation farmer, and a kaumatua of the tangata whenua. I found that in spite of being uninvited, I was made welcome and answered with openness. Unexpectedly, it turned out that most people are very ready to explain their own worldviews when somebody cares to ask. The conversations were interesting and I learned much about the history of individuals and their views on potential futures for the island and its community. But I lacked the knowledge to organise and utilise this information.

Five years later I was back knocking on some of the same doors. My opening questions were not that dissimilar but this time I was prepared to develop these conversations more productively by employing relevant and meaningful theoretical frameworks. This chapter opens some reflections on the research experiences that contributed to that preparation.

4.1.2 Chapter overview

In this chapter I set out to explore experiences of participative practices in three contrasting settings to prepare the (re-)entry into Great Barrier island. Entering the socio-political spaces in which change agents attempt to realise projects that aim to reform society-nature relations, I pause to reflect on the positionality of the researcher. I illustrate how the methodological framings I considered important in the preceding chapters are relevant in the situations that make up change processes around natural resources. To achieve this, and to engage in dialogue with the subject, I endeavoured to get 'close to the action' by attending to my own experiences of participating.

The empirical as resource

The aim of this study was an engagement with situated theorisation, to reflect on the potential to think about participation in environmental governance. To do that, I approached the processes in the situations I had selected as a resource for thinking about theory and method. In that sense I do not endeavour to explicate and theorize the situations in their entirety. What I aim to do, is to open a view of three contrasting processes that illustrate the concerns I have already raised so far, in order to enter the Great Barrier Island setting with an explicit alertness for the multiple dimensions that surround environmental governance reform processes and the positions of myself as a

researcher in relation to the subject. Along the way I will resist the temptation to explain too much and so as to avoid the risk of shifting the frame back around the tree and soend up losing the view of the forest.

Table 4-1 Mapping processes encountered

Process	Key actors	Entry	Deliberative practices	Imagineries and framings encountered	Performances enacted	Possibilities (of action)
Community consultation in Mauritania	NGO experts, extension workers, community leaders, female community group members, disenfranchised villagers.	As NGO manager	Consultation of NGO management with village leaders, project development of extension workers with community group members.	Traditional status quo vs modern practices of NGO. Status of women as NGO intermediaries.	Development discourse → symbolic leadership.	Civil society and international NGO interaction opens access for disenfranchised.
Managing community-based resource management in Fiji.	University-based intellectual leadership, NGO staff, government officers, village leaders, village volunteers, village resource users, developers, tourist operators.	As fellow researcher, fellow diving instructor, fellow student radical.	Traditional and project meetings at village level. Project discourses.	Rural Fijians as victims of resource depletion, developers as abusing Fijian rights, a collaborative community, locals vs. outsiders, communities as coherent, collaborative, traditional or as fragmented, disrupted , modern.	Reflective practice: Navigating the micro-politics of CB projects; Academic distance: Practitioners as detached from project context.	Creating and maintaining a vision of fishing for future generations, incorporating traditional values and modern economies. Reclaiming status and settling past grievances with outsiders.

The organisation of each section presents the basic elements of each exploration under separated rubrics (not necessarily in this order):

- Situating ... the report: An orientation into the context with the questions brought into the situation.
- Positioning ... myself as observer in the situation: Considering and selecting the positions accessible and which theoretical stance or stances to be adopted.
- Encountering/participating in ... the situations. An account of the entry into a process, the developments witnessed, my engagement with and reflection 'in-action' on the events.
- Performing ... the subjects: Taking part in the making of theories.
- Examining ... the findings: Applying theoretical interpretation.
- Reflecting ... on insights: Relating theory and practice.

Using these headings allows me to respect the classical format of reporting empirical studies while also allowing me to step back to reflect and 'think about thinking'.

4.1.3 Entering the empirical

With explicitly self-conscious attitudes organising the research process, I sought to apply the methodological orientation outlined in the previous chapter. The reflections therefore are mediated by the particular settings and aim to maintain a mode of *contextual-configurative analysis* that Lasswell urged policy researchers to adopt by locating themselves in an "all-encompassing totality" (Torgerson, 1985, p. 242).

In section 3.3 of the previous chapter, I already described how my interpretations are shaped by a professional background in development action. In the next section I work with that, and return to experiences (just) predating this study, but now with a theoretical framework.

4.2 The view from Africa

4.2.1 Approaching participation from practice

In the previous chapter I constructed a perspective from the practice of development assistance that offered relevance to examining the practice of reforming environmental governance. Development practitioners are generally reflective in the execution of their profession, bringing theoretical concepts and explanations into their daily interactions, often with a deliberately political bearing. The *communities of practice* that the professionals in

international development represent, is formed around shared discourses that frame perspectives, representations and relations. Notwithstanding the distinctions between project contexts, agency specialization, national backgrounds and degrees of distance from the project settings, there are universal conceptions in circulation, and particularly so related to the legitimacy and utility that derives from the involvement of beneficiaries in project planning and management.

This view is characterized by outcome oriented agencies introducing projects and resources into local settings. These experiences feature foreign experts, universal solutions and constrained insights into local relations. But they are also typified by resistance, active subjects, and alternative relationship building. To illustrate how this can be relevant to explicating processes of reforming natural resource governance, I will draw on a vignette set in the archetypical landscape of international development, Africa.

The purpose of digressing here into a personal ‘real-world’ experience from development practice, i.e. to reflect back from an academic position on professional experience, is three-fold. Firstly, this positions the entry into further investigation from a domain rich in critical thinking, with concepts coming out a very self-conscious professional discourse in a field less concerned with an exterior world and more directly with the social and political situation that marginalised or otherwise disadvantaged social groups find themselves in. Secondly, I want to remain grounded in a purposeful research attitude where reflection on practice can be meaningfully put into context. Throughout this study I endeavoured to retain this type of attitude that is also echoed by critical theorists. Lastly, this story illustrates the type of experience that will frame research when it is executed by a researcher with a practice-based background. I needed to expose the type of framing that would inevitably find itself into the stories that I pursued. The following sections will illustrate this.

4.2.2 Guelbet Nour, Mauritania, January 2005: A consultative meeting

The village of Guelbet Nour lies about an hour’s drive from the asphalted highway connecting the Mauritanian capital with a provincial centre. It is a relatively remote location, with Nouakchott being a 5 hour journey, while it would still take 2 hours by pickup truck to get to the local centre to reach government offices, food and agricultural supplies as well as medical services. To just find the village requires at least one knowledgeable driver in the convoy – there are no road signs in the desert, not even in the thinly vegetated Sahel landscape that the four-wheel drive tracks criss-cross.

The meeting had been convoked to discuss a proposed community-based project for the repair of a rain water dam and to formalise the implementation of a women's training programme to 'improve capacity' for producing irrigated vegetable crops. The chief of the majority clan in this area lived in the village of Guelbet Nour, which was the reason the delegation from the development agency had come here. Many people, numbering over 50, were in attendance, signifying the level of interest the visit generated in the settlements under the jurisdiction of this chief. Three villages were represented, at least by members of the chiefly clan. As the leader of the agency team, I sat opposite the clan chief. I was flanked by senior staff – a locally trained agriculturist and a foreign graduate of the School of Tropical Horticulture. Our - female - Mauritanian extension worker also acted as interpreter. Three women sat beside the chief. The remainder of the women present crowded behind the men, at the edge of the large tent that had been erected for today's meeting.

Project development as a process

As an example of the practice of development projects, this represented a key moment in the progression of a community-based, resource management project. By coincidence, I had just taken over the leadership role in what had already taken shape as a *process*, i.e. a series of associated events and relations built around a common concern. From a development agency's perspective, a process takes form through becoming job tasks, reporting headings and budget lines. With the project proposal and a budget period, it reaches conceptually the most distinct structure. But for the villagers, this process was expanding on a different scale, stepping outside the pages of project proposals and reports, as I would discover.

Deconstructing personal and social perspectives

This 3-day trip from the capital-based headquarters, was my first field excursion after my arrival in Mauritania to become the head of the Oxfam emergency operation. The knowledge I brought with me - as professional aid project manager, as experienced desert traveller (in Egypt I had even once been a camel owner with which I had journeyed in the desert) and as amateur ethnographer - very much shaped my understanding and interpretation. I was part of a professional community on one hand, and oriented with a very personal history on the other.

My questions thus were interested in the context of village politics, economic activities and cultural constraints and were either translated or partly answered directly by the extension

staff that accompanied us. But thanks to sufficient knowledge of spoken Arabic, I soon noticed that the translation of my questions into local idiom framed the technical in ways that prompted stock answers. I realised that foreigners were expected to have certain interests, for women's activities, for instance. And that social differences were tactfully evaded, by carefully generalising the translation of my questions. While not necessarily deceptive in intent, it did seem that the answers presented to me, were addressing somebody who would not have much appreciation of the realities of life in the desert but spoke to the interests expected of foreigners.

But there was another layer of 'miscommunication' that I would only later better appreciate. The views my assistants could offer were also very much framed by their professional role they shared with me as members of a development agency on the one hand, and their personal ethnic background on the other. The answers conveyed to me were translated into the local discourse and logic of development workers.

The purpose of the meeting, i.e. to formalise the proposed project, oriented my interest as head of mission. My role this day was to confirm the commitment by the community representatives and to verify that there was actual agreement over the parameters of the project. In addition, I also needed to inform myself sufficiently to be able to report about this project, to represent the effort to outside parties in the local development community, and to be able to monitor the effective implementation of the planned operation.

But beyond my own professional role, I carried with me other frames of reference. Years earlier I had travelled extensively off-road in similar country in the Sinai, the Sudanese border area of Egypt, Kurdish Syria and in the Atlas mountains of Morocco, in each of these locations meeting, camping and travelling together with semi-nomadic pastoralists that shared many aspects of religion and lifestyle with these people. With an interest in ethnography, I was curious to compare social and cultural characteristics. Was chieftainship also hereditary and associated with descent from the prophet Mohamed? Was there a similar caste system that determined professions, retainers, trusted advisor roles and servitude? Were land use rights for grazing and water collection also attributed to specific clans based on historical claims, often still under dispute?

Constructing a shared rationale

21st century development workers place much value in obtaining first-hand problem descriptions and holding open meetings that validate a sense of collaboration. ‘We are being participated again,’ is a familiar idiom from beneficiary communities, if not exactly with the same words. This approach legitimates project rationales and is lauded as one of the key strengths of the small-scale operations that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) implement. In Mauritania it was the reason why a large intergovernmental agency, the World Food Program, decided to distribute resources through ‘partnerships’ with international – read ‘presumably-incorruptible’ – non-governmental agencies.

After thanking the assembled villagers for their welcome, I began by asking about the effects of the drought and the status of the tribe’s camel, sheep and goat herds, in particular. The impact the drought had had on self-sufficiency and nutrition levels was the reason for the nation-wide interagency emergency response.

It can be imagined that in a drought that a group of pastoralists has a clear understanding of the problems they are confronted with. But in fact the diverse ramifications on livestock condition, grazing pasture, fodder crops, water sources, herding arrangements and herd composition cannot be divided into two simple sets of drought and non-drought issues. More importantly, the types of problems that an outside agency can be concerned with, is only a subset of possible actions at community and household level, and these do not completely overlap either with existing options nor with the actions considered most desirable. In effect, the answers of the group to our questions about impacts and choices required careful evaluation before a response could be given to ensure that resources would indeed flow into the village and go where our interlocutors thought they ought to go. Being participated was a matter of importance that required all the expertise a village could muster, including the 3 women’s cooperative representatives. The expertise that mattered was familiarity with the discourses of development agencies.

Even if I understood enough Arabic to follow the interpreter and most of the responses, all my questions and the conclusions of the brief discussions that followed, were translated for us into French. The colonial language remained the country’s official language - alongside Arabic - and the working language for all foreign agencies. The questions about livestock were answered by elderly men, presumably the heads of household. When we added questions about fodder production, again the men answered, but with some interrogation of the women before deciding on the answer to provide us with. In the Arab tribes in the region

of the Sahel there is a clear gender division in the households, with agriculture considered women's work and men taking responsibility for care of the livestock.

Who could actually speak was obviously constrained, by age, gender and social status with the clan chief acting as chair. It also became clear that there had been preparatory discussion and some responses were already formulated. The reason why there were three women in the front row also became evident, when the discussion turned to the proposed community based seed store. The women proved articulate, showing that from experience of working with the extension workers they were familiar with the vocabulary and interest of the foreign visitors.

For village residents such as these, government extension workers and international aid agency representatives are familiar visitors. The presence of the women in the first row of the meeting was clearly as representatives of the women's cooperative that our agency had chosen to revive in the village. The cooperative was the legacy of an earlier project by an Italian agency. The building that remained stood empty, but it had left behind a group of women that had acquired practical experience of dealing with agency staff and obtaining resources for themselves and other community members. More importantly, it had elevated their status in the village, and given them a reason to meet and organise in women only settings. In particular, the women's cooperative had given access to lower caste persons to become more socially active. While as an outsider it was hard to judge how politically significant that was, the fact that a black women, traditionally considered as lower class, was sitting beside the Arab village chief was clearly important, even if only symbolically.

Developing collaborative resource management: Are simple solutions at all possible?

The visit had been well prepared by our extension workers. A participative assessment had concluded that the critical obstacle to sustainable livelihoods was inadequate water supply. With a dam it would be possible to harvest enough water to allow irrigation of seasonal crops. There was a dysfunctional dam in the water course adjacent to the village and it only needed basic repairs. This offered a cost effective solution.

The proposal that had been drafted a month earlier, had already received favourable interest from head office in Oxford as well as from the potential donors in Brussels. Counterparts in the Mauritanian Minister of Foreign Affairs had also indicated that government permits would most likely be issued. This village meeting could confirm the go ahead for the project.

This was known by our staff and also our extension workers. Thus, at least as far as the attending villagers were concerned, I was the last obstacle for this project.

This project arrived in a context with a rich historicity of aid projects. And while there were other aid agencies and governmental departments active in the area, Oxfam was highly valued, primarily because of the food distributions that had been taking place on a monthly basis for the last six months. Since Oxfam had become an implementing partner for the World Food Program to carry out emergency food distribution programs in the local province, interest and support for other livelihood development projects had also greatly increased. From the perspective of the village residents and leaders, these activities were closely linked. This was not the first drought in which outside agencies had appeared with relief goods. And there had been development agents coming to the village with goods, education and employment for decades. The villagers were experienced beneficiaries.

Adopting a capacity building approach, the dam would be built with local labour and rewarded with food stuffs. A management committee was to be formed and trained, with the involvement of both traditional tribal leaders and government representatives.

Experts, intermediaries and discursive communities

The implementation of such projects was carried out by the Mauritanian extension workers that Oxfam and other agencies employed. Most of our staff had been hired because of similar job experience with other agencies. Most also knew each other from university or because they were family. The project ideas that flowed back to their expatriate managers, supposedly from ‘discussions in the field,’ in the long run proved to a considerable extent to be textbook ideas from college as much as from the handbooks of other agencies. This made it difficult to determine which ideas were genuinely received from the beneficiaries and which were ‘planted’ into the working forums. In other words, the textbooks shaped the discourses all the way to women’s cooperative meetings in the kitchen of the village chief and back to Brussels via my office.

I soon learned that the staff in our agency were predominantly from a particular ethnic group that was disproportionately well represented among staff of foreign agencies and the service agencies of central government. A number of reasons, including education, cultural practices and tribal affiliation, encouraged this. But this nourished a certain predisposition to rural cultures. Tertiary education - at Francophone colleges - in agriculture and a work

environment in which the language of reports, assessment and evaluation dominated, shaped the language used to describe and analyse problems and solutions for projects of livelihood protection. What appeared to the foreign managers and experts as local thinking, was in fact a very unrepresentative view moulded from shared discourses of development talk and an ethnic social status that was suspicious of the established status of traditional leadership that still dominated in government circles as well.

How completing project objectives does not necessarily achieve project goals

At the time, our discussions with village leaders did not reveal any significant obstacles, but still the project never came to fruition. In the months following, which involved repeated visits, rewriting of project plans and budget reshuffling, it emerged that the dysfunctional but repairable dam had considerable history. Ours had not been the first participative assessment to conclude that water supply was constrained.

A few years earlier, consultation by a respected German development agency had concluded that with a dam it would be possible to harvest enough water to allow reliable crop irrigation. Adopting a capacity building approach, the dam was built with local labour who were rewarded with food stuffs. And following 21st century development textbooks, a management committee had been formed and trained with the involvement of traditional tribal leaders and government representatives.

In due course the dam had been commissioned, newly reclaimed land was allocated through consensual and democratic processes so that the foreign agency had concluded the planned project, reporting successful completion of the budgeted objectives. On paper at least, it had seemed to be a successful season of operation.

Why context matters

However, there were other villages at Guelbet Nour. The dam built by the German aid agency had been established involving the residents of the principal settlement without taking into account the social relationships with adjoining villages. This proved to be the unmaking of this project.

The origins of the villages are quite recent. Not even a generation earlier, the tribal section of the camel-herding nomads who had the traditional rights to the grazing and water of the

Guelbet Nour valley had finally settled down more permanently in this seemingly barren land, allowing urban migration, school construction and government control.

In recent decades, the herd owners had more and more relegated the nomadic herding to a few retainers or younger cousins and had meanwhile constructed permanent habitations for themselves. This was taking place during a time of much social upheaval in the country when traditional intra-tribal dependencies, and village economies based on livestock, were turned upside down following socio-economic adjustments in the wake of decolonisation and national independence. A feudal social system that only recently still involved black African slaves was in a state of unresolved transition.

Nevertheless, those that owned the resources in the tribe continued to control them, in particular livestock and water rights. So of course when it came time to dam the rainwater, then those at the top of the riverbed and those who were co-opted into the dam project turned out to be the traditional tribal aristocracy. Those downstream whose meagre water supply was now cut off completely, turned out to be no other than the disenfranchised slaves and resource poor lower caste families.

Several years of dispute followed the departure of the German development agency. In the end, after appeals to the authorities had not resulted in any resolution, involvement of traditional mediators, religious Ulemas, had settled the matter. Although, whether an arrangement where the downstream villages have to provide the crop-sharing labour for the upstream dam owners is a fair settlement, is another question.

Struggles and unexpected resistance

But the situation had changed by the time Oxfam arrived to re-start the dam project. The traditional leadership of Guelbet Nour were not the only ones to have acquired political experience in their contact with foreign aid agencies. This time round, the downstream villages were ready. Committees were formed, old alliances were called up, links in government agencies were activated. Critical proved the natural antipathy our own, non-Arab extension workers showed to the traditional leadership of old Arab men. The young men and women graduates that worked with us were very motivated to contribute to the social and political mobilisation of the marginalised villagers at risk of becoming disadvantaged again.

The proposed dam repair and women's training programme was never implemented with the original design and at a scale involving a fraction of the resources originally proposed by

Oxfam's foreign experts. The potential conflict issues would have far outweighed the potential livelihood rehabilitation benefits. But the groups that emerged from the conflict issue became the basis for new projects and alternative resource flows from our and other agencies in the future. A participative approach had reshaped the political landscape in unexpected and certainly unplanned ways. Even if the project itself had not been completed as planned, the process of participation had transformed the participating stakeholder relationships.

4.2.3 The popularity of community-based conservation: A role for civil society, but where is the community?

The preceding episode followed the efforts of an international agency to develop better utilisation of natural resources at community level. This responds to an established belief in the importance of community level intervention and participation. In the sector of natural resource management and biodiversity conservation, it is important to trace the development and rationale of this type of approach. As it turns out, it is founded on some ambiguous concepts, has a mixed track record and opens another set of problems, mostly political.

Collaborative approaches are increasingly being promoted by coalitions of practitioners and users, as able to embody universal democratic and environmental values while offering systems of responsive and effective management of resources exposed to a diverse range of pressures and political interests. Regulatory agencies have been engaging with these initiatives, if not at least in response to international influences then at least under pressure of a increasing number of civil society actors, clamouring for influence and accountability. More recently, it has become an important component of environmental reform in development. For example, Veitayaki and colleagues write of "a new consciousness to involve people in local communities in the management of their marine resources using the participatory approach is spreading in the Pacific Islands." (Veitayaki, Aalbersberg, Tawake, Rupeni, & Tabunakawai, 2003)

The rise of community-based approaches

Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) has been practiced for more than twenty years but has met increasing disillusionment. The earliest ideas date to the late 60s, but uptake was not consistent and rapid. However it has now become a well-established approach. As of 2002, Min-Dong (2002) reports, some 60 countries were in various stages of decentralizing the management of their natural resources. But Min-Dong, citing a range of

authors, also showed that despite the popularity of ‘decentralization’ reforms, the authenticity of their positive impacts has yet to be empirically demonstrated, and in some cases these reforms have arguably been characterized by disappointed expectations of their promised results. “There is wide-spread belief that decentralization leads to better services, more efficiency and democratic government. Although this causal relationship is often assumed to exist, there is little hard evidence beyond the perception of those directly involved: ministers of finance, regional governors, mayors, donors and civil society”.

Community-based conservation (CBC), as an overlapping notion, is based on the idea that if conservation and development could be integrated, then the interests of both can be served. CBC has become a popular strategy with environmental reformers, particularly in locations where stronger connections by residents with natural resources is assumed (e.g. Crawford, Siahainenia, Rotinsulu, & Sukmara, 2004; Meffe, 2002; Sumalde, 2004).

Instituting participatory approaches has become common practice also in North-South initiatives to improve biodiversity management. This has created new opportunities for civil society and academic workers to become active and especially due to the common perception of donor agencies and governments that civil society is better able to work and achieve change at community level.

Locating community

The relationship patterns that constitute ‘communities’, the practices that connect governance institutions with their subjects – both human and non-human, and the link between beneficiaries and development agents are strongly determined by the influence one side holds over another. This power is exerted both positively with rewards, and negatively through punishment, but in whichever form it may be manifested, participative processes can have profound effects on these relations.

In a wide review of public participation processes in natural resource management with specific reference to forest planning, Buchy and Hoverman (2000) highlight the importance of power. They warn that to engage in a participatory process will ultimately change relationship patterns and affect power relationships.

But the concept of community has proven to be problematic. The promotion of increased community participation in natural resource management and conservation by international and state natural resource agencies rests on the assumption that local communities who have

connections to, knowledge about, and interests in proximate resources should participate in the management of those resources. In practice, this notion turns out to be much more complex, however. In a comparative study in three sites across three continents, for instance, Selfa and Endter-Wada (2008) encountered difficulties with how communities were defined and how participation was formalized by institutions, as well as that contested meanings of conservation were in use. They found that, despite espousing agendas of community-based conservation, international and state agencies guarded authority over key decisions about natural resource management, use, and allocation.

Agrawal and Gibson (1999) point to conceptions of community being poorly developed by proponents of community-based conservation. This is not to say that practitioners do not have better appreciation of community dynamics, but they caution scholars to use this concept with care. Ideas of community can be better developed if it is examined in context with a focus on the multiple interests and actors within communities. This will be developed in the following chapter.

In bio-diversity conservation, more inclusive, people-oriented and community-based approaches are in part a reaction to the failures of exclusionary conservation in a world in which social and ecological factors are increasingly seen as key to conservation success (Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997). Community conservation is promoted with the idea that if conservation and development could be simultaneously achieved, the interests of both could be served. Thus the old narrative of 'fortress conservation' was largely displaced by the counter-narrative of development through community-based conservation and sustainable use.

4.2.4 Theoretical interpretation: A process view of development projects

In an interpretative investigation such as this, I am seeking to develop a process-based, actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical form of analysis. A process-based view of policy making, i.e. implementation policy in this case, offers a way to examine linked events and to draw on alternative literatures for abstracting key elements in evolving settings. Following Lasswell (1950), I will use 7 categories to construct an understanding of social processes with which to map the way in which participants seek to realize their values. But beforehand I will lay out a basic timeline of the events and processes this narrative touched on.

Table 4-2 (Partial) chronology of Guelbet Nour process

Outbreak of drought
Participative assessment is carried out by German agency.
Dam construction takes place with local labour, paid in kind.
Implementation of community-based institutions for water and land use management.
Increasing conflicts lead to abandonment of new institutions.
Participative assessment is carried out by Italian agency.
Establishment of institution: women's food cooperative.
Construction and utilisation of premises.
End of budget and resource inputs ending operation of institution.
Outbreak of drought
Participative assessment is carried out by British agency.
Funding and government support is obtained
Marginalized social groups successfully mobilise to influence project decisions.
Evidence of past and present conflict leads to (repeated) restructuring of project.

The story line incorporates a number of actors, events and developments. For the purpose of analysis, following Lasswell, certain features can be abstracted that open up significant elements for further examination.

Table 4-3 Selected features of the Guelbet Nour project process

Participants	Local to foreign: women, men, disenfranchised, clan leaders, government officers, extension workers, foreign experts, project managers
Perspectives ³	Social relations, grievances, expected benefits, expediency, universalisms, status.
Situations	Public meetings, private meetings, activity programs, institutions, funding.
Base values	Legitimacy, social justice, modernity, technology,
Strategies employed	Participation, presentation, compliance, civic mobilisation, planning, resource allocation, questioning.
Outcomes sought	Resource inputs, status improvement, equity, project success
Effects of participation	Inconclusive projects, political mobilisation

To determine what key values are important, and how institutions are employed to realize these, Lasswell identifies 8 key values realised through public institutions. These can also be used to explain the process outcomes in this situation.

Table 4-4 Institutions employed to realize key values⁴

Power:	Chiefly authority, heads of family, government, funders, aid agency.
Enlightenment:	Mastery of French = education, employment and elite membership; universal textbook solutions, new agricultural technologies.
Wealth:	Pasture and water rights, stock ownership, donor resources.
Well-being	Nutritional status, access to health care.
Skill:	Agricultural skills, adaptation to drought conditions, capacity for civic organisation and mobilisation.

³ Perspectives in terms of values, expectations, identities

⁴ Examples of institutions related to key values

Power: government, law, political parties;

Enlightenment: languages, mass media, scientific establishments;

Wealth: farms, enterprises, property;

Well-being: social attractions, recreational facilities;

Skill: vocational, professional, arts;

Affection: families, friendship;

Respect: social classes, social status;

Rectitude: ethical and religious associations.

Affection:	Family, clan and tribal loyalty; tribal relations; professional networks, organisational culture.
Respect:	Caste system, traditional dependencies, access to foreigners (resources, ideas, status).
Rectitude:	National sovereignty, respect of traditional leaders, social hierarchies.

This initial analysis illustrates how process actors and elements can be conceptualised, in particular with attention to motivational factors and actor relations.

In describing deliberative situations subsequently, I will have recourse to these concepts.

4.2.5 Reflecting .. Reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action

As a methodological exploration, reflection during and after the empirical work is important. A position of reflecting on action is inherent in any self-conscious being. From a sociological perspective, it imagines a level of conceptualisation that constructs representation, prepares communication and allows for theorizing of a form.

The notions of reflection-in-action, and reflection-on-action were central to Donald Schon's work on societal learning and the work that professionals do (Schön, 1983). *Reflection-in-action* involves looking to one's experiences, connecting with one's feelings, and attending to one's theories in use. It entails building new understandings to inform one's actions in the situation that is unfolding. *Reflection-on-action* is done later – after the encounter, when workers may write up recordings, talk things through with a supervisor and so on. The act of reflecting-on-action enables one to spend time exploring why one acted as one did, what was happening in a group and so on. In so doing one develops sets of questions and ideas about one's activities and practice.

Practitioners, writes Schön, have "an awareness of complexity that resists the skills and techniques of traditional expertise" and are "frequently embroiled in conflicts of values, goals, purposes, and interests" (p. 17). An experience that I myself bring from very much every project I have ever worked on.

Being a practitioner means that the traditional methods and techniques of analytical thinking and scientific process simply don't work. Problems in the messy world of practitioners "are interconnected, environments are turbulent, and the future is indeterminate" (p.16).

Reflection-on-action: Is relevant experience a handicap?

Pursuing a research interest that arose out of my professional history, by means of leveraging my professional knowledge as aid worker, was based on the premise that my experience was integral to engaging in meaningful communication with subjects, that it was equivalent as discussion partner, and that was valid in the sense that I could participate in discussions to make and affirm validity claims. But this proved frustrating at times, forcing me to rethink assumptions and generalisations. Nevertheless it proved valuable, by also forced me to theorize abstractly at a formerly unfamiliar level.

4.3 Fijian horizons

The preceding account, from the perspective of a development worker in an African setting, drew attention to the complex social backgrounds within which foreign aid interventions will inevitably find themselves. Analytical tools were shown to elaborate the interpretations of the processes that aid interventions initiate. But how can these be mapped without the privileged access of project workers? How are such processes visible in the discourses that are produced? Where can tension points be located? What is the capacity for self-reflection from within these processes? What could international development projects tell me about citizen involvement in the issue that prompted this study, the marine reserve proposal on Great Barrier Island? To address these questions, I required an opportunity to enter a community-based intervention elsewhere.

The exploratory strategy at the outset of the study involved taking note of and following up references to relevant informants and iconic situations. One such situation that drew my attention, were the efforts made to institute a network of community managed marine areas in Fiji. The Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas (LMMA) was repeatedly cited as example by interlocutors from the NZ Government, who were funders, the World Wildlife Fund for Nature and activists in Maori circles in the Far North.

After contact with one participating organization, the Institute of Applied Sciences (IAS) at the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Suva, I eventually made four field trips to Fiji. The vignettes and interpretations I report here relate to the framings, possibilities of action and theory making that I encountered on these journeys.

For this investigation I want to employ a critical hermeneutic approach. Gadamer insists that a self-conscious knowledge of pre-judices, means that understanding comes out of an involvement in a dialogue that encompasses both self-understanding and externalized understanding of the matter at issue. I began this 'journey' intentionally in Mauritania to make my starting pre-judices explicit. In my visits to Fiji, I had recourse to a number of identities that could open up dialogue which allowed my pre-judices to become visible. The academic project that brought me to Fiji was my first bridge for dialogue. As qualified scuba diving instructor I could relate with interest to dive operators and village-based marine tourism. As 'retired' aid worker, I could easily slip into the language and thinking of expatriate aid organizations. And lastly it was no coincidence that I chose to join the

University of the South Pacific teams going to the Coral Coast, to form part of an academic project.

4.3.1 From protected areas to integrated development

In development practice the subject of participation is complex and often misunderstood. There are many ways of defining participation and many ways of participating. All too often the term is used to describe a situation where village people are merely co-opted into an outsider's activities.

Approaches that go beyond simple notional participation are important to examine therefore, to identify distinguishing features. Community-based approaches are one such category. It is insightful to begin with tracing the trajectory of community involvement in protected areas from its international origins to its arrival in Fiji, together with examining the difficulties the concept encountered along the way.

Entering the Fiji setting alongside but not as part of an academic institution involved in development and community-based resource management provided an excellent opportunity. In the first instance, I had access to both capital-based observers, and practitioners inside and near the Fiji LMMA network. At the same time, the project documents, library resources, and faculty staff I encountered led to widen my analytical perspectives. But perhaps most relevant to this study were the opportunities for both formal and informal joint reflection on practice that collaboration with IAS staff offered. These are detailed further below. Here I begin with tracing the establishment of the Locally Managed Marine Areas approach in Fiji.

In early August 2000, 40 representatives from 10 South Pacific-based projects in the Cook Islands, Fiji, Palau, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands and several staff from the World Resources Institute took part in a workshop entitled "Fish for the future" that was held in Suva. It was organized by the World Resources Institute (WRI) and the Foundation for Success (Australia) and facilitated by the Institute of Applied Sciences at the University of the South Pacific (IAS/USP). The event was promoted as developing experiences of community-based conservation and marine protected areas (WRI, 2001). The project representatives that came together were all currently using community-based methods for resource management at their project sites and in their marine conservation work.

The LMMA project approach grew out of a World Resources Institute (based in Washington DC) initiative that had been taken up in a number of countries in the Asia-Pacific region in

particular. LMMA sees project organisations working in close partnerships with coastal communities to try to manage marine resources in a more sustainable manner and/or conserve *in situ* marine biodiversity. It had already inspired the work of organisations developing community-based approaches to conservation management. Projects involve forming a local management committee, awareness raising, training community fish wardens, agreeing no-take areas and instituting other management measures to improve the status of the inshore fishing areas. It is a 'learning based' approach that shows in its organisation the involvement of practice oriented academics. It was therefore natural that a project that gave a central role to academic scientists would be facilitated by an academic institution.

In Suva, the WRI event was coordinated by Bill Aalbersberg, the director of the IAS/USP and a senior student, Alifereti Tawake, who was at the time writing up his MSc titled "Integrating traditional and modern resource management practices for effective qoliqoli management." By early 2001 these two and two international conservation NGO workers and a Fisheries Department officer were part of a highly motivated core group that led the formation the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas network in March 2002.

One of the network's commitments is to systematically collect and share standardized information from LMMA projects and communities to assess the effectiveness of the strategies and activities undertaken by communities. Important to this approach is to involve community representatives in data collection and analysis. Cross-site visits with project members meeting counterparts in other villages also proved important, Tawake explained.

LMMA in Fiji allied a range of organisations, projects and interests that shared compatible philosophies ("Empowering Local Communities" Veitayaki, Aalbersberg, & Tawake, 2003; "Mainstreaming resource conservation" Veitayaki, Aalbersberg, Tawake, et al., 2003).

Informants noted that initially LMMA was only a forum of project workers involved in related activities and that it proved invaluable just for information and resource exchange. As such LMMA represents a *community of interest*.

Organization members include Institute of Applied Science of the University of the South Pacific (IAS/USP) ; the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), South Pacific Forum (SPF) Fiji Country Program ; International Marine-life Alliance (IMA) ; Foundations of the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP), a development NGO; and 'Resort Support', which were two consultants with particular CB NRM expertise. Key government partners include the

Fisheries Department, Fijian Affairs Board, Tourism Department and Environment Department.

The rationale that the LMMA reports assert, emphasizes the environmental changes and the consequent impacts on Fijian lives.

Fiji's i qoliqoli (customary fishing grounds) and the inshore fisheries supports more than 60% of Fiji's population. It provides for both their dietary and socio-economic needs (livelihood). However, experiences and observations by subsistence fishers have indicated that generally fish and invertebrate stocks have diminished tremendously during the last ten years. Fishers are travelling further away from their villages and they are spending more and more time and expenses trying to find good fishing areas that can give them good return compared to 10 years ago. A trend has been observed, as a result, that communities prefer canned seafood which is easily obtained from food outlets over the traditional subsistence fishing practice. (FLMMA, 2003, p. 1)

Canned seafood, of course, will take a lot less effort to obtain than going out to the tribal fishing grounds, whether depleted or not. But purchasing food is not only an indicator of depleted natural resources but also a reflection of changing economic circumstances and status. Alternative sources of financial income turn out to be very important in determining resource use and participation in governance reform initiatives.

Donor reports also emphasize the economic importance of inshore fishing areas. Similarly, the WWF adheres to a discourse that makes no reference to other sources of income, many due to tourism and other development creating new opportunities.

Approximately 482,000 Fijians live in rural areas with little or no cash and this part of the population depends on the local natural resources for subsistence and any form of development. Of this number, approximately 250,000 are traditional Fijian resource owners living in coastal villages and making a living from inshore fishing. (WWF-NZ, 2003, p. 4)

In Fiji, marine fishing areas are demarcated into 385 sections or qoliqolis (with another 25 qoliqolis covering the rivers). Boundaries were determined by a commission established by then British governor Gordon following cession of Fiji, earlier in the 19th century and therefore in retrospect remain arbitrary and contested among tribal entities. Under the present

regime, the state legally owns the seabed up to the high water mark, while Customary Fishing Rights Owners (CFROs) own the right of use of customary fishing areas/qoliqoloi (Sauni, 1999). The Fisheries Division, under the Fisheries Act, is given the power to administer fishing within Fiji waters under the current licensing arrangements. The current Customary Marine Tenure System gives the right of use to Native Customary Rights Owners. Similarly, the CMTS enables the qoliqoli custodians to give the consent to other fish takers within the respective areas, while the Fisheries Division issues licenses to that effect.

The Native Lands Registry, the Vola ni Kawa Bula (VKB), is the official Fijian register of native landowners. By law, all indigenous Fijians are entitled to be enrolled as members of the VKB, which is in the charge of the Native Lands Commission. Some 83 per cent of Fiji's land is owned communally by the members of the VKB.

Sauni (ibid) reports the pros and cons that fisheries officers associate with this system generally in Fiji. This describes the favourable context for that the LMMA project developed in. Firstly, a negative consequence is that there is continued harvesting of reefs and other subsistence fishing activities with little or no proper conservation measures. Fish traders have direct access to coastal areas for sedentary species such as beche-de-mers, trochus and mother of pearl through financially involving community members. On the pro side, there is good participation in the sense that local people are involved in decision making and management; there is constant dialogue with and amongst CFROs, resource takers and state agencies; collaborative work with other agencies is readily accepted by CFRO, due to their direct involvement in managing their fisheries; and expectation on the flow of information and data comments, although not fully exploited by the government. What Sauni describes, is a terrain of mixed opportunities in which local initiatives and alliances shape the possibilities that become available.

This is reflected in international experiences. In other settings, the response with a protected areas strategy has had mixed results. Increasing recognition of human impacts on the ecology of many coastal areas in temperate and tropical environments has -- like it already has in terrestrial settings for the past century -- driven an expansion of protected areas, typically managed by central government agencies. Frequently projects that are driven by, or attract the attention of, international non-state conservation organisations, outcomes have been mixed, often constrained by lack of cooperation of stakeholders (see Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004; Brown, 2003; Foale & Manele, 2004; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Scherl, 2004).

The generally optimistic tenor of practice-oriented research conducted into CBNRM in the early 1990s is being revised in light of mixed practical experience and unanticipated levels of complexity in these locally-based forms of environmental governance. In an extensive review (Schachhuber, 2004) noted that “researchers and practitioners simplified complex local dynamics to fit generic models; minimized the conflictual dimensions of struggles over sustainability, livelihood security, and development within local communities; overstated success where more detailed analysis (or alternative criteria of evaluation) would indicate ambiguities, trade-offs, and even outright failure; and projected evidence from theory, often substituting assumptions for unreliable, absent, or ambiguous data” (ibid., p. 4).

Schachhuber (2004) suggests that in the development context, “environmental governance is shaped by contradictory global imperatives for localization and globalization” (p. 3). This in turn raises important theoretical and practical questions of scale and interaction. Locally felt uncertainties are particularly significant in this context. “The concrete institutionalization of mechanisms of participation should be assessed according to precise criteria of inclusion and deliberation. At the local level, especially, the democratic form and content of decentralization, devolution, and participation remains open to debate and requires further investigation.”

4.3.2 The Community-based rationale of Locally Managed Marine Areas

The shift from bilateral aid and infrastructure projects to increasingly locally based, NGO-led and economically oriented projects in recent decades is also reflected in Fiji, as different commentators have noted (Johannes, 2002; Kelly & Kaplan, 2001; Manley, 2007 ; Overton & Scheyvens, 1999; Tadulala, 1997). Following behind that is the framing of environmental crisis that brings the LMMA project to Fiji. While the need for action can without difficulty be rationalized with data from ecological surveys and economic indicators, at the same time the framing has been put in question (Fry, 1996). Fry warns of the concealed power that changing framing encompasses, seeing Australian-generated images framing the peoples of the South Pacific in preconceptions that continue an international subordination dating back to the Cold War. Even if the governmentality inherent in these framings cannot clearly be linked to international agents, the enactment of actors by the accompanying imaginaries can offer explanations for actor behavior and structural change.

FLMMA arrives in Votua: The creation of the Korolevu-i-wai Environment Committee

In late 2002, Bill Aalbersberg, the director of the IAS, was contacted by a hotel owner in Korolevu-i-wai, Ann Wade. She had heard positive stories from colleagues in another district who had had experiences with a project in the FLMMA network. Based on this request, IAS/USP representatives explored public interest in Tagaqe, the village adjacent to the resort. Ann Wade who had over 20 years seen the reef degradation first-hand, as she explained in an interview during this study, had become concerned about increasing human impacts. Good relations with the adjacent village, as she described them, had encouraged her to invite IAS-USP to consider a possible project.

The LMMA project was organized in three phases. From 2001 until 2003 project preparation worked to overcome initial lack of interest by villagers, village decision makers, district council, and the provincial council. But, according to Erami Seavula, Coral Coast Provincial Officer and community development officer for the Fijian Affairs Board, at least the leadership of the provincial government administration ‘showed an understanding’ of the project purpose. However, over time and ‘with workshops, training and some effective hand-outs’ more interest was stimulated. It was during this time that the Korolevu-i-wai Environment Committee (KEC) was formed.

The project in Korolevu-i-wai is administered and controlled by the Environment Committee, a local group consisting of representatives from the four villages, settlements and hotels in the area. According to IAS, the functions of this committee are to raise environmental awareness by the people in the district, raise environmental issues to district meetings and other formal forums, conduct monitoring surveys and policing of existing or implemented management actions. The committee holds monthly meetings, where discussions of emerging issues regarding the project takes place and representatives also present the project development at their village. It is made up of mostly younger people with higher education and an environmental interest. It was chaired by a tribal chief, Timoci, who maintains claims to paramount chief status in the region, as he explained. Other informants warned that these claims were contested.

The implementation phase from 2003 to 2004 focused on training key people in the communities to act, and particularly the KEC members on behalf of the project. Environment committee members reported examples how they were directly involved in community organisation substituting for aspects of the village committee management role.

Since 2005 the project had entered a consolidation phase according to the USP project participants. The project was judged successful by the KEC because the MPAs have been respected for three years by the time of these interviews, because environmental awareness was demonstrated in the community, especially among children, women are involved in waste management activities through the ICM project and because of the governance training each new village project is visibly taking environmental issues into consideration.

In a household survey carried out by Saki Fong, a IAS/USP post-graduate student, most of the respondents cited the formation of the Korolevu-i-wai Environment Committee (KEC) as an example of good degree of social cohesion between the four villages and settlements in the area (Fong, 2006). The committee is able to provide a forum whereby the people can address and tackle environmental and development issues as a district rather than individual village or settlement. Even though there is existence of district wide social groups, mainly religious and school committee, the KEC is the first formal group to include representatives from each of the four villages and settlements and to address development and environment issues. The respondents stated that before the implementation of the project, each village and settlements dealt with these issues individually and the only forum which provided for these discussions was the bi-annual district meetings.

Well over 75% of the respondents further stated that the KEC example can lead to the formation of other similar and important groups that addresses other social issues at the district-level and it also proves that people in the district can now work cohesively in addressing other social issues experienced by the district. Several informants interviewed in this study, similarly observed that the environment committee widened direct and indirect participation in decision making affecting the community.

The fact that the committee had become an important political platform, without adopting a controversial decision is important. It shows that environmental projects can have direct impacts on governance structures and democratic functioning in target communities.

The composition of the committee differed from traditional village and tribal leadership made up of heads of clans and households. Instead it was dominated by a younger generation with educated individuals comfortable with IT and modern communication technologies, such as texting and email. This fact had to produce a long-term tension between generations. This was mediated to some extent, according to several informants, by the son of the district's tribal

chief having been appointed committee chair, even if this was merited by his eloquence, general aptitude and educational achievements.

4.3.3 The Qoliqoli Trust

At the end of 2005, the USP-IAS and the Environmental Committee of Korolevu-i-wai district organized a workshop to review a management plan, recounted the USP-IAS LMMA project leader, Alifereti Tawake. The review concluded that most problems were governance related. A need for an overarching organization to deal with resource management of the Qoliqoli, and that was supported by clan chiefs, was recognized. This suggested the need to develop governance capacity in the district by forming a Qoliqoli Trust (QQT). However, the political importance of such a structure was not immediately appreciated.

Trusts are in fact familiar to villagers since they are a useful legal structure to address shared issues. This makes decisions and implementation relatively straightforward.

Serupepeli Viqasi is one of the trustees of the Qoliqoli Trust. According to him, the idea was to form a trust was taken up in the district by members of the environment committee. It was they who proposed a motion at the district council of tribal leaders (*bose ni tikina*) to invite Kalaveti Batibasaga to advise on this plan in the month following.

Kalaveti Batibasaga is a community activist that played a key role. The 46 year-old family man described himself as a "gatekeeper", and involved in a tight-knit group of activists, including several environmental scientists, that seek to maintain a critical stance towards government and create positive change. "We have sought to create understanding and disseminate truth about government."

Since the beginning of 2005, Batibasaga has hosted a regular radio event, the Bulikula Show, on Fijian talk radio. The two-and-a-half hour programme featured invited guests, telephone interviews and commentary. The guiding theme, according to Batibasaga, is that modern culture has been forcefully imposed on traditional Fiji. And that it can be integrated much better. The show has become very popular in last six months, going by media commentary and listener participation, Batibasaga claimed.

He typically visits three to four villages per week that he has been invited to. There he speaks, helps people plan how to deal with the tourism developers, the Native Lands Trust Board (NLTB) and the government. He only receives food and travel money from the people that invite him, Batibasaga said. In collaboration with other associates, he often negotiates on

behalf of villages with the tourism developers, the NLTB and the government. By now, he explained, they had learnt to exclude the NLTB until an initial agreement has been negotiated with the tourism developer.

Batibasaga is himself of chiefly descent of a family in very large landowning clan. He lives on family land on the Coral Coast, not far from Korolevu-i-wai, and prefers to travel to Suva frequently, rather than move to the capital. His home is frequented until late at night by visitors from villages around the island seeking advice and political support, as I witnessed personally.

The *qoliqoli* trust meets on Saturdays four times a year and has also organised visits for meetings with government representatives in Suva.

The Qoliqoli Trust as political vehicle: Land claims and conflict with developers

Serupepeli Viqasi explained that the QQT was drawn into a tribal land claim against the owners of the adjacent Outrigger Resort. There is a long history of conflicts with hotels over land, employment issues and other matters even if day-to-day relations are managed satisfactorily in the accounts of hotel management and village leaders. Serupepeli Viqasi recounted how, in the 1970s, his own brother and five others burnt down guest huts (*buress*) of the adjacent Korolevu Hotel over a pay dispute.

Other matters the Trust is concerned with relate to issues like the dispute with developers of Maui Bay, related coral reef damage, threats from proposed marina construction, to share income fairly, to share *qoliqoli* resource with others, e.g. the Korinisau inland *mataqalis* who have rightful claims, and to prevent potential conflicts when the proposed *Qoliqoli* Bill is enacted. In particular, Serupepeli Viqasi⁵ and other tribal leaders were conscious of the risk involved in financial issues and did not want a repeat of the issues that the leader of the earlier phase of the environmental committee (TB from Tagaqe village) was involved in.

The chair of the *Qoliqoli* Trust, Apakuki Touere, confirmed that the immediate objective of the trust was the relationship with the hotels, to “address environmental problems from pollution”. But he also wanted to emphasize that the trust will seek to collaborate with the tourism operators to use the resources well.

⁵ Initials only

The Qoliqoli Bill

Another trustee explained that the district council of chiefs had resolved to be prepared for the expected enactment of the 'Qoliqoli Bill' by forming the trust. While the initiative lay with Environment Committee, which arose out of the community-based conservation project of the IAS, it easily convinced the chiefly leaders of its political value.

Preparatory activities had begun in Suva in 2002 to action national government plans to return the management and ownership of qoliqolis to the traditional fishing rights holders of the qoliqolis. An important step in this process, was seen by donors and LMMA actors in Fiji to build the capacity of the qoliqoli owners to manage the use of their marine areas and the resources within it (FLMMA, 2003; WWF-NZ, 2003). At the time, Government has given itself 5 to 8 years to complete this process which included resource inventories for developing management plans for the 410 customary fishing grounds or qoliqolis. However, given the contentious context of the proposal launched by a non-elected government, the process evolution is not at all predictable.

The Korolevu-i-wai Qoliqoli Trust's constitutional aims specifically also included managing income from the qoliqoli, to plan for future development, to exclude the NLTB and to unite the community against the Taveuni Development Cooperation and the environmental and social impacts from the Maui Bay project. The QQT would provide a legal tool to communicate with the government. "Before no-one listened to us." The trust would help stop others from using the qoliqoli without resource owner's consent and make it possible for the offenders to be taken to court. It would improve liaison with the hotels and bring benefits like a share of the hotel profits from selling the qoliqoli to visitors. And the trust would improve environmental management.

The Bill in its final form prepared the transfer of the proprietary ownership of Qoliqoli areas from the State to the qoliqoli owners, for the establishment of the qoliqoli Commission with its powers and functions and for the regulation and management of fisheries resources within qoliqoli areas and for related matters⁶. The Board shall establish separate qoliqoli trust funds for each qoliqoli area for the benefit of the qoliqoli owners. The trust funds should include all annual licensing fees received by the Qoliqoli Commission for commercial fishing operations and for non-fisheries commercial operations.

⁶ Fiji Times, <http://www.fijitimes.com/print.aspx?id=46572>, 8-Aug-06

When the Qoliqoli Bill 2006 was tabled in parliament on 9 August 2006, it was presented by the Minister of Fijian Affairs as a historic moment of completing the assurance of continued fishing rights by the crown representative to the chiefs of Fiji at the time of Cession in 1874. At the same time, Ratu Naiqama questioned hoteliers' unlimited use of qoliqoli area fronting their hotels, saying this aggrieved qoliqoli owners who were not hotel guests.

The Fiji Islands Hotel and Tourism Association reacted strongly to a cabinet minister's advice to hoteliers that Fiji was no place for them to live and invest in if they persistently opposed the Qoliqoli Bill. "Hoteliers do not deserve this kind of treatment and we are curious with the intention and wisdom of the comments made as one of the key focus and key drive of the Government is for increased investment," Association chief executive officer Mereani Korovavala said.⁷

The political importance of the bill spawned a complex process that lies out of the scope of this work, but nevertheless needs to be recognised in the context for local initiatives of community based conservation on the coasts of Fiji.

4.3.4 Developing approach and method

Entering any foreign setting as a social science researcher poses challenges. To overcome key challenges, I decided to work closely with project staff from the Institute of Applied Sciences at the University of the South Pacific (IAS/USP). While this provided me not only with important background data, it also facilitated effective and ethical research. At the same time, I was left free to determine my own research programme and to pursue all field work independently, in particular interviews in Suva, provincial centres and coastal villages in the IAS-USP project area that I chose to work in.

The LMMA project that led me to Fiji was the local instance of an international movement. In that sense it reflected discourses active at international level among conservation experts and practitioners. How was it that Fiji got caught up in this? How did a *community of interest* form in Fiji around the notion of community-based marine resource management? How were these ideas delivered into village settings? Of the different ways to enter this subject, the discursive nature of ideas and rationales suggested discourse analysis as a starting point. This was in particular relevant because of the association with the USP, an organization that could

⁷ Fiji Times 12-Aug-06, <http://www.fijitimes.com/print.aspx?id=46511>, 12-Aug-06

be expected to document well its activities and rationales in written material. University co-workers would also be open to conceptual work around the themes into which CBNRM translated on the ground in Fiji.

In effect, the position I adopted remained close to my departure point of academic researcher. Following in the footsteps of previous post-graduate students, made my role and behaviour in the project site where eventually I ended up, conform to the expected conduct. It also presented me with variations of the shared discourse that the project had developed among participants, at least those actively involved in project leadership.

I chose this approach to allow me to adopt a stance close to practitioners, sharing both an interest in the project constraints and impacts as well as to actively contribute to reflection. As a result of this attitude I was invited to present the rationale of my study to a group of under-graduate students as well as on another visit to lead a workshop of project workers from within and outside the IAS to evaluate the Fiji LMMA project strategy.

Language proved less problematic as first expected. Most informants had completed sufficient schooling to answer and discuss the set of questions I had prepared in English. Assistance from IAS-USP project members provided opportunities to cross-check interview notes. Modest research goals and extensive replications ensured that data collection was robust. Access to IAS-USP library and public project record provided rich background material to complement field observations about traditions and administrative systems.

Interviews in Fiji were not generally recorded since this would have been an inappropriate technological intrusion. However, extra attention was given to careful and timely transcribing of notes, frequently giving the opportunity to verify facts while that was still possible.

Cultural traditions remain important, even if the function of some protocols may have evolved, as the opening quote of this section suggests. Entering villages, village homes and even contact with officials in Suva offices was whenever possible arranged and accompanied by facilitators. In a village, this would always begin with a presentation of some ground kava to the village chief, or an elder if the former was not present. This would permit me to explain the purpose and format of my visit to key people in the village. I would remain flexible to also take time to sit with other groups of younger villagers or women that I had opportunity to interact with, answering questions and expressing interest to get more familiar with community members. During the trips to Fiji, I would spend at least half the time in the field

and where possible find accommodation in the villages. In this way I would have overnights in a nearly a dozen village homes, sometimes as paying guest and at other times as invite who reciprocated with food gifts as tradition recommended.

4.3.5 Learning in action

The collaboration with the IAS at USP also opened up the possibility for more deliberative reflection. During my third visit to Fiji I was invited to facilitate a review workshop for IAS staff and colleagues from within the FLMMA network. This offered an opportunity not only to take part in reflective practice, but to document theorization work in action.

Reflection is an integral part to the workings of LMMA. A ‘Learning Framework’ structures and formalizes the collaborative process of naming and evaluating project developments. The mix of academic, institutional and local actors is deliberate. Information is structured and shared through meetings, circulars and electronically. Systems for elaborating project values, organizing information, assessing variables, analyzing and reporting on them are integral to LMMA as an institution.

The workshop took place on 27 October 2006 and involved 8 USP/IAS staff, 2 USP graduate students, 5 representatives of government and non-governmental originations part of the Fijian LMMA network. None of the participants had a social science background but all were involved in practice including an element of research.

The group reviewed “governance and environment” projects and together reflected on key factors drawn from practice experiences. The IAS LMMA project in Korolevuiwai, served to contextualize the discussion. Project leaders noted that the project with the objective ‘to enhance community involvement in the management of their marine resources’ had encountered critical issues:

- The need to revise the boundaries of managed areas as initially agreed with the community, which had become a subject of conflict within the community, and management problem to effectively patrol.
- Misinterpretation over the role of IAS in the participating communities: IAS staff and resources made available, found themselves drawn into other community issues outside the project remit.

- Misinterpretation over the role of IAS in the qoliqoli management project itself: Rational and traditional authority were in tension, with the village project committee finding themselves in between the two.

The discussion considered the ‘application of learning’ in practice, the categories such knowledge would consist of and how they should be valued, i.e. as “Successes”, “Disappointments” or simply “Interesting” in the experience of project implementation. The list produced by the meeting covered a range of process factors:

- existing structures
- systems of authority
- involvement of “advocates” and “pushers”
- history and first hand experiences
- power distribution and ideals of stakeholders
- participation and connections
- strategies and institutional factors of implementing agencies and partners
- other outside influences

Close examination of the list reveals overlapping theoretical frames of reference. The categories agreed by the meeting as relevant, made reference to structural, political and cultural factors. However, the emphasis lies on micro-political factors as is typical of practitioners involved in rural development (Ruth, 2006). Such hermeneutic concerns represent the bottom-up position that I sketched out in chapter 2.

Of interest is also the attention given to factors that play into discourse formation. Attention to communicative interaction opens up for interpretation that the scholarship around deliberative democracy offers. This was evident in the discussion in which participant reasoned how systems of authority, not only hereditary chiefs but village councils give voice, validate public claims and allow for public deliberation. Thus the project committee was modelled on village committees and followed cultural traditions. That the chair of the project committee in Koroevuiwai was the son of the tribal chief, was no coincidence, notwithstanding his leadership skills and personal motivation.

Observations of village and project meetings that I attended, confirmed that the categories selected by the evaluation meeting at the IAS indeed offered worthwhile entries into developing alternative theorisations. How could these be exposed in a dialectic style, in a

manner that considers issues from contrasting ontological positions, as a *retroduction* that stresses different aspects of abstraction, while focusing on the same phenomena?

To do that, I returned the following visit to Fiji and took up residence in Votua village, on the Korolevu-i-wai coast. This permitted me to not only sit with individuals and groups in and around the village with less formality, shifting framing and subjects away from direct project issues, but also to become a participant observer at project events with visiting outsiders, this time entering the public spaces alongside local participants.

The analysis of interviews showed that the themes raised represented the discourses of capital based agencies, problematizing issues as resource depletion and lack of knowledge. At the same time, opening the interview dialogue and asking for explanations for these rationales revealed a second discourse shared by some interviewees that placed the source of the problem with the basic profit motivation of tourism development, the migrant workers outside tribal jurisdiction, a disregard for environment, a disregard of interests of traditional occupants of land (in spite of rents paid), and the corruption of tribal leadership. Such discourse invites analysis with questions drawn from political ecology which responds more to the critical dimension of development and the political platform that resource management creates. However, the project discourses of the LMMA projects were not able to engage with these alternative discourses.

4.3.6 Reflecting ..

Reflecting on participation

The overlapping networks and processes encountered in Fiji serve as a clear reminder not to haphazardly isolate subject from context. A number of insights were gained.

- The institution of community-based institutions and capacity building of committee members can have significant impact on governance situations by constructing alternative platforms available to otherwise unheard voices, with ability to negotiate with other institutions.
- In situations with an existing conflict relation, the institution of a community-based project will inevitably be drawn into the conflict.
- New institutions with new discourses will inevitable exclude views, interests and ‘alternative ways of seeing’.

Reflecting on research practice

The entry into Fijian contexts of projects in community-based resource management intentionally did not look for ‘Western parachute development aid’ but sought out a reflective, local actor that could engage with local knowledges.

Ideally, the approach of aid project implementers to identified actors in a target community seeks a dialogic process in the sense that a discussion is engaged in which is open to subjective and intersubjective aspects, in which consensus is sought through rational discourse, and in which public commitments are made to legitimise project actions. The conceptual, political and cultural constraints that an assistance project is framed in notwithstanding, this conception allows practitioners to be thought of as researchers that continue to theorize in their engagement with the context.

The understanding that practitioner researchers seek underlies a critical hermeneutics (Harvey, 1995) which aims to situate a researcher’s normative interpretation and insights firmly in context, including the researchers own historicity. With that comes a set of questions around the research problem that I developed in earlier chapters and which frames the perspectives I will develop here of understanding the inside-out view. An interpretative approach is more interested in understanding from the inside, then explaining from the outside (Outhwaite et al., 2007).

Inevitably, an interpretative approach standing alongside the practitioner researcher will not produce universal theorisation but can only attempt to offer explanations that reach beyond the given context, either through the researchers access to other settings and experiences or because the ‘performance’ of the research as raised the subjects horizons. Either way, sees a dialog, or a question and answer process that takes an interest in a particular phenomena and moves the researcher into another ‘ontic’ context, be that from a traditional to a modern framing, or from a universal to a local. More radical framings will resemble a political ecology or imagine an idealised environmentalism, that connect with local narratives and micro-politics. If universals will remain elusive, this section has illustrated that a place like coastal Fiji cannot be reduced to traditionalism or modernism but is very much open to individuals and discourses enlisting circulating discourses as the opening quote by Brison suggested.

Interpreting the emergence of diverse discourses has to reflect the tensions that these maintain, as a dialectical attitude does. Focussing still more on the deliberative act involving actors arriving with distinct knowledge bases, I earlier outlined the key interests of a dialectical investigation, which ...

- is interested in the use of knowledges in communication by actors.
- takes up an actor-oriented perspective, rather than emphasising structural conditions.
- is a qualitative, self-reflective inquiry.

A dialectical investigation then can offer insights into the relations between meanings and abstractions circulating through interaction and discourses. The meanings of these abstractions are drawn from the actor's subjective knowledge, from within their hermeneutic horizon, as Gadamer (1976) would describe this. In a critical hermeneutics then, the narrative as told here is open to a critical analyses, which I have attempted, so that the meaning construction can be understood as an interpretive act.

For at least the last decade, community-based natural-resource management has been part of a general beneficiary orientation in international development (Johannes, 2002). Community-based natural resource management has been advocated as a way of ensuring that communities have appropriate incentives to manage their natural assets so as to maximise the benefits and ensure that resources are preserved for future generations (Manley, 2007).

In the preceding section, I traced the genesis of the locally managed marine areas approach and situated it within the everyday context it takes place in. The conception brought out the chapter before, aided me to select appropriate terms.

4.4 (De)liberating fisheries policy

The study of social movements have historically attracted much interest from researchers, no little thanks to their typical radical orientation. Social movements provide a framework for understanding the dynamics of various social issues, including civil rights, feminism, environmentalism and the peace movement (Ryan, 2006). As a site of engagement with policy makers, movements such as those found around contested environmental resources are relevant to an interest in experiences of participation. Movements unite the categories of a situated, interpretative approach: processes, actors, framings and critical insights.

The Hokianga Accord is one such movement that offers insights into how participation can be put in question and re-thought by its participants. Applying an interpretation focussed on relations and deliberation can employ the categories of a situated approach to good effect. Along the way, this can reveal instances of an 'active subjecthood' where participants have agency and act to reshape the spaces of participation consciously in order to realign power relations among actors (Taylor, 2007).

4.4.1 Bay of Islands 2005: "kia timata nga whanaungatanga: Let the relationship building begin"

Relationship building was the theme for a *hui* held at Te Tii at the end of April 2005 which inaugurated a series of 2-4 meetings every year, continuing for the duration of this study and at least into 2010. Without ever becoming instituted as an organisation, this movement that describes itself as 'an accord', succeeded in sustaining a remarkable alliance of pakeha amateur fishing interests and several tai tokerau iwi from the mid north. Shared discourses and relationships characterise this movement.

A group of Maori and non-Maori met at Whitiara Marae, Te Tii in the Bay of Islands over a year after the controversial speech of Dr Brash to discuss their concerns surrounding the management of New Zealand's fisheries by the Ministry and Minister of Fisheries⁸. The encounter was considered unique by the Maori tribal leaders and recreational fishing activist that arrived because "no other group of non-commercial fishing interests had ever attempted to meet with Maori to explore how we could combine to arrest the continued over-fishing of our shared inshore fisheries."

In the words of Glaida Navish, the Hokianga Accord is reminiscent of the anti-Springbok protests of 1981 when pakeha and Maori united to oppose the government. Navish is the Ngati Whatua rununga chief executive and remembered as the 'Kia Ora lady' when as Telecom operator in the 1970s she insisted on using the Maori greeting, which led to a high profile public discussion about the appropriateness of using Maori language in this way.

In a series of meetings in the following months, the expressed need for a forum that united on a joint position involving non-commercial fishing interests alongside customary interests was

⁸ Record of the Inaugural Hui, Kia Timata Nga Whakawhanaungatanga "Let the building of relationships begin", 29 April – 01 May 2005. Prepared by Trish Rea, Scott Macindoe and Sonny Tau.

translated into an institutionalised forum as the Hokianga Accord. The common goal that became the banner slogan used at meetings, described as collective interest in reports and also featured prominently on the website set up in its name by the groups principal backer, the advocacy group Option4, was: "more fish in the water", "kia maha atu nga ika i roto te wai". Around this notion a discourse was developed and maintained through the repeated events and the network that sustained it.

A central concern for the incipient movement was the reform of regulation seeking to administer recreational fishers under the same regime as commercial fishers, to monitor and manage fish take by amateurs. The Shared Fisheries Plan was an administrative solution to competing pressure on fisheries that encountered well-organised resistance.

4.4.2 The Shared Fisheries Proposal: Background

The dilemma facing fisheries managers worldwide is that the resources need to be allocated to competing users but no universal principles have been established for allocation. Economic rationalism has driven New Zealand government agendas and has heavily influenced modern fisheries management (Batstone & Sharp, 1999). At the same time, the right of the non-commercial sector is not well defined. Just defining the sector is difficult. No reliable figures of the active fishing population, activity and value systems attached to fishing activities are available, or at least in a form usable by fisheries managers (but see Wheeler & Damania, 2001).

Fisheries legislation reforms of the early 1990s sought simultaneously to ensure efficient levels of fishing effort, and to establish "environmental bottom lines" (EBLs) that would ensure conservation of threatened species stocks. In particular, a Fisheries Task Force was appointed by the Minister of Fisheries to look at fisheries management questions and suggest appropriate reforms to the quota management system (Fisheries, 1991). The major focus of attention was to be the sustainability of fishing activity, and the conservation of the fish stocks. Human users were divided into three categories: Maori, commercial, and recreational. This three-way demarcation of discrete interests/activities to be sustained, roughly parallels that found in the Resource Management Act (RMA 1991) which sets out a discourse of "sustainable development" developed in terms of objectives and mechanisms for simultaneous respect for Maori, commercial, and amenity values of the environment.

A key question for the Fisheries Task Force was to consider how the catch rights should be divided between the user groups. Under their proposals for a new Fisheries Act, a "balance"

is to be preserved. The ideal being promulgated seems to be one of a peaceful coexistence of all of Maori, commercial, and recreational activities subject to an across-the-board duty to conserve: the obligation of all users to pass on a viable stock to the future. However, the questions of a viable institutional framework to achieve this, and of a just distribution of the benefits from catching, selling and eating the New Zealand coasts' fish, remained to be resolved.

In 2000, the Ministry of Fisheries continued consultation on a proposed proportional allocation scheme, in cooperation with the New Zealand Recreational Fishing Council. A discussion paper for a 2000 conference entitled “Soundings” outlined the need for, and problems with, defining the recreational right to fish (Kearney, 2001). The proposal for a proportional share was accompanied with suggestions to enhance recreational fishers' rights to directly manage their share, in effect extending the logic of user management of the QMS to recreational users. The three options proposed in the Soundings document were not well received among recreational fishermen, and some of whom joined together to present a fourth option that would protect amateur fishing privileges. That was the origin story of the Option4 advocacy movement.

The Ministry of Fisheries has thus created the goal to reframe an undefined group of recreational or non-commercial fishers as a group whose fishing activity can be managed alongside that of commercial actors. This creates challenges not only for demarcating demographic and geographic units, for gathering reliable qualitative and quantitative data, and for communicating administrative signals, but also for reforming regulatory regimes. The Fisheries Act of 1996 delimits the authority of the Minister of Fisheries to change rules and specifies requirements for consultation.

Consultation under the Fisheries Act 1996

The Ministry of Fisheries is not a user of marine resources itself, but has the role to manage and arbitrate competing interests. Since the enactment of the Quota Management System, the distribution of ownership rights of the fishing quota has shifted the emphasis of the Ministry's role on using science research to calculate and determine annual catch entitlements. In their own words, the Ministry of Fisheries “works to ensure that fisheries are used in a sustainable way and that we have a healthy aquatic ecosystem. ... by researching fisheries, managing the process for access and allocation of fisheries and ensuring that

everyone who uses New Zealand's fisheries comply with the rules and regulations that govern and protect them.”⁹

While most oceanic fisheries are primarily exploited by commercial fishing companies, most coastal as well as some deep water and fresh-water fisheries are also fished by customary and amateur fishers.

The Fisheries Act 1996 (the Act) is the principal statute governing the management of New Zealand's fisheries resources. It empowers the Minister of Fisheries to set various regulatory measures (eg, Total Allowable Catches and fishing method restrictions). The Act's purpose (section 8): *“is to provide for the utilisation of fisheries resources while ensuring sustainability.”*

The Ministry of Fisheries has no formal consultation policy. The development of a Consultation Policy Statement was announced in late 2004, but had not produced a published policy by end 2008. Consultation practice must follow The Fisheries Act 1996 (The Act).

The Act includes a number of limited public processes (eg sections 12 and 266(7)). The provisions include public participation in consultation on sustainability measures (section 12), and specifically on setting the catch limit (including a commercial catch limit) for any stock or, in the case of a quota management stock, any total allowable catch for that stock;. The Act also specifies particular consultation on the inclusion of stock or species subject to quota management system, temporary and permanent closures to manage stock or create *taiapure* or *matatai* involving Maori co-management.

Consultation under section 12 occurs with “Such persons or organisations as the Minister considers are representative of those classes of persons having an interest in the stock or the effects of fishing on the aquatic environment in the area concerned, including Maori, environmental, commercial, and recreational interests; and Provide for the input and participation of tangata whenua having - 1. A non-commercial interest in the stock concerned; or 2. An interest in the effects of fishing on the aquatic environment in the area concerned - and have particular regard to Kaitiakitanga. In general, Section 5 (a) requires

⁹ <http://www.fish.govt.nz/en-nz/default.htm>, 01.12.08

decision-makers to act in a manner consistent with: The provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992.

These provisions do not allow general public submissions but allow submissions from representative groups and individuals. However, there is no appeal body in the legislation. Any review of a decision by the Minister or other decision makers would be subject to judicial review by the High Court. There are also no explicit environmental assessment provisions in the Act.

The Ministry of Fisheries does have an extensive network for consultation. Pou Hononga or relationships manager are appointed for different regions of the country. They are expected to develop relationships with iwi authorities, marae and relevant bodies.

The ministry has set up regional forums for consultation, however decided to differentiate between Regional Customary Forums consulting with iwi and the Regional Recreational Forums oriented towards pakeha fishers. MFish's current engagement model is advisory, rather than representative. Forum members are appointed by MFish on the basis of their expertise and/or affiliations. This engagement model means that while individual experts are sometimes mandated to engage in management discussions on behalf of their specific organisations they are generally not mandated to engage on behalf of the wider amateur sector.

These types of Fisheries Advisory Committees are an integral component of fisheries legislation developed by the FAO and adopted in many countries (Bavinck et al., 2005; J. Kooiman, 2005). They are intended to provide decision makers with access to information and perspective from fisheries stakeholders. They are consultative only with no co-management roles allowed for.

The Ministry of Fisheries thus has established systems for interacting with the three fishing sectors identified in the Fisheries Task Force. Staff and institutions facilitate information exchange. Submissions are regularly invited on substantial regulatory changes. Opposition parties take up issues and address the Minister of Fisheries in Parliament. And the Ministry is periodically challenged in the Environment Court. For significant changes, the Minister can create a task force or an internal project to focus communication and consultation about more complex issues. Incorporating non-commercial fishing activities into a regulatory framework for a shared fishery is one such project.

The Shared Fisheries Project

In resolving the question of conflicting interests posed by the Fisheries Task Force, the Ministry of Fisheries followed the suggested idea of all users sharing benefits and responsibility for achieving the twin goals of ecologically sustainable catch levels and economically efficient levels of fishing effort. The Soundings document had announced the Ministry's intent to take this policy process forward.

Jim Anderton, the then Minister of Fisheries, said at a conference of commercial fishermen¹⁰ on 14 May 2008 that "So - no matter who is fisheries minister over the coming decades - I believe that a new consensus will need to be formed around the way we protect property rights and the sustainability of the resource."

The Ministry of Fisheries initiated the Shared Fisheries project in late December 2005¹¹. The project aimed to develop a policy framework to improve the management of shared fisheries (Fisheries, November 2006). An initial round of consultations with 'key stakeholder groups' met with all 7 regional recreational fora, the Recreational Fishing Ministerial Advisory Committee, representatives of the New Zealand Recreational Fishing Council and Option4, commercial inshore fisheries representatives, the fishing industry association SeaFIC, and iwi fora (or iwi forum executives) in Bay of Plenty, Te Kupenga, and Te Uru.

The process encountered repeated delays. The first was the need to revise the planned release date for the public discussion document. In May 2006 the Ministry still aimed for a release by August 2006, allowing a four-month consultation period, with a submissions deadline just before Christmas¹². In the end, it was October 2006, when the Ministry of Fisheries issued a cabinet-approved Shared Fisheries 'discussion paper'¹³. This began a formal consultation period set to end 28 February 2007, controversially spanning the Christmas break.

¹⁰ Anderton, 14 May 2008, Speech to open the SeaFIC conference, Te Papa, Wellington

¹¹ Ministry of Fisheries, 16 December 2005, Shared Fisheries Policy Development, Briefing to Cabinet, S7181.

¹² Ministry of Fisheries, 3 May 2006, Shared Fisheries Project Update #1

¹³ Ministry of Fisheries November 2006 Shared Fisheries: Proposals for Managing New Zealand's Shared Fisheries: A public discussion paper. Ministry of Fisheries, Wellington.

The proposal set a goal as increasing value for New Zealanders, providing for economic, food, cultural or recreational values in a complementary manner. The proposal acknowledged the right to catch fish of all New Zealanders, as well as Maori customary take. The method to achieve these goals could involve proportional quota allocation, increased data collection and new, regional management structures.

In the associated policy brief to cabinet¹⁴, the issues are framed as a chronic conflict. Conflict is attributed to: uncertainty under existing legislation, unsatisfactory management due to incomplete data – especially about recreational fishing take. The brief also acknowledges that commercial catches are not strictly limited to the Total Annual Commercial Catch by the Quota Management System and in fact in some shared fisheries, i.e. inshore finfish fisheries, are regularly exceeded. The current allocation provisions, are identified by the Minister as a key weakness in the management framework. The lack of certainty is blamed for insecure access by the commercial sector and the lack of incentive to invest in resource management, product innovation and cooperative approaches to managing shared fisheries. It is also acknowledged that Maori interests span all three harvesting sectors – commercial, recreational and customary. Overall, the issues are ‘complex and controversial’, making them difficult to address. The underlying rationale is managerial in aiming to reduce uncertainty and so for “the industry to contribute more effectively to growth and development in the New Zealand economy” (p. 10).

Public meetings were held in Whangarei, Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington, Tauranga and Nelson in November and December 2006. Ministry staff presented the proposal at seven regional recreational forums. The proposal was also extensively discussed at a regional recreational forum national *hui* held in Wellington in November 2007.

In November 2007, Jim Anderton, the Minister of Fisheries, declared that, in his view at least, “There is broad support for change in the way we manage our shared fisheries. Most people agree we need to know more about how many fish amateur fishers are catching, and that amateur fishers need to be better represented”. With that, the Minister announced a cabinet decision endorsing plans to expand research to better estimate amateur fishers’ catch

¹⁴ Minister of Fisheries, 16 December 2005, Shared Fisheries Policy Development. <http://www.fish.govt.nz/en-nz/Shared+Fisheries/shared+fisheries+background/SF+Policy+Development.htm> 1.8.08 (prepared by Stan Crothers, Acting Chief Executive)

and values in key stocks, to establish an amateur fishing trust to assist the development of improved capacity for representation of amateur fishing sector interests, and to consult with the sector on introducing activity and catch reporting by recreational charter boat operators.¹⁵

At the same time, a joint fisheries sector working group with representatives from Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Seafood Industry Council and the New Zealand Recreational Fishing Council was formed to develop joint policy proposals on shared fisheries.

An initial deadline for submission was set for end February 2007. 609 submissions were received and the analysis was prepared by an external contractor, APR Consultants Ltd. The issues surrounding shared fisheries are emotive, and this was reflected in the tone of many surveys. The analysis reported that submitters all had a common interest in sustainable fisheries management but each sector (commercial, recreational and customary) also has a vested interest in maintaining at least their share of the resource under the existing property rights system.

While the idea of maximizing public benefit was not in itself opposed by submitters, it was contested who the public actually was. Commercial fishers questioned the Discussion Paper on the premise that the proposals and options would benefit a relatively small proportion of people (amateur fishers) and disadvantage the majority (who purchase commercially caught fish).

“The People’s Submission” which obtained the support of 160 submitters, expressed concerns relating to depleted fisheries and overfishing by commercial fishing interests. It positioned itself as speaking for a national heritage, the right to go fishing and therefore a substantial sector of the population. Specifically, concern was also expressed that the Ministry of Fisheries and central government were swayed by industry towards commercial interests.

Nearly 100 submissions indicated they opposed the approach taken in the Discussion Paper in its entirety, contradicting the Minister’s later announcement of broad support. The submissions process itself also proved controversial. Some submitters, including SeaFIC and Sanford Limited, advised MFish that the APR summary had inadequately analysed their submissions and misrepresented their position on a number of issues. The Ministry later

¹⁵ Minister of Fisheries, 19 November 2007 Real progress for shared fisheries, Media release, Wellington.

apologised on its website¹⁶ that “The wide scope, the complexity of the issues, and the large number of submissions received meant oversights did occur.”

The submissions had shown that the Ministry's Shared Fisheries Project was criticized for more than oversights in the technical administration of the consultation process. Framings of the subject and issues were contested. Motives of the Ministry and user groups were put in question. The democratic validity of the decision-making process was challenged.

4.4.3 The Hokianga Accord

A casual understanding of racial relations in New Zealand and the treaty claims would make a distinction between customary interests in fisheries management from that of the general public. The Treaty Settlements since the 1980s acknowledged the specific claims on marine resources by tangata whenua and compensated these with substantial interests in the commercial sector. It is estimated that Māori exercise effective control of approximately 50% of the entire industry which now has an estimated resource value of NZ\$3.97 billion.¹⁷

Te Runanga a Iwi o Ngāpuhi (TRAION) is the representative body of the Ngāpuhi iwi. The 2001 census placed Ngāpuhi as the largest tribe in New Zealand with a population of 107,000+ people¹⁸. In the settlement through the Maori Fisheries Act (2004), TRAION received over \$67 million worth of assets.¹⁹ About \$3 million in cash, 3800 tonnes of fishing quota and \$45 million in Aotearoa Fisheries Ltd. In spite of this financial interest, TRION provided the leadership for a unorthodox movement challenging the government over the Shared Fisheries Plan.

The seabed and foreshore act demonstrated how Maori continue to make claims on behalf of a distinct indigenous identity with historical rights, a strategy that sustained public resentment

¹⁶ <http://www.fish.govt.nz/en-nz/Shared+Fisheries/shared+fisheries+background/Consultation+process.htm?WBCMODE=PresentationUnpublished>, 1.8.08

¹⁷ Treaty Tribes Coalition, 5th Annual Maori Fisheries Conference, <http://www.manamoana.co.nz/conference.html> (1-Feb-2010)

¹⁸ The 2001 census placed *Ngāpuhi* as the largest tribe in *New Zealand* with a population of 107000+ people. www.governance.tpk.govt.nz/share/ngapuhi.aspx 1.10.08

¹⁹ The Northern Advocate, 22-September-2005. <http://www.northernadvocate.co.nz/local/news/ngapuhi-to-grow-muscle-with-settlement/3653738/>

from some quarters. The notorious ‘Orewa speech’ by Don Brash on 27 January 2004 appeared to confirm this. Brash was campaigning as leader of the opposition party and caused a surge in opinion polls when he blamed “the Treaty process and the associated grievance industry” for dividing New Zealanders from one another. Such a suspicion of Maori agendas would make an alliance between iwi leaders and recreational pakeha fishing groups appear contradictory, but in fact obscures other ways of imagining identity.

An account of the development and expression of the alliance of Maori and non-Maori activists that is the Hokianga Accord movement, illustrates how participatory approaches by a government ministry are being challenged outside established fora. The project of the Ministry of Fisheries in this way becomes the subject of political processes that shift frames and imaginaries.

From the point of view of the Ministry of Fisheries (MFish), systematic efforts are being made to find a reasoned agreement of government management policies. In the view of activists, priority access to better-managed fisheries can rightfully be claimed. The struggle that follows takes place within communicative and administrative spheres that confront opposing visions of ‘ideal’ fisheries.

Option4: Origins and rationale

Option4 is operated out of the home of Scott Macindoe and does not represent itself a membership organisation. Macindoe owns a business supplying the construction industry. In a statement²⁰ released during an unsuccessful bid to be elected president of the Recreational Fishing Council (of which Macindoe is a member) he describes himself as having “proven team building skills. An existing team of contractors. Access to databases exceeding 20,000 subscribers. Excellent relationships with media and tangata whenua.”²¹

On the Option4 website, it is described describes itself as "an affiliation of concerned New Zealand citizens and fishing people created a task force called Option4 in response to the Soundings document in 2000.”²² The website itself presents a very extensive collection of

²⁰ 8.7.05

²¹ Statement of vision and commitment from Scott Macindoe, 8.7.05

²² www.option4.co.nz, 07.2006

documents produced by associates of Option4, the Hokianga Accord, Ministry of Fisheries documents, scientific reports and media clippings.

Macindoe says that Option4 is not a membership organisation and does not claim to act as on behalf of a membership. Option4 is active, through a large email subscription list, regular contributions in amateur fishing magazines, an extensive website²³, networking with other civil society organizations in the amateur fishing sector, and through proactive involvement in organizing encounters between like-minded movement members. Through these resources, Macindoe and his associates are able to mobilise an active network of individuals and organised groups of recreational fishers.

4.4.4 The hui of the Hokianga Accord

The pattern established in this first *hui*, instituted a repeated event. The *hui* were hosted by *marae* throughout Northland in the regions of Hokianga, Dargaville, Whananaki, as well as on one occasion at the University of Auckland *marae* in the Ngati Whatua rohe.

Meetings were generally chaired by the Te Rūnanga A Iwi O Ngāpuhi (TRAION) tribal authority chief executive, Sonny Tau, who symbolically sits alongside other Maori and pakeha leaders of the group. News updates from the Hokianga Accord, with reports from the *huis*, appear regularly in the New Zealand Fishing News. The updates include commentary about ongoing fisheries issues, Maori-crown relations and amateur fishing perspectives.

Hui agendas are made up of presentations by MFish staff counter posed with discussion points prepared by Hokianga Accord associates with a critical view of government policy. Subject and content examine data and arguments for quota management and policy reform options, presented by well-informed speakers, including TRAION business manager, activists and invited guests. Accord members provide explanations such as “Dissection of the Shared Fisheries policy reform proposals and what they mean for ordinary New Zealanders.”²⁴ Specific treatment of subjects includes eg ‘Maximum Sustainable Yield: MFish to explain, with diagrams of the yield curve, what maximum sustainable yield is and how it is applied in

²³ www.option4.co.nz

²⁴ Agenda for Hokainaga Accord Hui, 16-17 Novemebr 2006, Whakapoumahara Marae, Whananaki.

our fisheries management system.”²⁵ These are followed by critical questions from an audience willing to challenge the science and economics of the models presented by the Ministry.

The forum does also engage with the DOC, inviting department staff to discuss issues like the meaning of *kaitiakitanga*, Maori environmental stewardship for conservation management and the potential roles for Maori, *tangata whenua*, and with particular interest in marine reserve applications.

4.4.5 Shared discourses

At a protest rally on Great Barrier Island against a proposed marine reserve, Scott Macindoe had evoked the nation-wide protests made in the early 1980s against the government’s decision to invite the South African Springbok rugby team to tour New Zealand. This framing was also repeated in a research interview three years later with Naida Glavish to explain the significance of this fishing advocacy movement. Glavish is chair of the Te Runanga o *Ngati Whatua* tribal organisation, who she represents regularly as a participant at the Hokianga Accord.

Already at the opening *hui*, Tau explained that “Ngapuhi accept that this *hui* was not about resolving Maori grievances but they want the 30 recreational fishers that had come to understand the background to their grievance so we can forge a relationship to work towards a common objective – more fish in the water.” Tau also said that Ngapuhi were clear as to why they wanted to meet with other non-commercial fishing interests. They had recently discovered that there were three categories of fishers created in legislation - commercial fishers, recreational fishers and customary fishers. To fish customarily, Maori need a permit. “When we fish to feed our babies we are categorised as recreational fishers. Therefore 99.99% of the time Ngapuhi go fishing, we are fishing under the amateur fishing regulations.”

Tau was saying that the government’s efforts to address Maori treaty rights with customary regulations was in fact not addressing their real interests. By framing these rights as the simple act of catching fish for consumption, he showed the government approach as divisive and disempowering. The Ministry of Fisheries interacts with *iwi* through separate

²⁵ *ibid*

departments, with regional relationship officers, holding joint meetings with other iwi representatives. “Getting brown people to talk only about brown issues,” Tau said, distracted from the central issue of sustainable fisheries management. This was about more fish in the water for non-commercial fishers, an interest that was identical to that of the recreational fishers. Seen from this perspective, the alliance that became the Hokianga Accord was a logical consequence.

4.4.6 Relationships

The alliance between the country’s largest iwi and the network of amateur fishing activists connected through Option4, and predominantly pakeha, owes its origins, also its continued existence, to a personal relationship between the chair of Te Runanga A Iwi O Ngapuhi, Raniera T (Sonny) Tau, and Option4 founder, Scott Macindoe (pers comm.).

Personal relations are valued publicly in the forum. A presentation by Paul Barnes to fellow accord members and *hui* participants what by then was called the Hokianga Accord opened with a slide of himself, a group of Maori fishers showing their catch, including another forum co-chair and TRAION trust board member, also the Whangarei-based MFish relationships manager, Graeme Morrell. The slide title read “Waiho it e toipoto, kua it e toiroa”, Let us keep close together, not far apart.

Central to these personal relationships is however a signification of relationship to fishing and the marine outdoors. This is deeply embedded in Maori culture, and in the discourse of Option4 also in pakeha culture. A cultural study would find that there are a host shared images, such as social bonding, freedoms and status. The success of the Hokianga Accord can be attributed to

The Hokianga Accord names itself the Mid North Iwi Fisheries Forum, encompassing the interests of iwi and hapu of Tai Tokerau, Ngapuhi, Ngati Whatua and Ngati Wai²⁶. On its website – hosted at <http://www.hokiangaaccord.co.nz/> under the logo and on a subpage of the site of Option4 – its purpose is stated. “The forum is intended to assist the Minister of Fisheries fulfil, in part, the Crown’s ongoing statutory obligation to provide for the input and participation of tangata whenua having a non-commercial interest in fisheries, an interest in the effects of fishing on the aquatic environment while having particular regard to

²⁶ Hokianga Accord Hui Report November 2007, Hokianga Accord, Kaikohe.

kaitiakitanga.” Expressed in this way, it links 3 distinct interests: treaty settlement, fishing as non-commercial food gathering and sustainability.

The Hokianga Accord has not been recognised by the Ministry of Fisheries as one of its consultation forums. Attendees therefore do not receive expenses reimbursed nor are the costs of events subsidised, as they are for official meetings with Ministry representatives. A donation of typically \$50 is made by participants for the 3-day weekend *huis*, which contributes to food costs. TRAION and Option4 have repeatedly made unspecified contributions of resources for hosting and resourcing the events.

The forum’s *huis* are however normally attended by fisheries staff such as the MFish poununga who are posted in the regions of the country and whose role is to liaise with iwi and the forums set up by the ministry. Senior staff from Wellington also frequently attend and this has seen the CEO (Wayne McNee), the acting CEO (Stan Crothers), Policy Manager (Terry Lynch), and Senior Policy Analyst (Kim Drummond) present themselves to the forum at different times. The incoming Minister of Fisheries, Phil Heatley, also considered attendance worthwhile to deliver a speech at the 11 June 2010 gathering.

Apart from a space to challenge and demand accountability of public managers, the value of debating is enhanced by information sharing and networking. Frequently the forum invited visitors that were asked to recount experiences with successful and frustrated processes related to marine governance. Space was also given to Ministry of Fisheries to disseminate updates and news from other Ministry activities and other forums organised by the Ministry. Workshop session would continue until 10 pm with a wake up call at 6 AM the following morning. Sleeping arrangements for visitors – with ministry staff and Accord associates side-by-side - were mattresses laid out in the *whare*, the main hall of the marae.

There are several recurring themes that are part of deliberation an analysis of the agendas shows: principles of good management and sustainability using both science and Maori cultural reference, critical examination of fisheries management systems, elaborating non-commercial interests as shared Maori and pakeha interests, critical reflection on Maori-government consultation practice.

4.4.7 Discussion

The political economy of participation shapes the contests activists engage in: Leaders of the forum are very conscious of how existing deliberative institutions marginalises their role.

Writes Paul Barns in a discussion document circulated at the November 2006 *Hui*:

“Commercial interests can use money derived from the resource to protect their interests. ... On the other hand non-commercial fishers have to raise funds from the public to protect their interests and, if they win, they receive no financial gain and cannot receive compensation. ... Our only defence against this gross inequity of the proportional fishery management systems being forced upon us is to become more vocal and raise the issue of poor policy and biased advice with the media, the voters and tax payers in order to be effective. We simply do not have the resources to participate effectively in the system that has been developed.”

4.4.8 An emergent discursive design

The Hokianga Accord successfully created an alternative forum where the agenda is set by the participants, not the agency administering consultation, at *marae* in the territory, *rohe*, of the participating tribes, adhering to Maori protocol, *kaupapa*. The Accord stands as a model for participation designed by participants.

The accord forum can be evaluated as institutionalised deliberation to see what forms take shape when participants design the institution. Dryzek has developed a normative model that can serve as reference and allow democratic theories from continental schools to be employed. A discursive design is a social institution around which the expectations of a number of actors converge. It is therefore a place in their conscious awareness as a site for recurrent interaction among them.

Dryzek expects that such an institution would have open access and absence of hierarchy. The Accord can also fulfil the next requirement for the participation of communicatively competent individuals. Observing the calibre of presentations and critical discussion it is evident that participants are deeply engaged with the subject, and draw on relevant experience, either a Ministry of Fisheries employee, staff member of tribal authorities or though other project involvement. The levels of information exchange at meetings, and the extensive resources provided online make necessary information available. This is complemented by the communications of volunteers and contractors.

The process of deliberation is also modelled by Dryzek. He expects an identified and unresolved problem that raises conflicting preferences, with material outcomes. The problem is addressed with face-to-face discussion involving reasoned discourse confronting government staff with a very critical audience that responds with reasoning in a non-confrontational setting, a *marae*. If consensus is not necessarily the predicated outcome of the

disagreements with government officers, the hui do produce agreement on many premises, allowing continued engagement.

In conclusion, the Hokianga Accord demonstrates how an alliance can find and unite around a common discourse, institute deliberative institutions on the terms of the participated and diversify engagement with government agencies in multiple ways. The longevity of the gatherings and network around it, still lacking any more organization than an informal 'working group', has shown the potential that exists given the identified prerequisites. While democratic theory can validate the democratic credentials of such a site of deliberation, it is less able to explicate the emergence of such a discursive design.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I entered three contrasting situation to sketch out types of context participatory researchers can find themselves in.

It is critical to pay attention to positionality, reflexivity, the production of knowledge and the power relations that are inherent in research processes in order to undertake participatory research, especially in international field research contexts (Sultana, 2007).

Reflecting on my positionality vis-à-vis the way others constructed my identity helped in more fully engaging in reflexivity, that enabled engagement with the research process in a more meaningful way. My experience has been that positionality and subjectivity are tempered both spatially and temporally, and are unstable and not fixed. Dynamics change with context, and the insider-outsider boundary gets blurred.

While some scholars have argued that acknowledgement of positionality, reflexivity, identity, and representation does not necessarily result in politically engaged research and writing, and may not result in destabilizing existing power relations or bring about dramatic changes, the alternative of not heeding such issues is even more problematic (Robertson, 2002).

Recognizing and working with multiple positionalities of researchers and research participants that are constantly negotiated is needed in creating productive research relations.

This section showed the interest of reflexivity for adopting participative methods. By merging research of participation with a learning framework, new forms of approaching the empirical can be found.

**Chapter 5 Enacting participant research:
Experiences of environmental governance processes on Great Barrier
Island**

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, in an effort to show how participation can be re-imagined, I explore processes, actor perspectives and framings that are played out within the setting of Great Barrier Island, looking at its community in its interaction with outside influences and structures. The alternative possibilities that become visible will show that an interpretative method using a situated approach can offer new views of old problematics.

The island in the Hauraki Gulf, 80km from Auckland, offers a unique opportunity to observe the encounter of government with a community of shared interest over environmental policy issues. As a small rural community it is at the same time physically separated from the mainland by distance and weather, but also administratively an integral part of New Zealand's principal commercial centre, Auckland City.

This chapter begins by creating complementary views of Great Barrier Island, laying out the framework elaborated in chapter 2. Following Olsen, and moving from the whole, I begin with a descriptive overview of the empirical setting, along the way clarifying the subject for this discussion as place and community of citizens.

In the next section I move closer to some of the actors that are active in the local deliberative spaces. With that I begin to open up some of the issues that animate political life at this level.

In the third section, the narrative enters into two distinct processes around environmental governance problematic, the reactions to the proposed marine reserve on Great Barrier Island and the consultations part of the statutory review of the applicable District Plan. Tracing different threads of these processes, and their linkages to other issues and processes, allows me to point out the relations and disconnects that make participative processes so intractable. And of course the developments that took place, and the eventual outcomes were not as intended by the process initiators, which the literature review had implicitly predicted.

Table 5-1 Mapping processes encountered

	1. A proposed marine reserve	2. Review of district plan under the Resource Management Act.
Process	Reactions to a proposed marine reserve, seen in its historical context.	Developing local government environmental governance regulation on Great Barrier Island .
Key actors	Department of Conservation, environmental movements, tangata whenua, other local communities of interest.	Auckland City Council, environmental community groups, elected community representation, land owners.
Entry	As fellow resident, as researcher and as community reporter.	

Deliberative practices	Statutory consultation, local media, activism, hui.	Statutory consultation, community board meetings, local media, submissions, project communications.
Imagineries and framings encountered	Preserving biodiversity for future generations, Maori sovereignty, NIMBY.	A sustainable community with responsible landowners; A nature based economy with a shared vision; An exclusive retreat for the rich; A deliberative democracy.
Performances enacted	Giving meaning to katiakitanga, iwi and community involvement in environmental management.	Validating arguments resisting regulation.
Possibilities (of action)	Resistance to government. Real community-based conservation.	Political action, public statements, project and livelihood initiatives, migration.

My interest in deliberation was rewarded with being able to participate in various ‘deliberative processes’ that achieved Benhabib’s (1998) criteria of imparting new knowledge, order preferences and impose reflexivity. Looking across the studies, I ask, where were these spaces? What was produced? What made them possible?

The narrative will continue to map out the spaces of *environmental governance*. I will begin by using the term environmental governance as a shared concern which draws community members into institutional processes. Governance in this sense encompasses the regulatory agencies, the deliberative forums and the actions of individuals involved.

5.1.1 Projects, processes and places

Defining a change process in terms of a project makes explicit the organisational intent of a group or institution to affect change. At the same time it constrains the focus on the parameters associated with that term, such as issue, plan, and expected outcome. While that is useful from a management point of view – and perhaps also accountability – it obscures critical factors. In this chapter I want to look wider and so give attention to the context – not simply regarding aspects of the environment that have some effect on process development, but specifically how actors, framings and relations open up possibilities for participation in environmental governance other than through the institutionally prescribed protocols.

In the preceding chapters I prepared this work by reviewing scholarship and practice experience to consider how key elements could be thought about. The literature concerned with participation highlighted that while a growing scholarship contributes to the wider discussion around environmental democracy, community-based conservation and sustainable development, the experiences of practitioners reflect a paradoxical disconnect of theory from practice. How can practice be reconnected with theory? If the answer cannot be found in

refining approaches, then it becomes necessary to think about, or rather, to rethink the meaning of participation.

In this chapter I want to take a place based approach, rather than focussing on isolated projects, and reassemble the elements I have previously identified to examine how participation could be thought of. My intent is not to begin a new project that intends to deliver an alternative methodology, but rather to enter a social setting and demonstrate how multiple ways of thinking are required to reflect productively in contemporary environmental governance contexts. In other words, to show how theory- and practice-based imaginaries ‘collude’ to open multiple pathways to actors participating in environmental governance in this particular study setting, on Great Barrier Island. With such an understanding, new ways of thinking about participation become possible.

5.1.2 Frame-reflective

Pre-theoretical beliefs, according to Habermas, serve as reference for a reconstructive science, a philosophy that, following post-structural ideas, serves as ‘stand-in’ with no claims to universality. Instead, Habermas - while relying on the pre-theoretical knowledge of competently judging, acting and speaking subjects as well as on inherited cultural forms of knowledge – makes claims that social science can seek “to clarify the presumptively universal foundations of the rationality of experience and judgment, action and linguistic communication” (Dallmayr, 1988, p. 566). As he adds, traditional transcendental or dialectical modes of argumentation can be helpful in this endeavour of rational reconstruction - provided they relinquish their purely philosophical pretensions. Instead, the utility lies in “further empirical exploration.”

The preceding chapters set out the need for new approaches to examining and explicating chronic failures in environmental governance reform. I placed practitioners and the literature into dialogue to find key themes. I then deepened the discussion by drawing on complementary literatures to develop an analytical, top-down, a hermeneutic, bottom-up and a critical, reflective position. In the earlier chapter I considered the methodological aspects in preparation for the empirical work reported here.

Across these chapters, several cross-cutting themes were emphasized. These were drawn together as a dialectical investigation applying a process-based, actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical form of analysis. The subject of analysis is the experiences and discourses of citizens drawn into deliberative situations with diverse motives. Conceptually

situating the researcher and the research process alongside the actors and reform process opened the possibility of revealing insights into the complexity of environmental governance. It now remains to put this approach into practice in order to explore the possibilities of a situated methodology.

5.2 Abstracting Great Barrier Island: Subjects and relations

I begin with two, if not self-evident, then analytically useful observations. As a place, Great Barrier Island is a rural setting, clearly positioned at a society-nature interface. And the island's natural boundaries unambiguously delimit both place and community as unit of analysis. This makes it possible to treat place and community as a subject and recognise structural externalities.

A boundary makes it possible to begin separating influences and to designate clearly the subject of such effects. There are of course other boundaries that matter and community can be defined along different parameters with relevant rationales. One boundary that can be shifted to good effect is seeing the island as part of Auckland city, an otherwise urban area.

As a very well defined rural community, it is possible to make certain analytical assumptions. The term 'community' has proven too ambiguous a type construct for much work in general sociological analysis – it has been too easy to show that more often than not, communities differ from a romantic ideal type and instead are rife with interest, power, and division (Brint, 2001). Nevertheless, the term still remains current in specialised fields such as development studies and conservation practice, not least because it defines a subject for outside interventions (Berkes, 2004; Johannes, 2002; Min-Dong, 2002).

Durkheim, followed by many other sociologists, elaborated observable variables that describe relations in a community, or using the term he used, *Gemeinschaft*, a translation which in its German meaning emphasises a sense of commonality. There are 4 structural and 2 cultural variables associated with community that have meaning in this analysis: (1) social ties that, among other, encourage recruitment into collective action networks (Gould, Other Author: Schnaiberg, & Weinberg, 1996), (2) social attachments to institutions that create forums of interaction, the development of civic skills and affect trust (Putnam, 2001), (3) ritual occasions that strengthen group identity, (4) small group size, that especially in a place like Great Barrier Island promotes familiarity and contact.

The cultural variables are (5) perceptions of similarity that strengthen social identification, sense of belonging and social opportunities, and (6) common beliefs that shape outlook and behaviour, including political commitment.

Social network studies look at communities in a different light (Bodin, Crona, & Ernstson, 2006; Degenne & Forsé, 1999), which places less value on cultural values but more on networks of interaction. Unlike the qualitative variables used in the tradition of Durkheim, networks can be mapped and quantified. Thus, social capital, for instance, has been measured as networks (Sabatini, 2005). Some work has also considered communities not simply as source of identity, but as re-source for identity construction (de Federico de la Rúa, 2007).

For this study, the classical, disaggregated conception of community remains appropriate. With an actor-oriented approach, a community thought of as qualitative relations becomes approachable. Entering a community from the privileged position as a community member, opens access to *insider knowledge* that an interpretative science is interested in – knowledge of what it is like to be a social actor of a particular kind, and how such people understand their social situation.

5.2.1 Great Barrier Island: A rural geography

The community, economy, society-nature relations, residents' lifestyles and sense of identity on Great Barrier are structured by the geography of this setting. The island is characterised by a rugged landscape, severe weather conditions and considerable isolation from the mainland. Air and sea links are limited and are not infrequently disrupted due to weather conditions. There is no publicly funded transport on, or to and from the island.

The small population of 800 (estimated permanent residents²⁷, seasonally variable) is clustered in scattered settlements around the coast. The majority of the Island population lives in the central and southern settlements with the smaller northern settlements a 30-45 minute drive from the central airport.

Land available for development is limited. With a land area of about 285 km², 68 percent of the Island is public land administered by the Department of Conservation. 5% is vested in Maori and of the remainder, 17% is in private ownership. Just under 10% is owned by Auckland City as roads and reserves. This is partly due to subdivisions in which property

²⁷ Calculated from census 2006 figures and health centre records,

owners are required to cede 10% of the land or pay a financial release. The number of private titles is 1438 according to a numbers provided by the community board.

Residents share an experience of a much more autonomous lifestyle than in urban settings. The island is without mains power, has no reticulated water, does not have piped sewerage disposal. The road system is progressively being upgraded from gravel-based roadways, but access between the northern and southern parts of the island remains tedious with only steep roads traversing the forested range that separate settled areas, still unsealed at the time of writing. Flooding regularly disrupts transport between the north and south.

There are no supermarkets or retail banks. Four shops, one hardware store, two gift shops, one alcohol store, one pharmacy, one fishing and diving store, and three service stations (two of which are parts of dairy-type stores) make up the main retail outlets available to residents. Medical services are provided in the form of one health clinic with a GP available full-time plus a health post staffed by a nurse in the northern part of the island. A social worker that is employed by the health trust and liaises with the Ministry of Social Development also has an office in Claris at the community health centre. There are two police officers based on the island. Fire, first aid and marine rescue services are maintained by volunteers.

Until the integration of the different municipalities that made up the area combined under the now defunct Auckland Regional Council, the Hauraki Gulf Ward which included Great Barrier Island with Waiheke Island and the much smaller Rakino Island was administered as part of Auckland City. This made the island part of a territory that also included the central business area as well as the residential areas immediately surrounding it.

Residential numbers have been in decline since the 1990s. The 1996 census reported 1131 people present while at the 2001 Census the count was 1,017, a change of -10.1%. In comparison, Auckland City's population has increased by 6.4% and the population for New Zealand as a whole grew by 3.3% since 1996. By the census of 2006, only 856 permanent residents were counted. This is a representative number according to health centre records. There were 423 occupied dwellings on the island in 2001.

Several deprivation index variables are significant in the Great Barrier Community. All schools on Great Barrier Island have a Ministry of Education Decile rating of 1 – the lowest rating available as determined by socio-economic characteristics. One quarter of households on the island have no access to a vehicle or telephone. The proportions of households with no

telecommunications, telephone or internet access is significantly higher than Auckland City and New Zealand levels.²⁸

At the 2001 Census 22.1% of people on Great Barrier were under the age of 15 years, compared with 19.7% in Auckland City and 22.7% for all of New Zealand. School enrolments since these figures were collected have significantly declined. The median income of people on Great Barrier is \$11,700, compared with \$22,300 for Auckland City and \$18,500 for all New Zealand. Unemployment is relatively high on the island. The unemployment rate in Great Barrier was 17.4%, compared with Auckland City 7.9% and New Zealand 7.5%. At the 2001 Census 90.0% of people on Great Barrier Island said they belong to the European ethnic group, compared with 65.7% for Auckland City and 80.1% for all of New Zealand.²⁹

There are three primary schools on the island, at Okiwi, Kaitoke and Tryphena respectively. The island also has a correspondence school and it was estimated that about 50-60 school-aged children from the island attended boarding school at the time of the above census. There is no high school. This service is provided via the Te Kura Correspondence School.

Administratively, Great Barrier is part of Auckland City Council (ACC) and landowners pay rates to the City Council. The Island is represented by a Hauraki Gulf Councillor who also sits on the Island's community board. The City Council has a service centre on the island and its departments are represented with six staff. In the financial year to May 2008, Auckland City Council budgeted expenditure on island related activities amounted to \$12 million.

The island economy is based primarily around tourism and thus is seasonal in nature³⁰. In summer months the population can increase fivefold. There are 97 businesses employing 210 FTEs. 90% of these businesses are small, employing less than 5 people. 42% of the

²⁸ Auckland City Council, 27 September 2002 Submission to Project PROBE (Provincial Broadband Expansion) (A joint initiative by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Economic Development)

<http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/projects/probe/pdf/submission.pdf> 1.06.08

²⁹ Statistics New Zealand, Great Barrier Island Area Unit Community Profile 2001 Census, www.stats.govt.nz, 1.05.05

³⁰ 2001 Business Directory, Auckland City Council, Submission to Project Probe and the Auckland Regional Economic Development Strategy Group, 27 September 2002, www.aucklandcity.govt.nz

population (aged 15+yrs) were paid employees, and 32% self-employed with no employees. The most significant industries include construction, retail trade, accommodation, cafes and restaurants, and property and business services. Those businesses experiencing highest growth (in the five years to 2002) included property and business services, finance and communication services, construction services and tourist related activities.

There are approximately five registered fishing charter operators based on the island as well as an unquantified number of part-time operators. Also, a number of charter boats based in mainland ports regularly visit the island for coastal and game fishing. Because of the seasonal and inconsistent nature of charter operations, boat operators typically have a mix of income sources, both on and off-island. There are also two owner-operated fishing boats based on the island that deliver their catches of lobster to ports in Coromandel.

Farming

Farming has been in a gradual decline due to increased transport costs and loss of fertilizer subsidies in the 1980's. Some of the farms were subdivided as a way to generate income. Others diversified, to augment their income, into such ventures as kanuka oil production, horticulture, bee keeping, adventure tourism, and homestays. Those that are left predominantly view farming as a way of life rather than a way to make a living (Howie 2002 Great Barrier Island Community profile).

Livestock farming on Great Barrier Island faces several challenges especially because of the quality of the land and the distance to markets. But according to local farmers, good management does produce quality stock. In the early years of settlement, to encourage grass growth, livestock farmers would have to burn off grass in summer or autumn. Top dressing with lime and nitrosol continues to be applied by some farmers.

Farming on Great Barrier Island is not a growth industry. Ever since the late 1960s with the demise of the dairy cream industry and growing problems with infrequent shipping and high freight charges, the increasing costs and insufficient profit margins have forced farmers to abandon marginal land and find additional income sources. Subsidies reportedly sustained farming for some time.

Farmers in particular can raise alternative income through using farming machinery or dedicated trucks for paid or contract work, quarrying stone, cutting firewood, delivering water, holding part-time work such as bus driver, operating holiday accommodation etc. At

the same time, rising rates and increasing regulation is affecting land use. Requirements for resource consents and ecological protection have contributed greatly to the obstacles farmers face in maintaining their traditional livelihoods of farming on an off-shore island, the farmers interviewed emphasized. A study carried out in 2002, before the review of the district plan began, reported of focus group discussions with farmers who found that the introduction of the Resource Management Act 1991 severely affected options for land use and development. They believe they are unable to put in fences, dig drains, construct more farm roads, shift soil or clear land without special permits. And of course these costs impact on the viability of farming (Howie, 2002).

Tourism

The importance of the visitor-based economy is reflected in the number of accommodation classes and facilities available. There are 4 backpackers operations, seven luxury or boutique style establishments, and 5 lodges or bed-and-breakfast inns. Self-contained accommodation, as well as simple bed-and-breakfast accommodation is offered by many island residents through a range of advertising channels making it difficult to obtain precise statistics. On the Auckland City Tourism website, 35 alone are advertised. Similarly, it is not possible to obtain precise estimates of total visitor accommodation available on the island. At least 300 beds are advertised.

There is currently no single method employed on the island to monitor numbers of visitors to the island per year and little in the way of data about visitor motivations. An estimate is 60,000 tourists/year according to Auckland City figures. This was calculated by the chair of the community board for the period June 2007 to June 2008 to support request for additional funds for road construction. This estimate was based on arrival figures of shipping and airline companies, DoC vessel counts in Fitzroy Harbour and selected accommodation providers. These figures could not be verified independently since the commercial companies consider them sensitive.

Most visitors to Great Barrier Island are Aucklanders. Previous visitor statistics built up by the visitor centre, and confirmed by Great Barrier Island health providers as they plan for the peak summer season, show that 75% of visitors come from Auckland and 25% from other

areas (including around 5% that come from overseas).³¹ Activity is seasonal consisting of a short peak around Christmas.

Community organization: Civil society in profile

Civil society on Great Barrier Island is well developed. This category includes a wide range of institutions at all scales from international to local, from broad-based to very selective participation, from short-lived to institutionalized, and from the pursuit of wide agendas to very issue-drive. Shared by actors in this category is the need to negotiate for mandates and use argumentative methods to obtain resources and to enlist and maintain political influence.

Civil society organisation can be considered very active and thus play an important role in maintaining community. There are a relatively large number of community groups on Great Barrier Island for its population size. This includes four Arts and Crafts groups, three social services organisations, two rural women associations, seniornet, a playcentre etc. A number of services that are provided by government agencies on the mainland are contracted out to non-governmental organisations in the welfare, social and health sectors.

Apart from some very active volunteers, there were 6-10 people in paid employment in the non-profit sector during the study period, 2006 – 2007 (seasonal variation, indeterminate status, varying part-time/full-time arrangements). Permanent employment in the NGO sector is limited. Aotea Health is a private enterprise that employs two doctors, and three nurses. The health trust obtains funding to also employ one community health worker. Aotea Family Support Group, the most important social services provider apart from the health centre, and agent for a number of government programmes, have three full-time staff, consisting of one administrator/coordinator, an outreach worker and one youth worker.

There is an active network between the groups involved in community organisation. There is frequent interaction and mutual support, thanks to the small number of social focal points (shops, airport, offices). This and the overlap with social circles, contributes to the informal nature of the interaction. Every two months a ‘networking *hui*’ is organised. This also serves as a forum in which new ideas for social projects are discussed and organised. A community liaison officer of the Department of Conservation typically attends.

³¹ Norgrove and Jordan April 2006 Economic Influences on the Future of Great Barrier Island, Report to City Planning, Auckland City Council. Strateg.Ease Limited, Auckland.

Several factors contribute to the number of community organisations. The geographic distances involved results in communities fragmenting into northern, central and southern areas respectively, although there remains much overlap and exchange. This is reflected by the distribution of the three primary schools and the division of the Rate Payers Association into Northern, Central and Southern groups. This aggravated by slow roads, which still to a large extent are unsealed: an hour's travel separates the two settlements of Port Fitzroy in the North, and Tryphena in the South. Many services, including Council offices and the island's only GP are located near the island's main airport at Claris, approximately 15 and 45 minutes respectively from the two other main settlements on the island.

Another factor is the traditional orientation towards self-reliance. This has for example led to the formation of one of New Zealand's few community owned health organisations, and very active social and sports clubs – again one each in the North, Centre and South.

The community groups that are active on the island present a picture of the interests present in the community. Crafts and arts are well represented in the number of contributors to the community gallery and arts related groups. Similarly, environmental interests are manifested with several ambitious projects for private land management and advocacy of several groups. National advocacy groups, however, are not active on Great Barrier Island, especially since the closure of the local branch of the Royal Society for Protection of Forest and Birds. Nevertheless, ad hoc calls for volunteers, such as the Argentine Ant eradication campaign in 2007 and 2008, showed that interest in environmental care does not depend on civil society organisation. Other organisations that are very active (regular meetings, projects, publicly visible), such as the volunteer coast guard, the board riders or Senior Net identify other interests. The volunteer fire brigade is recognised as one of the most supported from within the community in the country.

The funding sources that are accessed by community groups are similar to those available in other communities nationwide. Community organisers estimate that \$180,000 - \$200,000 annually of external funding is used for program activities, staff and administration by the principal community groups. Accurate financial figures are confidential and fragmented. This includes capital purchases, but at least 75% enters the local economy directly through employment and expenditure made on the island. Half of this money is provided through Child Youth and Family and the District Health Board for social work (through the Aotea Health Trust and the Aotea Family Support Group). Apart from Lottery Funding (\$12,000 to

community worker) and the ASB Community Trust (\$40,000 annual budget in the study period), and small grants schemes (principally the Community Organisations Grant Scheme, COGS, which awarded \$40,000 through a Local Distribution Committee in 2007), the City and Regional Council also funnel funding into the community. This is organised through thematic programs, targeting specific groups or categories of activities. So, for example, the Auckland Regional Council Environmental Initiatives Fund offers support for groups to be “*engaged in the enhancement and conservation of important local environments and heritage.*”³²

5.2.2 A contested environment: Culture, civil society and conflicting visions

The relationship between the island’s residents, especially the landowning families, and the constitutional authorities has historically been perceived as difficult. The island has always suffered from being remote from mainland services and administration. The island residents, and especially the farming community, had to become resourceful and self-reliant, a culture that within the community the farmers still strongly identify with - and are recognised for. This history has shaped the relationship with government authorities and is marked by past experiences that for the ‘born-and-raised islanders’ frames the relationship with Auckland City Council. The farming families consider themselves to be in a struggle with authorities, subjected to often incomprehensible and impractical decision making that is considered inappropriate for the particular local circumstances. There is for example the historical story of the Tryphena Wharf which due to circumstances and politics was constructed at the ‘wrong side’ of the bay. For one farming family that was seriously affected by the longer and more difficult access, this was resolved by privately building a large wharf out of the timber of a salvaged shipwreck. For a long time this served as the principal loading facility for shipping milk and farm produce to Auckland. But after completion in 1936 it had then to be ceded to the Auckland port authorities in order for it actually to be used.

Environmental groups: A vision for Great Barrier Island

There are six environmental organizations on the island, even though the local section of the Royal Society for Protection of Birds (RSFPB) closed due to lack of organizational support.

³² www.arc.govt.nz (accessed 1.5.08) and in announcements in the Barrier Bulletin

The Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust (GBI Charitable Trust) was formed in October 2002 by local people involved in private conservation initiatives on the Island. All the trustees were local landowners involved in conservation work on private land, and several were members of communal land companies. It was decided that a formal body was needed to provide an “umbrella organisation to support conservation initiatives and to ensure a coordinated and integrated approach to the greater vision of the island's ecological restoration.”³³

On the website where this foundation story was recounted, and on the front page of its quarterly publication, the ‘Great Barrier Island Environmental News’, the trust states that its “vision is to protect native species through the eradication of rats and feral cats, to re-introduce species lost to the island, and to work towards building an ecology-based economic framework for Great Barrier”³⁴. The socio-economic goal was present from early on, although formulated differently 3 years earlier as “to sustain and restore the cultural and natural environment of Great Barrier Island in order to enhance the native biodiversity and foster the socio-economic well-being of the people.” (*Great Barrier Island Environmental News*, Issue No 3, Winter 2005). The aim of the GBI Charitable Trust is to change attitudes in the community in order to make Great Barrier Island the largest inhabited island in the world free of rats, feral cats, and mustelids. “The work of the Trust is to gain a mandate from the community to pursue this vision on their behalf,” (GBI Charitable Trust website, *ibid.*)

The trust obtained funding from the national Biodiversity Fund, distributed regular newsletters free to all GB households, organised public meetings, commissioned a survey of residents and liaised with government agencies on biodiversity management issues. One trustee was later appointed to the Hauraki Gulf Conservation Board on the basis of this demonstrated experience.

Environmental visions are debated issues within the community. During the period of field work, and with increasing frequency, the work of the GBI Charitable Trust was contested - at public meetings, in the local newsletter and at one point even through a national television prime time programme as the subject of an ‘investigation’ by the Close Up television programme.

³³ pers. comm. Don Armitage, founding member

³⁴ <http://www.gbict.co.nz/profile.htm> 1.6.08

The issue peaked at a public meeting when it was revealed that a GBI Charitable Trust delegation gave a presentation to Auckland City Council about the potential of the island as a World Heritage Site. This was challenged for members of the trust assuming a non-existent mandate for its representation with government authorities. The process for realising the trust's programme was contested by local community members.

Civil society as reflection of civil cultures

While geography and demographic makeup will have an important influence on the character and dynamics of civil society on Great Barrier Island, it is also in part determined by the personal background and identities of their leadership, in terms of socio-economic factors, cultural upbringing and lifestyles. The cultural identities present on Great Barrier Island find common ground in the network of community groups where common values can be expressed.

The legacy of the "back-to-the-land" movement of the 1970s and 1980s, with its history of land companies and communitarian ideals, has shaped attitudes and experience with group problems solving and decision making. And this is reflected in many ways, such as meeting style, consensual decision making, conducting small group politics, dispute resolution and management of strong personalities, informants confirmed.

Maori cultural values also find their way into the management of communal land companies and community groups. This echoes respect for Treaty Of Waitangi principles used in statutory procedures (esp social services of DIA, COGS, CYF). Meetings are sometimes organised as *huis*, taking time for participants to deliberate on issues in a non-hierarchical fashion, to introduce and address all issues of concern and to arrive at consensual decisions. Whether it is called a *hui* or not, elements of Maori protocol have been adapted in various ways into meetings and are explained simply as appropriate to the values and goals of the pakeha groups.

Another culture that can be recognised, are those with a background of the farmers and old 'settler families' - and to some extent the more recent settlers on lifestyle blocks also. They share much of the self-reliant attitude and disregard for formal administration and governance that also is associated with non-governmental organisations. This is a culture that prefers improvising and independence over detailed planning and excessive organisation. It prefers consensus over strong leadership.

Community workers interviewed also described how the sharing of experience among groups also enriches the knowledge that is used in consensual decision making. The small size of the island's community means that many issues faced and resolved by other groups are quickly shared among peers. These serve as model and warning in meetings, in informal discussions and to suggest alternative approaches. That can be as simple as introducing new ideas for fundraising, to how to negotiate with city departments. It also means that veterans in community groups have reputations that support or handicap their future roles. More importantly, the relationships that are thus built and maintained within and off the island serve as important social capital.

There are regular (bi-monthly) *huis* where community groups, that is trustees or their staff get together. The meeting is used to communicate on respective activities, find solutions to issues faced by individual groups and to develop new ideas. The network of community groups on the island is also a resource to for community issues not directly part of the mandate or scope of the member groups. For instance, during the consultation phase of the Auckland Governance review, the 2008 community board used public and private opportunities to mobilise also the community groups whose submissions were known to carry relatively more weight.

The geography and an active civil society contribute to community bonding. A functioning community in terms of the relations discussed earlier can be said to exist in terms of social ties, social attachment to institutions, small group size, and perceptions of similarity.

Tourism and economy

A 1999 study by an overseas tourism student, assessed the Great Barrier Island destination from a tourism marketing perspective (van Tilburg, 1999). The core attractions were identified as nature, climate, peacefulness of environment, walking tracks and the island's isolated location. These drew from the natural resources - beaches, bush, hot springs, fishing, flora and fauna, anchorage and climate, as well as cultural resources - historic places, museum(s), Maori history and traditions, attractions (a craft shop) and the residents, known for their friendliness and hospitality.

Already in 1999, Tilburg noted conflicting visions about tourism development among island residents. While the economic potential was considered of interest to many, the actual financial impact for the wider community was disputed. This was also reflected in discord

about the image the island should aim to portray. While some wanted to promote a low key, minimalist destination, other believed the island could be developed as an international resort with higher standard hotels and a full range of attractions and activities for visitors, echoing an earlier Auckland City Council report. As Tilburg noted, the prospects for the latter image were already greatly unrealistic due to tight restrictions on development, the need for reticulated power, and the absence of a prospective investment climate. But Tilburg did note a strong reluctance amongst residents to welcome too many visitors for fear of losing their lifestyles.

5.3 Explicating Great Barrier Island: Meanings and perspectives

Community involvement in environmental governance on Great Barrier Island takes many forms. There were two statutory processes taking place during the time of empirical research that had originally prompted this study. One was a proposal by the Department of Conservation to gazette a marine reserve on the North-west coast of the island. The other involved the review of existing resource management policy in the form of the Hauraki Gulf District Plan by the then Auckland City Council. Alongside that, or rather intertwined with these processes, were other environmental / conservation projects that concerned different but overlapping categories of community members.

The deliberations that followed around these processes were fragmented across institutional settings, social events and emergent spaces. This discursive commons represents a network of actor encounters that is important strategically for agenda setting and incipient resistance.

Taking up a perspective as close as possible to the actors concerned intends to take a critical hermeneutic position that attempts to interpret the framings that become active with respect to the actor's perspective. Without resorting to individual constraints, the emphasis will remain on contextual factors that arise out of the structural dimensions the preceding text was concerned with.

Entering the lifespheres of actors also aims to interpret their actions, understanding them as *active subjects* who step out of 'structure' and take an active role in shaping the spaces into which they have been invited as participants. What are the frames of reference, the individual and social context that enable this? What discourses are enacted and how do the possibilities of action enter into the social spaces?

5.3.1 November 2006, The Barrier Bulletin: Community actors in dialog

By November 2006, the Great Barrier Island community was immersed in a number of problems. The public exchanges in the fortnightly editions of the Barrier Bulletin during November and December became an impromptu platform for community members to deliberate these issues. The letters to the editor offer an insight into the perspectives of islanders on environmental governance.

The Barrier Bulletin is an important forum used by a number of community leaders and commentators. It is a fortnightly newsletter sold at local shops and with also a large subscriber base off-island made up of mostly of ex-residents, and non-resident property owners (Burke, editor, pers. comm.). Circulation peaks at 1,000 during the summer months and remains at around 500 during the other part of the year. While only representing a portion of the readership, the letters to the editor and editorial contributions do reflect a wide range of island residents, from all geographic areas, social groups and ethnicities. Given the small size of the community, and particularly those active in shared issues, most interested readers would be personally acquainted with many of the contributors.

The November 2006 edition of the Bulletin offers an insightful cross-section of active debates that this study is concerned with. The first letter was submitted by the longest serving community board member at the time, Helen O'Shea, and touched on several of the issues that were active in public discourses then. The O'Shea's are farmers working marginal land in the north of the island. Helen O'Shea was succeeded by her son in the 2007 community board elections. The themes raised here can be traced across several issues taken up in this report. Helen O'Sheas letter was phrased like it was addressed to the whole community .. (sic).

'THE DRAFT HAURAKI GULF ISLANDS SECTION OF THE DISTRICT PLAN

I take up my pen with a heavy heart. This subject carries a personal grief for me, and also as an elected representative I carry the can.

I am of the view that this draft plan is the gravest piece of proposed legislation to come before us. If put into practice, it would be socially and economically fatal to this community.

The district plan review is perceived as a shared threat. O'Shea asserts rights as residents of the island - as citizens?:

The powers that be in their race to make GB a tourist Mecca for the idle rich in their big boats, have failed to take into account the human species that inhabit this island. Surely we have our rights also! Nothing has changed. This situation is as old as time. Might, power and money call the shots. Money dictates the terms.

There is a sense of powerlessness:

Today's political scene is far removed from Great Barrier Island County Council days [speaking from personal experience since H O'Shea was first a county Councillor at that time, about two decades earlier.] Now we are part of a whole new ball game. Great Barrier Island's to become a world heritage site. This has been in the plan or scheme of things for years. Now it is coming to a head as people of that leaning work relentlessly toward their mission. That is why the draft plan is ideologically driven.

The County Council that O'Shea writes of was abolished when Great Barrier Island was amalgamated with Auckland City during the local government reforms in the early 1990s. Local representation is now exercised by an elected community board.

In the last paragraph, O'Shea diverges to bring a separate but in her perspective closely related issue. A proposal by the Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust to nominate the island as a special site to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee is perceived as a threat that is implicitly related to Auckland City Council. 'Unnamed individuals' are also mentioned, a veiled reference to conservation activists, a reference that would be well understood by those local readers actively following community affairs.

O'Shea next identifies another long-standing conflict, the Department of Conservation's relation to residents, which she distinguishes as an anonymous bureaucracy:

Getting back to humans, DoC have jurisdiction over some 65% to 75% of the land ... That is fine ... Airfields, reserves, police area under Auckland City or Crown and Tangata Whenua land. So land in private title amounts to some 25% more or less. These are the people we represent. We work as a team. Section 52 of the local government act states: "The role of a community board is to represent, and act as advocate for, the interests of the community."

The community board identifies with private property owners, and by extension, residents on private property. (Tangata whenua are unintentionally excluded because for reasons that will

become apparent this is a simple calculation of rate payers. O'Shea is actually of part Maori descent, represents the Maori interests portfolio in the Community Board and is spokesperson for the Te Taurahere Association of Maori non-tangata whenua residents on the island).

I have done that for the last 22 years to the best of my knowledge and ability. I did not write the draft plan. It sounds the death knell to me. Once again I urge the residents and ratepayers to study the draft plan, call Community Board members on it, make submissions, link in with one another, forget personalities, look at the issues before you, and make sure you put in a submission.

Like Helen O'Shea, several other community members were marshalling arguments to mobilize rate-payers and community members to participate in the statutory process and to challenge government authority. In the same issue, Paul Downie (who was to become Chair of the Community Board in the 2007-2010 term), wrote that it was critically important to make submissions. Under the heading of "Draft District Plan / Mass Notification of Heritage Items" he linked to key issue raised by a recent mail out by the Auckland City Council. Downie warned of the potential impact of the policy rules on "... you and your property, your rights, and how to use your property."

Already in his election campaign (also consisting of a letter in the Barrier Bulletin), Paul Downie had declared the defence of private property rights as one of three issues that constituted his platform. Offering a background in corporate management and experience in the business world, the semi-retired manager also stated that he still maintained 'business interests' in Auckland.

Two further letters had been submitted by Richard Somerville-Ryan, entitled 'What's in a settlement?' and 'How much Heritage is Enough?' respectively. Somerville-Ryan also not much later joined the Community Board in 2007 (and was re-elected in 2010), and during that term was often leading active opposition to Auckland City Council District Plan processes. Lucidly written, with a strong dose of humour and irreverence, his letters comprehensively discussed the implications of key parts of the plan. As he explained later to me, these issues and others addressed in subsequent issues of the Barrier Bulletin, reflected questions put to him in private encounters with island land owners, particularly the farming families.

‘What’s in a settlement?’ was a 1200 word essay discussing the implications for development of the new policies. The text analysed in detail the implications of plan changes on selected settlement areas against an expressed objective to promote economic growth to address an issue of declining population. This echoed another of the issues and solutions that Paul Downie had identified as important to voters in his election advertising in October 2007. While supporting the rationale of the planners, it questioned the logic and effectiveness of the proposed plan and called for more deliberation by community board and concerned residents.

The analysis offered is an economic one, not surprising given that Somerville-Ryan describes himself as a retired management consultant with a background in corporate business. If the new policy rules will inevitably restrict supply of real estate, the market will push up prices. Since the rating system is proportionally based on real estate sales, even fewer sales will still lead to rates increases. (A prediction that came true three years later, together with the effects of rezoning formerly rural land as urban). That in turn would discourage younger people from staying or moving on to the island and thus have consequences on labour availability, he argued. In this way he made reference to a widespread belief that the island demographically is aging. In consequence, the logic continued, this will not help the goal of creating the small, vibrant, and economically viable settlement communities the planners, and also the discourse of Somerville-Ryan, envisage. *“It won't help us older people either. Generally we don't want the sort of island that Waiheke has become; but we face declining population numbers and rapidly increasing land costs. They require more imaginative solutions.”* And with that he offered a rationale for criticism of the plan that had direct relevance to concerns expressed by others at public meetings, namely of declining population and a shrinking island economy.

In a second letter, Somerville-Ryan posed the question ‘How much Heritage is Enough?’ making reference to a form letter sent by the Auckland City Council in September/October and addressed to owners of properties classified as occupying sites of heritage value – ‘that is most of us,’ he wrote. Somerville-Ryan advised residents to protect rights of ‘existing use’ under the RMA. With a healthy dose of humour – advising for an inoculation against ‘the Barrier Mass Heritage Virus’ – he called on residents to do research, verify old plans and to prepare the two separate submissions that would be required. Such submissions were particularly important to guard against the possibility of more onerous restrictions that the Council might choose to apply at a later date on the basis of such classifications.

The 'heritage letter' had in fact caused much agitation among residents, and farmers in particular. The relationship between owners of larger blocks of land and the Council had been strained already, reframing the district plan process from another perspective, as will be discussed below. The letter had made heritage features and heritage designation a political issue that affected the power relation between the local government institutions and land owners, particularly those that considered themselves managing land for productive use.

Judy Gilbert also contributed a letter. At that time she was also a member of the Community Board, and wrote to confirm that together with another member of the Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust (GBI Charitable Trust), a presentation to the Auckland City Council Environment and Heritage Committee had been made. There they had advocated for the Council to begin steps for Great Barrier Island to be nominated for World Heritage status she explained, which Gilbert considered very advantageous for the island, particularly with respect to the trust's aims of biodiversity preservation and "building an ecology-based economic framework for Great Barrier Island. However, this initiative was seen in quite a different light by other community board members and some residents.

One objector to this 'covert initiative' was Helmut Bender, also a resident. News of this meeting in Auckland had been transmitted through the community and questions had been raised about who had been informed beforehand. "Most of us were stunned into disbelief ..." wrote Bender in a letter entitled 'Overstepping the line', and published in the following edition of the Barrier Bulletin in December 2006. Questioning the mandate and processes used by the GBI Charitable Trust, Bender continued to challenge another trustee in the Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust, Professor John Ogden, who had been quoted in an interview with Anne Beaston in the NZ Herald of 28.6.06 that on the island there is "a small but significant proportion of people against any authority telling them what to do."

Bender then criticised the privilege demanded by the private conservation projects, who with an appeal to "future generations" were seen to gain personal benefits from the large sums of public money they received in support of conservation work. While expressing respect for the effort made, Bender asserts the same 'rights' for organic gardeners, development of tree nurseries and those that are continuing traditional farming. "Let people dream their own dreams and realise their own visions on their own land, rather than imposing visions on them. The attempts the Trust has made in this regard have left a lot of us shaking our heads."

In the same issue, John Ogden (as current chair writing on behalf of the GBI Charitable Trust) had offered a clarification. Giving a rational explanation that firstly World Heritage status and District Plan heritage designation should not be confused, he reasserts the goal of a “revitalised economic framework for the island *following rat and feral eradication*” (emphasis added). Denying any hidden agenda, Ogden did acknowledge that the timing represented an error of judgement and asked for reasonable understanding.

An explanation for what may have occurred was offered by another contributor, a tree nursery owner who elsewhere already had in public expressed opposition to “uncontrolled poison drops”. Colin MacLean simply questioned the capacity of the GBI Charitable Trust, as a small-scale, community-based organisation, to develop the process of instituting a World Heritage site without involvement of the government agencies concerned. Listing the issues involved from outright opposition to poison drops and ecological concerns to the lack of trust towards government organisations such as DoC and fear of being excluded, McLean explained that residents remained sceptical, knowing that government will be inevitably become involved, take control out of the hand of community-based organisations and, once that is the case, “it’s going to a whole new ball game. I can’t see that anyone is going to agree to anything until they know what they’re agreeing on.” In other words, the vision that the GBI Charitable Trust holds is inherently a governance problem, and so has to go through a governance process to become institutionalised – an altogether different frame.

Immediately below that followed another contribution by Helmut Bender again – this time at the invitation of the editor – which gave another explanation. Bender was a retired German who had arrived, as he recounted, via circuitous routes to this island where a number of years ago he and his Australian partner had decided to settle. Drawing on his extensive sailing experience, he denied the practicality of being able to prevent rats from re-invading a rat free island. Citing some reading and informants, he argued convincingly that the goal of maintaining a pest free island is unrealistic without intensive, unsustainable management. A view that was in fact confirmed in interviews later with chief proponents of the ‘rat free’ vision of the GBI Charitable Trust. For island residents living in a bush environment, completely eliminating pests as if this was a small uninhabited island like Tiritiri Matangi seems a ‘preposterous claim’, characteristic of similar unrealistic aims that those city dwellers often bring with them, he wrote.

Altogether, this small exchange in the Barrier Bulletin represents well a wider discussion that was very active in different places – at public meetings, in the GBI Charitable Trust publication distributed to all households at quarterly intervals, on the side at sporting events and in people’s homes. These subjects had animated a significant number of the community – on and off island, I could confirm from my own exposure to these discussions.

The key themes that come out of these positions include resistance against authority, a defence of a sense of identity intermeshed with associated privileges, and a claim for rights exclusive, those that could make a claim on the basis of family, residence or other association with the island. This was all positid in contrast to more abstract visions of pest free environment or a equitably governend shared resources..

While the positions that the farmers, conservationists, and businessmen occupied generally developed into established, recognisable discourses, this was not entirely immutable. Day-to-day participation in the island community also moved individuals out of their communities of interest and let other relations have a bearing on discourse and political behaviour. The community board was one of the spaces where deliberation took place in manner reflecting wider deliberations.

5.3.2 The powers of a community board: Social capital or new spaces of engagement?

A community board³⁵ can offer a small community important capacity to address locally-important issues. Recounting the response to the threat of a discontinued school bus service, is a good example of the community board in action.

With declining school rolls the number of students using this service in the current year had dropped to six. Worse, since they lived in opposite directions from the school, the bus effectively needed to do three different trips.

From the mainland administrator’s point of view, this is considered to be three different routes, in three different sectors. With eight passengers considered as the minimum to open a route, managers of the state operated company had given first notice to the community. One of the community board members, Richard Sommerville-Ryan, had taken this matter up

³⁵ The reorganisation of several cities and districts into the ‘Supercity’ of Auckland in 2009 saw the Community Board renamed to Local Board under a new constitutional and operative framework.

personally and was reporting back to the board on progress so far, leading into a discussion that lasted all of 45 minutes.

The deliberation brought different forms of reasoning into the discussion. Attempts were made to construct arguments that would have validity in the bureaucratic reasoning that a corporate administrator would use, that would reframe the situation. So for a few turns it was considered how to redefine the three routes as one sector and so overcoming one of the obstacles. Then it was considered at length whether it would serve to access to political authority, the mayor or the elected member of parliament, to intervene in favour, perhaps playing on the upcoming election campaigns. A side discussion than considered if alternative solutions would be viable in the short or long term, ranging from car pooling to letting the children walk in a single line for their safety, before dismissing any of these as undesirable. Possible effects of precedent on the other two island schools, or the potential difficulties in regaining this service if and when school rolls would rise again, as they are reliably predicted to according to available information.

This process brought into the discussion the values and criteria considered important and that could form the basis for a consensus position that board members would represent within and outside the community.

The discussion also revealed the abilities and instruments that the board had available for solving this type of problem. These included: accessing, selecting and utilising relevant information; applying group problem solving skills; evaluating future developments to assess viable action and likely outcomes; accessing politically influential actors through personal and official networks; using the credibility and authority of the community board with Auckland City letterheads; involving, guiding and coordinating lobbying of other community groups; resorting to the community board discretionary funding; using the media;

The process this reflected, if not explicitly, corresponded to formulating the issue as a problem that required a joint effort to find a solution, analysing the elements of problem, clarifying desirable and undesirable outcomes, evaluating action possibilities, considering the consequences and finally organising action and follow up. It is in fact not that distinct from Dryzek's criteria for a discursive design. When necessary, the community board was also prepared to widen the forum and mobilise the community, that is those that could be enticed to participate through the use of a phone tree. On repeated occasions, that technique brought

together 10 or 20% of the island's population. And so, one time the call went out to put an outright end to bureaucratic frustrations.

5.3.3 January 2008, The Great Barrier Island Community Board calls an extraordinary meeting

On January 22 2008 the community board called an extraordinary meeting to consider a Notice of Motion by Chairperson Paul Downie which began "that Council withdraw Great Barrier Island from the proposed Hauraki Gulf Islands District Plan Hearings process and appoint an independent planning advocate/arbitrator'." A new plan should be prepared that would separate Great Barrier Island policies from those for Waiheke Island.

Fifty-one members of the public crowded the meeting room and doorways at the Claris Health Centre where the eight Community Board Members were meeting. Public notices and a phone tree had mobilized island residents to attend this meeting. At least 5 farming families were represented, most of the large land owners. The level of public interest that was manifested, echoed the submissions made to the district plan. The analysis made available by the Council showed 185 submissions as agreeing with the request for a decision to "Comprehensively re-review the entire plan taking into account community views (in particular, the views of the Great Barrier community)." ³⁶ Similarly, 99 submissions had requested that "The whole new Plan should be rewritten around the existing land usage - reflecting what we are doing on our properties." With 3858 submissions made in total, these were the most frequently requested decisions.

Before the Community Board members discussed their views, nine people gave comment on the proposal, reflecting experiences and views on the Council's District Plan Review process. Speakers were generally critical and questioned intent, appropriateness and method to challenge the legitimacy of an eventual plan and the ability of city-based staff to prepare a practical plan. Elly Bayne, a tangata whenua, gave a historical perspective, arguing that twenty years of city involvement were too short a time to earn the right to rule the lives of people with 170 and 1500 years respectively history behind them. Landowners should stand as one and that thus made everybody in the room *tangata whenua*. Even if that appeared

³⁶ Auckland City District Plan – Hauraki Gulf Islands Section – Proposed 2006, Summary of decisions requested – relating to the whole Plan, Page 1

incongruous, it represented an ad hoc alliance that could be imagined and so received a healthy round of applause.

The only voice to advise against a confrontation with the Auckland City Council was Professor John Ogden who pointed out that the consultation carried out was as comprehensive as could be expected from government agency – aside from the fact that after the resources that had been invested, and the cost that a new and separate plan would impose, the Council would be unlikely to agree to any changes at this stage. In fact, submissions deadlines had been extended two times already, a lot of correspondence had been made and findings had been publicized. While his argument eventually did prove correct, that is not what the meeting wanted to assert. The resolution was passed in the end, despite its low likelihood of having a constructive effect.

A theme that emerged once again, was that the District Plan and the Resource Management Act in general are seen by hereditary farming families as a government instrument to reframe the rural landscape into an ecological park that has no place for traditional lifestyles resource based livelihoods like farming.

Notwithstanding, the RMA instituted a number of measures to devolve governance to locally elected representatives and to open resource management to deliberation.

5.4 Interpreting Great Barrier Island: Processes and framings

A quote of an unnamed interviewee, saying that “Some people just get what they want, while the rest of us have to jump through all the hoops” – which was made in reference to the private conservation projects on the island – appears to reflect little interest in deliberation about theoretical ontologies but rather an aversion to administrative complications that tilt the playing field in favour of some individuals and categories of people. But the critical orientation underlying a division between ‘some people’ and the ‘rest of us’ actually represents the first step of theorisation.

This is not the same framing that ‘some people’ would utilise. The lens through which the discourse of the private conservationists see the island setting raises different arguments that do not divide the world materially – at least not on a critical basis – but see psychology and education as determining factors. What their lens is aimed at rather, are the values and behaviour patterns that shape conservation outcomes. Meanwhile for those ‘jumping through

all the hoops’, conservation is less about a preferred lifestyle and more about lifestyle constraints imposed by the Resource Management Act.

This quote also signals a dialectical shift between *symbolic* and *social boundaries*. Private conservation is a privilege of owners of prime real estate with the ability and the resources to implement sophisticated pest control and ecological restoration projects. The large sums of public money that funders allocate to iconic conservation projects do not help to dispel that notion. This symbolises a material distinction that aligns with a perception of conservation as an elitist preoccupation.

Remaining with an interest in conservation outcomes for the moment, whose theorisation is appropriate here? With a critical framing of environmental governance an analyst would closely examine the logic of linkages from socio-economic and educational status to conservation outcome to give preference to one or the other. But with a post-structural interest, the discursive knowledge claims, the private and public deliberation and the framings this puts into circulation, become of interest in themselves. A political study would continue to trace political processes to analyse which framings gain supremacy. My interest here is wider, beginning with asking what makes some framings possible in the first instance. In this way, I want to be able to show how theorisation can be situated and used productively.

To appreciate the pre-theoretic framings that precede the discursive claim making and to recognise the spaces where fertile ground for alternative framings appears, I argued for an actor-oriented, frame-reflective and critical examination of environmental governance. In the following section I will closely examine two processes that arrived on Great Barrier Island, to expose the relations, tensions, and imaginaries that this framework can expose.

The interest in these particular processes comes from a search for *spaces of engagement* that Keely and Scoones (2003) described in African policy processes. Emergent spaces of deliberation, in their conception, allow alternative perspectives room to challenge the power of more totalizing discourses, influential social interests and particular patterns of state formation.

5.4.1 Deliberating the proposed marine reserve

“Public Rally from Claris airport to oppose the Aotea Marine Reserve, this Saturday 16 July.”
read the advertised invitation from tangata whenua who had called for island residents to ‘come together for a hiko’ in protest against the Department of Conservation. 75 people

participated in the public demonstration of opposition against the marine reserve announcement. Mostly island residents and twice as many Pakeha as Maori had turned out.

After marching from the airfield to a paddock adjacent to the Claris commercial centre a kilometre away, a number of speakers stepped forward. Placards and banners had been prepared, reading: "Labour government stabs community in the back", "DOC consultation a joke", "Are we a democracy or is it SIEG HEIL, Comrade Minister?", "The reserve steals treaty rights", "Q: What does a Marine Reserve preserve? A: Bottom trawling"

The trustee of the Ngati Wai Trust Board, Himiona Munroe, preceded his comments by reminding rally supporters that this gathering was not about militancy but about communicating an important message to the government.

"It is wrong that conservation should be imposed on us like that. It is us, the Ngati Wai, who are the traditional guardians of our waters. What is happening is a major catastrophe for the *tangata whenua*, the island community and the wider public."

By R. Gorter, published in the Barrier Bulletin, July 2005

On 17 June 2005, national media reported that Chris Carter, the Minister of Conservation, had approved the Great Barrier Marine Reserve. In the media release, Carter claimed that "Support for the original reserve proposal was strong. Of the 3513 submissions on it, some 2200 were supportive." With this approval, the proposal would then require concurrence from the Minister of Fisheries to proceed, but this was not a perfunctory part of the process. Carter also claimed that "DOC's administration of the proposal process had been independently reviewed and cleared as appropriate." Participants of the rally on 16 July contested this, and loudly so.

The speakers that stepped forward on the day of the rally, represented several key categories of actors in the process around the proposed marine reserve that was unfolding: Iwi trustees, a Member of Parliament, a non-commercial fishing activist, and several local landowners and farmers. The linkages with other issues were immediately apparent. For MP Baldcock it was part of opposition politics, the recreational fishing lobby was represented by one of its most vocal spokespersons, Scott Macindoe of the Option4 group, and iwi leaders talked in the language of Maori sovereignty claims.

Four days after the minister's announcement, and in protest at the decision, Taiaha (Rodney) Ngawaka drove south to the Claris airfield and single-handedly occupied the runway, blocking airplanes from landing or taking off. Ngawaka had laid out "No reserve" in big

white letter, visible only from an aircraft. After the local police officer encouraged him to leave but without carrying out an arrest, several tangata whenua joined Ngawaka to begin a planned 'occupation' at a DOC-owned farm in the north of the island. Ngawaka said in an interview for the Barrier Bulletin, that "the process has not been transparent, has been supported by incorrect information, and that many valid objections ... have not seen any response." Claiming support for the principles of conservation, according to him the minor alterations in the proposal had not been sufficient in addressing the concern of tangata whenua.

The 'occupation' lasted two weeks with the help of tents and local supporters until they were informed verbally by local DOC staff that the Minister would come personally to discuss their grievances on July 7. However, by July 4 when Ngawaka tried to confirm the meeting, he was told by the DOC Auckland office that Carter would now not be coming to the island but would be available in the Auckland Office to meet with Ngawaka. This inevitably became a repeatedly cited example of allegedly 'deceptive' DOC behaviour.

The protest was continued on that day, Saturday 16 July, with a 'public rally' in the island's administrative centre. This time, 75 people gathered at Claris airport, prepared with rain coats and placards that read. 'Q: What does a marine reserve preserve? A: Bottom trawling.' – 'Are we a democracy or is it Sieg Heil, Comrade Minister?' The majority were island residents and European pakeha numbered exactly 2:1 to Maori. But poor weather had held up the television journalists at Auckland airport who had been invited to publicise the protest. After marching to an empty paddock adjacent to the commercial centre, several speakers addressed the group. The first was Larry Baldcock, Member of Parliament for United Future (soon to lead the Kiwi Party into the 2008 parliamentary elections), linking the protest to his party's policy against the DOC "unilaterally imposing reserves against the wishes of residents and the wider public."

Scott Macindoe from Option4 and a part-time resident himself was also there, announcing that "we left tangata whenua unsupported when the government forced through the seabed and foreshore issues. ... There are forces at work in our government which are out of control." The owner of the farm adjacent to the reserve – who had been offered, by way of compensation, exclusive rights to fish in the reserve – also spoke out in opposition, adding that "Now we are told that the government has signed an international agreement to protect 10% of the coastline in no-take reserves. That may be the best thing to do in some countries,

but the government has no mandate to agree this on behalf of the people of New Zealand. The marine reserve strategy is, I believe, resource acquisition by the government for its own purposes.” Another farmer, Wim Frieswijk, linked the situation to property rights and the Resource Management Act, expressing indignation that “it has become a criminal offence to cut down shrub.” Many of the attendees knew that the Frieswijk family had been to court over this very issue, and had in fact won an out of court settlement to allow them to continue cutting and selling firewood.

When the DOC invited feedback on the first proposal released back in March 2003, the closing date for submissions was set 4 months later on the 31st of July. This period was used by the advocacy group Option4 to mobilise supporters and amateur fishers in general. It did this through mailing lists it had built up, written contributions to relevant magazines and through announcements at meetings with others fishing interest groups. The advocacy group did this so effectively, that not only were 500 electronic submissions made using its specially designed online submission system to support the opposition to the proposal, but that in the final application the DOC graciously acknowledged the role of Option4 in facilitating the consultation process (DOC, 2004).

April 2006, Motairehe marae, Great Barrier Island, Hui with Stan Crothers, MFP

One of the events that followed from the marine reserve announcement, took place at a marae on Great Barrier Island. While the delegation from the Ministry of Fisheries’ that was received there may have reported it under “Partnership duties” in their work accounts, the event was also part of a process that had begun by the Hokianga Accord.

It was at the previous *hui* of the Hokianga Accord movement, at a Nga Puhi marae in Northland, that Stan Crothers, Deputy Chief Executive of the Ministry of Fisheries, had been invited by a Maori resident from Great Barrier Island to ‘consult with tangata whenua’ about their views on the proposal and was assured before the meeting that this would be done. This commitment was kept, and in April 2006 a group of Ministry staff led by Crothers was welcomed onto the marae at Motairehe. The thirty people present included Scott Macindoe of Option4/Hokianga Accord, and several other European pakeha residents of the island. The visit was a first indication of the sympathies held by the Ministry of Fisheries that was confirmed later when the Minister did not declare support for the Department of Conservation proposal.

Local perspective was contrasted with the national view of the visitors. “On a map of New Zealand it [the marine reserve] is just a drop, but to us it is huge,” Mathew Ngawaka, a local commercial fisher said. Another added that, “Because of its location, there are fish one cannot get easily elsewhere and then only in the fishing grounds of others, making us feel like thieves if we go over there.”

Crother’s credibility was strengthened by one of the tangata whenua who spoke, acknowledging him as a former colleague in fisheries enforcement. Again, a lack of trust for government was expressed, demanding acknowledgement for kaitiakitanga role of tangata whenua. “If you are here as a partner – try us. We want to talk, we want conservation, we also want power to develop own self-reliance. Let’s see if we can find trust in each other’s belief systems.”

The problem was also reframed as being a different issue: “Why should we here, on Great Barrier Island, be punished for the commercial over-fishing by foreign operators that the government has allowed in New Zealand waters?” asked Don Ngawaka.

Martin Cleave, who presented himself as the iwi’s spokesperson on marine issues and an off-island based film maker, expressed the issues in the same terms as Option4 and the Hokianga Accord. He questioned the assessment of ‘customary fishing’ as something that could be reduced to figures and then leaving it open to interpretation by the Ministry. “If you want to know how much fish we take, then I would tell you: Enough.” He concluded by saying: “This marine reserve application as it stands, alienates *tangata whenua* from its *rohe moana* and our ability to exercise our most fundamental rights and obligations as *rangatiratanga* and *kaitiakitanga*.”

Scott Macindoe who had been instrumental in enlisting the presence of MP Baldcock, other Option4 supporters and several local participants at the protest meeting following the ministerial announcement, closed the event evoking similar images as in speeches he had made at previous Hokianga Accord events, saying that “Not since the Springbok Tour have Maori and Pakeha stood side by side like this. We have tools like *Rahui* and *Mataitai* to consider as better alternatives for marine resource management. Each can learn from each other and this is the opportunity for that. We all want the same thing and that is more fish in the water.”

Consultation for a proposed marine reserve

The proposal for a marine protected area Great Barrier Island under the Marine Reserve Act 1971 represents the continuation of a trajectory that I have already traced back to the contested establishment of the first marine reserve at Goat Island at Leigh. This section now examines how the issues encountered already there developed in this island context.

Great Barrier Island can be seen on the horizon from Leigh, less than 50 kilometres to the East. There are historical and present tangata whenua links (for instance, the chairman of the Ngati Rehua Trust Board resides in Matakana, near Leigh). Crayfish boats operate out of Leigh port around the island. Before its amalgamation with Auckland City Council, Great Barrier Island was also administered by the Rodney District Council.

Unlike Leigh, Great Barrier Island is not accessible by car and often is unpredictably cut off by poor weather. The permanent resident population has been in decline since a peak in the mid-eighties. There are no significant economic activities on the island apart from the modest development of mostly second homes and the seasonal influx of visitors in the summer months. Unlike at Leigh, there are no national academic institutions represented on the island. Interest in underwater life consists primarily of recreational fishing and food gathering. The island is a popular destination for boating enthusiasts from Auckland.

The lack of ports means there is little island-based commercial fishing activity. In the early 1990's there were 25 locally owned fishing boats and a further 15 boats from the mainland unloading their catch on the island³⁷. After the introduction of the quota system in 1986 most fishermen opted to sell their quota and left the island or turned to other livelihoods. A number of Maori families are still setting pots for crayfish in the northern part of Great Barrier Island either with their own or leased iwi quota. One other full-time fisherman sets pots mostly around the southern coasts of the island, operating out of Tryphena Harbour with a converted pleasure launch. Cray fish are delivered to exporters in Leigh and Whitanga respectively.

Aquaculture on the island developed significantly in 1993 with the granting of four new leases for mussel farms to augment the two existing leases and an additional two leases in 1995. In total 30 hectares of sea area is being farmed for mussels and nine people work part time on the harvesting barge. Nine hectares are owned by iwi and six by two individual Maori families.

³⁷ Robertson, Adele and Howie, Leonie 2002 Great Barrier Island Community profile, unpublished report

The geography of Great Barrier Island and the strong place based identities are played out in the reactions of local residents to the reserve proposal.

“Your chance to have a say” - Again? NIMBY

For most Great Barrier Island residents the first warning that the Department of Conservation was to launch a new campaign to institute a marine reserve on Great Barrier Island’s remote North-East Coast, was given by the Barrier Bulletin and came in the form of a photo of that coast on the cover of the 15 March 2003 edition with the caption: “Will you look your kids in the eye and say - Yes, I voted to lock it up?”

The northern part of Great Barrier Island is separated from the rest of the island by a hilly block of land administered by the Department of Conservation. It represents the core of a conservation estate spanning over 60% of the island. Seen on a map, the conservation lands encircle a small enclave of private property in the north of the island. Local residents estimate that less than a hundred people live there, mainly in four small settlements, including tangata whenua in two separate settlements (Motairehe and Kawakawa) at Katherine Bay. At that time, the school at Okiwi had 10 children enrolled plus 3 older children attending as correspondence students. There are only 2 livestock farms in operation (of which one is working a station leased from the Department of Conservation), one school, one shop and the Department of Conservation compound another ten minutes’ drive from the last settlement. The DOC staff make up a significant portion of residents with 16 staff and their families, as well as several sub-contractors.

The editor of the Barrier Bulletin is also a resident of North Barrier since 1980, and although not born on the island, he is married to a descendant of one of the island’s ‘pioneering families’ and through that also related to two other old farming families. Until the end of farming subsidies in the 1960s, farming was the mainstay of the local economy. These ‘generationalists’, as one interviewee labelled this group, are raising children that are 5th or 6th generation on the island. From their perspective, there is a clear distinction between those ‘born and bred on the island’ and the newcomers that have been coming in waves that begun with the ‘back to the land movement’ in the 1970s. And that notwithstanding that these themselves are now also beginning to enter into their third generation.

The Barrier Bulletin article announced the upcoming mail out to residents in March 2003 of a 16 pages pamphlet entitled “Your chance to have a say” that had been produced by the DOC.

It was illustrated with colourful photos of marine life, and included a shot of visitors crowding onto a glass bottom boat at Leigh marine reserve. It opened with the argument that “A marine reserve will ensure that at least one part of Great Barrier’s marine world is protected and replenished to pass on to our children and grandchildren.” In an easy to read format, the document represented the department’s assessment of the rationale, benefits and impacts of the proposal. With a map of the 6 existing marine reserves within a 100km radius, the principle of a network of marine reserves was also introduced.

The project for a marine reserve off Great Barrier Island had been active since 1985 when what was then the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries identified the area around Rakitu Island and another nearby zone as warranting some form of marine protection³⁸. In 1989, the DOC began “informal discussions with the people of Great Barrier Island” about “establishing a marine reserve somewhere around the island” (Jeffs & Irving, 1993, p. 1). This scientific study carried out in 1993, launched a more substantial process of meetings with residents and the preparation of a full proposal for a marine reserve, including the Auckland conservator at the time, Dr Campbell. The report by Jeffs also claimed strong local consent for the proposal and location of the reserve, with a questionnaire obtaining 75% support from 256 submitters. A ‘steering committee’ of local residents was formed, meeting several times between 1989 and 1993. A draft proposal had been prepared by July 1994.

For unclear reasons this process then came to a halt until fresh political support was obtained within the Auckland conservancy department, with a key role taken by a marine scientist and sub-contractor to DOC, Dr Roger Grace (Foulkes, 2007). Grace is also a Trustee of the Mountains to Sea Conservation Trust, the organisation that created MarineNZ, a pro-conservation advocacy group. The DOC described the new activities as “in line with the strategic directions set out in the Department Statement of Intent which reflected the New Zealand Biodiversity Strategy objectives and government policy” (ibid).

In 2001, DOC contracted Karen Baird to canvas resident support for the reserve proposal, who then met with tangata whenua, and others on the island. Baird had previously worked as DOC officer, among other, leading the campaign to, unsuccessfully, establish a marine reserve at Nugget Point, Dunedin (Gorter, 1992a). A second marine survey was also carried out on behalf of DOC (Sivaguru and Grace 2002). Since late 2000, the department stated,

³⁸ Department of Conservation 2004 Aotea (Great Barrier) Marine reserve application

written communication and some meetings with conservation organisations, Ministry of Fisheries, and iwi were part of the pre-statutory consultation. Consultation prior to 2001 was considered distinct from the process towards the proposal that was issued in 2003, but was documented in Department of Conservation files (DOC 2003).

Framing issues: Benefits, agenda setting, conservation, government

The mail-out had assembled and framed issues in a way that was contested by local reactions. In inviting participation, the DOC had posed the question of whether a marine reserve would respond to issues of limiting environmental impacts and, indirectly, address some other issues expressed as benefits to island residents and other possible respondents: future generations, economic benefits, ascertaining natural values, and possible spill-over effects improving fishing.

But for the critical editorial of the 15 March 2003 newsletter, the issue was not the claim of conservation value but the alleged agenda of the Department of Conservation. “There are too many inconsistencies in DOC’s approach to this reserve to feel over confident that they will take any notice of anything they don’t like.” To support this, Burke brought back unresolved issues from the previous consultation process, dating back much further to 1993 and before, including a quote attributed to Dr Campbell in a public meeting in response to “a sound rejection” as saying “the proposal is finished.” In 1800 words, Burke extended the argument, and concluded explicitly by spelling out NIMBY as “Not In My Back Yard”. This was particularly appropriate since to all intents and purposes, the marine reserve was in Burke’s backyard from where his home was located.

The proposal for a marine reserve was seen in a different light by the only diving guide and scuba instructor resident on the island at the time, myself. In a response published in the following issue of Burke’s newsletter, I criticised Burke for using the front page of his newsletter as a platform to oppose the proposal but thanked him for provoking a public discussion. Describing myself as ecotourism operator (although 2003 turned out to be my last summer season) and therefore arguably standing to potentially benefit personally from this project, I resorted to arguments from the marine reserves movement and my ecology studies to justify the marine reserve as part of a wider ecosystem management approach.

In the same issue of the Barrier Bulletin, the DOC community relations officer acknowledged the extent of criticism, “it hasn’t been a picnic so far”, and assured readers of the agency’s

intent to listen to local concerns. In his text, Flack listed and discussed the comments received so far, as widespread support in principal (“apart from –Sod Off“). Aside from “access to seafood in the estuary and surrounding coast”, “a desire for more public discussion” and “concern for negative effects on land value”, he also reported a general mistrust of DOC. In response to this attitude, the comment remained focussed on the benefit of protection and continued access for locals. However, implicit remained that the status of ‘local’ would now be generalised to that of a status of ‘visitor’ as far as the proposed marine reserve was concerned.

Outside interest in the growing controversy also appeared, allegedly at the instigation of Pacific Moana Fisheries, who were said to have prompted a TV One news reporter to visit the island and produce a two minute segment for the Sunday evening news of 6 April.

This stage of the consultation process that DOC began targeted a much wider group than just the island’s residents. 11,000 copies of the “Your chance to have a say” brochure were circulated, including 6,500 aimed at seaborne visitors for inclusion in editions of the NZ Professional Skipper and New Horizons magazines. In total, 12 meetings were held with a range of organisations, interest groups, iwi as well as two public meetings on Great Barrier Island. These were continued, in particular with the iwi holding mana whenua, the Ngati Rehua. This was regularised when in October 2003 a standing DOC/Ngati Rehua working group was established.

At the end of July the first draft marine reserve proposal was distributed, accompanied by a questionnaire. In November 2003 the DOC reported in another mail-out, that 1,863 submissions had been received, presenting a summary of the results of a questionnaire. While 434 respondents had stated full or qualified support, the number opposing amounted to 1422. Less than 5% were from actual island residents, with another 7% from off-island landowners, which would be accounted for by many holiday home owners. Most others declared themselves as visitors. In fact, 30% were made by email through the amateur fishing advocacy group Option4 which involved filling out a form on their website. One petition with 400 signatures opposing the proposal was also received.

The submission organised by Option4 and the interests of its supporters it represents responds to another issue, the rights of government to govern the commons. That trajectory will be followed in the next section.

An application by the Director-General of Conservation

Public notice of the “intention to apply for an Order-in-Council declaring an area of approximately 50,100 hectares on the north-eastern coast of Great Barrier Island a marine reserve.” Given by the Director-General of Conservation appeared on 2 August 2004 in national newspapers and the Barrier Bulletin, 16 months after the first mail out. Closing date for submissions was set for two months later, on the 2nd of October.

At the same time submitters to the previous proposal received a revised document. In it the DOC conceded that the 2003 proposal had been controversial. Key issues from the previous submission received had concerned fishing rights, the rationale, and a lack of consultation. In discussing the implications of the reserve, the proposal acknowledges that tangata whenua had raised objections and that in spite of the lack of a written submission, the Ngati Rehua Ngati Wai ki Aotea Trust Board had not only concerns about the impact but also was critical of the time frame and process of the application. As a concession in part to iwi concerns, as well as those of other submitters, the intertidal area of the Whangapoua estuary would be excluded and the idea of a locally based management committee for this area was suggested. The opposition of adjacent land owners was also recognised and acknowledged by giving them and residents on Rakitu island exclusive fishing rights for personal consumption. However, this led to repeated allegations in public that a ‘deal had been made’.

Management and law enforcement in the marine reserve itself would be the statutory responsibility of the DOC. As the applicant, DOC proposed to establish a locally based management committee composing one half tangata whenua representation.

No concession was made to commercial fishers or the five identified charter boat operators that visited the area. The impact on amateur fishers was judged moderate on the basis of two boat count surveys which showed that numbers peaked in the fortnight following Christmas with an average of 25 boats counted and a maximum of 60. The school holidays represent the peak of visitors on the island and the decline in boat counts in the following week reflects this. Nevertheless, the validity of the survey was contested in the Barrier Bulletin.

In reaction to the notice, and prompted by chairman John Mellars, the Great Barrier Island Community Board resolved to organise a public meeting on the 12th of September. Just prior to this meeting, on the 23rd of August, Mellars had submitted an article to the New Zealand Herald entitled "Reserve puts Island Life under threat." While the text was not presented as a

media release from the Community Board, in the text Mellars did describe himself as its chair, in effect implying to speak in his role as community representative. In the next sentence he claimed overwhelming (95%) resistance to the proposal within the island community. The meeting then also continued in the same defensive tone. At the meeting organised by Mellars, 52 out of 60 participants voted against and only 5 in support for the proposed reserve.

The resulting communication that arrived at the Auckland City Council from John Mellars, was then followed with a submission from the city council to DOC that also opposed the marine reserve proposal. A media release was made in the name of “The Great Barrier Marine Reserve Opposition”, signed by John Mellars, ‘Chairman, Great Barrier Community Board.’ It claimed that local DOC staff have misled the public, the media and the minister are seeking a reserve inconsistent with government policy (in the circumstances), and that the DOC had lost all local support.”³⁹

Meanwhile in the space of only four days a reserve supporter, Don Armitage, managed to obtain 212 signatures for a petition in support of the marine reserve. In this he was assisted by two trustees of the Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust, one of whom was Auckland University professor John Ogden. However, the GBI Charitable Trust itself never took a position on the reserve proposal, reflecting tensions explored elsewhere.

The exercise demonstrated well the difference between opinion polling and face-to-face deliberation. Armitage explained that many of the people he approached were constrained from expressing their support in public, fearing criticism and verbal attacks directed at them. This unwillingness to speak one’s mind was linked to the absence of alternative forums. While the Barrier Bulletin provided a much used platform with a well subscribed Letter to the Editor section, an editorial bias was alleged by a number of informants.

Armitage also observed that the simple act of posing a question prompted the need to present an opinion and that that involved relatively lengthy discussion and personal reflections relating to the location, the DOC and life on Great Barrier Island in general.

In January 2006 Don Armitage prepared a second petition, this time taking three and a half weeks to canvas for support, again enlisting signatures in support of residents and ratepayers

Open letter from Great Barrier Island, 17 September 2004,³⁹
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK0409/S00185.htm> 1.10.07

expressing support of the proposed marine reserve. He collected 396 names⁴⁰ of which fewer than 30% were by telephone from people not resident on the island at the time, but not including any government workers, farmers or iwi according to him. (The number of rate payers that the GBI Charitable Trust has on their mailing list totals 1200 of which only 487 subscribe with island addresses and another 40 actually live overseas). The petition was sent to the Minister of Conservation with a request to forward it to the Ministry of Fisheries.

The article by Mellars prompted a reply a month later on 27 September 2004, also in the NZ Herald, by Bill Brownell. Writing as a retired UN fishery development specialist, he drew on national and international comparisons to make the case for the reserve. These were rebuked in 18 September Barrier Bulletin, ridiculing the idea of whale watching around the island and the viability of ecotourism given the unpredictable weather, an opinion evidently lacking 'local knowledge'. In the same issue, a report by a regular community reporter, Leah McAneney, in interviews with local marine users had found rational support for marine protection in the context of increasing risks of fishery collapse. But that interview had deliberately avoided the more provocative subject of government institutions.

With the imminent submission deadline, there were meetings, petitions, more letters to the editor, and even a pre-printed submission in opposition distributed with the Barrier Bulletin. It was clear that the DOC proposal held much public attention. The island had meanwhile gained another publication with a much wider circulation. The GBI Charitable Trust had launched its "Great Barrier Island Environmental News" to promote conservation interest. Notable however, was the absence of any mention of the marine reserve, more so because the first editorial was written by Don Armitage who had earlier personally collected hundreds of signatures in support of the project.

On 9 December the results of the submission were released by the DOC. This time, a total, 3513 submissions were received. Of these, 35% objected to the proposal, while 63% supported it. There were also two petitions that had collected signatures – one in support and one in opposition. Another environmental organisation that did organise a strong campaign was Forest and Bird who distributed submission forms that supported the marine reserve proposal.

⁴⁰ Great Barrier Island Environmental News, Issue 5, Summer 2006

Back on Great Barrier Island the debate continued. The front page of the Christmas edition of the Barrier Bulletin announced the upcoming January issue of North and South as “required reading”. In a feature article by Mike White in that magazine, the island was described as an “environmental battleground”. White had spoken to key protagonists on different sides of the debate and explained the disagreement with the different nature of life styles on the island, and portrays the island full of ‘resourceful’ character that can survive there. He also noticed that many had come there to escape bureaucracy and regulations.

Listening to locals expressing resentment against DOC, he was given many examples of DOC exercising ‘ecological evangelism’, destroying cultural heritage such as Norfolk pines planted by settlers, how management of conservation land is inadequate and undermines the credibility of ambitions for the reserve. Back in Auckland he finds the conservator dismissive about the issues raised by locals and recreation fishermen. Recounting interviews with a dozen islanders, from across the spectrum, he gives expression to community actors with a sense of not being heard well enough – on both sides of the debate.

This antagonism toward DOC is expressed in many ways. Wrote Bill Cook in the Barrier Bulletin: “DOC wants this island uninhabited and its communities gone as we know them” (B Cooke). Another asked, whether DOC planned to construct a "Club Med DOC" on the shore overlooking the planned reserve. The BB editor had been even more scathing, alleging gross misconduct at middle management level. To give this accusation weight he invoked the Cave Creek accident of 28 April 1995 when 13 students and one DOC officer died. This allowed him to characterize a government department with middle management “arrogant to believe themselves superior to the general public.”

DOC and consultation

The discourses of participation frame relationships of a government agency such as the Department of Conservation with members of the public sacrificing an evening for a meeting in the Town Hall as the price to engage in dialogue. In practice, The DOC policy statement made it clear, that consultation is not partnership, negotiation or bargaining. This of course is in dissonance with discourses of government-Maori partnership, or even an expectation to be listened to, that interviewees stated when asked about consultation experiences.

The Minister’s decision took two years but on 15 May 2008 the announcement was made from the Minister of Fisheries that the application had been declined.

5.4.2 The Hauraki Gulf Island's District Plan Review

The devolution of government authority and functions to local government enacted during the 1990s also saw resource management institutionalized at the level of local authorities.

Founded on the Resource Management Act 1991, the processes of community consultation that were required in practice posed challenges to local identities and often prompted mobilization of groups of residents, as could be seen on Great Barrier Island.

The Resource Management Act

When the New Zealand Resource Management Act (RMA) was enacted in 1991, it created interest worldwide as an ambitious effort to institute a devolved and outcome-based governance system for natural resource management (Memon & Gleeson, 1995). The RMA emphasised consultation with affected parties, the role of local government for democratic decision making and recognised the relevance of Maori to governance of natural resources.

The Resource Management Act 1991 devolved the formulation and implementation of many environmental rules to local government agencies, expressing a belief that territorial authorities were in a better position to develop effects based policy prescriptions with effective stakeholder consultation. The district plans that this produced were to be reviewed at ten-yearly intervals, allowing for extensive community consultation. One of the very first plans implemented, and therefore also the earliest to come under review, was in the Hauraki Gulf Ward, a part of Auckland City and that included Great Barrier Island.

The fact that this new environmental governance system extended government into areas of private property, applying rules and regulations to trees and earth that farmers and homeowners had previously considered exclusively their own, created a new precedent. But to contest this requires money and capacity that is not necessarily available. The rationale offered – an interconnected ecology – justified control of individual activities for a greater good, gives some room for interpretation to accommodate multiple interests.

The scope of the Act is all encompassing. With the purpose of sustainable management, it rationalises restrictions on land use that can, under regional and district plans, include any type of development or human activity that could be argued to have a deleterious ecological impact. This makes rules and designations under the district plan subject to contest, as became evident in this study.

The RMA was pioneering legislation. While ‘extensive consultation’ prepared its enactment, little experience could have prepared stakeholders for the penetrating effects the act would have on development and lifestyles. Said Peter Speck, who declared himself as an ardent supporter of the principles and the implementation when the first District Plan was first rolled out, “We had no idea what it would mean for us. In my case, as an organic fruit and nut producer, it nearly put me out of business. It just doesn’t make sense that the Council will not let me manage my land with ecological principles. They want me to treat it like an urban garden.”

For local government agencies tasked with implementing a large and complex system, the challenge proved demanding. This in itself justified the provision that a territorial authority must commence a review of its district plan no later than ten years after the plan became operative.

The plan

The district plan is a policy document that identifies and sets relevant objectives for resource management issues. Apart from stating rules and methods, it must also explain the rationale and the environmental results anticipated. The RMA empowers local authorities to make rules that have the force and effect of a regulation in force under this Act⁴¹.

In this discussion, the RMA will be evaluated as a system of environmental governance against the criteria developed earlier on. It will then be possible to identify the ‘transformative potential’ that is inherent in RMA processes and how this becomes evident on Great Barrier Island. To be able to do this, the situation needs to be analysed to show how the interest of actors and underlying tensions configure the situation in which people become subject to institutional processes.

The Local Government Act 2002 (the Act) requires local authorities to take a principles-based approach to performing their role. Some of the principles relate directly to decision-making and consultation. The effect of these provisions is that local authorities are expected to include the community in the decision-making process, and in this sense to "consult" with the community on a broad front.

⁴¹ RMA 1991/2005 Part 5 s 76:2

The Act sets out the purpose of local government⁴² as:

“to enable democratic local decision-making and action by, and on behalf of, communities; and

to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future.”

The Act does not define consultation, but sets out principles for consultation in section 82(1). In summary, these principles require a local authority to ensure that it uses participative and enabling processes when carrying out consultation. In practice, the sector uses the word “consultation” to describe a range of processes to engage with the community, ranging from prescribed to informal processes. The guidance provided by the Office of the Auditor-General⁴³ is comprehensive and principle based, recognising the diversity of consultation processes. It situates consultation within wider community views and specific “special consultative procedures” required under the Act. Interpretation of the Act allows local government officers enough discretion to administer the Act while setting out matters that must be considered when exercising its discretion, such as the extent to which community views are already known to the local authority, the nature and significance of the matter, and the costs and benefits of the consultation process.

The “special consultative procedure” under section 716A of the Local Government Act is increasingly being used as the main vehicle for local authority consultation. It involves releasing a proposal (which may be a draft plan or policy or a specific proposal) to the public for comment. Making a written submission gives the submitter a right to be heard orally, and the Council must consider all submissions before it makes its final decision on the proposal. The procedure is intended to provide an opportunity for community feedback on major proposals before they are finalised.

⁴² Section 10

⁴³ Office of the Auditor-General New Zealand 2007 Turning principles into action: A guide for local authorities on decision-making and consultation <http://www.oag.govt.nz/2007/decision-making> 15.06.08

A report by the Auditor-General discusses some of the problems which are being experienced with the special consultative procedure, and current trends in the application of the legislation.⁴⁴

“For a number of reasons, the public may believe that the consultation process carried out by the local authority was not adequate or appropriate. Issues that have come to attention include:

- the local authority is unwilling to listen;
- too little time for presenting submissions;
- lack of feedback about the final decision;
- the vested interest of a Council and its officers;
- different expectations; and
- avoiding making a decision.”

The report also notes that the attitude of some local authorities on public consultation has shifted from viewing it as a legal requirement to regarding it as good management practice and a better way to communicate with communities and represent their interests and expectations. It follows that the most tangible benefit of adequate and appropriate public consultation is that it will help to produce better decisions. Informed policy decisions are more likely to avoid constant review and revision.

The Auditor-General also carried out an evaluation of the management of Auckland City Council’s responsibilities in the Hauraki Gulf⁴⁵. Interviewing Council staff and residents on Waiheke and Great Barrier Islands, they noted that “some people, particularly farmers, feel disadvantaged as a result of the District Plan because of the strict controls on earthworks and vegetation clearance” (p. 20). While the report did not condemn the Council overall on exercising planning and consent functions, the commissioners did remark that “the problems that had occurred on the Gulf Islands were less related to issues of *process* than to issues of *culture* [sic].” By culture was meant “the way in which the Council carried out its role on the Islands; .. the behaviour of some Council officers” (p. 28). The report did note that in spite of

⁴⁴ OAGNZ 1998 Public Consultation and Decision-making in Local Government, Wellington. <http://www.oag.govt.nz/1998/public-consultation> 1.06.06

⁴⁵ Report of the Controller and Auditor-General on Auckland City Council’s Management of its Responsibilities in the Hauraki Gulf, October 2000.

remedial action by management that “there remains a residue of ill feeling towards the Council. Many of the residents we spoke to continue to feel aggrieved as a result of past actions.”

The review

In 2005, the Auckland Council (Auckland City Council) began the review of the District Plan for the Hauraki Gulf Islands (HGI) ward, which comprises Waiheke, Rakino and Great Barrier Islands. The Council originally aimed to publicly notify the proposed plan in August 2006. The review needs to ‘ensure the new plan meets the foreseeable needs of the environment and the communities for the ensuing ten years’.

The lengthy process also involved consultation best practice, including mail outs, consultation meetings, and submissions. The statutory consultation phase saw Auckland City Council officers hold internal consultation workshops and informal discussions, meetings with other government agencies (ARC, DOC), and an initial phone survey of 1,000 ratepayers. According to the Auckland City Council website, *‘There were many opportunities available for participating in this process prior to notification of the proposed plan.’*⁴⁶

At its meeting of 4 February 2005, prior to the notification of the proposed Hauraki Gulf Islands District Plan (Hauraki Gulf Islands DP), the Auckland City Environment, Heritage and Urban Form (EHUF) committee resolved that the aim of the review was to complete the district plan statutory processes by releasing decisions before the 2007 elections. The Resource Management Act requires that decisions must be made within two years of the notification of a plan. A tight timeframe had been planned “to ensure that submissions, further submissions, hearings, deliberations and the release of decisions are able to be completed by the elections.” The Auckland City District Plan, Proposed Hauraki Gulf Islands Section 2006, was publicly notified on 17 September 2006, with submissions closing on 11 December 2006.

Input into plan preparation was solicited through 'visioning' and scenario building exercises, discussion forums, 'clinics' with staff, public workshops and a questionnaire. A number of these events were held at different locations on Great Barrier Island, as well as on Waiheke

⁴⁶ <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/documents/islands/reviewinvolved.asp>, visited 1.12.7

Island and in the city. Participant interviews and observation of these events, and the various documents that were disseminated, form the empirical material of this study.

But widespread citizen dissatisfaction was expressed in local media and at public meetings, as this study documents. On Waiheke Island, this experience even provided momentum for one Community Board member to propose to simply redraw boundaries and attach the island to the Coromandel District Council. While most public representative quickly disassociated themselves from this idea in public forums and in the local print media, the level of discussion it generated in those same places reflected the depth of sympathetic sentiments.

Submissions

On Great Barrier Island, a number of local residents became actively engaged in the district plan process, developing and substantiating a set of arguments that were introduced into the consultation process and the public debates surrounding it.

By late 2006, Richard Somerville-Ryan had become actively interested in the District Plan Review process. He addressed regular letters to the Barrier Bulletin, critically analysing aspect of the content and procedure of the planning process. This was at a time when RMA and Community Board issues drew numerous contributions to the newsletter. Somerville-Ryan attended meetings of large landowners - principally the farmers and pioneer families - who expressed pain and frustration with the imposition of further council rules. Participants at these gatherings reported facing difficulties with the preparation of satisfying submissions and the need of support with this. According to Somerville-Ryan, old families have decades of history in which they experienced difficulties imposed by council, feelings of frustration that have caused tears in public. This has resulted in lives of farmers becoming harder and harder. This led to intense involvement by Somerville-Ryan and Downie over the space of two weeks with the drafting of submissions for local landowners. Somerville-Ryan estimates that they helped with drafting well over a hundred submission documents.

Somerville-Ryan does acknowledge that no little thanks to actions of lobbying by Downie from his position as Community Board member, efforts were made at the time (end 2006) by council workers to improve consultation with extra briefings, further documents and addressing specific enquiries. But this was considered inadequate by Somerville-Ryan and the constituency he worked with.

Somerville-Ryan was very satisfied with the outcome in terms of number of submissions made. In comparison to other situations, the Hauraki Gulf District Plan Review obtained record numbers of submissions. Two goals were, he explained, to achieve a change in the entire DP review process, and secondly to create a paper trail that could later be used to demonstrate that the responsibility for problems lies with the council. The review process prompted strong interest by ratepayers which was evident from the high number of submissions. At the close of the submission period 3523 submissions had been received. In addition, approximately 500 late submissions were also made. It had been expected that only between 2000 – 3000 submissions would be filed. This compares with a total of 1662 submissions that were made for the proposed first District Plan in 1993. For a sense of proportion, it is also worth recalling that there are less than 450 private properties gazetted on the island.

In Aug/Sept the Great Barrier Island Community Board had passed a notice of motion to ask for a delay in submission deadline. The Waiheke Community Board did so also. Both were rejected outright by the Environment, Heritage and Urban Form (EHUF) committee. However, in turn around, an Auckland City Council meeting of 14 December 2006 then voted to allow 'late entries' until 8 January 2007.

Many issues were introduced that did not fall within scope of district plan. Submissions that did not conform to Resource Management Act requirements and mixed issues had to be rejected. This caused frustration for submitters. Most submissions covered more than one issue, or requested more than one decision.⁴⁷

One reason for the large number of submissions was parochialism. Submitters questioned the right and limits of the Auckland City Council to regulate land use and public behaviour. There was a perceived difference between Great Barrier Island and Waiheke, with the latter dominating hearing process. Within the communities themselves, totally opposing views and perceptions on issues under review were present.⁴⁸ The review was characterized by the

47 Source: Memo: "Report to Environment, Heritage and Urban Form Committee: Timeframes and commissioners for the Hauraki Gulf Islands District Plan review" by Michelle Hewitt, Team Leader HGI review, dated 23 January 2007 (accessed on Auckland City Council.govt.nz 1 Dec 2007).

48 Pers. Comm. Neil Abel, Auckland City Counsellor 2004-7; Environment, Planning and Urban Form Committee, Commissioner District Plan Review Hearing Panel.

complexity of conflicts that arose. In close knit communities like Waiheke and especially Great Barrier Island, conflicts and tensions are often pushed under the surface. This makes it difficult to get people to express clearly and openly issues and views. And there are, of course, on-going tension between developers and environmental interests. Some general trends that affected the process include the escalation of land values, esp. in the coastal settings of the two islands, the diminishing viability of primary industries (farming and fishing), rising costs for transport and basic necessities.

Commissioners faced a large workload

Given the number and scope of submissions, additional resources and hearing time were needed to try to achieve the planned timeframe. In January 2007 it was estimated that a total of 17 weeks (full time equivalent) would be needed by commissioners to complete hearings and deliberations. As the plan is a significant policy document for the council, it is current practice that submissions are heard by elected representatives rather than independent commissioners. In 2006, the members of the Hauraki Gulf Islands district plan working party were appointed as hearings commissioners. The commissioners appointed were Councillors Storer, Caughey and Abel, and community board chairs Tony Bouzaid (Great Barrier) and Ray Ericson (Waiheke). After these appointments were made, Cr Caughey and Mr Bouzaid had withdrawn from the hearings panel. One of these withdrawals, the (then) Community Board Chair of Great Barrier Island, Tony Buzaid, was influenced by concerns about a conflict of interests. Cr Caughey ultimately took the role of Chair of the hearings panel and Mr Bouzaid was replaced by Cr Noelene Raffills. After the 2007 elections, the hearing panel was composed of four elected representatives: Mullholland – Chair, Raffills, Fryer, all Councillors, and Ericson of the Waiheke Community Board.

Work on the preparation and first phase of the review over the three years consumed a substantial amount of time and energy from all the commissioners. Their role included hearings on Waiheke, Great Barrier Island and in the City, to go on site visits, meet with Auckland City Council officers, review all submissions and a large number of relevant documents. The appointed commissioners must hear all the submissions to the plan and therefore must attend all of the hearings. Because of the length of the process the eventual change in commissioners after elections, as well as staff changes, caused serious disruption and discontinuities. Critically, with a change in commissioners and key staff, important

knowledge and relationships gained in the process were forfeited. This was an important issue that affected the quality of the process.⁴⁹

Achieving a successful consultation process was a key objective of the commissioners.⁵⁰ A number of steps were taken to create a process that was open and responsive: commissioners made themselves available to the public and presented different opportunities for personal contact. Council officers were encouraged to also make themselves available, including through follow up and site visits, and to be seen to do so. Commissioners attempted to find ways to overcome apprehension, to engage with tangata whenua by spending sufficient time on the marae and so forth. Commissioners maintain that as democratically elected representatives they provide a key role by offering an impartial oversight of the process and decisions made. Councillors were unpaid for the work representing an additional charge to general council duties with a disproportionate workload. However, during the 2007-2010 term councillors are remunerated for this work.

The appointment of independent commissioners

By January 2007, a decision to appoint independent commissioners had been made by the Environment, Heritage and Urban Form Committee and three persons were eventually appointed. While the elected members of the panel are paid \$120-150 per day (according to location), independent commissioners are paid at a rate of \$150.00 per hour. It was estimated by council staff, that if independent commissioners were used to hear the entire plan, then the cost would be in the area of \$252,000. This had not originally been budgeted for as using independent commissioners for plan review hearings was not the approach of the council.

The proposal to appoint independent commissioners was opposed by a Great Barrier Island community board member Paul Downie (who himself became the chair of the board after the 2007 elections) in a motion⁵¹ subsequently withdrawn from the community board agenda. In the view of Paul Downie, the entire DP review process was of questionable legitimacy as seen from the point of view of local residents, and the proposal of independent

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Source: Notice of Motion, to: the Great Barrier community board, from: Community Board Member Paul Downie, dated: 11 March 2007, subject: HAURAKI GULF ISLANDS DISTRICT PLAN (accessed on Auckland City Council.govt.nz 1 Dec 2007)

commissioners lacking democratic accountability strengthened an argument for a separate planning process for the Great Barrier Island.

The community board motion that ‘council withdraw Great Barrier Island from the proposed Hauraki Gulf Islands district plan hearings process and appoint an independent planning advocate/arbitrator’ was resubmitted and passed at an ‘extraordinary’, standing room only board meeting held nearly a year later, on January 22 2008.

The change in commissioners half way through the review process raised serious concerns for the Great Barrier Island Community Board. “This process brings into question principals of natural justice and fair process for the August 2007 submitters.” The community board also resolved to demand legal clarification on the procedural rights under the Resource Management Act of submitters who made submissions in person to the previous hearings panel, to have the right to make their submissions in person to the new hearings panel and answer questions directly with them.

At a meeting of the City Development Committee on 13 March 2008, the notice of motion was discussed.⁵² Paul Downie, the Chairperson of the Great Barrier Island Community Board was in attendance to speak to this item. In his argument for the city council to release Great Barrier Island from the on-going review process presentation he argued that .. 1. There were inaccuracies in the planning maps used. These maps determine the categories of land units and sensitive areas along with their resulting controls on land owners. 2. That the hearing panels in August 2007 had been presented with dozens of examples of the damaging effects on the community of unrealistic planning controls and rules. 3. And of “grave concern” was that a “single planning approach” had been adopted for most of the Proposed Gulf Islands Plan’s rules and controls. He emphasized that “the Community Board (of Great Barrier Island) wishes to place on record with the Council our belief that the content and some of the processes of this plan is fundamentally flawed and our concern that we have no Great Barrier representative on the hearings panel.” Paul Downie also made it clear that intent existed on the island to appeal on to the Environment Court.

The recommendation by the Planning Manager “that the Committee endorse the current hearings process and continue to include Great Barrier Island in the process” was carried. It

⁵² Minutes of meeting held (accessed on Auckland City Council.govt.nz 1 Dec 2007)

was noted that “the majority of issues raised by the Great Barrier Island Community Board can be addressed through the current hearing process of the Auckland City District Plan Hauraki Gulf Islands Proposed 2006.” In other words, the questions about the integrity and legitimacy of the process were dismissed. No resolution was made to formally address the concerns of the Great Barrier Island Community Board and those rate payers that had explicitly supported the motion. Nevertheless, the engagement by Great Barrier Island community representatives with the review process, council staff and counsellors served to draw attention to concerns expressed by island residents and see these addressed. In the end, no independent commissioner was appointed for either Hauraki Gulf Islands District Plan Review hearings panel.

A problematic review process

The district plan is a legal document that has a very big effect on the lives and livelihoods of landowners. There are certain issues with the RMA and the DP that are problematic, several of which were immediately apparent from the point of view of participants, with others coming to light later in the process.

The District Plan Review is an adversarial system:

Firstly, it is by design an adversarial system, in which administrative decisions have to be contested and arbitrated. This creates difficulties when there are overlapping responsibilities within the process. In particular, when the Hauraki Gulf Islands Counsellor and Community Board chairs were appointed as commissioners for the process, this was challenged as an unacceptable conflict of interest that made it impossible for these elected representatives to fulfil both roles at the same time. Sommerville-Ryan raised this issue in a key meeting of the Community Board at the time (Minutes of GB Community Board, August 2007).

Controversial land unit designation:

Another set of issues concerns the content of the plan. The maps and the inaccurate representation of land type and usage that they gave proved very important. The maps represent the designation of land units. These categories were assigned by an office-based specialist, an ecologist, using incomplete information and without adequate site verification.

Overwhelming planning procedures:

Procedurally, the fact that the district plan represents a very large document, with a lot of content and detail, makes it difficult to deal with and in particular to respond to in the

consultation process by private citizens. This is aggravated by inadequate time to prepare submission. Because of its size, it could not be distributed easily. While CD copies were available, and the plan could also be read on the internet, there were only 3 hardcopies available on the island. This not only constrained the number of people that could critically examine it but also how important maps could be viewed.

A dysfunctional community board:

Within the Community Board this issue was aggravated by other problems then unresolved. The Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust had provoked strong reactions from island residents when it had made a presentation to the Auckland City Council about the possibility of achieving World Heritage status for Great Barrier Island. This allegedly occurred without informing the Community Board. But the then Community Board chair, Tony Buzaid, was also a trustee of the GBI Charitable Trust and therefore implicitly involved without consultation of his colleagues, presenting a conflict of interests. These continuing debates had rendered the Community Board to a large extent dysfunctional during that period. However, the initiative of Community Board member Downie and his associate Somerville-Ryan did represent the interests of large land block owners.

Discussion

Somerville-Ryan is conscious that he himself and Downie played key roles, although this became possible because of 'wider sociological changes' on the Barrier, as he explained to me. These are a function of coastal property development, property values, economic decline on Great Barrier Island and in consequence finds individuals with a commercial background like himself and Downie able to and seeking to semi-retire in places like Great Barrier Island.

And semi-retired businessmen like Somerville-Ryan can play a key role: willing to get involved, financially free to dedicate time and own resources, not purely self-interested, not intimidated by authority, able to deal with issues and language, able to think strategically, confident in own ability to achieve goals ('they can afford to get what they want' an informant explained).

Somerville-Ryan gives importance to liberal values. From this perspective, clearly the rights of people to determine how they live and make a living on their own property were 'under attack' by the RMA. He empathizes with any victim of 'authoritarian excesses' and has a

natural suspicion towards ‘any group that assumes the right to tell others how to manage their lives’.

The ‘scorn and contempt’ shown with the response by the political counselors of EHUF committee towards the island residents at the meeting at which Downie spoke, and the effect of the DP process in general contributed to the politicization of Somerville-Ryan, he said. This echoed a widespread sense of anger among land owners on the island that was also expressed to me.

The ‘politicization’ of Somerville-Ryan and Downie may not fall into the same mould as that of more radical challengers of state authority, but nevertheless form a very effective resistance to projects of the state such as that of the District Plan. This level of engagement is not what planners had foreseen when they launched a ‘state-of-the-art’ consultation process to review the 10-year old District Plan.

5.5 Performing Great Barrier Island: Co-constructing and reimagining

Practice-oriented research is concerned with developing the theoretical base for resolving what are essentially political problems. In the *managed environments* I evoked as framing paradigm, rational arguments and scientifically fashioned knowledge are used in a democratic deliberation. Is it possible for a social scientist to simultaneously take part in the discourse production and to stand back to reflect on the process? Action research is one discipline that considers it possible (Forester, 1993; Wadsworth, 1998). This school shares a concern for connecting theory with practice that is echoed in many other areas of the social sciences (Galtung, 1977).

Action research sees the researcher taking part as an ‘ordinary’ actor in social interactions while adding a reflexive mode. As *Participative Action Research* (Cameron, 2008), it places outside research ‘experts’, local research assistants and research subjects into spaces where alternative framings can be co-constructed.

Participant observation and merging horizons: Entering Great Barrier Island from within

The fact that I was an established and familiar community member on Great Barrier Island and the social relations that this involved, made it possible to develop an *interactive research approach*. Through community involvement, a recognized role as reporter-cum-researcher and by maintaining an autonomous position at the same time through regular extended

absence from the island and through university involvement, I could produce knowledge that remained grounded in the setting from which it was abstracted.

In doing that, my role was not conditioned by a single identity as empirical researcher following a predetermined research script. Instead I was ready to play out different identities that were available for me – from community reporter to veteran aid worker – as I drew from the observations and material, the storylines and perspectives that this gave me access to.

The qualitative methodologies that are part of a participatory approach have their roots in an anthropological tradition of participant observation. Participant observation, closely associated and sometimes used synonymously with ethnography, is a research strategy in which a researcher directly observes and participates in small-scale social settings in the present time and in the researcher's home culture (Neuman, 2003). Participant observation aims to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals and their practices through an intensive involvement with people in their natural environment. The method originated in field work of social anthropologists.

In the final phase of writing up, which still took place on Great Barrier Island, it therefore proved important to continue to interact with research subjects through the sharing and discussion of ethnographic accounts. Comments and discussions assisted with validating observation while fulfilling commitments made to ethical guidelines. This also touches on the links between context and what we call truth. For Latour this is a critical moment, the relationship between research and scientific discourse and the transformation that takes place between the field and writing up (Pryke, Rose, & Whatmore, 2003).

Participant observation entails some important challenges, summarized as gaining access, establishing relations and abstracting meaningful information ethically. Just living within a community does not translate to open doors if one arrives with a clipboard in hand. I benefitted from particular circumstances that determined the access I enjoyed and at the same time the limits to my objective reporting. This deserves to be discussed in more detail.

As a community member I possessed a number of recognized roles that pre-dated that of becoming a researcher. In the five years before the research project I had interacted with other community members in a wide range of categories: as neighbourly acquaintance, as employer during house construction (which I supervised personally and spread over several years), as retail client, as scuba diving instructor, as tutor of computer skills, as teller of tall

tales from lost corners of Africa and Asia, as engaged community member in school events and as an active participant at community meetings.

5.5.1 Re-imagining planning: The Iwi Environmental Management course

Within a community such as Great Barrier Island, discourses and imaginaries are developed in the formal and informal forums described above. Workshops and training courses provide one setting in which new languages and ways of thinking can be developed communally. The marae of local iwi became on such setting when it facilitated an ‘Iwi Environmental Management’ course that attracted participation from community members from across the island with a shared interest in environmental and community issues. Environmental governance seen as language and emergent discourse can then be traced to such settings.

Kaitiakitanga is a philosophy and practice of society-nature relationships which is derived from Maori cultural concepts and perspectives (*mataurangi* Maori) contained within the traditional Maori worldview. *Kaitiakitanga* is particularly *concerned with the relationship between tangata* (human persons, communities) and *whenua* (broadly referring to the natural world including the sea and sky). As a philosophy, and political ideology, it is undergoing a renewal and adaptation to modern conceptions. In the words of the Resource Management Act, *kaitiakitanga* describes the exercise of guardianship by the *tangata whenua* of an area in accordance with *tikanga* Maori in relation to natural and physical resources and includes the ethic of stewardship.

In 2005 a course was organized on Great Barrier Island through the University of New Zealand, Te Wananga o Aotearoa, for a certificate in ‘Iwi Environmental Management and Trusteeship’. The pamphlet that was circulated around the island read that “Students will explore traditional Maori models of environmental knowledge, learn how to be effective communicators, examine concepts of resource management and governance and gain strategies and ideas for developing plans to ensure sustainable management of resources.” Eighteen island residents enrolled, including myself, with *tangata whenua* and *pakeha* represented in equal numbers. The course was held at a local marae over an entire weekend at monthly intervals, with eight thematic sessions in total. Participants would overnight the two evenings at the marae, take turns jointly cooking meals and also reunite for group assignments between weekend sessions.

Whitianga Peehikuru, the course tutor from Whangarei, explained the relevance to participants. “This course has been run throughout the country. In particular, the successful

work with participants from the Ngati Wai iwi in Northland, which had also created echoes here on the island.” Ngati Wai have *mana whenua* on the island. Backed by the iwi environmental unit in Whangarei, Whitianga had trained a number of people from different walks of life in Northland that could now support community and government projects in developing sustainable, innovative and publicly supported approaches for activities and planning that are related to environmental issues.

“Course participants walk away with a better understanding of katiakitanga, traditional Maori guardianship. This is a concept which also has become part of the Resource Management Act. If one understands the traditional approaches to the environment, it becomes clear how relevant and valuable they still are today.”⁵³

“It will help participants consolidate and increase what they know about the environment, become effective communicators and gain ideas for how to take part in the community to influence plans to ensure a sustainable management of our resources. The Certificate of Iwi Environmental Management and Trusteeship aims to provide environmental practitioners with fundamental skills for managing natural resources.”

The course also helped make believe that Matairehe marae, located at a relatively inaccessible location, could become a venue for other community activities. As the marae trustees explained, this links in with the strategic business plan backed by Auckland City Council for the marae, as part of increasing educational opportunities on the island.

The course proved very effective at reframing environmental management from a Maori perspective. For the participants, many of whom were active in environmental groups, as contract workers/employees for DOC, Auckland City Council or private conservationists, farmers, and including a future Community Board member, the applied subjects gave relevance to the concepts presented. The presentation coupled in-depth information about a range of environmental and conservation management institutions with models for community-based organization and environmental activism.

The course material, the involvement of iwi resource persons and the format (marae-based, project work, contextualized practice) constructed a possibility for island-based activists to network, access resources and organize themselves around environmental governance issues.

⁵³ From course handout distributed to participants at the time of the course.

The course served to empower participants to imagine themselves, and the communities they were part of, as guardians of the places they had emotional relations with. The gatherings so reinforced and expanded on the meaning of this relationship.

For the weekend sessions, at least, the marae became a forum for learning about new models, imagining alternatives and gaining belief in the abilities for participation in governance processes. While no new initiative sprung out the event, the imaginaries and capacity it helped develop remain latent, or invisible, within the Great Barrier Island community.

As a participant, with my interest framed by the literature review and exploratory phase of this study paralleling the duration of the course, I was actively engaged in the discussions during and around the course. Shaping questions, proposing alternatives and criticizing ideas, my thinking, language and reflections entered the discourses that were beginning to take shape there. In turn, the models and concepts explored would not only structure the intellectual project I was engaged in, but also shape my journey – the interest in the Hokianga Accord for instance – and were mediated by myself to return into community level discussion through writing and discussions on Great Barrier Island.

5.5.2 Enacting the social: Community-based journalism

Perhaps more importantly, already prior to this community-based research project I had a prominent profile as occasional reporter since I was regularly writing in two different local news letters about stories that featured other community members. With regular contributions, I had established myself as somebody who observes and writes about the community with a sympathetic, not explicitly critical view and from within the community.

In perhaps a dozen articles, I had featured the life history and personal visions of 30 island residents in small character pieces. For nearly a year I had written a regular column in which I would each time interview two or three island residents, who were haphazardly selected but aiming for diversity: young and old, tangata whenua and holiday home owner, third generation and recent settlers, even the odd visitor. Other articles would feature island events, adding a journalistic interpretation of underlying themes: In my writing I would occasionally use ‘local knowledge’ and diplomacy to diminish frictions or suspicions by instead highlighting commonalities or successes. Reporting on tangata whenua affairs, for instance, followed this pattern, framing reports in a diplomatic effort to shine a positive light on the subjects.

I had participated at local events and written entertaining accounts of who did what, and also reported on local news about interaction with outside authorities. When it came time to add another identity, that of university researcher, this was simply attached to previous labels, but I would still come under the more general rubric – ‘somebody familiar’.

Because I needed to be clear about distinguishing my continuing role as community reporter and that as researcher, I would make clear the purpose of questioning in every situation where ambiguity could remain. This helped reinforce awareness not only of another dimension of the relationships I maintained in the community but also the fact that aspects of community life on the island actually were of interest to others in the outside world. The success of this approach can perhaps be judged by the fact that after reporting on a number of potentially contentious issues, such as Maori affairs, I had maintained continued access to communal settings across the island. I never once during or after the empirical field work encounter a closed door. An examination of my local publications would show to local readership that I maintained non-judgmental attitude and fairly reported different perspectives of a situation.

However I was judicious in my choice of topics to report and the likely effect on relationships with informants. I was equally careful to remain apart from deliberation taking place in the community. For instance, despite regular attendance at community board meetings I refrained from writing about this in the local publications.

The lack of controversy and the fact that I would continue to be welcomed to private and public events reassured me that my writing was acceptable, or at least inoffensive. But it also suggested that perhaps this was an approach to reporting that already included an interpretative perspective, in the sense of conveying abstracted information from a social event to a readership with which I shared elements of a hermeneutical circle. In that sense, I did take part in deliberation, by naming and framing. I thus had to be aware of the biases that might introduce, but at the same time this satisfied my political desire to see more unprejudiced dialogue.

On the occasion of the *hui* with the Ministry of Fisheries delegation that had come to discuss the proposed marine reserve at the local marae that I described earlier, I ‘reported back’ to the readership of the Barrier Bulletin. Closing an article titled “A chance to prove that kaitiakitanga is an alternative to marine reserves.”, I gave the word to a spokesperson for the iwi:

Sonya Williams, the newly appointed chairperson of the Ngati Rehua ki Aotea Trust, had prepared some words to close the *hui* and to sum up the views expressed by *kaumatua* and other speakers. It came back to fundamental responsibilities of *rangatiritanga* and *kaitiakitanga*, related to self-determination, sovereignty over natural resources and taking care of the interests of future generations, she explained. “There are alternatives to marine reserves. We are asking for chance to work together to prove that *kaitiakitanga* can be the best practice.”⁵⁴

Giving attention to points of view and awareness of underlying tensions represented a form of participant observation. A journalist publishing within a small community where the majority of readers know both the subjects and the author produces texts that have certain functions. Reported facts are open to scrutiny. Paraphrasing can be challenged. Public reflection on events is enriched by reported quotes and the framing introduced. But foremost, perhaps, is the challenge to the author to engage with known viewpoints and to remain answerable to any claims made. This is a criterion that Habermas brings to the validity claims in the public sphere.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I entered the Great Barrier Island setting to follow and interpret experiences of participation in environmental governance processes. With the help of a three-tier relational framework, I followed the movement of a dialectical investigation (Ollman, 1993) that approaches processes by tracing the dialectical tensions between different scales of context.

Approaching the actor’s subjectivities with a notion of hermeneutical situatedness, made it possible to explore the framings that were in effect in discursive processes. In the following chapter I will return to theory to discuss the utility of such insights.

The stories, actors and places this account presents, were assembled to show how linear conceptions of participation are limiting. When engagement with government is reduced to two-way communication of ‘competent actors’ in an open setting, participation fails to capture the scope for deliberation and political action that transforms participation. Without an improved conception it becomes difficult to begin imagining processes in which participants participate not in participation but in governance.

⁵⁴ From transcript of meeting prepared by myself.

The subject of this chapter, community participation in environmental governance which I can now begin to re-examine.

5.6.1 Community participation: Places, imagined communities and identity

Community participation is the mantra of government agencies and development organisations seeking legitimacy and ‘buy-in’ to institute governance reforms. But as this exploration has demonstrated, processes at community level encounter many diversions. Community as an abstraction risks obscuring crucial dimensions.

The notion of community captures a dialectic between place and group-belonging that locates identity in imagined spaces. The poor conservation outcomes that followed decades of intrusive resource management strategies and planned development have forced policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of community in resource use and conservation. Some of the aspects of community most important to advocates for community's role in resource management -- community as a small spatial unit, as a homogeneous social structure, and as shared norms – have proven problematic (Arun Agrawal & Gibson, 1999).

Cultural identity is what makes large human groups self-aware groups. We can gain some insight into the functions of cultural identity by considering its close relative, the ‘imagined community’ of an individual person. If an actual community is made up of the various circles of family, neighbours, colleagues and associates, people a person actually knows and with whom they share specific interests and regularly interact, then an imagined communities represents the wider circles of people not immediately known by an individual, but with whom they think that they have something significant in common and who reciprocate this feeling. People in this community identify with each other, and share some values, habits, and practices – they share not only identity but also some culture or subculture. If members of this group happen to meet, or if they engage indirectly with each other in some joint activity, such as an election campaign or protest movement, the shared culture and identity lubricates the interaction, or at least gives participants some idea of what to expect. At the same time, imagined communities obscure oppositions that also need to be explored in describing identities, when groups are not acting in differentiated manners, when identities are challenged, when they render differences invisible. This becomes particularly important when tensions with other groups that may not initially have had the complete support of a group become part of the definition of group identity.

Belich and Wevers (2008) use the concept of cultural and imagined communities to examine identities in contemporary New Zealand. In their analysis, the environment becomes a place of tension in imagining identity to the extent that different identities are contested. "Pakeha New Zealanders tend to have a strong, if mythic, connection to a rural society or imagined versions of it, and (perhaps contradictorily) to an unspoilt landscape. If pristine scenic vistas constitute the landscape of our imagined community, then who belongs in it?" (p. 6).

This landscape transcends the story telling of cinema, the mythic identification with rural New Zealand and the representations marketed to prospective real estate buyers. Collins and Kearns (Collins & Kearns, 2008) have documented how views from private property over the coast are often prioritized in advertising, while the coast itself is typically portrayed as devoid of people.

The place of Maori in this landscape has moved from the artistic rendering in nineteenth century Pakeha art, where Maori figures might be placed in idyllic rural settings to twentieth century equivalents, where the landscape might be curiously depopulated. In other contexts, the inhabitant might be the 'Man Alone' stereotype. It can also be connected to the strong utopian traditions encountered in New Zealand, in a long line of visions celebrating nature and sustainability, independence and environmental idealism. The environment and how people live in it is a constant theme of what it means to be Kiwi, even in iconic advertising like the '100% Pure New Zealand' campaign.

But there are many challenges to the self promotion of the rural as places where urban blight is unknown. The recent boom of coastal property buying, and 'landscape as real estate', questions our role as guardians of scenic treasures. Belich and Wevers (2008) rightly ask, "Could we 'Save Manapouri' again? Has the connection of our cultural identity with land become 'boutique', aiming essentially at adventure tourism and cruise boats, and retaining almost no real connection with wild landscapes and conservationist values?"

A place-based community then, is a problematic identity that imagines spaces populated with different sets of actors. As a shared identity that can mobilise groups over shared values, and in particular normative visions of society-nature in rural landscapes, community needs to be qualified. As a setting for participation it fails to comply with the precepts of discursive designs that are premised on isolating issues and equal access to concerned interest groups.

How can community be thought of for participation? Alternative conceptions may range from small scale societies to actor-networks, but each will raise new ambiguities. A starting point is a recognition of actors as *active subjects* that resist homogenisation into communities and stakeholder groups. A situated approach then can overlay conceptual structures in a dialectical fashion that produces multiple co-constructed and co-existing interpretations.

5.6.2 Re-imagining spaces of deliberation

If communities become the conceptual canvas for mapping a dialectic of multiple interpretations, then that creates the possibility of active subjects enacting new models of relationships. The studies reported above show how this can become possible.

The Great Barrier Island Community Board is the space for community members to unite around shared problems, be they school busses or regulatory reform of resource management policies. At the same time, the Community Board also brings deeper running divisions in the community to the surface, creating the possibility of responding to them. The point is, for the disparate community on Great Barrier Island, the Community Board provides the possibility for deliberation that enables resistance to the subjectification of monolithic bureaucracies and entrenched governmentalities. The actors within and connected to the board, the language and arguments that are produced to frame and reframe issues, and the process diversions that are created add up to subjects diversifying the storylines that become possible.

The marine reserve story carries possibly even more promise. The on-island hui that communicated a clear position to the delegation from the Ministry of Fisheries in Wellington was prompted, and to some extent modeled on, the deliberative practices of the Hokianga Accord.⁵⁵ If that represents a proliferation of one local adaptation of a ‘discursive design’, tentatively perhaps, and which is also occurring elsewhere in the network around the Accord, then this represents deliberative possibilities that open up further process pathways.

⁵⁵ Whether the hui actually was the deciding vote, or if the Ministry was seeking allies in its own resistance to conservation discourse is a matter not pursued, but would only underline the argument.

**Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion:
Reflecting on the meanings of participation**

6.1 Introduction

In the final chapter I bring the exploration of theory and practice back together by beginning with empirical insights gained, reflecting on the inadequacies of framing participation in terms of deliberative democracy, and returning into the scholarship for reflection on some key points that marked the development of this research. I end up where I started, confronting the ambiguity of ‘participation’ to allow me to answer the questions that guided this research. For further interpretation I look towards ‘post-environmentalism’ as a guide. Finally, I close with some thoughts on future research.

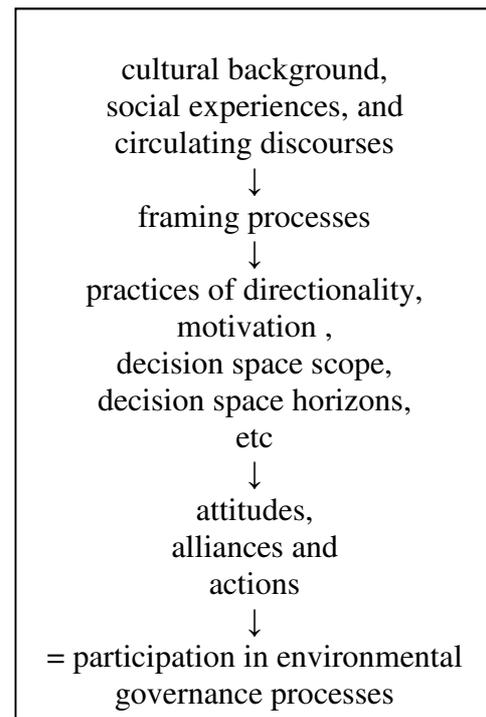
Understanding the situated emergence of environmental governance possibilities: An exploration of processes, actor perspectives and framings

In an effort to show how participation can be re-imagined, I explored processes, actor perspectives and framings that were played out within the Great Barrier Island community in its interaction with outside influences and structures. The alternative possibilities that became visible showed that an interpretative method using a situated approach with a critical orientation can offer new views of old problematics. To achieve that, I laid out an approach that is actor-oriented in a hermeneutic sense in order to give interpretation to actor’s views and (enacted) discourses. Employing a framework drawn out my reading of the literature on environmental governance, development studies and deliberative democracy I am now in a position to reflect back into theory.

My aim was to develop new ways of understanding the situated emergence of environmental governance possibilities. I wanted to show how to bring the view from below to bear on the evolving literature around environmental governance by opening multiple views on contentious issues, by bringing different perspectives into dialogue, and by approaching the literature from the perspective of practitioners.

While the intent of this study is an engagement with situated theorisation, and to reflect on the potential to think about participation in environmental governance I did not endeavour to explicate and theorize the situations I encountered in their entirety. Rather, I sought to maintain a dialectic attitude (Ollman, 1993). This involved looking out 1. for opposite perspectives, 2. for cases of emergence, of qualitative change, 3. for contradictions, and 4. by asking how framing became apparent?

The methodology I employed, considered the nature of framing processes, because this is where the key work of laying down the practices of directionality of different actors, motivation of different actors, decision space scope, decision space horizons, etc. is achieved. This is based on the hypothesis that participation in environmental governance is motivated and orientated by hermeneutic parameters that shape perception and expression. These are parameters constituted by cultural background (socialization, education), social experiences (learned behaviour), and circulating discourses (shared rationales). Such parameters delimit possible attitudes, alliances and actions, in particular the environmental discourses adopted.



A conceptual model of participation

Approaching complexity

In the structurally diffuse contexts that new technologies, civic environmentalism and economic globalization have created, specific events or changes often cannot be causally attributed to the behavior of identifiable actors. This poses challenges for analysts and managers alike. Situations of strategic interdependence that can guide the choice between alternatives are often rare. At the same time, however, the environmental arena is not devoid of strategic actors who often bridge across scales, ranging from the local to the global. Aside from the new regulatory structures encountered in this study – international accords, central government policy such as quota management and national parks, local government roles in resource management and district plans – there are large and frequently multi-national corporations, transnational professional associations, interest groups and scientific organizations, networked community groups and so forth. Finally there exist trans-regional epistemic communities and social movements, incipient social groups without a clear geographical reference. Seen together, these various trans-regional groupings, regimes and organizations, with their often fluid boundaries and cross-cutting domains, their mutual and one-sided dependences, form an enmeshed socio-political fabric of such complexity that it seems to defy all analytical efforts.

Renate Mayntz sees this confrontation as what Habermas labels *neue* (new) *Unuebersichtlichkeit* - a term that translates as 'unclear, confusing', but which is derived from the negation of a German expression 'Uebersicht' which means to have sufficient perspective of some situation. "Only if we enlarge the governance perspective to include all the different modes of social ordering, all the different types of actor configurations beyond hierarchies and networks, their combinations and particularly their interactions, might we be able to address the issues created by transnationalisation and globalization. Should such a theory emerge, it would have to be a governance theory of a very different kind" (ibid p 30). Pursuing this line, Mayntz wonders if governance theory in fact is able to overcome the inherent single process focus. "The fact that processes following different logics – collective behaviour, market exchange, bargaining, negotiation, and authoritative intervention – coexist and are causally interrelated has not been a topic in (national) governance theory" (p. 37). Mayntz rightfully wonders if a re-orientated or extended theory of governance could encompass the level of complexity required, or if a much more comprehensive social theory of social dynamics is needed, that is, a completely new paradigm. In the complex and challenging settings that post-modern governance reform is part of, the difficulty to gain 'Uebersicht' poses insurmountable problems for deliberative approaches as they have been imagined by scholars and practitioners in the literature and empirical settings this work has examined. What are the alternatives?

I began this discussion by confronting the research problem posed in practice and theory that put the 'deliberative turn' (Dryzek, 2002) in environmental governance in question, and with it the underlying assumptions that the framing of a deliberative democracy implied. How then, I asked, could these processes of public participation be understood, within the political and social context in which they take place?

6.2 Bringing actors into perspective

Previous ethnographic research (Garritt, 2006) has highlighted the gap between expert knowledge and local perspectives. The biodiversity strategies that followed from the logic instituted since the 1992 UN Biodiversity Convention in practice continue to adopt a conceptualization of reifying and protecting the natural world as if distinct from the human world. Interpretations of biodiversity at the local level, Garritt finds, appear to be value laden rather than scientific, but since this is what gives them currency and significance, it risks marginalising these interpretations to the detriment of "successful" conservation. This echoes

similar concerns in the context of co-management of fisheries, where the alienation of immediate users from formalised research at different scales is notable. Different perceptions of co-managers exist, where distinction can be made between specific knowledge which is used to guide local management decisions and more generalised information which is used to compare across resource systems.

The marine reserve proposal encountered an altogether different set of values on the island than that of ecologists and conservation planners who saw systems on a national scale and saw the value in a representative network of protected areas around the country's coastlines. But Great Barrier Island residents do not need to look that far since their waters are one of the better fishing grounds in New Zealand, and used as such by many residents. It is a familiar playground for all. For instance, the majority of the children at Primary School will raise their hand when asked if they had seen whales, let alone dolphins which can be seen from the classroom window.

Apart from values, the role that organisation played was also noteworthy. The opposition to the marine reserve proposal by The Department of Conservation was widespread as the reading of the Barrier Bulletin showed, but the organisation that was necessary to make this visible where it counted, that is the protest rally, the submissions and the meeting with the Ministry of Fisheries officials at the local marae, came from two sources – the leadership of the Hokianga Accord, a well-resourced, well-connected and well-versed movement already engaged in dispute with government departments. The model of Maori-pakeha alliances that this presented was also taken up on the island when the tangata whenua who had instigated the first protest was supported by the advocacy group Option 4 with Scott Macindoe inviting a Member of Parliament and journalists to attend the public rally that soon followed afterwards.

The participation model of the Ministry of Fisheries makes a clear distinction between tangata whenua and other citizens. There is of course a constitutional rationale for this with the Treaty of Waitangi imposing a spirit of partnership that requires culturally appropriate and more extensive collaboration. The regional relationship officers posted around the country are expected to institute regular encounters at marae. But the Hokianga Accord had from the outset seen its strength in rallying behind a shared discourse, “More fish in the water,” and had insisted that interaction with the Ministry on the issues of sharing fisheries with the commercial quota holders should take place on their terms: At hui meetings

organised by the Ngapuhi iwi, and without colour segregation. This Sony Tau the rununga manager had emphasised in opening speeches that I witnessed.

The Hokianga Accord movement also accounted for the prerequisite elements for collaborative problem solving that arguably are otherwise absent. Innes and Booher (2004) identified three key elements as goals for effective participation that is able to overcome dilemmas obstructing conventional practice. The Accord is certainly well resourced with both Ngapuhi and Option 4 demonstrating 1) institutional capacity to mobilise and organise 2) an extensive network of supporters and allies to engage with Ministry of Fisheries representatives from regional and national offices in 3) authentic dialogues. With meetings always involving carefully prepared presentations about fisheries management presenting cases from both sides, opportunity for representatives of participating tribal groups and recreational fishers associations to present their less intellectualised positions as well as occasion for familiarisation and bonding during the overnight events, dialog always was genuine and meaningful.

The contentious issues the Accord was challenging were not solved during the study period, but the capacity for the movement to address issues certainly grew. The involvement in the Great Barrier Island marine reserve issue demonstrated that. The declared purpose of the Hokianga Accord is to resist the reform of the Shared Fisheries management system that would impose stricter control on recreational fishing. What this also shows is how the act of participating had transformed the role and capacity of actors to become involved in an issue that was nominally outside the movements declared purpose. In this instance, participation clearly had a transformative effect, even if unintentional.

Analyses of participation usually assume a dichotomy between ‘instrumental’ and ‘transformative’ approaches (Lawrence, 2006). However, that is an artificial dichotomy that needs to be carefully applied. Lawrence notes how participatory processes can have a number of effects beyond the explicit objectives, such as enhancing the information base for environmental management, to change participants education about scientific practice, and about ecological change; lead to changes in life direction or group organisation; and influence decision makers. She also notes how, partnership between actors can provide distinct but complementary and mutually rewarding outcomes, as was the case among members of the Hokianga Accord. “Power is not located in a data-consuming centre, and data are not

meaningless materials that leave the collector unmoved. A more dynamic model of human-nature relations is needed” (ibid p. 279).

A different instance of this can be added with the outcome of the petition that Don Armitage collected in support of the marine reserve proposal. As he recounted it, he found the fact of asking the question contributed to the formation and expression of opinions of participants; that otherwise might have been left undecided or swayed in a different direction under different circumstances.

Public participation in environmental decision making is both shaped by and, in many cases, constrained by the ways in which environmental issues, problems, and solutions are defined or framed through the strategic communication practices of the participants engage in. The empirical work showed that actor perspectives in terms of cultural background, social experiences and the discourses in circulation orientates the motivation, decision spaces and directionality of actor’s attitude and discourses.

6.3 Deliberative democracy is an inadequate framing of deliberative participation

With the research question asking how processes of public participation could be understood within a political and social context, this raises wider issues of how such processes can interact with the context, to what extent interaction is incidental or premeditated and what barriers remain in place to isolate action ‘within’ from ‘outside’.

Deliberative democracy that speaks in terms of validity claims expressed in a public sphere which engages in a genuine exchange that legitimates public decisions, makes assumptions that are not easily met in practice. The strategies employed by individual actors, miscommunications or simply accidental shifts in pathways, among other, add up to quite important externalities that cannot be eliminated by planners.

This study focused on two participatory projects that either failed entirely – the marine reserve proposal of the Department of Conservation – or failed to gain legitimacy among the affected community – the district plan changes that Auckland City implemented. In both cases the required consultation efforts, involving information dissemination, public meetings and multiple form of obtaining feedback were considered inadequate by a significant portion of participants and did not legitimate the planned policies. Whether alternative methods would have been able to improve on this, or at least save the cost of the quite sophisticated

campaigns may be of interest for practitioners preparing for a new round of issue-specific community consultation. But an institutionalised practice with in both cases extensive prior institutionalised experience could be expected to better validate the principles of a participative, devolved democracy. Instead, the empirical experience confirms the disappointing experiences the literature had commented on (Bulkeley & Mol, 2003; Climis, Peter, Jonathan, & Katy, 2002; Frances, 1999).

Confirming experiences of perceived ‘undemocratic’ consultation add to the challenges to the traditional liberal understanding of political participation that Kulynych (1997) also described. According to this author, neither Habermas nor Foucault who is called on for his more subversive account of government, can provide a fully satisfying solution to such problems of political action in a postmodern world. Kulynych turns this around by suggesting to combine Habermas’ vision for discursive politics with Foucault’s focus on the micropolitics of resistance. While that offers one possibility that should be explored further, the need to turn to two quite distinctive schools of scholarship alerts to the inherent inconsistencies that an orthodox theory of deliberative democracy cannot adequately explain democratic practices.

In the field of development this inconsistency of normative theory and the assumptions that are consequent thereon with the reality of outcomes from participation. Even when projects achieve material outcomes, the aims of empowering beneficiaries and building well-grounded institutions with the help of participative approaches frequently fail. One explanation offered by Kumar and Corbridge (2002) is because outside interventions cannot be expected to change local systems of politics of stratification. But perhaps the two should not be separated.

6.4 Relocating participation in a political landscape

In the time since the 1980s there has been a move towards more local participation and empowerment, which has produced, although with varying agendas, a substantial agreement between actors and institutions from the left and the right. This worries Mohan and Stokke (2000) who argue that by focusing so heavily on the local, and the different public involvement projects, ranging from participatory development to social capital formation, this tends to underplay both local inequalities and power relations as well as national and transnational economic and political forces. Interestingly, their answer is to advocate for a stronger emphasis on the politics of the local, i.e. on the “political use of ‘the local’ by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic interests” (p 247).

The case studies transected a number of political issues that were highlighted. The developments following the announcement of the marine reserve proposal showed the inevitable linkages with self-assertion by the tangata whenua. And for the participants in the Hokianga Accord that joined the Great Barrier protests this was an opportunity to again resist the government taking something away.

Resistance is a theme that reappears in participative exercises. Interviewees conveyed a sense of powerlessness and inevitability against the proposals for change that arrived on the island from the capital and from the council offices in Auckland. But that was also countered by others who organised themselves within the Community Board and were prepared even to employ the Environment Court to defend what was seen as their rights (Community Board 2008).

But resistance can also be directed the other way. The kind of resistance to innovation described by Thomas More in the opening paragraph, even if a little tongue in cheek, has all the hallmarks of institutional responses to new or radical proposals. Institutions by definition are conservative, which in a time of rapid change can be a true handicap.

While the stereotype of rigid, fossilised institutions holds well and has been well studied in the both in the management and the anthropology literature (e.g. Acheson, 2006), the complex bio-social factors are recognised and with that the specificity of conditions that lead to adaptive or defensive reactions. Perhaps more interesting is the ability of both governmental and non-governmental organisations to transform in spite of its structural constraints. On the one hand this can be thanks to active officers or members taking initiatives or because external parameters change and create new opportunities. For instance, Auckland Council was condemned for the rigidity and cultural inappropriateness in dealing with resource consents and community issues in an auditor's report that was cited in the preceding chapter. But the following term saw a completely restructured larger Auckland council that in this round reportedly had effected a major turn around to open up to alternatives originating from the until then disregarded Great Barrier Island.

Popular perception of institutional consultation and participation procedures reported both in the field research described above and from reports in the related research, are similarly imbued with cynicism and a sense of disempowerment as found by Climis et al (2002), who reported on four European case studies. The researchers found that while willingness to cooperate is mostly present, participants in all case studies do not expect to be heard by

decision makers, are often unable to make sense of the institutional arrangements and consider the communication about the objectives and impacts of proposed policies inadequate.

A critical perspective of participation in international aid traces its conception to a counter-hegemonic approach to radical social transformation which represented a challenge to the status quo (Leal, 2007). Paradoxically, participation gained legitimacy during the 1980s and 1990s within this sector to the extent of achieving buzzword status. But the political project this radical concept had represented was deflated, through the manipulations required to integrate it into something that could serve in a neo-liberal world order that evolved. Rescued to a series of methodological packages and techniques participation slowly lost its philosophical and ideological meaning. But for Leal these meanings can and should be recovered. Participation can be re-articulated within broader processes of social transformation. Post-environmentalism offers one direction that makes such a vision feasible.

6.5 Towards a post-environmentalism?

Environmentalism, or ecologism, as a movement stands behind much of the environmental reforms documented in this study. While the activism that is associated with organisations campaigning for the protection of whales or more radical responses to climate change has not made landfall on Great Barrier Island, the local movement to realise a vision of a rat-free haven for native birds that the Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust represents does fall into a similar mould. And behind that are a set of values that staff of the Department of Conservation would mostly identify with and that shapes the images and discourses that arrive also within the island's community. As a movement, the trajectory of environmentalism can throw some light on how an environmental democracy is evolving.

According to a controversial essay titled "The Death of Environmentalism" (Shellenberger & Nordhaus, 2004), American environmentalism has been remarkably successful in protecting the air, water, and large stretches of wilderness in North America and Europe, but these environmentalists have stagnated as a vital force for cultural and political change. The reason is, that environmentalism has been marginalised into just another special interest group that fails to galvanise public support. A transformation is called for.

That environmentalism has spent its force and not only failed to achieve the important changes of social practice that are persistently called for, but neither delivered on the social

reformation that was integrated from the outset, a vision of a world in harmony with Gaia philosophies. There is an echo of the participation agenda which was released from its radical roots to support the neoliberal project of technocratic government (Leal, 2007). But equally it still offers the possibility of sustaining a more ambitious programme.

The old generation of environmentalists are accused of failing to question their most basic assumptions about the problem and the solution. While the activism remains aiming for basic environmental protection that was the main thrust of the conservationist agenda for the previous decades, the political strategy of the green groups became defined around using science to define the problem as "environmental" and crafting technical policy proposals as solutions.

Post-environmental movement thinkers argue that the ecological crises of the 21st century are qualitatively different from the problems the environmental movement was created to address in the 1960s and 1970s. Climate change and habitat destruction, they argue, are global, more complex, and demand far deeper transformations of the economy, the culture and political life (Nordhaus & Shellenberger, 2007). The consequence of environmentalism's outdated and arbitrary definition, they argue, is political irrelevancy (Petersen, 2007).

The Great Barrier Island Charitable Trust has recognised this, by elevating the vision of a sustainable economy for the island into profile - without rats of course. But with the mistrust declared by other community members on the island, and the paucity of visibly related activity, that goal remains hollow and not credible at least to those opinion leaders that spoke or wrote of their reservations.

Nordhaus and Shellenberger offer one tool in response, by researching core values and beliefs that inform how individuals develop a range of opinions – not only on environmental issues – but in everything from the economy to abortion. While their research shows a clear conservative shift in the United States, it also revealed many positive openings for environmentalists and progressives. A community they identify as their clientele.

Such a values science that post-environmentalism puts forward a method for mapping the social contexts that the society-nature changes will increasingly dominate. According to the authors, such a map can simultaneously motivate environmental groups, win allies, divide opponents, and achieve positive policy changes.

6.6 Environmental governance rethought and a research agenda

This thesis has sought to look at the framing taking effect not only of participative practices and the obstacles they encounter but in parallel the framing that the theoretical, i.e. the ontological foundations of participative practices erect. To do that I developed a methodology that could illuminate the perspective of actors so little taken into account in the available literature. This has revealed the inadequacies of deliberative framing and the need to see participants not as categories of stakeholders but citizens active within a democratic society.

The governance processes in human-nature relations can often not be constrained to rational deliberation in neutral settings. Instead this work shows how it can better be compared to a battle where protagonists have strategic intent, are animated by strong values and are subject to the human vagaries of emotion, education, and experience and even in relation to public, shared resources like the sea. This applies from village to town, but especially for Great Barrier Island where residents have so much opportunity to give meaning to natural features in relation to themselves.

This work has put in question whether participation in governance actually promotes the conditions for participants to engage in the open-ended and public-minded discussion heralded by democratic theorists. Reports such as that of Baiocchi (2003) echo the findings of this study, by showing how previously marginalized peoples through organized networks and experimented community activists came to be effective 'participants' in the development of their urban communities, emphasizing the transformative nature of participation.

While increased and well-organized involvement in governance can only be seen in apposite light, other workers (Bogason & Musso, 2006) warn that the effect of increased cross-sectorial and civil society involvement in governing has been to stretch liberal democratic processes to include greater numbers of actors in a network of relations.

The shortcomings of existing theories of governance theory has to be recognized as unable to cope with the unpredictable and abrupt system changes increasing in frequency due to climate change and the increasing level of human activity (Duit & Galaz, 2008). But while the models of governance diversify, so does the capacity to buffer or weaken the effects of complex adaptive systems. And adaptive systems are better suited to act as buffer for natural and social systems that behave in nonlinear ways, exhibit marked thresholds in their dynamics, for that social-ecological systems act as strongly coupled, complex and evolving integrated systems (Folke et al., 2002).

Lemos and Agrawal agree that in view of the complexity and multiscalar character of many of the most pressing environmental problems, conventional debates focused on pure modes of governance—where state or market actors play the leading role—fall short of the capacity needed to address them. The authors highlight the promise inherent in social and natural systems to recover from environmental degradation.

Emergent government

But an emergent governance from below that redefines and relegates government to a status of one among others also entails the risk of the vacuum being taken up by better resourced corporations and non-governmental organizations with less obligation for accountability. To what extent citizens and a multiplicity of con-profit associations can maintain veto power is really a question for further research.

However, a turn towards civil society and the tradition of research that goes with that, would lose sight of the significant role of active subjects, that is individual citizens that step out of their uni-dimensional roles with groups to act as citizen with multiple identities and multiple agendas.

6.7 A research agenda

The agenda for further research that takes shape then follows three axes:

Knowledge production: Deliberation not only concerns arriving at democratically legitimate decisions but also at growing a shared knowledge base of accepted facts and relations. As such it constructs a precondition for effective democratic deliberation and governance. What are the processes that actually produce the knowledge, what category of participants and in which settings? Is discourse theory adequate for explaining knowledge production? Are there knowledge based institutions (apart from academia) that contribute disproportionately to this? How is the contemporary post-modern context responding to such knowledge in circulation?

Emergent governance: The field work illustrates how governance has moved out of the established institutions and has widened its citizen base, both in terms of active citizens and with organisations pursuing specific agendas. What conditions are obstacles or enablers in an emergent governance system that widens the involvement and participation of individuals and groups? Are there configurations that follow in sequence, e.g. the level of involvement of individuals vs. the institutionalisation of positions? Are there complementary functions in an

emergent governance system? How does this relate to the discursive designs Dryzek describes?

Participation rethought: With participation problematized, the chronic incompleteness of deliberative processes becomes apparent as they fray and fragment. If the model of participation is recognised as providing a poor fit then this forces a rethink of much that is being written in the related scholarship and which has to go beyond the directions indicated here. There are many on-going and historical environmental governance interventions that can now be understood differently in the light of the unpacking that this thesis has done.

This thesis set out to contribute not only to the on-going debates around the value and limitations of participatory approaches with respect to society-nature relations, but also sought to question the orthodox framing of participatory approaches, in particular how the rationales of deliberative democracy could be expanded. By demonstrating how other schools of thought can enrich the understanding of the messy environmental governance processes that seem to be the rule, I hope to have made the case for a more situated approach.

Returning to a practitioner perspective, Donald Schön states succinctly the meaning of a situated approach for a ‘reflective practitioner’, or what I would label more specifically a ‘scholarly practitioner’. And with that, he adds another rubric to the research agenda with participation now seen as social learning:

The loss of the stable state means that our society and all of its institutions are in *continuous* processes of transformation. We cannot expect new stable states that will endure for our own lifetimes.

We must learn to understand, guide, influence and manage these transformations. We must make the capacity for undertaking them integral to ourselves and to our institutions.

We must, in other words, become adept at learning. We must become able not only to transform our institutions, in response to changing situations and requirements; we must invent and develop institutions which are ‘learning systems’, that is to say, systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation.

The task which the loss of the stable state makes imperative, for the person, for our institutions, for our society as a whole, is to learn about learning.

What is the nature of the process by which organizations, institutions and societies transform themselves?

What are the characteristics of effective learning systems?

What are the forms and limits of knowledge that can operate within processes of social learning?

What demands are made on a person who engages in this kind of learning?

(Schön, 1983 'The reflective practitioner' p28-29)

Donald Schon believes that social systems must learn to become capable of transforming themselves without intolerable disruption. A situated, theoretical reflection on governance processes may be part of that.

Bibliography

- Abel, T. (2003). Understanding complex human ecosystems: the case of ecotourism on Bonaire *Conservation Ecology [online]* (Vol. 7).
- Abelson, J., Forest, P.-G., Eyles, J., Smith, P., Martin, E., & Gauvin, F.-P. (2003). Deliberations about deliberative methods: issues in the design and evaluation of public participation processes. *Social Science & Medicine*, 57(2), 239-251.
- Acheson, J. M. (2006). Institutional Failure in Resource Management. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35(1), 117-134. doi:doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.35.081705.123238
- Achorn, E. (2004). Integrating Agent-Based Models with Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods'. *Australian Association for Research in Education 2004 Conference Papers ACH04769*.
- Adger, W. N., Kelly, P. M., Nguyen, H. N., & ebrary, I. (Eds.). (2001). *Living with environmental change social vulnerability, adaptation and resilience in Vietnam* (Vol. 6). London ; New York: Routledge.
- Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. C. (1999). Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development*, 27(4), 629-649.
- Agrawal, A., Gupta, A. K., Hathaway, M., Narotzky, S., Raffles, H., Skaria, A., & Sundar, N. (2005). Environmentality. *Current Anthropology*, 46(2), 161-190.
- Agrawal, A., & Gupta, K. (2005). Decentralization and Participation: The Governance of Common Pool Resources in Nepal's Terai. *World Development*, 33(7), 1101-1114.
- Allen, A. (2008). *The politics of our selves : power, autonomy, and gender in contemporary critical theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Angus, I. H. (2000). *(Dis)figurations : discourse/critique/ethics*. London ; New York: Verso.
- ANON. (1999). *Desmond M. Connor*. Paper presented at the Public Participation in Australia and New Zealand: Current Status and Trends., Inaugural conference of the Australasian Chapter of the International Association for Public Participation held in Sydney, NSW, .
- Antaki, C. (2006). Producing a 'cognition' [Journal Article]. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 9-15.
- Axelrod, R. M. (1997). *The complexity of cooperation agent-based models of competition and collaboration*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Baiocchi, G. (2003). Emergent Public Spheres: Talking Politics in Participatory Governance. *American Sociological Review*, 68(1), 52-74.
- Bardach, E. (2005). *A practical guide for policy analysis : the eightfold path to more effective problem solving* (2nd ed.). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Barnett, C., & Low, M. (2004). *Spaces of democracy : geographical perspectives on citizenship, participation and representation*. London: Sage.

- Baron, S., & Eisen, J. (Eds.). (2004). *People power : how to make the government listen to you, for a change* (1st ed.). Auckland, N.Z.: Full Court Press.
- Baronov, D. (2004). *The conceptual foundations of social research methods* Boulder : Paradigm Publishers: Paradigm Publishers.
- Batstone, C. J., & Sharp, B. M. H. (1999). New Zealand's quota management system: the first ten years. *Marine Policy*, 23(2), 177-190.
- Bavinck, M., Chuenpagdee, R., Diallo, M., Heijden, P. v. d., Kooiman, J., Mahon, R., & Williams, S. (2005). *Interactive fisheries governance: a guide to better practice*. Delft: Eburon Publishers.
- Beard, V. A. (2002). Covert Planning for Social Transformation in Indonesia. *Journal Of Planning Education And Research*, 22(1), 15-25, .
- Becker, H. A., & Vanclay, F. (2003). *The International handbook of social impact assessment : conceptual and methodological advances*. Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Beierle, T. C., & Cayford, J. (2002). *Democracy in practice : public participation in environmental decisions*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the future.
- Belich , J., & Wevers, L. (2008). Understanding New Zealand cultural identities. Wellington, NZ: Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria Universtiy.
- Benhabib, S. (1998). Toward a deliberative model of democratic legitimacy. In *Democracy and Difference: Dilemmas of Citizenship in Contemporary Europe*.
- Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2006). QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(1), 455-476. doi:doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104918
- Bentz, V. M., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge, by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann* (T. Luckmann, Trans.). London.
- Bergh, S. (2004). Democratic decentralisation and local participation: a review of recent research. *Development in Practice*, 14(6), 780-790.
- Berkes, F. (2004). Rethinking community-based conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 18(3), 621-630.
- Biebricher, T. (2007). Habermas and Foucault: Deliberative Democracy and Strategic State Analysis. *Cont Pol Theory*, 6(2), 218-245.
- Blackburn, J., Holland, J., & Chambers, R. (1998). *Who changes? : institutionalizing participation in development*. London: Intermediate Technology.
- Blair, H. (2000). Participation and Accountability at the Periphery: Democratic Local Governance in Six Countries. *World Development*, 28(1), 21-39.

- Bliss, F., & Neumann, S. (2008). Participation in International Development Discourse and Practice: 'State of the Art' and Challenges *INEF Report* (Vol. 94/2008). Essen: Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg.
- Bodin, Ö., Crona, B., & Ernstson, H. (2006). Social Networks in Natural Resource Management: What Is There to Learn from a Structural Perspective? *Ecology and Society*, 11(2).
- Bogason, P., & Musso, J. A. (2006). The Democratic Prospects of Network Governance. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 36(1), 3-18. doi:10.1177/0275074005282581
- Borrini-Feyerabend, G. (2004). Governance of protected areas, participation and equity. In *Biodiversity Issues for Consideration in the Planning, Establishment and Management of Protected Areas Sites and Networks, Technical Series no. 15*. (pp. 100-105). Montreal: Convention on Biological Diversity.
- Brass, P. R. (2000). Foucault steals political science. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1), 305-330.
- Brick, P. (2008). Producing political climate change: the hidden life of US environmentalism. *Environmental Politics*, 17(2), 200-218.
- Brint, S. (2001). Gemeinschaft Revisited: A Critique and Reconstruction of the Community Concept. *Sociological Theory*, 19(1), 1-23.
- Brock, K., & Pettit, J. (2007). *Springs of participation : creating and evolving methods for participatory development*. Rugby, UK: Practical Action.
- Bromley, D. W., & Feeny, D. (1992). *Making the commons work : theory, practice, and policy*. San Francisco, Calif.: ICS Press.
- Brown, K. (1998). The political ecology of biodiversity, conservation and development in Nepal's Terai: Confused meanings, means and ends. *Ecological Economics*, 24, 73-87.
- Brown, K. (2003). Three challenges for a real people-centred conservation. *Global Ecology and Biogeography*, 12(2), 89-92.
- Brundtland, G. H., & World Commission on Environment and Development. (1987). *Our common future*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bryant, R. L. (1998). Power, knowledge and political ecology in the third world: a review. *Progress in Physical Geography*, 22(1), 79-94. doi:10.1177/030913339802200104
- Bryant, R. L., & Bailey, S. (1997). *Third World political ecology*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Brzeski, V. J., & Newkirk, G. F. (2007). Lessons from the Lagoon: research towards community based coastal resources management in Tam Gian Lagoon, Viet Nam.
- Buchy, M., & Hoverman, S. (2000). Understanding public participation in forest planning: a review. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 1(1), 15-25.
- Bulkeley, H., & Mol, A. P. J. (2003). Participation and Environmental Governance: Consensus, Ambivalence and Debate. *Environmental Values*, 12, 143-154.

- Cameron, J., & Gibson, K. (2005). Participatory action research in a poststructuralist vein. *Geoforum*, 36(3), 315-331.
- Campbell, B., & Salagrama, V. (2001). New approaches to participation in fisheries research. *FAO Fisheries Circular. Rome, FAO(965)*.
- Carney, D., & Farrington, J. (1998). *Natural Resource Management and Institutional Change*: Routledge.
- Castro, A. P., & Nielsen, E. (2001). Indigenous people and co-management: implications for conflict management. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 4(4-5), 229-239.
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose reality counts? : putting the first last*. London: Intermediate technology Publications.
- Chambers, R. (2007). *From PRA to PLA to Pluralism: Practice and Theory* (Vol. 286). London, UK: Institute of Development Studies (IDS).
- Chilton, S., & Cuzzo, M. S. W. (2005). Habermas's theory of communicative action as a theoretical framework for mediation practice. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 22(3), 325-348.
- Chouinard, V. (1997). Structure and agency: Contested concepts in human geography. *Canadian Geographer*, 41(4), 363.
- Clark, W. (2000). *Activism in the public sphere : exploring the discourse of political participation*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Climis, A. D., Peter, J. S. J., Jonathan, C. S., & Katy, S. (2002). Attitudes toward Participation in Cooperative Coastal Management: Four European Case Studies. *Coastal Management*, 30(3), 209-220.
- Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies*: Sage Publications.
- Coglianesi, C., & Nash, J. (2001). *Regulating from the Inside: Can Environmental Management Systems Achieve Policy Goals? : Resources for the Future*.
- Collins, D., & Kearns, R. (2008). Uninterrupted views: real-estate advertising and changing perspectives on coastal property in New Zealand. *Environment and Planning A*, 40, 2914-2932.
- Cook, I., Atkinson, D., Jackson, P., Sibley, D., & Washbourne, N. (2005). Positionality/situated knowledge. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, 16-26.
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation : the new tyranny?* London ; New York: Zed Books.
- Cooke, M. (2000). Five arguments for deliberative democracy. *Political Studies*, 48(5), 947-969.
- Crang, D. M. (2005). Qualitative methods (part 3): there is nothing outside the text? *Progress in human geography*.

- Crawford, B., Siahainenia, A., Rotinsulu, C., & Sukmara, A. (2004). Compliance and Enforcement of Community-Based Coastal Resource Management Regulations in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Coastal Management*, 32:39–50.
- Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Clark Plano, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(2), 236-264. doi:10.1177/0011000006287390
- Dallmayr, F. (1988). Habermas and Rationality. *Political theory*, 16(4), 553-579.
- de Federico de la Rúa, A. (2007). Networks and Identifications: A Relational Approach to Social Identities. *International Sociology*, 22(6), 683-699. doi:10.1177/0268580907082247
- Degenne, M. R., & Forsé, M. (1999). *Introducing Social Networks*: Sage Publications Inc.
- Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*: Sage Publications.
- Depoe, S. P., Delicath, J. W., & Elsenbeer, M.-F. A. (Eds.). (2004). *Communication and public participation in environmental decision making*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Deutsch, M., & Coleman, P. T. E. (2000). *The handbook of conflict resolution: theory and practice*.
- Dingler, J. (2005). The discursive nature of nature: Towards a post-modern concept of nature. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 7(3), 209-225.
- DOC. (2004). Aotea (Great Barrier) Marienr Reserve Application: An application by the Director-General of Conservation. Auckland: Department of Conservation, Acukland Conservancy.
- Downward, P., & Mearman, A. (2007). Retrodution as mixed-methods triangulation in economic research: reorienting economics into social science. *Camb. J. Econ.*, 31(1), 77-99. doi:10.1093/cje/bel009
- Dryzek, J. S. (1990). *Discursive democracy : politics, policy, and political science*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dryzek, J. S. (2002). *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*
Liberals, Critics, Contestations (pp. 306 p.). Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/019925043X/oc.html>
- Duit, A., & Galaz, V. (2008). Governance and Complexity—Emerging Issues for Governance Theory. *Governance*, 21(3), 311-335. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0491.2008.00402.x
- Dukes, E. F. (1996). *Resolving public conflict : transforming community and governance*. Manchester ; New York
New York: Manchester University Press ;
Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press.

- Dukes, E. F. (2004). What we know about environmental conflict resolution: An analysis based on research. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 22(1-2), 191-220.
- Eco, U. (2000). *Kant and the platypus : essays on language and cognition* (1st ed.). New York ; London: Harcourt Brace.
- Eden, S. (1996). Public participation in environmental policy: considering scientific, counter-scientific and non-scientific contributions. *Public Understanding of Science*, 5(3), 183-204. doi:10.1088/0963-6625/5/3/001
- Eder, J. F. (2005). Coastal Resource Management and Social Differences in Philippine Fishing Communities. *Human Ecology*, 33(2), 147-169.
- Elias, A. A., Jackson, L. S., & Cavana, R. Y. (2004). Changing positions and interests of stakeholders in environmental conflict: A New Zealand transport infrastructure case. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 45(1), 87-104.
- England, K. V. L. (1994). Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 80-89.
- Fehr, E., & Gintis, H. (2007). Human Motivation and Social Cooperation: Experimental and Analytical Foundations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 43-64. doi:doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131812
- Ferreira, C. (2006). Practicality, Positionality, and Emancipation: Reflections on Participatory Action Research with a Watershed Partnership. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 19, 577-598.
- Few, R. (2000). Conservation, Participation, and Power: Protected-Area Planning in the Coastal Zone of Belize. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19(4), 401-408. doi:10.1177/0739456x0001900409
- Fischer, F. (1993). Citizen participation and the democratization of policy expertise: From theoretical inquiry to practical cases. *Policy Sciences*, 26(3), 165-187.
- Fischer, F. (1998). Beyond Empiricism: Policy Inquiry in Post positivist Perspective. *Policy Studies Journal*, 26(1), 129-146 %U <http://dx.doi.org/110.1111/j.1541-0072.1998.tb01929.x>.
- Fischer, F., & Hajer, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Living with Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural Discourse*. . New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, E., & Holland, J. D. (2003). Social development as knowledge building: research as a sphere of policy influence. *Journal of International Development*, 15(7), 911-924.
- Fisheries, M. o. (1991). Fisheries Legislation Review: Public Discussion Paper. *Fisheries Task Force, Wellington, New Zealand*.
- Fisheries, M. o. (November 2006). *Shared Fisheries: Proposals for Managing New Zealand's Shared Fisheries: A public discussion paper*. Wellington: Ministry of Fisheries.
- FLMMA. (2003). Fisheries Cabinet Subcommittee Information Paper: Managing Our I Qoliqoli For Fiji's Future Generations: Prepared by The Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area (FLMMA) Network and the Fisheries Department.

- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and power : democracy in practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter : why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Oxford, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Foale, S., & Manele, B. (2004). Social and political barriers to the use of Marine Protected Areas for conservation and fishery management in Melanesia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 45(3), 373-386.
- Folke, C., Carpenter, S., Elmqvist, T., Gunderson, L., Holling, C. S., & Walker, B. (2002). Resilience and Sustainable Development: Building Adaptive Capacity in a World of Transformations. *AMBIO: A Journal of the Human Environment*, 31(5), 437-440. doi:10.1579/0044-7447-31.5.437
- Fong, P. S. (2006). *Community-based coastal resources management in Fiji Islands : case study of Korolevu-i-wai District, Nadroga* (USP, Suva).
- Forester, J. (1993). Participatory action research from the inside: community development practice in East St. Louis. *The American Sociologist*, 24(1), 69-91.
- Forsyth, T. (2003). *Critical political ecology : the politics of environmental science*. New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1966). *Les mots et les choses : une archeologie des sciences humaines*. [Paris]: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*: Routledge.
- Foulkes, A. (2007). Great Barrier Island (Aotea) Marine Reserve: Lessons for future marine reserve proposals. Auckland: New Zealand Underwater Association.
- Frances, C. (1999). Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development. *Journal of International Development*, 11(4), 597-612.
- Frantzeskaki, N., & Thissen, W. (2009). Rationality and the Environment, Decision-making in Environmental Politics and Assessment, Bo Elling, Earthscan, London (2008) ISBN 978-1-84407-524-9 281 pp. *Ecological Economics*, 68(4), 1270-1272.
- Fritsch, O., & Newig, J. (2006, 4th-7th June 2006). *Improving Environmental Quality Through Participation? A Critical Perspective on the Effectiveness of Public Participation*. Paper presented at the PATH - Participatory approaches in science and technology, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- Fry, G. (1996). Framing the islands: knowledge and power in changing Australian images of 'the South Pacific'. *Working paper (Australian National University. Dept. of International Relations: 1983); no. 1996/5*.
- Gadamer, H. G. (1989; orig 1960). *Truth and method* (2nd rev. ed.). New York: Crossroad.
- Galtung, J. (1977). *Methodology and Ideology: Essays in Methodology, Volume One*. (Vol. 8). Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen.

- Garritt, J. (2006, 4th-7th June 2006). "Now who decided that?": *Experts and the public in biodiversity conservation*. Paper presented at the PATH - Participatory approaches in science and technology, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- Ghimire, K. B., & Pimbert, M. P. (1997). *Social change and conservation : environmental politics and impacts of national parks and protected areas*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A postcapitalist politics*. Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: performative practices for other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(5), 613.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory : action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine.
- Gorter, R. (1992a). Nugget Point and Environs *Miscellaneous Series* (Vol. 12). Dunedin: Department of Conservation, Otago Conservancy.
- Gorter, R. (1992b). Preliminary subtidal survey of Motuora Island: Report to the Department of Conservation and the Auckland Regional Council.
- Gorter, R. (1993). Maketu estuary shellfish monitoring: Report of a pilot study and recommendations for a sampling programme.
- Gould, K. A., Other Author: Schnaiberg, A., & Weinberg, A. S. (1996). *Local environmental struggles : citizen activism in the treadmill of production*. Cambridge ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Graham, A. (2004). A social communication perspective toward public participation: the case of the Cispus adaptive management area. In S. P. Depoe, J. W. Delicath & M.-F. A. Elsenbeer (Eds.), *Communication and public participation in environmental decision making* (pp. cm.). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Grimble, R., & Wellard, K. (1997). Stakeholder Methodologies in Natural Resource Management: a Review of Principles, Contexts, Experiences and Opportunities. *Agricultural Systems*, 55(2), 173-193.
- Grix, J. (2002). Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research. *Politics*, 22(3), 175-186.
- Habermas, J. (1979). *Communication and the evolution of society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Haig, B. D. (Ed.). (1995). *Grounded Theory as Scientific Method*. Champaign, USA: A Publication of the Philosophy of Education Society, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Hajer, M., & Versteeg, W. (2005). A decade of discourse analysis of environmental politics: Achievements, challenges, perspectives. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 7(3), 175-184.

- Hajer, M. A. (1997). The Politics of Environmental Discourse Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process (pp. 344 p.). Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/019829333X/oc.html>
- Hajer, M. A., & Wagenaar, H. (Eds.). (2003). *Deliberative policy analysis: Understanding governance in the network society*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hannigan, J. A. (1995). *Environmental sociology: A social constructionist perspective*: Burns & Oates.
- Harvey, L. J. (1995). Scholarship and practice: the contribution of ethnographic research methods to bridging the gap Lynda J. Harvey, Michael D. Myers The Authors. *Information Technology & People*, 8(3), 13-27.
- Hay, C. (2002). *Political analysis : a critical introduction*. New York: Palgrave.
- Hayward, T. (1998). *Political theory and ecological values*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (2004). *Participation, from tyranny to transformation? : exploring new approaches to participation in development*. London ; New York
New York: ZED Books ;
Distributed exclusively in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (2005). Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development [Article]. *Development & Change*, 36(2), 237-262. doi:10.1111/j.0012-155X.2005.00410.x
- Holland, J., Blackburn, J., & Chambers, R. (1998). *Whose voice? : participatory research and policy change*. London: Intermediate Technology.
- Holmes, T., & Scoones, I. (2000). *Participatory environmental policy processes: experiences from North and South*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.
- Howie, L. (2002). Great Barrier Island Community Profile: Otago University.
- Howitt, R. (2001). *Rethinking resource management : justice, sustainability and indigenous peoples*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization : cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Innes, J., & Booher, D. (2004). Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(4), 419 - 436.
- Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2003). Collaborative policymaking: governance through dialogue. *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Governance in the Network Society*, 33–59.
- Irwin, A. (2001). *Sociology and the environment : a critical introduction to society, nature, and knowledge*. Malden, Mass.: Polity Press.

- Jeffs, A., & Irving, P. (1993). *The North-Eastern Coast of Great Barrier Island. A report on surveys of the coastal environment and a review of existing information.* Wellington: Department of Conservation.
- Johannes, R. E. (2002). The Renaissance Of Community-Based Marine Resource management In Oceania. *Annu. Rev. Ecol. Syst.*, 33.
- Jul-Larsen, E., Kolding, J., & al, e. (2003). Management, co-management or no management? Major dilemmas in southern African freshwater fisheries. 1. Synthesis report. *FAO Fisheries Technical Paper. No. 426/1.* Rome: FAO.
- Kapoor, I. (2002). The devil's in the theory: a critical assessment of Robert Chambers' work on participatory development. *Third World Quarterly, Vol 23, No 1, pp 101–117.*
- Kearney, R. E. (2001). Fisheries property rights and recreational/commercial conflict: implications of policy developments in Australia and New Zealand. *Marine Policy*, 25(1), 49-59.
- Keeley, J., & Scoones, I. (2003). *Understanding environmental policy processes: Cases from Africa:* Institute of Development Studies.
- Keil, R., & Debbana, A.-M. (2005). Scaling discourse analysis: Experiences from Hermanus, South Africa and Walvis Bay, Namibia. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 7(3), 257-276.
- Kelly, J. D., & Kaplan, M. (2001). *Represented communities : Fiji and world decolonization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kiss, A. (2004). Is community-based ecotourism a good use of biodiversity conservation funds? *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 19(5), 232-237.
- Kjær, A. M. (2004). *Governance.* Malden, MA: Polity/Blackwell.
- Kooiman, J. (2003). *Governing as governance.* London: SAGE.
- Kooiman, J. (2005). *Fish for Life: Interactive Governance for Fisheries:* Amsterdam University Press.
- Kuentzel, W. F. (2004). *SOCIAL CHANGE AND POST UTILITARIAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: ADAPTATION OR TRANSFORMATION?* Paper presented at the Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium.
- Kulynych, J. J. (1997). Performing Politics: Foucault, Habermas, and Postmodern Participation. *Polity*, 30(2), 315-346.
- Kumar, S., & Corbridge, S. (2002). Programmed to Fail? Development Projects and the Politics of Participation. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 39(2), 73-103.
- Lal, P., H. Lim-Applegate, and M. Scoccimarro. (2001). *The adaptive decision-making process as a tool for integrated natural resource management: focus, attitudes, and approach.* In *Conservation Ecology* 5(2): 11. Retrieved from <http://www.consecol.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/vol5/iss2/art11/>
- Lasswell, H. D. (1948). *The analysis of political behavior an empirical approach* (Vol. 2). London: Routledge 1999.

- Lasswell, H. D., & Kaplan, A. (1950). *Power and society : a framework for political inquiry* (A. Kaplan, Trans.). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Law, J. (2004). *After method : mess in social science research* (1st ed.). London ; New York: Routledge.
- Law, J., & Urry, J. (2004). Enacting the social. *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 390-410.
- Lawrence, A. (2006). No Personal Motive?' Volunteers, Biodiversity, and the False Dichotomies of Participation. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 9, 279-298.
- Leal, P. A. (2007). Participation: The Ascendancy of a Buzzword in the Neo-Liberal Era. *Development in Practice*, 17(4/5), 539-548.
- Leeuwis, C. (2000). Reconceptualizing Participation for Sustainable Rural Development: Towards a Negotiation Approach. *Development and Change*, 31(5), 931-959. doi:doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00184
- LeHeron, R. (2007). Globalisation, governance and post-structural political economy: Perspectives from Australasia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 48(1), 26-40.
- Lemke, T. (2007). An indigestible meal? Foucault, governmentality and state theory. *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory*(15).
- Lieberson, S. (1987). *Making it count : the improvement of social research and theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, J. (2006). *Analyzing social settings : a guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth Learning.
- Long, N. (2001). *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*: Routledge.
- Mahmood, S., & Mirza, U. K. (2002). The Sustainable Use and Conservation of Natural Resources: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Electronic Green Journal*, 1(16).
- Manley, M. (2007). Do community-based approaches to natural resource management work? *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 22 (3).
- Marinetti, M. (2003). Who Wants to be an Active Citizen? The Politics and Practice of Community Involvement. *Sociology*, 37(1), 103-120.
- Marquand, D. (1988). *The unprincipled society*: Cape.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1998). *Designing Qualitative Research*: Sage Publications.
- Mason, M. (1999). *Environmental democracy*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Mathie, A., & Cunningham, G. (2008). *From clients to citizens : communities changing the course of their own development*. Warwickshire, UK: Practical Action Pub.
- McCarthy, T. A. (1978). *The critical theory of Jürgen Habermas*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- McGregor, S. L. T. (2003). Critical Discourse Analysis-A Primer. *Kappa Omicron Nu FORUM*2003,(1).

- Meffe, G. K. (2002). *Ecosystem management : adaptive, community-based conservation*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Memon, P. A., & Gleeson, B. J. (1995). Towards a new planning paradigm? Reflections on New Zealand's Resource Management Act. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 22((1), 109 – 124.
- Mendelberg, T. (2002). The Deliberative Citizen: Theory and Evidence. *Political Decision Making, Deliberation and Participation*, 6, 151-193.
- Menocal, A. R., & Eade, D. (2004). Annotated Resources on democracy and decentralisation. *Development in Practice*, 14(6), 791-808.
- Min-Dong, P. L. (2002). Community-Based Natural Resource Management: A Bird's Eye View *Rural Poverty and Environment Working Paper Series 9*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.
- Minhinnick, D. (2004). *Co-management in conservation management : mere tokenism or an effective management technique for local community involvement in conservation management* (
- Mitchell, T. (2002). *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*: University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Mohan, G. (2000). Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(2), 247-268.
- Mohan, G., & Stokke, K. (2000). Participatory Development and Empowerment. *Third World Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 21(2), 266–280.
- Morris, M. (2001). *Rethinking the communicative turn : Adorno, Habermas, and the problem of communicative freedom*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Mosse, D. (1996). Authority, Gender and Knowledge: Theoretical reflection on the practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal. *Development and Change*, 25, 497-526.
- Muro, M., & Jeffrey, P. (2006, 4th-7th June 2006). *Social learning—a useful concept for participatory decision-making processes?* Paper presented at the PATH - Participatory approaches in science and technology, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- Neuman, W. L. (2003). *Social research methods : qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Neumann, R. P. (2009). Political Ecology. In N. J. Thrift & R. Kitchin (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (pp. 228-233). New York: ScienceDirect.
- Nordhaus, T., & Shellenberger, M. (2007). *Break through: From the death of environmentalism to the politics of possibility*: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- O'Connor, M. (1999). Dialogue and debate in a post-normal practice of science: a reflexion. *Futures* 31(7), 671-687.
- O'Connor, M. (2000). Pathways for environmental evaluation: a walk in the (Hanging) Gardens of Babylon. *Ecological Economics*, 34(2), 175-193.

- Ollman, B. (1993). *Dialectical investigations*. New York: Routledge.
- Olsen, W., & Morgan, J. (2005). A critical epistemology of analytical statistics: addressing the sceptical realist. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 35(3).
- Ostrom, E. (2000). Social Capital: A Fad or a Fundamental Concept. *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective*, 172-214.
- Otis, L., & Reiter, E. H. (2006). Front-Line Justice. *VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*, 46(4), 677.
- Outhwaite, W., Stephen, P. T., & al., e. (2007). Hermeneutic and phenomenological approaches. In *Philosophy of Anthropology and Sociology* (pp. 459-483). Amsterdam, North-Holland.
- Overton, J., & Scheyvens, R. (Eds.). (1999). *Strategies for sustainable development: Experiences from the Pacific*. London: Zed Books.
- Page, B. (2003). The political ecology of *Prunus africana* in Cameroon. *Area*, 35(4), 357-370.
- Parkins, J., & Mitchell, R. (2005). Public Participation as Public Debate: A Deliberative Turn in Natural Resource Management *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(Six), 529-540.
- Parsons, D. W. (1995). *Public policy : an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis*. Aldershot, UK ; Brookfield, Vt., US: Edward Elgar.
- Pedersen, J. (2008). Habermas' Method: Rational Reconstruction. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 38(4), 457-485. doi:10.1177/0048393108319024
- Perez, C. (1997). Participatory research: Implications for Applied Anthropology. *Practicing Anthropology "The colours of participation" - Special edition*, 19(3).
- Petersen, L. K. (2007). Changing public discourse on the environment: Danish media coverage of the Rio and Johannesburg UN summits. *Environmental Politics*, 16(2), 206-230.
- Pimbert, M., & Wakeford, T. (2001). Overview—deliberative democracy and citizen empowerment. *PLA Notes (Special issue)*, 40, 23-28.
- Plummer, R., & Armitage, D. R. (2007). Charting the New Territory of Adaptive Co-management: A Delphi Study. *Ecology and Society*, 12(2), 10.
- Popper, K. R. (1966). *The open society and its enemies* (5th ed.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Pretty, J. (2003). Social Capital and the Collective Management of Resources. *Science*, 302(5652), 1912.
- Pryke, M., Rose, G., & Whatmore, S. e. (2003). *Using Social Theory: Thinking Through Research*.
- Putnam, R. D. (2001). *Bowling alone : the collapse and revival of American community* (1st Touchstone ed.). London: Simon & Schuster.
- Ragin, C. C. (1994). *Constructing social research : the unity and diversity of method*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.

- Rahman, M. D. A. (1995). Participatory Development: Towards Liberation and Co-optation? In G. C. a. M. Mayo (Ed.), *Community Empowerment: A Reader in Participation and Development*, (pp. 24–32). London: Zed Books.
- Rahnema, M. (1990). Participatory action research: the last temptation of saint development. *Alternatives*, 15, 199-226.
- Ramirez, R. (2001). Understanding the approaches for accommodating multiple stakeholders' interests. *International Journal of Agricultural Resources, Governance and Ecology*, 1(3), 264-285.
- Renn, O., Wiedemann, P. M., & Webler, T. (1995). *Fairness and Competence in Citizen Participation: Evaluating Models for Environmental Discourse*: Springer.
- Robertson, J. (2002). Reflexivity Redux: A Pithy Polemic on " Positionality". *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75(4), 785-792.
- Rocheleau, D. E. (2008). Political ecology in the key of policy: From chains of explanation to webs of relation. *Geoforum*, 39(2), 716-727.
- Rondinelli, D. A. (1993). Development Projects as Policy Experiments: an adaptive Approach to Development Administration. *New York; Routledge, 1993, 213 p.*
- Root, M. (1993). *Philosophy of social science : the methods, ideals, and politics of social inquiry*. Oxford, England ; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Rose, N. S. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, M. H. (1993). *The management of conflict : interpretations and interests in comparative perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rowe, G., & Frewer, L. J. (2004). Evaluating Public-Participation Exercises: A Research Agenda. *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 29(4), 512.
- Russell, G. M., & Kelly, N. H. (2002). *Research as Interacting Dialogic Processes: Implications for Reflexivity*.
- Ruth, M. (2006). Getting Close to the Action: The Micro-Politics of Rural Development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 46(2), 85-103.
- Ryan, L. (2006). Rethinking Social Movement Theories in the Twenty-first Century. *Sociology*, 40(1), 169-176. doi:10.1177/0038038506058442
- Rydin, Y., & Pennington, M. (2000). Public Participation and Local Environmental Planning: the collective action problem and the potential of social capital. *Local Environment*, 5(2), 153 - 169.
- Sabatini, F. (2005). Social Capital as Social Networks. A New Framework for Measurement. *University of Rome La Sapienza, Department of Public Economics, Working Paper No, 83.*
- Sachs, W. (1992). *The Development dictionary : a guide to knowledge as power*. London ; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books.

- Sauni, S. (1999). *A review of marine conservation in Fiji* (USP, Suva, Fiji).
- Schachhuber, A. (2004). *Social Movements, Environmental Governance, and Rural Territorial Development: An International Perspective*.
- Scherl, L. M. e. a. (2004). Can protected areas contribute to poverty reduction? Opportunities and limitations. Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK: IUCN.
- Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner*: Basic books New York.
- Schroeder, R. A. (1993). Shady Practice: Gender and the Political Ecology of Resource Stabilization in Gambian Garden/Orchards. *Economic Geography*, 69(4), 349-365.
- Selfa, T., & Endter-Wada, J. (2008). The politics of community-based conservation in natural resource management: a focus for international comparative analysis. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(4), 948-965.
- Shah, M. K., Kambou, S. D., & Monahan, B. (1999). Embracing participation in development: Worldwide experience from CARE's Reproductive Health Programs with a step-by-step field guide to participatory tools and techniques. Atlanta, USA: CARE Health and Population Unit.
- Sharp, L., & Richardson, T. (2001). Reflections on Foucauldian discourse analysis in planning and environmental policy research. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 3(3), 193-209.
- Shellenberger, M., & Nordhaus, T. (2004). The death of environmentalism. *Environmental Grantmakers Association*, October.
- Sitton, J. F. (2003). *Habermas and contemporary society*. New York ; Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, L. T. (1998). *Decolonizing methodologies : research and indigenous peoples*. New York: University of Otago Press.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stringer, L. C., Dougill, A. J., Fraser, E., Hubacek, K., Prell, C., & Reed, M. S. (2006). Unpacking "Participation" in the Adaptive Management of Social-ecological Systems: a Critical Review. *Ecology and Society*, 11(2), 39.
- Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3), 374-385.
- Sumalde, Z. M. (2004). Transaction Costs of Community-Based Coastal Resource Management: The Case of San Miguel Bay, Philippines. *Coastal Management*, 32(1), 51 -- 60.
- Sumner, J. (2005). *Sustainability and the civil commons : rural communities in the age of globalization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. *Urban Studies*, 42(11), 1991-2006.

- Tadulala, M. (1997). *Path to sustainable development in Fiji towards the year 2000*. Suva, Fiji: Parliament House.
- Taylor, M. (2007). Community Participation in the Real World: Opportunities and Pitfalls in New Governance Spaces. *Urban Studies*, 44(2), 297-317.
doi:10.1080/00420980601074987
- Toren, C. (1999). *Mind, materiality, and history : explorations in Fijian ethnography*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Torgerson, D. (1985). Contextual orientation in policy analysis: The contribution of Harold D. Lasswell. *Policy Sciences*, 18(3), 241-261.
- Turnbull, J. (2004). Explaining complexities of environmental management in developing countries: lessons from the Fiji Islands. *The Geographical Journal*, 170(1), 64-77.
- Van Tatenhove, J. P. M., & Leroy, P. (2003). Environment and Participation in a Context of Political Modernisation. *Environmental Values*, 12(2), 155-174.
- van Tilburg, A. (1999). A Tourism Analysis for Great Barrier Island Visitor Centre. Amsterdam: Netherlands Institute of Tourism and Transport Studies.
- Veitayaki, J., Aalbersberg, B., & Tawake, A. (2003). Empowering Local Communities: case study of Votua, Ba, Fiji. *Ocean Yearbook (University of Chicago)*, 17, 449-463.
- Veitayaki, J., Aalbersberg, B., Tawake, A., Rupeni, E., & Tabunakawai, K. (2003). Mainstreaming resource conservation: the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network and its influence on National Policy Development *Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Working Paper No. 42* Canberra: Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, The Australian National University
- Wadsworth, Y. (1998). What is Participatory Action Research? *Action research international*.
- Warren, S. (1984). *The emergence of dialectical theory : philosophy and political inquiry*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.
- Wheeler, S., & Damania, R. (2001). Valuing New Zealand recreational fishing and an assessment of the validity of the contingent valuation estimates. *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 45(4), 599-621.
- White, A. T. (Ed.). (1994). *Collaborative and community-based management of coral reefs : lessons from experience*. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press.
- White, S. C. (1996). Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation. *Development in Practice*, 6(1), 6-15.
- Wiber, M., Charles, A., Kearney, J., & Berkes, F. (2009). Enhancing community empowerment through participatory fisheries research. *Marine Policy*, 33(1), 172-179.
- Winter, K. (2007). *Why involve the public*. Retrieved 26.10.07 from <http://www.uct.ac.za>
- WRI (Ed.). (2001). *Fish for the future: Report on the Initiation of a Learning Portfolio*. Washington DC, USA: The World Resources Institute and Foundations of Success.

WWF-NZ. (2003). Project Application Form. Wellington: Worldwide Fund for Nature, New Zealand.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*: Sage Publications.

Zimmerer, K. S., & Bassett, T. J. (2003). Approaching Political Ecology. In K. S. Zimmerer (Ed.), *Political Ecology: An Integrative Approach to Geography and Environment-Development Studies*, : Guilford Publications.