Public Involvement in Regional Planning: A Case Analysis of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area, North Queensland, Australia
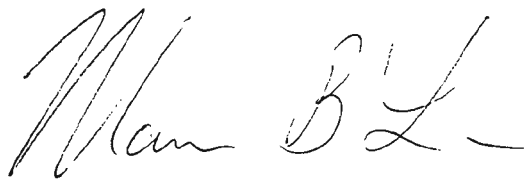
Marcus B Lane BSc (Hons), GradCertHEd
Department of Geographical Sciences and Planning
University of Queensland

Statement of Originality

The work presented in this thesis is, except where acknowledged in the text, entirely original and the work of the author. In addition, the material presented here has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other University

Marcus B Lane

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of public involvement in the planning of a protected area. It is concerned with understanding the nature of the links between the approach to planning and the role afforded the public in planning processes. It is also concerned with understanding how planners use the information they receive from public involvement exercises and the impediments which constrain the successful operation of a public involvement program.

The empirical focus for the study is the planning and public involvement programs of the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA). The WTMA is a statutory authority responsible for the management of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area (WTWHA). The WTWHA is a 900 000 hectare protected area encompassing both lowland and mountain tropical rainforest on the northeastern coast of Queensland, Australia. The area was protected by the Commonwealth government after a protracted and bitter conflict between conservationists and pro-logging groups. As a protected area, the WTWHA is unique in Australia and poses a challenging set of planning problems. It is a multiple-use, multi-tenured and highly fragmented protected area which is further characterised by a large number of diverse, highly motivated stakeholders who have retained an interest in the nature of proposed management regimes.

The conceptual and theoretical framework developed for the study draws on disparate bodies of literature. Given the context of this study is a protected area, one aspect of the framework developed concerns understanding the rationale, history and issues associated with the management and planning of protected areas. This review reveals that a central issue in protected area management and planning relates to the nature of the relations between protected area managers and local resident communities. A further aspect of the framework provided is concerned with public involvement. The focus of the study - public involvement in planning - demands that this review investigate the central conceptual themes on this topic, rather than provide an orthodox, disciplinary theoretical perspective. The discussion of public involvement is therefore a multi-disciplinary one and one which identifies the significant issues associated with community participation in planning. As a result of the large Aboriginal population in the study area, the chapter also considers the literature on involving Aboriginal people in planning activities.

The final, and probably most important aspect of the theoretical framework provided, concerns planning. This review demonstrates that conceptions of planning and the role afforded to the non-planner are inextricably linked. It further reveals that, as a result of the substantial intellectual revolutions which have transpired in the planning field this century, a wide range of planning conceptions exist. These range from the rational-comprehensive approaches which have dominated planning for much of this period, through to a suite of recent conceptions, including bargaining and communicative approaches, which have challenged the rational-comprehensive paradigm. The recent approaches entail a radically different role for the professional planner - that of reticulist -and emphasise the plurality and atomistic nature of society, the distributional nature of planning and, as a result, the political nature of planning activity.

The case analysis presented provides further demonstration of the link between planning conception and the role of public involvement. It further reveals the extent to which approaches to public involvement can be driven by pragmatic, organisational concerns, rather than by normative considerations. It shows that the nature of existing relations is a product of historical factors, which in the case of the Wet Tropics proved particularly important in further shaping both planning and public involvement activities. The study also revealed the extent to which the nature of the institutional and organisational contexts were an important influence on these matters. These factors proved pivotal in shaping the approach of the WTMA and the outcomes of both planning and public involvement processes. The study also examines Aboriginal involvement in planning. It shows that an accurate understanding of traditional and contemporary social and political organisation is fundamental to understanding how to involve Aboriginal people in planning processes. The failure of the WTMA to understand these matters, and their importance to Aboriginal participation, constituted a significant problem in their approach.

The study concludes that (i) the role of public involvement in planning is substantially shaped by the approach to of the planning agency to the planning task; (ii) public involvement in planning is fashioned by institutional and organisational environment which either re-fashions or re-shapes the social and political relations in the planning community; and (iii) public involvement is in turn itself shaped by these social and political relations.

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Section A

This section, which comprises two chapters, introduces the study, its empirical focus and theoretical framework as well as detailing the research methods used. Chapter one begins by introducing the topic by considering the various disciplinary approaches to public involvement. It subsequently describes the aims of thesis, providing the major research questions. This chapter also introduces the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area which is the case analysis used in the study and which provides the empirical focus. Finally, this chapter also details the structure of the thesis. Chapter two records the research methods used in the study. It provides an overview of the research process and briefly considers the major benefits of case study research. Chapter two also considers the application of individual research methods and problematic issues associated with their use.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Intellectual and Political Context

Throughout this century, the planning field has undergone a series of important intellectual changes. These changes have dramatically altered the central assumptions which underpin planning activity, transformed the epistemology of the discipline and modified the methods of the professional planner. One dimension of change throughout this period, and one which has had both epistemological and methodological implications, is a trend toward the enhancement of the role of the public in planning. As commentators of planning activity have recognised the important distributional and political issues in planning, there has been a need to involve affected parties to help resolve these distributional and/or value-choice questions. While this trend has been far from uniform, the trajectory of change has been consistent. Recent conceptions of planning can be distinguished from their antecedents in terms of, among other things, the role of and emphasis on public involvement.

And yet there is also evidence to suggest that the optimistic rhetoric about the value and importance of public involvement in planning has abated somewhat (Sandercock 1994). The demands for a radical re-appraisal of urban planning in the early 1970s based on grassroots community participation (Hall 1992), can today be seen as the high watermark for participation in planning. As new conceptualisations of both the task and methods of planning have emerged since the brief Marxist ascendancy in the discipline in the 1970s (Hall 1992), the role afforded the public in planning has also changed. The current orthodoxy concerning the role of public involvement in planning is essentially functional: participation enhances the efficacy and efficiency of planning. In the early 1970s by contrast, public involvement was instead considered a fundamental civic right and a means to ameliorate the worst aspects of the capitalist system.

Given these changes, renewed examination of the role of public involvement is timely. The timeliness of such an examination is enhanced by two further contextual changes which have had important implications for the planning field. First, the rise of environmentalism in the

Western world has significantly altered both the political ambience and the essential goals of planning activity (Healey and Shaw 1994). The political climate has been altered by way of the "rise of diverse citizen's movements" (Jacobs 1992) who have clamoured for greater concern for ecosystem protection and healthier living environments. To varying degrees, environmentalism has catalysed institutional and political change (Giddens 1994; Beck 1992) which has further fashioned change in the contemporary field of planning (Healey and Shaw 1994). The large increase in the number of protected areas around the world has, in addition, provided a new context for contemporary planners to practise their wares. Second, and particularly in relation to environmental planning in Australia, the political ambience has forever been altered by belated recognition of the interests and aspirations of indigenous Australians, particularly in rural Australia. Planning activity in Australia must increasingly be concerned with the unique interests of a stakeholder hitherto largely ignored in Australian political, social and economic life. This heralds further changes to both planning and public involvement.

This study is concerned with intersection of these broad intellectual and political changes. As an examination of public involvement in planning, the timing of study allows a fresh consideration of matters which have long been of scholarly interest. The research described here entails some consideration of these compelling changes. The study is concerned with the role of public involvement in planning in a major planning program for a protected area. This enables the consideration of the effect of the intellectual changes described above. In addition, the establishment of the protected area in northern Queensland, Australia, which provides the planning context for this study, is in itself testimony to the political power of the contemporary environmental movement. Finally, the study context includes numerous, diverse stakeholder groups, including a large indigenous population. The study therefore provides consideration of public involvement in cross-cultural contexts.

1.2 Public Involvement: Disciplinary Cross-Road?

In the necessarily multi-disciplinary field of planning, several divergent views of public involvement can be identified. In addition, public involvement or citizen participation[1], has been investigated from a range of disciplinary starting points, including psychology, sociology and political science. There is little consensus about the need for and benefits of public involvement in planning and policy processes. In part, the divergent appraisals of public involvement may stem from the differing disciplinary perspectives involved and from a lack of careful consideration and explication of the context and objectives of public involvement.

Public involvement is used throughout this study to refer to the participation by individuals or groups, in the formulation and implementation of decisions and policies concerning the planning and management of the environment. This involvement can either be structured by programs and mechanisms developed by planning and management agencies for this purpose, or unstructured, relying instead of the use of political rights in wider decision-making contexts (following Robinson 1992:321; Oakley 1991:116; Blahna and Yonts-Shephard 1989:209-10). While a working definition of the concept can and needs to be provided at this stage, it is provided with caution. Defining the concept is, many argue, fraught with danger because of the numerous contradictory perceptions of the need for public involvement. Understanding the diverse perspectives of both theorist, practitioner and stakeholder is a crucial dimension to understanding the concept (Oakley 1991:115-6; Munro-Clarke 1992:13-4).

Environmental planning is used in this context to refer to the identification and pursuit, through administrative programs and procedures, of goals for the management of the natural environment, including social and economic objectives (Gilpin 1990). In a sense, this definition is a variation of typical conceptions of planning, with two important exceptions. First, it draws on an understanding of environment which entails both bio-physical and social dimensions. This notion of environment, which was first used in the United States with the passage of the *National Environment Protection Act 1969* (NEPA) (see Burdge 1994:1-2), has been adopted widely in Australian planning legislation (Gilpin 1990:65). Drawing on this

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[1]The terms public involvement, public participation and citizen participation are used interchangeably in the literature. In this study, the term public involvement is used throughout.

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understanding of environment, environmental planning is concerned with both the natural and social components of the environment. Second, environmental planning is differentiated from land use planning in that it implies that environmental objectives, rather than land use objectives, are paramount. Land use, according to this view, is simply one of the means by which desirable objectives are attained, and not an end in itself (Gilpin 1990:73).

In the contemporary field of environmental planning, as well as in the more traditional branches of planning, much space is devoted to the need for and benefits of public involvement. Public involvement is viewed by both planning professionals and theoreticians as a functional necessity: it provides important information to the planner and legitimises the planning process (Amy 1987:13; Gariepy 1991:354-5; Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48). As a result of the perceived importance of public involvement in planning, community participation is now a requirement of most planning legislation. This functional approach to public involvement varies greatly from other approaches to the concept. A number of points need to be made about public involvement as a functional aspect of planning. First, it follows that public involvement is desirable and should be encouraged by the planner. Second, it necessitates the provision of structured opportunities for the public and organised stakeholders to present their views. Third, the extent of public involvement, according to this functional view, is defined by the planner.

The importance of this last point is that differing conceptions of planning will entail a different emphasis on public involvement in the planning process. For some planning practitioners, public involvement is merely a statutory requirement, a difficult element of the profession of planning. The planner is only reluctantly involved in this messy process which is essentially viewed as a distraction from the main task of planning. This remains a common view in the dominant technocratic culture of planning in Australia (following Kiernan 1983:75-7). Alternatively, the theoretical pluralism which has characterised conceptual development in planning in recent years (see Hall 1992), is united by common commitment to the importance of public involvement to planning. According to these recent conceptions of planning, public involvement is central rather than peripheral to the task of planning.

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Another important approach to public involvement - as both a functional dimension of planning and as a socio-political phenomenon - is that it constitutes a fundamental component of contemporary democracy. This approach assumes participation to be both a civic right and duty and to be important to the functioning of contemporary government (following Fagence 1978:463-4). This approach to public involvement - encapsulated in the disciplinary fields of political science and political sociology - is concerned with, among other things, the operation and influence of individuals, interest groups and mass movements in the operation of the contemporary polity and its institutions (see, for example, Papadakis 1993; Doyle and Kellow 1995). The challenge to the dominance of scientific rationality (Beck 1992) and the declining authority of the state and associated institutions of legal and political authority (Giddens 1994) has led to new conceptualisation of political structure and process in which participation is fundamental component.

Yet another approach to public participation is found in sociology. This approach - which spans this broad discipline and indeed overlaps with others - is concerned with participation as a social phenomenon. Central questions in this long-standing area of discourse include patterns of participation within a given population, or more simply, who participates? Identifying the sociological characteristics of participants has long been a concern of research in this area (see for example Pateman 1970; Cobb and Elder 1983). The sociologist is typically concerned with understanding the key socio-economic variables manifest in patterns of participation.

Public involvement can be seen therefore, to reside at something of a disciplinary cross-road. It has been, and remains, fertile ground for inquiry for a number of disciplines. Each commences inquiry with differing assumptions and differing objectives. These inquiries therefore bequeath differing understandings and knowledges about the concept of public involvement. This study can be understood therefore, as approaching the cross-road from yet another starting point. It does not seek to encapsulate the entire field: such an undertaking is beyond the scope of a thesis such as this. Instead it is concerned with public involvement in planning. It is concerned, not with the questions which have traditionally preoccupied

sociologists and political scientists engaged in the field, but instead, in understanding how public involvement is used in a discrete, formal planning process.

1.3 Public Involvement in Planning: An overview

As the previous section has observed, public involvement is an almost ubiquitous element of contemporary planning. Planning activities of all types and scales usually provide for some opportunity for public input. To this extent, public involvement has become a fundamental aspect of contemporary planning.

Most urban and regional planning legislation in Australia provides a minimum standard for public involvement (Gilpin 1990). Typically, public involvement comprises the public exhibition of draft planning instruments such as re-zonings and development applications. Draft plans are also typically made available for public review. Legislative requirements for public involvement constitute, however, a minimum standard for public involvement. There have been, for a considerable period of time, calls for public involvement to begin early the planning process and to continue throughout the process (see, for example, Syme 1992). These calls have, in part, reflected a view that the potential benefits of public involvement are enhanced if the public is afforded an opportunity to participate throughout the planning process (*cf.* Sandercock 1994:11).

Public involvement is also a mandatory component of most environmental impact assessments (EIAs) conducted in Australia. Typically, the statutory standard provides for the public exhibition of draft EIAs combined with an invitation for the public to make written submissions. While some have been critical that public input under this arrangement is readily dismissed by impact assessors (see, for instance, Chase 1990), there have been equally persuasive calls for public involvement in EIA to be substantially broadened (see, for instance, Burdge 1990). Once again, those calling for a more substantial role for public involvement in EIA argue that the benefits of participation throughout the assessment process are more substantial than currently being realised (Dale and Lane 1994).

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Public involvement is also a facet of protected area planning. National park planning in all Australian jurisdictions is governed by legislation in the various Australian states and territories. Again, the minimum standard provides for the statutory review of draft plans of management developed for individual national parks. In addition, in recent years a series of decentralised, community-based approaches to planning for environmental management, including "Landcare" and integrated catchment management have been developed. One of the distinguishing features of these approaches to environmental planning is that public involvement is central, rather then peripheral, to the planning process (Campbell 1994:3).

Public involvement in planning - in these and other contexts - is catered for as a component of the planning exercise. This of course does not mean that participation by groups, individuals and agencies does not occur in wider political processes. It is often the case that interested parties participate both in the formal opportunities for public involvement in planning and within wider political fora. Both forms of political participation are aimed at exerting influence on the work of the planners and/or decisions to be made about a region. Indeed, the considerable extent to which wider political activity has overwhelmed planning processes has been a matter for concern among the planning fraternity. Their efforts to orderly and systematically deliberate about a particular environment or region has been undermined by the successful political activity of particular groups and/or individuals (McDonald 1989). As this thesis will show, the propensity for wider political activity to overwhelm planning processes has catalysed significant changes in planning thought.

This thesis is primarily concerned with public involvement within the formal opportunities created by planners for this purpose. Some consideration is necessarily also given to public involvement in wider political processes where this participation is aimed at influencing the structure, character or direction of the planning process under consideration.

1.4 Aims of Thesis

This study tests two propositions related to public involvement in planning. Firstly, the study tests the proposition that:

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The nature of any public involvement program depends primarily on the conception of planning held by planners and planning agencies.

Second, this study will test the proposition that:

The nature and implementation of any public involvement program will also be fashioned by unique historical, organisational and cultural factors which influence the conduct of public involvement programs and shape their outcomes.

It is proposed that it is the interplay of these factors which determines how public involvement is used in planning in any particular case and the effort to understand these assists our understanding of what occurs in practice and can therefore contribute to theory.

In relation to the first proposition, this study is concerned with demonstrating the role that public involvement plays in formal planning processes and the extent to which this role is shaped by the planner's conception of planning. In contrast with traditional sociological analyses of public involvement, it is not concerned with understanding the dynamics and patterns of participation within a given population or with the experience, perceptions and opinions of stakeholders who participate in planning. Public involvement is an almost ubiquitous dimension of contemporary planning and the planning literature recognises that the nature of the interactions between planners and stakeholders has potentially significant implications for planning decisions (Friedmann 1994:379), the politics of planning (Hillier 1993:108); the nature of the social and political environment in any planning context (Forester 1989:77; Tauxe 1995:477), and indeed, "the kinds of communities that are formed between planners and their audiences" (Throgmorton 1993:384).

This study therefore will test the proposition that the way in which planners (and the agencies in which they work) *conceptualise* planning and the planning task will largely determine the nature of opportunities for public involvement.

Whereas the first proposition addresses the nature and scope of public involvement programs in planning, the second posits that other factors both shape the choice of objectives for public involvement and affect the implementation of that program. The first element of the proposition relates to the role that *history* plays in the conduct of public involvement programs. The history of a particular region will help forge the nature of social and political relations which prevail in the planning context (following Forester 1989). The nature of these relations will, in turn, have the capacity to affect programs aimed at involving the public in planning. It is also suggested that the *organisational* environment in which the planner operates will affect the approach and conduct of public involvement activities. Forester (1989:67) asserts that the organisational environment of the planner is significant in shaping planning processes and outcomes and laments the lack of consideration of this issue in most planning research.

A further hypothesis implicit in the above question relates to the *culture* of groups within the planning environment (see Tauxe 1995:477; Hoch 1994). In those circumstances in which the planning environment includes groups with substantially different cultural orientations, such as Australian Aboriginal people, it is suggested that public involvement programs will have to be sensitive to and cognisant of these orientations and their implications for participation in planning. In addition, planning organisations may themselves have a distinct "culture" which structures and reproduces a fabric of social and political relationships that can greatly affect the work of the planner (see Forester 1989:71).

The focus of the research described here is public involvement in a discrete regional planning process. However, where wider participation is focussed on influencing the nature of that planning process, this is also considered. An important aspect of the research therefore, has been to describe and analyse the planning process itself. In addition, the involvement of the Aboriginal and European-Australian populations, which comprise the two major cultural and socio-economic populations in the study area, are considered separately. As Chapter four of this thesis will show, a combination of geographic, socio-political and socio-organisational factors render the methods for the participation of European-Australians inappropriate for

Australian Aboriginal peoples (see Howitt 1993; Dale 1993a; Dixon 1990). The two broad ethnic categories therefore need to be considered separately.

This study seeks to answer these research questions with reference to a major case analysis. The case analysis presented in this thesis concerns the planning and public involvement programs of a planning agency charged with managing the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area located in north Queensland, Australia. The study is concerned with how the management agency for this protected area conceptualised the task of developing a management plan and consulting with the public over its development. It is not a study of stakeholder perspectives in relation to planning and public involvement, nor a study which evaluates particular plans. The study develops a series of case-specific conclusions from the empirical research and contemplates the applicability of these conclusions more generally. As a result, the study provides both empirical and theoretical conclusions.

This study will show that the planners' conception of planning is fundamental to the nature of public involvement programs used in planning. The study reveals that the approach of the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA) to planning was similar to traditional rational-comprehensive approaches. These approaches, as the thesis explains, restrict public involvement to a decision-making supplement, often for organisational purposes (Hall 1983; Kieman 1983). In terms of the factors which influenced the choice and implementation of the public involvement program of the WTMA, this study will argue that the dispute which preceded the creation of the protected area, the nature of the organisational context, including the organisational culture of the planning agency, and the cultural factors unique to the Aboriginal population of the region all served to influence the implementation of the program. As a result of these factors acting synergistically, the approach of the WTMA was constrained and shaped in a variety of ways.

1.5 Case analysis: The Wet Tropics World Heritage Area

The case analysis described here is concerned with the planning of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area. The Wet Tropics is a 900 000 hectare protected area encompassing both

Figure 1.1 The Wet Tropics World Heritage Area

Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area

Wet Tropics Area boundary supplied by Wet Tropics Management Authority
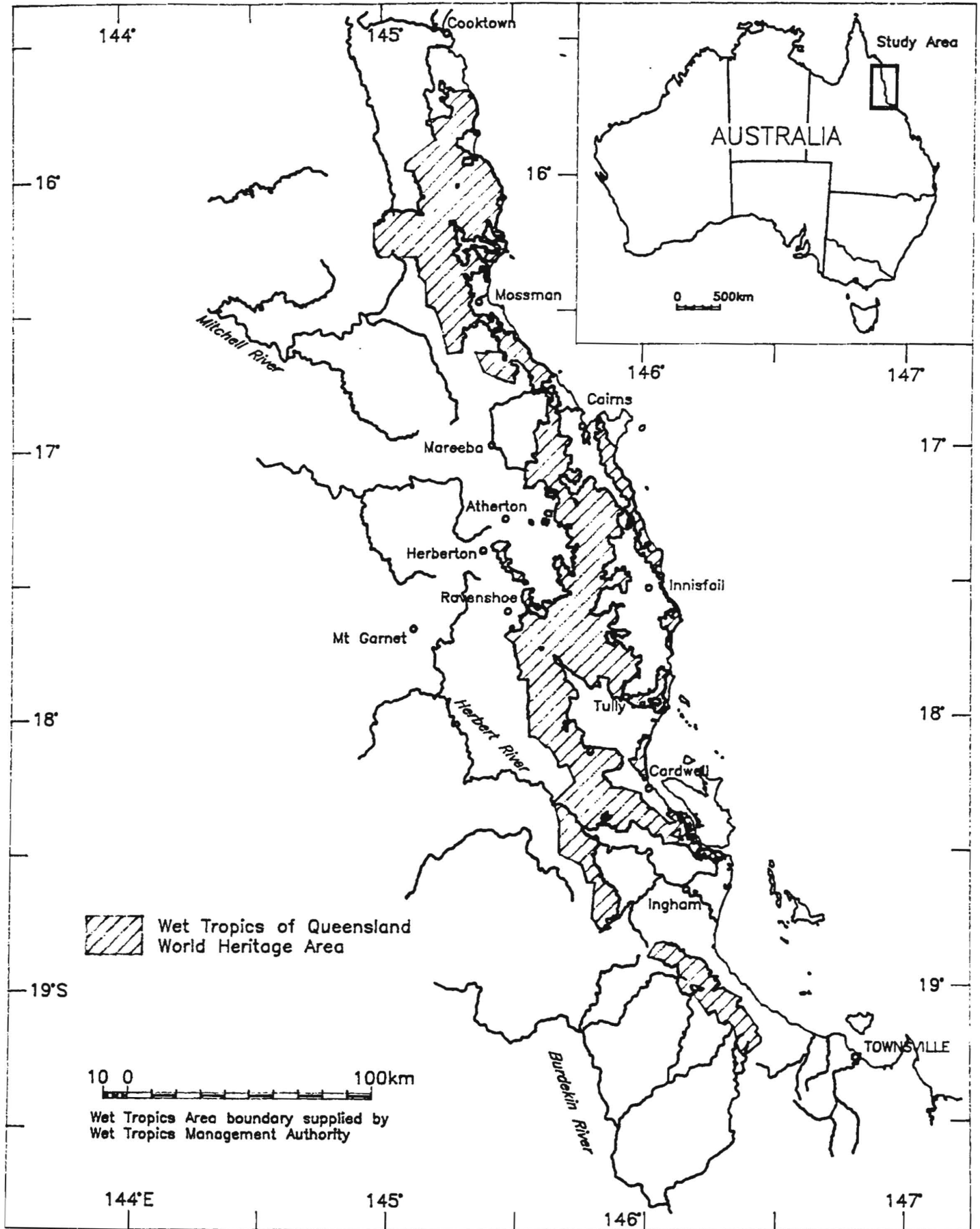
lowland and mountain rainforest on the northeastern coast of Queensland, Australia (see Figure 1.1). The area was protected by Federal government intervention after a protracted and bitter conflict between conservationists and pro-logging groups. The World Heritage Area (WHA) is managed by the Wet Tropics Management Authority, an independent statutory authority established for this purpose. As an Australian WHA, the area is protected by the *World Heritage Properties Convention Act 1983 (Cth)*, and managed in accordance with the *Wet Tropics of Queensland Management and Conservation Act 1993 (Qld)*.

The area was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1988 for its exceptional natural values. Two thirds of the area is tropical rainforest, comprising the most extensive rainforest tracts remaining in Australia. In addition, the area's biota is characterised by very high levels of diversity and endemism, with a number of species exhibiting highly restricted ranges (Laurance 1993:3). One of the most influential assessments of the region's conservation significance concluded that the region "is of outstanding scientific importance and ... [it will] adequately fulfil all four criteria for the inclusion of natural properties in the World Heritage List" (Rainforest Conservation Society 1986:79).

The importance of the area in the eyes of the Australian public was such that debate and disputation over resource use in the region was a central element of national environmental politics throughout much of the 1980s (Doyle and Kellow 1995).

In terms of management planning, the Wet Tropics WHA represents a significant challenge. The area is both large and highly fragmented, encompassing several non-contiguous parcels of land. In addition, the area comprises a variety of tenures, including national parks, state forests, vacant Crown lands as well as Leasehold and Freehold properties (Laurance 1993:3). By virtue of the High Court's decision to recognise native title in Australia, and the subsequent Commonwealth legislation (*The Native Title Act 1993*), tenure considerations and proprietary rights have become even more complex since the WHA was created. Indeed, an important issue associated with the management arrangements for the newly created WHA was the demand, by vocal Aboriginal groups, for joint management of the Wet Tropics. The management task is further complicated by the fact that it necessarily involves three levels of

government: the Commonwealth and the Queensland State governments as well as a number of Local Government Authorities.

This study focuses on planning activity and associated public involvement programs during the period 1991 through to late 1994. The planning agency for the WHA, the WTMA, was engaged in two major planning activities during this period. First, in 1992, it developed and released a strategic plan (*Strategic Directions*). This plan involved a major public involvement exercise. Second, from late 1992 through to the time of writing, the WTMA was developing a management plan for the region, to be known as the *Wet Tropics Plan*. This planning process was undermined by political conflicts and was not released until after this research was completed. At the time of writing, the plan has still not been formally adopted. The fact that the plan was not finalised and adopted during this period of research is not a major impediment to the study because the goals of this research are to understand the factors which influence the design and implementation of public involvement programs and processes, and they therefore do not require plan formalisation to be authoritative. Indeed, the study has been able to examine and analyse both planning exercises of the WTMA and thereby understand its approach to public involvement. As a result of delays in the release of WTMA's second plan, this study cannot report on the outcomes or public review of this plan.

Analysis of the strategic plan (*Strategic Directions*) necessitates a description of the planning process and an examination of the public involvement phase. The analysis of the second planning process, the development of the management plan itself, is centrally concerned with understanding the planning process and the political conflicts which surrounded it. Consideration of public involvement in this second planning process is concerned with the activities of particular actors and their efforts to influence the character of planning as well as important legislative and policy issues. By considering both planning processes, a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between planning, public involvement and wider political activity is provided.

1.6 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is divided into four sections. Section A, comprising two chapters, provides an overview of the study and the research process. Chapter one introduces the thesis, the field of study and provides the research focus. Chapter two details the methods used in the research.

Section B provides the conceptual and theoretical framework of the thesis. It contains three chapters. Chapter three considers the protected area concept in detail. It is appropriate that this analysis is provided early in Section B because the protected area is the context in which planning and public involvement activity occurs. The chapter outlines the origins of the concept, its history and recent developments in protected areas. Given that this thesis is concerned, in part, with the relations between resident peoples and protected areas, Chapter three also examines the social consequences of protected areas. The chapter also considers how the international conservation movement has responded to the social costs and land use conflicts which have surrounded the national park concept by outlining recent and innovative approaches to conservation - including the World Heritage concept.

Chapter four provides a comprehensive review of the literature on public involvement in planning. It considers, among other things, the objectives of public involvement, its costs and central techniques for engendering citizen participation. The chapter also focuses on some of the central conceptual themes manifest in the literature, including corporatism, localism and co-option. As a result of the large Aboriginal population in the study area, the chapter also considers the literature on involving Aborigines in planning. Finally, the chapter reviews the literature on evaluation of public involvement programs.

Chapter five examines the concept of planning. The chapter is concerned to reveal major intellectual revolutions which have swept this field over the past fifty years. The chapter considers the intellectual challenges confronting the dominant planning paradigm - rational-comprehensive planning - and the theoretical pluralism which currently obtains. In order to emphasise the importance of planning conception to the role afforded public involvement, the particular conceptual approaches to planning are presented in terms of Arnstein's (1969)

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"ladder of participation". While this concept has been the subject of legitimate criticism, it is useful in this context to show the dramatically different roles afforded public involvement in differing planning models.

Section C, which comprises four chapters, presents the case analysis - the empirical focus of this study. Chapter six provides a review and analysis of the protracted dispute which preceded the establishment of the WHA. This chapter shows, among other things, that the resolution of the dispute was achieved by Commonwealth intervention and a unilateral decision, against the express wishes of the conservative state government, to suspend resource extraction and nominate the area for the World Heritage List. This review of the dispute also shows the degree to which the population of north Queensland, and the various stakeholders involved or interested in the management of the region, were polarised by both the conduct of the dispute and the manner of its resolution. In subsequent chapters it is argued that this is an important factor in the relations between important stakeholders.

Chapter seven is concerned primarily with the organisational setting of planning in the WHA. It follows the historical analysis (presented in chapter six) in order to reveal the extent to which the history of conflict which preceded the establishment of the WHA was important in shaping the nature of the management arrangements. It describes the management structure of the WTMA and the functions of the Authority and related bodies such as the Community Consultative Committee. The chapter also describes and analyses the manner in which the WTMA operated during the course of the study. This analysis draws on Forester's (1989) model of planning agencies which posits that they can be understood in terms of instrumental production and socio-political reproduction. This analysis reveals that the WTMA was, during the course of this study, a planning agency which faced a number of important internal and external problems. Chapter 7 also considers the WTMA's conception of and approach to planning. It is argued that the approach of the WTMA to planning the WHA is essentially synoptic in character.

Having considered the organisational context, chapters eight and nine consider the public involvement programs of the WTMA in relation to the European-Australian and Aboriginal

populations of the region respectively. Consideration of Aboriginal involvement in planning has been separated from non-Aboriginal involvement because of the important cultural and socio-economic differences between these two broad population groups.

Chapter eight commences with an analysis which distinguishes between the stated goals of public involvement from the realpolitik of the planners of the WTMA. This analysis will show that public involvement was essentially directed at fulfilling organisational interests. The chapter also details the design of the public involvement program as conducted by WTMA. This description also identifies some of the important deficiencies in the design of the program. Subsequently the chapter evaluates the conduct of the program, identifying the major weakness to be a lack of responsiveness (to community inputs) and interaction between planners and respondents. In addition, this analysis entails a consideration of the appropriateness of the WTMA's approach to planning and public involvement.

Chapter 9, the final chapter in Section C, considers the public involvement program and Aboriginal people. It provides a description of the approach of WTMA to involving Aboriginal people and analyses the appropriateness of this approach in terms of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal social organisation. In addition, the chapter describes how these formal attempts to interface with the Aboriginal population were overwhelmed by an emergent Aboriginal lobby group - the Rainforest Aboriginal Network (RAN). The chapter considers the responses of the WTMA to the demands and activities of the RAN, and argues that the WTMA's attempts to placate this group, while at one level successful, had a number of important negative implications. The most important of these was a failure to be concerned with the plurality of Aboriginal interests within and around the WHA by empowering and legitimising the RAN as a representative Aboriginal body. Despite these failings, the chapter acknowledges the substantial and apparently genuine attempts by the WTMA to involve Aboriginal people in planning processes.

Section D provides the concluding chapter to this study. Chapter 10, is concerned with two matters. First, it provides a brief recapitulation of the major conclusions of the empirical aspect of this study: the WTMA's program of public involvement in its planning process. Second,

the chapter addresses the major research questions posed at the commencement of this study. These questions are addressed in theoretical terms, using the WTMA case analysis as a touchstone throughout.

2.0 Research Methods

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the approach to the research described in this thesis. It outlines the approach to the research as a whole, as well as describing the principal research methods used. In addition to describing the research methods, the chapter also briefly considers some of the problematical methodological issues associated with the application of each method.

As this chapter will show, the empirical focus of the thesis is a case analysis. This chapter describes the central methods used in developing this case analysis. In addition to this empirical aspect of the study, a major element of the thesis is the development of a comprehensive conceptual and theoretical framework. This component of the thesis was developed through a literature review. This thesis is concerned with the provision of empirical conclusions as well as with considering the importance and implications of the case study for the central theoretical propositions presented.

2.2 The Research Process - An overview

In broad terms the initial task in this research was to review the abundant literature on public involvement in planning. This literature, the pertinent portions of which are described in Section B, is highly eclectic, traversing a number of disciplinary areas. As well as considering the literature on public involvement, a further literature which describes the major theoretical perspectives of planning was also reviewed. These broad reviews enabled identification of research questions of interest and importance. The research questions which are adopted reflect some of the important intellectual issues contained in these bodies of literature.

Having refined the research questions to be addressed in this research, consideration was given to the selection of a case study which would facilitate investigation of these questions. The case study chosen was the planning processes of the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA), the agency charged with managing the Wet Tropics WHA. The reasons for selecting this as a case study were:

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a.   the nature of the planning environment - a multi-tenured, highly fragmented protected area - constituted a unique context for research into both planning and public involvement;

b.   the relatively recent establishment of the protected area provided an opportunity to study the public involvement programs of the planning agency as they were being conducted for a strategic plan and for a subsequent management plan[2];

c.   the social environment in which the protected area is located ensured that there would be a significant number of motivated stakeholders exhibiting substantial diversity of interests; and

d.   the social environment of the WHA includes a significant Aboriginal population. This ethnic indigenous dimension broadens the notion of a 'public' and represents an issue of growing importance for regional planning in Australia, especially in rural areas.

These factors made the case a suitable vehicle for examining the research questions. Recent planning literature (see Friedmann 1987; McDonald 1989; see chapter 5, this volume) highlights the importance of decentralised, participatory planning processes in diverse and fragmented planning environments in which power is weakly centralised. Given the nature of the Wet Tropics WHA, the diversity of stakeholders (which included a large Aboriginal population), and the bureaucratic arrangements for its management, the appropriateness of WTMA's approach to both planning and public involvement would be crucial. The social, cultural and organisational context seemed to call for decentralised and participatory approaches. In these circumstances, the approach of the WTMA would enable an examination of the link between planning conception and the role of public involvement. Would the nature of the planning environment determine the approach to planning and, therefore, role of public involvement? (following Friedmann 1987; McDonald 1989). Or would traditional, synoptic conceptions of planning be applied and therefore circumscribe the role of public involvement?

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[2]This reason for choosing the Wet Tropics was not entirely realised however. Owing to substantial delays (over two years) in both the preparation and release of the management plan for the WHA, it was not possible to study the conduct of the WTMA's public involvement program for one of the plans.

In addition, it was felt that this case would allow an analysis of the role that organisational, cultural and historical factors might play in shaping the conception of planning and the role for public involvement.

It is sometimes assumed that because cross-case comparisons cannot be made, single case analyses are less effective than multiple case analyses. However as Yin (1994) explains, single case analyses have advantages over the use of multiple cases. He argues that:

> "The evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust. At the same time, the rationale for single-case design cannot usually be satisfied by multiple cases. The unusual or rare case, the critical case, and the revelatory case are all likely to involve only single cases, by definition. Moreover, the conduct of a multiple-case study can require extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student of independent research investigator" (Yin 1994:48).

Following selection of a suitable case analysis, a more focussed review of the conceptual and theoretical literature of planning, public involvement and protected areas was undertaken. These reviews are presented in Section B of this thesis. These reviews also enabled a further refinement of the research questions which this thesis addresses.

The next phase of this research, largely conducted during the period June to December 1993, was devoted to an investigation of the conduct of planning and public involvement by the WTMA. A significant portion of this period was spent within the WTMA itself. This enabled access to files and documentation, as well as providing the opportunity to observe pertinent meetings, interview staff and stakeholders, and observe the culture of the agency and its daily operations. As is typical with qualitative case study research, the research questions were further refined following a initial period of field work (Neuman 1991:324).

The next phase of the research was concerned with analysis of data and compilation of the case study. A necessary dimension of this research phase was the identification of gaps in the research database. This enabled the researcher to undertake documentary searches and

interviews as necessary to supplement the database. In this sense, the data gathering and analytical phases of research were somewhat interactive.

The final phase of research was, of course, writing it up. Once again, there was some (albeit minimal) interactivity with other aspects of the research during this phase. On occasions further data was collected or double checked by triangulating it with data from other sources. In addition final interviews were conducted during this period.

2.3 Case Study Research

The empirical focus of this study, presented in Section B, is a case study of public involvement in the planning of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area. This case study is comprised of four chapters and a number of research methods have been used in its compilation. These methods are discussed in a later section. In this section methodological issues associated with case study research are addressed.

Whereas longitudinal research entails observations of a given phenomenon over time and cross-sectional research involves making observations at a particular point in time, case study research involves in-depth examination of a particular setting over some time period (Neuman 1991:26). Case study research therefore differs from longitudinal and cross-sectional research in that it is an intensive observation of a specific setting (Neuman 1991:26). It therefore provides a more detailed examination of the phenomenon than either longitudinal or cross-sectional research (Neuman 1991:26; Clark 1983:19). The essential benefit of case analysis relates to the intensity of observation it enables.

Case study research can be undertaken using a range of research methods. This form of research is usually, however, dominated by qualitative research methods (Neuman 1991:26; Clark 1983:19, Yin 1994: 6). Ethnography, interview and documentary research are common approaches used in the compilation of a case analysis. All of these techniques are appropriate to research which considers a particular phenomenon, such as a specific group of people or organisational setting, over a discrete period of time. The case study presented in this thesis was developed through the use of the following research methods:

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- documentary analysis
- unstructured interview
- participant observation
- semi-structured interview.

An important element of case study research is immersion. In order to fully grasp the dimensions of the case at hand, in terms of both structure and process, the researcher must be fully "immersed" in the case. The objective is to be so completely immersed in the case that detailed observation of all pertinent activities can be made (Neuman 1991:323-5). In terms of the approach to this study, the researcher spent a number of months, in different periods, in north Queensland investigating the public involvement and planning activities of the WTMA. In this way the researcher became familiar with, among other things, the organisational context, the staff of the WTMA, the "culture" of the WTMA and the dynamics between important stakeholders. Immersion is fundamental to qualitative case study research in which the meaning or importance of observable facts is being sought and in which the researcher is seeking to identify and explain the central patterns and themes of social and organisational behaviour (Neuman 1991:323, Yin 1994: 8-9). In this sense, qualitative case study research is also interpretive. The approach to the research presented in this thesis can therefore be seen to contrast starkly with technocratic positivism (Neuman 1991:26; Clark 1983:19). The research described here is *interpretative* in that it is concerned with contextualising the events and behaviours depicted. The approach to the research is premised on the view that context is fundamental to explanation (see Yin 1994: 5).

Immersion, like all research methods, can be problematic. The researcher can have an acculturating effect on those being studied (Werner and Schoepfle 1987:81). In other words, by being present, the researcher can affect the behaviour of the subjects and influence their values and views by his/her behaviour. Similarly, the researcher can become acculturated, assimilating the prevailing ideologies and beliefs of those being studied. To some extent, these are unavoidable problems. What is important is that the researcher remain aware of them and minimise the degree of acculturation throughout the study (Werner and Schoepfle 1981:81).

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Another important element, and one alluded to in section 2.2, relates to the research path. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative case study research is far from linear and rarely proceeds in accordance with a series of fixed steps. Instead, this type of research tends to follow a cyclical research path in which the researcher re-examines from time to time earlier components of research in order to refine them in the light of new data and insight (Spradley 1980:26-7; Neuman 1991:325; *cf.* Bailey 1982:5-8). The research described here did not proceed strictly in accordance with a fixed research path. An element of interactivity was evident as new data refined research questions and early analyses. This is typical of interpretive social science research. It also reflects the fact that many emergent properties of the study area cannot be predicted, and have to be focused upon as they arise.

Another important aspect of qualitative case study research, and one clearly evident in the research described in this thesis, relates to the importance of social context. In order to understand the meaning or importance of particular events or behaviours, the case analyst must seek to understand the social context in which these events or behaviours are observed (Neuman 1991:324). This is an important characteristic of the case study research presented in this thesis. The social context for important events and behaviour is considered and, indeed, much of the analysis which seeks to explain these events and behaviours depends on a contextual analysis to provide a satisfactory conclusion.

A further issue relates to the purpose of the case study research presented here. The detailed observation, description and analysis of public involvement in the Wet Tropics is not an end in itself. Although these empirical findings are of both interest and importance, the value of a detailed study such of this is intended to be realised in terms of reflections on and contributions to theory. The case analysis presented here therefore, will be used to provide both theoretical as well as empirical conclusions. Importantly, the case analysis is used inductively, to test theoretical and conceptual propositions (see Clark 1983:54). Although some deductive analysis is also presented, the focus of this research is to test, through case analysis, two propositions which relate to the theoretical underpinnings of planning (see chapter one).

An important benefit of case study research relates to the theoretical reflections which are derived from it. As a result of the intensive and detailed examination of phenomena which case analysis provides, it is an effective means of testing theoretical propositions. It is an objective of this research to make some contribution to theoretical discourse in the field of planning. By providing detailed examination of one case, the appropriateness and robustness of particular propositions can be gauged. The case analysis presented here therefore is *explanatory*, not merely descriptive or exploratory (see Yin 1994: 4).

As previously noted, the case study presented does not examine the public involvement program conducted for the (second) management plan because of substantial delays in its release. The planning process examined in this thesis was therefore incomplete at the time of writing. This has not however been a major impediment to the research because the author has been able to examine the strategic plan, observe the management planning process and study the public involvement program for the strategic plan. There is therefore sufficient data upon which to draw conclusions in relation to the major objectives for the study. Indeed, the incompleteness of the planning process reflects the nature of social science case study research rather than a flaw in research design. Social science research of this kind cannot predict the emergent properties of the study area and must respond to contingencies as they arise.

2.4 Research Methods

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section the principal research methods are considered. A brief description of each method is provided as well as a discussion of the important methodological issues associated with its application. It should be noted that all the methods considered below were used in the development of the case study. The use of a number of differing research methods is valuable for two reasons. First, it enables the development of a comprehensive case study by collecting relevant sources through a variety of methods. Second, it enables emergent research findings to be corroborated, or triangulated, by the collection of data through the application of a second method (see Neuman 1991:137-9, Yin 1994: 14).

2.4.2 Participant Observation

A major technique used in this study is participant observation. An important objective of this thesis has been to understand how planners and planning agencies use public involvement. In order to do this the researcher had to develop an understanding of the organisational context and "culture", the approach of planners to planning and public involvement and their understanding and conceptualisation of the domain in which they were working. Participant observation was used to develop an ethnography of the WTMA and its staff. Given this organisational focus, the ethnography presented in this study is a macro-ethnography (Spradley 1980:30).

Participant observation is a research method in which the researcher is located within the social setting being studied and where the researcher participates to some extent in the activities taking place in that setting. Immersing oneself in a social setting and participating in the activities occurring allows the researcher to make detailed observations of the setting, its actors and activities (Spradley 1980:39). The objective of participant observation is to develop an ethnography of a particular culture. Ethnography can be understood as a description of a culture which provides an understanding of both the actors and activities occurring within a particular setting (Spradley 1980:3). Culture is referred to in this context as the system of meanings and beliefs which are shared and reproduced by a group of people (Keesing 1983; Spradley 1980).

Developing an ethnography, as with the development of a case analysis, entails a cyclical research process. As Spradley (1980:29-33) shows, the "ethnographic cycle" involves a number of indiscrete steps. These are:

- asking ethnographic questions
- collecting ethnographic data
- making an ethnographic record
- analysing ethnographic data
- writing an ethnography.

In the development of most ethnographies there is an observable degree of interactivity between each of these steps.

In relation to the research described here, ethnographic research was focussed on understanding the

- culture of the Wet Tropics Management Authority;
- conception of planning held by WTMA staff; and
- conception of public involvement held by WTMA staff.

In order to develop an understanding of these matters the researcher was located, for a number of months, within the WTMA. During this period the author researched and completed a review of the public involvement exercise conducted by the WTMA during the development of its strategic plan (Lane 1994). This work was carried out at the request of the Manager of Planning for the WTMA. In addition, the author was an invited member and participant in numerous meetings convened in different sections of the organisation. Both formal and informal advice to WTMA personnel was provided by the author on a range of matters associated with planning and public involvement. The researcher did not, however, have a significant influence on decisions made by WTMA personnel.

The research described here focuses on the WTMA and not umbrella structures of government, or government behaviour as a whole. This research is centrally concerned with how WTMA planners conceptualised the planning task and the impact of this conception on public involvement. It is also concerned with the factors which may have influenced this conception and the implementation of public involvement programs. The researcher has focused on the formal public involvement and planning programs of the WTMA because these were an overt component of the management of the WHA, whereas the governmental machinations which inevitably underlay these activities were not.

As a result of this participation in some of the activities of the WTMA, the researcher was able to make observations of the operation of the organisation, observe and participate in meetings of staff and, in addition, converse with and interview staff members. This enabled the

development of an ethnography of the WTMA. It would be noted that the WTMA and its staff were fully aware of the research and the intentions of the author at all times.

2.4.3 Documentary Research and Analysis

The most important research method used in this study was documentary research. In the periods the author spent in the WTMA, a range of documents were reviewed. The author was provided with access to the files of the WTMA and reviewed documents in relation to the following matters:

- the conduct of planning activities
- the conduct of public involvement activities
- the operation of pertinent committees
- the relations of the WTMA and major stakeholders.

This history was mainly developed from documentary sources. Further, the author was granted access to the files of the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. This Department was engaged in discussions with the WTMA over Aboriginal involvement in planning throughout the course of this study. It therefore held files which contained documentation of relevance to this study. All of these documents are primary sources of evidence.

In addition the author developed an analysis of the history of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area, particularly in relation to the disputation which immediately preceded the establishment of the protected area. Further, the author frequently reviewed national and regional newspapers for further insights or accounts of relevant events. The documents used in developing these analyses were entirely secondary documents - mostly accounts of relevant events written by others (see Bailey 1982:302).

The documentary databases made available to the author for the purposes of this research were, as one might expect of highly professional organisations, carefully filed and ordered. They provided the author with a substantial amount of information which was particularly

important for the analysis of organisational issues with which this thesis is substantially concerned (see Yin 1994: 81). In all cases, the author was granted formal permission to access the material used in this aspect of the research.

Bailey (1982:304-6) records that there are a range of disadvantages which may be associated with documentary research. These include

- bias
- selective survival
- incompleteness
- lack of availability
- sampling bias
- limited to verbal behaviour
- lack of a standard format
- coding difficulties (Bailey 1982:304-6).

Of these, only three disadvantages were experienced during the course of this research. First, an element of *bias* was evident in some of the documents. For instance, many of the minuted records of meetings held by WTMA staff did not contain matters of controversy or conflict which was evident in the meetings. The formal minutes of many meetings had been "sanitised" for the record (see Bailey 1982:304). Second, there was some *incompleteness* in the documentary record. Some of the documentary accounts were not complete. More than once during the course of the study an important document out of a sequence had been lost from the file. Third, the *availability* of documentation was limited. The author had to apply for access for most of the aforementioned documentary sources and was denied access to some. The author was not given access to, for instance, the agenda papers of the meetings of the Authority, although the minutes of these meetings was provided.

These disadvantages did not pose insurmountable difficulties to the conduct of this research. Indeed, all research methods have their limitations. The task of the researcher is to be cognisant of these deficiencies and to develop a suit of methods which both complement each other and which overcome the limitations of any particular method. In terms of this research,

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the problems associated with documentary research necessitated the use of other methods, principally the use of interview, to ensure that missing pieces of information were compiled.

2.4.4 Interview

A final important method used in this study was interview. The researcher interviewed a range of people throughout the course of this study. The persons interviewed were all people who were either:

- important participants, as staff or stakeholders, in the events under consideration; or
- knowledgable about important aspects of the history or management of the WHA.

These interviews provided important information. They often confirmed earlier information or provided new information which contributed to the development of a more comprehensive understanding. As a result of the sensitivity of some of the information provided, and where requested, the sources of this information have not been identified. The author has respected all requests for confidentiality from persons interviewed.

Most interviews conducted, particularly those with WTMA staff or stakeholders, were congruent with orthodox approaches to ethnographic interview (see Neuman 1991:366). This approach to interview is essentially unstructured, non-directive and largely informal. In all of these cases, a series of interviews was conducted with each informant. The types of questions asked largely depended on the degree to which the researcher and the informant knew each other. In those situations in which the informant was relatively new to the researcher, questions were essentially *descriptive* (Neuman 1991:368; see also Yin 1994: 85). These questions ask the informant to describe aspects of the setting or the activities occurring. In the early phases of research for instance, the researcher asked a number of staff members to describe the approach of the WTMA to public involvement. Later, these interviews involve *structural* questions (Neuman 1991:368-9) in which the author would seek to verify preliminary analysis. Finally, the author conducted a number of interviews in which *contrast* questions were asked. These questions would contrast the approach of the WTMA to, for instance, planning, to the approach used by other planning agencies. The objective in asking contrast

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questions is to further develop the analysis verified in the earlier contrast questions (Neuman 1991:369).

The interviews conducted with other persons who had particular knowledge of events or issues relevant to the study were conducted in a different manner. These *semi-structured interviews* were only conducted once, towards the end of the study and were directed to gathering specific information. Bailey (1982:200) notes that semi-structured interview is appropriate when the researcher has topics or hypotheses selected in advance to which the interviewee, based on familiarity with the topic, can respond. In the context of this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with both former and current members of the Authority. These interviews were held in order to gauge the responses of people with considerable knowledge about relevant matters, to a number of analyses of the author. The objective therefore was twofold: to test some of the analyses developed and to gather any new information.

A comment should be made, at this point, on the set of informants used in the study. As a result of the focus of the study - to understand public involvement from a planners' perspective - most of the informants were personnel of the planning agency under consideration (the WTMA). As a result of a variety of circumstances, including the busy timetables of senior staff and the sensitivity of some issues, not all senior personnel of the agency could be interviewed. The incomplete sample of interviews used in this study, serves to underscore the importance of triangulation. Data from interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis needs to be used to present a complete and coherent depiction of the events being examined.

2.4.5 Summary

The compilation of the case analysis presented in this thesis was derived through the use of a number of differing research methods. The development of a comprehensive case study necessitates the use of a number of differing research methods. The methods used were participant observation, documentary analysis and both unstructured and semi-structured interview. None of these methods is without its limitations or disadvantages. However, by being cognisant of the deficiencies or limitations of each method, a suite of research methods can be used to develop a comprehensive case study.

The research process was aided in this respect by the cyclical research path which was adopted. This enabled the identification of deficiencies in information and the development of a strategy to overcome the deficiency. Finally, the use of a number of different methods provided for the triangulation of both data and preliminary analyses.

Section B

This section provides the conceptual and theoretical framework for the study. It is comprised of three chapters which consider: protected areas and national parks, public involvement in planning and planning itself. Chapter three is concerned with understanding the concept of protected areas and national parks. It considers the history of the concept from the world's first national park -Yellowstone - established in the United States in 1872, through to recent changes to conservation planning introduced by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The chapter also considers the impact of national parks on local peoples and shows how the concept has evolved in the light of these impacts. The chapter also examines recent developments in conservation, including co-management and the World Heritage concept. Finally, the chapter examines the application of World Heritage in Australia.

Chapter four is concerned with public involvement. It canvasses the debates about the role and objectives of public involvement as well as the costs and benefits of involving the public in planning processes. The chapter also examines some of the major issues in the field, before considering the major methods of public involvement. Consideration is also given to the involvement of Australian-Aboriginal people in planning. Aboriginal groups comprise an important stakeholder in the case analysis presented and an examination of issues associated with their participation is required. Finally, the chapter examines some of the approaches to evaluating public involvement programs.

Chapter five examines planning. It examines the fundamental concepts in and theoretical perspectives of regional planning. In order to demonstrate the extent to which planning conceptions and models entail differing roles for public involvement, the chapter considers each approach to planning in terms of the role afforded to the non-planner. The chapter begins with an examination of the earliest conceptions of planning espoused by Geddes, Howard and others, and traces the intellectual development of the field through to the recent communicative accounts of planning.

3.0 Protected Areas and National Parks

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the protected area concept. In particular, it considers the dominant form of protected areas, national parks. A protected area, according to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) is:

> "any area of land that has legal measures limiting human use of the plants within that area; includes national parks, game reserves, protected landscapes, multiple-use areas, biosphere reserves etc" (Lucas 1992:3).

This chapter will consider the national park phenomenon, its history and adoption around the world. Given that one aspect of this study concerns the substantial conflict which was associated with the creation of a protected area in north Queensland, and given that it is also concerned with relations between a protected area management agency and resident populations, it is appropriate that this chapter also examine the impacts of protected areas on resident peoples. Having considered the issue of the social impact of conservation, it is appropriate that the evolution of the national park concept is examined. It will be shown that the international conservation movement has responded to the problems associated with the adoption of the classical national park model by the development of new approaches to conservation.

The chapter will also examine the concept of World Heritage. The genesis and administration of World Heritage is considered, revealing that, at its essence, the World Heritage concept was designed to represent the highest form of conservation. As a final matter the application of the concept in Australia is considered. The extent of World Heritage Listings in Australia is revealed and the diversity of arrangements for the management of Australian World Heritage properties is examined.

National parks and protected areas have a short history. Until recently Western cultures have perceived nature and wilderness as either wasteland which should be subdued and made productive, or from which unlimited resources could be extracted (Hall 1992:64). It is not until the late nineteenth century that positive cultural attitudes to wilderness and nature begin to emerge in Western, and more particularly American, thought. The arguments in favour of the conservation of natural areas were more concerned with the conservation of the scenic qualities of the landscape and the maintenance of recreational opportunities (Runte 1987:12; Hall 1992:64-70). These positive perceptions of nature and wilderness are said to have emerged from the spread of the Romantic movement which drew artistic inspiration from the natural environment and were spurred on by intense nationalism in north America at this time (Hall 1992:64-5; Stevens 1986:5-6). As a result the first national parks gazetted in America were in areas of high scenic quality, but were often, in productive terms, wastelands. Ecological arguments for the conservation of nature and wildlife were absent from early rationales for national parks (Hall 1992:62-71). As a result the first national parks were highly scenic, rugged and with little potential for agriculture or resource development. The world's first national park, Yellowstone, which was declared in 1872, is a good example of this (Stevens 1986:1).

The national park remained a largely American phenomenon until well after World War II. The recent acceptance of national parks, and the resulting burst of establishments is largely the result of an international effort, in which bilateral and multilateral aid organisations have played an important role. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) and the IUCN[3] have been particularly important in this regard, as have large American conservation agencies such as the World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservancy (Stevens 1986:8). Indeed, the influence of the modern conservation movement, and the imperative to conserve natural resources, has moved the concept of conservation beyond resource protection within the regional or national context, to the point where it is best understood as an organisational network of global importance. Due primarily to the influence of these organisations, national parks and protected areas have since become the primary conservation

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[3]The IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) is a network of States, government agencies and a range of non-government organisations, established under UNESCO, which "seeks to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world conserve the integrity and biodiversity of nature" (IUCN 1993).

tool throughout much of the world. It is therefore worth considering the criteria and models by which such agencies define and establish national parks and other protected areas.

3.2 The Yellowstone model and its impact on resident peoples

The world's first national park was established in 1872 following the passage of the *Yellowstone Park Act* (Runte 1987:46). While it is unequivocally the case that the intention of the park's creators was to preserve the scenic wonders of this area of western Wyoming, Hall (1992:46) shows that the political debates surrounding the passage of the *Yellowstone Park Act* centred around the extent to which the creation of the park would effect access to productive resources. Indeed, the Act was only passed after it was shown that the "proposed park would take nothing from the value of the public domain"(Hall 1992:68; Runte 1987:16). Hall therefore suggests that Yellowstone was created "not so much for what it was, but for what it was not" (1992:68). It was, however, like other early US national parks, a national monument, an expression of American independence from the Old World (Hall 1992:68).

Two principles were central to the management of Yellowstone National Park, these were:

(i)   to protect the unique natural features of the area; and

(ii)   to guarantee for all time a public right of access to the park (Stevens 1986:4).

This approach has subsequently become the basis of national park planning and management in the United States and elsewhere, and has been accepted by international agencies concerned with nature conservation and the establishment of national parks. Increasingly, principle (i) has been equated with the concept of wilderness, which is viewed as uninhabited land where the course of nature progresses without human intervention. This has led to the perception that national parks should be areas devoid of human habitation and resource use. National parks have become synonymous with "public ownership, tourism development, and above all wilderness, and they have had little place in them for indigenous people" (Stevens 1986:2).

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As Stevens (1986:8) reports, the diffusion of the "Yellowstone model" throughout much of the world can largely be attributed to the efforts of bilateral and multilateral aid organisations. These international agencies have drawn heavily upon the conception of national parks as uninhabited wilderness in their attempts to define and proselytise the national park concept. The first international definition of a national park may be found in the 1933 *Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in Their Natural State*, otherwise known as the London Convention. This Convention resulted from the discussions of European colonial powers who wished to establish a system of national parks in their African colonies. This convention, which subsequently influenced park management in many parts of Africa, prohibited the use or collection of any flora and fauna within the park, thereby excluding all human use of the park (including settlement and subsistence activity) except tourism (Stevens 1986:9).

Subsequent conventions have adopted similar definitions of national parks. The 1942 Pan-American Convention in Washington DC developed a definition of a national park similar to that developed in the earlier African convention. The IUCN, which was founded in 1948 under the auspices of the UNESCO, has also promulgated national parks as areas free from human use and occupation (Stevens 1986:9).

Since 1948 the IUCN has kept a list of all national parks and protected areas in the world which meet its definition of a national park. Inclusion on this list is significant as it increases the chances of that reserve receiving international aid. As Stevens (1986) shows, the IUCN have therefore been critical to the diffusion of the "Yellowstone model". The crucial criteria for the IUCN definition were established in 1969 when the General Assembly of this body accepted a definition of a national park as an area "where one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation" and where the "highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation of the whole area" (quoted in Young *et al.* 1991:135).

The creation of national parks according to this model has precipitated conflict with peoples who have traditionally occupied areas where national parks have been established. Frequently

the establishment has resulted in indigenous people losing their lands, livelihood and autonomy (Stankey 1989:245; Rao and Geisler 1990:21-7; Williams 1989:25; Smyth 1992:3). It is axiomatic to the Yellowstone model that, following the removal of resident peoples, national parks are conceived of as being devoid of human interest, other than tourism and recreation. A further important implication of the model is that social concerns are reduced to interests that have to be limited or curtailed to minimise the impact of human use upon nature (Stankey 1989:245; see also McNeely 1984a). As awareness of the extent of the degradation and destruction of the world's ecosystems becomes increasingly apparent, the pressure upon national parks to protect native flora and fauna and conserve biodiversity has increased pressure to keep them 'pristine' and undisturbed (Stevens 1986:13).

The establishment of national parks within Australia has been heavily influenced by the American tradition (Hall 1992:134). The IUCN's definition of a national park has been widely adopted, and has resulted (until very recently) in Australian Aboriginal people generally being excluded from national parks, where they are unable to hunt or gather foods and, in some cases, have had their access to sites of cultural significance restricted or prevented. For many Aboriginal people this constituted a new wave of dispossession, an attempt to remove them from the few areas where they had succeeded in maintaining some traditional interest (Toyne and Johnson 1991:9; Lark 1990: 30).

3.3 National Parks: An evolving concept

The concept of the national park has undergone considerable change in recent decades. McNeely (1984a:1) suggests that:

> "in a period of increasing human populations, economic uncertainty and social instability, many governments are finding that the traditional national park approach is no longer sufficient to meet their needs for recreation, education, genetic resources, watershed protection, and the other goods and services produced by protected area conservation".

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McNeely (1984a:1) argues that, in respect of national parks, there has been an increasing recognition that:

> "the stringent protection required for such areas is not necessarily appropriate for all areas which should be kept in a natural or semi-natural state. National parks must be as carefully protected as ever, but they must be supplemented by a range of other categories of protected areas in order to meet the social and economic development needs of modern society".

This section considers the evolution of the national park concept and the development of new categories of protected areas.

Many areas of Europe have adopted a model of national parks which contrasts sharply with the Yellowstone model which has been promulgated by international agencies. In countries such as Wales, Germany and England the establishment of a national park merely involves the introduction of a new resource management regime. In England, national parks are only one aspect of a broad concern to protect valued aspects of the past, which include, for example, the protection of individual buildings, towns and rural landscapes as well as wilderness areas (Stevens 1986:17). Protection and management in these parks is based on a general notion of heritage and cultural continuity as well as ecosystem conservation. While there is a concept of environmental quality within these parks, there is no accompanying assumption that a quality national park entails the absence of all human uses other than tourism (Stevens 1986:16-19; Lucas 1992).

In those countries where the natural environment has been substantially modified by human settlement and exploitation, a differing national park concept has been adopted. In these instances, human use and occupation of the park is recognised as an integral component of land and resource use. In a Venezuelan park for example, swidden agriculture is permitted, while in Scandinavian parks, indigenous hunting and gathering is allowed (Stevens 1986: 127-20).

As conflict between indigenous peoples and national parks has grown, and as role these peoples have played in shaping and maintaining the environments in which they live recognised, there has been an increasing perception that indigenous people should remain within, and pursue traditional lifestyles within national parks (Stankey 1989:246; Stevens 1986:20). The weight of literature in this field which deals with the rights and concerns of indigenous peoples shows that the issue of indigenous rights has been, and continues to be, a catalyst for change to the national park concept.

This recognition is reflected in the resolutions passed by the IUCN in relation to indigenous peoples and national parks. In 1975 the IUCN passed a resolution on the "Protection of Traditional Ways of Life" which called on governments to "devise means by which indigenous people may bring their land into conservation areas without relinquishing their ownership, use or tenure rights" (quoted in Stevens 1986:21). While the 1969 definition of a national park still stands, the IUCN refined the protected area concept and now recognises a series of different types and categories. Table 3.1 shows the IUCN classification of protected areas.

The framework for the IUCN list of protected areas was developed in 1978 after it was realised that the focus on national parks alone was too limiting (Lucas 1992:18). Limiting conservation initiatives to lands on which human use has been or can be limited was clearly not practical in an increasingly populous world. Indeed, human use and settlement of six of the above 11 types of protected areas is allowed[4] (Stevens 1986:23). In addition, the IUCN recognises a place for indigenous peoples within national parks (Category II) provided that the activities which are generally prohibited are confined to zones established for such purposes, while the core of the national park remains as "wilderness" (Stevens 1986:23).

Even within America, the origin of the concept of wilderness national parks, there has been some reconsideration of the rights of resident and indigenous peoples and their use of national parks. When a suite of new national parks where established in Alaska in recent decades, subsistence hunting and gathering rights were given to indigenous owners (Shively 1981:18).

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[4]Human use, exploitation and settlement, by resident or indigenous peoples is allowed in categories VII, V, IV, VIII, IX and X (Stevens 1986).

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Table 3.1 Categories of Protected Areas

Group A
Categories of protected area in this group receive technical advice from and are monitored by the IUCN's Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA).

Category I Scientific Reserve/Strict Nature Reserve
To protect nature and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state in order to have ecologically representative examples of the natural environment available for scientific study, environmental monitoring, education and for the maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.

Category II National Park
To protect natural and scenic areas of national and international significance for scientific, educational and recreational uses.

Category III Natural Monument/Natural Landmark
To protect and preserve nationally significant features because of their special interest or unique characteristics.

Category IV Nature Conservation Reserve/Managed Nature Reserve/Wildlife Sanctuary
To assure the natural conditions necessary to protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment, where these require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.

Category V: Protected Landscape or Seascape
To maintain nationally significant natural landscapes which are characteristic of the harmonious interaction of People and Land, while providing opportunities of public enjoyment through recreation and tourism within the normal lifestyle and economic activity of these areas.

Group B
Those categories important to the IUCN as a whole and generally found in most nations, but not considered exclusively within the scope of the CNPPA.

Category VI: Resource Reserve - Interim Conservation Unit
To protect the natural resources of the areas for future use, and prevent or contain development activities that could affect the resource pending the establishment of objectives which are based on appropriate knowledge and planning.

Category VII Natural Biotic Area/Anthropological Reserve
To allow the way of life of human societies living in harmony with the environment to continue undisturbed by modern technology.

Category VIII Multiple-use Management/Managed Resource Areas
To provide for the sustained production of water timber, wildlife, pasture, and outdoor recreation, with the conservation of nature primarily oriented to the support of economic activities.

Group C Internationally Recognised Designations
Category IX Biosphere Reserve
The reserves are important for conservation of genetic resources and ecosystems; on-going research of the Man and Biosphere program and developing land resources for research and education

Category X World Heritage Site
Identify, list and protect natural and cultural properties of outstanding universal value for the benefit of all people.

Category XI Wetlands of International Importance
To preserve wetlands designated under the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance (the Ramsar Convention).

(Source: Lucas 1992: 162-4)

Similarly, within Australia there has been a recognition of Aboriginal peoples relationships with land and the extent to which they have shaped and managed the ecology of their lands. Until recently most conservation groups have given little consideration to the impacts of national park formation on traditional Aboriginal owners. Recent dialogue between these groups, and an increasing awareness of both the impacts national parks have had on Aboriginal people, and the potential benefits of co-operation in management of natural areas, has produced a commitment amongst many conservationists to attempt to reconcile Aboriginal and conservation interests (Lane and Chase 1995; Toyne and Johnson 1991). This is most evident in the changing definitions of wilderness used by Australian conservation groups and the National Wilderness Inventory Steering Committee, who define a wilderness as an area that is, or is capable of being restored to be:

- of sufficient size to enable the long term preservation of its natural systems and biological diversity;

- substantially undisturbed by colonial and modern technological society; and

- remote at its core from points of mechanised access and other evidence of colonial and modern technological society (quoted in Hall 1992:4).

The Committee notes that the phrase "colonial and modern technological society" recognises that:

- Aboriginal custodianship and customary practices have been, and in many places continue to be, a significant factor in creating what non-Aboriginal people describe as wilderness; and

- non-Aboriginal people perceive and value `naturalness' as the absence of colonial and modern technological society (Hall 1992:4).

The most tangible change which has resulted from the discourse between Aboriginal people and conservationists in Australia is the promotion of Aboriginal joint-management of national parks (Coombs 1992). This is a matter which is examined in detail below.

In summary, the national park concept has undergone substantial change in recent decades. Most importantly, the national park is no longer the central tool of conservation. Since 1978, the IUCN has sought to establish very different types of protected areas in all parts of the world. The protected areas range from classical national park approaches, through to inhabited landscapes of both cultural and natural importance. The protection of landscapes, long a imperative of some European park systems, represents an important addition to the protected area concept. It entails assumptions that cultural heritage, as well as the natural environment, is worthy of protection. In addition, the protected landscape concept heralds recognition of the role of human communities in creating the landscapes and the importance of planning for cultural continuity as well as for ecosystem protection.

Moreover, the international and national conservation movement has recognised the social impacts of conservation on resident and indigenous peoples. Planning for protected areas now often entails consideration of the social impacts of conservation (see Val 1987:129; Hough 1992: 274-6; Stankey 1989:246). The overdue concern of the international conservation movement for the human cost of protected areas has been particularly pronounced in situations where indigenous people are concerned. In Australia, as well as in north and south America, the particular impacts of conservation on indigenous peoples have been recognised (Clay 1985:2-3; Harmon 1987:147-9; Weaver 1992:311-4). Indeed, the emergence of co- or joint-management as a model is directly attributable to recognition of the impacts of conservation on indigenous peoples. Finally, the emergence and formalisation of the conservation imperative as a global, rather than national concern, a dynamic best represented by the World Heritage concept, is a further significant, and relatively recent, change.

In the context of this thesis, two of these changes demand further consideration. The join-management concept requires further consideration because it emerges as an important dynamic in the planning and management of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area. Secondly, the World heritage concept itself requires further consideration. These matters are considered below.

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3.4 Co-Management

As has been observed, the concept of joint (or co-operative) management[5] has emerged as a means of reconciling the competing imperatives of ecosystem protection and indigenous rights and cultural heritage[6]. In essence co-management refers to:

"shared decision making between local resource claimants and formally trained resource managers on policies guiding the use of protected areas" (Rao and Geisler 1990:19).

Co-management has emerged as a substantial challenge to the 'Yellowstone Model'. In many countries around the world, the difficulties associated with the slavish adoption of the wilderness model have been recognised (Stevens 1986:30; Rao and Geisler 1990:19-20; Stankey 1989:246; Harmon 1987:149). This recognition has forced the planners of protected areas to adopt different approaches to biosphere conservation. As has been observed elsewhere, the 'Yellowstone model' was borne of particular circumstances in the US in the late nineteenth century and reflects particular ideologies about the need for and role of protected areas.

Alternative approaches to protected areas, although diverse, are unified by the importance of integrating natural and cultural resource conservation (Rao and Geisler 1990:21; Stankey 1989:246-7). Whereas the Yellowstone National park (and its Australian equivalent Sydney's Royal National Park) were initially principally concerned with the protection of areas of scenic

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[5]The bulk of the literature refers to co-management. The other term commonly used is joint-management, which is a term which is usually used to identify the unique Australian model of co-management in which Aboriginal people claim the national park and subsequently lease it back to the relevant conservation agency to be managed as a national park (see Coombs 1992; Lane 1993; Toyne and Johnson 1991).

[6]Some would disagree with my depiction of these imperatives as being in competition. Indeed, the extent to which indigenous interests and conservation are convergent or, by contrast, competing interests, is an important and on-going debate in the literature (see, for example Clad 1988:320-22; Redford and Stearman 1993a:248; Alcorn 1993:424; Redford and Stearman 1993b:427). I deliberately depict them as potentially contradictory in order to highlight the logic in the development of the model and to underscore the importance of indigenous-conservation conflicts in catalysing change in approaches to conservation.

and recreational value, the emphasis on nature conservation is a relatively recent ideological development (Stankey 1989:246).

The co-management approach seeks to integrate the ecological perspective with local social and cultural perspectives. The central objective for co-management is to develop strategies to ensure the collaboration of park managers and local groups (Rao and Geisler 1990:19; Brownrigg 1987:34). According to the logic of advocates of the model, this approach not only reduces the social impact of conservation, but improves the capacity of managers to meet conversation and other objectives. Co-management has been used mostly in circumstances where an indigenous interest is manifest, reflecting the special cultural, spiritual and economic relationship indigenous people have with the land (Smyth 1992:2-3). There are, according to the international and national literatures on this topic, a number of benefits of co-management. These are considered below.

The first and most important benefit of co-management is that it substantially reduces the negative social and cultural consequences that protected area status can bring (Stankey 1989:245; Rao and Geisler 1990:21-27). Protected areas, particularly in industrialised countries have been conceived of as being separate from people (McNeely 1984a). This relatively recent conception of parks and protected areas denies human influence on the world's ecosystems and the complex relationship between nature and human society. Indeed, and with regard to the Wet Tropics, the construction of the biosphere as completely separate from people ignores the long years Aboriginal occupation of the Wet Tropics and the Aboriginal rainforest culture which is inexplicably linked to the nature of these homelands (Horsfall and Fuary 1988:45).

With regard to co-management, several writers emphasise that failure to recognise the relationship between nature and people can precipitate significant local social disruption and impact (Stankey 1989:246; Rao and Geisler 1990:24; Williams 1989:25; Smyth 1992:3; Stevens 1986). Rao and Geisler (1990:27) call for co-management as mitigation, emphasising the importance of co-management strategies to minimise and mitigate the social impact that protected area status can bring. A number of writers have underlined the severity of socio-

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cultural impact that conservation can bring to indigenous peoples, including acculturation or cultural genocide[7] (Rao and Geisler 1990:21; Stevens 1986:25-30; Craig 1992:140; Stankey 1989:246; Smyth 1992:3).

While the social impacts of conservation without recognition of indigenous rights can be severe, others have emphasised that the co-management approach be adopted as recognition of indigenous rights. Denial of the human-ecological relationship is, some argue, a breach of indigenous rights. In this respect, the imperative to conserve precious remnant ecosystems may herald the return of colonialism under a different guise (Stevens 1986; Rao and Geisler 1990:29). Coombs (1992:139) emphasises the ethical obligation of European Australia to recognise Aboriginal environmental perspectives in the management of protected areas. Moreover, Coombs (1992) suggests that such an approach to park management would make a substantial contribution to the process of reconciliation between black and white Australia.

A second associated benefit of co-management emphasised by a number of commentators is that it enhances and informs the management of natural resources. Failure to adopt an interdisciplinary approach to park management and manage parks as human ecosystems (Grumbine 1990:16) can compromise the bio-physical values for which protection was sought (Stevens 1986:36; Stankey 1989:245). This, of course, reflects that most natural resource management problems occur in a social context. Failure to recognise this social context can substantially reduce the effectiveness of natural resource management strategies.

The third major benefit of co-management is that it contributes to cultural continuity for resident peoples and enhances the effectiveness of cultural resource management strategies (Craig 1992:140; Stevens 1986:41; Smyth 1992:2-3). Local indigenous involvement ensures cultural resource management is undertaken by those for whom the resources are most significant. This also serves as a mechanism to mitigate against the dynamic, observed elsewhere, that protected area status can contribute to acculturation among local indigenous peoples (Stevens 1986:41; Rao and Geisler 1990:22). Coombs (1992:138) argues that

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[7]Rao and Geisler (1990:22) provide a typology of the social impacts of the development of protected areas on indigenous people.

Aboriginal involvement in heritage management has the added effect of contributing to the transmission and interpretation of Aboriginal culture. This can, he argues, place an important role in improving indigenous-white relationships. Others (Smyth 1992; Altman and Smith 1990) note that Aboriginal involvement can also substantially enhance visitor experience in protected areas.

A fourth major benefit of co-operative management is that it informs management planning and enhances the degree of collaboration between park managers and key local stakeholders (Stankey 1989:245-60; Davis 1985; Stevens 1986). The collaboration and support of local stakeholders is often a fundamental aspect of protected areas in the UK, parts of Africa and elsewhere. The participation of these stakeholders informs management planning by ensuring access to the knowledge and understanding of local groups (Smyth 1992:3; Stankey 1986:245; Williams 1989:16). This is one of the key rationales for public involvement in planning access and use of local knowledge and information (see Hyman and Stiftel 1988:45; Gariepy 1991:355).

A fifth and associated benefit of co-operative management is that it provides a mechanism for the incorporation of indigenous ecological knowledge (Williams 1989:16; Smyth 1992:3). The collaboration of indigenous ecological knowledge, and western scientific approaches to the biosphere has much to offer management planning according to some commentators (Williams 1989:16; Stankey 1989:246).

A final benefit to be considered in this far from exhaustive list, is that of local economic development. In both Australia and overseas it has been shown that co-management has important economic benefits for local peoples (Smyth 1992:3). Clearly the extent of the economic benefit is determined by the nature of the collaboration and the extent to which local involvement enhances the revenue of the park. Altman and Smith (1990:56) provide evidence which demonstrates the extent to Aboriginal involvement has enhanced visitor experience and Kakadu and Nitmiluk National parks and the economic benefit this has provided local Aboriginal peoples.

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Australia has considerable experience in implementing the joint-management concept. Australia's first jointly managed national park, was established in 1978 and has been regarded as offering a model for the wider application of the concept (De Lacey 1994:479; De Lacey 1992:297). Since then, joint management of national parks by the traditional Aboriginal custodians has been implemented in a number of states. Table 3.2 provides a synopsis of Aboriginal involvement in national parks.

Table 3.2   Synopsis of Aboriginal rights to forage on and off national parks, Aboriginal ownership of parks, and Aboriginal involvement in park management in Australia

State/Territory	Right to Forage		Aboriginal owners of some parks	Aborigines involved in park management
	In national parks	Off national parks		
Northern Territory	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
New South Wales	No	Yes (with permission of landowner)	Yes (legislation not yet passed)	Yes (legislation not yet passed)
Western Australia	Yes (not nature reserves)	Yes	No	Yes
Queensland	Yes (if have ownership)	No	Yes	Yes
South Australia	With proclamation	Yes	No	No (proposed)
Victoria	No	No	No	No
Australian Capital Territory	Yes	Yes	No	No
Tasmania	No	Yes (some species with permit)	No	No

Source: De Lacey 1994:483.

In Queensland, potential for jointly managed national parks is provided by the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* and the *Torres Strait Islander Land Act 1991*. Under these statutes, Aboriginal people can claim ownership of national parks on the basis of traditional affiliation or historical affiliation. Parks which are granted following successful claim under these provisions will be held by Aboriginal people as inalienable freehold title on the proviso that they are leased back to the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage for joint management under terms negotiated independently for each park (De Lacey 1994:487). At the time of writing, joint

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management has yet to be implemented in Queensland, although a number of parks are currently subject to claim (De Lacey 1994:487).

Co-management has emerged as a substantial challenge to the classical model of national parks. In particular it has been regarded as a means of mitigating the social impacts of conservation and catering for indigenous rights. In addition, by incorporating key resource claimants in the planning of national parks, management planning is, according to advocates of the model, informed by accessing local and traditional ecological knowledge. However, the extent to which these benefits are realised depends, in large part, on the effectiveness of the implementation of co-management arrangements. Warning of the optimistic rhetoric which accompanies much of this literature, West (1992:xxii) cautions:

> "... for the most part it is too early to tell. There are early signs of promise in specific cases ... [Much of the literature however] is based on prescriptive hopes, plans and dreams; others on impressionistic, qualitative judgements after early steps in initial implementation."

Reconciling natural area protection with the rights and concerns of resident and indigenous peoples is a painfully difficult task. As West (1992:xxiii) has argued, "the gap between rhetoric and reality is no so easily closed. Tragic dilemmas and hard wrenching choices will not go away" (see also De Lacey 1994; Lane and Chase in press; Toyne and Johnson 1991).

3.4 The World Heritage Convention

It is appropriate that, at this juncture, the World Heritage concept is examined in detail. As has been observed, the introduction of World Heritage represents an important addition to the tools available to the international conservation movement to preserve natural areas. This study is concerned with public involvement in the planning of one Australian World Heritage Area. In order to appreciate the evidence and analysis which is provided in later chapters it is important to understand the World Heritage concept, its history and rationale.

The International Convention for the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the World Heritage Convention) was adopted by a United Nations Scientific, Education and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Conference in 1972. The essential principle of the Convention is that some areas are of such significance that their care should be the responsibility of the entire international community (Hall 1992:166; Hales 1984:744; Slayter 1984:734). The Convention provided for international cooperation, including concepts of international responsibility and stewardship, of designated areas in a framework with legal, administrative and financial capabilities (Hales 1984:744). Some regard the World Heritage Convention as "one of the pinnacles of world conservation" (Hall 1992:167; see also Hales 1984; McNeely 1984b: 735).

The Convention became enforceable in 1975 when it was ratified by a twentieth state (Hales 1984:744). By ratifying the convention, nations formally recognised the following principles:

- each nation holds in trust for the rest of mankind those parts of the World Heritage that are found within its boundaries;
- each nation has an obligation to support other nations in discharging this trust;
- each nation must exercise the same responsibility to works of nature as to works of humankind; and
- that each nation grants to its co-signatories the right to observe the degree to which it meets its obligations under the Convention (Hales 1984:744-5).

By 1993, 108 nations, including Australia, had ratified the Convention (Burritt and Gibson 1993:278). In ratifying the Convention, signatories commit themselves to assist in the identification, protection, conservation and preservation of World Heritage properties (Hall 1992:167). In order to assist the Australian government meet its obligations under the Convention, the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)* was introduced to provide protective legislation for World Heritage properties in Australia (Burritt and Gibson 1993:279).

The Convention is administered by the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (which is commonly referred to as the World Heritage Committee) (Hall 1992:167). This body is responsible for all policy and decisions in relation to World Heritage. The Committee has three essential functions:

a. to identify, on the basis of nominations submitted by states parties, cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value which are to be protected under the Convention and to list those properties on the 'World Heritage List';

b. to decide which properties included in the World Heritage List are to be inscribed on the 'List of World Heritage in Danger'; and

c. to determine in what way and under what conditions the resources of the World Heritage Fund can most advantageously be used to assist states parties, as far as possible, in the protection of their properties of outstanding universal value (World Heritage Committee 1984, cited in Hall 1992:167-8).

Attached to the Committee is a bureau which is responsible for detailed examination of new nominations and requests for funding. The Committee and the bureau receive advice for 'cultural' sites from the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Centre for Conservation in Rome (ICCROM), and from the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) for 'natural' properties. Properties nominated for listing as World Heritage must meet specific criteria for inclusion as natural or cultural properties. The specific criteria for both cultural and natural properties are provided are provided in Appendix 1.

World Heritage has become an increasingly important component of efforts to preserve the world's important places. As has been observed, some have described the World Heritage concept as the most important form of protection which can be afforded a site. Importantly, the concept gives equal consideration to cultural as well as natural places. This is, in itself,

evidence of that the world conservation movement has moved to recognise the importance human societies in creating and valuing aspects of their environment.

3.5 World Heritage in Australia

Australia was the twenty-second country to ratify the World Heritage Convention. In doing so it committed itself to providing, for a select number of properties, the highest form of protection and conservation management available. Despite this noble intent, the politics and conflicts associated with World Heritage Listing of Australian sites have been both substantial and acrimonious and have dominated environmental politics in the 1980s (Hall 1992:166; see also, Davis 1984:196; Davis 1989:66). Much of the conflict has emanated from the confusion within the Australian polity about the nature of the Convention, how properties are listed and the nature of the management regimes entailed (Hall 1992:166; Davis 1984:186; Burritt and Gibson 278:280-3). Suter (1991:4) suggests that there has been more political and legal wrangling over World Heritage nominations in Australia than in any other country. This thesis is concerned, in part, with a political conflict which emerged over one World Heritage Listing.

By 1994, twelve Australian properties had been successfully nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Figure 3.1 provides the names and locations of Australian World Heritage Areas. There are, in addition, a number of proposals for the inclusion of other areas on the World Heritage List. Coveney (1993:12) for instance, lists the Nullabor Plains in southern South and Western Australia as a "proposed" World Heritage Area, while Hall (1992:173:-4) cites eighteen areas as "potential" WHAs.

Figure 3.1 Map of Australian World Heritage Areas

World Heritage areas

1 Willandra Lakes Region
2 Lord Howe Island
3 Western Tasmania
4 Uluru National Park
5 Wet tropics
6 Great Barrier Reef
7 Kakadu National Park
8 Australian east coast temperate and
  sub-tropical rainforest parks
9 Shark Bay
10 Fraser Island
11 Riversleigh Fossil Mammal Sites
12 Naracoorte Fossil Sites
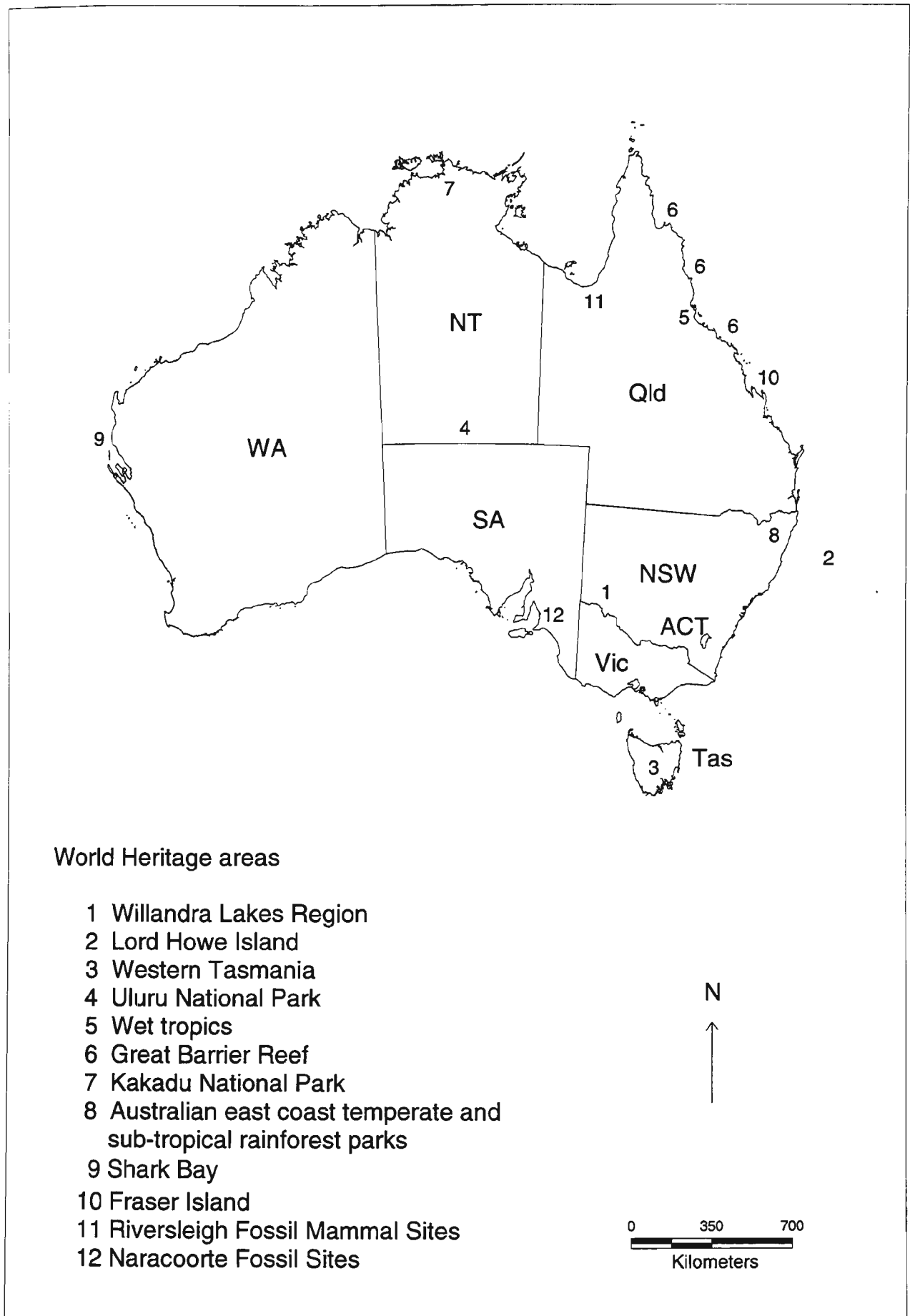
Source: Modified from Coveney 1993: 20

Table 3.3 describes the central aspects of the ten established WHAs. Riversleigh and Naracoorte WHAs were only listed at the time of writing and, as a consequence, the management arrangements and other details are not provided. Several points need to be made about the data provided in Table 3.3.

First, there is considerable diversity among Australian WHAs. They range from relatively small areas such as the Lord Howe Island Group, to much larger areas such as the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park which is 340 000 square kilometres in area. Second, Australian WHAs include properties which are listed for meeting the cultural criteria, and others which meet the criteria for natural properties. Some, such as Kakadu and Uluru Kata-Tjuta National Parks meet the criteria for both natural and cultural properties on the World Heritage List. Third, two Australian WHAs are jointly-managed National Parks. Kakadu and Uluru Kata-Tjuta National Parks are Aboriginal owned areas which are jointly managed by the Australian Nature Conservation Agency (ANCA) and the traditional owners.

Fourth, there is substantial diversity in the management arrangements of the various WHAs. Some, such as the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority and the Wet Tropics Management Authority, are managed by independent statutory authorities under the auspices of complimentary State and Commonwealth legislation. Others, such as the Tasmanian Wilderness and the Central Eastern Rainforest Parks, are managed by existing state-based National Parks agencies under the auspices of existing State legislation and the Commonwealth's *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983*. The Lord Howe Island Group by contrast, is managed by Lord Howe Island Board in accordance with New South Wales legislation. Finally, the management arrangements for other areas, such as Shark Bay and Willandra Lakes are yet to be finalised and are currently being managed in accordance with existing legislation using convenient planning instruments.

Table 3.3 World Heritage in Australia

WHA	Year Inscribed	Type	Area	Location	Legislation	Tenure	Management Agencies	Commonwealth Budget Contribution	Approved/Draft Plans/Plans in Preparation
Great Barrier Reef	1981	Marine (Natural Criteria i, ii, iii, iv)	34 million ha	North-east Queensland coast	• Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975 • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)	Marine Park	• Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority - overall management and co-ordination responsibility. • Qld Department of Environment and Heritage - day to day management of the Marine Park.	$314 000	• Whitsunday Management Plan • 25 Year Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area Strategic Plan 1992-2017 • Cairns Section Zoning Plan
Shark Bay, WA	1991	Marine and Terrestrial (Natural Criteria i, ii, iii, iv)	2,200,000 ha	WA Coast	• Fisheries Act 1905 (WA) • Local Gov't Act 1960 (WA) • Land Act 1933 (WA) • Conservation and Land Management Act 1984 (WA) • Environment Protection Act 1971 (WA) • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • WA and Commonwealth Governments are expected to introduce complimentary legislation to manage the area	• National Park • Marine Nature Conservation Reserve • Nature Reserve	• WA Department of Conservation and Land Management • Fisheries Department (WA) • National Parks and Nature Cons. Auth (WA)	$210 000	• Shark Bay Region Plan (prior to WH Listing) • Shark Bay Strategic Plan Draft • Shark Bay Marine Reserves Draft Management Plan • Terrestrial Conservation Reserves: Draft Management Plan • Monkey Mia Reserve Draft Management Plan • Fisheries Management Plan Draft
Willandra Lakes Region	1981	Terrestrial and Cultural (Natural Criteria i, ii; Cultural iii)	3,700,000 ha	Southwest NSW	• World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • Western Lands Act (NSW) • NP & W Act 1974 (NSW)	• 10 Mungo NP • 90% Pastoral Leases (17)	• Department of Land and Water Conservation (NSW) • NSW National parks and Wildlife Service	$420 000	• Mungo National Park Draft Plan of Management • Willandra Lakes WHA Draft Management Plan • Individual Property Plans for the 17 Pastoral Leases held within the Area
Tasmanian Wilderness	1982 and 1989	Terrestrial and Cultural	1.34 million ha	Southwest Tasmania	• World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970 (Tas)	National Park	• Tasmanian National Parks and Wildlife Service	$5 101 000	• Tasmanian Wilderness WHA Plan 1992 (currently under revision)
Lord Howe Island Group	1982	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria iii, iv)	145 000 ha	700 km northeast of Sydney	• World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • Lord Howe Island Act 1953 (NSW) • Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 • Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975 (Cth)	• Permanent Park Preserve • Settlement Area	• Lord Howe Island Board • New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service • NSW Dept Agriculture and Fisheries	$234 000	• Lord Howe Island Permanent Park Preserve Plan of Management (adopted in accordance with the Lord Howe Island Act 1953) • Lord Howe Island Regional Environmental Plan (in accordance with the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979)
Australian Eastcoast Temperate & Subtropical Rainforest Parks	1986	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria i, ii, iii)	203 564 ha	Central Eastern NSW	• World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW)	• National Parks (9) • Nature Reserves (7)	New South Wales Parks and Wildlife Service	$360 000	• Adopted Plans for National Parks • Adopted Plans for 5 Nature Reserves • Plans in Preparation for 2 National parks • No Plans for 2 Nature Reserves

WHA	Year Inscribed	Type	Area	Location	Legislation	Tenure	Management Agencies	Commonwealth Budget Contribution	Approved/Draft Plans/Plans In Preparation
Great Barrier Reef	1981	Marine (Natural Criteria i, ii, iii, iv)	34 million ha	North-east Queensland coast	• Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975 • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)	Marine Park	• Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority - overall management and co-ordination responsibility. • Qld Department of Environment and Heritage - day to day management of the Marine Park	$314 000	• Whitsunday Management Plan • 25 Year Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area Strategic Plan 1992-2017 • Cairns Section Zoning Plan
Fraser Island	1992	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria ii, iii)	166 283 ha	Off Southeast Coast of Qld	World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)	• National Park • Marine Park • Vacant Crown Land • Wetland Reserve • Freehold • Crown Reserve • Fish Habitat Reserve	• Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage • Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service	$300 000	Great Sandy Region Management Plan 1994 (incorporates the management plan for the Fraser Island WHA)
Wet Tropics of Queensland	1988	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria i, ii, iii, iv)	900 000 ha	Northeast coast of Queensland	• Wet Tropics of Qld Management and Conservation Act 1993 (Qld) • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth) • National Parks and Wildlife Act 1975 (Qld)	• National Parks (31) • 31 State Forests • 7 Timber Reserves • Vacant Crown Land • Mining Holdings • Freehold • Leasehold	• Wet Tropics Management Authority • Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service • Queensland Forestry Service	$6 485 000	Wet Tropics Strategic Plan 1992
Kakadu National Park	1981 (extended in 1987 and 1992)	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria iii, iv). Cultural (Criteria iii)	2 000 000 ha	East of Darwin NT	• National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975 (Cth) • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)	National Park (Aboriginal owned)	• Australian Nature Conservation Agency • Kakadu National Park Board of Management	$12 501 169	Kakadu National Park Plan of Management 1992
Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park	1987	Terrestrial (Natural Criteria ii, iii). Cultural	132 000 ha	Central Australia NT	• National parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975 (Cth) • World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983 (Cth)	National Park (Aboriginal owned)	• Australian Nature Conservation Agency • Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management	$8 927 734	Uluru National Park Plan of Management 1991

A fifth necessary observation about WHAs in Australia is that, in a radical departure from the dominant national park approach to conservation, the tenure of WHAs is varied, ranging from national and marine parks, to freehold and leasehold lands. The Willandra Lakes WHA for instance is largely comprised of leasehold land (pastoral leases), with 90% of the entire WHA being held in this form of tenure. There is finally, considerable difference in the budgets provided to manage these WHAs. Both the total budget and the budgetary allocation of the Commonwealth varies significantly.

In sum, the World Heritage Convention has emerged as an important mechanism for the conservation of areas of natural and cultural significance in Australia. Some of Australia's best-known and most prestigious protected areas have been accorded the status of "World Heritage". Indeed, a substantial portion of the protected area estate in Australia is protected by the World Heritage Convention and subsequent Commonwealth legislation. There is however, no uniformity in the nature of arrangements developed to protect and manage these areas. The legislative support, administrative structures and funding of Australia WHAs vary considerably and without apparent reference to the management circumstances of particular areas. As Davis (1985; 1989a; see also Hall 1992) has observed, implementation of the World Heritage Convention has been bound up in conflict and controversy over state rights, rather than the considered implementation of effective management regimes. The diversity of management arrangements depicted described above bear this out.

3.6 Conclusion

The national park concept was borne of particular cultural, political and historical circumstances in the United States in the late nineteenth century. Owing to the dictates of this period - primarily cultural and political - the national park concept emerged as monuments to the independence of the new world and as an expression of the importance of wilderness to the spread of the Romantic movement. Parks were, at this time, primarily concerned with the protection of scenic wonders and with the provision of recreational opportunities. A fundamental component of this classical conception of national parks - the so-called

The diffusion of the Yellowstone model throughout much of the world therefore, ensured that conservation of natural places was closely associated with significant social impacts on resident peoples. This dilemma, combined with the limited application the human-less park concept in a populous world precipitated the development of alternate conceptions of protected areas. By this time the global conservation movement was a network of multilateral aid organisations co-ordinated by the IUCN. The IUCN developed a series of differing categories of protected area, many of which provided for human involvement in management and use of protected environments. In addition, the IUCN classificatory system of protected areas firmly entrenched ecological rationales for protected areas and implicitly sought to achieve a measure of ecological representativeness in the world's conservation estate. Similarly, these classifications provided recognition and a framework for protection of cultural heritage.

One of the most important evolutions to occur in the international conservation movement concerns the development of the World Heritage concept. The World Heritage Convention became enforceable in 1975, providing a mechanism to protect both natural and cultural areas of "world heritage". Australia, which is a signatory to the Convention, now has twelve WHAs. The implementation of Australian WHAs however has been embroiled, on a number of occasions, in considerable controversy and, given the federal system of government, considerable conflict over state's rights. Despite these conflicts, Australia has a substantial World Heritage estate which protects diverse natural and cultural environments. Although as a signatory to the Convention, Australia is committed to providing the highest form of conservation management for its WHAs, there is substantial diversity in the management arrangements provided by Australian conservation management agencies. This diversity reflects, some have argued (see Davis 1985; 1989a), the level of conflict associated with the implementation of the Convention in Australia, rather than the considered application of appropriate management regimes.

The conceptual development of protected areas, as this chapter has shown, has been marked by changing rationales and imperatives and, in particular, by difficult interactions between local communities and conservation agencies. Indeed, the complex and difficult relationship between conservation and local human needs and interests has been an important catalyst in

changing the national park concept. One method of coping with these difficulties is to involve local communities in the planning and management of protected areas. The co-management concept, which entails the participation of local communities in all aspects of conservation planning and management (Rao and Geisler 1990), is an example of how conservation planners have responded to the land use conflicts and social impacts generated by traditional approaches to conservation. Participation is an important concept in contemporary conservation planning. It is appropriate therefore, that chapter four consider participation in some detail.

4.0 Public Involvement in Planning

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three provided an overview of the development of the concept of protected areas. It showed that participation of local communities in conservation planning has become important in contemporary approaches to protected areas. The goals of the study, to understand the factors which influence the design and implementation of public involvement in planning, require a detailed examination of the theoretical and conceptual understandings of public involvement in planning. This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature on this topic. It examines the objectives of public involvement in planning, including the principal costs and benefits of citizen participation. The important critiques of public involvement in planning, notably that of Arnstein (1969), and the responses to these critiques are considered. Although Arnstein's framework remains influential in the planning field, particularly in the planning literature, alternative frameworks are also appraised.

In terms of theoretical dimensions, this chapter draws upon a number of discrete bodies of literature. First, the objectives of public involvement in planning are canvassed. This review draws extensively from the well developed planning literature. Second, a number of frameworks for understanding public involvement are examined. Central among these is Arnstein's (1969) conceptualisation of participation as a ladder along which various degrees of participation are afforded the public depending on the degree of delegation of power and authority by decision-making agencies. Alternative frameworks and critiques of Arnstein's (1969) approach are also considered. This material draws from both the planning literature as well as public policy. Third, and drawing on a similar literature, the costs of participation are contemplated. Practitioners of the dominant technocratic approaches to planning have been quick to highlight the costs and delays often associated with involving the public in planning. This section briefly examines these criticisms.

Fourth, and again drawing extensively from the public policy literature, a series of critical issues associated with public involvement and planning are considered. These issues have

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been identified, by and large, through empirical research of both the practice and outcomes of public involvement in planning. These important conceptual issues - which range from the selection of participants through to the role of locality in participation - are examined in turn. Fifth, the participation of Australian indigenous peoples in planning is investigated. Again, the literature used is a disparate one. This section is drawn both from the planning literature (particularly the field of environmental impact assessment) and from anthropology. The section seeks to identify the central issues associated with involving indigenous people. It is argued that an accurate conceptualisation of Aboriginal social organisation is critical to developing strategies which meaningfully involve indigenous people.

The sixth matter dealt with in this chapter concerns methods used to engender public involvement. A brief examination of the major techniques used by planners is necessary to inform the evaluation of the public involvement program of the Wet Tropics Management Authority. Finally, the chapter examines the various approaches which have been used in evaluating public involvement programs.

It is pertinent to reflect briefly on the disparate nature of the literature used in this chapter. It has been observed that the bodies of literature reviewed include planning, public policy and anthropology. In general, it can be argued that there is little articulation between the bodies of social science literature on this topic - emanating from public policy, sociology and anthropology - and the planning literature. In part, this circumstance may be explicable in terms of the foundations of planning as a discipline and the trajectory of change in the field in the last twenty years. As Hall (1992) has shown, planning was originally conceived of as a profession of the physical sciences, emerging from architecture and engineering. Much of the field has been concerned with the application of science to the resolution of planning problems (see, for example, Steiner 1991). Chase (1990) observes that many practising planning companies have emerged from the engineering field and tend to exhibit highly technocratic world views.

As a result of this, the planning discipline has not had a significant tradition of examination and intellectualisation of the social dimensions of planning. By contrast, the more

traditional disciplines of sociology and political science have long been concerned with the patterns of political participation and there is a strong literature in this area (see, for example, Pateman 1970). It is only in recent years, as a result of the substantial intellectual change in planning, that the field can be seen to be merging with the broader field of public policy (McDonald 1989). This recent change in trajectory is likely to ensure greater articulation of traditional social science perspectives with the planning perspective. For the time being however, articulation of the central concepts of the various fields needs to be fashioned by working across the disciplines.

4.2 Objectives of Public Involvement in Planning

A common failure in land use decision-making arises out of the tendency to characterise the decisions to be made as being primarily technical and scientific (Craig 1990; Howitt 1989). This probably results from the widespread conception of scientific arguments as being apolitical and authoritative and therefore highly persuasive and legitimate in the eyes of the public (Ozawa 1991:6-9; Giddens 1994:5). By contrast, others argue that the type and strength of stakeholder interests is a more important factor in determining how decisions are made, and that this often constrains the role of science in decision-making (Andresen 1989:25). A more compelling view is that while complex land use issues comprise matters requiring expert analysis, they are also likely to include a range of matters which pertain to the values, lifestyle and cultural concerns of a range of communities of interest (Lake 1993:91; Craig 1990). Moreover, "sciences' monopoly on rationality" is increasingly being seen as invalid (Beck 1992:29; Giddens 1994:7). Environmental decision-making therefore, is likely to involve both scientific and political (or value based) dimensions, and should employ techniques which delineate the matters for technical resolution and, in so doing, render the political issues more salient (Ozawa 1991:72). Underdal (1989:257) described the relationship between science and values in decision-making thus:

> "conclusions from science do not ... in themselves have clear-cut policy implications. Environmental management will have to be guided by some aggregate notion of social welfare .... Research can help clarify possible criteria and the dilemmas and tradeoffs involved ... But the basic question of what shall be considered 'good' or 'bad' can not be answered by science."

Beck (1992:29) argues that the political content of decision-making grows in proportion to the effort being taken to be objective and rational. The dominance of scientific rationality in environmental decision-making, and in a range of other spheres, is increasingly being challenged, both in scholarship (Beck 1992) and in democratic politics by social movements agitating for change (Papadakis 1990).

With regard to land use planning, the general objective of the planner has been the development of comprehensive plans 'in the public interest'. However a generation of planners have found that instead of a 'public interest' (usually defined in material terms) there were instead a multitude of interests, with differing conceptions of the central goals of planning (Amy 1987; Hyman and Stiftel 1988; Hague and McCourt 1974). In addition, planning has also become an arena in which competing and overlapping claims for rationality have been contested (Beck 1992:59). This has challenged the traditionally scientific conceptions of planning (Hillier 1993:90) with its assumptions about the knowledgeable, rational expert and the ignorant, ill-informed public (Beck 1992:58). Opportunities for public involvement have become a mandatory component of contemporary planning and decision-making to ensure that the differing perspectives are taken into account (Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48; Hall 1983; Sandercock 1994:7) and to more effectively communicate the technical bases for decision-making to ignorant publics (Beck 1992:58). There is little evidence to support the contention that public participation solves planning problems and avoids policy conflicts (Sandercock 1994:7; see also Andresen 1989:29). Instead, it is best understood as a decision-making supplement, designed to provide information about the concerns and interests of relevant publics and to communicate the rationale for decisions taken.

The scholarly literature observes that public involvement in planning and decision-making has three principal functions. First, by providing a range of interested parties access to planning or policy-making processes, public involvement helps ensure that final decisions have *legitimacy* and validity amongst prominent actors (Gariepy 1991:354-5; Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48). Revealing scientific analysis to stakeholders and working towards a consensual body of knowledge upon which decisions can be based is an important means

of making decisions which are both persuasive and legitimate in plural political environments (Miles 1989:49; see also Ozawa 1991; Beck 1992). Secondly, public involvement is a potential source of pertinent and detailed information in planning and decision-making exercises. Supplementing scientific approaches to knowledge with information about societal values and concerns is a major function of public involvement. This is known as the efficiency rationale or the internalisation function (Gariepy 1991:354-5; Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48; see also Beck 1992). As a result of the technical disciplinary foundations of planning, public involvement has been identified as a means of ensuring the articulation of alternative rationalities, human needs, aspirations and values. Public involvement according to this view supplements scientific characterisations with information of this kind (Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48; Beck 1992:185).

It is important that the legitimacy and efficiency rationales for public involvement are not seen as mutually exclusive. Both are important functions for any public involvement program and a well designed program will seek to ensure that both functions are realised. In addition, public involvement should not be construed as a public relations exercise (see Sandercock 1994). Any consultation program will have public relations ramifications. However, improved (or degraded) public relations are a by-product of the effective conduct of a public involvement program in the longer term, and not an explicit objective of public involvement. Indeed, one measure of an effective public involvement program may be increased conflict in the short term as decision-making incorporates new actors. The public relations benefits from an effective public involvement program are therefore only likely to be realised in the longer term.

A third function of public involvement is also recognised. Consultation and participation also engender a heightened awareness of the environment under consideration (Gariepy 1991:355). In terms of protected area management and planning, this is an important goal for public involvement. An enhanced consciousness of the environment, its problems and planning issues, is an important precursor to increasing voluntary compliance with management planning regulations. In the context of the management of the Wet Tropics, this is an important objective.

Sandercock (1994:14) in her well-known critique of citizen participation argues that public involvement is irrelevant in policy formulation in large, strategic issues (*cf.* Alexander 1994:373). Participation in such issues tends to be hopelessly unrepresentative and therefore does not improve policy formulation. Neither does it help avoid and minimise policy risks (1986:9). There is indeed a considerable literature on the importance of locality to participation which tends to support this view (see for example Gariepy 1991; Syme and Eaton 1989). Sandercock (1994:14) also suggests that there is not a "reservoir of popular enthusiasm waiting to be tapped" and that, as a consequence, participation is most successful as a form of protest, when popular sentiment is directed to stopping something (1986:17; *cf.* Taylor 1995:43). Sandercock (1994:15) contends that while

> "these are not exactly trivial achievements and concerns .. they may seem to be when compared with the magnitude of the expectations that have surrounded the debate and the rhetoric about participation. It is time those expectations were given a quiet burial."

Despite these criticisms, Sandercock (1994:7) acknowledges that there are some benefits of public participation. Firstly she suggests that the process can be as important as the product and that a planning process which is open to the public provides an assurance that the public's views are being considered (the legitimacy rationale in Hyman and Stiftel's (1988) terms). In addition, participation may provide local, detailed information which informs planning (Sandercock 1994:7; Taylor 1995:43). This of course equates with Hyman and Stiftel's (1988) efficiency rationale.

Others have argued that public involvement opportunities provided by agencies are meaningless because of the level of bureaucratic control. According to this view, the setting of the agenda and data collection and analysis are dominated by planning or agency staff who are motivated by the institutional interest to maintain the status-quo (Tauxe 1995:479; Heiman 1990:360; Broadhead *et al.* 1989:254; Davies 1992:18). Post-modern analyses (see for example, Liggett 1991:206; Hillier 1995:296) suggest that some perspectives and interests are submerged in the dynamics of policy discourse. Amy (1994:13) argues that:

"The history of citizen participation in the US has shown that participation techniques are often used for purely political purposes - to give the illusion of citizen power while actually serving the interests of policy makers who desire to increase the legitimacy and public acceptance of their decisions."

The scientific and technical nature of much of the discourse further excludes and alienates the public at large or particular marginal interests (Ozawa 1991:46; Davies 1992:18; Andresen 1989:34; Beck 1992:58; Liggett 1991:206). On the matter of bureaucratic control, Painter (1992:25,34) is frank. He suggests, following Arnstein (1969), that agencies use public involvement for their own management purposes (see also Amy 1987:13; Heiman 1990:360). He remains, despite this admission, committed to the view that opportunities for participation do represent opportunities to exert influence, if in subtle ways (Painter 1992: 25).

Beck (1992:191) by contrast, in analysing the distribution of risk, and in addressing the importance and effectiveness of social movements in contemporary politics, argues that decision-making authority is being decentralised, suggesting greater influence to political participants. He suggests that:

"political decision-making processes .... can no longer be understood as the enforcement of implementation of a model determined in advance by some wise man or leader, whose rationality is not open to discussion and must be enforced even against the will and "irrational resistance" of subordinated agencies, interests and citizens' groups...." (Beck 1992:191).

Indeed, he argues that decision-making processes, as well as implementation, can be understood as processes of collective action in which participation, negotiation and possible resistance operate across the formal structures of authority (Beck 1992:192). Giddens (1994:7) tends to agree. He suggests that participatory, less authoritarian, approaches to policy-making, as demanded throughout western societies, reflects the expansion of "social reflexivity" in an increasingly globalized, detraditionalized world. The widespread demand for "political reconstruction" is one characteristic of contemporary society (Giddens 1994:7) and is expressed in the frequent activity of social movement organisations (Papadakis 1993).

In the field of impact assessment, a sub-field of planning, public involvement has always been a dimension. Public involvement has tended to be rather restricted in this field to the public review of draft impact statements. Most impact legislation in Australia has a mandatory review period (Bates 1987). This "reactive" form of participation can be seen as fulfilling the legitimacy rationale (after Hyman and Stiftel 1988). The extent to which it also fulfils the efficiency rationale, i.e. providing assessors and decision-makers with information, depends upon the extent to which the authors of the EIS are responsive to the information and arguments they receive as written submissions. On this point, it has been argued that EIS authors are often unresponsive to the "often compelling" arguments made to them in the form of written submissions (Friesema and Culhane 1976:352; see also Chase 1990; Lane and Dale 1995). More recently, public involvement has been advocated as a useful adjunct to impact assessment research throughout the assessment process. Proponents of this view argue that using participation throughout the study serves as a source of data and as a means of empowering communities to respond to development proposals (Daneke 1983; Burdge 1983, 1990; Howitt, 1989; Gagnon *et al.* 1993).

This view of the objectives or functions of public involvement has antecedents in the larger area of public involvement in planning. Glass (1974: 182-4; see also Chesterman and Stone 1992:114-5) viewed participation similarly, emphasising information exchange, education, support building and as a decision-making supplement. Chesterman and Stone (1992:114-5) summarise Glass's understanding of the objectives of participation in planning as shown in Table 4.1.

In summary, it can be observed that the potential objectives set for a public involvement program vary widely. According to some, it is a source of information and a mechanism to demonstrate responsiveness and accountability (Hyman and Stiftel 1988). According to others, it is concerned with social change and community development (Arnstein 1969; Burdge 1990). Others, such as Beck (1992) observe it to be a fundamental phenomena and determinant of decision-making processes. As we will see, debate about the purpose of public involvement has been central to much of the literature on this topic.

Table 4.1: Objectives of Consultation

Purposes	Objectives
To involve people in the planning process and, as a result, make it more likely they will accept the final plan.	*Information exchange:* Bringing planners and citizens together for the purposes of sharing ideas and concerns. *Education:* The dissemination of detailed information about the WHA, the planning process and the consultation program. The goal is to inform and to explain the why and how of the plan. *Support-building:* Initiate activities to facilitate a climate conducive to the acceptance of the proposed plan.
To provide citizens with a voice in planning and decision making in order to improve plans and decisions.	*Decision-making supplement:* Efforts to provide citizens with an opportunity to have input into the planning process. This provides the planners with another dimension to consider. *Representational input:* Efforts to identify the views of the entire community on particular issues in order to create the possibility that subsequent plans will reflect community desires.

(Chesterman and Stone 1992:34).

4.3 Consultation versus participation: Is consultation tokenistic? Degrees of control in public involvement

"The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you" (Arnstein 1969:216).

With these words Arnstein delivered her seminal critique of citizen participation in a range of federal (US) urban planning programs. Her analysis remains pivotal to what continues to be one of the most central debates in the field: to what extent are efforts to involve the public tokenistic, lacking the required degree of delegated authority to make citizen participation meaningful? As Arnstein (1969:216) phrased it:

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"there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcomes of the process."

Sandercock (1994:7; see also Robinson 1993; Beatley *et al.* 1994), lamenting the failure of public participation to generate social change, and the dominance of the "haves" rather than the "have nots" in planning, proclaimed that:

"the demand for public participation in planning has become the great populist red herring of the seventies in Australia."

The central point of these pithy criticisms is that if policy makers and planners seek public involvement, it is necessary, indeed axiomatic, that there be a redistribution of power (Arnstein 1969:215; see also Coit 1984:585; Pateman 1970). According to this view, unless citizens have a genuine opportunity to affect outcomes, public involvement is centrally concerned with "therapy" and "manipulation" of participants (Arnstein 1969:217). Amy (1987:129-31) also regards power as the central variable. He argues that the distribution of power will determine the fairness of a given process because of imbalances of power create persistent patterns of unequal access (Amy 1987:133).

Arnstein (1969) like Pateman (1970) and Amy (1987), emphasise the importance of power in public involvement. Arnstein (1969) conceives of power in public involvement as spanning a spectrum which ranges from "non-participation" through to "degrees of citizen power". Figure 4.1 below shows Arnstein's (1969) typology.

Her point, although rather simple, is of fundamental importance. There are gradations of public involvement in terms of the degree of power or control participants can exercise in seeking to shape the outcome (1969:217). Importantly, Arnstein's typology regards consultation (step 4) as a level of tokenism. Towards the top of the ladder is partnership, in which participants exhibit a high degree of control and power, being able to bargain and engage in trade-offs with power holders. The rungs on the ladder serve to sensitise one to the fact that those who invite the public to participate are able to set the terms of that participation: they can seek to "educate" (2), inform (3) or consult (4), or they delegate

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power through partnership (6) and other means. Or, as Sandercock (1994:9) suggests, "participation can mean most things to most people, according to their preconceived values." Sandercock (1994:10-11) suggests that advocating public involvement without reference to the level of power and control afforded participants may weaken the capacity of government to achieve the objectives desired by a range of social actors by consolidating the position of the middle class in policy making (see also Syme 1992:79; Amy 1987:133).

A further and similar model and critique of public participation was developed by Dennis (1972, see Sandercock 1994; Davies 1992). According to this model, there are five contrasting types, or approaches, to public involvement - participation as market research, as decision-making, as the dissolution of organised opposition, as social therapy, and as grass-roots radicalism (Dennis 1972; Sandercock 1994:9). There are obvious parallels in the two typologies. "Market research" in Dennis' model equates with "manipulation" in Arnstein's; "social therapy" with what Arnstein (1969) regards as the tokenistic exercise of "consultation" and Dennis' "grassroots radicalism" with Arnstein's "citizen control".

Arnstein (1969:215-7) set out to be provocative in presenting her typology. She did so at a time when the activities of social movements dominated US politics and when public involvement was a particularly fashionable call from these movements (see Walsh 1988:587-8). While there have been many criticisms of her critique (see below) few acknowledge her stated aim to challenge the prevailing wisdoms of the late 1960s and few pay heed to the qualifications she applies to her model. Arnstein (1969:217) acknowledges her typology is concerned with only one variable: power[8].

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[8]Others, including Amy (1987); Sandercock (1994); Syme (1992) and Painter (1992) have also emphasised the importance of power in analyses of public involvement in planning.

Figure 4.1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

	Citizen Control	
7	Delegated Power	Degrees of citizen power
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	
4	Consultation	Degrees of tokenism
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	Non-participation
1	Manipulation	
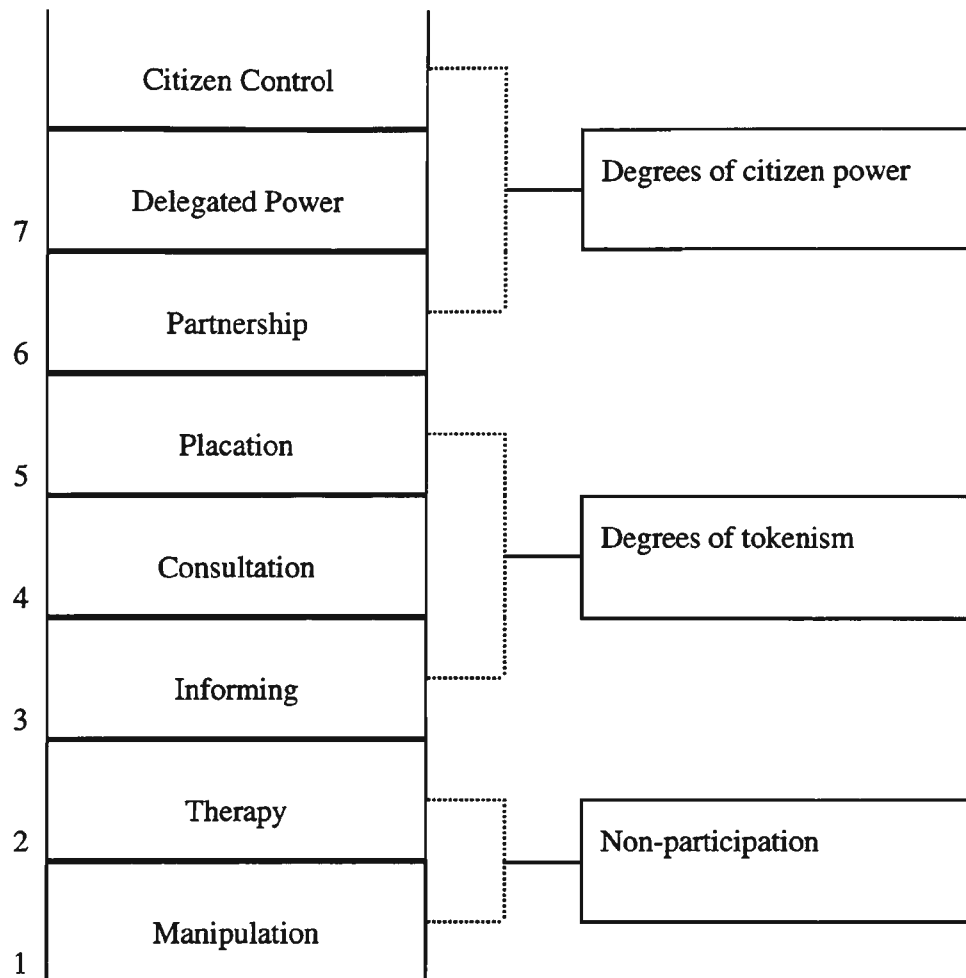
Source: Arnstein 1969: 217

She further agrees that it does not consider other impediments to "genuine participation" such as a lack of political resources among would-be participants. Finally, she acknowledges that an eight rung typology may be overly simplistic, in some instances there might be many more rungs to be added (Arnstein 1969).

More than anything else, critiques such as Arnstein's bring to sharp relief the issue of what degree of access, influence or control constitutes participation. As Painter (1992:22) shows, the size, impersonality and centralised nature of modern governments has underscored long standing calls from some theorists for more direct and significant levels of participation in representative democracies (see also Sandercock 1994:8). The nature of the contemporary state, according to this view, is responsible for precipitating an enhanced concern, on the

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part of activist groups, for increased opportunities for active participation (see Beck 1992; Giddens 1994). Painter (1992:22) argues that in the sphere of urban planning and politics, where resident action has been common, these demands have been met by the adoption of an "official ideology of participation" by institutions and agencies.

These agencies often prefer to describe the opportunities afforded to relevant publics as "consultation." According to the analyses of Arnstein (1969), Pateman (1970) and Dennis (1972), the power and control afforded participants is central to "genuine" participation in decision-making. Consultation is, according to this view, a tokenistic exercise. Painter (1992:23-4) rejects this assertion on two grounds.

First, he argues that these models crudely conceive of power and confuse "power" with "powers". He argues that it is important to distinguish between potential and actual power. While the ultimate, formal decision-making "power" may rest with institutional decision-makers in a consultative process, to regard this as "partial consultation" (Pateman 1970) ignores the fact that if the "exercise of influence [by participants] is effective, then this formal 'power' is an empty shell" (Painter 1992:23). He argues therefore that formal powers are a significant dimension of consultation and participation, but that understanding power requires an assessment of outcomes, rather than simply resting on an analysis of relative power prior to the occurrence of relevant interactions.

The second criticism Painter (1992:24) levels at the models of Arnstein (1969) and Pateman (1970) is that they tend to assume decision-making in policy-making and planning occurs at a single, final point in the process. Such a mistake, "which is encouraged by the conflation of participation and power", ignores the fact that there is rarely an identifiable, or single, "point of decision" in policy-making. As he points out the

> "decisive events and contributions might come at any point ... in policy-making, from setting the agenda, defining problems, collecting information and analysing it, identifying and selecting possible options, legitimising the preferred option by a formal decision, through to implementation and evaluating outcomes" (Painter 1992:24).

To assert therefore, that genuine participation is only achieved by having power in decision-making, ignores the range of benefits which may be associated with being consulted throughout other stages in policy-making and planning. Dialogue and information exchange, which Arnstein (1969) regards as tokenistic, pre-judges the outcome of such interaction according to Painter (1992:24).

This argument informs the defence of consultation mounted by the Commonwealth's Task Force on Co-ordination in Welfare and Heath. The Task Force argued that:

> "Consultation is not simply an inferior part of a "ladder of participation" but has its own rules of success, its own goals and justification. Through consultation important information can be shared; needs can be pinpointed; the range of options to meet any particular purpose can be narrowed; the need for evaluation or review of policies or programs can be assessed; and there can be identification of requirements for action" (1978:11 quoted in Painter 1991:24-5).

Beck (1992:198) argues that herein lies an important change in the traditional rational-choice model of decision-making. Contemporary approaches (and theories), he argues, tend to emphasise consultation and interaction among affected actors in policy formulation and enforcement (Beck 1992:199). This is a matter which is addressed in considerably more detail in the examination of planning theory in chapter five.

In summary, it has been observed that one of the most influential analytical models of public involvement, developed by Arnstein (1969), conceives of public involvement occurring at a number of "levels". According to this model, the level of involvement is determined by the degree of influence or control being delegated, from decision-making agencies, to the public. This model remains an important conceptual tool in the field. It highlights that in formal public involvement programs, agencies determine the nature of the involvement opportunities being afforded to particular stakeholders. However, as Painter (1992) has shown, the participation of the stakeholders in policy and planning processes is not limited to formal consultative procedures. The application of power and influence in policy and planning processes therefore, can occur within these formal consultative frameworks or within the wider system of government and policy-making and, indeed,

within the wider polity. As Beck (1992) has pointed out, the model of decision-making has also changed, creating a greater demand and expectation for participatory decision-making. The principal utility of this debate in this context therefore, is that it reveals that any analysis of public involvement in planning must be concerned with both formal and informal policy-making arenas. In addition, it shows that the uses to which public involvement can be put depend on the nature of the decision-making processes that they are meant to serve.

4.4 Alternate frameworks for understanding public involvement

The models presented by Arnstein (1969), Pateman (1970) and Dennis (1972 in Davies 1992) are the most famous frameworks for understanding and analysing public involvement. These models, as we have seen, have become pivotal touchstones in the arguments presented in much of the literature on this topic. In this section, alternate and more recent frameworks for understanding public involvement are examined. The first, presented by Ross (1992), emerges from an analysis of opportunities for Australian Aboriginal communities to participate in social impact assessment. Given that some of the central stakeholders considered in the case study planning process used in this thesis are indigenous, there would appear merit in considering this framework - notwithstanding the differences in the planning context. Ross's (1992) framework could also apply to other planning contexts and stakeholder groups.

Ross (1992:58-60) posits a four part framework which appears to implicitly draw upon Arnstein's (1969) model. Her framework is as follows:

i.   *Consultation:* Ross (1992:58) conceives of this as a process of engaging in dialogue and information exchange. It is described as a more limited form of participation, although the "more genuine the proponent is in encouraging the discussion of alternatives, the more meaningful the consultation." Importantly Ross (1992:58-9) suggests that the social context requires sensitivity to Aboriginal decision-making processes, which she describes as "consensus" decision-making. Importantly, given that all people with traditional affiliations to an area must be heard, decision-making processes often take longer to reach a conclusion.

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ii.   *Negotiation*: This is depicted as "a more equal form of participation" in which decisions are reached through bargaining. Ross (1992:59) implicitly suggests power is an important dimension to the capacity of actors to engage in negotiation. When parties to the negotiation enjoy similar power or influence, negotiated outcomes are more likely, although Ross (1992: 59) maintains this is not a pre-requisite to successful bargaining.

iii. *Joint planning:* This approach to participation is presented as emerging from the "win-win" model of negotiation (following Fisher and Ury 1981) which posits an open-ended process in which parties to the process search for solutions to mutual benefit. The examples cited include joint management arrangements of Australian National Parks, such as the Uluru national park.

iv.   *Campaigning*: A final option for Aboriginal people involved in impact assessment processes is to vacate formal processes and concentrate on other political activities, such as campaigning and protest, to achieve their ends (Ross 1992:62).

The second framework suggested by Painter (1992:25), which was developed following analyses of consultative exercises undertaken by government agencies, has similar components. It is, in part, premised on the notion that consultation is a useful, potentially influential activity, rather then tokenistic as Arnstein (1969) would have it. In addition, it is a model which is concerned with efforts to influence decision-makers, rather than matters such as group formation. It is a three part model:

i.   *Information exchange*: This is described as an exercise in communication designed to make new information available to agencies. Although it is often limited in effect, it can, according to Painter (1992:15) be quiet influential. The disadvantages of engaging in this activity, from the perspective of outside groups, include facing a controlled agenda, a lack of resources, the use of delay and diffusion tactics and cooption (Painter 1992:30).

ii.   *Negotiation:* This is a process of exchange which is concerned with reaching a settlement. A pre-condition to engaging in such an interaction is a conditional commitment to reaching a settlement. The process involves the "deployment of information, the presentation of arguments in a rational format ... and the use of threats and inducements to try to achieve a resolution" (Painter 1992:26). Importantly, Painter (1992:26) distinguishes negotiation from bargaining in that the former involves face to face interactions.

iii. *Protest:* This is an oppositional, rather than a co-operative, form of participation. It may be conceived of as part of a wider bargaining process. Pursuit of this approach avoids the risk of cooption, however it may obviate entirely opportunities for co-operation in the form of negotiation (Painter 1992:30).

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An important final point to Painter's model (1992:27) is his insistence that outside groups are able to choose from a range of strategies for participation. Amy (1987:146) would argue however, that the range of strategies available to a potential participant is an important source of power in participation. While Painter (1992:27) point out that groups are not compelled to engage in co-operative participation in pluralist political environments, Amy (1987:146) views power - broadly conceived - as being central to the outcomes of participation.

Finally, examination of these frameworks reinforce the point that the extent and purpose of public involvement depends on the nature of the decision-making process. The extent of delegation for instance, is entirely dependent on the approach of the planning or policy-making agency. In the view of the author, this is a mater which is rarely addressed in the literature.

4.5 The costs of participation

To this point, the emphasis has been to understand the functions and benefits of public participation in planning. We have seen that some commentators consider that the benefits of involvement have, in the past, been overstated. In recent years a more modest assessment of the benefits of public involvement has ensued. This assessment has, in part, been concerned to eschew earlier analyses which viewed substantial power in decision-making as the sole criterion of 'meaningful' public involvement (Sandercock 1994; Painter 1992; *cf.* Arnstein 1969; Pateman 1970; Dennis 1972; Davies 1992). But what of the costs of public involvement? In this section the major costs of participation in planning are briefly considered.

Robinson (1993:321) presents a five-part analysis of the less functional attributes of public involvement:

- it is useful in policy-making and planning but is inappropriate in adjudicative contexts where a final determination is required (*cf.* Canan and Pring 1988);

- it is inefficient, causing substantial delays and costs in the policy formulation process (see also Davies 1992:20). Andresen (1989:29) argues that the increased attention of the public may increase (or decrease) the range of alternatives under consideration, thereby adding to the costs, delays and potential for conflict in decision-making;

- some interests are under-represented while others have privileged access to policy-makers. This renders the planning or policy-making process inequitable (see also Gariepy 1991; Beatley *et al.* 1994; Liggett 1991; Heiman 1990; Amy 1987; Nowak *et al.* 1982; Hutcheson 1984; Rickson *et al.* 1993; *cf.* Kellow 1992);

- the development ethic of public involvement[9] (ie enhancing the legitimacy of government and its decisions; improving decision-making) in public involvement is over-stated, non-specific and difficult to measure (see also Sandercock 1994; Painter 1992; *cf.* Hyman and Stiftel 1988; Gariepy 1991; Kellow 1992); and

- public involvement leads to procedural formality and excessive legalism (*cf.* Kellow 1992).

To this catalogue of complaints, Davies (1992:20-1) adds:

- the public may threaten professionals' sense of institutional security by attacking the institution (see also Andresen 1989:29-32; Kiernan 1983);

- citizens lack the technical expertise to engage in discourse effectively (see also Andresen 1989:34). Amy (1987:144) views scientific literacy as an important source of power in participation); and

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[9]The "development ethic" Robinson (1993:231) refers to is generally described as the legitimacy and efficiency functions of public involvement (see Hyman and Stiftel 1988; Gariepy 1991).

• conflicts between stakeholders may be aggravated by public involvement, diminishing rather than enhancing government policy and its acceptance (see also Sandercock 1994; Andresen 1989:29).

In summary, it can be seen that public involvement is no panacea. A range of difficulties and problems have been observed. The following section examines the more important issues in greater detail.

4.6 Critical Issues in Public Involvement in Planning: The Search for Equity

4.6.1 Introduction

Although public participation has been institutionalised in most planning processes, and a substantial, if sporadic, literature examines the issue, effective participation has often proved elusive. This is probably because the field is a relatively new one and because the functions and purposes of public involvement in planning have often not been clearly articulated (Stone 1992:95). Indeed, Salomon commented that "participation is a concept in search of a meaning" (cited in Gariepy 1991:354), while Creighton has referred to it as "theology .. in search of a method" (1983:2).

Having considered the purpose of participation in detail, and having examined the supposed costs and benefits of involving the public in planning, it is now appropriate to review the body of empirical evidence regarding the practice and outcomes of public involvement in planning. The passage of time and the weight of literature and research now enables us to distil the central conceptual themes which have emerged from the experience of public involvement programs. As a result of the nature of this literature, and the fact that it emanates from the planning and geography disciplines, it is almost exclusively concerned with the implications of participation for planning. The earlier sociological literature, as we have seen, is more concerned with explaining the composition of participant groups in sociological terms.

This section examines the major conceptual themes which emerge from the planning literature. The objective is to consider these themes in terms of the implications for the development and conduct of public involvement programs. What is revealed by this examination is that attempts to involve the public, to ensure that **all** interests in plural planning contexts are equitably expressed and accommodated, is difficult. Indeed, what the analysis which is to follow will show, is that equity - both in participation and in terms of outcomes - is an elusive goal.

Amy (1987) is particularly helpful on this point. He argues that the distribution of power is fundamental to determining whether opportunities for participation are accessed. He argues that:

> "access is an important factor in any policy-making process. Access determines how representative these processes are, and this in turn determines how just and democratic the final policy outcomes are likely to be" (Amy 1987:132).

This raises a challenge to the pluralist conception of power - that it is roughly equally distributed throughout society - which is of crucial importance to planners. Amy (1987:132) argues that a number of thinkers

> "have taken issue with the pluralist vision of power in politics. They have argued that there exists a persistent inequality between interests groups in American politics, with a decided bias in favour of large business and financial institutions."

Equity of and in participation looms as an important issue for planners seeking to engage with a diverse constituency as the literature presented below reveals.

4.6.2 Selection in participation

The potential for public involvement programs to select for certain actors is perhaps the most important issue as it explains the patterns of participation in most situations. The selection model suggests that patterns of participation are not uniform in any given population and vary according to age, socio-economic status, education, ethnicity, gender and other factors (Heiman 1990:361; Amy 1987:130; Nowak *et al.* 1982). The typical

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selection of participants favours segments of the population with a relatively high socio-economic status. Higher socio-economic groups are more likely to participate and are more likely to be effective than groups characterised by lower socio-economic status (Beatley *et al.* 1994:186; Heiman 1990:361; Robinson 1993:324; Amy 1987:130; Liggett 1991; Nowak *et al.* 1982; Hutcheson 1984:184).

Sandercock (1994:11) addresses the importance of this issue and is worth quoting at length:

> "One of the two great dangers .... is that it might result in ... placing power in the hands not of 'the people' but of a gaggle of small groups of committed activists. The second great danger is that we place much more power at the disposal of the best organisers, the middle class".

Although class is the most common sociological variable raised in this context, it is recognised that participation programs can select for a range of others. Sandercock and Forsyth (1992; see also Hillier 1995), for instance, have observed that the nature of the language used can introduce a gender bias in public involvement programs. Similarly, language and cultural factors may also be important in cross-cultural contexts. If, as is the case with many indigenous communities, minority language and cultural perspectives are combined with low-levels of literacy and education, participation programs which rely on printed material are likely to be spectacularly unsuccessful (see Ross 1992:58-9). Some argue that, in these situations, advocates are needed to express the interests of less articulate components of the planning community (Hyman and Stiftel 1988:48).

Hutcheson (1984:185) and Gariepy (1991:364) further argue that for issues specific to local areas, participants tend to be the owners of properties and that ownership is a key variable in motivation and mobilisation. Others (see Rickson *et al.* 1993:15) maintain that land ownership is important in farmers participation on conservation issues, whilst acknowledging that class, political and religious factors may also be responsible for variation in participation. Syme and Eaton (1989:102) highlight the importance of location, observing that people tend to participate locally rather than regionally.

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It has been demonstrated that in conflict situations however, the selection model is not an accurate test of political behaviour. This is because conflict tends to increase knowledge and information availability, thereby enhancing the capacity of some actors (initially passive) to effectively participate (Nowak *et al.* 1982). This is especially pertinent given the conflicts which occasionally surround planning and impact assessment issues (Rickson *et al.* 1990).

The importance of this issue is directly related to the purposes which public involvement is meant to serve in planning. In attempting to balance competing uses, values or demands for a resource or area, and in seeking to ensure the optimal use of resources, public involvement has emerged as an important means of ensuring that the interests of all actors are considered in making planning decisions and choices. In doing so, and particularly following the "outgrowth of a succession of social movements in the 1960's and 1970's", social equity has emerged as an important, even fundamental issue to planning (Chapin and Kaiser 1979:54-5). If public participation, a measure designed, in part, to ensure equitable definition of planning choices and outcomes results in an inequitable depiction of the values and interests of relevant social actors (Chapin and Kaiser 1979:55), the role of public involvement can be said to have been substantially undermined.

4.6.3   Mobilisation and participation

In contrast to the selection issue in political participation, the mobilisation model suggests that the experience of groups and individuals in decision-making processes is a factor of greater importance. The mobilisation explanation asserts that participation in group processes (through memberships in clubs and associations; or previous experience in political participation) equips actors with the skills and knowledge required for effective participation (Nowak *et al.* 1982:334). Participation is, in other words, a learning process (Beatley *et al.* 1994:194; see also Heiman 1990:359). This model relies, to some extent, on the premise that people are more likely to participate if they think that their participation will make a difference (Gariepy 1991:371; Syme and Eaton 1989:102; Nowak *et al.* 1982:334-5; Wandersman 1979: 467).

However, Gariepy (1991:371) in his study of project assessment in Quebec, Canada, found that the role of learning was quite limited. He found that most actors participated only once, despite being afforded repeated opportunities. He concluded therefore, that perceptions of potential participants about their likely effectiveness, and the responsiveness of decision-making agencies, were critical factors in maintaining participation levels. He further implies that the tendency for planning agencies to be mostly concerned with those influential and previously "troublesome" stakeholders further against repetitive participation by some actors (1991:371-2).

Beatley and others (1994:194-5) by contrast found that learning was significant in their study of representation in comprehensive planning in Austin, USA. Indeed their study revealed a dilemma for participants as they developed a knowledge of the issues and the process. Originally participants represented particular constituencies but as their knowledge developed, individual representatives began to act more independently, participating and voting on the basis of their knowledge rather than in accordance with their representative role (Beatley *et al.* 1994:195).

McClendon (1993:145-7) raises another issue associated with mobilisation which has become particularly important in the planning and management of protected areas. He argues that the central task of the planner is to empower stakeholders to take responsibility for planning issues and problems. He argues that planners should:

> "work to empower and reinforce the self-sufficiency of their customers. Successful planners are using volunteerism, self-help and coproduction techniques to ensure that their customers are given actual authority and shared responsibility for solving these problems" (McClendon 1993:147).

This is congruent, of course, with the rationale for co-management of protected areas and the importance of volunteerism in conservation planning and management (see Rao and Geisler 1990; Campbell 1994; Bradby 1991). Mobilisation or empowerment according to McClendon (1993) and others (see Friedmann 1992; Howitt 1993; Hillier 1993; Gagnon *et al.* 1993) ought to be a central objective of planners in their interactions with stakeholders.

4.6.4 Participation, Co-option and Conflict

One of the most influential critiques of the use of public involvement in planning has come from those who claim it to be concerned with co-option and pacification rather than the promise of change and accommodation minority and other interests. According to this view, participation encourages conciliation to obtain minimal concessions in exchange for co-operation (Chesterman and Stone 1992:113). By "buying-off" or co-opting important stakeholders, planning agencies reduce the frequency of criticisms made against them, and, at the same time, incorporate an important constituent into the policy community (Painter 1992:27-8). In this context, the policy community is considered to be the most important forum for decision-making (Painter 1992:28).

Central to this view is the issue of conflict and the way in which decision-making agencies respond to it. Conflict, of various kinds and intensities is almost an inevitable result of an open decision-making process in which the public has information and knowledge of relevant issues. Conflict generated by a public involvement program can be an indicator that the program is effective in disseminating information and clarifying the issues (CICMUFIGSR & TCONSW 1990:1). Indeed, research indicates that where participation commences early the planning process, and when planning open, responsive and disseminates information, conflict is usually focussed on specific matters, rather than on impeding the planning or development process as a whole (Syme 1992:79).

It is important to understand co-option from the varying perspectives of actors and agencies involved in a planning process. For some groups, co-option may be an important indicator of successful participation. Being co-opted may represent the opportunity to generate desired changes from "the inside" (see Papadakis 1993). For other groups, those which are anti-institutional in terms of focus and political style, co-option is better understood as representing an important danger of participation in formal public involvement processes. For these groups, successful participation is measured in terms of being able to resist dominant norms and mores and to consistently challenge hegemonic cultural patterns (Papadakis 1993:34). A bumper sticker popular in the conservation movement which urges us to "subvert the dominant paradigm" is an example of this political sentiment. For the

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planning agency concerned to use public involvement for clearly defined management purposes, co-option is an important and obvious strategy. Importantly, attempts to co-opt a particular actor need to be based on an analysis of the perspective of that actor to institutional politics.

4.6.5 Corporatism

A further important issue in the area of public involvement acknowledges the active, rather than passive, role of the state in policy and decision-making. Commentators, drawing from both pluralist and neo-Marxist perspectives on the state (see Head 1983:21-3), have observed the tendency for the state to gain the cooperation of important interest groupings by drawing their leaders into centres of state power. This approach by the state is known as "incorporation" and decisions made by the state and influential constituents are described as "corporatist" (Head 1983:30; Painter 1992:28; Beck 1992:188). The commonly cited example of corporatism is the tendency of Labor governments to incorporate trade unions into the determination of key areas of economic policy, such as wages (Head 1983:30).

In some recent research, Gariepy (1991:371-2) has argued, on the basis of his studies of participation in impact studies in Quebec, that there is a tendency for a select number of groups, on the basis of their efficacy, influence and access to decision-makers, to "express themselves through corporatist type agreements" (1991:372). Thorne and Purcell (1992) argue that this is particularly true of programs composed primarily of public meetings and submissions. Such an approach to public involvement they argue, selects for pre-existing lobbies, and heightens the likelihood of unrepresentative comment. Robinson (1993:325; see also Beck 1992:188) suggests that corporatist decision-making is widespread, and, by empowering elite interests, is undemocratic. Others suggests that it is a necessary corrective to the dominance of the state apparatus in decision-making (Beck 1992:188).

Painter (1992:28) refines the notion of corporatism as it applies to public involvement programs of the state, by drawing on the notion of "policy communities". He observes that

> "[the] state's involvement in things such as health, land use planning and education generates arenas of political conflict among individuals and groups whose roles and interests have been shaped by state action. Policy-making is largely carried out in policy communities" (Painter 1992:28).

Amy (1987:136-7) brings a another dimension to a discussion of corporatist agreements or "sweet-heart deals" as he calls them. He suggests that:

> "when certain groups are left out ... there is an increased chance that their interests may be inadvertently ignored in the final agreement. But there is also the possibility that those who do take part in the negotiation effort might intentionally conspire to violate the interest of those who are left out"

This reinforces the importance of equity of access in helping to shape the degree of equity in the outcome of any participatory process.

In part, increased calls for direct participation is a result of the dominance of policy communities in policy-making and disillusionment with being excluded from corporatist decisions. Importantly, corporatist and unrepresentative outcomes are antithetic to the notion of public involvement which seeks to maximise the internalisation of the interests of all actors in the planning community and legitimise planning decisions by engaging in an open and accountable decision-making process.

4.6.6 Localism

There is also evidence to suggest that participation is more likely to be achieved if the issues under consideration are local in nature, rather than regional or national (Gariepy 1991; Syme and Eaton 1989:102; Sandercock 1994:15). Some (see, for instance, Rickson *et al.* 1993:15) emphasise the importance of proprietary interests in this local participation. Sandercock (1994:15) argues that given that the capacity for communities, individuals and groups to participate is finite, we should not be surprised if it is local issues which generate greatest interest. She argues that public involvement on macro-policy issues and regional

issues has largely been a failure (1986:17-8). The capability and motivation of locally-oriented actors is perhaps this is explained by the "delocalization" of politics which results as a functional necessity in the contemporary state (Beck 1992:192). This delocalisation necessitates locally-based mobilisation and agitation if local concerns are to considered in political structures and processes dominated by national and trans-national agenda (see also Wolsink 1994).

One manifestation of the dominance of locally derived motivation in planning is the popular use of the term NIMBY (not in my backyard) to describe groups opposing a particular proposal in their environment. There are a number of important issues to be considered here. Firstly, the prominence and popularity of the term among planners and agency staff reinforces the perspective, common in the literature, that locally-based groups are important participants in planning. The frequent use of the term may be related to an on-going conundrum in planning: how to reconcile regional or national costs and benefits with those borne at the local level. Some have suggested that planning often inadequately deals with this conundrum (Rickson *et al.* 1990:3-4). While others (see Wolsink 1994:855; Heiman 1990:360) challenge the assumption that the "public interest" is a higher one than a local one. He argues that:

> "what is called a higher interest is also a matter of power. As a rule institutions perceive the interests they themselves represent as "higher" than the interests of others, particularly if they have the power to let their own interests prevail" (Wolsink 1994:855).

A second, and related issue concerns the nature of the term itself and what this suggests about professional conceptions of planning. Gariepy (1991:364) describes NIMBY as a

> "pejorative term technocrats and developers frequently use to stigmatise their opponents as being narrowly self-interested."

According to this view, the use of the term NIMBY can be seen to be strongly associated with a conception of planning which regards "the public interest" as an imperative while local (NIMBY) interests are regarded as an impediment to pursuit of common goals. The term stigmatises the needs and fears of communities as selfish, parochial and irrational

(Gariepy 1991:364; Lake 1993:89-91; Heiman 1990:360). Lake (1993:88) is also highly critical of the pejorative language of planners and decision-makers in relation to "locally unwanted land uses" (LULUs). He analyses this prejudice however, in terms of a conflict between the demands of capital and people which "constitute[s] a locational solution to an industrial production problem" (Lake 1993:88; see also Heiman 1990). He argues that such conflicts are:

> "induced and mediated by state intervention seeking to alleviate a crisis of capital in ways that privilege capital over community" (Lake 1993:89).

Tauxe (1995) brings an anthropological analysis to local conflicts in planning and suggests that the marginalisation of local views in planning reflects the power of dominant cultural values. She argues that

> "the discursive conflict between local and bureaucratic planning styles reflect[s] the deeper conflict between the sets of cultural values .... In particular, those whose discourse continued to reflect local conventional norms tended to refer to moralistic ethics, whereas those using the bureaucratic style referred to legalistic ethics" (Tauxe 1995:477).

Tauxe (1995), like Lake (1993) and Gariepy (1991), regard these matters as being crucial to the fairness and democratic nature of planning and decision-making. If planning and public involvement is to be more than an exercise in legitimising the interests of the state and capital, "it must not only democratize formal institutions and procedures, but also make room for non-bureaucratic discourse and organisational forms" (Tauxe 1995:479).

4.6.7 Summary

What emerges from this examination is that it is difficult to ensure that the involvement of the public is equitable. This review reveals that there are a number of potential sources of inequality in participation (and potentially, planning outcomes). Inequity in participation, through selection for instance, is the result of social and economic factors which ensure that certain stakeholders are likely to be able to use their opportunities for participation more effectively than others. Similarly, the degree of influence or power demonstrated by a

particular actor in a policy community may ensure that privileged access is entrenched, either through the deliberate establishment of corporatist style agreements with policy-makers, or by co-option.

The fact that equitable participation in planning has proved elusive reflects a long-standing truism of sociological analyses of political participation (Pateman 1970; Amy 1987:132; Robinson 1993:324). Political participation has been shown to vary according to a range of social and economic factors. That participation in planning programs is also not uniform should therefore not be surprising. It may however have important consequences for planning.

If there is an absence of equity of access to planners and planning processes, and the politics of planning and participation produce unfair and undemocratic outcomes, the fundamental goal of planning as it has been envisioned for more than a century will have been undermined. If planning outcomes, as a result of the sorts of factors described above, are systematically unfair and undemocratic, one might ask: for whom does the planner work? (Forrester 1989:37; Friedmann 1994:379; Hillier 1993:90). As Friedmann (1994:379), commenting on the political nature of planning, has said:

> "Politics is of the essence a process that involves not only planners and bureaucrats but many other interested parties. How planners will act in this maze of interdependencies hinges on where they stand, and in whose interests they defend."

4.7 Participation and Indigenous people in Australia

4.7.1 Introduction

This section considers the participation of indigenous people in planning. In particular, owing to the particular geographic focus of this study, it considers the participation of

Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in planning[10]. The literature on this topic is sporadic and comes from diverse starting points. As has been noted elsewhere in this chapter, the sociological and political science literatures on participation are largely silent on issues associated with indigenous participation. While European-Australian and Aboriginal populations are far from homogenous in their respective values and interests, the broad cultural and social organisational differences between the two ethnic categories demand that they are treated separately. It should be noted however, that many of the issues canvassed above (selection, co-option etc.) might equally apply to Aboriginal populations. In general terms, the literature which does exist on Australian indigenous participation assumes that indigenous cultural frameworks are fundamental to the way in which indigenous people respond to opportunities for political participation (see Craig 1991:4).

Whereas there is an advanced literature on participation (of western European populations) which emerges from sociology and political science, the literature on Aboriginal participation emerges primarily from planning practice (see for example Coombs *et al.* 1989; Craig 1991; Ross 1990, 1992). The literature emerges therefore, from the involvement of Aboriginal communities, anthropologists and other advisers in development approval and other processes. As a result of the prominence of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in contemporary planning, and because of the impacts of development on indigenous peoples, much of this literature is focused on Aboriginal participation in EIA[11] (eg. Ross 1990, 1992; Lane and Dale 1995). There is, finally, a smaller literature emanating from anthropology which deals with these matters. This literature has developed out of the involvement of anthropologists in debates about indigenous policy and with land claims (von Sturmer 1985:41-5; Thiele 1985:47-9; Dixon 1990; Sutton 1995) and from anthropological involvement in development projects (Chase 1990; Lane and Chase 1995).

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[10] Aboriginal people constitute the overwhelming majority of indigenous people in the study area. The few Torres Strait Islanders living in and around the WHA, in communities such as Yarrabah, have no traditional affiliation with the area. As a result, the analysis which follows concentrates on Aboriginal people. Notwithstanding the specific focus on Aboriginal people, some of comments which follow equally pertain to Torres Strait Islanders.

[11] This literature is applicable to this context because, according to some (see Armour 1990 and McDonald and Brown 1990) environmental impact assessment is a component of wider planning systems. .

Drawing on this literature, this section will seek to identify the major themes and issues concerning Aboriginal involvement in planning. It will show that Aboriginal cultural orientations are an important variable in participation. Indeed, it will be argued that the nature of traditional Aboriginal social organisation renders the typical approaches to participation - based on delegation and representation - redundant. It is argued that methods used to enhance Aboriginal participation in planning processes need to based on an accurate conception of the nature of Aboriginality and the reality of Aboriginal social organisation.

4.7.2 Indigenous Participation: Over-arching Issues

Prior to distilling the essential elements in Aboriginal participation, it is important to examine a number of over-arching issues which have a significant influence on indigenous participation. These factors are, in sum, related to the history of contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples, the colonial relations with indigenes and, in addition, to the subordinate position Aboriginal people occupy in contemporary Australian economic and political life.

A substantial body of literature on Aboriginal involvement in land and resource planning highlights the propensity for decision-makers to overlook, ignore or misinterpret Aboriginal perspectives (see for example Howitt 1989; Chase 1990; Howitt 1993; Ross 1990; Lane and Dale 1995). The politics of development, it is argued, is such that the particular cultural perspectives of indigenous people are rendered invisible. Indeed, the "invisibility" of Aboriginal interests is a major theme of the literature in this field.

This raises two important issues. First, it is apparent that it is the traditional cultural perspectives of indigenous people which differentiate them from other local residents in terms of being involved in planning. The literature asserts that the **unique** cultural perspectives of Aboriginal people make their participation essential because it will be otherwise invisible in decision-making (see Chase 1990; Lane and Dale 1995; Ross 1992; Howitt 1993). The second issue which flows from this literature is the capacity of indigenous people to participate effectively in planning processes. Many analysts

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emphasise the fact that, in general, a range of factors inhibit the efficacy of Aboriginal participation. These factors include language and cultural barriers (Craig 1991; Lane 1993; Ross 1992); geographic isolation (Chase 1990); a lack of resources (Dale and Lane 1994) and a lack of familiarity with European-Australian planning and decision-making processes (Ross 1992; Lane 1993). As a result of the barriers to effective Aboriginal participation, a number of commentators have suggested, (following Hyman and Stiftel 1988), that the participation of indigenous people should be facilitated by strategies explicitly designed to enhance their capacity to do so. "Empowering" Aboriginal people to participate is a common theme in the literature (Craig 1990; Howitt 1989, 1993; Ross 1990; Lane 1993; Lane and Dale 1995).

The issue of the disenfranchisement of Aboriginal people from European-Australian planning processes, particularly in the highly political field of resource planning, combined with the difficulty of understanding and reconciling the nature of indigenous perspectives, has led some to conclude that Aboriginal **control**, rather than participation, is the primary consideration. Ross (1992:49-50) observes that Aboriginal organisations have been arguing for control of relevant processes, notwithstanding the constraints on absolute control in most contexts (see also Ross and Bray 1989). Boggs (1982) shows that similar demands have also been made in indigenous contexts in north America. Indeed, these calls are closely associated with the modern era of self-determination in indigenous affairs policy both in Australia and overseas. Commenting on this dynamic, von Sturmer (1985:48) cautions that calls of indigenous control and self-determination "may be discovered as concealing a discourse aimed at drawing them inexorably into the corporate State...". The potential for the bureaucratization of Aboriginal communities and organisations under the guise of control is echoed by Ross (1992:49) who observes that it has been associated with an increasing administrative burden and little else (see also Lane and Chase 1995).

This notion of control is most frequently heard in three contexts. First, a number of commentators have argued for enhanced Aboriginal control of impact assessment research (see Lane and Dale 1995; Howitt 1993; Ross 1992). Second, and more importantly, community-based planning has emerged as an approach to planning which overcomes the problems of Aboriginal marginalisation and misinterpretation of Aboriginal perspectives

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and aspirations (see Dale 1993b). The essence of community-based planning is a planning process which facilitates community development through community control of the planning activity (Dale 1993b:107). The central characteristic of community-based planning is community control. The premise is that community control will obviate the difficulties of imposed planning and development activities (Dale 1993b:107). There are few examples of community-based planning in the Australian literature. Howitt and others (1990) describe an application of community-based planning in central Australia, while Dale (1991) examines a community-based planning approach to resource management at the Kowanyama Aboriginal community on Cape York Peninsula. It is important to observe that, in respect of the planning context in the case study used in this thesis, that the planning process in which Aboriginal people are being invited to participate in is one which is regional in nature and is being conducted by a central agency over a variety of tenures, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. Community-based planning therefore, is not a feasible model in these circumstances.

The third context in which calls for Aboriginal control of relevant processes are heard is in relation to joint-management of protected areas (see Craig 1992; De Lacey 1994; Toyne and Johnson 1991). According to most prescriptions of joint-management, an Aboriginal majority on decision-making panels, combined with recognition of traditional land ownership, is critical to reconciling Aboriginal rights with conservation objectives (Toyne and Johnson 1991). The degree of control sought by Aboriginal peoples is, of course, difficult for the professional manager to concede, given external demands for high-quality conservation management.

4.7.3 Aboriginal participation

What then, are the critical elements to Aboriginal participation in planning? The literature on this topics highlights the importance of Aboriginal traditional culture as being crucial to Aboriginal participation in planning.

As has been noted above, the focus of much of the literature on Aboriginal participation concerns traditional culture and associated perspectives on land and resource use (see Ross

1990; Berger 1985; Craig 1991; Howitt 1989; Lane and Dale 1995). There are two dimensions to the role of traditional culture in the context of participation. First, many suggest that unless opportunities which are provided for indigenous participation are sensitive to Aboriginal norms and mores, the involvement of indigenous people will be thwarted (eg Ross 1990; Craig 1991; Dale 1993b). Second, much of the literature is premised on the notion that it is the traditional cultural knowledge of certain people which is important because it is this knowledge and perspective which distinguishes indigenous people from other resident communities (Ross 1990; Chase 1990; Lane and Dale 1995). According to this view, Aboriginal people deserve to be afforded opportunities for participation in planning because they have traditional cultural, as well as other, interests.

The nature of these traditional interests is observed by the literature to be local in nature. The localised nature of traditional interests is observed by a number of commentators (see Howitt 1993; Bowles 1982; Dale 1993a; Lane and Chase 1995). Given the prominence of the theme of locality in the literature it is appropriate that, at this juncture, we examine the nexus between locale and traditional social organisation in Australian Aboriginal societies.

The acknowledged authoritative statement of Aboriginal social and territorial organisation comes from Stanner (1965). Stanner (1965:1) observes that territory and locality in pre-contact Aboriginal societies are not the same. He differentiates between the *estate* and the *range* of the patrilineal clan group. An estate is the traditionally recognised locus of the patrilineal descent group. The estate is the core or nucleus of the territory possessed by the patrilineal clan. While the boundaries of clan estates do not appear to be rigid or precise, Stanner (19865:12) suggests that there can be no doubt over what may be called the heartland of any groups's estate. Peterson (1975:59-63) argues that there are good ecological reasons why the territorial organisation of Aborigines was not characterised by the maintenance of rigid boundaries. It enabled the adjustment of group size according to the availability of resources. As long as the number of local groups or bands in regular association with a territory - usually demarcated by common language use - remained constant, the resources of that area could be managed (Peterson 1965:61).

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By contrast to the *estate* of a particular descent group, the *range* is the tract or orbit over which the group, hunted and foraged to sustain life (Stanner 1965:2-3). The range usually included the estate, although in certain circumstances the two could become practically disassociated. Whereas the range was important for economic reasons, the estate was central to Aboriginal social organisation and cultural identity (Stanner 1965:2-3).

What is the implication of this social and territorial organisation for the involvement of Aborigines in planning processes? Howitt (1993:132) suggests that participatory strategies must be based on consensus and direct involvement in order to account for the highly local and particular nature of Aboriginal social organisation. He argues that western notions of delegation and representation in political decision-making processes are inapplicable (1993:132). The argument here is that the intensely localised nature of Aboriginal social and territorial organisation render approaches based on representation inappropriate. Dale (1993a) concurs. He suggests that the participatory strategies needs to be based on "the right people talking for the right country."

As Dixon (1990:66-7) has shown however, this model of Aboriginal political participation derived from an analysis of Aboriginal social organisation, has been under attack. Citing Thiele (1984), Dixon (1990:66) observes the operation of a false doctrine of Aboriginality based on an assumption that all Aborigines have the same interest, that Aborigines form an Australia-wide group and that they are all bound by common cultural or religious ties. Dixon (1990:66-7) argues that this doctrine of "pan-Aboriginality", being fallacious, causes substantial problems when it becomes an analytical framework or basis for European-Australian policy processes. In particular, Dixon objects to the notion that Aborigines are a passive, choiceless group in society which, he argues, this false doctrine engenders.

Anderson (1985:41) argues that as a result of the:

> "intensely local-oriented, fragmented nature of many Aboriginal societies, it was inevitable that there should emerge questions about the nature of any pan-Aboriginal identity."

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That Aboriginal social organisation is local, fragmented and diverse is beyond dispute. The nature of Aboriginal social organisation and cultural orientation does not obviate however, the need for Aboriginal involvement in relevant policy processes. Anderson again:

> "to assert the existence of "Aboriginality" is not to assume that Aborigines form a wholly coherent unified body, nor is it to presume the impetus or source for such common identity or aspects thereof (1985:42)."

Neither the convenience of pan-Aboriginal assumptions for European-Australian policy-makers, nor the enhanced Aboriginal political mobilisation which may be promoted by fictitious notions of Aboriginal homogeneity are cause to ignore the complexity of Aboriginal cultural and political reality. Indeed, failure to consider these realities, may prove to be a major impediment to involving Aborigines meaningfully in relevant planning and policy processes.

In sum, therefore, it may be argued that:

> "Aboriginal perspectives of land and environment are comprised of an integrated Aboriginal system of knowledge, rules and actions which are reproduced as part of a continuing recognition of traditional group relations to territory, and are based upon the authoritative recognition of certain peoples to control these knowledges, rules and actions. ..... it is this very process of <u>authoritative recognition</u> which forms the principal stumbling block to the many attempts by outside organisations (mainly but not exclusively governmental) which seek at least in bureaucratic rhetoric to recognise Aboriginal perspectives to land and natural resources" (Lane and Chase 1995).

4.7.4 Summary

The section has examined a number of matters critical to the participation of Australian Aboriginal people in planning processes. One of the important conclusions of this review is that the economic and political subordination of Aboriginal people in Australian society is associated with, to varying degrees, a disenfranchisement of Aboriginal people from political process. Several commentators have suggested that, in the context of resource

development at least, this has resulted in Aboriginal people and their interests being rendered invisible by development approval and other processes.

A further important conclusion of this review relates to the importance of traditional social and cultural organisation to Aboriginal participation. It was observed that traditional cultural issues are important to both the need for Aboriginal involvement in planning and in raising a series of complexities associated with Aboriginal people. In relation to the former observation, it is concluded that the unique nature of the Aboriginal interest in particular parts of the environment make it important that an Aboriginal perspective is brought to bear. In relation to the latter, it is concluded that Aboriginal traditional social organisation and cultural orientation render the techniques and methods for European-Australian involvement unusable. A different set of approaches and techniques are needed to involve Aboriginal people. In particular, it was found that, as a result of the intensely local and fragmented nature of Aboriginal social organisation, the use of delegation and representative techniques are largely inappropriate.

As a final matter, it was observed that the assumption of Aboriginal homogeneity is widespread. Following Anderson (1985) and also Dixon (1990), it is observed that while notions of pan-Aboriginal social organisation may be convenient for policy-makers, and indeed, Aboriginal groups seeking to mobilise Aboriginal people for political purposes, such assumptions fail in the light of the realities of Aboriginal social organisation. The highly localised and particular interests of Aboriginal people reveal pan-Aboriginalism to be a false doctrine.

4.8   Common Methods for Involving the Public in Planning

The choice of techniques for any public involvement program should reflect the objectives of the program, the level of involvement sought by the planning agency and the social environment in which planning is to occur. Public involvement techniques can be broadly classified in terms of the role of expertise: methods applied by experts, or methods used to facilitate the direct input of non-experts. In general terms, a combination of both categories of method is desirable. A range of public involvement methods should be used in any

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situation. In particular, the suite of methods used needs to reflect decisions made about the *duration* and *direction* of communication (Hyman and Stiftel 1988). In terms of duration, techniques should provide both *one-off* activities as well as *ongoing* activities. With regard to the direction of communication, techniques need to provide for *input, output* and *interaction*. Finally, the choice of techniques will reflect the resources available for the program as a whole (Perglut 1994:6; Perglut and Sarkissian 1994:47-8), the needs and objectives of that program (Sinclair 1994:34) and the expertise of the personnel available (Perglut and Sarkissian 1994:47-8).

This section briefly examines the common methods used to promote public involvement in planning. This material is considered because the analysis of public involvement in the Wet Tropics which follows is in part concerned with an evaluation of the methods used.

Advertising and information dissemination

Consultation and public involvement programs usually commence with a strategy for information dissemination. The objective, using methods such as media advertising, newsletters, library depositories, speakers bureaux etc., is to provide all relevant publics with information about the planning process, the nature of planning issues identified and subsequent opportunities for participation. An information dissemination strategy should:

- aim to reach all relevant publics
- continue throughout the life of the planning/public involvement exercise
- be responsive and adapt to emerging issues throughout the planning exercise (see Hyman and Stiftel 1988; Stone 1992).

Public meetings and submissions

A commonly used approach to public involvement in land use planning exercises is to provide opportunities for comment in public hearings and to receive and consider written submissions on matters pertinent to the plan. There are a number of points relevant to this approach. A significant body of research has demonstrated that such approaches tend to

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facilitate corporatist, rather than pluralist, outcomes (Gariepy 1991; Nowak *et al.* 1982; Thorne and Purcell 1992). That is to say they tend to select for pre-existing lobbies and persons from higher socio-economic strata. While it is perhaps appropriate for decision-making exercises to pay particular regard to important constituencies, and for land use outcomes to have legitimacy amongst pre-existing lobbies (the *legitimacy* function of public involvement), it is also important that the **full** range of interests, values and concerns are taken into account. Some actors are unlikely to participate in planning exercises either because they are unaware of them, or because they do not grasp their relevance or importance (Thorne and Purcell 1992). Others might not participate because they are intimidated by the procedures and atmosphere of the hearing, or because they consider that their participation will be ineffective (Nowak *et al.* 1982). Over-reliance on public meetings and submissions can result in a biased account of societal values and concerns and therefore, undermine the intent of the program (Thorne and Purcell 1992).

Notwithstanding the above, public meetings and submissions are a valuable method to solicit comment on a planning process from members of the public. These methods can be used to demonstrate the openness and legitimacy of the planning process as well as generate information for use by the planner.

Social Surveys

Milbraith (1983:90) argues that social surveys should be used to supplement more traditional forms of public involvement. He suggests that while public hearings and submissions still have an important legitimacy function, surveys can be seen as a

> "corrective for the distorted interpretations that may result from participation by a small fraction of the public, many of whom will be participating to serve special interests" (1980:90; see also Thorne and Purcell 1992; Hyman and Stiftel 1988).

The problem of the potential for sampling bias in the use of meetings and submissions reduces their efficacy in terms of generating information for use in the planning exercise. A properly conducted survey can correct for potential bias, supplementing the information

base. More broadly, and as Hyman and Stiftel (1988) have argued, it is important that a consultation program is devised of several techniques used in combination. In this way problematic aspects of a particular technique may be minimised.

Some (see Dennis 1972 in Sandercock 1994:9) criticise such an approach to participation as "market research" or "manipulation" (Arnstein 1969:215). These critiques are meant to emphasise that bureaucratic control is maintained in the use of this method and that, as a result, a capacity to effect policy outcomes is denied (Sandercock 1994:9).

Ethnographic Interview

A further method worthy of consideration is the use of ethnographic interview. This method involves the detailed interview of respondents and generates highly detailed, qualitative data. It is increasingly being used in land use planning and social assessment (Dale and Lane 1994, Banks 1990; Hyman and Stiftel 1988). The use of ethnographic interview in the context planning exercises, raises the following critical issues:

- *time and cost.* Interviewing is an intensive research process requiring significant resources and time.

- *sample selection.* The use of ethnographic interview for public involvement requires careful identification of stakeholders. Unless agencies can be confident that all relevant stakeholders have been identified, sample selection would require additional time and resources. Use of interview approaches without stakeholder analysis is likely to result in a biased sample.

In recent years specialised methodologies have begun to emerge which systematise ethnographic interview data in ways which provide analyses of grater utility to planners (Dale and Lane 1994; Soderbaum 1976). One such technique facilitates an analysis of the areas of conflict and compatibility among the perspectives of the stakeholders (Dale and Lane 1994). This clearly establishes the tolerance for particular planning decisions among various actors.

The feedback brochure

One of the most widely used techniques in public involvement is the feedback brochure. This method is favoured because it is at once an educational device, an evaluative process and a participatory mechanism (Daneke 1983:20). An important cautionary note should be applied to the used of the feedback brochure. There is, for differing reasons, significant potential for the information received from this technique to based on a biased sample. Firstly, like all mail questionnaires, non-respondents tend to be less educated and highly mobile (Bailey 1982). Secondly, a bi-modal response is likely in conflict situations, when respondents tend to be either strongly in favour or strongly against a particular course of action (Bailey 1982). Finally, and perhaps most critically, the introductory information in a feedback brochure tends to select for respondents in favour of the general approach of the planning agency. In all instances, the data generated from a feedback brochure is not likely to be representative.

The issue of representativeness is a vexed one in consultation. On the one hand, there exists, within any planning community, differences in motivation or "stake" among individual actors. Planners are particularly concerned to receive input from those actors who are likely to be affected by planning decisions. On the other hand however, the differences in power and capacity to participate between actors in the planning community (Nowak *et al.* 1982) mean that planners need to be sensitive to the potential for some stakeholders, perhaps less articulate or powerful than others, to not participate when afforded the opportunity. Cognisance of these competing dynamics in participation in planning, particularly when designing individual instruments, can substantially mitigate this effect.

Citizen Advisory Groups

Citizen Advisory Groups (CAGs) can be used as temporary or permanent means of providing planners with citizen input. Although recruitment and tenure vary widely, membership of advisory groups is usually designed to be representative, at least informally,

of major sectoral interests (Priscoli 1983). Critical issues in the role of Citizen Advisory Groups include:

- *recruitment and representativeness.* Recruitment to Citizen Advisory Groups has often been informal and/or a discretionary matter for the planning agency. This has two dysfunctional outcomes in terms of public involvement. First, if recruitment and appointment to the CAG is not a public process, the opportunity to demonstrate the openness and accountability of the planning process, the legitimacy function, is forgone (Beatley *et al.* 1994). Second, appointments made at the discretion of the planning agency, tend to discriminate in favour of representatives of supportive constituencies. This obviates the opportunity for structured and on-going dialogue between planners and dissenting constituencies - a major goal of any public involvement program (Priscoli 1983).

- *citizen-planner interaction.* The only systematic survey of CAGs conducted reports low levels of citizen-planner participation and minimal involvement of CAG members in planning (Priscoli 1983). To a large extent these findings suggest that the utility of CAGs - the provision of an on-going forum for citizen input - is substantially eroded by the problems with recruitment and with planners' perceptions of citizen involvement in general and CAG members in particular.

- *the changing nature of the representative's advisory role.* Beatley and others (1994) report that an important dynamic for the operation of CAGs relates to the tendency for some members' behaviour to change from that of representative to "trustee". They report that as members' knowledge and confidence of the issues grow, they tend to advise and vote independently, exercising personal judgement rather than acting in accordance with their formal representative role.

A range of techniques has been developed to maximise effective indigenous participation in planning and impact assessment. These range from the use of ethnography and participant observation (Banks 1990; Ross 1990; AIAS 1982), to formal hearings and inquiries (Berger 1977; RAC 1991) and more specialised methodologies (see for example Blishen *et al.* 1979; Bowles 1982; Dale and Lane 1994). These approaches, which have been accorded significant respect in the professional literature, have been used in a number of planning and social studies in indigenous domains, both in Australia and elsewhere (e.g. Berger 1977; AIAS 1982; Coombs *et al.* 1990).

The central differentiating factor in these methods is the role of formal (anthropological) expertise. The most commonly used techniques either provide forums for Aboriginal people to directly articulate their concerns or, alternatively, use experts to gather, systematise and communicate the concerns and interests of indigenous people to planners and decision-makers. As with public involvement strategies for non-Aboriginal populations, it is useful to use both expert and non-expert techniques. This ensures that internal power relations do not affect the information generated.

With regard to direct Aboriginal participation however, this issue, as has been observed elsewhere, is of increased importance. The complexity of Aboriginal social organisation, particularly the degree of localism and fragmentation of land interests, means that typical methods, relying on representation and delegation are rendered inappropriate in planning contexts involving Aboriginal people, particularly where land is involved (see Howitt 1993; Ross 1992). This is compounded by a contemporary political dynamic amongst Aboriginal people and policy-makers alike which approaches the issues of representation on the premise of 'pan-Aboriginality'. This notion eschews the complexities of Aboriginal representation and asserts that standard, European approaches to representation can be used. In other words Aboriginal people can be represented by other Aboriginal people, regardless of the differences of 'interest' that might exist.

Design of a public involvement program requires cognisance of these issues. A competent program will seek to balance the demand for Aboriginal representation against the need to ensure that the diversity and complexity of interests are heard. This may require the use of both expert and non-expert methods.

4.9   A framework for evaluation of public involvement

The literature on public involvement and consultation provides many lists of "should do" features of such programs (see Table 4.2). While these lists are not necessarily exhaustive, they do provide a set of principles to which practitioners of public involvement can aspire. While such lists are useful, the features viewed as desirable by the Institute for Participatory Planning (IPP) do not necessarily provide an appropriate framework for review. As an ideal set of characteristics the IPP list is unlikely to be achieved in totality in all planning and participation programs. This is because differing planning contexts will involve differing numbers of potential stakeholders whose perspectives may differ (Syme 1992:95-6). Syme (1992:86-7) suggests that, in addition, the arguments used by participants be either allocative in nature or ideological (or even a combination). Different forms of public involvement may be appropriate for different types of argument. In ideological issues, for instance, there may be a role for an advocate to act for less articulate actors (Syme 1992:87; see also Hyman and Stiftel 1988:46). More conventional decision-making procedures may be appropriate for allocative decision-making.

Dale and Lane (1994:254) also suggest that the planning context is critical to determining the level and nature of public involvement. Following Friedmann (1973:71) they suggest that the planning context can usually be understood as a *continuum* which ranges from containing multiple interests in a situation in which power is highly dispersed, through to situations where power is strongly centralised and where there are far fewer stakeholders (Dale and Lane 1994:254). They contend that in these latter contexts, planning problems tend to be apolitical and therefore technical planning approaches, with less citizen participation, are appropriate (see also Craig 1990:39).

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Table 4.2: **Features considered to be important in conducting an adequate Public Involvement Program**

a.	the process of public participation should be agreed between the agency and the participants
b.	public participation should start early in the decision-making process
c.	the objectives of the public participation need to be clearly stated
d.	people need to be aware of the level of power being offered
e.	efforts should be made by the agency to identify all interested parties
f.	participants should know how their submissions will be processed
g.	where appropriate (eg. for travel and large time commitments) costs for participants should be reimbursed.

(Institute for Participatory Planning 1981 in Syme 1992:79).

At the other end of the spectrum however, where planning contexts comprise a multitude of competing interests and power is highly dispersed, technical planning approaches are inappropriate. In these circumstances, participation, and indeed, negotiation between these actors is a more appropriate approach.

These are important issues to be considered developing a framework for a review of public involvement programs. Given that public involvement might range from information exchange and consultation, through to negotiation and protest (Arnstein 1969; Painter 1992; Syme 1992; Dale and Lane 1994), one of the first issues to be resolved in evaluation is whether the level or style of participation was appropriate for the particular planning context. Only in this way can the appropriate criteria for a successful public involvement program be applied (Stone 1992:103).

It is important at this point to distinguish between evaluation of public involvement programs as a component of the program itself (Queensland Government 1993:26-7; World Health Organisation 1986:48), and *evaluation studies* of public involvement. The World Health Organisation (1986:48) suggests that "evaluation is an operational activity integral

to the successful implementation and continuance of projects." In addition they recommend that evaluation:

- should always be included in a program;
- be designed as part of the initial planning stage so that necessary baseline data are collected, and
- should involve as much local participation as possible (WHO 1986:48).

The Queensland government's guide to consultation suggests that evaluation should be performed at the conclusion of the consultation process and that it comprise three elements:

- evaluation of contributions
- evaluation of outcomes
- evaluation of process (Queensland Government 1993:27).

Given that public involvement is usually conducted by planning agencies for official purposes (Painter 1992:34), evaluation may be a means of maintaining bureaucratic control over the process, the information and outcomes (Davies 1992:26). Others (see Sewell and Phillips 1979:346) suggest that the dominant role of the sponsoring agency has served to bias evaluations by narrowing the objectives of the participation. They conclude the not only should evaluation be routinely undertaken, but that it should be undertaken independently (Sewell and Phillips 1979:357).

In terms of evaluation studies, Blahna and Yonts-Shepard (1989:210) suggest that there are three broad types:

i.   evaluation of specific public involvement methods;

ii.   case studies of all public involvement programs for specific issues or projects; and

iii. general theoretical or policy-level studies which consider the role of public involvement in planning and decision-making.

A number of models for evaluation have been advocated over the years which Sewell and Phillips (1979:357) have assessed. One of the earlier approaches, the *Vindasius* model, revolved around evaluating public involvement programs in terms of the following criteria:

i.   provision of information to the public;

ii.   receipt of information from the public; and

iii.   incorporation of inputs into the planning process.

Sewell and Phillips (1979:339) show that successful attainment of these goals was measured in terms of *effectiveness* (the extent to which the objective was met), and *efficiency* (the costs of pursuing the objective).

Sewell and Phillips (1979:339) suggest however that this model is biased in that it assumes the objectives of the agency are valid without questioning them and that it does not consider alternative techniques. It should also be noted that the criteria established in the model obviate its use in public involvement programs which use negotiation as central tools of involvement.

A modified version attempts to measure the degree to which citizen's have been able to influence decisions made. The criteria in this version are:

•   information dispersal

•   information gathering

•   level of interaction between planners and the public (see Sewell and Phillips 1979: 340).

Importantly, this approach views participation as a dynamic process which includes active interaction between planners and the public (Sewell and Phillips 1979:340). While Sewell and Phillips (1979) complain that it takes no account of cost or efficiency, its real failing is that it is context dependent. Like the Vindasius model, it is useful in consultative exercises but not when negotiation and bargaining is being sought.

A better approach, although one perhaps not completely elucidated, is that provided by Stone (1992:103). This framework was developed for the review of a consultation process used in the planning of a major road. It is however, not context dependent because it includes an evaluation of the parameters set for public involvement. The framework consists of three major issues for evaluation: the *parameters* of the process, the role of *information* and the *responsiveness* of the planning agency to community concerns.

4.10 Conclusions

This necessarily broad review of issues in public involvement in planning has canvassed a wide range of matters. There are a number of matters which have particular implications for this study as a whole. It is apparent, firstly, that the literature on public involvement in planning is a disparate one. It draws on different disciplinary perspectives, and deals with a number of substantive issues. There are debates about the objectives and benefits of public involvement and considerable discourse on how public involvement can be successfully engendered. Importantly, much of this literature is descriptive, rather than theoretical. No unified theoretical perspective on public involvement in planning has been presented. Indeed, theorising about public involvement in planning is difficult because of the importance of context - the approach of the agencies seeking to involve the public - which frames the objectives and purposes of public involvement. Beck (1992) is important in this context. He suggests that theories of policy formation have changed, as a result of the conceptual challenges to and demonstrated shortcomings of scientific rationality, and recent models place greater emphasis on the participation of interested actors.

This chapter has shown that there is considerable debate about the objectives of public involvement in planning. Differing perspectives on the objectives of public involvement appear to based on differing conceptions of planning and decision-making. Similarly, the debate about the level of delegation required to render public involvement "meaningful" was shown to revolve around the nature of the planning or policy-making process. The objectives and purposes to which public involvement is put therefore, are dependent on the nature of the planning and policy-making processes in which they are embedded.

As we have seen, this necessitates an approach to the evaluation of public involvement programs which is not context dependent. Evaluation of public involvement programs needs to, among other things, consider the appropriateness and efficacy of the program in relation to the nature of planning context. An evaluation which does not examine the appropriateness of the parameters set for the program ignores the fact that differing approaches to public involvement are based on differing assumptions about planning and decision-making processes.

This chapter has also shown that involving Aboriginal people in planning activities requires a knowledge of the nature of Aboriginal traditional and contemporary social organisation. The nature of Aboriginal social organisation necessitates an approach which is different from those suitable for European-Australian populations. Specifically, the highly localised nature of Aboriginal social organisation renders techniques based on representation and delegation largely inappropriate. The chapter also observed that other factors - educational, financial and geographic - further inhibit Aboriginal participation.

The chapter also considered a range of dynamics in public involvement which ensure that the extent of involvement by actors in a given population is rarely uniform. Equitable participation can be undermined by programs which inadvertently select for certain actors, attempt to co-opt certain actors or do not address the dominance or influence of some actors relative to others. The distribution of power among stakeholders, planners and decision-makers is critical to the fairness and openness of planning and public involvement (Amy 1987; Forrester 1989). The way in which planners respond to the challenge of "planning in the face of power" (Forrester 1989) and confront and address the ethical issues of practice (Hillier 1993:90), will determine whether planning processes and outcomes are equitable.

The most pressing conclusion of this review is that one cannot understand public involvement in planning without a detailed examination of the nature of planning activities. Public involvement is generally understood as a component, some would suggest supplement, to planning processes. This review has suggested that the objectives of public involvement vary according to the imperatives of the planning process (Beck 1992). In

addition, the extent to which planning is democratic and equitable will depend on the way in which planers respond to the exercise of power by stakeholders, government and indeed, planning agencies (Forrester 1989; Friedmann 1994). In chapter five therefore, an examination of planning is made.

5.0 Planning

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the fundamental concepts in and theoretical perspectives of planning are considered in order to show how the varying theoretical approaches to planning entail differing roles for public involvement. This is important to the goals of the thesis, which seeks to identify the factors which influence the design and implementation of public involvement programs in planning. The chapter outlines the major approaches to planning, showing how these theoretical perspectives are related to particular planning *practices*. The approach to practice determines the role of the planner, the goals set for public involvement and the methods used.

Planning theory is used to refer to the development of a theoretical understanding of the way in which planners and their agencies behave (Faludi 1973:3). This approach, which is rooted in the social sciences, is known as procedural planning theory and can be distinguished from substantive theory which is concerned understanding the particular area of concern to a planner (Faludi 1973:3). Hall (1983:43) makes a similar distinction. He distinguishes between theory of planning and theory-in-planning. Unless otherwise stated, theoretical models and analyses presented in this thesis are concerned with procedural planning theory.

The importance of planning style or practice to the type and nature of public involvement has not been widely recognised in the literature. Although there has been recognition that public involvement usually serves explicit management purposes (Painter 1992:22; Sandercock 1994:9), recognition that opportunities for participation may differ according to particular conceptions of planning has not often been recognised. Both Ross (1992:58) and Painter (1992:25) acknowledge that the use of consultation is associated with a type of planning which is different from those approaches which encourage negotiation between actors. Others have suggested that participatory planning procedures are appropriate to planning contexts in which power and control are highly fragmented while other contexts

render non-participatory approaches suitable (Friedmann 1973:71; McDonald 1989:329; Dale and Lane 1994:254-5).

It should be acknowledged that their are a range of views on the nature of the relationship between public involvement and planning. To what extent, for instance, has the rise of citizen involvement in urban and resource planning issues precipitated changes in planning theory and practice? On this point, Jacobs (1992:32) is adamant that "the rise of a diverse populist citizens' movement in land use planning" is responsible for a fundamental challenge to traditional conceptions of planning. Others (see Beauregard 1989:381-7; Hillier 1995) by contrast, suggest that it is the rise of post-modern thinking has catalysed significant changes to planning theory. Jacobs (1992:32-3) argues that citizen participation is responsible for challenging:

- the presumption of experts' pre-eminent knowledge

- the need for perfect knowledge in planning

- the use of rationality and the scientific method as planning techniques

- the need to centralise resource management

- conceptions of resources as solely bio-physical entities. Resources are, according to this view, socially and politically defined.

In this chapter it is argued that the model of planning deployed is the primary determinant of the role of public involvement. While Jacobs' explanation for intellectual change in planning has much to offer, it is argued that planners define the role of the public in accordance with their conception of planning. In order to achieve this end, the chapter has been structured around Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (which was introduced in chapter four). Approaches or models of planning have been correlated with the "ladder" to reveal the role that public involvement plays in each approach to planning.

Since this study is also concerned with the role of the planner's organisational environment in shaping public involvement, this chapter also examines the literature on planning agencies. Forester (1989) has pointed out that there is an absence of literature on the importance of the planning agency in shaping the work of the planner and has suggested a framework for their analysis. This framework, which views planning agencies as "instrumentally productive and socio-politically reproductive" (Forester 1989:69-70), is briefly reviewed.

Before preceding with this analysis however, it is first appropriate to define planning and to qualify its use in this study.

5.2 What is Planning?

As Hall (1992:1-2) shows, planning can be a nebulous concept which is difficult to define (see also Silver 1985:9-10). He is careful to distinguish a plan as the design of something as it might be intended, from a plan which operates as a guide to realising that intention. He suggests planning contains both these elements: "planning is concerned with deliberately achieving some objective, and it proceeds by assembling actions into some orderly sequence" (Hall 1992:1). Hall (1992:1-3) is at pains to demonstrate that planning is often not concerned with a physical representation of the objective being sought. According to this view, planning is far broader than mere design.

Rationality, and its role in decision-making, looms large in conceptions and definitions of planning (see Friedmann 1987:8-9; Hillier 1993:90, 1995:292). Armour (1990:4) for instance suggests that planning is a "rational problem solving process" which involves problem identification, canvassing alternatives, evaluating solutions and applying an agreed solution. Steiner (1991:4) suggests that planning can be understood as the application of scientific or technical knowledge in the provision of decision-making options. This is a traditional, modernist conception of planning (see Hillier 1995:292-3). In a similar vein, Friedmann (1993:482) suggests that planning provides the link between knowledge and action, while Faludi (1973:36) equates planning with rational, intelligent

action. The ideals of rational planning however are not always met (McDonald 1989:330). Indeed, rational planning

"does not necessarily describe the way planning is done .... rather it prescribes how choices may be justified, that is by reconstructing an argument that appears to have gone through the steps of the rational planning process" (Faludi 1973:81).

Despite the dominance of rational planning throughout much of the history of planning, in recent years an alternate perspective has developed (Hall 1992: 246-8; McDonald 1989:330; Friedmann 1993:482). The criticisms of rational planning are best summarised by Hall (1983:42) who suggested that such approaches were characterised by:

"a belief that outcomes were predictable and plannable; that particular planning actions would achieve determinable results; that planning objectives could be specified by professional experts (speaking not on their own behalf, but as arbiters of an array of different social values) and would win general agreement; in sum, that rational decision-making was applicable to complex social systems."

This perception of planning as apolitical is far removed from the highly political reality of land use planning. Kiernan (1983:71-7) suggests that the planning profession has cloaked itself in the garb of rationality and that this is the result of a pervasive "antipolitical planning ideology" (see also Hillier 1993:91, 1995:292-3; Hoch 1992:207). The ideology of the profession cherishes the view that the planner's work is primarily technical and apolitical. As Kiernan (1983:72; see also Beauregard 1989:385; Hillier 1993:91) remarks:

"however duplicitous this contention ... it has one considerable virtue: it buttresses their spurious claims to professional status. For what defines a profession if not the undisputed mastery of circumscribed, clearly delineated area of incontrovertible technical expertise?"

As this chapter will show, while Kiernan's (1983) assault on planners might be valid for the contemporary planning profession, it is less valid for earlier planners. As Hall (1992) has argued, planning as an embryonic profession - both before and after World War I - grew out of architecture and, to a lesser extent, engineering. In these early stages, planning *was* apolitical; it was essentially an extended application of architectural and engineering

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design. In these times, when the scale of planning was extremely limited, planning problems appeared, in the eyes of technicians, to comprise little more than complex problems of design.

Kiernan's (1983) critique of planning should therefore be applied only to the contemporary incarnations of the profession. The existence of the antipolitical ideology can be blamed, according to Kiernan (1983:75-7) on two prominent concepts of contemporary planning: the rational comprehensive paradigm and the unitary public interest assumption. The former tends to reject the political dimension of planning (ie. value-choice and distributive questions), while the latter falsely suggests that the goals of plans are universally shared, ignoring the multiplicity of interests in any planning environment (see also Hyman and Stiftel 1988: 43; Friedmann and Kuester 1994:55). Others (see Hillier 1995:293) argue that planning has become a prisoner of modernist, technical dogma which entrenches the power of scientific rationalism.

Those who reject, either in part or in whole, rational definitions and perspectives of planning emphasise plurality of interests in society, the pervasiveness of conflict, the political nature of planning activity (Forester 1989:16; Hillier 1993:90-1; McDonald 1989:330; Hall 1983:43; Friedmann 1993:483; Christensen 1993:203; Dale and Lane 1994:253; Hyman and Stiftel 1988:43; Kiernan 1983:76; cf. Kaiser and Godschalk 1995:365). It is difficult to describe the emergent responses to rational planning as a 'school' as there are many divergent perspectives (Hall 1992:247-9), including Friedmann's (1973) transactive planning, Dorcey's (1986) planning as bargaining, and Faludi's emphasis on planning as a decision-making activity (1987). The common underpinning of these approaches is that planning can be best understood as a field of decision-making and it is this dimension which most accurately characterises planning. Drawing upon this perspective, Faludi (1987:175) defines planning as the range operational decisions which government agencies could take in respect of a particular area of land. It also suggests that there are both technical and political dimensions to planning practice (Hoch 1994:73). However, the planning literature is disparate. Whereas some have sought to refine or reconfigure the rational model (see Alexander 1994), others have "abandoned the quest for rational planning altogether" (Hoch 1994:291).

Kiernan (1983:73), in defining the 'political' nature of planning, suggests that there are two aspects of politics involved. The first is that planning inevitably involves value-choice issues (which cannot be adjudicated upon through technical procedures) to which planners bring their own philosophical and political values (see also Craig 1990: 44). The second is that planning is essentially distributional. Regardless of the planning context, planning involves the allocation of resources and these decisions are therefore often contested and debated by the potential winners and losers of these allocative decisions (Kiernan 1983:73; Christensen 1993:211).

Recent conceptions of planning have focused on the importance of communication in the planner's work. Communicative theory (see Healey 1992, 1993, 1996; Forester 1989, 1993; Hillier 1993, 1995; Sager 1994) explains planning activity with reference to the nature of communication between actors. As Forester (1989:18) explains the nature of the planner's communication (including its content and the way it is delivered) is fundamental to the way possible courses of action are fashioned and received. As Hillier (1993:91) explains:

> "issues of why and how planners select what information they will offer audiences are relevant dimensions of interaction which reveal greater understanding of how decisions are shaped, formed, nurtured and taken or otherwise as the case may be."

Communicative theory therefore builds from preceding critiques but focuses on the communication between planner, government, business and community groups to explain the goals, methods and outcomes of planning (Healey 1992:153; Hillier 1993:90).

The trajectory of change in planning which has occurred throughout this century has substantially repositioned the disciplinary status of the field (Hall 1992; Hoch 1994). Both normative and procedural discourse on planning is now concerned with issues which are central to sociology and political science. Indeed, planning is now best understood as a subset of the social sciences generally. Importantly however, planning is structured as both a distinct discipline and profession and has developed its own body of theory which is influenced by the intellectual debates and trends of the other social sciences (Friedmann 1987; Hoch 1994:48). Beauregard (1989:384) suggests that whereas planners had

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previously flirted with critical social theory, changes to planning education in the 1950s facilitated "the emergence of abstract theorizing distanced from the performative demands of practitioners" (see also Hoch 1994:48). This aided the development of a body of theory particular to planning which drew heavily on other social scientific discourses (Beauregard 1989:384; Hoch 1994:47-50). This chapter will, while recognising the degree to which contemporary planning is embedded in the social sciences, focus on the scholarly discourse particular to planning.

As a final point to this discussion on the nature and definition of planning, we need to distinguish between the various levels of planning. Of particular importance, given the nature of this study, is the need to distinguish between area or regional planning and project planning. Clearly the design of a particular project, a mine or dam for instance, is analytically separable from regional planning, which is concerned with the broad range of choices relating to the functions and attributes of that region (Steiner 1991:4). This thesis is concerned with the latter category, regional planning.

5.3 Planning Agencies

An important dimension in any discussion of planning concerns the planning agency. This section considers planning agencies as an entity and how they are important in shaping the work of the planner. The organisation in which the planner works will be a significant factor in shaping the approach used and difficulties faced (Forester 1989, 1993). The relations between agencies and stakeholders, the time and resources available to the planner and the morale of the planner are all matters which are substantially determined by the planning agency. As Taylor (1984:21) observes, the notion that organisations can be "comprehensively rational" has been undermined. The important issue at this point is to understand how, in the light of the Taylor's (1984) observation, the operations, triumphs and failures of planning organisations can be understood.

There is, however, no single integrative theory of organisations. Indeed, the complexity and diversity of contemporary organisations mitigate against the development of such a theory (Meltsner and Bellavita 1983:60). The discussion of planning agencies which follows is

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developed from the perspective that planning organisations are best understood as being "instrumentally productive and sociopolitically reproductive" (Forester 1989:70; see also Harmon and Mayer 1986). It is a perspective which is not solely concerned therefore with describing the functions and functioning of the organisation as in Faludi's (1973) normative description of planning agencies. Such an approach draws upon a instrumental perspective of organisations: viewing them as efficient organisms with integrally related parts (Forester 1989:68; Wright 1994:18).

Nor does it draw upon a social perspective of planning agencies, which emphasises the social environment of the organisation and matters of morale and intra-organisational cooperation (see Forester 1989:69). While these are critical dimensions to understanding any organisation, the social view:

> "like the instrumental view .... is also apolitical. "Politics" becomes a matter of inter-personal relations. "Culture" substitutes for, rather than complements, political-economic structure. Indeed, in the social view structure can be quite ill-defined, and goals can be ambiguous, multiple and conflicting" (Forester 1989:70).

Given the shortcomings of both the social and instrumental views of organisations and, in keeping with recent theoretical perspectives which regard planning as a communicative activity (Healey 1992; Forester 1989), the perspective this study will use as a framework observes that:

> "organizations are structures of practical communicative action, and thus they not only produce instrumental results but also reproduce social and political relations" (Forester 1989:70-1).

The *instrumentally productive - socio-politically reproductive* view of organisations is congruent with the communicative theory of planning. Communicative theory suggests that inter-subjective argumentation and the organisation of attention to planning options (Healey 1992; Forester 1989) are the principle means of planning action. The centrality of information and communication to the work of the planner has important implications for the operations of planning agencies:

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"the planner does not just present and collect information, reach agreements, set meeting times, and call for further work to be done - all these are the production of instrumental results. The planner also establishes, refines and recreates, and thus reproduces, social relations of trust or distrust, co-operation and competition, amiability or hostility, encouragement or discouragement and so on. Every organisational interaction or practical communication (including non-verbal) not only produces a result, it also reproduces, strengthening or weakening, the specific social working relations of those who interact" (Forester 1989:71).

There are thus two critical dimensions to the work of planning organisations: the instrumental and the reproduction of social and political relations. In terms of the former, even in the highly technical aspects of planning, socio-political relations are important:

"technical judgements can yield instrumental results because the institutional role of those who make them and those who read them are social and politically legitimated or reproduced" (Forester 1989:72).

Forester (1989:72-3; Harmon and Mayer 1986) suggests that planning organisations reproduce or refashion social and political relations in two ways: by selectively restricting the information they make available and by framing problems selectively.

To understand how an organisation behaves in this respect, the formal and informal systems of operation, together with the external environment need to be examined (Wright 1994:3). One therefore needs to consider the "culture" of the workforce - the shared concepts, values and attitudes of its members - as well as formal structures and external relations (Wright 1994:2-3). The organisational culture described in the case analysis which follows is a "relational" one (Wright 1994:27) which is congruent with the communicative perspective of planning. Wright (1994:27) describes this "culture as process" framework thus:

"Relations and processes of domination are central to an explanation of how people - differently positioned - contest the meaning of a situation.... to try and make their definition "stick". This is culture as process."

This communicative perspective, with its dynamic and relational view of organisational culture, contrasts with earlier approaches which focussed on mechanisms by which

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organisational knowledge is developed over time (see Taylor 1984:19-22). Forester's (1989) approach observes that by selecting the information made available to a planning community, planning organisations determine "who knows what and when". This has a substantial impact on the response of individual actors, their strategies and actions as well as the coalitions and networks which develop within the planning community (Forester 1989:73). By framing problems selectively, the planning organisation can substantially determine or influence what is regarded by the planning community to be relevant. This in turn shapes their response and their participation (Forester 1989:73). As a result:

> "as structures of communicative relations, organisations both reproduce instrumental results and reproduce social and political relations of knowledge (who knows what), **consent** (who accepts whose authority and who resists), **trust** (who has established networks of co-operative contacts), and the ways we **reformulate problems** (who considers which issues and neglects which others)" (Forester 1989:73; *my emphasis*).

Both the potential and the dangers of planning therefore are revealed by the communicative perspective. In terms of realising the potential and avoiding the dangers, Forester (1989) suggests that planning organisations need three types of knowledge. They require technical knowledge (the ability to perform techniques required eg data analysis, cartography); practical knowledge (the maintenance and reproduction of the planning department's social and political relations eg. getting on with people, managing networks); and critical knowledge. In terms of critical knowledge, Forester (1989:76) asserts that:

> "planners need to know that in instrumental production and socio-political reproduction of every organisation lie fundamental issues of justice and domination."

Unless planners are able to reflect critically on issues such as these planning activities will tend to reproduce the social relations of the broader society. Planning will, in these circumstances, undermine the values and purpose of the modernity project (Healey 1992; Beauregard 1989:390-1) and reinforce existing inequities in wealth and power (Forester 1989:76; see also Christensen 1993:203).

5.4 Applying Arnstein's model to theoretical perspectives of planning

5.4.1 Public Involvement and the Epistemology of Planning

In the previous chapter, Arnstein's (1969) typology of public involvement in planning was presented and discussed at length. In that chapter it was used to highlight and consider one of the critical issues in this area: the extent to which public involvement is a tokenistic exercise in assuring and placating interested publics that planning will attempt to accommodate their particular interests and concerns. In this chapter however, Arnstein's (1969) typology is put to a different purpose.

One of the central hypotheses of this thesis is that the conceptualisation, methods and use of public involvement in planning is largely determined by the nature of the planning enterprise being undertaken. The way in which planners define their field and approach their work is to a large extent indicated by the role they provide to non-planners. The definition of the planning problem, the conceptualisation of the planning context and the epistemology of planning itself are all revealed by the extent of involvement offered to stakeholders.

In order to validate the link between public involvement and planning epistemology, this chapter reviews the major traditions, schools and models of planning. In particular, the purpose of applying the Arnstein (1969) model to planning is to:

i.   demonstrate the range of theoretical approaches to planning;

ii.   show that differing conceptions of planning entail vastly differing roles for public involvement; and

iii.   show that the mode of planning is a fundamental determinant of the nature of public involvement.

Figure 5.1 summarises the application of models of planning to the Arnstein typology. It was developed by the author and is presented at this point to show how the remainder of the chapter is structured. The Figure applies three levels of classification to planning: Tradition, School and Model. These are discussed in the following sections.

Figure 5.1: Conception of Planning and the Role for Public Involvement

Level of Participation	Planning Tradition	Planning School	Planning Models
▸ Citizen Control ▸ Delegated Power ▸ Partnership	Societal Transformation	Pluralism	Communicative Bargaining Marxist Advocacy Transactive
▸ Placation ▸ Consultation ▸ Informing	Societal Guidance	Synoptic or Systems	Mixed Scanning Incrementalism The Synoptic Ideal
▸ Therapy ▸ Manipulation	Societal Guidance	Blueprint	Blueprint Planning Geddes, Howard Precinct Planners

5.4.2 Planning Traditions

At the highest level of resolution, Figure 5.1 distinguishes between two planning traditions. This conceptual classification of the history of planning thought was devised by Friedmann (1987) who distinguishes between two competing traditions: planning as a form of *societal guidance*, in which the state adopts a pivotal role, and planning as *societal transformation*, whose principle intellectual premise is that the state and other institutions need to be transformed in order that the conditions of others can be ameliorated (Friedmann 1987:8-9; 74-83).

As Friedmann (1987:76) acknowledges, planning as societal guidance, aimed at reform or improvement of the operation of the state in discharge of its functions, is the dominant tradition in planning. This tradition is centrally concerned with the use of science and reason in public affairs and decision-making; through science and rationality "both capitalism and the bourgeois state" can be perfected (Friedmann 1987:76). Friedmann

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(1987) describes two approaches to societal guidance: social reform and policy analysis. Social reform tradition, as Friedmann (1987) describes it, can be understood as what Hall (1992) and Faludi (1973) call blueprint planning. Blueprint planning (or, in Friedmann's terms social reform) is essentially the use of science in decision-making. Based on an ambitious conception of the capability of contemporary science, the tradition viewed the applicability of this approach to decision-making as boundless. The later approach, policy analysis, still regards the use of science and rationality as paramount, but acknowledges the existence of "bounded rationality" (Simon 1945 in Friedmann 1987:78) and the limits and imperfections of science. This analysis of planning has informed the development of the synoptic model (Hall 1992; Hudson 1979) which is described below.

The alternative planning tradition, social transformation, is derived from the identification of "the dark underside, the injustices and exploitation, of industrial capitalism" (Friedmann 1987:9). The central objective of thinkers in this tradition is to ameliorate the lot of victims of the system and their premise is usually a radical sociological critique of the system (Friedmann 1987:9, 389-90). Friedmann (1987:389) suggests that there are five elements to the social transformation tradition:

i.   a focus upon the structural problems of capitalist society viewed in a global context - including problems such as racism and impoverishment;

ii.   the provision of a critical interpretation of reality, emphasising those relations which reproduce the major victims of the system;

iii.   the projection of the future course of the problem, with reference to historical analysis and in the absence of transformative struggles;

iv.   the articulation of preferred outcomes based on "emancipatory practice"; and

v.   the identification of a optimal strategy for overcoming the resistance of established powers in the pursuit of emancipation.

Friedmann (1987:9) observes that the transformative tradition is becoming increasingly relevant to planning (see also Hall 1983:45; Friedmann and Kuester 1994:55). He further suggests a dichotomy within the tradition, between, on the one hand, the conservative *social learning* approach, and the radical *social mobilisation* approach (1989:76-7). The social learning theorists assert that social behaviour can be changed through the trial and error of experimentation and observation of results (Friedmann 1989:82). The social mobilisation approach, by contrast, views planning as a form of politics where change is brought about by direct collective action (Friedmann 1987:83).

As we shall see, Friedmann's (1987) classification allows us to more fully understand the intellectual underpinnings of the major planning schools of the twentieth century.

5.4.3 Schools of Planning

At the intermediate level of resolution, Figure 5.1 refers to a number of "schools" which have enjoyed pervasive influence over planning practice for a period before being usurped by replacement approaches. The term "school" is used to refer to an approach to planning with a single, although often broad intellectual basis from which particular planning methods or models are derived. In setting out this classification system, the author rejects the schema offered by Hudson (1979:387-8) because it conflates epistemological and intellectual bases with method (see also Darke 1982:209). The schools referred to are, following Hall (1992): blueprint planning, systems or synoptic planning and, more recently, theoretical pluralism (see also Forester 1989).

Blueprint or master planning, was the dominant mode of planning employed in the earlier decades of this century. Based on the omnipotence of science and rationality, blueprint planning emphasised the importance of empirical data, the definition and achievement of objectives and the role of the expert (Faludi 1973:131). The "systems" school which usurped blueprint planning in the 1950s and 1960s attempted to reconcile the problems of arriving at agreed goals, coping with diverse social and economic interests and deal with the uncertainty of complex political systems (Faludi 1973:131; Hall 1983:42).

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The final "school" according to this schema is not really a school at all, but instead, a series of approaches which challenged the fundamental premises of both blueprint and systems planning. These include advocacy planning, transactive planning, bargaining and communicative approaches (see Hudson 1979:388-90; McDonald 1989:333 and Hall 1983:43). They are presented in this chapter as a "school" because they

> "all share the same bundle of beliefs: a sense that objectives may be contradictory, that planning decisions may involve trade-offs between the costs and benefits to different groups, and that the planners' capacity for long-term prediction was very much in doubt. The planner, in these formulations, lost his professional clothes. What was left to him was a role as reticulist ....." (Hall 1983:43).

Theoretical pluralism is therefore the third "school" considered in this chapter.

5.4.4 Models of Planning

The final and lowest level of resolution in Figure 5.1 is the planning model. A "planning model" consists of a set of principles and assumptions about the planning process which together form the basis of planning practice by providing a model for proceeding. The models considered here are (i) the pioneers of the blueprint school, Geddes and Howard, as well as the Blueprint model itself, (ii) the synoptic approach and its variations (incrementalism, and mixed scanning), and (iii) the range of approaches which characterise the contemporary era: advocacy, transactive, Marxist, bargaining and communicative planning. In examining each of these the role provided for public involvement will be considered.

In the following sections, each of these models is examined. The discussion commences with a discussion of the pioneers of blueprint approach, continues chronologically through to a review of the synoptic ideal and its variants, and finishes with a discussion of each of the models of the contemporary era, including bargaining and communicative accounts.

5.5 Blueprint Planning: Early Conceptions of Planning Without Public Involvement

In this section, the early conceptions of planning are examined by briefly considering the influence of Geddes and Howard, before concentrating on the important school of planning they helped to create: blueprint or master planning. It is important that we consider these pioneers of planning because they are substantially responsible for bequeathing the blueprint method to subsequent generations. Rational-comprehensive planning owes much of its flavour and epistemology to the work of Geddes and Howard (see Hall 1992).

There can be little doubt that the intellectual development of planning in Britain and the US had important influences on Australian planning systems and thought (Armstrong 1993: 70; Ashton 1993:12-3). Armstrong (1993:70) observes that

> "landscape design and planning in Australia in the last 200 years have had close connections with the planning movements of Britain, Europe and North America .... [demonstrating] a consistent pattern of dual and often divergent influences on the design of towns, the open space elements and the landscape setting."

Howard and Geddes have been identified as two of the earliest and most influential early thinkers in the field (Hall 1992:33). Howard, living in rapidly growing urban-industrial London in the late nineteenth century, was responsible for the garden-city concept which remains influential in urban planning. The concept, as Howard proposed it, was to decentralise industry from the city and to develop a new town around the decentralised plant (Hall 1992:34). In this way Howard proposed to integrate employment with a healthy environment. His idea was simply to integrate the best aspects of town and country (Hall 1992:34-5).

An important US influence during this early period was the American planner Perry (Hall 1993:43). His contribution, which has obvious links to the work of Howard, was to consider urban design in terms of precincts or wards. Each precinct, according to this approach, would be comprised of a set of compatible land uses complete with complimentary services and utilities (Hall 1992:43-4). While later American planners

developed this concept with a view to the dramatic impact personal automobile ownership would have on urban geography, the notion of segregating land uses on the basis of compatibility was, and continues to remain, influential on both sides of the Atlantic (Hall 1992:44).

Geddes (1854-1932) was arguably the most influential of all of the early thinkers. His contributions, which have been both dramatic and persistent, relate to the scale of planning and the method of planning. With regard to scale, Geddes argued that planning had to proceed following close study of settlement patterns. Such an analysis, he argued, suggested that the scale of planning needed to extend beyond the town, to the "natural region" (Hall 1992:49). The notion of regional planning was born. In relation to method, Hall (1992:49) suggests that Geddes "gave planning a logical structure" by developing the survey-analysis-plan sequence of planning. According to this method, which, as we shall see, is the cornerstone of the rational-comprehensive approach, the planning sequence involves: a survey of the region, an analysis of the survey and finally, the development of the plan. That the Geddes approach was adopted in the Australian context should not be surprising when, as Armstrong (1993:74) notes, British town planners dominated town planning education in Australian universities.

In attempting to pass verdict on the pioneers of planning, Hall (1992:61) notes their central concern with the production of blueprints or fixed master plans. He suggests that early planners:

> "were far less concerned with planning as a continuous process which had to accommodate subtle and changing forces in the outside world. Their vision seems to have been that of the planner as the omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement forms ... without interference or question. The complexities of planning in a mixed economy where private interests will initiate much of the development ... or in a participatory democracy where individuals and groups have their own, often contradictory, notions of what should happen - all of these are absent from the work of these pioneers."

This criticism is mitigated however, by reference to the scale at which these pioneers were working. Their approach to urban design reflected an architectural concern for design and

their designs were confined in scale. Their autocratic approach therefore, needs to be understood in this context.

The criticisms of Hall (1992) and others, however, apply equally to codified blueprint planning which emerged after World War II. Blueprint planning owes much to the contributions of Howard, Geddes and others. Codification and the "creation of the post-war planning machine" was demanded by the dramatic problems posed by rapid urbanisation and industrialisation between the wars and by the need for urban reconstruction following World War II (Hall 1992:63-77). Codification of the blueprint ideas of early thinking in planning was responsible for establishing much of what we now take for granted as the planning apparatus of contemporary western governments.

Faludi (1973:131) defines blueprint planning as "an approach whereby a planning agency operates a programme thought to attain its objectives with certainty." The best way to understand blueprint planning is to compare it with *process* planning. Process planning involves the adaptation of a planning programme during implementation as new information is received (Faludi 1973:132). The blueprint mode, by contrast, is concerned with the generation of fixed end-state plans. The ends are assumed (by the planner) and the art and science of planning is concerned with the pursuit of these ends (Hall 1983:45; Webber 1983:90). In part it was the failure of the blueprint planners to even consider which ends it were that society wished pursued that led to the downfall of this mode of planning (Hall 1983:42). As Webber (1983:91) argues, "the classical planning model ... will not work in the absence of agreement on objectives."

Faludi (1973:133-4) summarised the criticisms made of blueprint planning as being concerned with "gross-simplification and heavy-handedness." The assumptions made by blueprint planners about the predictability of the world in which they worked required them to have complete certainty (Faludi 1973:43; Hall 1983:42). This requirement for certainty, Faludi (1973:133) suggests, caused planners to proceed on the basis of simplifying the world around them. Later analysts (see Hall 1983:42; Webber 1983:91) were to conclude that long term predictions are impossible and the failure of the predictions of the blueprint

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planner were an important basis for critique. Importantly, "without prediction, planning cannot be made operational" (Webber 1983:91).

Secondly, implementation of the blueprint planners' desired end state required high degrees of control. Hall (1983:42; Webber 1983:91) suggests that the requirement for high degrees of control did not allow this approach to planning to cope with decentralised political systems. He adds that a further failure of the blueprint mode was its failure to recognise that the achievement of agreed goals and reconciling tensions between means and ends were central (rather than peripheral) dimensions to the work of the planner (1983:42).

In closing it should be noted that the early traditions of blueprint planning included no scope whatever for the involvement of the public, except, of course, for expressions of approval or dissent lodged at election time. Hall (1992:61) would qualify this last observation on early blueprint planning, arguing that Geddes is something of an exception. Geddes, Hall argues, was

> "explicitly concerned that planning should start from the world as it is, and that it should try to work with trends in economy and society, rather than impose its own arbitrary vision of the world (1992:61)."

Providing citizen's a voice in determining both the ends and means however was contrary to the basic conceptions of blueprint planning. At its heart, blueprint planning assumes science to be all-seeing and the planner omnipotent.

Summary

The earliest conceptions of planning provided no scope for public involvement. In these early approaches, the planner was deemed capable of identifying the goals and objectives of planning as well as applying scientific methods to attain them. Assumptions about the lack of contention over planning goals and the omnipotence of science in attaining them precluded the need for citizen participation.

Although the contributions of Geddes, Howard, Perry and others date back to the earliest part of this century, the influence of the approach to planning they bequeathed has been profound. Although blueprint planning is generally acknowledged to have been overthrown in the early 1960s two important dimensions of these early conceptions of planning remain important to the subsequent and contemporary practice of planning. The ethic of planning as apolitical (Silver 1985:25; Kiernan 1983:71) and the concept of a single, unified public interest (Kiernan 1983:75-7) remain important issues in contemporary debates about planning theory and practice. As we shall see in the following sections, these legacies have played an important role in retarding the opportunities for pubic involvement in subsequent conceptions of planning.

5.6 Planning with Tokenistic Public Involvement: The systems or synoptic approach to Planning

5.6.1 Introduction

Perhaps the single most important "revolution" in planning thought occurred in the late 1950s and 1960s when, in the US and then in Britain, systems or synoptic planning usurped blueprint planning (see McLoughlin 1969; Hall 1983:41). Hall suggests that the changes in urban geography wrought by the increase in private automobile use forced planners to deal with problems at a "previously unparalleled scale" (1983:42). The new problems of scale forced synoptic planning to examine

> "problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints), with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis" (Hudson 1979:389).

Although synoptic planning represented, at one level, a continuance of the rational-comprehensive paradigm, at another level it represent a sharp and important departure from the previous model. Although synoptic planning reigned as the dominant approach to planning into the 1970s (Hall 1983:43) during this period a series of important critiques were made of it. As Hudson (1979:389) notes, synoptic planning remains the starting point

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for a number of variant approaches which developed from critical analyses of the short-comings of synoptic planning.

5.6.2 Systems or Synoptic planning

The central elements of the original synoptic model (see McLoughlin 1969) of planning are:

• an enhanced emphasis on the specification of goals and targets (Hall 1983:42; Hudson 1979:388).

• an emphasis on quantitative analysis and prediction of the environment (Hall 1983:42; Hudson 1979:388-9).

• a concern to identify and evaluate alternative policy options (Hall 1983:42; Hudson 1979:388-9).

• the evaluation of means against ends (Hudson 1979:388-9).

Despite the important criticisms which have been levelled at synoptic planning. it remains a viable approach. Hudson (1979:389) explains the persistence of systems planning thus:

> "the real power of the synoptic approach is its basic simplicity. The fundamental issues addressed - ends, means, tradeoffs, action-taking - enter into virtually any planning endeavour. Alternative schools of planning can nitpick at the methodological shortcomings of the synoptic approach, or challenge its particular historical applications, or take issues with its circumscribed logic, yet the practical tasks it encompasses must be addressed in some form by even its most adamant critics."

Hall (1983:44) agrees. As the American flirtation with alternative paradigms, derived from sociological analysis and assumed social and political pluralism, in the late 1960s and early 1970s revealed, alternative approaches lacked prescriptive force (Hall 1983:44). Prescription, it seems, remained fundamental to conceptions of planning.

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It is was in the context of systems planning that the calls for public participation in planning were first heard (Faludi 1973:146). Hall (1983:44) notes that consultation conducted by British planning authorities (following legislative change in 1968) became part of a systematic process, led by the professional planner, in the development of the goals and objectives of the planning. This represents he argues, a fundamental shift in the role of the planner, and his/her relationship with the public (Hall 1983:44). Although the "benign, omniscient scientist-planner" was (arguably) consigned to history, public involvement was constrained to consultation only.

Importantly, the synoptic ideal still clung to the notion of a unitary public interest. In Faludi's terms, the synoptic model's image of society was that a "holistic" one (1973:163). The importance of this societal image is that it connotes homogeneity of interest. As we shall see, later conceptions of planning were constructed from very different images of society. The importance of unitary public interest model is that it assumes that "the goals of planning are essentially universally shared and transcend any special, sectional interests" (Kiernan 1983:77). For others it is axiomatic that there exists a pluralistic distribution of both power and interest (Friedmann 1973:71; McDonald 1989:330). The importance of this notion lies in its consensual, rather than conflictive, societal image which obscures the fact that planning is fundamentally distributional and that there are both costs and benefits of planning interventions which are disproportionately shared among all classes and groups in society (Kiernan 1983:77).

The importance of this issue in terms of public involvement in synoptic planning is threefold. Firstly it immediately reduces the imperative for, and importance of, public involvement. If there is only a single consensual objective, public involvement can be limited to what Arnstein (1969) regards as a degree of tokenism. Secondly, the pervasive ideology of a unitary public interests tends to legitimise planning activities and planning objectives (Kiernan 1983:77). This further reduces the imperative for involving the public. Finally, the unitary interest simultaneously de-legitimises and stigmatises local objections (Kiernan 1983:78; see also Gariepy 1993:364). Objections and concerns emanating from the local populace are dismissed as being counter to the "public interest" and therefore illegitimate.

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In summary, the synoptic planning model represented a change in the role of the planner, a changed relationship between the planner and the public and a role for consultation limited by a unitary conception of the public interest. As Hudson (1979:388) notes, synoptic planning represents the starting point for later variations of the synoptic model of planning. These variants will now be considered in rough chronological order.

5.6.3 Incrementalism

The architect of incrementalist variant of synoptic planning, the so-called "disjointed incrementalist" or "muddling through" approach, was Lindblom (1959:79-88; Lindblom 1979). Faludi (1973:150-1) summarises Lindblom's critique of the rational comprehensive approach as follows. The "synoptic ideal" is not:

- adapted to man's intellectual capacities

- adapted to the inadequacy of information

- adapted to failure which needs to be expected in many circumstances

- cognisant of the relationship between facts and values in policy-making

- capable of coping with the range of variables which may be relevant

- adapted to the diverse circumstances in which policy problems arise (Faludi 1973:151).

Faludi (1973:151) suggests that these criticisms apply to blueprint planning, but not necessarily to process planning.

Lindblom's (1959) critique of the rational-comprehensive paradigm was centrally concerned with its impractical nature. Similarly, his suggested model, incrementalism, was

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devised to provide a relevant and practical guide to decision-making (1959:88). Faludi (1973:151) summarises the features of disjointed incrementalism as follows:

- margin-dependent choices (incremental changes to status quo)

- a restricted range of policy alternatives are considered (alternatives considered must be politically feasible and supported by adequate information)

- a restricted range of consequences are considered for any given policy (remote, intangible, unsubstantiated policy consequences are not considered).

- the objectives of policies are continuously adjusted

- reconstructive treatment of data

- serial analysis and evaluation

- remedial orientation and evaluation

- social fragmentation of analysis and evaluation (see also Lindblom 1959, 1979).

Lindblom (1979:517) later expanded his analysis of incrementalism to include two new categories of "muddling through." In addition to disjointed incrementalism he added simple incremental analysis, in which consideration of policy alternatives is limited to those which are incrementally from the status quo. Lindblom's (1979:518) third category is strategic analysis, which he describes as analysis limited to "any set of stratagems to simplify complex policy problems" in order to short-cut comprehensive scientific analysis.

Although it is commonly assumed that Lindblom (1959) was critical of incrementalist variations to rational-comprehensive policy making, he was, instead, suggesting that the approach had important benefits:

"successive limited comparison is, then, indeed a method or system; it is not a failure of method for which administrators ought to apologise" (Lindblom 1959:87).

For this normative prescription, Lindblom was accused of a conservative bias (Alexander 1986:22). He was not however an uncritical advocate, suggesting that decisions taken according to this method "will continue to be as foolish as they are wise" (Lindblom 1959:88). Twenty years later, Lindblom (1979:517) re-asserted his view that incrementalist analysis, although limited, remained an effective and pragmatic analytical formula. The task was, indeed, to develop "new and improved muddling" (Lindblom 1979:517).

Hudson (1979:389) notes that implicit in Lindblom's model is the notion that democratic societies are pluralistic and that there is an element of "push and tug" between established institutions who routinely use bargaining approaches in policy-making. Plans are the product of this push and tug, as well as political and information constraints and the experience and intuition of the planner (Hudson 1979:389). Lindblom calls it the "science of muddling through" (1959:78; 1979:517).

Implicit in the model, as Hudson acknowledges, are the influences of institutions and actors from outside the formal policy making arena (1979:389). The incrementalist approach therefore acknowledges a plurality of interests rather than a unitary interest and it is prepared to accept limited decentralisation of policy-making. As Lindblom (1959:88) notes, the model places demands on the type of personnel appropriate to policy and planning agencies. He suggests that:

> "agencies will want among their own personnel two types of diversification: administrators whose thinking is organized by reference to policy chains other than those familiar to most members of the organization and, even more commonly, administrators whose professional or personal values or interests create diversity of view ... so that, even within a single agency, decision-making can be fragmented... " (Lindblom 1959:88).

Lindblom's use of the term "policy chains" is similar to the contemporary concept of "policy community" which Painter (1992:27-8) suggests is important in the endeavours of agencies to co-opt or incorporate actors outside the formal policy-making arena. While

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public involvement under incremental planning is, like synoptic planning, consultative, the decentralised, pluralistic nature of incrementalism provides a mechanism for incorporation (however fleetingly and informally) of other actors. This represents, as far as both conceptions of public involvement and planning are concerned, an important shift.

5.6.4 Mixed Scanning

The "mixed scanning" approach, like incrementalism, represents a variation from formal, rigid applications of the synoptic model (Alexander 1986:29). It was also an approach seen to be more versatile and one which would overcome the central problem with the incremental approach: that the alternatives considered only marginally differed from the status quo (Alexander 1986:29; Faludi 1973:112). The approach also overcame the problem of information overload created by the requirement to consider all alternatives in pursuit of the goal of rational decision-making (Faludi 1973:105-6).

The model was developed by Etzioni (1968) who suggested that decision-making could occur at both the tactical and strategic levels (Alexander 1986:29). While the incremental mode might be appropriate at the tactical level, there was also a need he argued, for a broader, more strategic picture. He suggested therefore, that organisations need to scan their environments over different decision-making levels, choosing from both tactical operational issues and fundamental strategic choices (Alexander 1986:29). In this way, planning and decision-making could be both functional and normative (after Faludi 1973). Despite the apparent improvements Etzioni's suggestion made, some analysts suggested that both incrementalism and mixed scanning were merely alternative technologies to synoptic planning which did not resolve its fundamental flaws (Healey *et al.* 1982:15).

The mixed scanning variant of the "synoptic ideal" (Faludi 1983:151) was focussed on overcoming the problems of information overload, a vast array of alternatives and the impracticality of assessing them all. It was not particularly concerned with achieving consensus within the planning community about the goals of planning or with reconciling competing objectives of particular actors. As a variant of the rational-comprehensive paradigm therefore, mixed scanning was an approach to planning in which the planner

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remained firmly in control. The role for citizen participation remained limited and, as we shall see, it was not until the later 1960s and early 1970s when a serious challenge to the omnipotence of the planner and the unitary public interest model was made (Hall 1983:43).

5.6.5 Synoptic Planning and Public Involvement: A Summary

Synoptic or systems planning, which dominated planning in the 1960s, generally represented a continuation of the rational comprehensive paradigm, albeit in a modified form. Importantly for the purposes of this study, synoptic planning was the starting point for more pragmatic planning models (notably incrementalism and mixed scanning) which provided more substantial opportunities for public involvement.

The two most important developments in the period of synoptic planning as far as public involvement is concerned were:

i.   the institutionalisation of a limited role for public comment in planning (Faludi 1973:146; Hall 1983:44); and

ii.   the inclusion of actors from outside the formal policy-making arena in the incremental mode of planning (Hudson 1979:389).

Both of these represent important changes in the context of planning thought. With the advent of systems planning, public involvement has become an orthodox element of planning activity. Perhaps more important however, is the implicit use of actors external to the policy process in plan formation (Hudson 1979:389). This change represents an important shift in the role of the planning agency in that it:

i.   introduces the notion of a planning community or constituency of the planning agency which need to be informed, placated or patronised if planning decisions are to be accepted;

ii   implicitly recognises the role that bargaining, negotiation and other political activity plays in decision-making and, as a result, diminishes the importance of technical adjudication;

iii.   implicitly recognises that the derivation of the goals of planning can not be assumed to be given, or the product of consensual processes; and

iv.   recognises that power in both overt and covert forms, is rarely centralised and is usually dispersed among institutions and other actors in the planning process.

Despite these important intellectual departures from previous conceptions of planning, two central concepts of the rational comprehensive paradigm remained firmly embedded in planning practice: planning as distinct from politics and the unitary public interest model (Kiernan 1983:77; Beauregard 1989:388-9). These concepts, Kiernan argues, persisted despite the changes occurring within theoretical discourse. The persistence of antipolitical planning ideologies and the unitary public interest model ensured that the important intellectual changes advocated in the synoptic and incrementalist approaches did not result in new opportunities for public involvement until the 1970s.

5.7 The search for a new paradigm: Theoretical Pluralism

5.7.1 Introduction

By the late 1960s, the trenchant criticisms of the rational comprehensive paradigm had begun to precipitate new models of planning (Hall 1983:43; Friedmann and Kuester 1994:55; Beauregard 1989:387; McDonald 1989:330-1). A single, unifying model of planning was not to emerge however. Instead, a range of new approaches were suggested, all of which shared the common goal of overcoming the many and varied criticisms which had been levelled at the synoptic ideal. All of them - advocacy, transactive, radical planning, bargaining and communicative accounts - are best understood as emerging from the social transformation planning tradition, rather than the increasingly jaded social guidance tradition (Friedmann and Kuester 1994:56).

Hall (1992) describes the contemporary era of planning thought as being characterised by theoretical pluralism. The review which follows, demonstrates that recent planning thought, although eclectic, has the following characteristics:

i. With the exception of transactive planning, all schools begin with substantive theoretical explanations, rather than the development of normative models. Although Marxist conceptions were criticised for lacking prescriptive force, the insistence on description of social and political realities has seen planning thought merge with policy analysis and other social sciences and begin to overcome the criticisms and failures of past models.

ii. All schools in the contemporary era emphasise the political quality of planning. Clearly such a view is concomitant with planning as a component of policy analysis essentially concerned with decision making.

iii. An important change that can be traced to Lindblom's (1959; see also 1979) seminal analysis and the work of Etzioni (1968) but which has been incorporated as a fundamental assumption of planning conceptions in the contemporary era is political plurality. Whereas earlier models assumed a holistic society (after Faludi 1973) and a unitary public interest, the contemporary era assumes society to be atomistic and the interests of individual actors to be varied, competing and even contradictory.

iv. A final and, in the context of this study, crucial characteristic of the contemporary era pertains to the role for public involvement. Whereas participation was considered a decision making adjunct, all schools of the contemporary era view participation as a fundamental element of planning and decision making. Importantly however, these schools provide little prescription on the means of encouraging participation, achieving empowerment or overcoming the difficulties of selection, co-optation or corporatism. Some gains have been made however (see, for example, Healey 1996). Communicative theory (based largely on Habermas

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1984, 1987; see Hillier 1993; Healey 1992, 1993; Forester 1989; Sager 1994) shows how democratic participation and empowerment can be undermined and therefore overcome. Communicative theory suggests how some of the major difficulties associated with democratic participation may be avoided and a new, "inventive form of environmental planning" created (Healey 1992:157).

5.7.2 Transactive Planning

Transactive planning theory was developed by Friedmann (1973) as a response to failures of the synoptic ideal. Rather than conceiving of planning for an amorphous, ill-defined public, transactive planning proposes face to face contact with the planning community (see Hudson 1979:389). Reflecting Friedmann's perspective of planning as linking knowledge to action (1973:370), planning from the transactive perspective does not rely on orthodox empirical techniques but rather, on interpersonal dialogue in which ideas are validated through action (Friedmann 1994:379; Hudson 1979:389). In keeping with the conservative social learning school of the social transformation tradition (Friedmann 1987:76-7), a central objective of transactive planning is mutual learning. Instead of pursuing specific functional objectives, transactive planning places greater emphasis on personal and institutional development (Friedmann 1994:379; Hudson 1979:389).

In terms of opportunities for public involvement, transactive planning is far removed from earlier models. Not only is the participation of the planning community integral to planning method, but an important goal is to decentralise planning institutions by empowering people to direct and control social processes which determine their welfare (Hudson 1979:389; see also Friedmann 1992). Participation and empowerment, according to this concept of planning become goals to be attained rather than methods to be used. In terms of the scope and role of public involvement, transactive planning broke new ground. The professional planner became a conduit for information dissemination and feedback and the public were encouraged to actively engage in policy and planning processes. A new era for public involvement had begun.

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5.7.3 Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning can similarly be understood as a response to the manifest failures of the synoptic model. In the case of advocacy planning, the central issue being addressed is the "image of society" (after Faludi 1973:137). Whereas the rational comprehensive approach relied on a unitary, holistic image of society, the advocacy model assumed social and political pluralism (Faludi 1973:137; Hudson 1979:390; Mazziotti 1982:207-9; Healey *et al.* 1982:9). The original statement on advocacy planning was made by Davidoff (1965), although a more sophisticated description is provided by Mazziotti (1982).

Political pluralism is conceptualised as:

> "the process of decision-making as a system of social relationships whereby the expression of power among and between competing group interests ultimately shapes the direction and structure of the social system" (Mazziotti 1982:210).

The central tenets upon which advocacy planning is built are (i) there is a profound inequality of bargaining power between groups, (ii) there is unequal access to the political structure and (iii) there are large numbers of people who are unorganised and therefore unrepresented by interest groups (Mazziotti 1982:210; Hyman and Stiftel 1988:46). These inequalities are the foundation for the objective of advocacy in the US context: "to meet the just demand for political and social equality on the part of the Negro and the impoverished" (Davidoff 1965:332; see also Checkoway 1994:140). Advocacy planning therefore falls within the radical social transformation tradition by being concerned with advocating the interests of less articulate actors in the cause of seeking social change to improve the conditions of the disenfranchised (see Checkoway 1994:140)..

As Hudson (1979:390) observes, advocacy planning reflects the "trend away from neutral objectivity .... in favour of more explicit principles of social justice" (see also Checkoway 1994:140). This mode of planning has been criticised however for its lack of constructive prescription (Hudson 1979:390). It is most usually associated with blocking particular

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proposals and plans rather than proposing strategies to ameliorate the lives of those it was meant to serve.

In terms of the role for public involvement however, advocacy planning, despite its failings and the criticisms levelled at it, represents an important break from the traditions of the past. Firstly the essence of advocacy is to ensure that unheard or invisible interests and concerns are articulated and, as far as possible, accommodated in decision-making. This represents an important shift in planning philosophy and method. Implicit in this approach is the challenge that advocacy poses to assumptions about a unitary public interest (Hudson 1979:390). Beginning with the assumption of political plurality, advocacy planners are essentially facilitators whose central task is to either catalyse the participation of inarticulate actors, or alternatively, advocate their interests directly. As Checkoway (1994:140) explains:

> "Davidoff viewed planning as a process to promote democratic pluralism in society, by representing diverse groups in political debate and public policy."

Under this model, public participation is fundamental, rather than peripheral, to planning.

5.7.4 Marxist approaches to Planning

Hall (1983:44) suggests that the brief Marxist ascendancy in planning theory was the result of the increasing problems of inner city areas of large urban-industrial areas and the powerlessness of planners to respond. Harvey's (1973) analysis remains central to the Marxist perspective on planning. The conclusion of those confronting these issues was an obvious one: only a grass-roots challenge to the capitalist state would accomplish meaningful change (Hall 1983:44; Paris 1982:7). According to this view the capitalist state and mode of production was primarily responsible for the inequitable distribution of money, status and power and it was this failure in distribution which was the fundamental source of inner-city malaise (Davies 1982:124; Harvey 1973).

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Hall (1983:44) is careful to differentiate between two streams of Marxian response. The earlier, and briefer, response evolved from advocacy planning and was interventionist in style. This stream advocated that the planner seek to precipitate a crisis in the capitalist state by raising community consciousness about the source and nature of their disenfranchisement (Hall 1983:44; Harvey 1973).

The more dominant tradition emphasised the importance of academic analysis and critique of planning (Hall 1983:44). In this respect, these Marxist thinkers were more concerned with "theory of planning rather than theory-in-planning" (Hall 1983:44; *cf.* Faludi 1973:3). In part, this emphasis reflected a central dimension of the Marxian analysis: the planning system was a construct of the capitalist state and therefore reflected views of the dominant class structures produced by capitalism (Davies 1982:124). The logical conclusion of such an analysis was that planning ultimately served the capitalist state (Davies 1982:124; see also Howitt 1989). These Marxists explained the persistence of technical approaches to planning in the face of their political (distributional) analyses by suggesting that "anti-political ideologies" (Kiernan 1983) allowed them to side-step the distributional issues and affirm their claim to professionalism (Davies 1982:125-6).

There was no scope for public involvement in this dominant tradition of Marxist analysis of planning. Despite the fact that the *raison d'etre* of this tradition was the amelioration of the lives of the impoverished and disenfranchised, no role was provided for the public. The logical explanation for this lies in the tradition's concern with procedural rather than substantive theory (Hall 1983:44). The tradition offered almost nothing in the way of prescription. This lack of prescriptive force was the major criticism of the school. This detached academic analysis meant, Hall (1983:44) suggests, that the approach had little to offer the practising planner. In terms of public involvement, while the Marxists advocated grass-roots action, they offered no suggestions for coping with the dominance of the "haves" rather than the "have nots" in planning.

To dismiss this approach and suggest it made no intellectual contribution would be in error. Marxist analysis reinforced the increasingly popular conception of society as atomistic and plural in nature. In this way it served to undermine the persistent myth of a single, "public"

interest. In addition, Marxist analysis, along with other schools, served to affirm the distributional and political nature of planning activity. All of these contributions are significant, both in terms of the role of the non-planner and in terms of the intellectual evolution of the field.

5.7.5 Bargaining

The next major model of the contemporary era is bargaining (see Figure 5.1). As McDonald (1989:333) observes, the failure of the synoptic ideal left "planners struggling to find a new paradigm". The response, including that of the Marxists (see Hall 1983:44) and followers of Friedmann's (1973) transactive model, has been to adopt a public policy approach to discourse on planning (McDonald 1989:333). The hallmark of this approach has been to view planning as a field of decision or policy making rather than as a separate technical field (McDonald 1989:333; Faludi 1987:175). The policy making process includes a range of official and non-official participants, a number of stages (from problem definition, information analysis to final decision making) which, in particular situations, may be sequenced differently or which may assume differing degrees of importance (Painter 1992:24). As McDonald (1989:333) contends:

> "Plans are an important part of the process of decision making; strategic plans for example might provide a framework for compromise and negotiation between competing interests in their creation and, once accepted, in their implementation. Implementation itself is a policy/action continuum, often resulting in policies being created or at least given real definition during implementation stage and not before."

This policy or decision making approach to planning is responsible for bequeathing the "bargaining" school (see Dorcey 1986; McDonald 1989). This school asserts that the most important aspect to decision making in mixed economies is bargaining within the parameters established by legal and political institutions (Dorcey 1986; McDonald 1989; Dale and Lane 1994). Bargaining is used in this context to mean a transaction between two or more parties which establishes "what each shall give and take or perform and receive" (Dorcey 1986). According to this view, planning the decisions are the product of give and take between active participants involved in the planning process. This model therefore

eschews the antipolitical ideologies of earlier models and recognises the fundamental political nature of planning. Like advocacy and Marxist planners, the bargaining school recognises the uneven distribution of power to bargain but insists that the plural nature of most planning situations means that all participants have the capacity to influence decisions "even if it is only to vote, to embarrass, to provide information, to demonstrate or to block decisions" (McDonald 1989:333). This conception of the importance of participation in the policy/planning process accords with that of Painter (1992:24).

McDonald (1989:333 after Dorcey 1986) characterises bargaining situations thus:

i.   a wide array of both private and public actors are involved;

ii.   these actors are formally coupled or represented by organisations which may be formal, permanent institutions or more ephemeral and informal associations;

iii.   a variety of legal, political or administrative decision making arenas provide the setting for interactions between actors; and

iv.   the characteristics of decision making in these arenas is dominated by bargaining.

Public involvement is fundamental to the bargaining analysis of planning. Unlike some of the other planning models considered in this chapter however, bargaining is less of a normative model of planning and more a substantive analysis of the decision-making process. This is a crucial distinction. Whereas, in normative models, such as the synoptic ideal, public involvement has a particular function, such as the provision of information to the planner; according to the bargaining school, the participation of actors is the principle ingredient of decision making. Whereas public involvement is a decision making *adjunct* in the former, according to the latter analysis, participation is the central dynamic *in* decision making. Webber (1983:96), prophesising on a negotiated approach to planning described it thus:

"consider a planning style that does not promote a single conception of the public interest, and that professes to be essentially political rather than essentially technical in character. Instead of striving for integrated plans and programs, it encourages all interested parties to promote and pursue their own preferred projects, however disparate and contradictory. It does not rely on a central planning agency and a central command post to design and then manage the course of development. Instead it encourages all agencies, public and private, to conduct rigorous technical analyses and, within the constraints of available resources, to formulate their own plans favouring their own purposes, each virtually independently of the others".

A consequential issue for analysts concerned with participation in bargaining is whether or not the nature of participation in bargaining situations leads to corporatist type decisions (Gariepy 1991:371-2; Robinson 1992:325), or whether class, ethnicity or other social variables ensure the dominance of a selection of actors and the acquiescence of others in the bargaining situation (Robinson 1993:324; Sandercock 1994:12). Dorcey (1986) suggests that it is the potential for inequity in planning outcomes produced by inequitable access or success in bargaining which should inform "research and reform" in bargaining. His framework for reform is centrally concerned with facilitating effective, equitable negotiation. His suggested reform agenda has three elements:

i.   informing the bargaining or improving the ability of people to bargain

ii.   improving participation and representation in bargaining

iii. increasing the productivity of bargaining by reform of institutional and legislative arrangements (Dorcey 1986).

This represents a dramatic shift in conceptions of planning and public involvement. Instead of developing a model of how decisions *should* be made, Dorcey has began with an analysis of how decisions *are* made, and considered ways of overcoming the propensity for inequitable results (Dorcey 1986). Since this statement on planning others have adopted a similar approach to planning of natural resources (see Ewing 1988; White and Runge in press). By proceeding on this basis, the role of, and complexion of difficulties with, participation in planning are substantially changed.

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5.7.6 Communicative Theory

Pluralist conceptions of planning, from advocacy to bargaining, remain problematic and not only for their lack of prescriptive force. Healey (1992:157, following Forester 1989) argues that these forms of "power-broking planning" have not aided the creation of an "inventive form of environmental planning". In particular, she argues that these approaches

> "treat interest as a source of power, bargaining with others to create a calculus which expresses the power relations among the participants. Its language is that of prevalent political power games. It is not underpinned by any effort at "learning about" the interests and perceptions of the participants and with that knowledge, revising what each participant thinks about each other's and their own interests."

Herein lies the central conceptual development proffered by communicative theory. The demise of the omnipotence of scientific-rationalism, encapsulated best as the "post-modern challenge to the modernity project" has forced a reconsideration of the nature and role of reason (Healey 1992:149; Hillier 1993:91; Hoch 1992:206-7; see also Friedmann 1993:482; Friedmann 1994:482; Hoch 1994:71,292; Giddens 1994:115-6; McCay and Jentoft 1996:246). The communicative perspective is largely built on a converging set of ideas: Habermas's notion of communicative rationality (1984, 1987), Dryzek's (1990:43, 98) concept of discursive democracy and Giddens' (1994:115-6) notion of dialogic democracy. Following Habermas (1987), Healey (1992:150) summarises the communicative perspective thus:

> "far from giving up on reason as an organising principle for contemporary societies, we should shift perspective from an individualised, subject-oriented conception of reason, to reasoning formed within inter-subjective communication" (see also Dryzek 1990:14; Giddens 1994:115-6).

Rationality is thus expanded to include all the ways in which people come to "understand and know things and use that knowledge in acting" (Healey 1992:150, 1993:103; Hillier 1995:294). If planning activity is focussed on inter-subjective argumentation, an understanding of the concerns of individual actors may be achieved. Moreover, by recognising that the concerns of an individual actor may be personally, societally and

culturally situated, inter-subjective communication can help actors "understand each other" (Healey 1992:158; see also Healey 1993:103; Hillier 1993:93, 1995:294; Friedmann 1993:482; Innes 1995:184; Beck 1992:191). Importantly, this approach to planning recognises the existence of differing types of rationality.

Forester's (1989) statement on communicative planning is oriented toward practice and reveals that communicative theory also has substantial explanatory power in terms of what occurs in the day to day world of the planner (see also Innes 1995:183). As we have observed, Forester (1989:18) suggests that communication is the major *method* of planning. In his terms, planners are essentially concerned with "organising attention to the real possibilities for action" (1989:17-8). He suggests that:

> [planners] are not apolitical problem solvers or social engineers. Instead they are actually pragmatic critics who must make selective arguments and therefore influence what other people learn about, not by technically calculating means to ends or error signals, but by *organising attention* carefully to project possibilities, organising for practical political purposes and organisational ends" (1989:18).

According to this view, planners do not simply report on planning problems and issues. Instead they refashion and reformulate the problem and, in doing so, provide new bases for policy formation (Forester 1989:19; Myerson and Rydin 1994:437). Planners can therefore set the agenda for decision-making and, in addition, pre-empt decisions on matters of policy. Communicative theory therefore helps clarify the ethical and political responsibilities of the planner by emphasising the degree to which planners can potentially distort communication. Hillier (1993:92) explains:

> "the language and stories of planning are therefore not neutral media which convey ideas independently formed; they are an institutionalised structure of meanings which channel thought and action in certain directions."

Indeed, Throgmorton (1993:334) regards planning tools as "rhetorical tropes" or figures of speech and argument "which give persuasive power to the larger narratives of which they are apart" (see also Throgmorton 1990, 1992; and Beck 1992). This rhetoric he argues, is both persuasive and constitutive (1993:335).

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And what of planning agencies? The organisations in which planners work:

> "are not problem solving machines with simple inputs and outputs. They are structures of power and thus distorted communication - they selectively channel information and attention, systematically shape participation....." (Forester 1989:20).

Forester (1989:20) suggests the aim of planners, in the light of their ethical responsibilities, is to work towards the political democratisation of daily communications (see also Hillier 1993; Healey 1993). According to some, contemporary conceptions of planning, such as communicative approaches, may help revive democratic practices (Friedmann 1993:483).

Importantly in terms of this study, communicative theory demands that attention is paid to the organisational environment in which the planner works. Forester (1989:19) again:

> "to ask how analysts organise or disorganise others' attention leads not only to questions about the adequacy, legitimacy and openness of their practice but also to the same questions about the organisations in which they work - issues which conventional views seem to ignore ....."

Sociological analyses have become prominent in contemporary accounts of planning (Beauregard 1989:390-1). Healey (1992:158; see also Innes 1995:183) in seeking to detail her model of communicative planning, shows that it is built upon the flaws and failings of previous models. Planning through inter-subjective communication:

> "would acknowledge ... the limited scope for mutual understanding between diverse discourse communities, while struggling to enlarge that understanding. It would accept other limits - to power, to empirical knowledge, to the resolvability of moral dilemmas - but seek to enable the world-of-action to ... 'move on' towards something better, without having to precisely specify a goal. Rather than Lindblomian marginal adjustments to the present, its language would be *future seeking*, but not, like its physical blueprint and goal-directed predecessors, *future defining*. ... It would seek to reason between conflicting claims and conflicting ways of validating claims. It would not force one dimension of knowledge to dominate over another. It would be courageous, challenging power relations through critique and the presentation of alternative arguments" (see also McCay and Jentoft 1996:246).

The communicative approach to planning infers a substantial role for public involvement. With reference to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, the importance of inter-subjective communication to the communicative model is that it demands forms of public involvement which provide fora for dialogue, argumentation and discourse (Hillier 1993:90; Healey 1996:222-3). It is also concerned with broadening the range of actors (and their concerns) which are viewed as legitimate in planning (Hillier 1995). Public involvement in communicative planning must be concerned with more than consultation and placation (see Arnstein 1969; Figure 4.1); instead public involvement in communicative theory is likely to involve negotiation, bargaining and debate (Giddens 1994:128; Dryzek 1990:72; Hillier 1993:91; McCay and Jentoft 1996:246; Healey 1996:222).

The style or mode of public involvement in communicative theory is not the only issue of importance. Like the bargaining and transactive models, public involvement in communicative planning is fundamental, rather than being an adjunct, to planning. However, the important point of departure for communicative planning from earlier models lies in its characterisation of communication as planning action (Forester 1989; Hillier 1993; Sager 1994). To *plan*, according to this view, is to communicate, argue, debate and engage in discourse for the purpose of "organising attention to the possibilities for action" (Forester 1989:19). In communicative planning therefore, without the involvement of concerned actors, planning cannot proceed.

However the activity of planners and their organisations in selectively restricting information and selectively framing problems (Forester 1989:72) can have profound implications for the level, nature and direction of citizen participation. Forester (1989:77), Healey (1992:145) and Hillier (1993:92, 1995:293,295) suggest that the degree to which planners control communication in planning demands that planners have a *critical* knowledge enabling them to reflect on "the problems of equity, the concentrated accumulation of wealth and the perpetuation of widespread suffering and poverty" (see Forester 1989:76). Planners, in other words, must confront a range of ethical issues (Hillier 1993:90).

The importance of communicative activity in planning to public participation is succinctly summarised by Forester (1989:77):

> "citizens are profoundly affected, therefore, not only by what gets produced by public and private organisations, but also by how these organisations reproduce social and political relations of knowledge and ignorance, consent and deference, trust and dependency, and attention and confusion. When citizens lack a democratic voice in the production of these relations, planners can expect to find needless human suffering and political domination."

Throgmorton (1993) goes further. He argues that planning methods "construct the planners' character" and, as a result, the "kinds of communities that are formed between planners and their audiences" (Throgmorton 1993:334).

As a final matter, it is worthwhile reflecting briefly, on the nature of the two statements of communicative theory considered in this review. Healey's (1992) statement on communicative theory is, notwithstanding its foundation in substantive theoretical discourse, unashamedly normative. Healey (1992) has sought to emphasise the extent to which a communicative analysis of planning realities, and reformulation of planning strategies in the light of this analysis, might substantially improve the capacity of planners to address the important normative (critical) issues of equity, democracy and progress which were fundamental to the modernity project to which contemporary planning is linked (see also Healey 1993). Healey (1992) therefore uses communicative theory to suggest how public involvement in planning is important and how its use might be improved.

Forester (1989; see also Innes 1995:183) has an entirely different agenda. He is concerned with articulating communicative theory as a substantive theory and, in doing so, demonstrating its explanatory power. Forester (1989) shows that communicative theory is able to provide significant insights into planning practice and, in doing so, explain reasons for planning failure. In particular, Forester's analysis is useful for understanding how citizens involved in planning can be excluded, rendered irrelevant and powerless or co-opted. As Hillier (1993:95) argues

"Habermassian analysis is .. an attempt to demonstrate the means by which communications may be systematically distorted by organisations and/or individuals to obscure issues, manipulate trust and consent, twist fact and possibility."

Communicative theory also, as Healey (1992) suggests, shows ways in which the co-operative involvement of the public in planning can be instrumental in producing innovative, creative environmental planning. Forester (1989:76) by contrast, shows how a communicative perspective enables an understanding of how and why "citizens may suffer the appropriation of their informed knowledge, consent, trust and sense of their own needs." Communicative theory therefore offers profound insights into both public involvement and planning in terms of explaining planning practice and improving it through normative model building (Forester 1989; Healey 1992, 1993; Hillier 1993; Sager 1994; Innes 1995; McCay and Jentoft 1996).

5.8 Conclusion

Theoretical discourse on planning in the twentieth century has changed dramatically. Conceptions of planning have changed from the highly normative, rational models emphasising the pre-eminent role of the planner, the application of scientific method and logic and future desired end-state blueprints which dominated in the early part of this century (Friedmann 1993:484). With the collapse of the synoptic ideal and the profound challenge of post-modernism, thinkers in the field have "struggled to find a new paradigm" (Beauregard 1989:392-3; McDonald 1989:333; cf. Kaiser and Godschalk 1995:365; Alexander 1994). In the theoretical pluralism of the contemporary era a number of tendencies have emerged: the political nature of planning, the atomistic and competing interests of stakeholders and decisions as negotiated outcomes facilitated and mediated by the planner (Friedmann 1994:55; Beauregard 1989:393). All of these are being increasingly incorporated as assumptions of an emerging paradigm (Innes 1995:183).

A range of scholars have converged on communicative action as the new paradigm in planning (Innes 1995; see also Forester 1989; Healey 1992; Hillier 1993; Sager 1994).

Drawing on Habermas (1984, 1987), the communicative perspective focuses on communication as the major method of planning action (Forester 1989; Hillier 1993). The way in which planners perceive problems, select and process information and present alternatives to particular audiences "organises attention" to certain solutions (Forest 1989:18; Hillier 1993:91). Planning agencies are therefore "not problem solving machines ... [but] structures of power and thus distorted communication" (Forester 1989:20; see also Hillier 1993:92).

The communicative perspective is grounded theory which is based on interpretive studies of practice (Innes 1995:183). Importantly, those who have advocated this perspective suggest that it has both explanatory power and normative capability (Innes 1995; Healey 1992; see, for example, Healey 1996). As an emerging paradigm therefore, it at last offers hope that the gap between planning theory and practice may be bridged (Innes 1995:183). With its focus on the communication of the planner, and the way in which information is disseminated and received, it is suggested here that it may provide a useful framework for analysing public involvement in planning.

In terms of public involvement in planning, this review has two conclusions:

i.   the role of public involvement in planning is determined by the conception and model of planning in which it is initiated. The type of planning determines the role of the planner and the non-planner respectively, the extent of involvement and the nature of involvement. According to the bargaining model, for instance, public involvement is fundamental and is concerned with the negotiation of particular outcomes. The synoptic model by contrast uses limited involvement (consultation) as a decision-making aid to provide additional information to decision maker and to legitimate decisions taken.

ii.   the role of participation in planning has been significantly increased by the revolutions which have occurred to planning theory. Participation which emerged as addition to the practice of synoptic planning is now considered fundamental to

the process of decision making by proponents of political analyses of planning (Friedmann and Kuester 1994; Beauregard 1989).

Section C

Section C presents the case analysis which is the empirical focus of this study. This is an analysis of public involvement in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area of northern Queensland, Australia. The case is presented in four chapters, commencing with chapter six which examines the recent history of conflict over resource use which preceded World Heritage Listing. Chapter seven is concerned with describing and analysing the nature and operations of the Wet Tropics Management Authority, the organisation charged with management planning of the area. Chapter eight considers the efforts of the Authority to involve the European-Australian population in its planning activities. Chapter nine considers the involvement of the Aboriginal population in consultation and decision-making process.

6.0 An Historical Perspective on Resource Use in the Wet Tropics

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a history of the dispute over Queensland's northern rainforests which preceded the establishment of the Wet Tropics WHA. It is a history of considerable conflict between conservationists and the primary production sector, particularly the logging industry. So considerable has been the conflict, and the efforts of the green movement, that

> "the symbolic collection of issues known as the Wet Tropics occupied the most central position on the national conservation agenda for the best part of the 1980s" (Doyle 1989:475).

Others have described the dispute over the northern forests, and in particular the beautiful and apparently ecologically significant Daintree, as a "classic example of conflict between resource development and nature protection" (Aiken and Leigh 1987:135).

A historical perspective is important in any understanding of the factors which led to the establishment of the protected area and of the prevailing views about resource management. In addition, the history of the dispute provides an understanding of the nature of politics in the planning community, including, in this case, the degree of polarisation between major stakeholders. The formation and structure of the primary management institution is also a direct function of the nature of the dispute and, in particular, of tensions between the State and Federal governments.

The history that follows is structured chronologically. A chronological format has been adopted so as to show how the dispute unfolded, to detail how the conflict was both maintained and resolved and to contextualise the issues of central importance to this dissertation. As far as possible, the reader is directed to these critical issues and to the analysis provided. The chapter ends with a summary of these key events and issues and foreshadows their importance in subsequent chapters.

6.2 The Cape Tribulation-Bloomfield Road

The conservation movement first became active in resource management issues associated with north Queensland forests in 1980 - well before the northern rainforests became a prominent issue in environmental politics (Doyle 1989:482). Logging was proceeding at Mt Windsor at this time, prompting early calls for World Heritage Listing (Hill and Graham 1983:13). Neither these operations, nor logging generally, enjoyed the political prominence they would later command. In 1981 the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) appointed a project officer in Cairns to monitor Cape York conservation issues. This officer soon re-directed attention to the rainforests of the Cairns region and began to campaign for their protection. In 1982 the first green group dedicated to rainforest protection - the Rainforest Conservation Society (RCS) - was formed. Doyle (1989:483 see also Doyle and Kellow 1995) suggests that in these early years rainforest conservation was yet to crystallise as a matter of public importance and that the full energy of the wider conservation movement had yet to be trained onto the issue.

The pivotal event in the history of the listing of the Wet Tropics was the construction of a road, by the Douglas Shire Council (henceforth DSC), through the rainforest of Cape Tribulation National Park (Hall 1992:219). The 34 kilometre road was designed to substantially improve all-weather access to Bloomfield and, as a result, provide a more satisfactory route north to Cooktown (Lipman 1985a:132; Australian Parliament 1984:6). The road reserve was first gazetted by the DSC prior to the establishment of the Cape Tribulation National Park and a pilot track was first bulldozed in 1979 (Aiken and Leigh 1987:136; Davis 1984:9). Public outcry greeted the announcement, in June 1983, of the intention of the DSC to commence construction of the more substantial all-weather road (Davis 1989a:71) following funding from the Queensland government (Aiken and Leigh 1987:136).

Over the course of what was to develop into an acrimonious national political conflict, the DSC and the Queensland government offered a range of rationales for the development of the road including: the reduction of the isolation of the Bloomfield community; enhanced policing of the region to thwart drug traffickers, fauna smugglers and illegal immigrants; its contribution to the defence of the north; and the provision of access to rescue stranded

fisherman and bushwalkers (Aiken and Leigh 1987:136; Anderson 1989:218). The rapidity with which real estate development (facilitated by the alienation of Crown land), and the ideological commitment of both the DSC and the State government to development, suggest that the principal objective of the road was to stimulate economic development in the region (Aiken and Leigh 1987:136; Davis 1989b:104).

Conservationists mounted a campaign and a blockade in an attempt to protect the region from the incursion of the road builders (Davis 1989a:71). The blockade, mounted by about 200 conservationists who had formed the Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group, was successful in slowing the pace of construction and in attracting the attention of the national media (Scott 1984:7); Anderson 1989:217). Widespread media coverage reported the spectacular gullying and washouts which resulted from the first rains of the wet season. Davis (1989a:71) suggests that there was, by this time, considerable popular support for moves to halt the bulldozers. Doyle (1989:366) asserts that the conservation movement, under the auspices of the Wilderness Society (TWS) and the ACF, concentrated their efforts on the Daintree because they felt it would attract considerable support and subsequently catalyse wider public support for the broader and more nebulous issue of rainforest protection in general.

The opponents of road construction included most local and national environmental groups including the Cairns and Far North Environment Centre (CAFNEC), the Rainforest Conservation Society of Queensland (RCS), the Wilderness Society (TWS) and the Australian Conservation Foundation (Doyle 1989:482). In addition, a number of local residents were prominent in the debate, with two mounting legal challenges to State government decisions. Some have wrongly asserted that Aboriginal residents of the Wujal Wujal community were also opposed to road construction (see Aiken and Leigh 1987:136). Anderson (1989: 218-223) shows that this view is a simplistic and inaccurate portrayal of the Aboriginal response. Those Aboriginal people associated, through descent, with the lands to be traversed by the road, were vigorous supporters of road construction, for mainly pragmatic reasons associated with improved access (Anderson 1989:223-224). Certainly there were some Aboriginal people who expressed their opposition to the road, however Anderson (1989:224) argues that these can be identified as persons and organisations without recognisable and legitimate (in Aboriginal people's terms) links with the lands in question.

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The response of the conservationists to the incursion of the bulldozers was, however, spontaneous and neither strategic nor particularly well organised. In his analysis of the conservation movement throughout this issue, Doyle (1989: 485) presented a hierarchy of the arguments used by conservationists:

- beauty of the forests
- spiritual element to human-forest interaction
- wilderness values of the region
- survival of humanity
- Aboriginal land rights

Doyle contrasts these arguments with those used later in the dispute. Once the conservation movement fully mobilised to protect the forests, their objections to the road (and other threats) were premised on the ecological importance of the region which they asserted was of international significance (Keto 1987:3-5). Over the course of the conflict, and as the subsequent discussions will show, conservationists expressed concern about the damage to the forest and fringing reefs, the potential for rapid real estate development, and the breach of the principal of no development in national parks. They also argued that there was no substantial justification for the road (Aiken and Leigh 1987:136-137).

In these early days however, the arguments of the conservationists were not "finely-honed strategic weapons" (Doyle 1989: 485). They were instead merely the intuitive concerns and feelings of participants who were, by and large, unsophisticated in their approach to environmental protection. Over the next five years, the nature of the participants in the campaign, as well as their arguments and tactics, was to change dramatically (see Doyle 1989; Aiken and Leigh 1987).

Lipman (1985a:131,133) reports that despite the widely acknowledged ecological significance of the region, the Douglas Shire neither surveyed the route prior to construction nor applied construction standards to reduce the ecological impact of the road. When the Cape Tribulation National park was proclaimed in 1981, it excluded a 20 metre-wide road reserve along a route which had been identified in 1979 (Lipman 1985a:132). Douglas Shire, however, was not

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acting alone. The ultra-conservative Queensland government made special assistance available for the completion of the road (Davis 1989a:71; Scott 1984:5-6). The then Premier made clear his government's intentions to fight both the environmental movement and the possibility of Commonwealth intervention to protect the forests (Davis 1989a:71).

Some commentators observed that the actions of both the Douglas Shire Council and the Queensland government were illegal. Since the proposed route of the road had not been comprehensively surveyed, when construction did commence, engineers found it necessary to deviate from the proposed route into the National Park. This of course meant that the road was being constructed, in part, outside the road reserve and inside the National Park (Lipman 1985a:134); Davis 1984:10-11). In December 1983 the Minister for National Parks announced that the deviations from the road reserve (as well as a subsequent request for the widening of the road reserve) had been authorised by the Director of National Parks and Wildlife by virtue of his powers under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act and Amendment Act 1982*. Lipman (1985a:134-135) shows however, that such authorisations could not have been validly authorised. As a result, the Douglas Shire Council was acting beyond its powers under the *Local Government Act 1936* (Lipman 1985a:134). Fowler (1985:345) reports that two Cape Tribulation residents challenged the legality of the authorisation of changes to the road service in the Queensland Full Supreme Court. Their action was ultimately unsuccessful.

The Queensland government was, however, adamant that the road was to proceed. Scott (1984:4-5) shows how the Minister for National Parks continuously sought to deny evidence of the ecological importance of the region and maintained that the road "was needed to maintain logging and mining jobs". The position of the State government can be understood in terms of its ideological commitment to development (Davis 1989b:104; Aiken and Leigh 1987: 139) and its continual complaint about Commonwealth intervention in areas of State responsibility.

The assessment of the potential environmental impact of the road is also worth detailed consideration. As a condition of the funding made available to Douglas Shire Council to proceed with road construction, the environmental effects of the proposal had to be assessed in accordance with the *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act 1978*. The

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in this instance was prepared by the Shire Engineer (Lipman 1985a:133). Following advice from referral bodies, (which included the Queensland Departments of Environment and Heritage, Primary Industries and Lands) it was decided that the study consist of a walking expedition, along the proposed route, by the Shire Engineer and representatives of a number of referral bodies. Lipman (1985a:133) stresses that no further assessments were made apart from the somewhat cursory evaluations made by those who visited the area. In particular, no ecological advice was sought (Davis 1984:15). The concluding comments of the Shire Engineer succinctly summarised the findings of this environmental impact assessment:

> "I would consider that there is nothing unique about the rainforest on each side of the walking track" (Douglas Shire Council in Lipman 1985a:133; see also Davis 1984:15).

6.3 The Call for Federal Intervention: The Politics of Prevarication

The chief strategy of the conservation groups was to publicise the region, its ecology and beauty and the effects of road building and logging. In 1984 the ACF released Borschmann's illustrated volume *Greater Daintree: World Heritage Rainforest at Risk* (Borschmann 1984). This book, along with the newsletters, brochures and magazines of the conservation movement was substantially responsible for informing the populace and the national debate (Aiken and Leigh 1987:137). The photographic images of the area were important in gaining public support for the campaign.

The issue had, by this stage, developed into something of a national controversy exacerbating tensions between the Queensland and Commonwealth governments. The national profile of the dispute coincided with a change in the composition of the conservation campaigners. The national, highly organised and well resourced groups, such as Wilderness Preservation Society (WPS), the ACF and the RCS, now dominated the green response (Doyle 1989:490). 1984 was declared the "Year of the Daintree" by the ACF while the TWS adopted the Daintree as its new focus (Doyle 1989:491). The tactics and arguments of these groups as they engaged

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in national debate were carefully chosen, highly political and occasionally informed by market research[12].

Conservationists focussed on the use of Commonwealth powers in their endeavours to bring a halt to road construction. Indeed, many saw it as a replication of the Franklin dam campaign[13] in that what was required (from a green perspective) was to convince the same Commonwealth government to intervene and protect the region from exploitation and development (Doyle 1989:496).

In late 1983, the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation heard submissions from a range of parties on the construction of the Cape Tribulation-Bloomfield road, reporting to the Parliament in August 1984. Their deliberations and recommendations were eagerly awaited. The Committee considered possible courses of action open to the Commonwealth ranging from intervention to consultation (Australian Parliament 1984).

Most commentators (see Hall 1992: 219; Lipman 1985b: 206; Ward 1984a: 7-8) regarded several statutes as potentially enabling the Commonwealth to intervene:

- *Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975*
- *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983*
- *National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975*
- *Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974*
- *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975.*

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[12]Doyle (1989:492-493) recounts how market research commissioned by TWS suggested that the uniqueness of the forests - and the Daintree region in particular - should be the focus of the campaign. There was some disquiet within the movement about this suggestion, with the ACF and TWS preferring to use "the Daintree" as campaign focus and catchword. The Rainforest Conservation Society suggested that the term "Wet Tropical Forests" should be the constant focus of green activity. The term 'Wet Tropics' was increasingly used to describe the area under contention, eventually becoming the official description of the area.

[13]For a description of this seminal Australian environmental conflict, see Kellow 1989.

Amendments made to the *Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975* empowered the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (GBRMPA) to monitor land-based activities which might affect the reef. At the time conservationists were lobbying the Commonwealth to intervene, Ward (1984a:7) argued that the government could, having established that the construction of the road was affecting the reef, pass a regulation pursuant to the Act which would prohibit the activity. The issue of damage to the Great Barrier Reef was of substantial concern to conservationists and of significant importance to the debate as a whole (Borschmann 1985:2). This is partly because the reefs which fringe the Daintree forests are unique (Borschmann 1984:2-3) and partly because of the popularity of the Great Barrier Reef among the Australian populace (Hall 1992:140). Ward (1984a:7) notes that during this period, the Minister for Environment, the Honourable Mr Barry Cohen, referred to the possibility of reef damage in a press release concerning the development of the road. Cohen (1984:30-31) rejected this interpretation, suggesting that the provision on which Ward's (1984a:7) argument rests relates only to cost-sharing arrangements between the Commonwealth and Queensland (see also Australian Parliament 1984:12).

Other commentators also suggested that the use of the *Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act 1975* to stop the road was unlikely to be successful. Lipman (1985b:212) observed that the use of this statute to stop road construction was unlikely owing to a report from the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority which was inconclusive about the likely effect of road construction on the reef. Similarly, The House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation, in its inquiry into the Daintree controversy, commented that:

"it would not be appropriate to use the Act to prevent further of construction of the road ..... as it could irreparably damage the delicate arrangement which exists between the Commonwealth and Queensland Governments ....." (Australian Parliament 1984:19).

Ward (1984a:7; 1984b:30; see also Lipman 1985b:206-209) showed that the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983* might enable Commonwealth intervention. This Act allows the Federal government to declare, by regulation, any area that it deems to fulfil the definition of cultural or natural heritage in the World Heritage Convention. The Government, having identified the area in these terms, could use the Act to protect it. The Convention, under

Articles 4 and 5, requires signatory countries to identify and protect areas which meet the Convention's definition of cultural or natural heritage. As a number of commentators of the time argued, there was considerable evidence that the region would meet the criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List (Ward 1984a:8; Hall 1992:217-218). Evidence included reports by the Rainforest Conservation Society, the Australian Heritage Commission, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas and the World Wilderness Congress (Ward 1984a:7-8; Hall 1992:217-218).

The then Commonwealth Minister for Environment and Home Affairs, the Honourable Mr. Cohen, rejected this view as "simplistic" (Cohen 1984:30; see also Australian Parliament 1984:14; Aiken and Leigh 1987:139). The Minister argued that the Government had to be satisfied that the area did meet the criteria for listing under the Convention and that during this period of the debate "there does not appear to be adequate evidence to put the matter beyond doubt" (Cohen 1984:30; Aiken and Leigh 1987:139).

Commonwealth intervention might have also proceeded - according to some - under the *Australian Heritage Act 1975* in conjunction with the *Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974* (Ward 1984a:8; Hall 1992:219). Cape Tribulation was, at the time of this dispute, listed on the national estate which is administered under the *Australian Heritage Act 1975*. This Act provides for an inquiry into any matter relevant to the national estate to be held pursuant to the *Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974*.

Most commentators of the time were unequivocal in their view that, given the precedent of the Tasmanian (Franklin) Dams case, the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983* could have been invoked to prevent construction of the road in 1984 (Hall 1992:220; see for example Lipman 1985b:214; Bates 1984:210). According to this view, the capacity of the Commonwealth to protect the region had existed for a number of years since this High Court case[14].

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[14]This case (Commonwealth v Tasmania, 46 A.L.R. 625, 1983) tested the validity of the *World Heritage Properties Act 1983*. This Act was passed by the Hawke government in order to fulfil its pre-election pledge to protect the Franklin River and the south-west Tasmanian wilderness from proposed hydro-development. Confirmation of the Commonwealth's capacity to intervene in the management of natural resources by the states (which is a State power under the Constitution) was provided by an earlier High Court decision

In addition to the apparently compelling legal arguments, a significant proportion of the Commonwealth Labor Government, including Senators Evans and Ryan, believed that the Commonwealth had both the capacity and the responsibility to intervene (Papadakis 1993:189). The Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation also concluded that the Commonwealth Government could apply relevant provisions of the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act* to stop construction (1984:19). However, the Committee argued that Commonwealth intervention was only appropriate if:

1.   Studies by the Australian Heritage Commission found the area worthy of World Heritage Nomination;

2.   the Commonwealth consulted the Queensland government and offered financial assistance for an alternative and for regional management;

3.   the consultation and offers of assistance proved unsuccessful, and

4.   scientific assessments concluded that road construction was a serious threat to the values of the region (Australian Parliament 1984:19-20; Lipman 1985b:214).

The Minister for Environment appears to have been decidedly reluctant to intervene (Papadakis 1993:190; Cohen 1984:30). Among commentators who have considered this case, a wide range of explanations have been used to illuminate Cohen's inactivity. Some critics suggested that the potential for a confrontation with the Queensland National party government, at a time when a Commonwealth election was pending, was particularly important in informing the response of the Commonwealth (see Davis 1989a:71). In direct

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(*Koowarta v Bjelke-Petersen, 1982*). This decision empowered the Commonwealth to act under the external affairs power of the Constitution. The Tasmanian Dams case clarified and confirmed the ability of the Commonwealth to override resource management decisions of the states and was to prove crucial in the resolution of the dispute over Queensland's tropical forests (Kellow 1989: 140-141).

The expectation within the conservation movement that it could now appeal any State government decision to the Commonwealth was created by the actions of the Fraser government over the Fraser Island issue. Fraser had used the power of the Commonwealth to deny an export licence for mineral sands extracted from Fraser Island, a decision subsequently upheld by the High Court in *Murphy vs. the Commonwealth* (Kellow 1993).

contradiction of this view, it has been suggested that the Hawke government was assured of the support of conservationists in the 1984 election - following intervention over the Franklin River - and that they could defer intervention until such time as the likely reward was required (Doyle 1989:499-500). Davis highlights the importance of a Commonwealth treasury warning to the Prime Minister, following the Tasmanian Dams case, about the costs associated with Federal intervention in that dispute, particularly with regard to the level of compensation involved. The import of this warning was to urge the government to avoid conservation disputes with the States (Davis 1989a:71). In addition, Minister Cohen rejected the assumption that there was enough evidence about the ecological value of the area to use the *World Heritage Properties Convention Act 1983* as a means to protect the area (Cohen 1984:30; Aiken and Leigh 1987:139). In 1984 and again in 1985 Cohen gave Queensland assurances it would not unilaterally nominate the area so long as Queensland was willing to negotiate (Papadakis 1993:189-190; Davis 1989a:71). The Commonwealth government offered Queensland $1 million for the development of a management plan for the area which was refused by the State government which restated its opposition to the protection of the area (Papadakis 1993:192).

Papadakis (1993:189) explains Cohen approach in a different manner. He explains that at this time, both Cohen and the ALP were grappling with the apparently divergent interests of resource industries and their workers and the growing and increasingly influential environment lobby. Papadakis explains Cohen's prevarication with reference to his relatively junior ministerial status (Environment had yet to be elevated to the Cabinet) and to:

"the difficult task of deciding between the political significance of established forces (resource industries) and of new environmentalist movements" (1993:190).

As a result of these factors, Papadakis (1993:189) argues that Cohen was largely concerned with a negotiated solution which, hopefully, would appease established institutions.

Doyle suggests a further reason for Cohen's continued refusal for intervention was related to the changed composition of the High Court since the Tasmanian Dams case (1989:499). He

explains that with the suspension of one member (Murphy) the bench was "balanced precariously" and that:

> "it would not be until 1987 that the Labor Party would feel secure in the knowledge of a positive High Court decision occurring" (Doyle 1989:499).

This explanation of the prevarication of Cohen relied, presumably, on the decision of the High Court in 1986 to overturn the proposed listing of Stage 2 of Kakadu National Park on the basis that a mining company (with exploration rights in the area) had been denied natural justice because of inadequate consultation by the Commonwealth Government (O'Reilly 1987:27).

In late 1984 the most comprehensive assessment of the conservation significance of the northern rainforests was conducted by the Rainforest Conservation Society for the Australian Heritage Commission (Hall 1992:217; Rainforest Conservation Society 1986). This report was to prove crucial to the debate about World Heritage Listing. Hall (1992:218; see also Aiken and Leigh 1987:138; Doyle 1989:498) observes that the status of this report was enhanced by its review by scholars of international standing. The report concluded that the region:

> "is of outstanding scientific importance and .....[will] adequately fulfil all four criteria for the inclusion of natural properties in the World Heritage List ...."
> (Rainforest Conservation Society 1986:79; see also Hall 1992:217-218; Doyle 1989:498).

The report became the focus of debate on the issue. Cohen's response to it was to concede that the region was probably worthy of World Heritage Listing but in doing so he also supported his earlier stance by ruling out unilateral action (Aiken and Leigh 1987:139).

Cohen was to later explain that:

> I didn't want to be the Environment Minister who single handedly wrecked the Hawke Government. It's not something that I wanted to go down in history for"
> (*The Age* 4/4/1984).

In the lead up to the 1984 Federal election and beyond, conservationists continued to campaign for both Federal intervention to halt roadworks and for the listing of the area as World

Heritage. The Australian Democrats were consistent critics of the Government's stance, maintaining that the Government should act to protect the forests of the region. Even the conservative opposition attacked the government for its stand on the nomination of the forests, calling for Cohen to resign (Aiken and Leigh 1987:139). Frustrated over the refusal of Cohen to intervene, the conservationists withdrew their support for the Labor Party, and encouraged supporters to vote for the Democrats (Aiken and Leigh 1987:139). The issue was ultimately not significant in the election and the ALP held the marginal north Queensland seat of Leichardt which included the area under dispute. The Hawke Labor Government was re-elected in late 1984 but the environmental vote was not a significant factor (cf. Davis 1989a:71). No political commentators rated conservation as a significant electoral issue in 1984 (see for example, *The Australian* 13/10/1984; 1/12/1984; 3/12/1984). Indeed, the vote for minor parties appears to have been split between the Australian Democrats and the Nuclear Disarmourment Party (*The Australian* 13/10/1984).

There was little activity in the debate following the election in the early months of 1985. During the first six months of 1985, national organisations such as the ACF and TWS all but withdrew from the debate (Doyle 1989:502). However, by October 1985, media coverage was again substantial, and increasingly critical of the Commonwealth's inaction on the issue (Davis 1989a:72). The impasse however, remained unbroken.

In September 1985, a Federal Government taskforce examining rainforest conservation issues urged government expenditure on a national rainforest conservation programme (Davis 1989a:71). The programme, which was allocated significant Commonwealth funding, was to assist in the identification, evaluation, acquisition and management of the remaining rainforests in Australia (Aiken and Leigh 1987:139). The programme, which was to provide funding to the States, was to cost $200 million over 20 years (Doyle 1989:507). The Queensland government promptly rejected the proposal.

During this period, the New South Wales government announced its intention to conserve remaining rainforest areas and to nominate five areas for inclusion as World Heritage (Davis 1989a:71). Davis (1987a:71) reports that the New South Wales initiative in particular allowed critics of the Commonwealth's stance to starkly contrast the approach of two Labor

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governments. That a national perspective was again brought to the debate was a result of the return to the fold of the national environmental organisations, the ACF and TWS, in the latter half of 1985 (Doyle 1989:506-509).

6.4 Queensland's Franklin: Commonwealth Intervention and World Heritage Listing

By 1986 the controversy which had begun as a dispute over the proposed road had widened considerably. It was now an issue of national importance which was concerned, not simply with the development of the Cape Tribulation road, but with logging subdivision and the future of the entire Australian rainforest estate (Hare 1986:1-2). Rainforest conservation was now a contested issue in Tasmania, New South Wales as well as northern Queensland. In northern Queensland, the debate was now principally concerned with logging, primarily on the Windsor Tableland and at Downey Creek (Hare 1986:1). The significance of the region as described in the report commissioned by the Australian Heritage Commission remained uncontested and pivotal to the debate (see RCS 1986).

The ACF conducted polling throughout 1985 and 1986 which revealed that a majority of Australians were concerned about rainforest logging (Hare 1986:1). In 1984 and 1985 logging commenced at Downey Creek and on the Windsor Tablelands, areas acknowledged to be of particular botanical significance (Hare 1986:1, Australian Parliament 1984:7). Keto (1987:6) reported that in these areas 160 000 hectares had been allocated for logging on a forty year cycle by the Queensland Department of Forestry, including some of the more significant areas of rainforest in north Queensland. Keto, herself a rainforest ecologist of some renown, was a prominent figure in this national debate, arguing that logging would substantially alter the forest microclimate upon which the forests depend (1987:6). In addition, logging would cause changes in species composition, shifting the balance of species from relict plants to early successional stages (1987:6).

Papadakis (1993:116) observes that the Daintree dispute (among others) illustrates the growing sophistication and influence of the conservation movement. The 1983 Commonwealth election was the first where environmental issues (notably the Franklin dam issue) and the

green vote were significant[15] (Warhurst 1983a:3). While the precise impact of the green vote in that election remains difficult to quantify, and was perhaps only significant in targeted marginal seats, Warhurst (1983a:3; 1983b:31) explains that the real impact of the rise of environmentalism has been that voluntary membership of environmental organisations has soared at a time when membership of mainstream political parties has been in long term decline. Indeed, growth in membership of environmental groups has arguably come at the expense of mainstream political parties (Warhurst 1983b:23).

During 1985 and 1986 a further dimension to the northern forest issue emerged as significant areas of lowland rainforest in the Daintree was subdivided and sold as rural-residential allotments (Parker and Callahan 1987:7). Douglas Shire Council, in a draft town plan which submitted for state government approval in 1980, proposed to zone the lowland rainforest areas of the Daintree (which was already freehold land) as rural general farming (Fleetwood, Means and Stannard 1991:255). On the basis of a single objection, the Minister for Local Government intervened and insisted that the plan incorporate rural residential zoning for this land (Fleetwood *et al.* 1991:255; Hill and Graham 1983:16). This revised town plan was gazetted in 1981 and precipitated over 150 subdivisions (Fleetwood *et al.* 1991:225).

The lowland rainforests of the Daintree are considered to be of particular ecological importance. The area has been described as "the most complex and diverse rainforest type in Australia (Fleetwood *et al.* 1991:252). The proximity of fringing reef with tropical rainforest is, in particular, very rare (Borschmann 1985:2-3). These factors alone were responsible for precipitating the considerable concern of the conservation movement over the subdivision. The House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation reported on the impacts of the subdivision and expressed concern about the nature and level of impact (Australian Parliament 1984:7). There were however, a range of other associated problems. These included soil erosion, degradation of the forest, illegal camping, rubbish, feral animals and sub-standard housing (Fleetwood *et al.* 1991:258-260; Hill and Graham 1984:16). To a

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14 The green campaign was estimated to have contributed 1% of the 3.6% swing to the Labor Party (Warhurst 1983a: 3).

large extent these problems continue to exist in the Daintree and they remain a major focus of the management planning of the Wet Tropics Management Authority.

The Commonwealth finally gave up on negotiations with the Queensland following the decision of the Queensland Premier, the Honourable Mr Bjelke-Petersen, to launch a bid for power at the Commonwealth level (Papadakis 1993:192). The failure of negotiations convinced the Commonwealth to act to resolve the dispute. On 5 June 1987, early in the election campaign, the Prime Minister announced the decision to nominate the area for the World Heritage List (Davis 1989a:72). The long, fruitless negotiations were over: unilateral Listing would proceed. Logging had continued throughout the negotiations and this was a constant source of frustration and anger for conservationists (Keto 1987:4). Although generally delighted with the announcement of the Labor government, the greens' response was tempered by the policies of the Opposition who announced that they would consider repealing the World Heritage legislation (Keto 1987:4).

Shortly after this announcement, Minister Cohen stated that apart from the $22 million available to Queensland under the National Rainforest Program (Keto 1987:3), a further $25 to $35 million would be available for the provision of alternative employment opportunities and compensation for losses associated with the cessation of logging (Scott 1987c:16). Early in 1988 the Commonwealth moved to strengthen its legal capacity to provide interim protection to the northern rainforests. Amendments to the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983* significantly enhanced the Commonwealth's ability in this regard (Boer 1988:175-176).

Davis (1989a:72) reports that immediately after the announcement, the Department of Arts, Heritage and Environment began to prepare the documentation necessary to nominate the northern forests for Listing. The documentation had to be prepared quickly so that it could be lodged in Paris by December 1987. Meeting this date would ensure that the nomination would be considered by the World Heritage Committee in December of 1988 (Davis 1989a:72). The preparation of this documentation was a substantial task in itself. The northern forests are highly fragmented, straddle a range of tenures and are located in rugged terrain. Davis, himself a former Commissioner of the Australian Heritage Commission, lamented the failure

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of the Department of the Environment to adequately consult the Australian Heritage Commission, an agency which had played such a vital role in evaluating the extend to which the northern rainforests fulfilled the criteria for World Heritage Listing (1989a:72).

6.5   World Heritage at Last: Nomination and Listing

Following the Labor victory in 1987, the Environment portfolio was upgraded to Cabinet status with the appointment of Senator Graham Richardson as Minister (Papadakis 1993:190). The appointment of such a senior and influential member of the government to what had previously been a peripheral portfolio signified both the growing influence of the environmental movement and the need for the government to exert greater control over environmental policy (Papadakis 1993:190; see also Barnett 1987:18). Cohen's demise was the result of his unpopularity with the environmental movement and loss of support within the party (Papadakis 1993:191).

Richardson, a powerful figure in the party, had the political influence to chart a new course for the government in environmental policy and ensured that, unlike his predecessor, he enjoyed the support of the green groups (Papadakis 1993:191). The Commonwealth sought to placate the disgruntled timber communities of north Queensland, as well as the Queensland government, with compensatory measures for job losses and by emphasising the economic benefits of tourism (Davis 1989a:72). Relations between the various protagonists were, however, quite poisonous. Richardson was assaulted during a visit to the north Queensland timber town of Ravenshoe soon after the election (Doyle 1989:575). Consistent reports of illegal logging on both private and public lands further contaminated relations. The Commonwealth responded with a series of covert helicopter flights over the region with the aim of monitoring these activities (Davis 1989a:72).

On 22 August 1987, the Commonwealth released the boundaries of the proposed World Heritage area and sought public comment (Davis 1989a:72). Comment, in the form of written submissions, was required by 22 October. In that period over 3 000 objections to the proposal were lodged (*Australian Journal of Mining* 1988:10). Organisations associated with resource industries agreed that the public review period was of little import in terms of objecting to the

proposal because the decision to nominate the forests had already been made (*Australian Journal of Mining* 1988:10). Throughout the public review period, the Commonwealth sponsored a publicity campaign in north Queensland as a response to the level of local opposition to proposed listing. This *post-facto* consultation was undertaken after unilateral and highly centralised decision-making and was essentially concerned with legitimising a decision already made and not with refining elements of the decision.

The conflict over the proposed listing revolved around the logging industry and therefore centred on the Tablelands towns of Ravenshoe, Millaa Millaa, Yungaburra and others. One of the constant complaints of the timber industry was that only 1 800 km^2 area of the proposed 8 800 km^2 WHA was going to be logged (Cameron McNamara 1988; Warneminde 1987:56) and that it was therefore inappropriate to decimate their industry by the nomination of such a large area. The nomination of the area would cause the end of an industry which they valued at $33 million per year (Warneminde 1987:56). Indeed they argued that:

> "Professional forestry staff ... have been responsible for placing much of this land in secure State tenure often against strong historical, political and bureaucratic opposition" (Cameron McNamara 1988:1).

In addition, the forestry sector appears to have been offended by the imputation that their ability and professionalism as managers was lacking. Cameron McNamara again:

> ".... the approach in multiple-use management, with emphasis on timber production ... [is] .. probably the best model available in the wet tropics anywhere in the world today" (1988:2).

The State government commissioned social impact study assessed the job losses to be approximately 850 (Cameron McNamara 1988:11). However, during the negotiation of the final elements of the negotiation package the Federal government reduced its estimates of job losses from 650 to 500 (O'Reilly 1987: 23)

Apart from the material effects of the cessation of logging, timber communities complained that:

"the propaganda of the conservationists is making timbermen and their families out to be some sort of criminals" (quoted in Warneminde 1987:56).

The mining industry was also vehemently opposed to listing. The Executive Director of the Queensland Chamber of Mines, Mr Michael Pinnock, signalled the Chamber's intention to lobby the United Nations directly to reject the nomination *(Australian Journal of Mining* 1988:10). The mining industry was convinced that resource extraction in the region would be banned if the area was listed as World Heritage.

At this stage of the debate the conservation movement appear to have focussed on the economic dimensions of listing. The arguments about the ecological importance of rainforests in general and Australia's remaining rainforests in particular (see Aiken and Leigh 1987: 135) appear to have been rarely challenged after 1986. The response of the greens to the articulated concerns of the Queensland government and the forestry industry - that the economic and employment impacts of listing would be severe - was to argue that forestry in north Queensland had long been unsustainable, that the industry was "doomed" (Scott 1987a:8) and that the consequences predicted by the Queensland government and the forestry industry were exaggerated (see Scott 1987b:15). The Rainforest Conservation Society of Queensland, possibly the most influential environmental organisation involved in the debate, argued in 1987 that the issue of the economic impact of listing could be dealt with by any of the following measures:

(i)   the provision of funding to local mills to be re-equipped for processing of plantation timber;

(ii)   the creation of new employment opportunities in construction of tourist facilities such as walking track; and

(iii)   the provision of assistance to facilitate the transition to softwoods (Scott 1987a: 7-8).

There was of course, considerable support for both Commonwealth intervention and nomination of the area to the World Heritage List. Borschmann (1987:7-9) shows that

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considerable support for listing came from the north Queensland tourist industry. The Regional Director of the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau argued that:

> "giving the rainforests World Heritage status provides us with international recognition for a very special and important part of our region and economy" (in Borschmann 1987:8).

In addition, support for the Listing came from the State Labor opposition as well as from the Chairman of the a Local Government Authority (Borschmann 1987:9-10).

The Queensland government opposed the nomination and their strategy relied on lobbying the World Heritage Committee as well as a High Court challenge. News commentators explained Premier Bjelke-Petersen's continued opposition to World Heritage Listing "as a straw he can grasp to restore his standing and authority within his own government and among his own supporters" (Bongiorno 1987:26). The failed 'Joh for PM' campaign, combined with his increasingly erratic behaviour, had substantially undermined his support.

In December 1988 the World Heritage Committee added the Wet Tropical Forests of North Queensland to the World Heritage List despite being lobbied by the Queensland Government to reject the nomination. The controversy which had dogged the region for nearly a decade, and brought provincial politicians to Geneva to lobby against listing, caused no hesitation on the part of the Committee (Hall 1992:221). The area was now protected according to the articles of this international convention and the Commonwealth's *World Heritage Properties Convention Act 1983*. All that remained was to establish the legislative, administrative and institutional arrangements which would seek to meet the five management goals prescribed by the Convention: protection, conservation, rehabilitation, presentation and transmission (UNESCO 1994).

6.7   Conclusions

The dispute which preceded the unilateral decision of the Commonwealth government to nominate the Wet Tropics for the World Heritage List was protracted and acrimonious. It involved a diversity of actors, and eventually occupied a central position in national politics

in the 1980s. An important effect of the dispute, and the political activity which surrounded it, was the development of "rainforests" as a mobilising issue for environmentalists. The importance of the issue, and its elevation from a regional to national political stage, came only after conservationists successfully constructed the issue in terms of rainforest conservation.

In terms of the objectives of this study, there are a number of other points which emerge from this historical study which demand further attention. First, one of the most important issues which emerges from an analysis of the modern history of this conflict relates to means by which it was resolved. The resolution of the rainforest issue as a political conflict of national importance, came only after Commonwealth intervention and the unilateral nomination of the forests for the World Heritage List. The 1980s have been shown to be a period of marked State-Commonwealth conflict over environmental matters. This period of conflict has resulted, following several adjudications by the High Court, in a clearer legal and political understanding of State-Commonwealth relations on environmental matters and, as a result, in the affirmation of the coordinate nature of Australian federalism (Kellow 1993; Doyle and Kellow 1995). As the following chapters will show, tension between the two levels of government over environmental issues remains an important dynamic.

A second matter of importance, and one with important implications for subsequent chapters, is the degree of polarisation among local actors as a result of the intensity of the conflict. The dispute continued at various levels of intensity for nearly a decade. It involved blockades in the Daintree, Mount Windsor and at Downey Creek as well as a violent confrontation at Ravenshoe. The planning community was thoroughly polarised by the time the Wet Tropics Management Authority commenced operations. In addition, the power relations between these various actors appear to have been firmly established. The listing of the Wet Tropics was seen as a victory for the conservationists and a defeat for the timber community. Indeed, and as Doyle (1989:575) acknowledges, an aspect of the strategy of the conservationists was to demonstrate the electoral palatability of conservation in north Queensland. In doing so, the conservationists ensured that the resolution of the conflict would involve winners and losers: the polarisation of the planning community. This fact has important (and obvious) implications for the conduct of any public involvement program conducted for subsequent planning work.

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7.0 The Wet Tropics Management Authority

7.1 Introduction

Having described the historical events and processes which gave rise to the World Heritage Area (WHA) it is appropriate at this juncture to consider the Wet Tropics Management Authority in detail. This chapter is concerned with explaining central aspects of the management arrangements for the Wet Tropics, the functions of the various elements of that structure and, additionally, aspects of organisational culture. These matters are important in understanding the design and conduct of the planning and public involvement programs of the WTMA.

This description and analysis of the Authority's operations follows Forester's (1989) model of planning organisations. This was introduced in Chapter five. Essentially, Forester argues that planning organisations can be understood as instrumentally productive and socio-politically reproductive. This approach is congruent with the communicative theory of planning which focuses on inter-subjective argumentation and the organisation of attention on planning options (Healey 1992). The WTMA is therefore analysed in terms of instrumental production and the reproduction of its socio-political relations with other actors.

Additionally, this chapter will consider the WTMA's conception of planning. This will be considered from both the perspective of corporate policy and from the perspective of key individuals. As Chapter five revealed, a wide range of conceptions of, and approaches to, planning exist. Given that the corporate conception of planning held by a planning agency is an important determinant of the nature and objectives of any public involvement program, understanding the WTMA's conception of planning, and that of its planners, is critical to analysing their approach to public involvement.

Additionally, this chapter will detail the design of the public involvement program used by the WTMA during the development and finalisation of its initial strategic plan, *Strategic Directions* (WTMA 1992a). It is not intended, at this stage, to critically analyse or discuss

the program. Instead, the objectives, methods and functions of the public involvement program will be described.

It is important to note that the WTMA was not solely a planning organisation. Establishing a planning regime was a major role of the organisation in order that it fulfill Australia's obligations under the World Heritage Convention. It had, however, a number of other functions. In the early years of the organisation's operation in particular, personnel were busy with developing the statutory framework for the management of the WHA, appointing the staff and making the WTMA operational, developing a detailed computerised (GIS) scientific database and with establishing relations with other land management agencies and stakeholders. Planning was only one of the functions of the WTMA.

7.2 Instrumental Production: Corporate Structure

7.2.1 Basic Management Structure

The management arrangements for the newly established WHA were the product of negotiations between the newly elected Queensland (Labour) government and the Commonwealth government. These negotiations produced a Management Scheme which was subsequently signed by the new Premier of Queensland and the Prime Minister in 1989 (Queensland Government 1992). The Management Scheme set out the basic institutional arrangements for the management of the WHA. The central element of the Management Scheme entailed the establishment of the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA) as the agency charged with managing the WHA. The essential elements of the Authority are:

- Ministerial Council
- Wet Tropics Management Authority
- Community Consultative Committee
- Scientific Advisory Committee
- Director and Staff of the Management Agency (Queensland Government 1992:7).

Figure 7.1 shows how the specific elements of this scheme were meant to articulate

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Figure 7.1: Wet Tropics of Queensland WHA Management Scheme


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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │ Wet Tropics │
                    │ Ministerial │
                    │   Council   │
                    └──────┬──────┘
                           │
┌─────────────┐    ┌───────┴──────┐    ┌─────────────┐
│ Community   │    │ Wet Tropics  │    │ Scientific  │
│ Consultative├────┤ Management   ├────┤ Advisory    │
│ Committee   │    │ Authority    │    │ Committee   │
└─────────────┘    └───────┬──────┘    └─────────────┘
                           │
                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                    │ Wet Tropics │
                    │ Management  │
                    │   Agency    │
                    └─────────────┘
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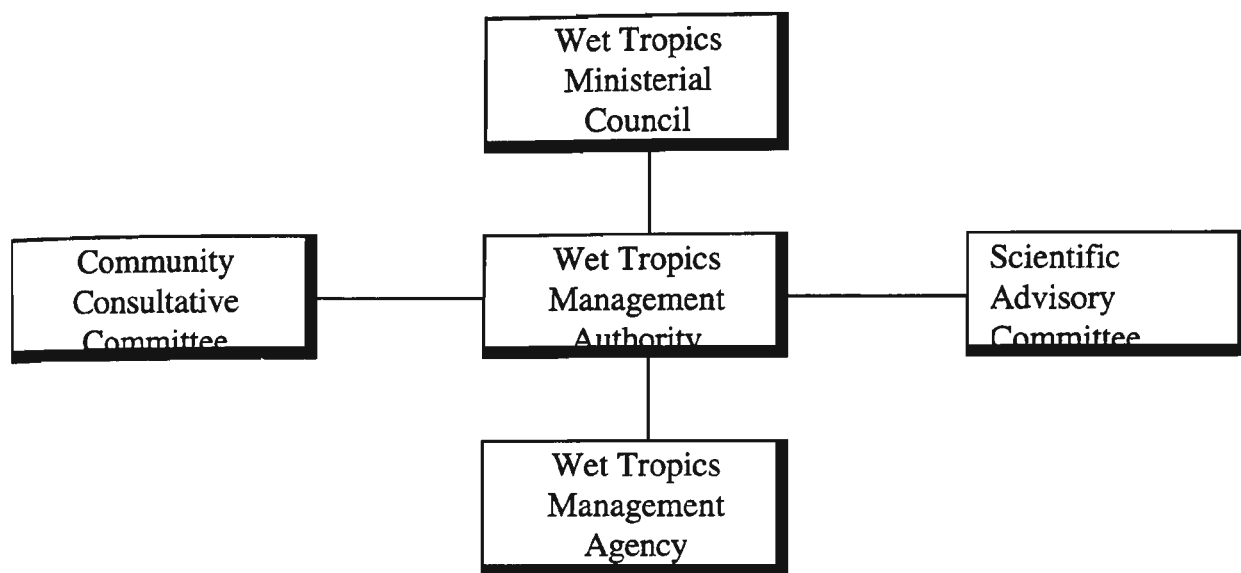
Source: Queensland Government 1992:7

Although an independent statutory authority, the structure provided for the involvement of both the State and Commonwealth governments in a steering capacity through the aegis of the Ministerial Council. The Council is comprised of four members, with two members each nominated by the Commonwealth and Queensland. The Queensland Environment Minister was the chairperson of the Ministerial Council. As Kellow (1992:24) has observed in relation to deliberations over the structure of the Murray-Darling Basin Commissions, the problem with the use of a Ministerial Council is that it renders decision-making susceptible to the competing interests of differing jurisdictions and dependent on hard-won cooperation between jurisdictions. As Lane and McDonald (1996:11) show, all models for the management of Australian WHAs are subject to disputation between competing interests. The two NSW WHAs however, which are managed by the NSW Government without Commonwealth involvement are not subject to inter-governmental tensions (Lane and McDonald 1996). As this chapter will show, the involvement of the Commonwealth and the differences of perspective between the Commonwealth and the Queensland governments emerged as central to many important decision-making processes.

The Authority consists of four part-time members, the Queensland and Commonwealth governments nominating two each. The part-time Chairperson (the first being Professor Ken Wiltshire) is appointed by the Ministerial Council. The Authority is required to meet quarterly or as required, and makes decisions and recommendations by a majority vote. The Executive Director of the bureaucratic arm or secretariat of the Authority, acts as secretary to the Authority. The over-arching role of the Authority is to achieve the primary management goal - the implementation of Australia's international obligations for the Wet Tropics under the World Heritage Convention. The specific functions of the Authority are provided in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Functions of the Wet Tropics Management Authority

- advise and make recommendations to the Ministerial Council

- monitor and report to the Ministerial Council on the status of the Wet Tropics

- approve criteria and performance indicators for the appraisal and implementation of all policies and programs of the Ministerial Council

- review and endorse the annual and tri-annual three year rolling program

- recommend the criteria for the selection of the Director of the Agency

- be responsible to the Ministerial Council for the oversight and monitoring of the Agency's implementation of obligations under the World Heritage Convention

- approve for transmission to the Ministerial Council annual reports prepared by the management Agency

Source: Queensland Government 1992:2.

Table 7.2 shows the membership of the inaugural Authority.

Table 7.2: Members of the Inaugural Authority

- Professor Ken Wiltshire - Chairperson (Professor of Public Administration at the University of Queensland)

- Mr Geoff Donaghy - Commonwealth nominee (General Manager of the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau Ltd.)

- Dr Aila Keto - Commonwealth nominee (President of the Rainforest Conservation Society)

- Dr Geoff McDonald - Queensland nominee (Reader in Environmental Planning, Griffith University)

- Cr Tom Pyne - Queensland nominee (Chairman of Mulgrave Shire Council)

Source: Queensland Government 1992:2.

The Community Consultative Committee was included in the management structure to

"be broadly representative of local groups with an interest in management of the World Heritage Area. It will also be able to present views of the community at large in relation to management of the area" (Queensland Government 1992:5).

The Committee has an advisory function - either at the request of the Management Authority or of its own volition. The Committee is comprised of 13 members, including the Chairperson. Members of the Committee are appointed on the basis of long-standing residence or professional involvement in the region. Appointment to the Committee is made following (up to six) recommendations from each of the Commonwealth and Queensland governments. Table 7.3 shows how the Committee was designed to include representatives from a range of non-government community of interest areas:

Table 7.3 Communities of Interest Represented on the Community Consultative Committee

• local government	• tourism
• scientific community	• mining
• conservation	• commerce
• education	• primary production
• Aboriginal community[15]	• recreation
• industrial unions	
• individual with outstanding knowledge of the area	

The Scientific Advisory Committee consists of five members and reports to the Management Authority. Members are appointed on the basis of their knowledge of the region and are required to advise the WTMA on scientific matters. Membership of the Committee is derived from recommendations (two each) from the Commonwealth and Queensland governments. The Chairperson is appointed following consultation between the two governments. The membership of the Committee

"should consist of scientists from a range of disciplines relevant to the management of the area including physical, biological and social sciences" (Queensland Government 1992:6).

There has been some dispute over a lack of representation from the social sciences. One member of the Community Consultative Committee, an academic in geography, wrote to the Director of the Management Authority lamenting the absence of social scientist from its ranks (Valentine pers. comm. 6/5/1993; Scherl and Valentine 18/9/1993). Valentine and Lea Scherl (a member of the SAC) later wrote to the Director of the Authority, complaining that "documentation for research applications gives no support for social science (Scherl and Valentine 18/9/1993). They further complained about the lack of support afforded the social sciences in the research grants scheme of WTMA (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 11-12/2/1993). The Chairperson of the SAC advised the

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[15]The Aboriginal delegate refused to attend observing that it was inappropriate and impossible to attempt to represent all Aboriginal groups throughout the Wet Tropics (see Chapter 9). This problem of representation is not solely a problem for Aboriginal peoples, it may also apply to European-Australian groups.

Authority that a social scientist was required on the Committee (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 21-22/6/1993). In the years since, two social scientists (Lea Scherl and Maureen Fuary) have served on the Committee.

The original form of the Scientific Advisory Committee was:

- Dr Mike Hopkins (CSIRO Tropical Forest Research Centre)
- Dr Robert Johnson (ex Queensland Herbarium)
- Dr Michael Bonell (Director, Institute for Tropical Rainforest Studies)
- Professor Jiro Kikkawa (Department of Zoology, University of Queensland)

The functions of the Committee are to provide advice on:

- scientific research
- new information or research relevant to the management of the Wet Tropics
- scientific basis of management
- appropriateness of research proposed by Management Authority
- quality and relevance of management of the Wet Tropics (Queensland Government 1992:6).

7.2.2 The Structure and Functioning of the Management Agency

7.2.2.1 The Structure of the Agency

The Management Agency operates essentially as the bureaucratic arm of the WTMA. It is established under the *Wet Tropics World Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993* (Qld), although it commenced operations some two years before this legislation was passed. The PSMC[16], following a review of the operations of the WTMA in 1994, commented that "the management scheme clearly established the Authority as part of the

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[16]The Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC) is an arm of the Queensland government which is responsible for monitoring and evaluating agencies of the government. During the course of this study, the PSMC conducted a review of the WTMA.

machinery of the State Government" (PSMC 1994:2). Indeed, the Director-General of the Department and Environment and Heritage is the accountable officer for the Authority under the *Financial Administration and Audit Act 1977* (PSMC 1994:2). This perspective of the WTMA, which sees it firmly embedded in the machinery of the Queensland government, differs from the widely-held (and arguably intended) perception of the WTMA being an independent organisation. The first chair of the WTMA, Professor Wiltshire, regarded the Management Scheme for the WHA as being overly complex (Wiltshire 25/8/1995).

The primary goal of the WTMA is:

> "to provide for the implementation of Australia's international duty for the protection, conservation, presentation, rehabilitation and transmission to future generations of the Wet tropics of Queensland of Queensland World Heritage Area, within the meaning of the World Heritage Convention" (WTMA 1993a:5).

The Mission Statement of the WTMA says that the Authority exists for the purpose of:

> "Managing the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area in cooperation with the community" (WTMA 1993a:5).

The principal functions of the Agency (ie. the bureaucratic arm of the Authority) are:

> "to develop, co-ordinate, implement and monitor .... policies, plans and programs to meet the primary goal" (of management) (Queensland Government 1992:3).

As Figure 7.2 shows, the Agency is comprised of four discrete sections - Corporate Services, Planning, Heritage Conservation and Community Relations - which report to the Executive Director.

Figure 7.2: Structure of the Management Agency
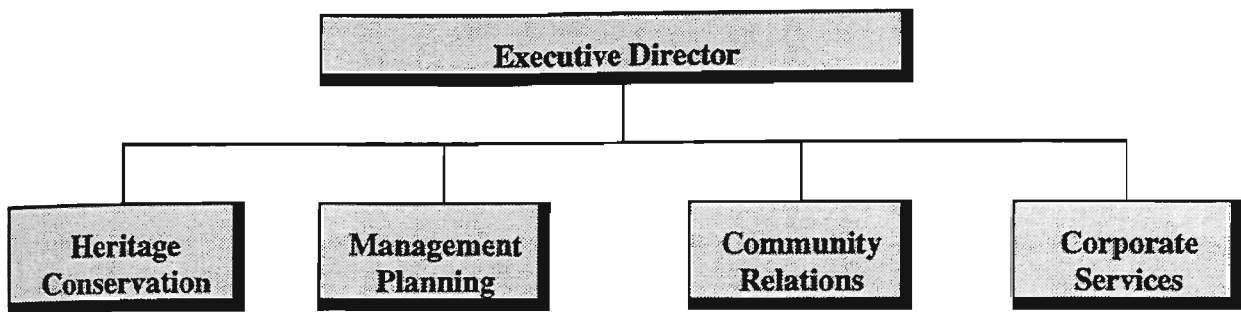
Source: Modified from PSMC 1994:21.

Since the Agency's inception, the intent has been to keep staffing numbers low. The intent was for an agency comprising a Director and "key planning and co-ordination staff" of approximately 10 people (Queensland Government 1992:3). During the course of this study the numbers of Agency staff varied between 30 and 40 (temporary and permanent), with a lack of adequate staff resources being a common complaint from senior staff. Indeed, in 1992 the Authority developed a proposal for an increase in staffing levels. Following an inter-governmental review, only a modest staffing increase was approved (PSMC 1994:24).

Corporate Services Program

The Corporate Services program has four specific functions. It has an *administrative* function which involves handling the WTMA's budget, office procedures, filing and recruitment. It also has a *Secretariat* which is responsible for information handling: organising the papers for Authority and Ministerial Council meetings, handling meeting minutes, processing public access to documentation and managing records of resolutions of the Authority. Its *policy* role is centrally concerned with a range of policy issues which pertain to the WTMA as a whole. Finally the Corporate Services Division has a *legislative* function. During the course of this study, the legislation section of Corporate Services, under the auspices of its manager Dr Vicki Pattemore, was centrally concerned with the development of the legislation to establish the WTMA (WTMA 1993b:2).

The program has twelve employees (eight permanent and four temporary). The 1993-94 budget for the program was $1.9 million (PSMC 1994:21).

Management Planning Program

The Management Planning program of the WTMA is responsible for the development, implementation and monitoring of plans for the management of the WHA. The Management Planning program has three types of planning "products". Firstly, it produces recommendations on individual issues such as road construction or powerline development which establish the criteria for approval and the guidelines for development. Secondly, it produces Strategic Plans which provide the framework for management decisions taken by all land managers in the Wet Tropics. Finally, it produces Management Control Plans which are area specific (eg. the Daintree) or issue specific (eg. feral animals) (WTMA 1992b:2). During the course of this study, the priority areas for the program were the development of the Wet Tropics Plan, and the Daintree and Wangetti Plans.

The program's budget in 1993-94 was $1.2 million. The program has two permanent and three temporary staff. It supplemented these human resources with a significant use of consultancies. While many of these consultancies were discrete projects carried out over a short time-frame, the program also used consultants as *de facto* staff members. During the course of this study, two consultants were used in this manner. One was used to co-ordinate consultation with Aboriginal people over a 30 week period, and another to edit and proof draft documents.

Heritage Conservation Program

The Heritage Conservation program of the WTMA consists of three discrete areas. In general terms the program is concerned with the production and management of information relating to the conservation resources of the WTMA. The division has an area devoted to Geographic Information Systems which is the data base upon which Authority planning and other decision-making activities depend. In recognition of the fragmented and multi-tenured nature of the WHA, the division also has a Land Administration section

which is concerned with land tenure records, lease renewals, advice on new leases and land acquisition. Finally there is an Applied Ecology section which is concerned with provision of ecological advice for planning, development approval and other decision making activities (WTMA 1993b:3).

In 1993, the program has a staff of five and a total budget of $6.2 million (PSMC 1994:21). As with other programs, Heritage Conservation supplemented its human resources with the use of contractors (to maintain GIS equipment) and consultants (PSMC 1994:19).

Community Relations Program

The smallest program in the WTMA is Community Relations. This program has a staff of three: a manager, an Aboriginal Liaison Officer and an administrative support person. It also directly funds a further five (ranger) positions in the Department of Environment and Heritage (PSMC 1994:20). The program has a broad range of functions relating to the public interface. These include organisation of the meetings of the Community Consultative Committee, Aboriginal liaison, preparation of media releases, promotion and signage. In keeping with the Authority's commitment to presenting the WHA, this program also has a responsibility for infrastructure provision required for visitation. It is therefore involved in road upgrading, track maintenance and the construction of visitor facilities (PSMC 1994:21).

The 1993-94 budget for the program was $5.8 million (PSMC 1994:21).

7.2.2.2 The Functioning of the Agency

There are a number of issues, which emerged during the course of this study, which are important in understanding the functioning of the Agency and which, to varying degrees, impacted upon the course of planning and public involvement activities. These will be considered briefly.

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An important consideration relates to the tension between the stated role of the Authority and its day to day activities. The Agency, and by association the Authority as a whole, has publicly asserted that its role is somewhat different from that of traditional land and/or protected area managers. In particular, the rhetoric of the WTMA has highlighted its co-ordination and monitoring role and it has insisted that it would not usurp the role of existing land management agencies. The WTMA sought to establish itself as a management agency of substantially higher quality than existing land management agencies in north Queensland. The World Heritage status of the area demands, according to this view, a high degree of quality in management. To this end, the WTMA has constantly promoted its intended role as that of co-ordinator, planner and watchdog of the activities of those agencies and individuals with the actual "on-the-ground" land management responsibilities in the Wet Tropics: the Departments of Lands and Primary Industries, the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service and, finally, private landowners (Queensland Government 1992; WTMA 1992b).

There is some evidence however to suggest that the rhetoric of "hands-off co-ordination" was not always put into practice. The WTMA on a number of occasions intervened in land management decisions made by land management agencies. A good example of this intervention occurred in 1993 when the WTMA intervened to stop the Department of Primary Industries (Forestry Service) completing a picnic ground development in the Goldsborough valley. Following complaint from the Malanburra Aboriginal Corporation, the WTMA intervened and over-ruled the intentions of Forestry, directing them to take account of Aboriginal cultural heritage values (CCC 11/8/1993; G. Davis *pers. comm.* 17/6/1993).

While in part this intervention reflects difficulties in the relationship between the WTMA and other agencies (see below), it also reflects a tension within the WTMA over the degree to which it could protect World Heritage values without being involved in basic issues of land management. This view was manifested among planning staff over the issue of whether or not it could "trust" the Department of Environment and Heritage to issue permits for recreation, fossicking and commercial tourism. There was considerable debate

among planning staff on this issue as well as the principles involved. A similar tension existed at the Authority level over the same issue (McDonald 8/8/1995).

A further issue which reflects the operations of the WTMA relates to the use of consultancies by the Authority. During the course of this study a substantial amount of the Authority's work was conducted by consultants. In 1992-93, the Authority spent $379 000 on consultancies and an estimated $640 000 in 1993-94 (PSMC 1994:19). In addition, as has been noted above, a number of programs supplemented their staffing levels by using consultants as *de facto* staff members. The PSMC described this expenditure as "considerable" and noted that, combined with other factors, the use of consultants in this way mitigated against the development of a "corporate memory" (PSMC 1994: 19-21).

While the Authority clearly had the financial capacity to use consultants to this degree (the 1993-94 expenditure on consultants amounted to only 4.2% of the annual budget of the Authority) some difficulties were created by the level of their use. Most importantly, it was often difficult for staff to oversee effectively the work being undertaken because of their existing workload. The Manager of Planning was concerned about this aspect of the use of consultancies. It is an issue that the PSMC observed during their review. The PSMC noted that "there is a need for improved evaluation of the outcomes of the projects and consultancies" (PSMC 1994:20).

The number and type of consultancies commissioned by the Planning Program in 1993 for the purposes of developing the Wet Tropics Plan is illustrative at the extent to which consultancies were used (see below). A considerable portion of planning work was clearly undertaken outside of the WTMA. This necessarily entailed oversighting difficulties as well as a partial loss of control of the planning process itself.

The consultancies commissioned for the Wet Tropics Plan in 1993 included:

- Aboriginal Consultant on Co-ordinator and Facilitators;
- Access Strategy;
- Visitor Facilities Audit;

- Development of a Statutory basis for Wet Tropics Plan;

- Visitor Use Monitoring Strategy;

- Wilderness Quality Inventory;

- Wilderness Management Strategy;

- Wild and Scenic Rivers;

- Walking Track Strategy;

- Monitoring the Efficiency and Effectiveness of Management Strategies;

- Visitor Use Strategies; and

- Editorial, Graphic Design and Cartographic Services (WTMA Authority Agenda Papers 5.2.1, 23/1/1993).

A third matter to be considered at this point relates to the effectiveness of the structure and organisational design of the Authority. The most important issue in this respect concerns the compartmentalisation of the structure and the lack of co-operation and co-ordination between individual programs. This is observable in two particular respects.

First, an observable breakdown in communication, co-ordination and co-operation existed between the Community Relations and the Management Planning programs. Whereas the Community Relations program is responsible for day to day public interface and community liaison, the Management Planning program is responsible for consultation conducted as part of the planning processes of the Authority. The consultative work of Management Planning, in terms of its design, was not considered as a component of wider community relations (see Lane 1994). When Community Relations commissioned a consultant to develop a community relations strategy, the consultative exercises of Management Planning were not considered. The PSMC also observed the need for the strategy to be integrated with planning processes (PSMC 1994: 40)

The second example of a lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the programs relates to the use of spatial technology. The Manager of Planning complained about the lack of access to the WTMA's spatial technology which was controlled by the Heritage Conservation program. He felt that Heritage Conservation were unco-operative in this respect (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993). The PSMC used this issue as evidence of the

"deficiencies in the corporate plan, including a lack of common goals and uncertainty in the direction of the organisation" (1994: 21). It commented that:

"while the GIS should be regarded as a corporate resource, freely available to all elements of the Authority, it is viewed as the property of the Heritage Conservation Branch" (PSMC 1994:22).

As a result of these and other difficulties, the PSMC recommended a renewed corporate planning effort leading to a series of adjustments to program and organisational structures (1994:22). In particular, the PSMC reported that "the program and organisation structures should facilitate effective internal communication and feedback processes" (1994:22). The PSMC was widely perceived, however, as lacking objectivity and as acting as an agent of the Queensland government in the dispute which existed between the government and the WTMA (as described below).

The fourth matter which is important in understanding the functioning of the Authority is concerned with administrative relationship between the WTMA and the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH). This is an issue which is dealt with in considerably more detail in a later section. As has been noted, the WTMA was developed as an organisation which was to provide independent advice on the management of the WHA, while being part of the Queensland state government (PSMC 1994:2). In particular, the WTMA relied on administrative support from the DEH. Significantly in this respect the Director-General of DEH was the accountable officer for the Authority under the *Financial Administration and Audit Act 1977*. As a result, the financial delegations of WTMA staff were restricted. In addition, the Executive Director was unable to vary project budgets by more than 20% without prior approval of Ministerial Council (PSMC 1994:31).

Limited financial and administrative delegations from the DEH substantially restricted the capacity of the Authority to respond to unanticipated circumstances and this forced them to seek approval continually from the DEH for projects which were intended to be dealt with according to the discretion of the WTMA. Indeed, in his report to the Authority in February 1993, the Manager of Planning lamented that the development of the Wet Tropics Plan was being delayed by the lack of an approved budget (WTM Authority Agenda Papers 5.2.1,

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11/2/1993). For his part, the Director-General of DEH was reluctant to approve an increased delegation because he had ultimate responsibility under the *Financial Administration and Audit Act 1977* (PSMC 1994:14). An alternative explanation is that the existing arrangements, which the PSMC clearly regarded as arduous and restrictive, allowed the DEH to exercise a degree of control over the activities of the WTMA. In view of the data presented below on other aspects of the DEH-WTMA relationship, this is a more logical explanation.

7.2.3 Summary

The WTMA is a statutory authority which reports to a Ministerial Council comprised of Commonwealth and Queensland Ministers but is a part of the Queensland government. The on-going role of the Commonwealth in the management of the Wet Tropics reflects the history of conflict between Queensland and the Commonwealth over resource use. The on-going role of the Commonwealth is also closely related to the fact that Commonwealth intervention was responsible for ensuring the protection of the area and for its subsequent recognition as being of "World Heritage" value.

The structure of the organisation itself is both complex and highly compartmentalised and this has been associated with a less than satisfactory performance in its first three years of operation. A lack of emphasis on corporate planning and management has been attributed to the difficulties faced by the organisation. The financial and administrative arrangements between the WTMA and the DEH have been described as unduly inflexible and restrictive. This has resulted in unnecessary delays to the programs and projects of the WTMA and, potentially, to compromising the independence of the Authority.

7.3 Socio-political reproduction

7.3.1 Relations with other agencies

The nature of the role of the WTMA, that of co-ordinating and overseeing the land management activities of other agencies, leads to some consideration of the relations

between WTMA and these agencies. As well as representing an important dimension of the political environment in which the WTMA operated, the state of the relations between relevant agencies is an indicator (and determinant) of the organisational culture of the WTMA. The organisational culture of the WTMA has an important influence on the approach of the Authority to matters central to this study.

One of the important conclusions of the historical analysis provided in Chapter six was that the dispute over resource extraction in the forests of northern Queensland involved acrimonious conflict between individuals, non-government organisations, government agencies and the State and Commonwealth governments. At many levels relations between these actors were soured by this dispute. The nature of the dispute, being both ideological as well as distributional (after Syme and Eaton 1989), exacerbated this. In addition, the manner of its resolution ensured the polarisation of actors involved in land use and management issues in north Queensland. The organisational culture of the WTMA needs to be understood in this context.

Relations between the WTMA and other key land management agencies during the course of this study were tense, unproductive and often acrimonious. This is particularly true of relations between the WTMA and the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH). It will be shown that relations with the DEH (and by implication, with the Queensland government as a whole) represented a substantial impediment to the capacity of the WTMA to efficiently manage the WHA.

DEH is an important agency in terms of land management in the Wet Tropics because of the large areas of National Parks, managed by the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service of the DEH, that lie within the WHA. The Director of the Northern Region of the DEH, Mr Greg Wellard, apportioned the blame for the poor relations with the WTMA. According to Wellard's analysis, the pretence of "philosophical purity" on the part of the Authority alienated it from "the culture of far north Queensland" (Wellard, 19/7/1993). This charge of elitism, of being aloof, was one often levelled at the WTMA by its critics. Wiltshire (25/8/1995) suggests that the problem may have stemmed from the failure of local agencies to appreciate the importance of the World Heritage concept. In the view of

the author, Wellard's (19/7/1993) comment can be understood in terms of the difficulties WTMA experienced in relating to pre-existing land management agencies and the fact that they could not implement any planning strategies in their own right. The WTMA was not, according to this perspective, an agency concerned with the practical matters of land management.

The view of officers of the DEH (including the Northern Director [Wellard 17/7/1993] and the Executive Director of the Division of Conservation [Gillespie 21/8/1993]) was that the dogmatic approach to rainforest preservation, and the lack of concern about balancing competing interests in a multiple-use system was typical of the approach of the WTMA, and a substantial cause of poor relations between the WTMA and the DEH. Wellard (19/7/1993) described the WTMA as lacking pragmatism. He further attributed some of the difficulties of the WTMA to a deliberate *de facto* policy of not employing local professional expertise[17] (19/7/1993). Much of the conflict and tension between the two agencies was manifest however in substantive policy issues. The notion that the two agencies were in conflict over "cultural" differences is not supported by the evidence below.

Wellard (19/7/1993), and the Director-General of DEH (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 19-20/8/1993) were for instance highly critical of the planning process employed by the WTMA and opined that the WTMA lacked the expertise to complete the plan successfully. Indeed, as the minutes of Authority meetings show, the DEH was a critic of the draft plan which was subject of discussion at many of these meetings (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 19-20/8/1993; 22/6/1994). As will be revealed below, the opposition of the DEH was a crucial factor in delays to the release of the Draft Wet Tropics Plan.

In August 1993, relations between the DEH and WTMA were apparently tense over the policy initiative of the Authority in exploring joint management arrangements with

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[17]Although it is true that a substantial majority of WTMA staff were recruited from outside the State, both the Manager of Heritage Conservation and the Manager of Planning were recruited from northern Queensland. The former had previously been an employee of the DEH before being dismissed, and the latter has been employed as a planner with the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority.

Aboriginal people. The consultant to the WTMA on this matter, Mr Allan Dale, told the author that the Director of the WTMA (Mr Peter Hitchcock) had expressed concern over the response of the DEH to the lead that the WTMA was taking on joint management (Dale *pers. comm.* 26/7/1993). The DEH and the State government, according to Dale, had expressed to the WTMA their dissatisfaction with the policy initiative. Dale was to ensure that his consideration of the matter did not make any assumptions about DEH's compliance or acquiescence to any resolutions on joint management (Dale *pers. comm.* 26/7/1993).

In the same period, a member of the Community Consultative Committee, Ms Rosemary Hill, attended a meeting of the Authority and reported to the Committee that the Authority was concerned at the level of tension between the WTMA and the Queensland government (CCC Minutes of Meeting 11/8/1993). At the same meeting, the Director of the WTMA addressed the Committee over the delays being experienced in the final development of the legislation[18] which would formally establish the Authority and its powers. Whereas some members of the Committee expressed their view that the power to develop joint management arrangements should be explicit in the legislation and that the WTMA should continue to negotiate on this point, the Hitchcock countered by saying that the WTMA "had to toe the government line" (CCC Minutes of Meeting 11/8/1993). Hitchcock expressed his view to the Committee that relations between the Queensland government and the Authority were tense and that without the legislation, the WTMA was vulnerable (CCC Minutes of Meeting 11/8/1993).

The tensions between these two agencies are both revealed, and partially explained by, the administrative and financial arrangements developed as part of the management scheme for the WHA. These arrangements meant that the DEH was responsible for substantial administrative support, which ensured that close co-operation between the two agencies was needed for the management of the WHA. The rapidly developing tensions between the agencies however, ensured that co-operation was not a characteristic of their relationship.

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[18] *The Wet Tropics World Heritage Area Protection and Management Act 1993.*

As early as January 1991, in the third meeting of the Authority, the lack of co-operation between the agencies began to show. At this meeting it was observed that the financial and administrative delegations, from both the State and Commonwealth were impeding the management of the WHA (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/1/91). Whereas the Commonwealth undertook to consider enhanced delegation of powers to the Director of the WTMA under the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983*, there was no parallel commitment from the State.

In April 1991, the organisation of funding to the WTMA was observed to be adversely affecting the work of the on-ground management agencies (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 25/4/1991). It was not however until early 1993 that a firm proposal to improve the financial delegations of the Director of the WTMA was being considered (Minutes of Meeting 11-12/2/1993). The proposal was designed to "change budget allocation in order to improve the efficiency and responsibilities (sic) of management units" (Minutes of Meeting 11-12/2/1993). The Commonwealth stated their support for the proposal thus:

> "the Authority was set up to manage the WHA and the Commonwealth expected it to exercise a high degree of budget control and accountability" (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 11-12/2/1993).

The representative of the Queensland government, DEH Northern Director Mr Wellard was clearly less supportive, and the proposal was deferred (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 11-12/2/1993).

At the next Authority meeting (21-22 June 1993), the DEH presented a proposal for the recovery of costs associated with providing the WTMA with administrative support (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 21/6/1993). The financial capacity and efficiency of management by on-ground agencies was not of paramount concern to the DEH who tabled a proposal for cost recovery for administrative support at a time when the issue of financial delegations had not been resolved. The WTMA budgeted to provide DEH with $235,000 towards cost recovery while the DEH requested $420,000. The Authority was concerned that other agencies might charge them for this support, and expressed a series of concerns with DEH's claim, including:

- The DEH had provided no details as to how its figure had been calculated;

- The intergovernmental agreement, which established the WTMA, involved the provision of administrative support from DEH; and

- A competitive tendering process for the provision of administrative support might provide a more cost-effective outcome (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 21/6/1993).

The Commonwealth again provided a view which contrasted with that of the DEH, suggesting that "charging for administrative support was not in the spirit of the intergovernmental agreement" (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 21/6/1993). The DEH representative, continued to articulate the Department's position for substantially more funds. It was resolved that the $235,000 allocation would stand.

In February 1994, three years after the establishment of the Authority, the financial delegations of the Director of the Authority were resolved (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 17/2/1994). The Executive Director was provided with the following delegations:
- Contracts - $50,000
- Periodic - unlimited
- Consultancies - $10,000

After three years of disputation therefore, the Executive Director of an independent authority with a budget (in 1993/4) an excess of $15 million, was provided with extremely limited delegations. These restrictive delegations ensured the continuation of tensions between the WTMA and the DEH and provided the DEH with a degree of influence over WTMA decision-making which extended beyond the provision of financial support. According to the Management Scheme which established WTMA, the Executive Director of WTMA was required to report to the Director-General of Environment and Heritage on administrative matters, and to Ministerial Council on policy matters. Defining what constitutes a "policy" or an "administrative" matter is obviously open to interpretation and,

as a result, conflicts over jurisdiction, as well as substantive policy matters, characterised relations between these key agencies.

DEH's concern to retain limited delegations can be understood as a means to maintain a degree of policy control over an otherwise independent organisation. The first chair of WTMA, Wiltshire, argues that the central source of difficulty was that the DEH was responsible for administrative matters and that the Minister of this portfolio was also the chair of the Ministerial Council (Transcript of Interview 25/8/1995). This provided the DEH with considerably more influence over WTMA than was intended by the Management Scheme.

There is some evidence to suggest that the attitude of the DEH toward the WTMA reflected a wider government view. Certainly, the DEH was not the only Queensland government agency to create difficulties for the WTMA. This is best illustrated by a well-publicised conflict between the WTMA and the Office of the Co-ordinator-General over (ostensibly) development in the World Heritage Area. The controversy developed when the Rainforest Conservation Society (RCS) obtained information from the Office of Co-ordinator General (OCG) under the *Freedom of Information Act 1992* in relation to development projects in the area *(Cairns Post* 15/7/93). RCS and other green groups, such as the Cairns and Far North Queensland Environment Centre, expressed particular concern over an internal OCG memo which referred to:

> "serious and unreasonable delays which the Wet Tropics Management Authority and the Wet Tropics Management Agency are causing development projects in the Cairns area" (OCG 25/3/1993:1).

In addition, OCG argued that

> "the Agency and the Authority have, during the past two years, severely hampered the approval processes for a number of worthwhile private sector projects" (25/3/1993:2)

and blamed this state of affairs on

"the fact that the Authority is single purpose organisation .. [with a] .. charter of rainforest preservation .... strong personalities on the Authority with deeply committed anti-development beliefs .... [and] the recruitment of staff for the Agency has ensured that most are prejudiced against development" (OCG 1993:3).

The conservation movement immediately condemned the views of the OCG (Cairns Post 12/7/1993, 15/7/1993). At the same time, conservation groups claimed that the Goss government was seeking to replace the Authority with public servants (Cairns Post 12/7/1993, 15/7/1993; Downey, *pers. comm.* 12/7/1993). Downey, the president of CAFNEC at this time, articulated his concerns to the Minister for Environment and Heritage (Robson) and was assured that the replacement of the Authority would not proceed (*pers. comm.* 12/7/1993). The Minister reiterated this position publicly (Cairns Post 15/3/93). Downey, following his discussions with the Minister was convinced that the Government's intention to replace the Authority would now not be pursued (*pers. comm.* 12/7/1993). History proved him right.

The WTMA, for its part, took the threat to its integrity very seriously. Indeed, the concerns of Authority members about the vulnerability of the WTMA to the antagonisms of the DEH in particular and the Queensland Government in general were such that it resolved:

"that given public interest and concern raised during the public consultation process, the Authority recommended to Ministerial Council that the Authority's status as an independent statutory authority, independent of the DEH or any other department as specified in the Management Scheme, be clearly affirmed in the legislation" (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 28-29/1/1992).

Moreover, in response to the increasingly low-profile role of the Commonwealth, the Authority resolved on the same day that:

"That given the widely and strongly-held public concerns raised during the public consultation process, the lack of reference to the Commonwealth or Ministerial Council in the legislation, the Authority

(i)   request the Ministerial Council to reconsider its decision to have reference to itself deleted from the legislation ;

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(ii)   request that Commonwealth members of the Ministerial Council re-
         examine the option Commonwealth legislation" (WTM Authority
         Meeting Minutes 28-29/1/1992).

Clearly the Authority felt that the most effective means of maintaining the independence of
the organisation was to ensure that the Commonwealth retain an active involvement.

Summary and Conclusion

In large part, the tension between the DEH and WTMA can be attributed to organisational
jealousy and a competition for jurisdictional turf. Whereas the DEH had once enjoyed sole
management responsibility for management of protected areas in the region, the creation of
the WTMA meant that its land management decisions now had be made within the
framework established by the WTMA. In part Wellard (19/7/1993) admitted this by
suggesting that the WTMA would ultimately be redundant because the current and
projected National Park estate would eventually comprise 92% of the WHA. The obvious
(and unstated) implication was that the DEH, through its park management agency, the
Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service, could satisfactorily manage the area
without the need for the WTMA. Perhaps it also reflected the difficulty of agencies, such as
the DEH, coming to grips with status conferred on the region by World Heritage Listing
and the exacting management requirements specified in the Convention which the WTMA
had to fulfill. The first Chair of the Authority (Wiltshire 25/8/1995) felt that local agencies
failed to appreciate the importance of the World Heritage concept and the priority and
status it accorded WHAs in making decisions about land use and management.

The squabbles between the DEH and WTMA over funding for administrative support,
budgeting allocation and organisational and administrative delegation, reflect a contest for
control of land management in the Wet Tropics. On a range of matters, the DEH adopted a
oppositional posture toward the WTMA. In response, the WTMA sought to maintain the
involvement of the Commonwealth as a result of their concern that the DEH was seeking
to undermine the independence of the WTMA. The Management Scheme, which
established the arrangements for the WHA, including the WTMA, can be seen therefore to
have institutionalised the tension between the Commonwealth and State levels of

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Government over environmental matters (see Kellow 1993). The Wet Tropics WHA was created by Commonwealth intervention and designed to protect the region from a State regime antagonistic to both rainforest conservation and the Commonwealth. The establishment of the Management Scheme was designed to provide for the co-operation of both governments in the protection of the area. What can be observed however is that, the Queensland government, through the DEH, resented the presence of WTMA, and assiduously sought to assert a degree of control beyond that intended in the Management Scheme. This resulted from a flaw in the Management Scheme which required the WTMA to report to the DEH on administrative matters and to the Ministerial Council (chaired by the Minister for EH) on policy matters. The DEH appear to have exploited this flaw.

7.3.2 Internal political relations: The Organisational Culture of the WTMA

The nature of relations with other agencies, combined with the level of animosity and polarisation created during the conflict over logging and conservation are critical in understanding the organisational culture of the WTMA. There are two important dimensions to the culture of the WTMA in terms of this study: the "siege" mentality of the agency and the relations among the various divisions.

Notwithstanding the fact that in the period the author spent in the WTMA (a total of over four months) staff generally showed themselves to be professional and diligent in all respects. There was a pervasive defensiveness among staff which affected their choices and reactions to a range of matters. The head of the regional environment lobby, the Cairns and Far North Queensland Environment Centre (CAFNEC), told the author that the Director of the Authority was deeply worried about a forthcoming review of the WTMA by the Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC). According to this source, Hitchcock was concerned that the review was an attempt to abolish the WTMA (CAFNEC Minutes of Meeting 9/7/1993). This accords with the concern expressed by the Director in his address to the Community Consultative Committee meeting in August 1993 (CCC Minutes of Meeting 11/8/1993) and, to the reaction of staff generally to the news. Given the fact that the Queensland government was a signatory to the intergovernmental agreement which established the WTMA, and at the time these events occurred, was about to pass legislation

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to formalise these arrangements, the reaction of the staff and the Director was dramatic and, indeed, an over-reaction. They were however, typical of the manner with which staff responded to criticism.

In August of the same year, when Aboriginal protesters burned a copy of the WTMA's first planning document (*Strategic Directions*) outside the offices of the organisation, staff argued bitterly over the nature of the issue, some complaining that Aboriginal criticisms were unwarranted. A review of the media releases issued in 1993 shows that the WTMA was assiduous in responding to public criticism or factual inaccuracies however minor or obscure the issue (WTMA 21/6/1993; 21/7/1993; 29/1/1993; 1/8/1992; 7/7/1992; 3/2/1992). Indeed, a senior staff member of the WTMA told the author that the "Community Relations" section should be renamed "Public Relations", given that its day to day activities were concerned with protecting the image of the Authority (Anonymous 15/6/1993). The perceived concentration on public relations, rather than the development of a dialogue with the constituents of planning, can be understood as a rational response to the perceived threats to the existence of the WTMA. The frustration of staff concerned with the extent and quality of dialogue between the WTMA and stakeholders is, however, equally understandable.

In terms of relations among the various sections of the WTMA, the most important issue of relevance relates to the problems associated with articulation and co-operation among the sections. This problem was responsible for sub-optimal outcomes and tensions and frustrations among staff, which were quite observable during the research period for this thesis.

Given the focus of this study, relations between the Planning and Community Relations divisions were of crucial importance. Despite the fact that Aboriginal liaison, contact with the Community Consultative Committee, and communication with the public generally were of major importance to the Planning division, there was little co-ordination between the Community Relations, which has formal control over these matters, and Planning. The Manager of Planning described to the author an incident which he regarded as indicative of the relationship. The Manager of Planning requested, in June of 1993, that Community

Relations issue a WTMA newsletter for the purpose of updating stakeholders on progress on the planning process. Planning considered this a matter of some urgency because there had been no communication to the general community for over six months. The manager of Community Relations however, did not view the project with the same urgency and the newsletter was not issued (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993). A senior officer of Community Relations commented to the author that the Manager of Planning was overly demanding and lacked empathy for the issues and complexities of Community Relations (Anonymous 23/7/1993). The tension between these staff members was partly due to personality issues and partly due to organisational matters. The Manager of Planning was highly stressed by the urgency and dimensions of the task of developing the plan and this was not helped by the compartmentalisation of tasks within the organisation which meant that senior personnel sometimes responded to differing imperatives.

These problems were not however confined to relations between senior staff. In the same period a conflagration occurred between a consultant, retained for the purposes of liaising with Aboriginal people during the planning period, and a senior planner. The dispute had its origins in the protest staged (in August 1993) by members of a prominent Aboriginal lobby group over a perceived lack of recognition of Aboriginal interests. The consultant, an Aboriginal person herself, argued with the planning officer over the nature and cause of the protest, and the role of the WTMA, following the protest. Despite the ugliness of the spat, and its occurrence in front of other officers in the WTMA, no senior officer intervened to mediate or resolve the dispute. The argument simmered for a number of months before the consultant resigned in November 1993 claiming racial discrimination as the principal cause of her departure. Other officers in Community Relations appear to have treated these allegations seriously by arranging a cultural awareness workshop for staff soon after.

Tensions also existed between Planning and Heritage Conservation. The Manager of Planning felt that he lacked the support of other senior staff in the WTMA in the development of the Plan. The issue was particularly felt in relation to accessing the Geographic Information Systems in the WTMA which were controlled by the Heritage Conservation Section. The Manager of Planning felt that Heritage Conservation refused to co-operate to the degree required in the development of the Plan. It was his view that the

reason for the lack of co-operation was related to jockeying among the senior staff for status and resources (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993). Although the development of the Plan was an acknowledged priority of the WTMA, the Planning Manager felt that he lacked the support of the Executive Director. Planning, on the other hand, understood organisational problems such as those outlined above to be structural, and concerned with a lop-sided allocation of staff and resources across the functions of the Authority. The Executive Director, however, consistently viewed them as inter-personal (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993).

In part, these tensions and rivalries must be a product of personality clashes. The managerial level staff of the Authority are uniformly independent, confident and opinionated professionals. It should not be surprising that tension and personality differences emerged. However the persistence of these difficulties reflects, in the view of the author, a more troubling phenomenon: the absence of practical skills (Forester 1989). A planning organisation, particularly one such as the WTMA, must seek to develop coalitions of actors willing to cooperate in the pursuit of mutually agreed goals. For Forester (1989:71) this involves the management and reproduction of an organisation's social and political relations:

> "every interaction or practical communication, not only produces a result, it
> also reproduces, strengthening or weakening, the specific working relations
> of those who interact."

The degree to which the WTMA was beset by internal difficulties reflects a lack of "practical" knowledge within the organisation. Senior management of the WTMA failed to appreciate the importance of the difficulties being faced in terms of the way in which internal conflicts would impinge upon the instrumental capacity of the WTMA. In this sense they failed to critically reflect on the "culture" of the organisation and its impact on instrumental production and socio-political reproduction (Healey 1992; Forester 1989).

7.3.3 Summary

During the course of this study (a demanding period for the WTMA in terms of policy development) with both the Plan and the legislation being developed, the WTMA was a troubled organisation. It faced significant tensions with other land management agencies, such as the DEH, and the Queensland government in general. The social and political relations established during the conflict over resource use in the region (see Chapter six) were reproduced rather than re-fashioned, following the establishment of the WTMA.

These difficulties contributed to the development of a "bunker mentality" among Authority staff, a posture which further exacerbated tensions with other agencies by enhancing the perception of the Authority as being aloof, elitist and lacking pragmatism and common-sense. In the same frenetic period, significant tensions existed within the Authority. While personality clashes are routine in any organisation, the persistent nature of these problems in the WTMA, combined with a lack of articulation and co-operation between different divisions on matters of key importance signal a problem of significant magnitude. It is in this context that the planning and public involvement programs of the WTMA need to be viewed.

The reproduction of sour, even acrimonious relations between key organisational actors can be attributed to:

i.   the intensity of the conflict over resource use in the region which eventually led to the establishment of the WHA and the WTMA;

ii.   the management arrangements which institutionalised the tensions between the Commonwealth and Queensland governments by including representative of both governments in the Ministerial Council and the Authority;

iii.   organisational jealousies associated with the development of a new organisations with effective oversight responsibilities with regard to existing land management agencies; and

iv.   a lack of appreciation, by senior WTMA staff, of the importance of social and political relations (internal and external) exacerbated by a lack of critical reflection within the WTMA. A critical reflective management might have sought to mitigate the existence of the siege mentality which developed in the WTMA.

7.4 Conception of Planning

7.4.1 Introduction

By the time fieldwork for this study commenced in June 1993, the WTMA had released its first plan, *Strategic Directions* (WTMA 1992a), as a prelude to its central planning document, the Wet Tropics Plan. The objective of the Strategic Directions document was to "set out the general principles for dealing with management issues" (WTMA 1992a:6). It was always envisaged however, that the "Wet Tropics Plan" would provide the detailed and comprehensive framework within which other land managers would operate. As we will see, the "Wet Tropics Plan" took much longer to develop than anticipated. Indeed, at the time of writing, it has not been released.

This section considers the conception of planning of the WTMA. In part, the analysis of the WTMA's conception of planning relates to the development of *Strategic Directions*. However, because that plan was developed through the substantial use of external consultants, and because this study coincided with the development of the Wet Tropics Plan, most of the analysis which is to follow relates to the Wet Tropics Plan.

The importance of the WTMA's conception of planning lies in how this conception frames the goals, methods and outcomes of the WTMA's public involvement activities. Chapter five showed that different planning models, encompassing differing conceptual and methodological approaches, place very different demands on public involvement. The goals and nature of public involvement in synoptic planning, for instance, are vastly different from how public involvement is conceived of and used in bargaining. Understanding the conception of planning of the WTMA therefore, provides a useful starting point for understanding the public participation programs of the WTMA.

7.4.2 Delays in finalising the Plan

Before considering the WTMA's conception of planning, it is first necessary to consider the WTMA's failure to finish and officially issue the "Wet Tropics Plan". By 1995 the plan was more than two years overdue. The Executive Director of the WTMA expressed his concern to a special meeting of the Authority that, after nearly six years since the establishment of the WHA, a plan for the protection and management of the WHA was yet to be completed (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/8/1994). It is appropriate to examine the details of these delays for two reasons. Firstly, it serves to underscore the analysis above regarding relations between the WTMA and other organisations generally, and between the WTMA and the Queensland government in particular. Secondly, it provides insights into the WTMA's approach to and conception of planning.

Although the completion of the strategic plan was viewed as an important achievement by both the WTMA and others[19], the focus of expectation and attention was on the management plan for the WHA, to be called The Wet Tropics Plan. When *Strategic Directions* was released in August 1992, the WTMA announced its intention to complete and release the Wet Tropics Plan in June 1993 (WTMA 1992a:6). In August 1993 the Manager of Planning reported to Authority members that the plan was 90% complete and only two matters remained to be finalised (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 19-20/8/1993). By the time of writing (July 1995), the plan is yet to be released for public comment and the Manager of Planning has resigned in frustration.

There are a range of factors which serve to explain the extraordinary delays to the release of the Plan. These are outlined below. In considering the various sources of delay it is important to note that different factors impeded plan release at different times. The sources of delay are therefore listed in rough chronological order.

i.   An important early source of delay was associated with internal organisational difficulties experienced by the WTMA. These include personality clashes among

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[19]The plan won an award for excellence from the Royal Australian Planning Institute.

senior staff, limited staff resources and divergent conceptions, within the WTMA, of what the plan would entail. The Manager of Planning (21/7/1993) complained that detailed proposals and substantial components of the plan were not supported by other senior staff, merely because "they did not have ownership of the planning process". These tensions, which were particularly pronounced in the relationship between the Managers of the Planning and Heritage Conservation programs, also involved a conflict over access to the Geographic Information System of the WTMA (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993; PSMC 1994:22). These tensions, combined with staffing problems, were an important early source of delay.

It would be a mistake to view these problems merely as personality clashes. The poor state of relations among staff were continually reproduced (following Forester 1989:71) and resulted in considerable hostility. The compartmentalisation of tasks and knowledge within the WTMA institutionalised, among staff, competition for information, labour and kudos, as well as organisational difficulties. The structure was, in Forester's (1989) terms instrumentally sub-optimal and reproduced poor relations rather than improving them.

ii.   A further and related source of delay relates to the priorities of senior staff of the Authority. In the face of the difficulties described above, the priorities of the senior staff, including the Executive Director, often lay with more immediate issues concerning the survival and integrity of the organisation as a whole (McDonald 8/8/1995). The plan was therefore not a priority issue for the management of the organisation as other problems assumed greater importance. This is probably not surprising given the serious difficulties that WTMA faced in its relationship with the Queensland government and range of other tasks required of the organisation.

iii.   Another source of delay was caused by the delays in the passage and proclamation of the *Wet Tropics World Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993* (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 21-2/6/1993). The plan could not be released for public comment until this statute, which would give the plan legislative force, was

proclaimed. The delay in the passage of this statute was related, of course, the apparent enmity between the Queensland Government and the WTMA.

iv.   Perhaps the most important and long-standing source of delay relates to the complex and seemingly interminable negotiations between the WTMA and the DEH, both within and outside the Wet Tropics Planning Co-ordination Group (which was established for this purpose) (Wiltshire 25/8/1995). These negotiations need to be understood, of course, in view of the foregoing discussion of the antagonistic posture of the DEH towards the WTMA.

In August 1993 only two outstanding issues remained to be resolved. At this time, the Director-General of DEH, in an Authority meeting, praised the work the WTMA had completed on the plan. The only concern of the DEH, he advised, was the complexity of the document and the consequent public reaction to it (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 19-20/8/1993). In a special meeting of the Authority in August 1994, the Executive Director of WTMA said, in his opening remarks, that the concerns of the DEH had been reconciled (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/8/1994). In the same meeting however, the DEH representative (Wellard) raised a suite of concerns with the plan. After subsequent discussion with the Manager of Planning, Wellard advised the meeting that the DEH would support the release of the plan for public exhibition (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/8/1994). Indeed, at this meeting, the Authority resolved that the plan should be released for exhibition on 31/10/1994 (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/8/1994).

The plan had not, however, been released by November 1994. By this time the Minister for Environment and Heritage had promised further consultation with conservation groups prior to its release (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 17-18/11/1994). The Authority was advised at this meeting that the view of the Minister was that a release date of March 1995 was realistic and the Authority subsequently resolved to release the plan by March 31, 1995. This date also passed without the release of the Plan.

The DEH proved to be a difficult agency to establish agreement with. The Authority felt that it had reconciled the concerns of the DEH in October 1994, when it resolved to release the plan for public exhibition. However, the concerns of the Department were subsequently shown to persist when the Minister for Environment and Heritage recommended that release be delayed until March 1995. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the antagonistic posture of the DEH towards the WTMA in creating and exacerbating the problems with which the it was wrestling. This antagonism effected most aspects of the work of the WTMA adversely.

v.   That DEH sought to delay the passage of the plan (Wiltshire 25/8/1995) was not merely a reaction to what it regarded as flaws in the early drafts. It was also a response to a concerted campaign by the conservation movement to have the plan "improved" (Purcell 1995:3). The movement, "knew that the Plan was awful and ..... that we could gain support from the National Conservation movement to overturn it" (Purcell 1995:3). The green movement actively sought to enlist the support of the Minister for Environment and Heritage in delaying the Plan. Their campaign was successful. The environmental movement had occasionally expressed their concern with the multiple-use approach of the WTMA, which they perceived as not providing enough protection for the area's biological values.

vi.   A further source of delay relates to complications raised by the High Court's 1992 recognition of indigenous native title and subsequent Federal legislation (*The Native Title Act 1993*). The impact of the Plan on native title rights was obviously an important and complex consideration and one which contributed to delays in the plan. The new Authority member (Mr Noel Pearson, an Aboriginal person with traditional links to the Daintree region) appointed in August 1994, was particularly concerned with the impact of the Plan on native title rights. These concerns were largely addressed by dialogue between Pearson and planning staff while Pearson consulted Aboriginal groups about the changes being developed (WTM Authority Meeting Minutes 31/8/1994). The Native Title issue remained however, a highly complex matter and a source of delay.

7.4.3 The Approach of WTMA to Planning

Throughout the course of this study, which includes the period following the release of the *Strategic Directions* document and throughout the period in which the Wet Tropics Plan was substantially developed, the conception, approach and method of planning was consistent and uniform. In large part this derives from a stability in personnel involved in the planning process across this period[20]. As a result of having the opportunity to peruse planning documents, attend meetings of planning staff and observe these staff at work, the author has therefore been able to develop an understanding of the approach of the WTMA to planning. In this section the approach adopted by the WTMA in the development of the strategic plan and the Wet Tropics Plan is considered. In particular, the principles and methods of planning used by the WTMA are examined.

Another important factor in the approach of the Authority to planning is related to the way the WHA was perceived. The corporate view was that the area was a pristine wilderness of immense heritage value which was, nevertheless, threatened by population and development pressures. In addition, the WTMA took seriously what it saw as its strong mandate and obligation to protect the area. The fundamental objective of WTMA planning therefore, was to develop a plan which would enable the WTMA to meet its obligations as specified in both the World Heritage Convention and in the *Wet Tropics World Heritage and Protection and Management Act 1993*. These obligations required the WTMA to ensure the protection, conservation, rehabilitation, presentation and transmission of the Wet Tropics to future generations.

The most important task of the planner in the WTMA, during the development of *Strategic Directions*, was to gather information relevant to the particular planning issue being addressed and, from the understanding of the bio-physical environment, human use and activity, develop policies and actions to resolve that planning issue. The computerised bio-physical database of the WTMA, widely acknowledged as an excellent example of

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[20]The Director and Managers of Planning, Heritage Conservation, Community Relations and Corporate Services, as well as senior planning staff, remain unchanged throughout much of this period.

Geographic Information System (GIS) technology, has been the dominant source of information for the planners. The strategic plan is concerned with identifying planning problems or issues, and articulating policies and actions to be taken to address these issues.

Figure 7.3 provides an example of the setting out of the strategic plan. It reveals much about the WTMA's the approach to planning.

Figure 7.3 shows that planners identify planning "issues" before considering the range of possible actions and policies which might address the issue. The actions and policies chosen are articulated as addressing the desired outcome. In other words, the "means" are evaluated against the desired "ends". This "means against ends" approach is redolent of the synoptic approach to planning where the "ends" are determined by planners and rational evaluation of the alternative options determines the "means" (see Chapter five; Hudson 1979:388-9).

The nature and role of information is also important to this discussion. In the observation of the author the sources of information used by the WTMA planners were:

- bio-physical data from the WTMA GIS;

- data from authoritative professionals working in relevant fields; and

- information from the planners' own experience.

The WTMA planners sought to ensure that the plan was rational in western scientific terms and that it was based on the "best available scientific information" (Manager of Planning 13/71993). The WTMA had devoted considerable resources to creating a database on the bio-physical and socio-economic attributes of the region. It developed its own substantial databases and accessed others. It developed a substantial scientific research grant program, sought scientific advice through the use of the Scientific Advisory Committee and developed its own substantial GIS (see Laurance 1993).

Figure 7.3: Example of Strategic Plan Format

ISSUES	POLICIES	ACTIONS	MONITORING
Rainforest Communities In some areas fire regimes have become a threat to rainforest communities.	The Authority will, as far as practicable, prevent introduction of fire to rainforest communities	Conduct education programs to increase public awareness of the impact of fire on rainforest communities. Support the continuing DEH and Mulgrave Shire fire management initiatives through the Cairns/Mulgrave Hillslopes Committee.	Establish monitoring programs to record fire occurrence and consequent floristic changes. Review the known areas where rainforest communities are threatened by fire regimes during the development of each *Wet Tropics Plan*.
Sclerophyll Communities Sclerophyll Communities have evolved with fire and its exclusion has a variety of effects.	The Authority will use fire to maintain biological diversity within sclerophyll communities. At the same time, the impact of fire on isolates and areas of high visitor use, particularly those with infrastructure facilities, will be minimised. In the absence of a detailed fire management policy or plans, the following interim policy will apply: • Until detailed research is available on the dynamics of particular ecosystems, maintaining habitat diversity should be a priority except in select areas of high visitor use; • Where the use of fire is prescribed it should be subject to controls on factors such as timing, the precise area to be burnt and the reason for burning. • Wildfires in *Priority Natural Areas* will not be suppressed unless life and property, or an identified rare and threatened species habitat, is threatened; • Co-operation with neighbouring land holders and owners will be sought, to reduce the risks of unwanted fire in the World Heritage Area and to protect life and property; • Annual fire management co-ordination meetings will be held in consultation with Queensland Fire Service to confirm the proposed activities of all organisations with fire management proposals within the Wet Tropics WHA for the subsequent year.	Continue existing fire management programs in the sclerophyll communities of: • Cedar Bay • Barron Gorge • Graham Range • Edmund Kennedy • Lumholtz • Jourama Falls • Mt Spec • Mt Hyplpamee • Lamb Range (Gillies Road) • Herberton Range • Clohesy River • Kuranda • Koombooloomba • Tinaroo Range Set future directions, including priorities beyond the 1992/93 financial year, at the fire management workshop. Fund a study/inventory of the detailed fire history, and implications for World Heritage values, of wet sclerophyll communities to be carried out by CSIRO in the 1992/93 financial year.	Record the fire history (area, intensity, year) for sclerophyll communities and the floristic changes over time. Review the known areas where sclerophyll communities are threatened or affected by fire regimes during the development of each *Wet Tropics Plan*.

The approach of the WTMA to both the strategic and Wet Tropics plans (see below) was substantially shaped by the insistence of the Queensland Government that all plans for the WHA comply with the Government's reform of the planning apparatus and the planning framework it established (Queensland Government 1991). The objectives of "Systems Review" were to reduce the costs and delays associated with development approval, create a transparent planning process for the public and to ensure that "quality" planning decisions resulted (Queensland Government 1991:10). The Systems Review was essentially concerned with refining the existing planning apparatus and, in doing so, it maintained a synoptic approach to planning with which all agencies of State and Local Government were obliged to comply (Queensland Government 1991:23-4).

The Systems Review had a number of implications for the WTMA. First, it reinforced the dominant synoptic approach of planning. The WTMA's approach to planning needed to be based on the "best possible information" if it was to comply with the Queensland Government's planning framework (Queensland Government 1991:24). Second, it allowed the Queensland Government to re-assert its view that the WTMA was a component of the machinery of the Queensland Government. As has been noted elsewhere, this was a source of considerable tension between the WTMA and state agencies. Third, it established the parameters for the planning work of the WTMA. The WTMA was required to ensure that its   ng processes were congruent with those of Queensland's planning apparatus. This contradicted the Authority's own view that the status of the area conferred on it by World Heritage Listing demanded decision-making processes and criteria which reflected this unique status.

In terms of the Wet Tropics Plan (which at the time of writing has not been formally adopted) the approach was similar. The Wet Tropics Plan, however, proposes to use a zoning scheme to allow (or disallow) certain activities in particular regions. As the draft Plan of June 1993 stated:

"The zoning scheme establishes broad patterns of management throughout the Wet Tropics WHA, by defining areas with particular management purposes, character

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and provisions. The fundamental principle in the development of the zoning scheme is that every area of the Wet Tropics WHA contains World Heritage values and contributes to the integrity of World Heritage values" (WTMA Draft Plan, June 1993c).

This is an important statement of conception and method of planning as practised by the WTMA. Definition of the "character" of each zone, that is, its bio-physical attributes and human-made facilities, is determined by reference by "management information maps" (WTMA Draft Plan, June 1993c). In practice, planners working in the WTMA would make reference to the GIS database in determining the "character" of areas with which they were concerned. Often, the planners would supplement the information they received by making contact with a network of people presumed to be authoritative in relevant areas: the Scientific Advisory Committee members, staff from CSIRO Atherton and James Cook University and people such as Aila Keto, Authority member, recognised expert in ecology and President of the Rainforest Conservation Society.

On the basis of the information received, the WTMA would seek to define the area according to its zoning scheme. The draft zoning scheme (WTMA Draft Plan, June 1993c) is provided in Table 7.4.

Summary

The WTMA's approach (for both planning processes) was to develop a framework for guiding decision-making. The planners relied heavily on information provided by the GIS for developing aspects of the plan, and evaluated means against ends to determine policy choice.

7.4.4 A rational-comprehensive approach?

In the course of this study, detailed observation and research of the development of the Wet Tropics Plan has been undertaken. This has enabled a detailed assessment of the approach of the WTMA to planning. The conception of planning for both the development of Strategic Directions and the Wet Tropics Plan, appears to be similar. Planning by the

WTMA continues in the rational-comprehensive tradition, with its statutory consultative process suggesting it as a form of synoptic planning.

As Chapter five revealed, synoptic planning is basically a continuation of the rational comprehensive paradigm. It differs from blueprint planning in that it emphasises the importance of specifying goals and targets, quantitative analysis and prediction of the environment and a concern to identify and evaluate alternative policy options (Hall 1983:42; Hudson 1979:388-9). In particular, it emphasises the evaluation of means against ends (Hudson 1979:388-9). In synoptic planning there is also a role for public involvement, although this is usually minimal and mostly confined to consultation. All of these elements are identifiable aspects of the approach of the WTMA to planning.

The evidence to sustain this characterisation detailed below:

i.   *the nature and role of information*

The planning process appears to have been similar to traditional blueprint approaches in that the planner collects and analyses available information and formulates a response. In particular, the WTMA planners were concerned to ensure that planning decisions were made in accordance with the "best available scientific information" (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993). While the frameworks adopted by the WTMA ensured their plans were comprehensive, the WTMA also sought to ensure that they were "rational". Rationality in this case was defined in terms of the application of western scientific thought. Indeed, the use of zoning scheme, is redolent of a Geddesian "survey-analysis-plan" approach (see Hall 1992). Individual areas were included in a particular zone on the basis of the bio-physical characteristics, an analysis of which largely determined the allowable activities in that particular zone.

Table 7.4: Draft Zoning Scheme

Remote and Natural Zone

Purpose

The purpose of this zone is to provide for the protection in an undisturbed state, of those lands in te Wet Tropics WHA which have remote and natural wilderness qualities.

Character

The character of this zone defined as remote and natural lands where there are no structures ad facilities. The desired setting is a remote area where a visitor will encounter few other people and may expect opportunities for solitude.

Natural Zone

Purpose

The purpose of this zone is to provide for the protection and rehabilitation of the natural integrity and values of lands in the Wet Tropics WHA in a largely undisturbed state.

Character

The desired character of this zone is largely natural lands where there are few structures and facilities. The desired setting is a natural area where a visitor may encounter other visitors in a number of small groups or one large group.

Regional Transport Zone

Purpose

The purposes of this zone are to:
1. protect the natural integrity and values of lands in the WHA
2. present World Heritage values particularly the outstanding natural beauty
3. provide corridors for regional transport

Character

The desired character of this zone is roads and railways which do not dominate the landscape of otherwise natural lands.

Community Services Zone

Purpose

The purposes of this zone are:
1. to protect the natural values of lands in the WHA
2. to provide lands for provision of existing essential community services facilities within the Wet Tropics WHA
3. where appropriate and agreed by the landowner, the land holder, Authority and the owner of the community service facility, to present World Heritage values including the provision of visitor interpretation and recreational facilities.

Character

The desired character of the Community Services Zone is community services structures and facilities which do not dominate the landscape of otherwise natural lands.

Presentation Zone

Purpose

The purposes of this zone are to:
1. protect the natural integrity and values of lands within the WHA; and
2. present the World Heritage values to visitors through visitor interpretation and recreation facilities.

Character

The desired character of the Presentation Zone is visitor facilities and sites which present World Heritage values without dominating the landscape of or impact upon otherwise natural lands. The desired setting is variety of opportunities which may include moderately crowded and crowded areas where there are no opportunities for solitude and the likelihood of encountering lands groups or many other visitors is high.

Source: WTMA Draft Zoning Scheme

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ii.   evaluation of means against ends

A central element of the synoptic model is the evaluation of means against ends (Hudson 1979:388-9). In both planning processes the choice of policy option (means) was made according to whether or not it would achieve a particular planning goal (end). In the context of the strategic plan, evaluation of means against ends occurred within a framework which specified the planning problem, the desired outcome and the selected action or means.

In the context of the Wet Tropics Plan, this evaluation took place in the context of the zoning scheme. The essential objective in the zoning scheme was to ensure the integrity of each individual zone. The determination of allowable activities in any particular zone depended on an evaluation of the extent to which that activity would affect the integrity of the zone. The policy or planning options (means) were evaluated against the desired goal for each zone - a continuation of means against ends analysis.

iii.   the immutability of planning goals

This issue relates to the tension between functional and normative planning which was so brilliantly described by Faludi (1973). Whereas functional planning is merely concerned with means, assuming the ends to be given, normative planning proceeds on the premise that all issues are deserved of consideration, challenge and debate. The planning approach of the WTMA is essentially functional in that it tends not to countenance, for instance, seeking to have certain human intrusions removed from the WHA. According to its draft proposals for example, all major roads are included in the Regional Transport Zone and all other roads in the Presentation Zone.

At one level this is entirely pragmatic: obviously in a multi-use protected area human services must be provided. There were therefore, significant constraints in terms of the goals of planning. Planning could not be particularly preservationist,

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for instance, because of the extent of existing infrastructure and human activity throughout the Wet Tropics.

The degree to which planning was normative was also constrained however by the goals to which the WTMA was obligated to pursue. These were initially established in the World Heritage Convention and later codified in the *Wet Tropics World Heritage and Protection and Management Act 1993*. These goals - the protection, conservation, rehabilitation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the Wet Tropics - have become the overarching aims of planning by the WTMA. There was little discussion within and without the Wet Tropics about the relevance of all of these goals to this particular WHA or consideration of other subsidiary objectives might obtain in the unique circumstances posed by the Wet Tropics. The absence of normative analysis is strongly associated with the rational comprehensive tradition in planning (see Hall 1983:42; Webber 1983:91). The absence of any consideration of applicability of these goals by the WTMA reinforces the suggestion that their conception of planning was congruent with the rational-comprehensive paradigm.

The Manager of Planning when questioned on this point merely commented that the goals of planning were given (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993). Indeed, the goals of the World Heritage Convention have almost been reified by a number of staff in the organisation. The suggestion that they might not be a complete set of planning goals in this context was however, raised by a senior planner in the WTMA (Anonymous 29/7/1993). In an interview with the author he expressed frustration about the lack of consideration of goals within and without the WTMA. As someone crucially concerned with the Daintree, he was concerned about the social consequences of conservation planning in an area where residents lack some basic residential provisions, notably power. In particular, he felt that a further goal of planning ought to be "Life of the Community". Under this goal, matters of social impact and concern with disenfranchised actors might be addressed (Anonymous 29/7/1993).

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The intensely functional nature of planning as practised by the WTMA is a further important indicator that planning in this protected area is best understood as an example of rational comprehensive planning.

iv.   *planning as producing a document*

A further indicator is the importance placed on the plan as a document. Although a plan which is intended to act as a guide for the decisions and actions taken by a number of land management agencies needs to be provided in a comprehensive documentary form, the activity of planners in the WTMA suggests that only the final document is important. Whereas it was suggested that WTMA consult with stakeholders early in the planning process in order to apprise them of issues, and engender their confidence in the process and encourage ownership of the final planning decisions, the Manager of Planning responded by suggesting that such an approach "would only empower antagonistic stakeholders" (Manager of Planning 5/11/1993).

Consulting with key stakeholders throughout the planning *process* is a well founded approach to public involvement in planning (Syme 1992). In rejecting this suggestion, formally made by the author (see Lane 1994), the Manager of Planning was not only rejecting recommendations found in authoritative literature, but indicating that his conception of planning was centrally concerned with the production of a document. This is because engendering stakeholder involvement continuously connotes a conception of planning as a process, rather than the development of a fixed document detailing a desired end-state. Several of the important (and recent) approaches to planning view participation being central to the process of planning and not a consultative exercise after the comprehensive plan has been developed. These include Friedmann's (1973) transactive planning, Davidoff's advocacy planning (1965), and Dorcey's planning by bargaining (1986).

In sum, there are four important indicators of a rational comprehensive approach to planning: a planning method which can be described as a computerised Geddesian survey-

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analysis-plan, a functional rather than normative posture, means against ends analysis, and finally, an emphasis on planning as a document rather than as a process. In the following sections two other elements crucial to this depiction are considered. These are the role afforded to the non-planner in the WHA and the function of public involvement.

7.4.5. The role of the planner

A fundamental characteristic of synoptic planning and, by contrast, the point of departure for recent alternative planning conceptions, revolves around the role of the planner. As Chapter five observed, the planner in synoptic planning was professional and scientific, the arbiter of differing social values, striving for rational decision-making (Hall 1983:42). Hall's (1983; 1992) typical characterisation of the rational-comprehensive planner is in terms of his/her omnipotence in the planning process. By contrast, the role of the planner in more recent departures is that of reticulist: facilitating the expression of all actors interested in planning activities (Hall 1983).

The planners in the WTMA are more accurately characterised in accordance with Hall's descriptions of the rational planner. During an interview, the Manager of Planning in the WTMA conveyed his conception of planning and his role thus: "the plan communicates outcomes, we are not interested in processes" (13/7/1993). The role for the planners of WTMA. accordingly, was to write the plan and then consult (13/71993). The role for non-planners was extremely limited and indeed, only served a highly circumscribed function in the eyes of the planner: "to test the limits of community tolerance" (13/7/1993). The planner's task in the WTMA was not that of reticulist, instead the daily work was much more concerned with the compilation of the planning document. The method, as described above, was similar to the archetypal methods of the blueprint planner, albeit computerised.

Finally, and significantly, the planner decided what would be included in the plan and what would not. Seeking consensus over particular issues was futile, what was required was for the WTMA to identify the planning actions which would ensure that the goals of the plan and the Authority would be met (13/7/1993). The locus of decision-making power in

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respect of how these goals might be realised - according to this conception - rested firmly with the Authority and its planners.

7.4.6 The function of public involvement

Chapters four considered in detail the functions and objectives of public involvement and showed how the purposes to which public involvement were put reveals much about the conception of planning of a given agency. In chapter five it was observed that synoptic planning provides for limited consultation while the major decision-making function rests with the planner (Hall 1983). The role that was afforded non-planners during the planning activities of the WTMA during the course of this study.

Public involvement in planning was confined to a formal consultative exercise conducted when the WTMA, via the Authority and Ministerial Council, approved the plan for public release. The practical aims of this consultation were "to help identify the groups who would complain over particular elements of the plan" (Manager of Planning 5/11/1993) or "to identify the tolerance limits of particular stakeholders" (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993). Public involvement, according the planners of the WTMA, has little to do with efficiency, legitimacy and environment definition functions described in the formal literature (see Gariepy 1991; Hyman and Stiftel 1988). Indeed, the suggestion that public involvement might help identify planning issues and provide information useful in planning was rejected by the Manager of Planning (13/7/1994) who asserted that the consultative exercise did not identify a single issue which had not already been identified, considered and addressed by the WTMA previously.

Public involvement, according to this conception of planning, is a statutory obligation which, at best, can identify the troublesome constituents to be placated. This minor role for public involvement is critical to understanding the WTMA's conception of planning. This minimalist perspective of public participation is suggestive of rational-comprehensive approaches in which the planner is omnipotent in his or her understanding and mastery of the planning environment and capable of arbitrating on the range of value choice issues inherent in planning activities in diverse social contexts.

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7.4.7 Summary

The conception of planning of the WTMA is best described as a variation of the synoptic ideal. Its planning approach has the following characteristics which mark it as a synoptic variant:

i. a planning method centrally concerned with data collection and analysis which is suggestive of traditional planning methodologies such as Geddes survey-analysis-plan;

ii. a tendency to assume that the goals of planning are given and immutable. In this respect WTMA planning tends to adopt a functional rather then normative posture;

iii. an emphasis on planning as the production of a document or a 'blueprint', rather than as a process;

iv. a tendency to characterise the planner as the arbiter of planning outcomes; and

v. a circumscribed role for public involvement which is limited to consultation following the release of a draft document.

The importance of this finding in the context of this study is significant. The synoptic ideal has long been discredited by scholars in planning for its inaccurate conception of society as homogenous, its insistence on applying rational decision making procedures to complex social systems, its lack of concern for consideration of the goals of planning and its anti-political ideology (Hall 1983; Kiernan 1983). To put it another way, the pluralistic nature of planning environments (Jacobs 1989; Friedmann 1973; McDonald 1989), the intrinsically political nature of planning (Kiernan 1983) and the limitations of rationality (Lindblom 1959) have all been important catalysts for the development of planning models based on more accurate conceptions of society and the way decisions are made. The "rise of a diverse populist citizens' movement" (Jacobs 1989:32) in planning is a reflection of both the failings of the synoptic ideal and the need for planning approaches which account

for pluralistic planning environments where both the goals and means of planning are likely to be challenged.

The use of the synoptic model of planning by the WTMA suggests a poor understanding of the planning environment. It tends to ignore the fiercely political landscape in which the organisation itself was born, the diversity of competing interests in land and resources and the degree to which power and control is shared between a plethora of agencies, groups and individuals. Application of synoptic planning assumes a degree of homogeneity in the planning environment and suggests that the WTMA have a degree of control which is untenable. The difficulties faced by the WTMA in realising its ambitions to release the Wet Tropics Plan may be related to the application of a highly inappropriate planning model given the planning context (after McDonald 1989).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the management arrangements for the WHA, the corporate structure of the WTMA and its corporate culture. It has observed that the WTMA, born of an acrimonious dispute between governments over resource use, had developed a defensive posture to its clients and external relationships. In large part, this posture was a product of the difficult relations between WTMA and other land management agencies, particularly the DEH. This chapter has shown that the harassment of the WTMA by the DEH proved to be an important dynamic in constraining the planning activities of the WTMA and in delaying the production of a plan. In turn, this outcome may be attributed to the complexity of the management arrangements and the fact that they served to institutionalise conflict between the Queensland government and the Commonwealth.

The chapter also examined the WTMA's approach to planning and concluded its conception and methods of planning were reminiscent of the discredited synoptic approaches of the 1960s. The approach of the WTMA was due, in part, to the insistence of the Queensland Government that the WTMA's planning policies and strategies comply with the state-wide planning framework established by the Systems Review. The chapter also considered the related matter of public involvement. In keeping with the Authority's

approach to planning, the WTMA has adopted a limited view of public involvement, setting modest objectives and goals.

The thesis now turns to a consideration of the public involvement programs conducted by the WTMA. Chapter eight considers public involvement of the European-Australian population in the planning activities of the WTMA.

8.0 Public Involvement and the European-Australian Population

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the conduct and outcomes of the public involvement program of the WTMA as it related to the European-Australian population. The substantial cultural, economic and social differences between Aboriginal and European-Australian populations demand that Aboriginal participation is considered separately.

With regard to the European-Australian population, there are five issues requiring analysis. These are briefly introduced below.

First, there is the issue of the objectives of public involvement in the WTMA's planning process. There are two dimensions to this point. First, there is a series of official statements on the objectives and importance of public involvement. While these deserve some consideration, there is, secondly, the more important matter of the unofficial agenda and objectives of the WTMA regarding public involvement. Not surprisingly the official and unofficial goals of public involvement differ. This section will consider the distinction between the two agendas of the Authority and will indicate which agenda was more influential in the conduct of the public involvement programs.

Second, having established the realpolitik of public involvement in the Wet Tropics, it is pertinent to reflect on this finding in terms of the literature on public involvement in planning presented in Chapter four. In that chapter, a number of rationales for engaging the public was presented. These range from informing planners and decision-makers, to ensuring that the plurality of the planning environment is reflected in planning discourse and decision-making, to the pragmatic (even cynical) objectives of placating or co-opting constituents, and to maintaining a public facade of openness and accountability. Which of these explanations, if any, explain the activities of the WTMA with regard to public involvement? This section will suggest how the WTMA operations can be understood.

The third issue relates to the design of the public involvement programs of the WTMA. The chapter details the design of the program in terms of the direction of information flow and the methods used. The program is described in terms of the direction of information flows: taking into account methods used to disseminate information, methods to elicit information from the public and, finally, fora for interaction between WTMA personnel and the public. The fourth dimension of this chapter concerns an evaluation of the public involvement program. This analysis proceeds at two levels. First, there is an analysis of instrumental production which evaluates the WTMA program against its publicly stated goals for public involvement. Second, there is an analysis of the public involvement program in terms of the **realpolitik**, by examining the privately stated objectives of WTMA personnel. In both cases, these analyses are concerned with understanding the competence of administration of these programs.

The fifth and final component of this chapter concerns the use of public involvement. This section is concerned with understanding how the information sought by Authority planners was used. The section focuses on the stages of planning in which public involvement was used. Again, this analysis considers the use of participatory information in terms of both the formal and informal objectives of the public involvement program.

8.2 The Purpose of Public Involvement: the rhetoric and the realpolitik

8.2.1 Introduction

As has been observed, there exists a difference between the official goals of public involvement and the agenda of those personnel charged with conducting the program. It is a difference between rhetoric and the realpolitik (after Altheide and Johnson 1980: 4). In itself, this is not a surprising observation. The demands of establishing a planning process and developing technically competent and politically acceptable planning outcomes are substantial. Time and resource constraints, combined with the realities of a complex and, at times, hostile political environment, will serve in many situations to ensure the development of a pragmatic agenda among planning personnel. The expedient agenda of planning organisations however, may be substantially different from the original rhetoric and have important unanticipated consequences.

This section considers the differences between the official and unofficial objectives of public involvement.

8.2.2 The Rhetoric: the official objectives of public involvement

The WTMA has clearly articulated the goals for its public involvement activities. It is appropriate the WTMA specified its objectives for public involvement because it gives potential respondents an understanding of the nature of the program and therefore, how they might participate. In addition, by specifying the opportunities created, the WTMA obviates the risk of creating false expectations about the nature of the program and the type of opportunities for participation being provided (see Stone 1992: 103).

The WTMA defined the objectives of consultation during the public review period of *Strategic Directions* as:

i.   providing the community with an opportunity to express its views and opinions;

ii.   ensuring that Government decision-making, in respect of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area, is accountable;

iii.   assisting the Authority in the identification of the Wet Tropics WHA management issues;

iv.   providing the Authority with a greater understanding of the community's aspirations and concerns; and

v.   facilitating a greater level of community support and responsibility for the management of the Wet Tropics (WTMA 1993a:5).

It should be noted that, notwithstanding the broad and occasionally ambiguous nature of these goals, they do encompass the major functions of public involvement in planning as discussed in chapter four. The *efficiency* (providing information to planners); *legitimacy* (demonstrating

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the openness and accountability of policy processes) and *environment definition* (enhancing the public's awareness of the planning environment and major planning issues) functions of public involvement are implicit in the WTMA's objectives (Gariepy 1991; Hyman and Stiftel 1988). This suggests that the WTMA had a substantial understanding of the potentialities of public involvement and that they sought to realise those potentialities. Much of this chapter is concerned with whether or not this is true.

The earlier consultative exercise conducted by the WTMA, conducted *during* the development of the strategic plan, had a more narrow focus (see WTMA 1992c). In the *Community Consultation Summary* (WTMA 1992c) the WTMA defined the objectives of consultation as conducted in their strategic planning exercise as:

i.   developing community awareness of the Wet Tropics and the role of the WTMA;

ii.   providing the community with an awareness of the planning process, and

iii.   providing for community input to the plan, particularly the definition of planning issues and the development of a vision (WTMA 1992c:3).

In terms of WTMA rhetoric therefore, the objectives set of public involvement were broadened between the time of the original consultations conducted in December 1991 through to May 1992, and the second stage of consultations following the release of the draft strategic plan. In part, this chapter will consider whether or not this expanded role for public involvement was justified.

8.2.3 The realpolitik: the real agenda of the WTMA

The actual agenda of the WTMA was rather different from that specified above. Those personnel charged with the responsibility of administering the public involvement program, the manager and staff of the Management Planning division of the WTMA, had a very different and more modest objective for the program. Participation in planning, according to these key personnel was to be strictly limited to the formal draft plan review period. More

importantly, the practical aims of this consultation were "to help identify the groups who would complain over particular elements of the plan" (Manager of Planning 5/11/1993) or "to identify the tolerance limits of particular stakeholders" (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993). According to this pragmatic, even expedient view, public involvement was an aid to managing the political process of seeking and obtaining approval for official gazettal of the plan by Ministerial Council. Ideally, the public involvement program would identify (to WTMA planners) the "antagonistic stakeholders" who would, in the course of seeking political approval, have to be co-opted, placated or isolated (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993).

When it was suggested to the WTMA planners that they ought to consider participation in planning as a more continuous process which began well before the formal public review period (see Lane 1994), the Manager of Planning (13/7/1994) responded by asserting that the consultative exercise (for *Strategic Directions*) did not identify a single issue which had not previously been identified, considered and addressed by the WTMA. This view implies that the identification and provision of planning issues and information was a task more efficiently carried out by the professional planner. It tends to ignore the diverse types of information which are considered important by non-government actors and suggests that planners can accurately perceive and depict their interests.

In terms of the realpolitik of public involvement in the Wet Tropics, the agenda of the WTMA differed sharply from the rhetoric. Public involvement as practised by the WTMA was designed to suit specific organisational purposes: to help manage the inevitably political process of obtaining approval for plan gazettal.

8.2.4 Conclusion

Notwithstanding the public rhetoric of the WTMA regarding public involvement, their actual agenda was quite modest and confined to helping the WTMA manage the political process. Following Painter (1992), the public involvement program of the WTMA was centrally concerned with the achievement of difficult organisational goals, in this case getting the plan approved and released. Public involvement in the WTMA was essentially concerned with serving organisational interests and issues, rather then community interests. The broader goals

of public involvement (providing information to planners, demonstrating accountability and openness and enhancing the public's awareness of the Wet Tropics and its' planning problems) were relegated to objectives of minor importance.

It is not assumed that sinister or insincere motives on the part of key personnel were responsible for this eventuality. Instead, it should be seen as an inevitable consequence of a number of factors. First of all, the planning environment in which the organisation was operating was large, the stakeholders numerous and socially diverse. Secondly, the history of conflict which precipitated the WHA and the WTMA left the planning community polarised. Many groups and individuals were embittered by the experience and remained antagonistic to the WTMA. These factors were, as was discussed in Chapter seven, partly responsible for the development of a "bunker" mentality among staff of the WTMA. Finally, and in addition, the enormous complexity and breadth of planning issues almost overwhelmed the staff of the Authority. The enormity of the task, combined with a "top-down", rational-comprehensive conception of planning, demanded a lesser role for public involvement. These factors, acting synergistically, helped create a climate in which a more expedient approach to public involvement was called for. Importantly, these factors combined to precipitate an approach to public involvement which was essentially concerned with protecting the interests of the Authority. That the public involvement program became solely a matter of "instrumental production", rather than fulfilling the more difficult task for re-fashioning social and political relations in the Wet Tropics, is a consequence of both internal and external factors (following Forester 1989).

8.3 Design of the Public Involvement Program

8.3.1 Introduction

In this section the design of the public involvement program conducted by the WTMA is outlined. This section details the major elements and methods of the program as far as they related to the European-Australian population. A subsequent chapter considers the program as it relates to Aboriginal people. The essential matters considered in this chapter are the variety of techniques used by the Authority to provide for the participation of local people. As

far as practicable, official WTMA documentation concerning public involvement program has been used.

Before considering the use of methods it is first necessary to outline the various stages (realised and intended) in the planning and consultation process. Table 8.1 shows the stages in both the planning and public involvement processes and the intended dates for their completion.

Table 8.1: Planning Stages and Public Involvement Schedule

PLANNING OUTPUTS	CONSULTATION STAGES
Development of the Wet Tropics Plan (strategic plan): *Strategic Directions*	Stage 1: December 1991 - May 1992
Exhibition of Wet Tropics Plan (strategic plan): *Strategic Directions*	Stage 2: August 1992 - October 1992
Development of Draft *Wet Tropics Plan*	Stage 3: mid 1993 (intended)
Exhibition of Draft *Wet Tropics Plan*	Stage 4: late 1993(intended)

Source: WTMA 1992c:2

As of a result of the almost continual delays in the release of the draft *Wet Tropics Plan*, stages 3 and 4 have not, at the time of writing, occurred. The draft plan is overdue, according to the WTMA's intended schedule, by over two years.

This study is therefore mainly concerned with Stages 1 and 2 of the consultative exercise, although data has been collected on preparations for Stage 3 as well as the associated planning process.

As was observed in Chapter four, the choice of techniques for any public involvement program should reflect the objectives of the program, and the level of involvement sought. In general terms, the suite of methods used needs to reflect decisions made about the *duration* and *direction* of communication (Hyman and Stiftel 1988). In terms of duration, techniques should provide both *one-off* activities as well as *ongoing* activities. With regard to the direction of

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communication, techniques need to provide for *input, output* and *interaction*. In this section, the techniques used by the WTMA are considered in terms of the direction and nature of communication. Specifically the section considers techniques used to (i) disseminate information to the community, (ii) elicit information from the community and (iii) the responsiveness of the WTMA to information received, including techniques used to foster interaction (Hyman and Stiftel 1988).

8.3.2 Outgoing information

In both stages 1 and 2 considerable resources and energy were devoted to the dissemination of information. In stage 1, the central components of the information dissemination campaign consisted of:

- the distribution of a personalised, introductory letter to persons listed on the WTMA's stakeholder database. This letter was centrally concerned with apprising stakeholders that a major consultative exercise was about to commence (WTMA 1992c).

- the distribution of 15 000 copies of a feedback brochure entitled *Wet Tropics Plan - Your Introduction* (see Appendix 2). This brochure provided information about the WHA, the management arrangements and those management issues the WTMA considered to be most important. Recipients were asked to peruse the listed management issues and rank them as "most important", "very important" and "important". Additionally, respondents were asked what the immediate goals of the WTMA should be in terms of management of the WHA (see Appendix 2; WTMA 1992c).

- production and distribution of a Wet Tropics WHA poster which encouraged people to provide input into the planning process.

- 250 television advertisements, shown on local stations, aimed at generating public awareness of the planning process and opportunities for participation (WTMA 1992c).

Following the release of *Strategic Directions* (Stage 2), the WTMA implemented a information dissemination campaign using the following methods:

- 112 television advertisements on local stations, 275 radio advertisements and seven advertisements in local newspapers (WTMA 1993d:8).

- production and distribution of 5 000 copies of the document *Strategic Directions*

- distribution of 10 000 copies of a feedback brochure entitled *Your Guide to the Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions* (see Appendix 3; WTMA 1993d:8). The brochure considers a range of planning issues and proposed policies under the categories of protection, conservation, rehabilitation and presentation. Respondents were then asked to indicate their support or otherwise to the suggested policies in a tear-out questionnaire (WTMA 1992d).

- the distribution of 10 000 posters entitled *Your Golden Opportunity to Tell us What to Do*. This poster was designed to advertise the planning process and opportunities for public input (WTMA 1993d:8).

- a direct mailout to persons and organisations listed on the WTMA's stakeholder database. This mailout included a copy of the strategic plan, the feedback brochure and an invitation to comment (WTMA 1993d:8).

- the establishment of attended and unattended displays at various centres. WTMA publications, including the strategic plan, were made available to the public at these displays. Table 8.2 shows where the consultation displays were held and reveals the extent and geographic spread of these displays.

Table 8.2: Public Consultation Displays for Strategic Plan

Department of Environment and Heritage Offices:

. Brisbane	. Townsville	. Cardwell
. Mossman	. Ingham	. Innisfail
. Lake Eacham	. Miriwinni	. Cairns

Shire Libraries:

. Tully	. Atherton	. Cairns
. Halifax	. Ingham	. Mossman
. Mission Beach	. Townsville	

Environment Centres:

. Daintree	. Brisbane	. Cairns
. Townsville	. Mission Beach	. Cape Tribulation

Queensland Forest Service Offices:

. Atherton	. Brisbane	. Cairns
. Ingham	. Townsville	

Shire Council Offices:

. Atherton	. Cairns	. Cooktown
. Herberton	. Ingham	. Innisfail
. Malanda	. Mareeba	. Mossman
. Tully	. Yarrabah	
. Wujal Wujal	. Thuringowa Central	

Department of Sport, Environment and Territories:

. Canberra

In addition, a series of workshops and public meetings were also used to disseminate information, although these fora also served other purposes (see below).

8.3.3 Incoming Information

In stages 1 and 2 considerably less energy was devoted by the WTMA to soliciting comment from the public. The techniques used by the WTMA to receive information included: public meetings, workshops, submissions, a toll-free telephone link, feedback brochures and a survey of community attitudes. These are considered below for each stage of the consultative process.

In stage 1, the following techniques were used to elicit community comment:

- The distribution of the feedback brochure (*The Wet Tropics Plan - Your Introduction*) was used to both disseminate information and elicit comment. This brochure (see Appendix 2) provided information on management issues considered to be important by the WTMA and asked respondents to rank issues in terms of "most important", "very important" and "important" (WTMA 1992c).

- The conduct of a "community attitudes survey" which had a total of 4 000 respondents drawn from the region, the state and the nation as a whole (WTMA 1992e). The objectives of the study, with regard to eliciting information, were to:

  - measure people's awareness of the Wet Tropics area
  - measure the level of support for the listing
  - measure intentions to visit the area
  - identify issues of significance to local residents
    eg. infrastructure provision, conservation, recreation
  - establish patterns of use of the area by the local community
  - identify the community's expectations of the management plan (WTMA 1992e).

- The consultative process conducted as part of the WTMA's Strategic planning exercise consisted of 48 'issue identification workshops' and public meetings. The workshops were by invitation only and were largely conducted with special interest groups (WTMA 1992c). Both the workshops and the public meetings were largely concerned with providing feedback on the vision of the WTMA for the management of the WHA and identifying the major planning issues (WTMA 1992c). Table 8.3 shows the location date and relevant stakeholder for each of these workshops.

The WTMA reported that the most commonly raised management issues emanating from the workshops and the public meetings were:

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i.   control of feral animals and weeds;

ii.   the need for effective management coordination between landowners, neighbours and other management agencies;

iii.   the need for effective communication and consultation mechanisms between landowners, neighbours and other management agencies;

iv.   development of a high standard presentation and materials; and

v.   management of access (WTMA 1992c:11).

In addition to these "issue identification workshops", the WTMA reluctantly scheduled a series of public meetings. Initially, the WTMA did not intend nor wish to conduct public meetings, but were pressured into doing so by weight of local opinion (Manager of Planning 21/7/1993). As well as public invitations, all stakeholders who attended the earlier issue identification workshops and members of the Community Consultative and Scientific Advisory Committees were invited to attend (Acting Manger of Planning 4/11/1992).

The Public meetings scheduled were as follows:

    .   Townsville 25/11/1992
    .   Cairns 30/11/1992
    .   Mossman 2/12/1992
    .   Atherton 7/12/1992
    .   Ingham 9/12/1992
    .   Innisfail 10/12/1992 (Acting Manger of Planning 4/11/1992).

Table 8.3: Issue Identification Workshops by stakeholder

Stakeholder	Organisation	Date
Authority	Authority	13/5; 22/6
Ministerial Council	Ministerial Council	ongoing
Qld. ALP Politicians	Local Electorates	24/3
Authority Committees	CCC SAC	8/5 9/4
Local Authorities	NQLGA T'ville Water Supply Board Thuringowa Council	3/4 16/3 13/4
State/Federal Agencies	GBRMPA Mgt. Co-ordination C'ttee QFS/QNPWS Co-ordination QFS Atherton QNPWS Ingham QNPWS Cairns	13/4 8/4 24/3 April May 9/4 14/4 23/3
Science/Education	TAFE CSIRO Tablelands CSIRO and JCU (T'ville) Environmental Educators Science Review Group	6/4 9/4 13/4 10/4 30/3
Tourism	FNQPB	1/4
Primary Producers	Cane Growers Association United Graziers	10/3 13/4
Professional Institutes	RAPI, RAIA, EIA	31/3
Environmental Groups	CAFNEC Soc. for Growing Aust. Plants	9/4 17/3
Regional Workshops	Cairns Mossman Port Douglas Daintree Ingham/Cardwell Innisfail/Tully Atherton/Ravenshoe Herberton/Mareeba Cooktown/Rossville Townsville	22/4 7/4 7/4 23/4 14/4 21/4 9/4 9/4 16/4 13/4
Aboriginal Groups	Yarrabah, Ingham, Murray Upper, Tully, Mossman, Innisfail, Malanda, Cairns	1/4
Mining	Shell P/L	9/4

(Source: WTMA Management Planning File 1311)

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The agenda for the meetings was as follows:

- Introduction and Welcome (30 minutes)
- Description of Planning Process (60 minutes)
- Description of consultation (30 minutes)
- Issue identification (60 minutes) (Acting Manger of Planning 4/11/1992).

In stage 2, the mechanisms used to elicit comment from the public were as follows:

- A number of workshops, scheduled throughout the region, and attended by Authority planning staff. Public meetings were not conducted in this second stage.

Workshops were convened with a range of groups and personal invitations (generated from the Authority's stakeholder database) were sent to most of those attending. It was intended that most categories of stakeholder would be included in a workshop. However, a number of interests, including major recreation groups and geographic population centres, were not represented in the workshops. The workshops therefore did not serve as *de facto* public meetings.

A comprehensive search of the WTMA's files failed to reveal a detailed rationale for this approach prior to the workshops being conducted. However, the *Community Consultation Report* (WTMA 1993d) provides (*post facto*) the objectives of these workshops. These were to:

- outline the strategic plan and key policies;
- provide "meaningful consultation" on proposed policies and strategies;
- encourage further formal comment through questionnaires and submissions; and
- outline the review process and the next stage of consultations (WTMA 1993d:9).

The general structure of the workshops was as follows:

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.   30 minute presentation of the management issues considered in the strategic plan;

.   20 minutes for questions relating to these issues;

.   45 minute subgroups workshop exercise. Participants identified issues and the meetings broke up into small groups to discuss them in detail (a copy of the workshop exercise is provided - see Appendix 4);

.   10 minute presentation of sub-group workshop findings; and

.   5 minute summary which had the theme "where to from here?" (WTMA 1993d:9).

The most commonly raised issues in the workshops were (in decreasing order of frequency):

.   roads

.   community consultation and involvement

.   resource utilisation

.   general access

.   feral pigs

.   feral animals generally

.   weeds

.   fire management

.   visitor management

.   funding (WTMA 1993d:16).

invitations were offered for interested persons and organisations to lodge submissions with the Authority. Three types of submissions were possible: a tear-out long questionnaire contained in the strategic plan itself (Appendix 5, a short questionnaire contained in the feedback brochure entitled *Your Guide to the Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions* (Appendix 2 and written submissions.

In stage 2, a total of 374 submissions of the following types were received:

- 129 written submissions
- 138 short questionnaires
- 107 long questionnaires (WTMA 1993d:12).

The most commonly raised issues in the submissions were:

- WTMA's support for education/interpretation
- community consultation and ownership
- pest eradication
- feral pig eradication
- consultation and liaison with landowners
- provision of road access
- fire control
- limits on commercial and tourism development
- need for strict Environmental Impact Assessment procedures
- visitor management (numbers and access) (WTMA 1993d:16).

- the WTMA also established and advertised a toll free telephone number which members of the public were able to call with questions regarding the planning process. No records were kept on the nature of inquiries and comments made (WTMA 1993d:16).

8.3.4 Responsiveness and Fora for Interaction

Responsiveness is considered to be an essential element of public involvement, particularly when the objectives of the program seek to develop a dialogue over matters of interest (see Stone 1992). Indeed, it could be argued that a program which is not concerned with responding to community input and conversing with stakeholders is better described as public relations, rather than public involvement. The objectives for both the first and second stages of consultation required that responsiveness was a dimension of the public involvement program.

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One of the objectives of the second stage of consultation, for instance, was to facilitate "a greater level of community support and responsibility for the management of the Wet Tropics" (WTMA 1993a:5). Such an objective could only be realised by a process of dialogue in which the Authority responded to community input. A commitment to responsiveness need not imply that consensus is being sought. Instead, responsiveness as a component of a public involvement program requires a preparedness to respond to issues raised, and to explain the rationale for decisions taken (Stone 1992). A lack of response may affirm commonly held views about the "empty ritual" of consultation (Arnstein 1969) and, as a consequence, undermine the objectives of consultative exercises.

Responsiveness was not a major element of the WTMA's undertakings in public involvement. Whereas considerable effort was expended in summarising the results of consultation (see WTMA 1992c; 1992e), no attempt was made, for instance, in showing how submissions were used in policy selection or issue definition. When this suggestion was made to the WTMA (see Lane 1994), the Manager of Planning (*pers. comm.* 17/3/1994) indicated that he felt this was unimportant and beyond the resources of the Authority.

In the absence of an explicit mechanism for responsiveness, the fora for interaction between planning staff and the public become even more important. These however were limited. The workshops conducted in both stages 1 and 2 were "invitation only" affairs and substantially involved representatives of organisational stakeholders, particularly government agencies. Only five public meetings were held by the Authority (reluctantly) and these were dominated by presentations given by Authority staff. In these circumstances the only forum for interaction and responsiveness was the Community Consultative Committee. This was a forum which both Authority planning staff and committee members valued. In the observation of the author, who attended a number of the meetings of this committee, the planning staff frequently responded to the input of members, adjusting draft policies as a result.

8.3.5 Summary

In terms of the three directions of communication in public involvement (outgoing, incoming and interaction) the WTMA expended much of its resources in information dissemination.

Partly as a result of this effort, and as a result of the levels of motivation existing in the planning community, the WTMA received considerable information in return. In terms of the third and equally important communication flow however, the Authority did not respond to the comments it received. In addition, the opportunities for interaction between planning staff and the public were extremely limited.

8.4 Evaluating the Public Involvement program of the WTMA

8.4.1 Introduction

This section is concerned with evaluating the public involvement activities of the WTMA. Importantly, it should be noted that this evaluation is concerned with assessing the competence of the administration of public involvement in terms of the objectives of the Authority and the paradigm within which it operated.

As Chapter four observed, the literature on public involvement in planning suggests a range of evaluation procedures and techniques for public involvement programs. Of these, the framework advocated by Stone (1992) for reviewing public involvement programs is relevant here. Importantly, this framework incorporates consideration of the *level* of public involvement or, as Stone (1992) puts it, the *parameters* of the process. As Chapter four showed, public involvement may range from information dissemination or public relations activities, through to joint or community-based planning in which key stakeholders become partners in decision-making. Given the significance of the range of forms that public involvement can take, it is important that frameworks for review consider whether or not the parameters of the participation program were appropriate to the planning context. This is an important feature of the framework advocated by Stone (1992).

The other dimensions of this review framework are information and responsiveness. Information, of course, lies at the heart of any public involvement strategy. Information must be provided to relevant publics and it must be received by the planning agency. Understanding the flow of information is a critical measure of whether or not stakeholders learned about planning issues and whether or not their input was received and accommodated.

Responsiveness, by contrast, refers to the way in which planning agencies respond to the information they receive. Responsiveness can in this context be understood at two levels. Firstly, it refers to the provision of a response to the participant, which reveals how their input was used and considered. Even if the planning agency disagreed with the stakeholder, a response can seek to clarify the issues and demonstrate that stakeholder input was critically reviewed (Stone 1992:107). At another level, responsiveness refers to the extent to which planning agencies incorporate the advice they receive during the course of public involvement programs. The best measure of responsiveness of this kind is the degree of adjustment, made by the planning agency, to their initial position on the basis of citizen participation.

8.4.2 The Parameters of the WTMA Public Involvement program

Public participation, broadly defined, is an interactive process between members of the public, as individuals groups and/or organisations, and representatives of planning agencies. The overall objective of participation is to give citizens a voice in decisions which affect them (Munro-Clark 1992:13). Such a definition does not, of course, provide any hint as to the nature of the interaction between government and relevant publics[1]. Participation in planning may range from consultation through to negotiation (Arnstein 1969; Painter 1991).

Public participation in planning is, in addition, strongly influenced (if not determined) by the conception of planning in which it is initiated (see Chapter five). The type of planning determines the roles of the planner and the non-planner respectively, as well as the nature and extent of involvement. Whereas public involvement in synoptic planning can be understood as a decision-making supplement, contemporary approaches (eg bargaining and communicative approaches) consider public involvement to be a fundamental method of planning.

In chapter seven it was observed that the conception of planning held by the WTMA was congruent with the rational-comprehensive paradigm and was similar, in a number of ways,

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[1]The term 'publics' is used in this context to indicate the diversity of interests and values in society. Terms such as 'public' and 'community' connote homogeneity of interest whereas research generally indicates substantial diversity of interests and values (see Hyman and Stiftel 1988:43; Thorne and Purcell 1991:134).

to synoptic planning. Public involvement in synoptic planning is conventionally confined to consultation with the public for the purpose of eliciting information of relevance to planners. Importantly, synoptic planning tends to assume that the goals of planning are universally shared and, as a result, consultation is focussed on the means of achieving them (see Faludi 1973:163).

The public involvement program of the WTMA was a product of this conception of planning and the implicit role this conception confers on both planner and non-planner alike. As section 8.3 has shown, the program was consistently described as consultation (WTMA 1992c, 1993d), was mostly restricted to distinct phases, (particularly the review of the draft plan) and was overwhelmingly concerned with dissemination of information to the public. While opportunities were provided for community input, these were limited and very little opportunity was provided for interaction. In addition, the WTMA was not concerned with responsiveness as an element of the design and operation of the program.

Are these conceptions of planning and public involvement appropriate? Should the parameters of both activities have been more broadly defined by the WTMA? The answer to these questions of central importance lies in the fundamental differences between synoptic planning and more contemporary conceptions. As the review of recent planning models provided in Chapter five revealed, all recent approaches to planning, from transactive planning through to communicative theory, emphasise the political dimensions of planning. Whereas earlier models were based on assumptions of a holistic society and a unitary public interest, recent approaches, in which public involvement is a pivotal component of the planning process, assume society to be atomistic and the interests of individual actors to be varied, competing and, on occasions, contradictory. As Chapter five has shown, the demise of the intellectual dominance which synoptic planning had enjoyed was the result of the failure of its central tenets. The assumptions

> "that outcomes were predictable and plannable; that particular planning actions
> would achieve determinable results; that planning objectives could be specified
> by professional experts; ... that rational decision-making was applicable to
> complex social systems" (Hall 1983:42)

were shown to be invalid.

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Of the various planning approaches which have enjoyed prominence in this century, the degree of control available to the planner is the most important distinction among planning systems (McDonald 1989:330). The degree of control forms the principal axis in Friedmann's (1973) review of allocative planning. If planning is defined in terms of the distribution of power, ranging from strongly centralised to dispersed, four categories of planning style can be identified. These include:

i.   command planning which, because of the centralised power of the planners, enables the setting of compulsory targets in plans;

ii.   policies planning which occurs in weakly centralised environments and therefore structures decision-making around policy-making processes;

iii. corporate planning which uses bargaining and negotiation to achieve agreements in situations where power is decentralised amongst a relatively small number of actors;

iv.   participant planning which is used in decentralised power situations and depends on voluntary compliance with preferences reached in group deliberation (McDonald 1989:330; Friedmann 1973).

Sub-optimal planning outcomes or problems of implementation result when planners use a style of planning which is not in accordance with the distribution of power in the planning environment (McDonald 1989:330).

Herein lies the central problem with the conceptions of planning and public involvement used by the Wet Tropics Management Authority. The "top-down", rational-comprehensive model the WTMA adopted is incompatible with the distribution of power in the planning environment which obtains in the Wet Tropics.

The planning environment in the Wet Tropics is characterised by a very high number of motivated stakeholders already polarised by the acrimony associated with World Heritage Listing. In addition, the WTMA is not, and was never intended to be, a owner or holder of land

within the WHA. Instead, agencies such as the Departments of Environment and Heritage and Primary Industries, as well as individual land owners and holders, have proprietary interests and rights within the WHA. These factors point to a planning environment in which power is weakly centralised or dispersed. In addition, the highly fragmented nature of the WHA itself, combined with its extremely large perimeter, means that there is a plethora of adjacent land owners and holders. Given their proprietary interests, these stakeholders remain highly motivated on matters concerning land management. In addition, the high number of stakeholders means that the WTMA as the planning agency must rely, to a substantial degree, on the voluntary compliance of these actors for the plan to be an effective instrument. Enforcement of planning regulations and requirements in a large, fragmented environment such as the Wet Tropics is well nigh impossible.

In these circumstances, the "command planning" approach of the WTMA can be seen to be inappropriate. The distribution of power in the planning environment, together with the reliance on voluntary compliance, demands an approach to planning and public involvement which reflects, rather than ignores, these realities. In terms of the schema provided above, the nature of the planning environment dictates that a "participative" and decentralised planning approach is the most appropriate. Instead, the WTMA attempted to adopt a highly-centralised, rational approach to planning, along with a somewhat minimalist approach to involving key stakeholders and the public in general. As section 8.2.3 showed, public involvement was limited to specific organisational purposes and was mostly concerned with identifying stakeholders antagonistic to the plan.

In summary therefore, the parameters of the public involvement process inappropriately restricted the extent and nature of public involvement. Instead of a decentralised planning process in which the fulsome involvement of stakeholders was central to plan design, as in contemporary conceptions of planning, public involvement was restricted to consultation over a "top-down" planning process. Participatory planning approaches, by contrast, would have better suited the nature of the planning environment in which the WTMA were operating.

8.4.3 The Use of Information in the Public Involvement Program

The nature of information exchange in public involvement programs is crucial. One of the central objectives of public involvement in planning is to provide planners with information which can be used in planning (Hyman and Stiftel 1988). Careful consideration of how information was both disseminated and received, as well as the nature of that information, is therefore critical to understanding any participatory process. In terms of this evaluation of the WTMA's consultative exercises, a number of issues are important. These include the emphasis on information dissemination and the potential for respondent selection.

First, and with reference to the earlier description of the public involvement program, it can be seen that the majority of the WTMA's effort was concerned with information dissemination. For the public review period of the strategic plan, for instance, the WTMA commissioned nearly 400 radio and television commercials, distributed the plan, posters and feedback brochures, conducted a direct mailout to persons and organisations listed on the stakeholder database, and established a series of displays throughout the region. The extent of this campaign, combined with its use of multiple media, potentially reached a wide audience. This is a necessary precursor to public involvement. Unless the target population is apprised of the opportunities being provided, the desired levels of participation will not be realised.

However, the commitment of resources to this component of the campaign necessarily reduced the expenditure of resources on public involvement methods designed to elicit information from the public. To this end, the WTMA relied on feedback brochures, a survey of community attitudes, workshops and meetings and invited submissions. The feedback brochures provided only the briefest opportunity for views to be expressed as they were centrally concerned with the dissemination of information. Additionally, the community attitudes survey, while broad in scope, only provided aggregate quantitative data on selected issues.

Second, the public meetings and workshops convened by the Authority largely failed as a information gathering exercise. As has been noted, the WTMA only reluctantly engaged in public meetings and workshops as a result of community and stakeholder pressure. The majority of the allocated time for each meeting and workshop was, however, dominated by

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presentations by WTMA personnel, leaving little time for eliciting comment from the public (Acting Manager of Planning 4/11/1992; Bragg 1992:2). The author of one submission to the strategic plan (Bragg 1992) dealt exclusively with the public meetings and observed that WTMA staff were domineering and authoritarian in the meetings. In addition, this submission asserts that WTMA did not take notes during the discussion, reinforcing the widely-held feeling of the meeting that community input was not being taken seriously (Bragg 1992:1). Finally, Bragg (1992:2) suggested that by structuring the meeting around the planning issues identified by the WTMA, the Authority had established an agenda which did not necessarily correspond to the issues which participants wished to raise. This corroborates the views of a senior planner of the WTMA who expressed his dismay about the way in which the meetings were conducted. He reiterated the authoritarian approach of WTMA personnel described above, and asserted that "it took me six months to repair my relationship with my constituents after one public meeting" (Anonymous 29/7/1993).

Third, the most successful mechanism used by the WTMA to elicit information from relevant publics was through written submissions. In total 129 written submissions were lodged with the Authority (WTMA 1993d:12). Given the dimensions of the WHA and the number of potential stakeholders in any planning exercise, the WTMA received relatively few written submissions. The importance of this point is only underscored by the fact that, as a result of deficiencies in design of the public involvement program, submissions constituted the primary means of eliciting detailed community comment.

The more significant issue in relation to the use of submissions as the primary means to elicit community comment relates to the problem of selection. Indeed, a significant body of research suggests that submissions, which inherently require time, skills and resources to develop, tend to select for pre-existing lobbies (Gariepy 1991; Nowak *et al.* 1982; Thorne and Purcell 1992). As a result, over-reliance on submissions tends to facilitate corporatist, rather than pluralist, outcomes. This point is further reinforced by the profile of submission authorship during consultation over *Strategic Directions*. Table 8.4 shows the proportion of submissions written by various categories of participants. It shows that the bulk of submissions were written by pre-existing lobby groups and government agencies.

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Table 8.4: Type of Participant and proportion of submissions lodged

Type of Participant	No. of Submissions (%)
Government Agency	30
Lobby Group	42
Individual	15
Commercial Enterprise	13

Table 8.4 shows that 72 % of all submissions received, were authored by government agencies and lobby groups. While this in itself is not necessarily significant, its importance is underscored by the fact that written submissions constituted the primary means of providing the Authority planners with information.

Fourth, problems can be identified with the processing of information received. A critical issue in any participatory process associated with planning is the use of information by planners. Although the WTMA were insufficiently concerned with eliciting information, it is pertinent to consider how they used the information they received. As we have noted, the public involvement program during the development of the strategic plan was substantially concerned with identification of planning "issues". The feedback brochures, the public meetings and workshops and, in part, the community attitude survey, were all concerned with eliciting information about what the public thought the important planning issues were. (The only other element of the information gathering component of the program, the invitation to lodge submissions with the WTMA, was obviously not structured in any way).

There are two points to be made about the processing of information relating to the identification of planning issues. The first relates to ambiguous nature of the planning issues identified. A particular "planning issue" might, in fact, be construed in differing ways depending on perspective of the stakeholder and the nature of his/her motivation. "Fire management" may be taken as an illustration. This was identified as a planning issue during consultations conducted for the purposes of developing the strategic plan (WTMA 1992a). The strategic plan duly records fire management as a planning issue to be reconciled, and presents a series of policy recommendations design to manage the issue (see Figure 8.1). The policy and

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land management recommendations made however, are entirely concerned with the potential impact of wild fire to rainforests in the WHA. The input from the public however, was mostly concerned with another dimension of wild fire. Adjacent landowners responding in both feedback brochures and submissions identify wild fire as a planning issue. Their concern however is that the protected area will act as a source of wild fires which will pose a threat to the property, stock and crops of neighbouring land owners (see for example, Herberton Shire Council 1992; Queensland Dairyfarmers Association 1992; United Graziers Association 1992).

This leads to a second point. The above tends to suggest that the processing of information received by the WTMA was superficial and not cognisant of the detail. The Manager of Planning insisted that the Authority was assiduous in checking that all issues raised in submissions were considered in the plan. The example above, however, tends to suggest that Authority failed to consider the detail of the input they received. Indeed, the Manager of Planning (13/7/1994), as has been noted elsewhere, observed that the consultation process conducted during the development of the strategic plan did not identify a single planning issue with which the Authority was not already aware.

This reinforces the points made elsewhere about the role of consultation in a rational planning process. Because the WTMA developed a detailed plan before consulting the public, consultation only served to underline their conviction that the plan was comprehensive. Indeed, even though the arguments the Authority received logically suggested that an additional policy direction was required, the consultation tended to have the effect of reinforcing, rather than changing policy.

Fifth, it is clear that the design of the public involvement program failed to address the problem of respondent selection. We have noted (above) that the use of submissions as an information gathering tool tended to select for government departments and lobby groups. The nature of the Authority's public involvement program, however, tended to select for participants in other ways:

i.   the meetings and workshops were largely organised for the benefit of government agencies and existing lobbies. Table 8.3 reveals the dominance of government agencies and lobby groups in this aspect of the consultation program.

ii.   the feedback brochures and other literature produced during the public involvement program (see for example Appendix 5, 1993d), were likely to select for respondents who were supporters of the World Heritage Listing of the Wet Tropics. The pamphlet, which devotes the bulk of its space to information dissemination, frames the information it provides in terms of four of the five World Heritage goals: protection, conservation, rehabilitation and presentation (transmission is not considered). In framing the information in terms of ecological protection of the WHA, and not explicitly eliciting responses on other important issues associated with the management of the region such as the impacts of listing, the document is likely to have resulted in a biased sample of responses. The document is highly likely to be successful in eliciting a response from supporters of the Listing of the Wet Tropics, and selected against those opposed to Listing. It is not surprising therefore, that despite the acrimony which accompanied the Listing process, the Authority reported that nearly 60% of respondents wholeheartedly supported the strategic plan and less than 5% opposed it (WTMA 1993d:17).

iii.   a further dimension of selection relates to the way in which the feedback brochure selected for particular responses. The closed structure of the questionnaire only allowed responses to be constructed in terms of the priorities of the WTMA (see Appendix 2, WTMA 1993d). The agenda of the WTMA was again firmly established in terms of the vision of the WHA along with respondents views on its protection, conservation, rehabilitation and presentation (WTMA 1993d). Respondents had limited ability to comment outside of this framework, which in all likelihood served to exacerbate the problems of selection noted above.

Figure 8.1: Fire Management in the Strategic Plan

ISSUES	POLICIES	ACTIONS	MONITORING
Rainforest Communities			
In some areas fire regimes have become a threat to rainforest communities.	The Authority will, as far as practicable, prevent introduction of fire to rainforest communities	Conduct education programs to increase public awareness of the impact of fire on rainforest communities.	Establish monitoring programs to record fire occurrence and consequent floristic changes.
		Support the continuing DEH and Mulgrave Shire fire management initiatives through the Cairns/Mulgrave Hillslopes Committee.	Review the known areas where rainforest communities are threatened by fire regimes during the development of each *Wet Tropics Plan*.
Sclerophyll Communities			
Sclerophyll Communities have evolved with fire and its exclusion has a variety of effects.	The Authority will use fire to maintain biological diversity within sclerophyll communities. A t the same time, the impact of fire on isolates and areas of high visitor use, particularly those with infrastructure facilities, will be minimised.	Continue existing fire management programs in the sclerophyll communities of:	Record the fire history (area, intensity, year) for sclerophyll communities and the floristic changes over time.
	In the absence of a detailed fire management policy or plans, the following interim policy will apply:	• Cedar Bay • Barron Gorge • Graham Range • Edmund Kennedy • Lumholtz • Jourama Falls • Mt Spec • Mt Hypipamee • Lamb Range (Gillies Road) • Herberton Range • Clohesy River • Kuranda • Koombooloomba • Tinaroo Range	Review the known areas where sclerophyll communities are threatened or affected by fire regimes during the development of each *Wet Tropics Plan*.
	• Until detailed research is available on the dynamics of particular ecosystems, maintaining habitat diversity should be a priority except in select areas of high visitor use;		
	• Where the use of fire is prescribed it should be subject to controls on factors such as timing, the precise area to be burnt and the reason for burning.	Set future directions, including priorities beyond the 1992/93 financial year, at the fire management workshop.	
	• Wildfires in *Priority Natural Areas* will not be suppressed unless life and property, or an identified rare and threatened species habitat, is threatened;	Fund a study/inventory of the detailed fire history, and implications for World Heritage values, of wet sclerophyll communities to be carried out by CSIRO in the 1992/93 financial year.	
	• Co-operation with neighbouring land holders and owners will be sought, to reduce the risks of unwanted fire in the World Heritage Area and to protect life and property;		
	• Annual fire management co-ordination meetings will be held in consultation with Queensland Fire Service to confirm the proposed activities of all organisations with fire management proposals within the Wet Tropics WHA for the subsequent year.		

Sixth, problems can be identified as resulting from the timing of public involvement. Despite the weight of literature and research which suggests that public involvement should start early in the planning process and continue throughout that process (Syme 1992), the WTMA, like many other planning agencies engaging in statutory planning procedures, conducts consultation as a discrete exercise, usually upon the release of the draft plan. As has been noted elsewhere (see Table 8.1), the Authority conducted consultation in two stages. In stage 1, conducted in December 1991 to May 1992, the Authority sought a response to its definition of planning issues. In stage 2, conducted in August to October 1992, the Authority sought a response to the draft strategic plan. Both participatory stages were conducted over a discrete time period and essentially sought a reaction to the work of the Authority. As we have seen, there may have been a substantial bias in the responses received owing to the selection of respondents.

In addition, because the opportunities for participation were not continuous, respondents were asked to respond to the suggested approach of the Authority. There are two points to be made about this. First, this constraint on participatory opportunities restricted the extent to which respondents were able to be normative. Instead they were largely confined to responding to the firmly established agenda of the WTMA. Secondly, as a result of the staged, rather than continuous, nature of the participation program, and the "goal" and "issue" focussed documentation which was disseminated, the comments made by the various publics largely ignored the **means** by which particular planning goals would be achieved.

Planning routinely involves finely-judged tradeoffs between competing, and contradictory goals. Indeed, if planning is as Friedmann has suggested the task of linking knowledge to action (1973:370), then consideration of the **means** of achieving any set of planning goals is a critical element of the planning process. However the goal-focussed and non-continuous nature of the public involvement program of the WTMA, provided few opportunities for public consideration of how the goals of planning in the Wet Tropics would be achieved. Indeed, the critical matter of identifying the tradeoffs and eliciting community preferences was a matter largely ignored by the way in which the program was designed. This criticism should be considered in the light of the literature which suggests that one of the most important

difficulties in participation in planning is the difficulties faced by the public in separating means from ends.

As Davidoff and Reiner (1973:17) have suggested:

"the choices between alternatives that are central to the rational decision-making model clearly cannot be made in the absence of knowledge about alternatives. The chooser must be informed of the range of choices and of the implications of each of the choices open. This suggests that the planner ought to render explicit the implications of proposals."

Bolan (1973:373; see also Steiner 1991:27) concurs. He suggests that the capacity for informed consideration and participation on the part of individuals in the rational planning model is limited:

"for the individual ... seldom is information wholly adequate; explicit specification of goals is often lacking; only a few alternative sets of means and ends can usually be considered; the ability to predict possible consequences is highly restricted ... thus, rationality, at best, is an imperfect process for the individual."

In summary therefore, the WTMA can be said to have poorly managed information flows during the consultation it undertook. As has been observed, a number of shortcomings in the organisation's use of information existed.

8.4.4 Responsiveness and Interaction

8.4.4.1 Introduction

This sections considers the elements of the WTMA's public involvement programs which provided for interaction between the planning agency and the various publics of the Wet Tropics region. The opportunity for planners to interact with stakeholders is fundamental to the development of a dialogue, and it is important for planners to understand the nature of the perspectives being put by these stakeholders. The opportunities for interaction in the WTMA's public involvement program were limited to public meetings and workshops and the Community Consultative Committee (CCC). These will be considered in turn.

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This section also examines the degree of responsiveness demonstrated by the Authority. If the dialogue established is to be constructive, it is important that the planning agencies respond to comment received. A significant component of responsiveness in this context is the demonstration that the Authority has listened to interested stakeholders, has recorded their views and reacted to these in some way. This section will examine the degree to which the design of the public participation program of the Authority incorporated a mechanism of response (see Stone 1992).

8.4.4.2 Opportunities for Interaction

As noted above, the design of the public involvement program provided only two formal mechanisms for facilitating interaction between planners and the public. The first of these, the public meetings and workshops conducted, may have had a substantially negative effect on relations between planners and stakeholders. As has been previously noted (section 8.4.3), as fora for interaction, these meetings and workshops failed. They were dominated by the presentations of Authority staff and the format restricted comment to the identification of planning issues (Acting Manager of Planning 4/11/1992; Bragg 1992:2). In addition, Authority personnel were perceived by some observers to behave in an authoritarian manner (Bragg 1992). One of the planners of the Authority lamented that the meetings had a regressive effect on his relationships with stakeholders (Anonymous 29/7/1993).

Additionally, as has been noted above, there was a significant problem associated with the dominance of governmental organisations in these meetings and workshops. The vast majority of these meetings were scheduled with lobby groups and government agencies. This reduces their capacity to solicit information from those members of the target population who are unrepresented by these lobby groups. As a consequence of the lack of representivity in the interactive fora, the public involvement program did not adequately fulfil the legitimacy and efficiency rationales for engaging in public participation (Hyman and Stiftel 1988).

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8.4.4.3 The Community Consultative Committee

In the absence of other opportunities to establish a dialogue with stakeholders, the role of the Community Consultative Committee (CCC) assumes greater importance because it is a permanent facility for interaction between the public and the Authority. This section is concerned with the operation of this Committee in terms of providing opportunities for interaction. The structure and functions of the CCC have been noted elsewhere (see Chapter seven).

The make-up of the Committee was intended to reflect the range of interests which exist in the "community" (Hitchcock, CCC Minutes of Meeting 12/8/1993). The Director of the Authority, Peter Hitchcock, told the CCC that individual members were not necessarily representing particular stakeholders, but, instead, reflected the range of interests which exist in the region (Hitchcock, CCC Minutes 12/8/1993). However, in a draft policy on appointments to the committee (WTMA nd), committee members were expected, according to the Authority:

"to advance the views of the "area of interest" or community sector they represent, to the best of their ability and knowledge, rather then their own personal views."

In the observation of the author, who attended a number of meetings of this committee during the course of this study, some of the members took their "representative" role quite seriously. The behaviour of others evolved over time however, and they tended to exercise independent judgement rather than strictly complying with their representative role. This change in representation is common in citizen advisory committees (see, for example Beatley *et al.* 1995).

The other aspect of representativeness and the functioning of this committee relates to the region being represented. While, as has been noted elsewhere, the WTMA encouraged participation regardless of the location of the participant, the CCC was conceived of differently. The membership of the Committee was intended to reflect the views of the "north Queensland community" (WTMA nd). This is significant in terms of the design of the public involvement program. The CCC was therefore intended to consist of representatives of the

major stakeholders of the planning environment in which the WTMA was operating. Representativeness also appears to have been a feature of the intended role of the committee.

Two issues are important to the understanding the way in which this committee functioned during the life of the first Authority. These relate to issues of representativeness and to the marginalisation of the Committee from decision-making processes of the Authority. While together, these matters constrained the extent to which the CCC was able to fulfil its role, the CCC did remain an important component of the Authority's relations with the planning community.

Table 7.3 sets out the "areas of interest" from which the membership of the CCC was drawn. As has been noted above, individual committee members were expected to represent these areas of interest in terms of the advice they gave the Authority. There are two points to be made about the membership of this committee in terms of representativeness.

First, Table 7.3 which shows the interests being represented in the CCC, reveals that the CCC is dominated by existing organisational interests. Some of these interests are lobby groups with direct interests in the management of the Wet Tropics. These include the tourism, primary production and conservation representatives. Other representatives are drawn from major organisational interests with a less direct interest in the management of the Wet Tropics. These include representatives of the "scientific community" (universities), industrial unions, local government and education (schools and technical colleges). In terms of the committee structure, only two positions are retained for persons not representing existing organisational interests. These are the positions for a representative of the "Aboriginal community" and for an "individual with outstanding knowledge of the area" (see Table 7.3).

The significance of this point relates to the dominance of organisational interests and lobbies in other elements of the formal design of the consultative programs of the Wet Tropics Management Authority. As noted above, organisational interests dominated in the production of submissions and constituted the overwhelming majority of participants in the workshops and public meetings convened by the Authority. Organisational actors are, of course, legitimate participants in consultative exercises conducted by the WTMA. However, their

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dominance in the consultative process leaves little room for less articulate actors who do not enjoy the resources of organisational actors.

In chapter four, selection was considered as an important dynamic operating in many public involvement programs. The selection model of participation suggests that the availability of resources is a critical factor in determining which actors participate and which participate effectively (see Nowak *et al.* 1982; Gariepy 1991). According to this model, the dominance of organisational interests should not be surprising. In this instance, however, the dominance of organisational actors in the CCC was a product of the design of the committee and formal structures of membership and recruitment. This is typical of the recruitment of citizen advisory committees in planning (see Priscoli 1983) which usually recruit from major sectoral interests. It is exacerbated in this instance, by the design of other elements of the public involvement program which paid insufficient regard to the potentiality for organisational dominance.

Second, some representatives of the Committee - notably the Aboriginal and mining sector representatives - failed to attend meetings throughout the first term of the CCC. With regard to the mining representative (Michael Pinnock, Chief Executive of the Queensland Mining Council) attendance was almost negligible. Pinnock attended only two of these meetings which were scheduled quarterly, and/or as required. The meetings Pinnock attended were the inaugural meeting of the committee (CCC Minutes of Meeting 24/5/1991) and a meeting convened in June 1992 (CCC Minutes of Meeting 15/6/1992). Pinnock appears to have played no significant role in either meeting.

For his part, Pinnock claimed that he was marginalised from the Committee and its political orientation towards conservation (Herbert River Express 22/2/1992; Pinnock 19/2/1992). He maintained that although "a minority" on the Committee, he was committed to representing miners who had been "locked in" by World Heritage Listing (Pinnock 19/2/1992). The public criticisms of the CCC made by Pinnock - that the Committee was biased toward conservation and had marginalised him - reflected other criticisms of the CCC. The Chairman of the Hinchinbrook Shire Council claimed that the Committee was "loaded with greens and Labor stalwarts" (Herbert River Express 22/2/1992). Editorials in the Herbert River Express (17/2/1992a) claimed that the Committee "did not represent the people of North Queensland"

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and that it "has a clear Labor party bias and is topped up with active conservationists." The Herbert River Express (17/2/1992b) was indeed able to show that four members of the Committee were active members of the Labor Party and a further five were conservationists.

These criticisms provoked a protest from Committee members, the Queensland Minister for Environment and Heritage (the Honourable Mr Pat Comben) and the Commonwealth Minister for Environment. In a letter to Pinnock (Dempsey 6/5/1992), the Chair of the CCC, Mr John Dempsey, refuted Pinnock's complaint:

"your on-going assertion that you are a minority, is to say the least, interesting. In some ways, we are all in a minority of different types."

Dempsey had earlier commented, in relation to the same allegation, that the CCC was representative of a wide cross-section of political views (Herbert River Express 22/2/1992). The Commonwealth and Queensland Environment Ministers, for their part, stated in a joint press statement that:

"any suggestions that the Committee was political or loaded with conservationists were inaccurate. The Consultative Committee is a professional group comprising legitimate representatives of the north Queensland community who advise the Ministerial Council on management of the World Heritage Area" (25/2/1992).

There was no real resolution of the issue and Pinnock only attended one more meeting during the first three year term of the CCC. The perception, however, that the CCC was not representative was already established and gained credibility after this fracas. In late 1992, the Authority drafted a document to inform (internal) discussion about community representation in the committees of the WTMA. This document, which was discussed at a CCC meeting in December 1992, suggested that there was "widespread" community concern in north Queensland that the CCC was unrepresentative (CCC Minutes of Meeting 14/12/1992). The discussion which ensued among CCC members highlighted confusion about the role of the CCC and a lack of up-to-date knowledge about the important issues in WHA management (CCC Minutes of Meeting 14/12/1992). In particular, CCC members argued that the lack of access to the deliberations of the Authority impeded their role. These factors, Committee

members suggested, exacerbated concerns which might exist about the capacity of the CCC to represent the views of the wider community.

The assertion, made by both the Chair of the CCC, John Dempsey, and the Environment Ministers, that the Committee was representative of a cross section of community views is, however, not sustained by the evidence. Although the planning community in the Wet Tropics was highly polarised as a result of conflict associated with the Listing of the Wet Tropics, dissent among Committee members was rare. The Chair of the Committee was rarely required to initiate a formal vote as unanimity of opinion among the Committee members was common. Typically, Committee members were supportive of the conservation goals of the WTMA and of the WTMA itself. They were, of course, annoyed by Pinnock's criticisms. During a discussion on the WTMA's draft policy document, Committee members argued that there should be a mechanism to remove members - naming Pinnock as an example - who do not attend meetings of the CCC (CCC Minutes of Meeting 12/8/1993).

The other member of the CCC who failed to attend - for very different reasons - was the "representative of the Aboriginal community". The representative, a member of the Community Council of the nearby Yarrabah Aboriginal community, decided it was inappropriate to attend because it was not feasible (or desirable) to attempt to represent the range of Aboriginal interests in the Wet Tropics. This matter is dealt with at length in Chapter nine. It is sufficient at this point to observe that the design of the Committee was flawed in relation to ensuring that an indigenous perspective would be heard. A single position on a committee designed to provide representation of community interests proved inadequate because of the plethora of individual indigenous communities, groups and organisations throughout the WHA. In this respect, the architects of the management scheme demonstrated considerable ignorance of the realities of Aboriginal social organisation.

In summary, the capacity of the CCC to "represent the north Queensland community" (Ministerial Joint Statement 25/2/1992) was substantially impeded by the:

i.   design of the Committee (with regard to membership) exacerbated existing bias toward the participation of organisational actors;

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ii. oft-cited allegation that the make-up of the CCC was biased towards the Labor Party and the conservation movement. Whether or not this allegation was sustained, the details of the political party membership of some members, and affiliation of others with conservation groups, was given wide coverage and generally regarded as a credible critique. Some even felt that the CCC sought to usurp the role of the Authority. The perception of bias lingered, substantially reducing claims about the representativeness of the Committee; and

iii. lack of attendance of two members of the Committee. One member claimed that he was marginalised from the Committee on political grounds, and another was unable to attend because of the failure of the design of the Committee to account for differing cultural approaches to representation.

The second major issue to be considered in relation to the operation of this Committee as a forum for interaction between Authority staff and the public relates to the marginalisation of the Committee from the Authority early in the first term. A conflagration developed between the CCC and the Authority over the Queensland government's proposal for a hydro-electric scheme on the Tully River within and adjacent to the WHA. Following a presentation to the Committee by a representative (Mr. K. Guy) of the Cairns and Far North Environment Centre (CAFNEC) the CCC issued a press statement concerning the hydro proposal. The presentation by Guy highlighted the extent of the project, its likely impact on World Heritage values, and the view that the implementation of energy conservation measures would render the proposal redundant (CCC Minutes of Meeting 2/10/1991). The CCC responded with the following press release (which was issued without the imprimatur of the Authority):

> "The Community Consultative Committee advise the Wet Tropics Management Authority that the committee opposes the construction of the Tully-Millstream Hydro-Electric Scheme firstly on the basis that the project is not compatible with the principles and the values of the listed area, and secondly on the basis that the necessity for such an intrusion into the listed area had not been demonstrated" (CCC Minutes of Meeting 2/10/1991).

The view of the CCC was immediately attacked. The Tully-Millstream Hydro Project Support Group, a lobby of local residents, wrote to the Chairman of the Authority criticising the CCC

as unrepresentative and lacking credibility (TMHPSG 13/10/1991). For their part, the CCC was concerned that a decision was imminent and that the Authority would not receive advice from the Committee. Under these circumstances, a press release seemed an appropriate response (CCC Minutes of Meeting 2/10/1991). The Chairman of the Authority, Professor Ken Wiltshire, wrote to Dempsey, the chair of CCC, two days after the CCC issued its press release (WTMA 4/10/1991). In this letter, Wiltshire allayed the concerns of the CCC that a decision on the matter was imminent by stating that the Authority was still seeking advice and participating in a Commonwealth/State working party on the matter. Additionally, Wiltshire responded to the concerns of the CCC by saying that their views would be considered by the Authority (WTMA 4/10/1991).

Significantly, in this context, Wiltshire advised Dempsey that:

> "as the Authority is a statutory body the record of its minutes cannot be made available outside the Authority itself but the most complete briefing possible will always be provided members of the Committee on any aspect which is raised" (WTMA 4/10/1991).

The experience of the CCC following these events proved to be somewhat different.

Over the course of the next year, the CCC were denied access to Authority papers and the deliberations of the Authority. The Committee expressed their concern about the lack of access to crucial documents after the dispute over the Pinnock allegations of marginalisation raised considerable concern about the degree to which the CCC was representative. The CCC complained that the most important impediment to their operation was a lack of information. This, in the view of the Committee, contributed to the perception that the Committee was not up to date (CCC Minutes of Meeting 14/12/1992). In the context of this discussion the Executive Director confirmed that it was not possible for the CCC to have access to Authority and Ministerial Council minutes (CCC Minutes of Meeting 14/12/1992).

A senior member of the planning staff, speaking confidentially to the author, confirmed what many on the CCC already suspected. He reported that, following the press release on the Tully-Millstream matter, the Chairman of the Authority directed Authority staff to minimise

interactions with the CCC. He reported that the Authority was very upset by the decision of the CCC to pre-emptively issue a press release and that as a consequence, the CCC had since been marginalised. All "serious and sensitive" matters in Authority documentation had since been kept from the CCC, he reported. This informant (as a planner) commented that he would prefer to interact much more frequently, and frankly, with the Committee. The Tully-Millstream matter, and the subsequent response of the Chairman however, meant that he could not (Anonymous 15/6/1993). It should be noted that this information contradicts the letter written by the Chair of the Authority (4/10/1991) which states that the views of the CCC on the Tully-Millstream issue would be taken into account.

The marginalisation of the Committee was clearly a factor which prevented it fulfilling its role. The CCC members were aware of the processes which created this problem and the credibility problem it created for them. They lamented the lack of interaction with the Authority on critical matters as much as members of the planning staff (Anonymous 15/6/1993). The perceptions of bias that surrounded the activities of the CCC, and their behaviour in relation to the Tully-Millstream matter, gave the WTMA (given the antagonistic posture of the Queensland Government) little choice but to minimise the extent to which it could be an embarrassment. Altering the flow of information was an effective way of doing this.

8.4.4.4 Responsiveness

As has been noted elsewhere, responsiveness was not a major element of the consultative programs of the Authority. The only exception to this rule was the CCC which provided a forum for dialogue and responsiveness. Although the Authority documented the consultative exercises in detail, tabulating the nature and frequency of comments made, no formal attempt was made to respond to the input received.

8.4.4.5 Summary

The consultative programs of the Authority were particularly weak in terms of responsiveness and interaction. With regard to the former, the consultation programs did not include any mechanisms for the Authority to respond to comments it received. The importance of this

point lies in role of public involvement in ensuring that planning is sensitive to the needs, interests and concerns of the community. While public involvement in planning is necessarily concerned with generating information for planners (the efficiency rationale), it is also concerned with demonstrating that planning is an open, accountable process (the legitimacy rationale). In other words, and borrowing from a common *cliche*, planning must not only be responsive to community input, but it must also be seen to be responsive. The lack of mechanisms in the WTMA approach to this matter is therefore a significant flaw in the design of the program.

With regard to interaction, we have observed that the program provided two opportunities for interaction between Authority personnel and the public. In the first, the public meetings and workshops convened by the Authority, the resulting interaction was sub-optimal as a result of:

- the closed agenda of meetings and workshops

- the dominant role played by Authority personnel

- the dominance of government agency and organisational staff in meeting attendances.

The limited number of opportunities for interaction between staff and the public underscores the importance that the CCC played in this respect. As we have seen however, the objectives of this Committee were impeded by

- the membership of the Committee exacerbated existing bias toward the participation of organisational actors

- the perception that the Committee was biased enjoyed widespread credibility and substantially effected the CCC's claims to representativeness

- the lack of attendance of two members of the Committee.

8.4.5 Conclusion: Technical Competence of the Public Involvement Program

The public involvement program of the WTMA has been evaluated with reference to three criteria: (i) the parameters of the program, (ii) the nature of information received and how it was processed and (iii) the interactive and responsive elements in the program. This evaluation has identified problems with the program in relation to each of these three criteria.

In relation to the parameters of the program, this evaluation has shown that the Authority's conception of planning and its concomitant approach to public involvement was inappropriate in a planning environment characterised by a high number of polarised stakeholders among whom power and decision-making ability was fragmented and dispersed. These factors combined with the large, highly fragmented nature of the WHA itself, meant that voluntary compliance with the plan, rather than regulation and enforcement, was likely to be the principle mechanism of implementation. In these circumstances, the "command planning" approach of the WTMA, and limited participatory undertakings can be seen as inappropriate.

In relation to the consultation program's capacity to elicit information and the way in which that information was processed, six important problem-areas have been identified. These are:

i. the program devoted a substantial component of its activities to information dissemination. While a necessary aspect of any consultation program, the effort expended in this activity reduced the capacity of the Authority in other areas of the consultative exercise;

ii. the consultative program concentrated on the definition of planning goals and issues. While this is an important task for public involvement, the Authority did not explicitly seek comment on the means of achieving the goals of planning.

iii. the primary means of eliciting detailed community comment came in the form of submissions. Submissions inadvertently assumed this importance because of the problems associated with the public meetings and the way in which resources were allocated within the consultation program. The difficulty associated with this is related to the problem of

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selection (see below). Briefly, over 70% of the submissions received were authored by government agencies and lobby groups. Submissions therefore, did not achieve representative comment.

iv. the consultative program, because of components of its design, selected for pre-existing lobbies and government agencies and for respondents who favoured World Heritage Listing. Communities who opposed Listing, but who nevertheless constituted important stakeholders in the planning community, were less likely to have participated in the program.

v. the information received by the Authority was not the subject of detailed processing. Instead, the Authority merely checked that the planning issue which was the subject of community comment was already incorporated in the plan. This style of processing ignored, therefore, the detail of the input received, and concentrated on ensuring that the issue raised had previously been defined as a planning goal or issue by the Authority.

vi. the staged, rather than continuous nature of public participation, forced the public to respond to the agenda, framework and suggestions of the Authority. This exacerbated the difficulties people had in evaluating means against ends in planning. This problem is complicated by the fact that the Authority did not focus community input on the means by which goals would be achieved and issues reconciled. Moreover, the Authority did not explicitly identify alternative policy approaches or the trade-offs inherent in achieving certain goals.

In relation to the aspects of the program which were designed to provide for interaction and responsiveness, this evaluation concludes that this dimension of the program was poorly designed and implemented. In terms of the aspects of the program which provided for interaction between Authority personnel and the public, only two elements of the program served this purpose. In the first, the public meetings and workshops convened by the Authority, the resulting interaction was problematic because of the:

- closed agenda of meetings and workshops;

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- dominant role played by Authority personnel; and

- dominance of government agency and organisational staff in meeting attendances.

The other component of the program which provided for interaction was the CCC. The extent to which this Committee met its objectives, however, was impeded by the:

- Committee structure in which membership was dominated by organisational actors;

- widespread perception that the Committee was biased and therefore not representative; and

- the lack of attendance of two members of the Committee which meant that sectors of the planning community were not represented.

8.5 The Use of Public Involvement in Planning the Wet Tropics

8.5.1 Introduction

This chapter has documented the purpose of public involvement, the design of the program as implemented by the WTMA and evaluated the program in terms of paradigm of the WTMA. This section is concerned with documenting how public involvement was used in the planning of the Wet Tropics. As has been noted elsewhere, the Authority had a conception of planning similar to traditional rational comprehensive approaches. Given this conception of planning, it is axiomatic that the conception of public involvement was limited to providing planners with information about community interests and the level of support for draft planning strategies.

This finding is not merely a deduction reached by reference to the nature of WTMA planning. It is instead, as this chapter has shown, an important empirical finding of this study. What remains to be considered however, given these parameters, is how the public involvement program has been used in planning. At what stages in the planning process was public input

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sought and incorporated? If, as has been asserted, public involvement was also used to help the WTMA manage the political process (see section 8.2), how was public involvement used to accomplish this task? These are the central matters of concern to this section.

8.5.2 Rational Planning and Public Involvement: the approach of the WTMA

The rational planning model involves the following steps:

- specification of goals
- identification of alternative policy options
- evaluation of alternative policy options
- identification of "best"alterative (see Hudson 1979; Hall 1983; Armour 1990).

While the approach to planning by the WTMA was redolent of synoptic approaches, it should not necessarily be assumed that this step-wise process was routinely used. As Lindblom (1959) has shown, the planner frequently employs a range of pragmatic strategies to help cope with the realities of the decision-making process and environment. The planner may, in addition, vacillate at one particular stage, or conduct a series of reiterations of the entire sequence or components of the sequence (Jannis and Mann 1977:192). Sowell (1980:19) suggests that two types of decisions occur within this framework. Decisions can be either instantaneous - occurring completely at a given point in time - or sequentially. A sequential decision "occurs at various points in time as reactions to previous parts of the decision" (Sowell 1980:19).

Although an approach to planning may seek to be rational, it may not necessarily proceed in accordance with the stages set out in the classical planning model (Linblom 1959; Jannis and Mann 1972). For potential participants in the planning processes of the WTMA, planning consisted of only two **observable** stages:

Stage 1

Development of the strategic plan - December 1991 to May 1992

Stage 2

Exhibition of the strategic plan - August 1992 to October 1992

While other stages in the planning process may have been observable to insiders, for the public, opportunities for participation was confined to these two stages. Other stages in WTMA planning, the evaluation of policy alternatives for instance, were largely invisible to the public.

As has been observed elsewhere (see Chapter five), the role for public involvement in rational planning is limited. In the rational model it is axiomatic that the planner is best able to specify planning goals, identify and evaluate policy options and determine the best alternative (see Hall 1983). Indeed, most statutory planning procedures in Australia confine public involvement to a "public review period" following the release of a draft plan. The WTMA's two staged process represents a more substantial commitment to public involvement than might normally be expected in a rational planning process. Public involvement however did not occur continuously throughout the planning process (cf. Syme 1992). This substantially constrains the extent to which public input can be incorporated into each aspect of the rational planning process.

Stage 1 of the public involvement program was, in addition, substantially concerned with eliciting community comment on the goals of planning and the identification of planning issues. In this stage, every technique used to elicit information sought input on the goals of planning and identification of planning issues. The feedback brochure (*The Wet Tropics Plan - Your Introduction*), the community attitude survey and the public meetings and workshops, all sought advice on the goals of planning. Advice from the public was **not** sought, by contrast, on the identification of alternative policy options.

The second stage of public involvement occurred following the release of the draft strategic plan (WTMA 1992a). At this stage, the public could not consider and compare the policy alternatives nor the implications of each policy choice (cf. Davidoff and Reiner 1973:17; Steiner 1991:27). These are central aspects of the rational planning model and cannot be commented on during a public review period for a draft plan because usually only the preferred

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policy alternatives are presented in draft plans. The strategic plan of the Authority did not allow public consideration of alternatives and their implications because this information was not presented (see WTMA 1992a). Whereas, stage 1 consultation focussed on the goals of planning, stage 2 did not seek to elicit information of the next stages in the planning process: alternative policy options and their implications. Instead, the workshops and meetings convened by the Authority **again** sought information on the identification of planning issues. The submissions received, which did make substantial commentaries on policy choices, appear however, not to have been used in this regard. The Authority's *Community Consultation Report* (1993d) summarises the submissions received in terms of the planning issues identified. Indeed, while the report summarises the issues raised in submissions, no appraisal is made of the policy contributions made in the submissions (see WTMA 1993d). This reinforces the comments made by the Manager of Planning that the consultative exercise for the strategic plan did not reveal any planning issues which had not been already identified by the Authority (Manager of Planning 13/7/1994). This suggests that Stage 2 of the consultative activities of the Authority was goal-focussed rather than policy focussed.

In the absence of information about the range of alternatives and their implications, individuals are unable to engage the rational planning process meaningfully (see Davidoff and Reiner 1973; Bolan 1973; Steiner 1991). The Authority, by not focussing public involvement on policy choices at any stage of the planning process, and by not rendering explicit the implications of particular policy proposals, has substantially under-utilised public involvement in planning. Both the formal objectives of public involvement (to provide community input) and the realpolitik of public involvement (to identify the tolerance limits of stakeholders) were undermined by a public involvement program which was solely concerned with the identification of planning issues.

If the consultative undertakings of the Authority were to achieve the task of "identifying the tolerance limits of particular stakeholders" (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993), the programs ought to have explicitly focussed on policy alternatives. This would have given the Authority an understanding of which policy choices were unacceptable to particular stakeholders. As we have seen, the programs did not do this and were instead almost exclusively focussed on goal identification.

8.5.3 Summary

Within the parameters established by the WTMA's approach to planning, and the role therefore conferred on planners and non-planners, public involvement did not achieve the objectives set for it. In terms of providing information to planners on the views of the public on the planning of the Wet Tropics, public involvement was only focussed on the goals of planning and the identification of issues to be addressed. Moreover there is some evidence to suggest that these activities served only to reinforce, rather than supplement, the view of the WTMA with regard to these matters. In terms of the informal agenda of the WTMA concerning public involvement, the design and implementation program mitigated against informing the Authority about the tolerance limits of stakeholders. This is because the consultative exercise largely failed to elicit information on the views of the planning community with regard to policy alternatives. The consultative exercise also failed to gather information about the views of the planning community with respect to trade-offs.

8.6 Conclusion

In terms of public involvement and the European-Australian population, this chapter has shown that:

i.   there existed an important distinction between the formal goals of public involvement and the actual, informal agenda of the Authority;

ii. the informal agenda of the Authority was concerned with assisting the Authority achieve approval for the plan by identifying the extent of community acceptance or otherwise for aspects of the plan;

iii. the approach of the WTMA to public involvement can be understood as resulting from the acrimonious conflict associated with World Heritage Listing, the command planning approach of the WTMA, the defensive posture of the organisation and the complexity of the planning task;

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iv. the public involvement program of the Authority committed a substantial proportion of its resources to information dissemination;

v. the design of the public involvement program did not incorporate a mechanism to respond to issues raised by participants;

vi. the public involvement program provided limited opportunities for stakeholder interaction with Authority planning staff. The fora which were established for this purpose did not supply planning staff substantial information to be used for planning purposes;

vii. the objectives of the Community Consultative Committee were impeded by a bias in recruitment and membership, the marginalisation of the Committee from the Authority, the perception that it was biased and the lack of attendance of two members;

viii. the public involvement program was dominated by government agencies and pre-existing lobbies;

ix. the information received by the Authority was not the subject of detailed processing;

x. the literature produced by the Authority to elicit community comment and participation selected for supporters of World Heritage Listing;

xi. despite the use of a rational planning model, the design of the consultative exercise did not provide stakeholder advice on all stages in the rational planning process. Instead, consultation focussed on the goals of planning and did not explicitly seek stakeholder input concerning policy alternatives and their implications. In these terms the public involvement program can be understood as having incompletely informed all aspects of the rational planning process; and

xii. the informal objective of public involvement was not fulfilled. The agenda of the Authority was to use public involvement for organisational ends, specifically to identify

tolerance limits for policy options. By not focussing on the policy options, the Authority may have impeded the achievement of this objective.

The public involvement exercise of the WTMA was anything but an unqualified success as the identification of substantial problems has shown. Although a substantial response was generated, and the "approval rating" of the WTMA improved, the program did not realise the objectives set for it.

The thesis now turns to the involvement of Aboriginal people in planning.

9.0 Involving the Aboriginal Population in Planning

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the involvement of Aboriginal people in the management and planning of the Wet Tropics WHA. To this point, the history of the region, and in particular the conflict over conservation has been considered; the structure, operations and culture of the Wet Tropics Management Authority have been examined, and the programs designed to involve the European-Australian population have been detailed. The matter of involving Aboriginal people in planning is considered separately in this chapter in order that the particular complexities associated with planning in cross-cultural contexts can be highlighted. As was observed in chapter four, the nature of Aboriginal social and political organisation, the range of cultural factors which influence the capacity of indigenous people to engage in political activity, as well as the low socio-economic and educational status of Aborigines are all compelling reasons to consider them independently of European-Australians.

As with chapter eight which examined the European-Australian population, this chapter will consider the formal public involvement activities undertaken by the WTMA. The design of the program will be detailed and analysed for its capacity to fulfil the objectives set for it by the Authority. In addition, this chapter will also consider a range of other matters. An important consideration relates to the failure of the Management Scheme to provide for Aboriginal representation in the management of the WHA. This failure probably stems from the near invisibility of Aboriginal interests during the dispute which led to World Heritage Listing. An important matter for consideration at this point therefore, is the first attempts of the Authority to improve the level of Aboriginal representation by the establishment of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee. As this chapter will show, these attempts were overwhelmed by an emergent Aboriginal political lobby group - the Rainforest Aboriginal Network - which pursued a significantly more ambitious agenda: Aboriginal joint management of the WHA. Since these events assumed an importance beyond the formal consultative exercises, they form an important component of this chapter.

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9.2 The Politics of Representation and Aboriginal Interests in the Wet Tropics

The task of seeking representation of Aboriginal interests in planning is complex. The methods used to represent the interests of European-Australian society are unlikely to succeed in a cross-cultural context. The unique cultural and social-organisational frameworks of Australian Aboriginal people render typical approaches unusable. Aboriginal people, for instance, do not enjoy the same levels of literacy and education, have poor access to media and are poorly represented in dominant institutions. This is further complicated by rapid socio-cultural change in the modern context. All of these factors substantially mitigate the effectiveness of traditional approaches to public involvement. This section is concerned with detailing the complex representative arrangements of Aboriginal people in the region. These existing representative arrangements are important because they provide the organisational and political context in which the efforts of the Authority to promote the involvement of Aboriginal people occurred. By disaggregating "the Aboriginal community" of the WHA, the complexities of Aboriginal participation can be appreciated. What emerges is the complexity of Aboriginal modern social organisation and the competition for representation which exists among various representative organisations, claiming traditional attachments of various kinds.

The number and diversity of Aboriginal groups in the Wet Tropics WHA ensures that any attempt to involve Aboriginal people in policy and planning confronts a myriad of difficulties. It is estimated that 15-20 000 Aboriginal people have traditional affiliation with lands within the WHA. In addition there 10 distinct language groups within the WHA (Lee Long 1992). These are:

- Kuku Yalanji
- Ngadjon
- Djabaugay
- Dyirbal
- Giramay
- Gulngay
- Kungannydji

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- Yidinydji
- Mamu
- Wargamay

Importantly, members of these individual language groups are likely to live in several different locations. Kuku Yalanji people for instance, are resident in Wujal Wujal, Mossman and Mossman Gorge. Yidinydji people are resident in Yarrabah, Gordonvale, Atherton, Millaa Millaa and Palm Island. Additionally, a range of different organisations might have representative functions for differing people of the same language group depending on the location of their traditional affiliation. For those affiliated to the Yidinydji language category for instance, a number of organisations exist to represent the traditional interests of Yidinydji based on their location (see Table 9.1). In addition to these representative organisations, there exist a number of Yidinydji families who are not represented by formally constituted organisations.

Table 9.1: Traditional Representation among the Yidinydji

Representative Organisation	Location
Dulgubarra Aboriginal Corporation	south-eastern Atherton Tablelands
Malanbarra Aboriginal Corporation	lower Mulgrave River - Gordonvale area
Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporation	upper Mulgrave River - Toohey Creek
Buddabadoo Aboriginal Corporation	Cape Grafton - Yarrabah area

In addition to Aboriginal organisations which have a role in representing traditional land interests, there exist a range of other Aboriginal organisations throughout the WHA which have a more contemporary representative focus. These organisations provide, for instance, representation and resources on matters such as health and housing. Table 9.2 lists organisations in the Wet Tropics WHA which have a welfare role.

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Table 9.2: Aboriginal Organisations in the Wet Tropics with a Welfare Role

Organisation	Location
Biddi Biddi Co-operative Society	Atherton
Camu Co-operative Society	Cardwell
Chjowai Co-operative Society	Innisfail
Clump Mountain Project	Mission Beach
Deeral ATSI Corporation	Babinda
Healing Our Indigenous People Community	Cairns
Hinchinbrook ATSI Housing Co-op	Ingham
Kowrowa Aboriginal Community Assoc	Kuranda
Kuwangi Reform Corporation	Cairns
Mamu Community Members	Innisfail
Mona Mona Corporation	Kuranda
Nanyetta Co-operative Society	Mt Garnet
Ngoonbi Co-operative Society	Kuranda
Nyletta ATSI Corporation	Atherton

While these organisations were originally established to provided welfare-type functions, their role appears more complex upon closer examination. During the consultation processes established by the WTMA, these organisations were consulted on matters pertaining to traditional land interests, including traditional ownership and management (WTMA 1993:7). It is clear that, despite the differing agenda and focus of these organisations, the WTMA did not differentiate between them on questions of traditional land interests (see Lane 1993). In addition, some of these organisations developed a role not in accord with their stated role. For instance, the executive of the Biddi Biddi Housing Co-operative, during the course of this study, asserted an interest in land matters in the same area considered to be the area of interest of the Dulgubarra Aboriginal Corporation (Lee Long 1992:6-7).

In addition to these organisations, there are a number of Community Councils established by the *Community Services Act 1988*. This statute converted existing Aboriginal Reserves into a form of inalienable freehold title - the Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT). The deeds were vested in a Community Council, established by the same statute, to be elected by community suffrage, and intended to provide a degree of local self-determination. The Community Council, a structure still in place, was given powers of administration over the DOGIT lands and the settlement site. It should be noted that Councils do not necessarily reflect Aboriginal systems of land ownership, despite their formal powers in land management. As a final point it should be noted that the *Community Services Act 1988* disenfranchises Aboriginal people from representation at the formal local government level (see Pearson 1989). There are three Aboriginal Reserves in the WHA which were converted to DOGIT title under this Act (WTMA 1993e:2). The areas and the Community Councils established are listed in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Community Councils in the Wet Tropics WHA

Community Council	Location
Yarrabah Community Council	Yarrabah
Wujal Wujal Community Council	north of Daintree
Palm Island Community Council	Palm Island

There are, in addition, a range of organisations operating throughout the WHA which purport to represent Aboriginal interests, traditional and otherwise, on a regional basis. The jurisdiction of most of these organisations does not extend over the WHA in its entirety. Instead, most cover discernible regions within the WHA. Table 9.4 details the organisations which have a regional rather than local focus. Some of these provide legal services, other have representative functions in relation to land and one, the Rainforest Aboriginal Network, is best understood as a lobby group which seeks recognition of Aboriginal interests in the management of the Wet Tropics WHA. It is the only group which explicitly asserts a regional representative role, particularly in relation to the WHA.

Table 9.4: Aboriginal Organisations with a Regional Focus

Organisation	Regional Focus
Njiku Jowan Legal Service	Legal Aid in Cairns region
Tharpuntoo Aboriginal Legal Service	Legal Aid in north Queensland region
Cape York Peninsula Land Council	Land matters north of Cooktown
Yidinydji Land Council	Land Claims in Yidinydji territory
ATSIC Regional Council - Cairns	All matters in Cairns region
ATSIC Regional Council - Townsville	All matters in Townsville region
Rainforest Aboriginal Network	Land matters in WHA

To this point, three categories of organisation have been identified. They are:

i.   organisations established to represent the particular traditional land interests of Aboriginal people. These organisations, such as the Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporation, tend to have a highly specific focus. Their focus is concerned with representing particular groupings of Aboriginal people for the purposes of expressing and realising their traditional interests in land.

ii.   organisations established without a traditional constituency to provide welfare functions such as housing and health services. These organisations were consulted on the same basis as traditional organisations in the WTMA's consultative undertakings. Some of these organisations developed a role in promoting people's interests in traditional land.

iii.   organisations with a regional focus. These organisations all have a focus which is concerned with representing Aboriginal people on land matters. Some of these groups have a broader role, such as legal service provision, while others are exclusively concerned with representing Aboriginal interests in land. Only one of these groups purports to represent Aboriginal people throughout the WHA.

What emerges therefore, is a complex set of representative organisations with overlapping functions and jurisdictions. For the planning agency seeking to understand whom to consult in a particular circumstance, the situation is almost unintelligible. For the Aboriginal family seeking to assert a particular interest, there is a substantial potential that consultative undertakings will not penetrate the layer of organisations competing for the task of "representing" them.

For the purposes of illustration, we can consider the representation of land interests of Yidinydji people. For this language group in the Wet Tropics, a range of different organisations are competing for representative duties.

Table 9.5: Representative Organisations (Land) and their Jurisdiction among the Yidinydji

Organisation	Jurisdiction
Dulgubarra Aboriginal Corporation	south-eastern Atherton Tablelands
Biddi Biddi Co-operative	south-eastern Atherton Tablelands
Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporation	upper Mulgrave River
Malanbarra Aboriginal Corporation	lower Mulgrave River
Buddabadoo Aboriginal Corporation	Cape Grafton
Yarrabah Community Council	Cape Grafton and Yarrabah DOGIT
Yidinydji Land Council	all Yidinydji lands
Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation	all Yidinydji lands
Rainforest Aboriginal Network	Wet Tropics WHA

What emerges from this chart is a complex, overlapping arrangement of representative organisations. For both planning agencies seeking to involve relevant Yidinydji Aboriginal people in planning, and for individual families seeking to have their land interests represented, the choice of representative organisation is bewildering. This is complicated moreover, by the level of competition between these groups.

The competition between the groups is best illustrated by a fracas which developed between a number of them following the High Court's decision on Native Title. In October 1992, the Yidinji[22] Aboriginal Corporation announced its intention to claim and area of 7 000 square kilometres from Cairns in the north, to Atherton in the west and Innisfail in the south (Cairns Post 21/10/1992). The President of the Corporation, Mr Len Royee, asserted that the claim would be "made on behalf of all Yidinji people" (Cairns Post 21/10/1992). It was not until the 21 October, 1994 however, until a claim was lodged under the Commonwealth government's *Native Title Act 1993* by the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation (NNTT 1994:1). This claim was less ambitious. It sought to claim a series of parcels of Vacant Crown Land in the upper and lower Mulgrave valley. The claimants received the support of the Rainforest Aboriginal Network in lodging the claim.

The area to which the claim was subject, the Mulgrave valley, is however, an area in which two Aboriginal organisations, with a traditional constituency, were seeking to have traditional interests in land acknowledged. The Dulabirr[23] Aboriginal Corporation, representing a single family interested in claiming their patrilineal clan estate in the upper Mulgrave, were shocked by the claim of the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation. They were, at the time the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation lodged its claim, preparing a claim of their own. Similarly, the Malanbarra[24] Aboriginal Corporation, an organisation seeking to represent the particular traditional land interests of the lower Mulgrave Yidinydji people, were upset at the claim of the Yidindji Aboriginal Corporation.

This dispute, which has now escalated to involve a counter-claim lodged by Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporation (Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporation 1995), involves more than competition between Aboriginal organisations for representative jurisdictions. It is, instead,

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[22]A number of different spellings of the **Yidinydji** language group are used. The spelling used throughout this study follows that by Dixon (1991). In reference to the names of Aboriginal organisations however, the preferred spelling of the organisation, as expressed in the title, is used.

[23]This organisation takes its name from an important creator figure from the upper Mulgrave.

[24]The terms *malanbarra* comes from two Yidinydji words used to describe people from the lower Mulgrave. *Malan* meaning stone, and *barra* meaning people, literally means "stone people". This is a reference to the rocky stretches of the Mulgrave in its lower reaches (see Dixon 1991).

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a dispute borne of the differing ideologies manifest in the contemporary Aboriginal polity. Groups such as Dulabirr and Malanbarra are operating on the basis of articulating particular and local traditional interests in land. Their interests are expressed in terms of the allocation of traditional lands based on attachment to clan estates. As a result, they respect the widespread maxim of the Aboriginal world of "only speaking for their own country". The ideology of the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation, and to a lesser extent, the Rainforest Aboriginal Network, is far less particular. These groups, whose traditional affiliations are less focused, express a pan-Aboriginal ideology. They seek the co-operation, indeed confederation, of local Aboriginal groups in order that the organisation can articulate a single Aboriginal position to European-Australian planning and policy institutions.

This is not simply a statement of strategy or political expedience. It is additionally, a statement about the role of tradition in the contemporary lives of Aboriginal people. Whereas members of the Malanbarra and Dulabirr organisations identify as belonging to, for instance, a particular estate in the upper Mulgrave as a result of being the descendants of owners of that estate, the identity of members of the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation is less focused. Detailed and particular knowledge of clan estates, hunting areas and sites of cultural significance has been replaced, as a result of the history of settlement and forced removals, by a more generalised identification as being Yidinydji or being "Aboriginal". The Rainforest Aboriginal Network (RAN) creates an even broader level of identification. This organisation fosters the notion of "rainforest Aborigines" (see White 1992a:5; White and Sutherland 1993:41). Consider this description provided by Bruce White, the assistant to the Network:

> "North Queensland's wet tropical rainforests echo with a heritage and a lifestyle so unique that the people who lived in the rainforest were physically and biologically distinct from Aborigines throughout the rest of Northern Australia: they were clearly "rainforest" Aborigines" (White 1992a:5).

This category appears to be defined in terms of the boundaries of the WHA, rather than reflecting a particular pattern of traditional or contemporary Aboriginal socio-territorial organisation.

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This introduces a new complexity to the representation of Aboriginal interests to planning and policy processes in the Wet Tropics WHA. The implication of this statement of identity is a complexity beyond that created by the large number of representative organisations with overlapping jurisdictions. RAN's identity reveals that within the WHA there exist a range of Aboriginal representative organisations who espouse differing and competing ideologies about the nature and importance of tradition. Taking the Yidinydji language category as an example, four types of newly-created organisation with differing purposes and ideologies are observable, these are:

i.   Organisations reflecting particular interests in land, based on a traditional conception of social and territorial organisation. These organisations, such as Dulabirr and Malanbarra, have usually only incorporated and adopted some of the characteristics of an organisation in order to attract funding and as a mechanism to hold title to land.

ii.   Organisations reflecting a more generalisable traditional interest in land. These organisations tend to adopt a pan-Aboriginal ideology extending, at least, to the level of the language group. These organisations, such as the Yidinji Aboriginal Corporation and the Yidinji Land Council, have been formed for the purpose of pursuing land claims and land interests generally.

iii.   Organisations, such as the Rainforest Aboriginal Network, which seek to represent Aboriginal interests in the WHA. These organisations are less concerned with pursuing land claims and, instead, seek to ensure the acknowledgment and accommodation of Aboriginal interests in policy and planning. In order achieve this, emphasis is given to the unifying interests and characteristics of all Aboriginal groups in the WHA and, as a result, less emphasis is placed on the particular local interests and aspirations of Aboriginal groups.

iv.   Organisations which have been established for the purposes of performing welfare functions such as housing or health service provision. These organisations, the Biddi Biddi Co-operative for example, retain an *ad hoc* and opportunistic

involvement in matters concerning land and land management. To the extent they are involved in these matters they tend to exhibit pan-Aboriginal ideologies.

Summary

Aboriginal social organisation in the WHA is complex. In part, this complexity is a function of the history and dislocation of Aborigines by European settlers. Aboriginal organisations now exhibit differing ideologies with regard to the nature of Aboriginal tradition which substantially effects the nature of their perspective. Three types of Aboriginal ideology regarding land can be observed. These are:

i.   particularist traditional perspectives which are primarily focussed on land ownership of the clan;

ii.   generalist traditional perspectives which are focused on land affiliation for the language category as a whole; and

iii.   pan-Aboriginal ideologies which are regional in focus. Many organisations exhibiting these ideologies use the term "tribal" as a description.

Substantial competition and conflict can be observed to exist between organisations with these differing ideologies.

9.3 First Attempts: the Aboriginal Advisory Committee

As has been observed elsewhere (see chapter six), the conflict which surrounded resource use and Commonwealth intervention in the Wet Tropics rarely involved consideration of Aboriginal issues. Although extant Aboriginal traditional affiliation was noted during the dispute (particularly in relation to the Daintree road), the resolution to the dispute was centrally concerned with reconciling the opposing views of mostly European-Australian conservationist groups and pro-logging lobbies and groups. Aboriginal people and their aspirations were largely unconsidered in the resolution of the fracas.

Indeed, the Management Scheme which was established by agreement of both the Commonwealth and State governments acknowledges Aboriginal peoples only once. As has been noted elsewhere (see Chapter seven), the Community Consultative Committee provided for a representative of the "Aboriginal community" (Queensland Government 1992:5). Apart from representing a minimal opportunity for the formal inclusion of Aboriginal interests, the provision for a single representative suggests a profound misunderstanding of the nature of Aboriginal social organisation. As has been observed above, within the Wet Tropics WHA there exists a plethora of organisations competing for representative responsibilities and exhibiting very different ideologies with regard to the nature of Aboriginal interests in land.

Soon after the CCC was first convened, the representative of the "Aboriginal community", a person from Yarrabah Community Council, indicated that he found his position untenable. He indicated that it was inappropriate for a single person to seek to represent the diversity of Aboriginal interests and views throughout the WHA (Bigelow *pers. comm.* 1993). The minutes of the CCC meetings show that he never attended a single meeting of the CCC. At the inaugural meeting of the CCC, committee members expressed concern at the lack of Aboriginal representation and requested that the Authority consider alternative arrangements (CCC Minutes of Meeting 7/8/1991).

The structure of the CCC had, with regard to representing Aboriginal interests, already been identified as being inadequate. In October 1991, a consultant commissioned by the Authority to report on "cultural heritage and Aboriginal issues" for the purposes of drafting the Wet Tropics legislation, recommended that the CCC be expanded to provide for a further three Aboriginal representatives (RCS 1991:18). Aboriginal representation on the committee would thus comprise four positions (RCS 1991:18). The report also canvassed the establishment of a Aboriginal advisory committee and recommended the appointment of an Aboriginal Liaison Officer to the WTMA (RCS 1991:18-20). The report does not explain why an Aboriginal advisory committee was not recommended and does not explain how four Aboriginal positions could represent the diversity of interests in the WHA (see RCS 1991). The report does not indicate how persons filling these positions were to be selected and reveals that only four (out of over 50 organisations in the region) Aboriginal

groups and people had been consulted in its preparation. Indeed, a commentary provided on the report, by a University-based anthropologist, described it "as an extremely poor piece of work" (Chase nd:1).

In January 1992, a range of Aboriginal organisations held a workshop to consider Aboriginal involvement in the management of the WHA (Camu and Advyz 1993:1). The organisations which attended were:

- Biddi Biddi Co-operative Society
- Bubu Bamanga Ngadimunku Inc.
- Chjowai Housing Co-operative Society
- Clump Mountain Project
- Hinchinbrook ATSI Housing Co-operative
- Jumbun Limited
- Midjamoud Housing Association
- Ngadjon Micha Jinmar-ma Aboriginal Corporation
- Njiku Jowan Legal Service
- Tharpuntoo Aboriginal Legal Service
- Yarrabah Community Council (White 1992b:5).

From this meeting of Aboriginal organisations, the Rainforest Aboriginal Network (RAN) was formed to provide for a means of articulation between Aboriginal organisations and co-ordinating their activities in respect of the WHA (White 1992b:5). It is instructive in terms of understanding the organisation that RAN became, that all of the above constituent organisations are either regional organisations with a representative function and generalisable interests, or organisations developed for the purposes of welfare/service provision. No traditional Aboriginal land interest groups were involved in this meeting. No traditional land interest groups were invited because the network of Aboriginal contacts the WTMA and the RAN had developed mainly consisted of organisations established for purposes other than the pursuit of traditional land interests or were regionally rather than locally focussed.

As well as establishing RAN and electing delegates, this meeting also discussed the (urgent) need for an Aboriginal advisory committee to be included in the management arrangements for the WHA (Camu/Advyz 1993:1; White 1993b:17). White (1993:17) detailing the deliberations and resolutions of this meeting states that:

> "It was decided at the workshop that although it was good to have an Aboriginal liaison officer, they still need a formal, legislated Aboriginal committee to form part of the management structure. This committee would provide an official avenue for communication with the Authority."

The meeting elected delegates to meet with members of the Authority on the 28th of January. At this meeting the call for an Aboriginal advisory committee was repeated. In an extremely belated response to the issues raised at this meeting, the Chairman of the Authority, Professor Wiltshire wrote, on September 29, 1992, that:

> "The Authority is committed to the idea of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee provided, of course, this is also what the majority of Aboriginal people want" (Wiltshire 29/9/1992).

In the period between the initial meeting and the Authority's belated response, WTMA convened a meeting with RAN. At this meeting, convened on July 7, 1992, the RAN re-asserted its demand for and Aboriginal Advisory Committee (Minutes of Meeting 7/7/1992). RAN delegates also raised the issue of Aboriginal representation on the Authority, suggesting that at least one member of the Authority should be Aboriginal (WTMA Minutes of Meeting 7/7/1992f).

Shortly afterwards, in August 1992, the Authority retained another consultant to examine the issue of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee in detail. The Authority appointed Darwin based company Advyz to work in co-operation with the Camu Co-operative Society in the development of a report on the matter (Camu/Advyz 1993; Camu/Advyz 1992). The consultants developed and distributed a discussion paper which considered a series of possible arrangements for the committee.

In January, the WTMA convened a meeting of Aboriginal people to discuss the alternative arrangements. Again, the WTMA invited a range of Aboriginal organisations, most of whom had either a regional focus or a welfare provision role. This was therefore an important source of bias in the nature of the feedback received. According to the minutes of the meeting, the following Aboriginal organisations were in attendance (all participants were representatives of Aboriginal organisations):

- Cape York Land Council
- Rainforest Aboriginal Network
- Clump Mountain Project
- Biddi Biddi Co-operative Society
- Jiddabul Co-operative Society
- Jumbun Limited
- Dulgubarra Aboriginal Corporation
- Ngadjon Micha Jinmar-ma Aboriginal Corporation (WTMA Minutes of Meeting 23/1/1993).

Only one Aboriginal organisation with particular traditional land interests was in attendance (Dulgubarra).

The resolution of the meeting was to discard the notion of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee. The forum expressed the view that because such a committee would not have a legislative basis, as was enjoyed by the CCC and the SAC, it would have "no teeth". The forum agreed to a new agenda for Aboriginal involvement in the Wet Tropics: joint management.

Summary

The arrangements provided for Aboriginal representation on the CCC proved unsatisfactory in terms of both the capacity of any single individual and as an arrangement for providing Aboriginal involvement in management of the Wet Tropics in general. The potential establishment of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee soon became pivotal to

interactions between Aboriginal organisations and the WTMA. These interactions were dominated by regional organisations with either generalist traditional perspectives or with welfare functions. The perspectives of groups representing particularist traditional land interests were not heard in deliberations about an advisory committee. The idea of an advisory committee eventually failed as the RAN, rapidly emerging as a dominant force in political interactions with the WTMA, decided to adopt another, more ambitious agenda: joint management.

9.4 The formal consultative process

9.4.1 Introduction

This section is concerned with the formal consultative exercise for Aboriginal people undertaken by the Authority during the development and exhibition of the draft strategic plan. This highlights an important distinction in the nature of consultation and interaction between the Authority and Aboriginal people in the Wet Tropics. As a result of the management arrangements for the Wet Tropics, which largely ignored Aboriginal interests and representation, the Authority was, during the course of this study, almost continually involved in interactions with Aboriginal organisations about how Aboriginal representation was to be achieved. Much of this chapter is concerned with these interactions. This section however, is concerned with the discrete, formal consultative exercise conducted by the Authority for the purposes of developing the strategic plan.

In terms of the design of these consultative undertakings, the Authority recognised, from the outset, that consulting and involving Aboriginal people would require a program specifically designed to operate in cross-cultural contexts. While Aboriginal people were allowed to participate in the wider consultative program (see Chapter eight), this program was not focused on Aboriginal participation. It was assumed that the bulk of Aboriginal participation would occur in the context of the Aboriginal consultative exercise. This proved to be a correct assumption. The Authority did not receive a single written submission from Aboriginal groups or organisations concerning the draft strategic plan. In addition, no submissions were received from Aboriginal representative organisations or

from government agencies with jurisdictional responsibilities in indigenous affairs. Finally, very few Aboriginal people attended the scheduled public meetings (WTMA no date: 2).

This section is concerned with describing, analysing and evaluating the program to consult and involve Aboriginal people in the planning of the Wet Tropics. It will show that the Authority demonstrated a significant commitment to involving Aboriginal people in management planning. It will also be revealed however, that the consultative undertakings of the Authority were deficient in a number of important respects. It will be shown that the Authority's reliance on the notion of "the Aboriginal community" and its failure to distinguish between the different functions, perspectives and ideologies of Aboriginal groups in the Wet Tropics, are important flaws in the design of the consultation program. The chapter will also show however, that commensurate with the commitment of resources by the Authority, a substantial amount of information was received as a result of these consultative undertakings.

While the consultative exercise described here was undertaken in discrete timeframes, the discussions and debate between the Authority and Aboriginal groups, principally RAN, were continuous. Throughout the consultations described here, debate about the management structure and institutionalising Aboriginal representation continued. These interactions will be considered in Section 9.5 below.

9.4.2 The program

9.4.2.1 Stage 1

As has been observed elsewhere (Chapter eight), the first stage of consultations occurred in December 1991 through to May 1992. The objectives of these consultations were to:

i.   develop community[25] awareness of the Wet Tropics and the role of the WTMA;

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[25]Used in this context to refer to all the people in the region.

ii.   provide the community with an awareness of the planning process; and

iii.   provide for community input to the plan, particularly the definition of planning issues and the development of a vision (WTMA 1992c:3).

Although Aboriginal access to the entire program was not prohibited, only one aspect of the program specifically targeted Aboriginal people. This was the scheduling of eight "issue identification workshops" in and for Aboriginal communities (WTMA Management Planning File 1311). The workshops were convened in the following communities:

.	Yarrabah	.	Ingham	.	Tully
.	Murray Upper	.	Mossman	.	Innisfail
.	Malanda	.	Cairns		

The specific objectives of these meetings were to:

*   provide Aboriginal communities with a better understanding of the Wet Tropics WHA (why it was listed, the role of the Authority);

*   consult with the communities on issues of concern to them and the communities "vision" for the future management of the area; and

*   gather ideas for mechanisms which may provide greater involvement of Aboriginal people in the management processes of the WHA and the management structure of the WTMA (WTMA 1992g).

The last of these objectives for these meetings make it clear that the WTMA were sensitive and committed to reconciling Aboriginal concerns about the lack of Aboriginal representation in the management structure.

Shortly after the first stage of consultations conducted with Aboriginal people, the newly appointed Aboriginal Liaison Officer (ALO), reviewed the outcomes and started to propose

a more comprehensive consultation program for Aboriginal people. The ALO (Bigelow), in her proposal for a more substantial program, suggested the previous program provided insufficient detail and was not comprehensive enough (see WTMA 1992g).

There are indeed a number of problems with the approach of the Authority in stage 1. First, a substantial area of the WHA and a large number of Aboriginal groups, did not participate. The WTMA simply did not convene enough workshops to ensure adequate geographic coverage. Second, there is a major conceptual flaw in the approach of the WTMA. The WTMA sought to consult with a fictitious social entity: the Aboriginal community. Aboriginal "communities" such as Yarrabah, Wujal Wujal and Palm Island are the product of the policies of the colonial Queensland government which sought to systematically remove Aboriginal people from their lands and concentrate them in mission settlements. The policy was enshrined in the *Restriction of the Sale of Opium and Protection of Aborigines Act* (1897) and essentially continued to operate until the 1970s. The practice of removing Aboriginal people was widespread in north Queensland and Aborigines from the region were forcibly relocated to missions at Mona Mona (near Kuranda), Palm Island (off Townsville), Yarrabah (south of Cairns) and Wujal Wujal (near Daintree). In the contemporary context, these settlements are only "communities" in the sense that they are a group of people living in the same location. Typically, these "communities" are comprised of a number of language groups and are therefore factionalised on traditional bases, as well as age and gender (Lane 1993). Consultation with "communities" therefore ignores the history of the creation of north Queensland Aboriginal settlements and the realities of Aboriginal social organisation.

Finally, meetings are a problematic mechanism for public involvement. Individuals can be intimidated by the situation and not articulate their views. Meetings can be dominated by a confident, articulate few, leaving others without an opportunity to participate (Thorne and Purcell 1992). These issues are likely to occur in meetings convened for Aboriginal people. The simplest means by which these potential difficulties can be mitigated is to use a variety of techniques to engender participation. In stage 1 however, meetings were the only method used.

Notwithstanding these (important) deficiencies in approach, the program did provide the WTMA with an understanding of a range of Aboriginal concerns. A summary of the issues raised by Aboriginal people is provided below.

- protection of cultural sites
- joint management
- claim of national parks
- Aboriginal involvement in decision-making
- Aboriginal employment

The way in which the Authority responded to two of the strategic issues raised by Aboriginal people (ie. the need for increased Aboriginal representation in the management structure and the need for an enhanced consultation program) indicates that the Authority was genuine in attempting to reconcile Aboriginal concerns. Shortly after the first consultative program, the WTMA's ALO began advocating a greater commitment to Aboriginal involvement (see WTMA 1992f). Similarly, the Authority committed itself to the establishment of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee following this consultative process (Wiltshire 29/9/1992).

The poor design of the initial consultative undertaking appears, therefore, not to have been the result of a lack of commitment on the part of the WTMA to Aboriginal issues. Instead, other factors explain this first attempt at cross-cultural consultation. First, as the history of disputation over the management of the forests shows, the interests of Aboriginal people were largely peripheral, if not invisible, to the dispute and to the decision to conserve the region's natural resources. Second, these factors served to create an assumption, on the part of Authority staff, that Aboriginal issues were not a significant dimension to management planning in the WHA. Third, the consultative exercise was undertaken prior to the appointment of an ALO. At this stage the Authority had no staff with specific expertise and experience in indigenous affairs.

9.4.2.2 Stage 2

The second stage of the consultation process for Aboriginal communities began in August 1992 and finished in December that year. As with the European-Australian population, this consultative exercise coincided with the public review period for the draft strategic plan. This second stage of consultation with Aboriginal people was significantly more comprehensive than the earlier phase. In part, this reflects the rapid emergence of Aboriginal "issues" in the Wet Tropics. By the time the strategic plan was released, the RAN had established itself as an important local political lobby group and the major vehicle for the expression of Aboriginal concerns and demands. It also reflects the realisation, within the WTMA, that Aboriginal issues required reconciliation. Indeed, the ALO argued that the reasons for an enhanced effort in Stage 2 were *inter alia*:

- Aboriginal preparedness to be involved in management planning was greater than expected;

- there was an apparent awareness and sensitivity to Aboriginal cultural issues in the community; and

- there was a demonstrated need for the Authority to establish a rapport and relationship based on trust with Aboriginal people (WTMA 1992f).

The objectives of the second stage of consultations with Aboriginal people differed from the goals associated with involving the European-Australian community. The aims of Aboriginal consultations were to:

- consult with communities which had historical and traditional links with the WHA;

- identify issues of concern emerging from the strategic plan;

- identify issues of concern which were not considered in the strategic plan;

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- empower the (Aboriginal) community to exert control over the consultation process;

- employ Aboriginal people;

- provide the Authority and the Aboriginal community with a basis for on-going consultation;

- contribute to the development of a Code of Ethics; and

- provide communities with an opportunity to comment on the plan (WTMA 1993e:2).

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not these objectives were developed prior to the administration of the program or were, instead, only articulated after the fact. They are both poorly expressed and jumbled set of objectives. Several of the objectives overlap to a substantial degree. Indeed it is difficult to understand how the first and last of the articulated objectives differ. It should also be noted that these objectives give more power to Aboriginal people in the consultative process than was afforded European-Australians. This shows that the WTMA was sensitive to the different capacities of the two populations to participate effectively in the planning process.

The nature of the program administered in stage 2 certainly involved a substantial degree of Aboriginal control. The essence of the program was to employ, from a series of previously demarcated zones in the WHA, a number of Aboriginal "consultation facilitators" (WTMA 1992f; WTMA 1993e:2-3). Under the co-ordination of a "consultation co-ordinator", the consultation facilitators were to consult with Aboriginal groups within their respective zones. Table 9.6 details the role and function of all relevant officers in this process.

Table 9.6: Functions of WTMA Officers in Aboriginal Consultation

Consultation Co-ordinator	• assist with selection of facilitators • assist with the development of consultation process • co-ordinate consultation process • scheduling of meetings between Authority, facilitators and community members • de-briefing of facilitators
Consultation Facilitators	• identification and consultation with Aboriginal communities • attendance in three meetings with Aboriginal communities (initial contact, major consultation, repeat consultation) • report findings to Consultation Co-ordinator
Aboriginal Liaison Officer	• selection of Consultation Co-ordinator and Facilitators • establishing contracts for Co-ordinator and Facilitators • supervision and monitoring of Co-ordinator and Facilitators • attendance at meetings with Consultation Co-ordinator monitoring effectiveness of project
Manager of Planning	• overall co-ordination of Aboriginal Community Consultation program • attendance at meetings with Consultation Co-ordinator and Aboriginal Liaison Officer

Following the appointment of the Consultation Co-ordinator, Jolanda Nayutah, the Authority wrote to a range of "community groups" asking them if they wished to nominate a facilitator to consult within "their area"[26] (WTMA1993e:7). Table 9.7 lists the groups contacted by the WTMA seeking nomination for the task of acting as a consultation facilitator. The list of groups contacted undermines the stated objective of the Aboriginal consultative exercise to "consult with communities with historical and traditional links with the WHA" (WTMA 1993e:2). Rather than contacting Aboriginal organisations charged with representing "traditional and historical" links with the WHA, or contacting descent groups directly, the WTMA contacted almost all Aboriginal organisations in the region, regardless of their individual functions and jurisdictions. The groups contacted include regional representative groups (eg. the Cape York Land Council, the Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council), regional welfare organisations (eg. Biddi Biddi Housing Co-operative Society, Hinchinbrook ATSI Housing Co-op), Aboriginal Councils instituted under the *Community Services Act 1988* (eg. Yarrabah and Wujal Wujal Community

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[26]The zones for facilitation had not, however, been determined. These were only decided upon following a meeting of the Authority and Aboriginal groups at Clump Point Mountain on October 24, 1992. The invitation to "community groups" represents therefore another ambiguous element in the process.

Councils) and incorporated descent groups (eg. Malanbarra Tribal Aboriginal Corporation, Dugulbarra Tribal Aboriginal Corporation).

The highly factionalised nature of Aboriginal society throughout the WHA immediately suggests the major conceptual flaw inherent in the WTMA's method of consulting. The use of broad zones which do not correspond to actual Aboriginal social organisation was always likely to ensure that the interests of some Aboriginal people would be rendered invisible. In addition, it is clear that despite the stated objectives of the WTMA, Authority staff and advisers did not appreciate the differences of perspective and function of different Aboriginal organisations. It would also appear that the WTMA were not sensitive to the politics of representation involved in seeking to liaise with Community Councils, when the involvement of persons with traditional and historical links to land was being sought. For their part, the WTMA probably sought to include all groups so that they could not be accused of omitting anyone. To this extent, the Aboriginal co-ordinator had failed to advise the WTMA appropriately and had been insensitive to local (Aboriginal) politics.

In addition to the WTMA's apparent lack of concern for the politics of representation in Aboriginal society, it appears that the consultative process was developed without a knowledge of the nature of Aboriginal social organisation. The focus on organisations, the failure to differentiate between organisational forms and the lack of concern with liaising with descent groups directly, all suggest an uninformed consultative process.

These points are borne out by subsequent events. Of the 46 groups contacted, 14 nominations were made. The nature of the nominations reflects the importance of **local** attachment to land, with most nominees asserting quite particular interests (see WTMA 1993e). Indeed, some indicated that they could only consult Aboriginal people within a specific area, suggesting "it would violate the rights of the traditional owners if other community groups were not involved in the process" (WTMA 1992e:11). Additionally, the WTMA was contacted by groups complaining that they were unaware of the process and had therefore been unable to participate.

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Table 9.7: List of Community Groups asked to nominate a Facilitator

GROUP	AREA
Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council	CAIRNS
Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunka	MOSSMAN GORGE
Buddabadoo Corporation	BUDDABADOO
Biddi Biddi Co-op	ATHERTON
Camu Co-op Soc	CARDWELL
Cape York Land Council	CAIRNS
Chjowai Co-op Soc Ltd	INNISFAIL
Clump Mountain Project	MISSION BEACH
Deeral ATSI Corp	BABINDA
Djabugay Tribal Aboriginal Co-op	KURANDA
Dulgubarra Aboriginal Corp	ATHERTON
Goobidi Bamanga Advancement Soc	MOSSMAN
Gungarde Aboriginal Corp	COOKTOWN
Kungganydjj Tribal Council	YARRABAH
Healing Our Indigenous People	CAIRNS
Hinchinbrook ATSI Housing Co-op	INGHAM
Hopevale Community Council	HOPEVALE
Ingham Womens Centre	INGHAM
Jiddibul Aboriginal Corporation	RAVENSHOE
Jillabinna Cultural Resources Centre	KURANDA
Jumbun Ltd	EURAMO
Kozan Co-op Soc	CAIRNS
Kuku Kjungan Aboriginal Corp	MAREEBA
Kootana Womens Centre	PALM ISLAND
Malanbarra Tribal Aboriginal Corp	GORDONVALE
Mamu Community	INNISFAIL
Midja Moud Aboriginal Association	TULLY
Mona Mona Corporation	KURANDA
Mookai Rosie Bi Bayan	SMITHFIELD
Mooraridgi Co-op Soc Ltd	MAREEBA
Nanyetta Co-op Soc Ltd	MOUNT GARNET
Ngadjon Mitcha Jimmar-ma	MALANDA
Ngoonbi Co-op Soc Ltd	KURANDA
Nyletta ATSI Corp	ATHERTON
Palm Island Aboriginal Council	PALM ISLAND
Palm Island Ranger Station	PALM ISLAND
Tjiintu ATSI Corp	CAIRNS
Warringu ATSI Corp	CAIRNS
Woompera Muralug Co-op Soc	CAIRNS
Wujal Wujal Community Council	WUJAL WUJAL
Yarrabah Community Council	YARRABAH
Yarrabah Ranger Service	YARRABAH
Yidinji Land Council	GORDONVALE
Yuddika ATSI Corp	CAIRNS

In order to reconcile these issues, the WTMA in collaboration with the RAN, convened a meeting of Aboriginal people at Clump Point Mountain on October 24, 1992. This meeting was again attended by an assortment of regional representative organisations, welfare organisations, Community Councils and incorporated descent groups (see WTMA 1993e:9). Although this meeting appears to have been dominated by RAN's emerging agenda, joint management, the matter of the community facilitation process was also a matter for discussion. For their part, the WTMA agreed to expand the number of community facilitators as a result of sentiments expresses at the meeting (WTMA 1993e:9). The final list of facilitators, and the area they would seek to represent are listed in Table 9.8.

Each of the facilitators was paid for 100 hours work (plus expenses) to consult communities, groups and organisations in their zone. Their work was co-ordinated by the Consultation Co-ordinator, Jolanda Nayutah, an Aboriginal person from NSW. This officer's ethnicity did not, of course, provide her with any particular insights into Aboriginal representation and participation in the Wet Tropics, nor with any particular advantage in communicating with Aboriginal people, as the literature presented in Chapter four makes clear (see Dixon 1990; Anderson 1985).

Table 9.8: Community Facilitators and Areas of Representation

Facilitator	Area Represented
Jillian Bertwistle	Wujal Wujal
George Singleton	Yirrganydji (Cairns and Yarrabah)
Robert Smallwood	Yidinydji (Buddabudoo)
Yvonne Canendo	Atherton
Robert Gosum	Jiddabul (Ravenshoe)
Allan Johnstone	Ngadjon (Malanda)
Bill Joyce	Chjowai (Innisfail)
Charles Morganson	Camu (Cardwell)
Jim George	Jumbun (Tully)
Michael Burgess	Hinchinbrook Area
Gerald Hobbler	Kuranda/Mona Mona
Darren Lee Long	Malanburra

The design of the scheme had two principle advantages. First, it was substantially controlled by Aboriginal people. The benefits of indigenous ownership of the consultative exercise were mitigated however, by the poor implementation of the scheme. By not differentiating welfare and regional representative organisations from incorporated descent groups, the program failed to directly involve a range of groups with direct traditional and historical links to land. Among the Yidinydji for instance, only the Malanbarra and Buddabudoo groups were directly involved. The Dugulbarra and Dulabirr Aboriginal Corporations, representing descent groups, were unrepresented in this process. The second apparent advantage of the scheme is that it was meant to provide a mechanism for consulting groups across a very large area without the logistical and resource problems of the WTMA contacting groups directly. Unfortunately, this advantage of the scheme was not realised. There is, for instance, no geographic representation of groups from the southern parts of the WHA because the scheme failed to identify representatives for these areas. The Waragamay and Njawaaygi groups of the southern portion (Dixon 1976; Lee Long 1992) of the WHA for instance, are entirely excluded from this process. In addition,

the Dyribal language group near Ravenshoe, represented by the Jiddabul Aboriginal Corporation were not involved in the process.

A further problem relates to the fact that the scheme is not apparently cognisant of the degree to which the representativeness of those involved can be reduced by selection. As has been observed, selection refers to process in which certain actors are able to participate more frequently and effectively than others as a result of factors such as resources, familiarity with planning processes and so on (see Robinson 1993; Hyman and Stiftel 1988; Gariepy 1991). The power relations among groups and individuals, residual conflicts and experience with European-Australian bureaucratic processes are all factors which could render some groups invisible. This suggests that a major related flaw with the design of the program is that it relied, almost exclusively, on one method of eliciting community information. This meant that problems and oversights could not be ameliorated by alternative action.

These problems notwithstanding, the program enjoyed substantial resources and produced considerable input. As well as advice on site specific issues, the Authority received advice regarding Aboriginal concerns about the listing of the WHA and the failings of the management arrangements. In particular, some

- sought advice about having their lands de-listed;

- expressed opposition to listing, particularly with regard to a perceived lack of consultation;

- sought official recognition of Aboriginal ownership of the lands in question;

- advocated the listing of the WHA for its cultural as well as its natural values;

- sought the establishment of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee; and

- argued that the WHA should be jointly-managed by Aboriginal people and the WTMA (WTMA 19933:15-8).

The frequency with which these structural issues were expressed may well have served to enhance the legitimacy of the RAN (in the eyes of the WTMA) and RAN's attempts to institutionalise Aboriginal interests.

9.4.3 Summary and Conclusion

The section has sought to describe the consultative exercises undertaken by the Authority in relation to Aboriginal people residing in or adjacent to the WHA. It has been observed that the WTMA demonstrated considerable goodwill in attempting to understand and reconcile the nature of Aboriginal and concerns. It has also been noted that in the second stage of consultation, undertaken during the period of public review for the draft strategic plan, the WTMA committed itself to a far more substantial consultative exercise than the earlier attempt.

A series of difficulties has been observed in the design of the consultation program designed for stage 2. In particular, the design of the program has been shown to be ignorant of traditional Aboriginal social organisation and of the realities of contemporary power and political organisations between Aboriginal communities and organisations (see Howitt 1993; Dale 1993a; Dixon 1990). This is best exemplified by the Authority's reliance on the fictitious notion of "the Aboriginal community", ignoring the important divisions, both traditional and contemporary, which render this term meaningless (see Dixon 1990). A further and important failing of the Authority lies in their lack of differentiation among Aboriginal organisations. Whereas the involvement of groups with "historical and traditional" ties was an explicit and primary objective of the WTMA, subsequent efforts to involve Aboriginal people failed to account for the differing roles and jurisdictions among Aboriginal groups. Finally, several entire language groups, and the regions to which they are affiliated, went unrepresented.

While there were significant shortcomings in the design of the consultative exercise, the Authority did receive substantial input. The frequency of concerns made during the these consultations may have enhanced the agenda of RAN in seeking to institutionalise Aboriginal interests in the management structure of the Authority.

9.5 The Rainforest Aboriginal Network and the demand for Joint Management

9.5.1 Introduction

This section concerns the emergence and operations of the Rainforest Aboriginal Network (RAN). During the course of the first term of the Authority, the RAN emerged as the dominant Aboriginal organisation in the Wet Tropics. The Authority liaised and consulted with the RAN more frequently than any other Aboriginal organisation. Indeed, by the end of the first term of the Authority, the RAN enjoyed unequalled access to the Authority and a privileged opportunity to influence the policies of the WTMA with regard to Aboriginal issues.

As has been noted above, the RAN initially sought the establishment of a Aboriginal Advisory Committee. On the threshold of success, the RAN rejected the utility of a such a committee on the grounds that it would not enjoy the legislative status of the CCC and the SAC. Instead the RAN promoted a new agenda: joint management for the Wet Tropics. The RAN was not however, focused on a single agenda. During the same period the RAN promoted Aboriginal claim of lands within the WHA, strategies for cultural resource management, and projects for the International Year of Indigenous Peoples.

This section examines the RAN and their campaign for joint management of the Wet Tropics. In particular, the section is concerned with the nature of RAN as an Aboriginal organisation, particularly with regard to their conceptions of Aboriginal social organisation and territorial affiliation. In addition, the relations between the RAN and other Aboriginal organisations within the Wet Tropics are considered. Finally, the relations and interaction between the RAN and the WTMA are examined.

9.5.2 The Rainforest Aboriginal Network

The RAN was established in January 1992 at a meeting of Aboriginal organisations in Cairns. Significantly, the majority of attending organisations were regional representative bodies and groups developed for the purpose of social service provision. The only descent groups **directly** represented at this meeting were the Mossman Gorge *Kuku Yalanji* and the *Ngadjanji* people (Camu and Advyz 1993:1; see also Lee Long 1992:9-14). RAN was conceived of a group which would serve to articulate Aboriginal interests in the legislative, policy and planning processes of relevant governments and to disseminate information to the 30-40 Aboriginal groups throughout the WHA (Casey 1993:4). RAN often maintained that its role was not representative. Instead, the RAN was conceived as a group to co-ordinate the activities and interests of disparate groups.

RAN, as originally developed, was composed of the following people:

Ms Henrietta Fourmile	spokesperson
Mr Gerald Appo	chair
Mr William Joyce	delegate
Mr William Joseph	delegate
Ms Di Stewart	delegate
Mr Raymond Pierce[27]	delegate
Mr Bruce White	(European - assistant or co-ordinator)

The focus of much of the RAN's activities was to improve the level of Aboriginal representation in the management arrangements for the Wet Tropics. Specifically, the RAN sought:

* recognition, in legislation, of Aboriginal custodianship of the rainforests which comprise the WHA;

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[27]This delegate was not active in the RAN throughout the course of this study.

- legislative commitment to the identification, protection and management of Aboriginal cultural heritage within the WHA; and

- an enhanced level of Aboriginal representation including an Aboriginal Authority member and an Aboriginal Advisory Committee (White 1992b).

In time, the RAN conceptualised the suite of changes they sought as representing a call for joint management of the Wet Tropics. Indeed, the RAN later amended their demands regarding Aboriginal representation to include the following:

- An Aboriginal management unit and special status for Aboriginal authorised officers, guaranteed in legislation, with guaranteed ongoing resourcing.

- Legislative provisions assisting and allowing for legally binding, equitably achieved management agreements with Aboriginal groups, protecting Aboriginal legal rights (especially native title) from unnecessary or accidental diminishment.

Furthermore, a constructive program of negotiation and reconciliation to be contained in management planning, such that:

a. no management plan or conservation plan is approved without having previously achieved a negotiated management agreement between all key stakeholders, and including rainforest Aborigines;

b. the process of negotiating management agreements forms a key aspect of the management planning process using Social Impact methodology, and, as such, is sufficiently resourced;

c. management agreements are negotiated region by region, group by group, with equitable resourcing and access to advice, for all parties concerned; and

d.   negotiated management agreements with rainforest Aborigines which clearly outline, beyond doubt, systems of rights and obligations; management procedures for specified events; and general decision making procedures (see Lane 1993).

Joint management soon became the catch-all phrase which was to summarise the aspirations of the RAN. More importantly, the nature of the demands and the perception of that the WTMA could "deliver" on these demands, placed the WTMA in a difficult position. Whereas joint managment has been interpreted elsewhere in Australia to refer to Aboriginal ownership of protected areas as well as a significant role in management (see De Lacey 1994), the RAN were aware that the WTMA could not confer land ownership to Aboriginal people because it was not a landowner ifself. As a result, the RAN demanded that the WTMA confer, in legislation, quasi-ownership on Aboriginal traditional owners by negotiating "region by region, group by group" legally binding managent agreements which would protect Aboriginal legal rights and other interests (see Lane 1993).

The WTMA could simply not deliver on these demands. The Commonwealth's *Native Title Act 1993* established a mechanism for the determination and clarification of Aboriginal native title rights and for the accommodation of these rights in existing land use regimes. The WTMA could not implement another mechanism to clarify the rights of a plethora of Aboriginal groups throughout the WHA and nor could it make assumptions about the nature of those rights (and who might hold them) in the process of negotiating management agreements. Since the WTMA was not a landholder of land within the WHA, it could obviously not confer rights on Aboriginal people in respect of land owned by others. To complicate matters, the history of contact and colonisation meant that knowledge of the particularities of Aboriginal ownership and affiliation had been lost or obscured in many areas. In these circumstances, the most that the WTMA could do was to consider the issue of Aboriginal representation in the work and decisions of the WTMA. The RAN would need to pursue their demands with other agencies of government, as the Chair of the Authority, Professor Ken Wiltshire, pointed out (*Cairns Post* 12/2/1993).

Although the RAN was not established to fulfil any bureaucratic purpose or function, it was the recipient of considerable funding which it used to prosecute its case. In 1993, the co-ordinator of the RAN, Bruce White reported that the RAN had received a $99 000 grant from the Cairns Regional Council of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), a further unspecified grant of $15 000 from the Commonwealth Minister for Environment and a grant of $18 000 from the DFSAIA in relation to its work on joint management (White *pers. comm.* 1993). As the RAN's role changed to a representative function, it received funding from the WTMA to co-ordinate meetings between Aboriginal people and Authority staff.

The RAN maintained, particularly in the first year of its existence, that it did not seek to be representative. Instead, the RAN sought to co-ordinate the activities of different Aboriginal groups and ensure that they were fully informed of issues concerning them in the WHA. This changed however and by mid 1993, the RAN was suggesting that it had a mandate to represent all Aboriginal interests for the area.

In a meeting (at which the author was present) between the RAN and the Regional Director of DEH to discuss joint management for instance, the chairman of the RAN, Mr Gerald Appo, declared that "if anyone wants to talk about these issues with Aboriginal people, we want to facilitate that process" (DEH Minutes of Meeting 22/7/1993). In many of such meetings however, the RAN showed little concern or deference to Aboriginal descent groups. Indeed, as the following section on the "Joint Working Group" shows, the RAN quickly established it self as a "gatekeeper" on Aboriginal issues in the Wet Tropics.

In August of 1993, at a forum jointly convened by the RAN and the local environmental group (Cairns and Far North Environment Centre or CAFNEC), Gerald Appo suggested that the RAN had a mandate to represent Aboriginal people in the Wet Tropics. He further declared that the RAN's principle function was "to seek unity among Aboriginal people" (RAN-CAFNEC Forum 10/8/1993). With regard to the first declaration, Appo was being optimistic. The RAN had not been at all assiduous in "networking" with Aboriginal groups throughout the WHA, and certainly there is no evidence to support the contention that the RAN had a mandate to represent Aboriginal people throughout the WHA. Indeed,

throughout the course of this study, the author has observed the RAN to consist only of a small group of committed activists. In this respect, and in terms of its regional focus and representative function, the RAN resembled a European-Australian lobby group. Its structure and function did not reflect Aboriginal social organisation and perhaps it was for this reason that the WTMA found it easy to interact with.

The second of Appo's declaration is more revealing. It shows that the regional, pan-Aboriginal focus and ideology of the RAN was capable of asserting itself, despite the frequent protestations of the RAN to the contrary. From time to time, the RAN admitted to what many observers already considered to be true: the RAN's vision for the Wet Tropics was not shared by all Aboriginal people and was contrary to the local and particular nature of Aboriginal social and territorial organisation.

The RAN's lack of respect and concern for local Aboriginal autonomy is evidenced in a number of ways. First, and as is detailed below, the RAN dominated Joint Working Group, established to provide a forum for discussing the RAN's agenda for joint management of the WHA, quickly became a *de facto* Aboriginal Advisory Committee (see PSMC 1994). The irony of the RAN advising the WTMA, albeit in an informal sense, on matters concerning Aboriginal people is particularly poignant given that the RAN had earlier rejected WTMA's offers of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee. Second, at a number of meetings convened by the RAN to consider important issues (such as Aboriginal hunting and gathering within National Parks, and joint management of the WHA), the level of Aboriginal representation beyond the RAN was minimal. At the RAN-CAFNEC forum (10/8/1993) and the RAN workshop to consider joint management (19/6/1993 – 20/6/1993), little attempt was made to consult or include Aboriginal people beyond the RAN's immediate network. Third, as a result of the lack of consultation between the RAN and other Aboriginal groups, the RAN frequently made decisions with important implications without consulting the people it sought to represent. The dispute and contested land claims in the Mulgrave Valley (see section 9.2) is a case in point. Another example of the RAN's unwillingness to consult Aboriginal people concerns its campaign for the WTMA to fund a project for the International Year of Indigenous Peoples (1993), their calls for a cultural heritage management strategy and Aboriginal appointments to the

Scientific Advisory Committee (JWG 30/7/1993a). In all cases, these issues were shaped and driven by the RAN to the exclusion of other Aboriginal interests.

In summary, the RAN emerged as a group to co-ordinate the activities and interests of Aboriginal people throughout the WHA but developed into an organisation which purported to represent Aboriginal interests. In their representative activities, the RAN developed and prosecuted their own agenda and rarely consulted other Aboriginal groups. There is no evidence that the RAN ever sought the imprimatur of other Aboriginal people, groups or organisations before proceeding on a particular course of action.

9.5.3 The Joint Management Working Group

As has been observed, the RAN began pursuing joint management as their central agenda in January 1993, rejecting the offer made by the Authority for an Aboriginal Advisory Committee. The campaign for joint management preoccupied the RAN during 1993 and 1994 and, at the time of writing, discussion and debate over the meaning of the term and how it might be operationalised continues. Much of the interaction between the Authority and the RAN during this period was concerned with joint management. Indeed during this period, the Authority rarely consulted beyond the RAN on any matter concerning Aboriginal interests.

In part, this observation contradicts the views of a number of staff of the Authority during this period. A number of senior staff opined that the RAN would, once the Authority responded to their claims by providing for Aboriginal joint management, again reject the offer and pursue another, more substantial agenda. According to this view, the RAN were intrinsically oppositional and less concerned with furthering the wishes of Aboriginal people than with conducting oppositional politics along a black-white axis.

There is certainly some data to support this view. In February 1993, and again in June, the RAN staged demonstrations outside the offices of the WTMA. The June demonstration in particular, upset a number of Authority staff. RAN demonstrators, numbering perhaps twenty, doused and burned a copy of the strategic plan in front of a willing local media

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contingent. The complaint of the RAN related to the refusal of the Authority to grant them observer status at meetings of the Authority. The Authority, for its part, indicated that because of commercial and government-in-confidence issues, and because no formal Aboriginal advisory committee had been established, it could not grant observer status to the RAN (WTMA 1993). This reasoned response from the Authority, combined with the commitment of the Authority to engage the RAN in another forum (the Joint Working Group - see below), led some staff members to observe that this was merely further oppositional politics from the RAN.

Despite the views of some senior staff, the WTMA decided to engage the RAN in formal discussions. Following the RAN demonstration outside the WTMA offices in February 1993, the Authority announced the establishment of the Joint Working Group (henceforth JWG) to examine the joint management concept. Interpreted as a "turnabout" by the local press, the Authority:

> "nominated five members to represent the authority in this working group
> and we hope to hear back from the delegation in the very near future"
> (Cairns Post 12/2/1993).

The JWG was constituted with the following membership:

- RAN 7 members
- Geoff McDonald (Authority member)
- Geoff Donaghy (Authority member)
- Aila Keto (Authority member)
- Peter Hitchcock (Director, WTMA)
- Mandy Bigelow (Aboriginal Liaison Officer).

At the first meeting, the RAN tabled a series of principles which, it argued, the JWG must adhere to. The principles were to:

i. examine strategies which enable a system of negotiated agreements to develop in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area;

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ii.   ensure that any work on Aboriginal heritage is conducted through Aboriginal organisations;

iii.   work to protect and maintain Aboriginal culture;

iv.   accept that Aboriginal culture is intricately and inseparably bound to the environment; and

v.   acknowledge Aboriginal native title rights to be legitimate legal rights in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area.

In establishing the JWG, with the involvement of senior members of the Authority, and in accepting the principles (above) tabled by Aboriginal delegates, the Authority were pursuing a course considered, by some of its staff, as a pointless exercise. To the press, the Chairperson of the Authority, Professor Ken Wiltshire, stated that:

> "As I understand their agenda, many of the issues are not within the Authority's power to act, and it is up to the group to press their concerns with other government departments and in political circles. There is an enormous amount of work to be done, especially when it gets to the practical aspects of what exactly joint management means. We see a lot of plusses for the World Heritage Area through constructively working with local Aboriginal communities" (Cairns Post 12/2/93).

The Authority, therefore, was either being diligent in seeking to understand and accommodate Aboriginal concerns and aspirations or, alternatively, was seeking to placate a boisterous critic by engaging it in dialogue about policy change. As has been pointed out, the WTMA could only respond to the call for enhanced Aboriginal representation and not the RAN agenda for joint managment. The evolution of the JWG into a *de facto* Aboriginal Advisory Committee suggests that the JWG provided a useful forum for the WTMA to engage the RAN in dialogue. It further suggests that the WTMA found it useful to be able to have a "sounding board" for policy initiatives and, at the same time, substantially placate the hitherto critical RAN.

The first meeting of the JWG held on March 17, 1993, accomplished little more than establishing the approach of the committee. As well as accepting the principles the RAN tabled, the JWG agreed to a protocol in which it would reach a consensual view on matters which would then be forwarded to the Ministerial Council or other fora as required (JWG 17/3/1993b). In this meeting, one RAN delegate also expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the news the WTMA was liaising with the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) over the development of a cultural heritage strategy for the WHA (JWG 17/3/1993b). Ms Henrietta Fourmile expressed the view that there had been insufficient consultation with Aboriginal groups on this matter. The ALO suggested that as the discussions were preliminary and concerned both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal heritage, it was appropriate at this stage for the WTMA to be solely involved in discussion (JWG 17/3/1993b). This issue became something of a litmus test for the changing role of this committee.

The next meeting was held on May 6, 1993. This meeting shows the speed with the RAN was developing its agenda for joint management and indicates the preparedness of both the RAN and the WTMA to extend the matters for discussion well beyond the ostensible function of the JWG. On the matter of joint management, the JWG considered the need for the RAN to specify its position on joint management in a discussion paper. It was felt that a RAN sponsored discussion paper would provide a focus for the operation of the JWG (JWG 6/5/1993c). It was on other matters however that the changing role of the JWG became evident. Two issues stand out in this respect. First, the RAN and the Executive Director discussed the potential for RAN to have input into prioritising WTMA's expenditure on Aboriginal matters. The minutes show that the Executive Director of the WTMA agreed in principle to this (JWG 6/5/1993c). Second, the JWG considered funding a project for the International Year of Indigenous Peoples. Both matters are obviously not immediately related to joint management and, in both cases, it appears that the WTMA was willing to appease the RAN by granting it considerable influence on matters of policy and administration.

Between the May meeting of the JWG and the meeting in June, the RAN commissioned a draft discussion paper on joint management (Lane 1993). This paper reviewed a range of international models of joint management and considered the advantages of these

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approaches to conservation planning. In addition, the paper re-stated RAN's preferred position on joint management. The paper was tabled to the JWG meeting of June 30, 1993. However because a number of Authority members were not familiar with the contents of the paper, discussion was only marginally concerned with joint management (JWG 10/6/1993d). Instead, there was considerable discussion on the cultural heritage strategy, the funding of an International Year of Indigenous Peoples project and the nomination, by Aboriginal people, of an appointment to the Scientific Advisory Committee (JWG 10/6/1993d).

At no stage was there any discussion of the appropriateness of the forum for discussing these matters. In addition, neither the RAN nor the WTMA raised the matter of consulting Aboriginal people beyond the RAN before making a decision on these matters (JWG 10/6/1993d). The enhanced influence the RAN was now enjoying did not result in a democratisation of the policy process or, indeed, in a more detailed consideration of Aboriginal interests. Instead, the RAN's influence was being enjoyed solely by the RAN membership who were responsible for the development of the agenda and its prosecution. The WTMA, on the other hand did not formally express any concerns about the emerging role of the JWG. Although at least one staff member was concerned at the way in which the JWG was being used, from an organisational perspective the committee was serving a useful political purpose. By developing a *de facto* advisory function, the committee provided the WTMA with a useful forum in which to gain "indigenous" input and also served to placate a stakeholder which had previously irritated the organisation.

In the ensuing meetings, the *de facto* role of the JWG was confirmed. In the July meeting, the WTMA announced the deferral of the cultural heritage strategy as a result of the RAN's concerns (JWG 30/7/1993a). In August, the WTMA agreed to fund the RAN to convene a conference on intellectual and cultural property rights (JWG 3/8/1993e). This funding, which was not discussed with Aboriginal people other than the RAN, was dedicated to a project for the International Year of Indigenous Peoples (JWG 3/8/1993e). The dual role of the JWG as providing Aboriginal input (see also PSMC 1994) and placating the RAN, was confirmed.

The joint management agenda was still being pursued despite this realpolitik. In July, the WTMA agreed to develop its own position on the matter as a way of progressing the issue (JWG 30/7/1993a). The Authority subsequently commissioned a consultant to compile a report which would:

- establish a set of principles by which the WTMA could develop joint management arrangements; and

- provide and discuss the rationale for those principles (WTMA nd).

Dale (1993a) reported that the conception and implementation of joint management could be understood at three levels: policy, planning and implementation. He made a raft of suggestions as to how the WTMA would operationalise joint management at each of these levels. Of the 38 recommendations made, the Authority commended 30 of them to the Ministerial Council. Only three recommendations were rejected, with a further five being held over pending further consideration by the JWG. The recommendations accepted included:

- agreeing to the meaning and nature of the concept (Recommendation 1, 36);

- enhanced consultation with Aborigines (Recommendations 24, 29, 17, 12 and 9);

- representation of Aboriginal people and/or interests on the CCC, SAC and the Authority (Recommendations 6, 9 and 10); and

- the establishment of an Aboriginal Issues Unit in the Authority as well as attempts to recruit Aboriginal people and/or people with expertise in Aboriginal and joint management issues (Recommendations 16, 18 and 20).

Most importantly, the WTMA agreed:

- to enter into and to facilitate management agreements with or between key landholders and land users, in order to meet the primary goal (Recommendation 2);

- that joint management in the Wet Tropics should revolve around the development of legally binding and fair co-operative management agreements amongst stakeholders (Recommendation 36); and

- to seek to play an important role in coordinating and facilitating the negotiations of co-operative management agreements. The Authority will adopt a flexible approach for establishing co-operative management agreements, allowing agreements to reflect differing local circumstances (Recommendation 37).

The WTMA, therefore, exhibited a substantial commitment to accommodating Aboriginal aspirations for joint management to the extent that their obligrations under the World Heritage Convention and domestic legislation allowed. As has been observed, this was undertaken despite some rumblings of discontent within the organisation itself. Indeed, by March 1994, following a highly critical and public attack on the draft Wet Tropics Plan by the RAN chairperson, Gerald Appo, relations between the RAN and WTMA reached a new low. In an attempt the resurrect the relationship, the WTMA's Aboriginal Liaison Officer suggested that a Human Rights Commission (HRC) mediator be engaged to mediate the dispute between RAN and WTMA. RAN agreed, however only on the condition that the WTMA cease the planning process until a reconciliation was reached. This condition incensed the WTMA which decided to proceed with discussions with the HRC without the RAN. These sessions revealed that insipient tensions within the WTMA regarding the RAN were serious. A number of the Managers of WTMA programs expressed their firmly-held conviction that the RAN was not representative and that the WTMA had mistakenly pursued discussions with the Network (Bigelow *pers. comm.* 4/5/1994).

While these internal tensions were occurring, there was also some tension between government agencies over the RAN. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DFSAIA), lead agency for indigenous affairs in the Queensland government, had long been expressing their concern at the WTMA's focus on the RAN.

DFSAIA, following the principles established in the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991*, considered that the consultative focus on RAN was inappropriate. Tensions also existed between DEH and WTMA over the joint management issue. Indeed, the Executive Director of the WTMA told the JWG on July 30 1993 that the Queensland Environment Minister was "offended" by the WTMA display at the Laura Aboriginal Dance Festival in June of that year which focused on joint management (JWG 30/7/1993a). The DEH initiative to establish their own dialogue with RAN on joint management (DEH Minutes of Meeting 22/7/1993) was viewed by the WTMA as an attempt by DEH to assert its primacy in the matter. According to this view, joint management was properly the domain of DEH as an important landholder in the WHA, and not within the jurisdiction of the WTMA who did not hold or own land (JWG 30/7/1993a; DEH Minutes of Meeting 22/7/1993).

Despite these tensions, the Authority pressed ahead with consideration of joint management and Aboriginal representation issues. In the preamble to the resolutions of the Authority which were passed on to the Ministerial Council, the Authority is careful to distinguish its role as the facilitator of joint management agreements between Aboriginal people and landholders and to observe that the "Authority's operational policies and management plans will be implemented ... by others" (WTMA 1993g). This is clear acknowledgement that, in this planning environment, both legal and political power was shared, and the DEH remained a significant actor, both in political and jurisdictional terms. It also shows the extent to which the demands of RAN were beyond the capacity of the WTMA to deliver.

At its meeting on 8 December 1993, the Wet Tropics Ministerial Council requested the Authority to conduct a review of Aboriginal involvement the Wet Tropics management scheme with a view to producing a Memorandum of Understanding, or similar document, to be considered for attachment to an updated intergovernmental agreement. The decision taken by the Ministerial Council reflects the number and diversity of recommendations referred to it by the Wet Tropic Management Authority and continuing pressure from the RAN (Minister for Environment and Heritage 19/111993). The Ministerial Council asked the WTMA to:

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"undertake a special purpose review on behalf of the Ministerial Council, taking into account the views and aspirations of all Aboriginal communities and groups, including your own, particularly concerned with the World Heritage Area. Because the Ministerial Council considers that it is essential that this process be fully representative of the views of all Aboriginal people concerned with the Wet Tropics, it has requested full consultation and negotiation with all community groups" (Minister for Environment and Heritage 19/111993).

This review, which is likely to finalise joint management arrangements at the policy and administrative levels, is still to be finalised at the time of writing.

In summary, the campaign for joint management waged by the RAN was initially successful in attracting the attention of the Authority to Aboriginal issues generally and the joint management claim in particular. The establishment of the JWG can be understood as a successful attempt to placate an otherwise boisterous and dominant stakeholder through dialogue. As a strategy for placation, the JWG was a successful strategy for the WTMA. The JWG evolved, however, into a *de facto* advisory committee. This inadvertent change in the role of the committee has a number of substantial implications. First it legitimised the RAN as a representative organisation. As we have seen, the RAN had no mandate to represent Aboriginal people in the WHA, although the legitimation provided by dialogue with the Authority underpinned their claims to a representative mandate. Second, and axiomatically, the RAN was, as a result of the forum provided by the JWG, able to substantially influence a range of policy matters beyond the immediate purview of the JWG. The JWG therefore significantly enhanced the influence of the RAN. Third, and from the perspective of the Authority, the evolution of the JWG into an advisory board, can be understood as an entirely convenient, if inadvertent, mechanism to receive Aboriginal advice on policy matters. Rather than pursuing Aboriginal input from the plethora of groups and organisations throughout the WHA, the WTMA were able to merely seek the imprimatur of the RAN.

Ultimately, the WTMA demonstrated substantial commitment to accommodating Aboriginal aspirations for joint management. Despite opposition from both within and without, the WTMA successfully developed a process through which enahnced Aboriginal

representation and, potentially, joint management arrangements can be realised. The appointment of Noel Pearson, Executive Director of the Cape York Land Council and an Aboriginal spokesman of national importance, in the second term of the Authority, is an example of the changes introduced by the WTMA. Success however, came at the cost of consulting meaningfully with Aboriginal people throughout the WHA. Instead, the WTMA showed its preference for empowering one Aboriginal stakeholder to the detriment of many.

9.5.4 Summary

This section has described how one Aboriginal organisation, through a combination of persistence and preparedness to engage successfully in oppositional politics, came to dominate Aboriginal issues in the Wet Tropics. The WTMA faced a difficult task in consulting with Aboriginal groups. The highly localised nature of Aboriginal society, the lack of knowledge about Aboriginal territorial affiliation and the nature of Aboriginal demands were key difficulties facing the WTMA. The success of the RAN, was due, in no small part, to the response of the Authority to Aboriginal issues in general and the RAN in particular. Facing a consultative exercise of considerable complexity, and confronted by the strident demands on one particular group, the WTMA found it convenient to legitimise and empower one group, the RAN, at the expense of involving Aboriginal people throughout the Wet Tropics. This response was important in shaping the profile, influence and power of the RAN. Conversely, the WTMA ignored opposition from both within and without to pursue and realise a series of changes which will, undoubtedly, improve the level of Aboriginal representation in the management of the WHA.

9.6 Conclusion

With regard to Aboriginal people, the social environment of the Wet Tropics WHA is complex. This chapter observed that there exist a plethora of Aboriginal groups and organisations throughout the WHA. Importantly, these are organised on differing levels and for differing functions. This chapter observed that, in terms of the ideology or perspective

of the groups in the WHA, three distinct categories of Aboriginal organisation exist. These are:

i.   particularist traditional perspectives which are focused on land ownership or the clan;

ii.   generalist traditional perspectives which are focused on land affiliation for the language group; and

iii.   pan-Aboriginal ideologies which are regional in focus.

As a result of the markedly differing perspectives between these different types of organisations, substantial conflict can characterise the interactions among them.

It was in this complex Aboriginal social environment that the WTMA began to consult and interact with Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people were quick to express their dissatisfaction with the management arrangements for the WHA which provided for a single representative on the Community Consultative Committee. Following requests from Aboriginal groups, the WTMA pursued the establishment of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee. Indeed, as this chapter has shown, early interactions between Aboriginal people and the WTMA were centrally concerned with this issue. The perspectives of localised Aboriginal groups with traditional orientations were lost in the debate however, which was dominated by groups with either generalist Aboriginal perspectives or groups with welfare functions. The concept of the committee eventually failed however when the emerging force of WHA Aboriginal politics, the RAN, decided to pursue a more ambitious agenda: Aboriginal joint management of the Wet Tropics.

While these interactions and debates continued, the WTMA began their formal consultations with Aboriginal people. With regard to this consultation a series of deficiencies has been observed in the design of the consultation program designed for stage 2. In particular, the design of the program has been shown to be largely ignorant of traditional Aboriginal social organisation and of the realities of contemporary power and

political organisations between Aboriginal communities and organisations. This is illustrated by the Authority's reliance on the fictitious notion of "the Aboriginal community", ignoring the important divisions, both traditional and contemporary, which render this term meaningless. A further and important deficiency relates to the failure of the Authority to differentiate between Aboriginal organisations. Whereas the involvement of groups with "historical and traditional" ties was an explicit and primary objective of the WTMA, subsequent efforts to involve Aboriginal people failed to account for the differing roles and jurisdictions among Aboriginal groups. In addition, a number of entire language groups, and the regions to which they are affiliated, went unrepresented in the consultation process. Notwithstanding these shortcomings in the design of the consultative exercise, the Authority did receive substantial input. The frequency with which Aboriginal people expressed concern about matters such as representation may also have enhanced the agenda of RAN in seeking to institutionalise Aboriginal interests in the management structure of the Authority.

The final element of this chapter concerns the extent to which the RAN was allowed to dominate the agenda with regard to Aboriginal issues in the WHA. The establishment of the JWG, following a noisy demonstration by the RAN against the WTMA, provided a forum for the RAN to exert substantial influence. Indeed, the RAN was able to exert an influence well beyond the formal terms of reference established for the JWG. It has been argued that the WTMA, facing a on-going consultative exercise of considerable complexity, and confronted by the strident demands of one group (RAN), found it convenient to legitimise and empower RAN at the expense of involving Aboriginal people throughout the Wet Tropics. The profile, influence and power of the RAN therefore, is substantially due to the preparedness of the WTMA to involve the RAN to the exclusion of most other Aboriginal groups.

The JWG therefore, established a mechanism for corporatist agreements to be brokered between the RAN and WTMA. The arrangement, from an organisational perspective, was mutually beneficial. The RAN was able to develop a legitimacy and influence beyond its capability, and the WTMA was able to placate a stakeholder which had been highly critical of its work. In addition, the WTMA found it convenient to consult with the RAN, it

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provided a means of legitimising its policies without having to confront the bewildering array of Aboriginal groups throughout the WHA.

This criticism should be qualified however, by the commitment of the WTMA to seek to consult and accommodate Aboriginal aspirations and, in particular, pursue joint management. Despite some opposition from within, and concerns from major organisational rivals such as the DEH, the WTMA successfully realised a series of changes which have already yielded improvements in the level of Aboriginal involvement in the management of the WHA.

Section D

Section D, which comprises a single chapter, presents the conclusions of this study. Chapter ten begins with a recapitulation of the major findings, before providing a framework which synthesises these findings in a way which enhances understanding. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with the theoretical implications of this synthesis. The chapter concludes by identifying the important future research questions which emanate from this study.

10.0 Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

This study has sought, by application of planning theory to a case study, to test two propositions related to public involvement in planning. The study first sought to test the proposition that:

The nature of any public involvement program depends primarily on the conception of planning held by planners and planning agencies.

The second proposition that this research sought to test was that:

The nature and implementation of any public involvement program will also be fashioned by unique historical, organisational and cultural factors which influence the conduct of public involvement programs and shape their outcomes.

Understanding the influence of these factors in shaping public involvement programs will assist our understanding of what occurs in practice and therefore, potentially contribute theoretically to the field. To varying degrees, the conclusions presented in the foregoing chapters have provided preliminary conclusions to some of these matters. There is now a need however, to provide a recapitulation of the major empirical findings of this research. This accomplished, the empirical evidence to support the above propositions can be presented and their applicability to the Wet Tropics experience gauged.

The arguments presented below support the first proposition that the planners' conception of planning is fundamental to the nature of public involvement programs used in planning. It is argued that the Authority's synoptic approach to planning was largely responsible for determining the nature of the public involvement program. It will also be argued that the case analysis supports the second proposition that a series of historical, cultural and organisational factors were important in shaping the nature of the public involvement program and its

implementation. It will be argued however, that the Wet Tropics experience elevates organisational factors to primary, rather than secondary importance.

Finally, this chapter considers the propositions in theoretical terms. It is argued here that conceptions of planning and planning context are fundamental to the role and utility of public involvement in planning. It also suggests that, in line with communicative accounts of planning (Healey 1992; Forester 1989; 1993; Hillier 1993), the organisational environment of the planner is central to the fashioning and reproduction of social and political relations in the planning community. The prevailing socio-political relations, in turn, are major determinants of the nature of the response of potential participants in planning processes. The chapter concludes by outlining some important and interesting lines of future inquiry.

It is appropriate, at this stage, to reflect on the applicability of the findings of this study to other planning and policy contexts. The findings described here are based on a single case analysis. As a result, the findings are not automatically generalisable to a range of other planning contexts in which a suite of differing circumstances may pertain. Notwithstanding this caution, the findings do have some utility beyond this immediate case. Importantly, this study has provided an intensive examination of a particular situation enabling reflection, in detailed analytical terms, on important theoretical concepts used as a framework for the study. This is a major benefit of case study research (see Yin 1994). Moreover, this study is unusual in that it is focused on understanding public involvement from the perspective of the planning agency or organisation. This organisational focus contrasts with more common approaches to public involvement which focus on evaluating the importance of public input in shaping decisions (see Gariepy 1991). It is suggested that the organisational focus ensures that the research findings have a utility beyond this particular case because they underscore the importance of organisational and institutional frameworks and behaviour of planning agencies to the conduct of public involvement programs. Although individual agencies will have their own idiosyncrasies, the findings presented here are suggestive of the importance of organisational issues which apply to all planning agencies.

The utility of this study also needs to be qualified in relation to the fact that one of the planning processes under consideration was not completed during the course of this research. As

previously noted, political conflicts caused substantial delays to development, public review and formal adoption of the plan. Indeed, at the time of writing the plan has not yet been formally adopted and recent changes in government at the state level may serve to further delay its adoption. The fact that the planning process was not completed during the research is not a major impediment to the research. The research has met its major objectives although further data would have become available had significant delays not occurred. Indeed, these sorts of events are not uncommon in planning research - many well-intentioned plans are never implemented for a plethora of different reasons. Nevertheless, the delays which did occur are an important aspect of the experience of the Authority in relation to public involvement in planning and these delays have been studied and explained. This data has indeed been critical to demonstrating the importance of organisational contexts for public involvement in planning.

10.2 Public Involvement in Planning the Wet Tropics: A Recapitulation

Before attempting to synthesise the Wet Tropics experience, it is first necessary to provide a recapitulation of the important empirical findings of this study.

With respect to attempts to the approach of the WTMA to public involvement, a number of conclusions were reached. These are presented below:

i.   The conception of planning of the WTMA was essentially an approach congruent with and similar to traditional rational-comprehensive models of planning. It is axiomatic in such approaches to planning that public involvement is used as a decision-making supplement. In these approaches public involvement is viewed as essentially a mechanism to aid in the derivation of planning goals. While stakeholders may be involved in the definition of the preferred end-state, the responsibility for selecting the means and adjudicating over the inherent trade-offs rests firmly with the planner firstly, and eventually the statutory authority. This observation represents a compelling explanation for some of the observations identified in the analysis to follow.

ii.   It is fundamental to rational-comprehensive models of planning that the professional planner assumes the role of arbiter and provides stakeholders with a highly

circumscribed role. The data provided in previous chapters show that these prescribed roles accurately describe the behaviour of planner and stakeholders alike in the Wet Tropics. The professionalism and rationalism of the planner justifies the dominant role assumed by the planner in the process. Epistemologically therefore, the planning task is constructed as a scientific process which is dominated by the trained professional.

iii.   The circumscribed role of the public as stakeholders was largely limited to (a) commenting on the goals of planning and (b) providing a barometer to public reaction for organisational purposes. With regard to the first of these roles, it can be seen that the approach of WTMA planners was thoroughly synoptic: whereas the business of planning was thoroughly rational, the goals of planning were a matter of public interest and therefore properly developed following consultation (see Hudson 1979). The second observed role of stakeholders, providing the WTMA with an understanding of public (or stakeholder) reaction to elements of the plan, reflects the major organisational interest of the WTMA - to have their plan approved and gazetted. That organisational interests are important, even paramount, in the conduct of public involvement programs is not a new observation (see Painter 1992). In this case however, the importance of organisational interests in framing the approach to public involvement needs to be understood in the context of the significant organisational difficulties, both internal and external, which confronted the WTMA (see chapter seven). To some extent the goals of planning and the parameters set for public involvement were also a product of the WTMA's preoccupation with the core objectives of WHA management under the World Heritage Convention. Despite the existence of a range of local factors which had the potential to undermine planning and management, the WTMA did not seek to modify its goals or approach, but instead sought to strictly apply the goals articulated in the Convention.

With regard to the approach of the WTMA to involving the European-Australian population in their planning activities, a number of empirical conclusions were established. These are presented in summary form below:

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i.   The overwhelming focus of attempts to involve the European-Australian population was to solicit comment on the WTMA's suggested goals of planning for the WHA. This focus on the goals of planning is indicative of the essentially synoptic approach to planning by the WTMA. The substantial comment successfully solicited tended to reinforce, rather than supplement, the view of the WTMA with regard to choice of appropriate planning goals.

ii.   The WTMA largely failed to seek public comment concerning the policy alternatives for achieving particular goals, the trade-offs involved, or the implications of particular policy choices. In other words, the evaluation of policy choices, consideration of the impacts of particular approaches and deciding on the policies to be pursued, were not matters about which the WTMA explicitly sought comment. The submissions received by the Authority contained a substantial commentary on these matters. As the WTMA summary of this material shows however, the view of stakeholders on matters of policy were not necessarily incorporated in draft planning policy by the Authority.

iii. As a result of (ii) above, the WTMA met neither the formal nor informal objectives it set for public involvement. Both the formal objectives (to provide community input) and the realpolitik (to gauge community reaction) were undermined by the failure of the program to facilitate comment on the range of policy choices, their implications and the nature of compromises necessary. Indeed, if the task of gauging community reaction was to be achieved, explicit focus on policy alternatives was required. On this point it is instructive to recall that one of the key constituents of the WTMA, the local environment lobby, assiduously sought to have the *Wet Tropics Plan* delayed and "improved" because it was "awful" (Purcell 1995:3; see chapter seven).

With regard to public involvement and the Aboriginal population resident in or adjacent to the WHA, the following conclusions were reached:

i.   The management scheme which established the WHA inadequately catered for the representation of the significant diversity of Aboriginal people and interests in the region. This structural failing was substantially exacerbated by the complexity of the

Aboriginal social organisation and concomitant diversity of interest and perspective among the Aboriginal groups in and adjacent to the WHA as well as the emerging political strength of Aboriginal organisations. This study revealed that three distinct categories of Aboriginal organisations exist in the study area. These are groups with:

a. particularist traditional perspectives which are focussed on land ownership via the patrilineal clan;

b. generalist traditional perspectives which are focussed on land affiliation for the language category as a whole; and

c. pan-Aboriginal ideologies which are regional in focus.

ii. The substantial efforts of the WTMA to involve Aboriginal people in its planning activities were undermined as a result of profound ignorance of traditional Aboriginal social organisation and of the realities of contemporary power relations between Aboriginal groups and organisations. This ignorance is indicated by the WTMA's reliance on the fictitious notion of "the Aboriginal community", ignoring the historically and traditionally derived divisions which render this term meaningless. It is further indicated by the failure of the Authority to differentiate between the differing types of Aboriginal organisation which exist in the study area. The effect of the flaws in the design of the Aboriginal public involvement program was that the program was dominated by particular types of groups. As a result, entire language categories, and the regions to which they are affiliated, went unrepresented.

iii. The WTMA responded to the demands for joint-management from an Aboriginal organisation (the RAN) by seeking to explain the extent to which their demands were beyond the purview of the WTMA and by engaging the RAN in dialogue. The WTMA sought to placate the RAN which had emerged as a dominant, highly critical and boisterous stakeholder in the planning of the WHA. The committee which was established in order to facilitate this dialogue and placate this organisation, the JWG, became a mechanism in which corporatist agreements were established. In doing so,

the Authority accorded the RAN a legitimacy and representative capacity it did not enjoy among the Aboriginal societies of the region.

10.3 Public Involvement in Planning - the Wet Tropics Experience

10.3.1 Proposition One: Public Involvement and the Conception of Planning

It is necessary at this point to test the research propositions presented in chapter one. The primary proposition which this study seeks to test - *that the nature of any public involvement program depends primarily on the conception of planning held by planners and planning agencies* - needs to be answered in both empirical and theoretical terms. Before reflecting theoretically on this study and its findings, it is appropriate that an empirical synthesis is provided as a response to the above proposition.

In terms then, of the nature of any public involvement program in planning, this study has observed it is necessary to differentiate the formal goals of consultation from the realpolitik. The forgoing analyses have shown that the approach of the WTMA to public involvement was congruent with a synoptic conception of planning. The formal goals of the program were to gather information about stakeholder views on the goals of planning in the Wet Tropics WHA. As has been observed, public involvement was not focussed on considering the alternative policy responses for a particular issue, instead public comment was largely restricted to the identification of planning goals. The realpolitik of public involvement however reflected pragmatic, organisational concerns. The public involvement program was to serve organisational ends by gauging the reaction of the public to aspects of the plan. Part of the purpose of the public involvement program was therefore to assist the WTMA manage the necessarily political task of having their plan approved and implemented.

This observation should not be surprising given the extraordinary organisational difficulties which confronted the Authority. As the forgoing chapters show, the organisational context in which the Authority was working was antagonistic, not only to it work and programs, but to its very existence. This factor, which is considered in considerably more detail in section

10.3.4 below, had a substantial influence on both the role accorded the public involvement program, and also in the way it was implemented.

It is argued here however, that the way in which the Authority **conceptualised** the planning task and the planing environment was the most important factor in determining the nature of its public involvement program. The nature of the opportunities provided by the Authority for public involvement, in other words, was largely determined by the Authority's and its planners' conception of planning. It is therefore argued that the above proposition is proven by the Wet Tropics experience.

As has been argued in chapter five, the way in which planners define their field and approach their task largely determines the role they provide to the various interested publics. It was argued in chapter seven that the WTMA implemented a synoptic model of planning. The indicators of the use of a synoptic approach by the WTMA are the:

1.   nature and role of information in the planning process;

2.   evaluation of means against ends in determining preferred planning strategies;

3.   immutability of planning goals;

4.   planning as the production of a document;

5.   dominant role of the planner in determining planning strategies; and

6.   circumscribed role for public involvement.

This synoptic approach was not however, well suited to the nature of the planning environment which the WTMA were directed to plan. To sustain this contention it is necessary to briefly revisit the essential elements of the synoptic model before considering the nature of the WHA as a planning environment.

The synoptic model emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s following the sustained intellectual challenges to its precursor in the rational-comprehensive paradigm, blueprint planning. The essential departures from the blueprint model were, first, an enhanced concern for the specification of goals and targets and a limited role for public involvement for this purpose. Second, synoptic planning entailed a systems-wide, often quantitative approach to

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environmental prediction. Third, synoptic planning emphasised the evaluation of alternative policy options and finally, the evaluation of ends against means (see Hall 1983; Hudson 1979). As Hudson (1979; see also Hall 1983, 1992) has argued, synoptic planning reigned as the dominant approach into the 1970s, and represents the starting point for all serious intellectual departures which have developed in the past three decades.

The synoptic approach however continued to be premised upon a unitary public interest model and provided only limited scope for public involvement. The inferred holistic and consensual image of society entailed in this premise also obscured the distributional and political dimensions of planning (Kiernan 1983; Hillier 1993). The lack of recognition of these political aspects is not only important in terms of assumed homogeneity. It also camouflages the distribution of power in any given planning context and the importance of power relations in the allocation of costs and benefits (Friedmann 1973). It is on these points that much of the recent intellectual development in planning has been built. As chapter five has shown, a series of departures from the synoptic model as well as new models based on plural and conflictual societal images have profoundly challenged the utility of the synoptic model in complex planning environments (see Friedmann 1994; Hall 1992).

To understand the appropriateness of the synoptic approach to the Wet Tropics therefore, it is necessary to describe the WHA as a planning environment in terms of heterogeneity of interest and fragmentation (or centralisation) of power. These two factors are the premise for all of the recent intellectual departures from the rational-comprehensive ideal (see Friedmann 1973, 1993, 1994; Hall 1993; McDonald 1989; Kiernan 1983; Faludi 1973; Healey 1992).

As a planning environment, the Wet Tropics WHA is comprised of a multitude of actors with diverse and divergent interests. Indeed, the acrimony surrounding the Listing of the area, as briefly described in chapter six, is an expression of the divergent views which exist. To the numerous sets of views expressed during the course of those debates - the diverse views of residents, primary producers, conservationists and forestry groups - we can add a number of other interests including the diversity of Aboriginal views, the interests of private and leasehold landowners, and the interests of the increasingly influential tourism industry. The heterogeneity of the WHA is accompanied by a highly fragmented distribution of power and

authority within the planning community (following Friedmann 1973; see also McDonald 1989; Dale and Lane 1994). As this study has shown, the planners of the WTMA were not a centralised authority. Instead, three levels of government, comprising a multitude of land management and other agencies shared responsibility for the region. In addition, there were a number of freehold and leasehold landowners within the WHA. Since the common law recognition of native title, the WTMA has had to consider the native title rights of Aboriginal people throughout the WHA. Finally, a series of electorally important lobby groups, including primary production, tourism industry and conservation groups, are active in policy development with respect to the management of the area.

Into this diverse and fragmented planning environment, the WTMA applied a model a centralised form of "command planning" in which their planners assumed pre-eminence of knowledge and rationality and in which dialogue with these diverse interests was constrained. The plethora of divergent interests and the highly fragmented system of power and authority in the planning environment however necessitated an approach premised on plurality of interest and fragmentation of power. The Authority applied a planning model poorly adapted to the particularities of the environment in which they were operating.

The nature of the planning environment, and its recent history, demanded a more transactive, decentralised approach (following Friedmann 1973, 1993,1994) in which the goals of planning and parameters of public involvement were responsive to the nature of social and political relations which prevailed. Synoptic, command planning applied to goals mandated by an external body could be frustrated by powerful actors (such as the DEH) and viewed as illegitimate and disempowering by the disenfranchised. As has been observed, the local environment lobby, previously a supported of the WTMA, ultimately played a key role in delaying and frustrating the release of the *Wet Tropics Plan* (Purcell 1995; chapter seven, this volume). In such circumstances, the utility of localised co-operation and volunteerism, considered a crucial benefit of transactive approaches (see McClendon 1993), and increasingly viewed as integral to effective conservation planning (see Campbell 1994; Bradby 1991; West and Brechin 1992) could not be realised.

The Wet Tropics WHA represents a unique form of protected area in Australia. It is a highly fragmented, multiple-use and multiple-tenured area which is profoundly different from other protected area concepts and the classical national park model in particular (see chapter three). It may be that herein lies an explanation for the Authority's poor selection of planning models. In the traditional national park, the planning agency is both landowner and planner. Power is centralised and while there may be other interests, these are not proprietary or authoritative, and planning therefore proceeds in accordance with an unambiguous charter which can be confidently implemented by the manager. In these circumstances, where the manager is both planner and owner, centralised command planning is appropriate. It may be therefore, that the unique nature of Wet Tropics WHA provided a complex challenge that its national park trained staff could not meet.

10.3.2 Proposition Two: Factors which Influence the Nature and Implementation of Public Involvement Programs

Having developed a response to the primary proposition addressed by this study, it is appropriate at this point to consider the second proposition. The second proposition posed in chapter one was that:

> *The nature and implementation of any public involvement program will also be fashioned by unique historical, organisational and cultural factors which influence the conduct of public involvement programs and shape their outcomes.*

Clearly a fully effective explanation of how public involvement is used by planners and the agencies in which they work will include an examination of the factors which shaped both the choice of objectives and the implementation of the program. There is a need therefore, having constructed a response to the first proposition, to examine the second. In doing so a synthesis of this research can be provided and a more complete explanation for the Wet Tropics experience provided.

It has been argued above that the nature of the public involvement program used in Wet Tropics planning was primarily the result of the way in which Wet Tropics planners' conceptualised the planning task. It is suggested below that other factors may also have shaped this **choice**. It was demonstrated in chapter eight, and argued above (see section 10.2), that the **implementation** of the public involvement program was such that it largely failed to achieve its own informal objectives (to gauge community reaction) as well as its formal objectives (to provide community input). The analysis provided below seeks to identify and explain the importance of a number of factors which influenced the implementation of the public involvement program. These are considered below in ascending order of importance.

10.3.3 Historical factors

The nature of the WTMA's approach described here needs be understood in terms of the acrimonious conflict which both preceded and precipitated the World Heritage Listing of the northern rainforests. Conflict, as has been observed, is an important issue in planning theory. Indeed, the propensity for conflict to overwhelm planning contexts and processes has been an important catalyst for theoretical and conceptual development in the field (McDonald 1989). Conflict can have a considerable impact on planning activity (Friedmann 1993).

The history of the Wet Tropics, which is described in chapter six, involved considerable disputation over a long period of time at differing levels. At the local level, the dispute involved considerable rancour, and occasional confrontation, between a range of local actors. At a regional level, the dispute involved local government authorities and regional organisations. Finally the dispute was elevated to a national level by the activities of the conservation movement where it became an important component of electoral politics and underscored Commonwealth-State tensions over environmental management (Doyle 1989). Ultimately of course, the dispute was only resolved by the unilateral decision of the Commonwealth to intervene and nominate the area for the World Heritage List.

It is unequivocally the case that the rancour which characterised this dispute indelibly affected relations between stakeholders, government agencies and differing levels of government. It was into this polarised planning community, in which a significant proportion of the actors

remained embittered by the dispute, and particularly by the manner of its resolution, that the Wet Tropics Management Authority was established. It should not be surprising to find that, given this background, the organisation developed a defensive posture to the planning community.

The defensive posture of the WTMA, the preoccupation of senior staff with the hostile environment they felt the organisation faced, informed the approach of the Authority to public involvement. While the perception of hostility was particularly apparent with regard to relations with Queensland government agencies such as the DEH, it is also apparent with other stakeholders. As has been described above, the concern of the Authority to placate prominent critics, such as the RAN, and to be substantially concerned with gauging community reaction to the plan, can be understood, at least in part, as being a reaction to conflict which preceded Listing and the defensive posture which it spawned. Further, the failure of the Authority to grasp the problematics of interacting with Aboriginal people in the region is explicable in terms of the near invisibility of Aboriginal interests during the dispute. Senior managers of the Authority were apparently largely unaware of the dimensions and complexity of this issue because it had been invisible in the initial conflict.

The dispute which preceded the creation of the Wet Tropics WHA had an important bearing on the social and political relations in the planning environment. The prevailing social and political relations are, of course, critical to planning because planners must "engage in discourse, conversation, negotiation, and persuasion with several broad communities" (Hillier 1993:90). Forester (1989:77-8) suggests that the nature of social and political relations in a given situation poses important challenges for planners. He suggests that in such circumstances, planners must actively seek to re-fashion the nature of the social and political relations (Forester 1989:79). But of course, in the case presented here, the urgency to produce a plan, the degree of polarisation among stakeholders and the antagonism of other organisations, rendered such a task impossible. While Forester (1989) was conceiving of a situation of planners seeking to re-fashion the social and political relations of the planning environment over the longer term, the Wet Tropics planners were required to develop a plan and liaise with a large number of constituents in the **short** term.

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Of course, localised conflict and the social and political context of planning has played an important role in catalysing new conceptions of planning (McDonald 1989; Jacobs 1992; Friedmann 1993). The cynicism, hostility and political actions of the public (Forester 1989) has often overwhelmed well-intentioned planning efforts and caused planners to re-think their approach (McDonald 1989; Friedmann 1993). This suggests that the command planning approach of the Authority, as described above, may have been particularly inappropriate, given the history of conflict which preceded the establishment of the WHA and which created the social and political relations which confronted the Authority's planners. In these circumstances, the demands and timelines imposed on the Authority, in terms of the production of a plan and in other ways, may have also exacerbated the situation described and denied the organisation the luxury of a longer-term approach (Wiltshire 25/8/1995).

In summary, the history of conflict over the management of the northern rainforests represents an important factor in determining the nature of the organisation which was charged with their management, the relations between this organisation and other actors, and the defensive posture of the organisation. All of these dynamics are important in understanding the behaviour of the WTMA in relation to aspects of its public involvement activities.

10.3.4 Cultural Factors

It is suggested that there are two categories of cultural factors which influenced the nature of the public involvement program and which shaped its implementation. First, the nature of the planning environment meant that the WTMA had to interact with a large, diverse and fragmented Aboriginal population. The significance of "Aboriginal issues" increased over the term of the Authority and, the nature of these interactions is important in explaining what transpired. Second, the organisational culture of the Authority, itself a product of the organisational environment, its personnel and the nature of its relations with its constituents, had an important bearing on the nature and implementation of the public involvement program. These will be considered in turn.

A significant component of the work of the WTMA occurred in a cross-cultural context. By virtue of the size of the Aboriginal population in the Wet Tropics, and the unique cultural

perspectives of this population on land and land management, the WTMA developed a program specifically geared to engender Aboriginal involvement. The WTMA however, was poorly equipped to undertake this work effectively, and, as has been observed, the program encountered a series of difficulties. A combination of historical, organisational and cultural factors were responsible for the outcomes of the Aboriginal involvement program previously described.

As has been observed, the conflict which preceded the establishment of the Wet Tropics was centrally concerned with the interests and perspectives of the conservation and pro-logging lobbies. Aboriginal interests were almost invisible to this conflict. Partly as a result of this dynamic, the institutional arrangements developed for the management of the WHA also largely failed to incorporate the Aboriginal people. In a demonstration of ignorance about the nature and importance of Aboriginal interests in the WHA, the Management Scheme included a single place for an Aboriginal representative on the Community Consultative Committee. The approach of the WTMA to Aboriginal consultation therefore, were significantly constrained by the charter which created the organisation.

The WTMA demonstrated a substantial commitment to involving Aboriginal people in its planning processes and reconciling the complaints of Aboriginal people about insufficient representation in the management arrangements for the WHA. Their approach to both tasks however, was based on a flawed conception of the nature of traditional and contemporary social organisation. The Authority was not sufficiently knowledgeable about these matters to appreciate the importance of differentiating between the type and nature of Aboriginal organisations in and around the WHA. One important result was the enfranchisement of regional groups with generalist traditional perspectives at the expense of groups with highly particular Aboriginal interests. The important implication of this observation is that an understanding of Aboriginal social organisation is fundamental to the development of an effective and equitable public involvement program for Aboriginal people.

In theoretical terms, this study has previously observed that coping with the plurality of planning environments and achieving equity in socially diverse contexts has been a critical issue for many years (see Healey 1992:147). It is indeed an issue which has partly informed

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the development of communicative accounts of planning, in which "the reasoning employed can escape the confines of rational-scientific principles to include varying systems of morality, and culturally-specific traditions of expressive aesthetic experience" (Healey 1992:151). In the Wet Tropics however, Aboriginal plurality was never fully appreciated because planners never fully understood of the nature of relevant "culturally-specific traditions".

Moreover, the way in which the WTMA interacted with the RAN and other Aboriginal people was "constitutive" (Throgmorton 1993:336). The establishment of the JWG, and the legitimacy that was accorded the RAN by being formally engaged in dialogue with the WTMA in this way had an important influence on the RAN both within Aboriginal societies and among government agencies. To this extent, this study confirms Throgmorton's (1993:336) proposition that "planning is constitutive: it can help reproduce existing communities or to create new ones."

In part, the difficulties the Authority faced in this respect can be traced to their conception of planning and the definition and role of rationality upon which it relied. Traditional rational approaches tend to marginalise the differing cultural perspectives of minority groups, as Healey (1992) has suggested. In this however, the Authority is not alone. Chase (1990) has demonstrated way in which indigenous perspectives can be marginalised by the epistemological dominance of technocratic approaches in decision-making. The Authority did however, as Forester (1989) would have advocated, genuinely seek to grapple with the social and political relations of Aboriginal representation by offering to establish an Aboriginal Consultative Committee and by its substantial attempts to consult with Aboriginal people (see chapter nine). It is argued here that the difficulties posed by the nature of Aboriginal social organisation, combined with a range of organisational factors, conspired against realising this objective.

The organisational culture of the Authority was another factor which influenced the nature of the public involvement program and its implementation. As has been previously observed, the internal culture of the Authority was characterised by defensiveness. This defensiveness was born, of course, in the difficult political environment in which the organisation was established and the ensuing poor relations between the Authority and other agencies. To some extent the

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posture of the WTMA can be explained by the constant hostility exhibited by the DEH to the existence and work of the Authority. As has been argued, that these political and organisational cultural problems exist is not unusual. What is important in this context is the failure of senior management to respond to the problems before they began to affect the instrumental capacity of the WTMA. As Forester (1989) has shown, these types of organisational issues are fundamental to understanding the work of the planner and, indeed, planning outcomes.

A defensive organisation, facing what it perceives to be a hostile planning environment, is unlikely to engage in a decentralised approach to planning in which individual actors are able to assert their interests and concerns, as in bargaining or communicative approaches (see Dorcey 1986; Healey 1992; chapter five, this volume), where public involvement is fundamental to shaping the definition of future environments. Instead, such an organisation is likely to be inclined to a highly centralised approach to planning and to limited and cautious approaches to dialogue with other groups and agencies. Indeed, as has been argued above, the approach of the WTMA was essentially a synoptic form of command planning in which the role of stakeholders was limited to commenting on the goals of planning. The conceptual approach of the Authority therefore was, in part, a product of the political ambience which in turn contributed to the development of a defensive organisational culture.

In summary, this study has found that two cultural factors had an influence on the nature and implementation of the Authority's efforts at involving the public in its planning activities. First, the cultural perspectives and social organisation of an important category of stakeholder - the diverse Aboriginal population of the WHA - posed significant challenges for the work of the Authority. Second, it is argued that the organisational culture of the Authority influenced the manner in which it approach the task of public involvement and substantially influenced the implementation of the program.

10.3.5 Organisational Factors

The approach of the WTMA to public involvement in planning can also be explained in terms of a series of organisational factors - both internal and external - which influenced and constrained the operation of the organisation. As with the aforementioned issues, these organisational factors combined with other factors to produce the outcomes described above.

As chapter seven of this study showed, the Authority was beset by observable difficulties in relation to its day-to-day operations and in its internal political relations. Instrumentally, the organisation was troubled by a tension between the official strategic co-ordinating and monitoring role and a perceived need to intervene in land management decisions because the land management agencies could not be trusted. This tension was substantially exacerbated by the poor relations which existed between the Authority and agencies such as the DEH. In addition, the Authority, lacked a clear, coherent and unambiguous corporate objective. The review of the Authority by the PSMC argued that this problem was the result of a lack of effective corporate planning and management by senior staff of the Authority. This particular problem was reflected in conflict among a number of the individual programs of the Authority.

There are a number of factors associated with the organisational context which also serve to explain the approach of the WTMA to its task of engaging in dialogue with relevant publics over the development of its management plans. These factors are unified by a common origin: the Management Scheme which was jointly developed by the Commonwealth and Queensland governments. The Management Scheme, as has been observed in chapter seven, was intended to provide for the establishment of an independent authority to manage the WHA. The management scheme also provided for an on-going policy role of both the State and Commonwealth governments through the creation of a Ministerial Council composed of Ministers of both governments. In a number of differing ways, the Management Scheme created a series of important organisational constraints for the work of the WTMA.

First, the management scheme failed to recognise and provide for Aboriginal representation in the management of the WHA. Indeed, a single place on the Community Consultative Committee was reserved for Aboriginal representation. As has been argued above, this

outcome is probably the result of the conflict which preceded Listing which rendered Aboriginal interests largely invisible and the paucity of information on this topic. The failure of the organisational arrangements to meaningfully provide for Aboriginal representation and participation was, of course, the catalyst for Aboriginal political agitation over this matter. As was observed in chapter nine, the Authority was continually forced to react to the strident demands of the RAN for greater representation and indeed, a reconceptualisation of the management arrangements for the WHA in the form of joint-management. Had the organisational arrangements which were established for the management of the area been more sensitive to the dimensions of the Aboriginal presence in and affiliation with the Wet Tropics, these conflicts could have been avoided or at least, minimised. The conflict generated was a significant concern to the Authority which, as has already been argued, had adopted a rather defensive posture to the planning community. The constraints imposed by the Management Scheme, combined with the defensive culture of the organisation itself, were the important ingredients to the response of the Authority. The WTMA essentially sought to placate the RAN, demonstrating an apparent preparedness to broker corporatist agreements with the RAN and, in the process, provide the group with a degree of influence and legitimacy in Aboriginal representation it did not enjoy among the broader Aboriginal populace.

The second and more far-reaching effect of the nature of the management arrangements concerns the incorporation of tensions between the State and Commonwealth governments in the management of the protected area. The policy oversight role of the joint Commonwealth-State Ministerial Council ensured that incipient competition between the two levels of government over jurisdictional responsibility for environmental management (cf. Kellow 1993; Davis 1989b) became a feature of policy formulation in the Wet Tropics. As Kellow (1992:24) has argued in relation to land management in another context, the use of a Ministerial Council renders policy-making susceptible to competing interests and dependent on hard-won cooperation between jurisdictions. As chapter seven has shown, the competing views of the two levels of government and differing views on important issues was characteristic of the political environment in which the WTMA operated.

The importance of the competition between the two jurisdictions lies in the way in which it served to underscore the need for the WTMA to adopt a defensive posture. With the legislation

to establish the Authority delayed for considerable periods of time, and with an inimical State government, the WTMA was wary of involving stakeholders. The cautious and limited approach to public involvement was required in these circumstances because of a fear that a more substantial approach might "empower antagonistic stakeholders" (Manager of Planning 13/7/1993). It is argued here that the Management Scheme effectively institutionalised of Commonwealth-state competition for jurisdiction on land management (Kellow 1993) and this competition and tension was an important ingredient to the political ambience and helped fashion the approach of the Authority.

A third and related problem associated with the organisational arrangements concerns the fact that the Authority was embedded in the machinery of the State government, while it was intended under the Management Scheme that it would provide independent advice to the Ministerial Council on the management of the WHA. The capacity of the WTMA to freely pursue its charter to manage the area and provide quality advice to the Ministerial Council was substantially undermined by relations with the Queensland State government. As chapter seven revealed, agencies of the State government demonstrated considerable hostility to the WTMA. This is best illustrated by the attacks on the WTMA by the Office of the Co-ordinator General, by the refusal of the DEH to provide appropriate financial and administrative delegations to the Executive Director of the WTMA and by the consistently poor state of relations between the Department of Environment and Heritage and the WTMA.

The contradictory organisational arrangements, which required the WTMA to provide high-quality independent advice whilst operating as part of the machinery of the Queensland government, created substantial difficulties for the WTMA. These arrangements undermined the capacity of the WTMA to pursue its task in a practical way by reducing its financial and administrative capabilities, and by obviating the development of cordial and cooperative relations between officers of the WTMA and agencies of the Queensland government. In addition, the nature of the relations with these agencies served to reinforce the development of a "bunker mentality" among WTMA staff. Both of these factors are an important element of the limited and cautious approach of the WTMA to involving the public in planning. These factors also explain the importance of the WTMA's efforts to placate the previously boisterous Aboriginal lobby group, the RAN.

In summary therefore, the organisational arrangements which created the WTMA affected the operations of the organisation in three ways. First, the arrangements failed to provide adequate representation to Aboriginal people and therefore ensured Aboriginal agitation was to become an important aspect of the Authority's life. Second, the arrangements institutionalised tensions between the Commonwealth and Queensland governments. Third, the arrangements placed the Authority in the difficult position of having to provide independent advice while being a component of the machinery of the Queensland government. The Queensland government used this unanticipated consequence of the Management Scheme to assiduously harass and undermine the Authority. All factors constrained the operations of the Authority, underscored and reinforced the defensive culture of the organisation and elevated the importance of stakeholder co-option.

The theoretical importance of organisational environment to planning activity, although recognised, has not been the subject of substantial research (Forester 1989). Margerum and Born (1995:373-4) suggest that the organisational environment determines the nature of the planning agency, its jurisdiction and its relationship with other agencies in the planning environment. In this respect, it has been demonstrated that the mandated relationship between the WTMA and the Queensland government posed a series of significant problems for the WTMA. The clumsy way in which the respective jurisdictions of the organisations have been determined was exacerbated by the antagonism of the DEH. On this point, Forester (1989) is instructive. He argues planning agencies are "structures of communicative relations" which produce instrumental results and, more importantly, "reproduce social and political relations of knowledge, ...consent, ...trust, ...and the we ways we formulate problems" (1989:73). The nature of the relations which prevailed in the organisational environment had a substantial impact on the instrumental productivity of the WTMA, the morale of its staff and, as a result, the approach of the organisation to interacting with its constituents. Margerum and Born (1995) therefore understate the most significant aspect of the organisational environment in which the planner works: the social and political relations of the planning community.

The research presented confirms that the organisational context has an important bearing on the nature of public involvement in planning and on the implementation of public involvement programs. The research suggests, however, that the organisational context is of primary, rather

than secondary significance of the planner (as originally posited in the second research proposition).

10.3.5 Conclusion

The case analysis presented in this study demonstrates the importance of the conception of planning held by planners and planning agencies to the nature of public involvement programs used in planning activities. The Wet Tropics experience confirms the first research proposition. It has been shown that the Authority's synoptic approach to planning was largely responsible for determining the nature of the public involvement program which was conducted. The research suggests however, that other factors were also important in shaping the nature of the program and influencing its implementation.

The study therefore supports the second research proposition, although with one significant qualification. The case analysis presented here supports the proposition that historical, cultural and organisational factors are important in shaping the nature of public involvement programs and their implementation. In the case of the Wet Tropics, all three factors were important in influencing the nature and implementation of the program to involve the public. This finding is qualified however, by the importance of organisational factors to the case presented here. The Wet Tropics experience, it is suggested, elevates the organisational factors to primary, rather than secondary importance. This finding supports the views of Forester (1989:67) who argues that the organisational environment is a major determinant of the planners' work and how it is received. This study suggests that the organisational context of the planner might also be a critical determinant of the role they ascribe to public involvement.

10.4 The Use of Public Involvement in Planning - Theoretical Conclusions

10.4.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to consider the use of public involvement in planning with reference to the Wet Tropics WHA. The preceding analysis has shown that public involvement in planning in this context was fashioned and constrained by a series a factors acting synergistically. In the

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Wet Tropics, the planners' conception of planning plus a suite of historical, organisational and cultural influences were responsible for way in which public involvement was used. What is the applicability of these conclusions for other planning contexts? This section is concerned with contemplating the relevance of the empirical findings of the study for the broader field of planning. The development of a synthesis of the Wet Tropics experience, provided above, allows a systematic examination of the empirical findings in theoretical terms.

10.4.2 Conceptions of Planning and the Utility of Communicative Perspectives

A series of dramatic intellectual changes have been felt in the planning field since the second World War (see Hall 1992). These changes have been most apparent in the realm of theory. Here, substantial thought and energy has been devoted to understanding how decision-making occurs in complex social systems (procedural theorising) and how these same systems should approach the task of planning (normative theorising) (following Faludi 1973). As chapter five revealed, in both the procedural and normative spheres, major changes have occurred.

With particular regard to public involvement in the intellectual development of planning, it is possible discern a tangible trajectory of change. In both the procedural theories of planning and the normative models which have enjoyed brief ascendancy since World War Two, public involvement has progressively been afforded a more central role. Indeed, public involvement in procedural theoretical discourse has emerged from being a peripheral adjunct to planning in the synoptic school to being central to planning action in bargaining (see Dorcey 1986) and communicative models of planning (see Hillier 1993; Forester 1989). Procedural discourse has been preoccupied with the plurality of social systems, the pervasiveness of conflict and the important political dimensions of planning activity (Forester 1989:16; Hall 1983:43; Friedmann 1993:482; Kiernan 1983:76; see also Faludi 1973, 1987). Procedural analyses, that is analyses of the way in which planning actually occurs (the mechanics and politics of decision-making) have all observed that the participation of government agencies, industry lobby groups, mass social movements and small resident action groups are fundamental and crucially important phenomena in planning and decision-making (Giddens 1994; Beck 1992). The compelling nature of these analyses and the weight of evidence is responsible for the

challenging the basic tenets of dominant normative approaches such as the synoptic school (Jacobs 1992:32-3). Or, as McClendon (1993:145) would have it:

> "planning theory has evolved for the simple reason that we as a profession have simply not been able to get it right."

The omniscience of the planner, the notion of rationality, the choice of methods and the conception of resources as bio-physical entities have all been challenged by the mobilisation and participation of groups outside the immediate administrative field of the planner and the decision-maker and by the rise of post-modernism. These critiques and challenges have, in turn, led to the of development of normative models of planning in which the realities of modern social systems and decision-making are used as a foundation. Dorcey's (1986) model of planning of bargaining is a case in point. The essence of Dorcey's (1986) approach is to observe that decision-making in mixed economies is best described as a form of bargaining within legal and political parameters (see also Webber 1983; McDonald 1989; Dale and Lane 1994). Based on this analysis, Dorcey (1986) is then able to discern the implications of this observation for meta-planning, or the design of improved planning instruments and processes. His normative suggestions are therefore built solidly on a foundation of careful procedural analysis.

The approach of the planner is the fundamental determinant of the role afforded to the public in planning. The model applied in any given situation will be underpinned by procedural assumptions about the nature of the planning context, the existence of unitary or plural interests and the distribution of power and authority. In addition, different planning models involve differing conceptions of process and method. The rational-comprehensive planner for instance assumes the existence of a unitary public interest and assumes a hegemonic role for scientific rationalism and for himself as technically trained expert. The planner who approaches the task with the assumptions which characterise contemporary theoretical pluralism will act as a reticulist, seeking to elicit the range of perspectives and interests which exist, challenging power relations, facilitating argumentation and discerning the possible courses of action (following Forester 1989; Healey 1992; Hillier 1993; Innes 1995).

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If one is to understand the use of public involvement in planning therefore, one must first seek to understand the approach of the planner to their task and to discern the procedural assumptions, particularly their societal image (following Faludi 1973), which underpin this approach. As the Wet Tropics WHA case analysis presented in this study reveals, one cannot assume that the rational-comprehensive approaches and the principal assumptions which support them, are aspects of planning history. Indeed, in the struggle to find a new paradigm (McDonald 1989) and the theoretical and conceptual pluralism which continues to reign (Hall 1992), it may be that contemporary planners have clung to synoptic approaches in the absence of a new authoritative procedural analysis. In doing so, they are applying decision-making formulae which no longer enjoy the political authority they once did (Giddens 1994:116). More than anything else, this explains the tendency for political activity to overwhelm comprehensive plans (cf. McDonald 1989)

This study has drawn on communicative action and as its primary procedural analytical framework. Given the tenacity, despite their failings, of synoptic approaches as described above it is, finally, important to comment to comment on the utility of a communicative perspective for analysis of public involvement in planning. Innes (1995:183) has claimed that communicative theory is an emerging paradigm in planning theory which is closing the gap between theory and practice. She argues that communicative theorists:

> "do grounded theorizing based on richly interpretive study of practice. Their purpose is, on the one hand, to document what planners do and, on the other, to reflect critically on practice. They apply intellectual lenses that are new to planning to illuminate and critique what they see. They see planning as an interactive, communicative activity and depict planners as deeply embedded in the fabric of community, politics and decision-making."

Closing the gap between theory and practice is, Giddens (1994:128) argues, critical in restoring the accountability of the use of expertise and science in decision-making and improving its credibility in policy formulation. Regulating and refining the application of science in policy formulation remains however, an important goal in emergent decision-making processes (Beck 1992; Giddens 1994; Ozawa 1991).

In her analysis of the impact of the distortion of information in a Western Australian planning context, Hillier (1993:95) argues that a communicative perspective helps reveal how organisations and/or individuals can "obscure issues, manipulate trust and consent, and twist fact and possibility." By examining the structure and nature of the communications of the Wet Tropics Management Authority in its public involvement program for European-Australian communities, this study has revealed much about the role of public involvement in (synoptic) planning.

The feedback brochures and other literature produced during the program for instance, framed the information provided and opportunities for response in terms of ecological protection of the WHA. It was argued that this was likely to bias the responses received by the WTMA and indeed, despite the significance of the conflict over World Heritage protection, over 60% of the respondents expressed their support for conservation and the plan (see section 8.4.3; WTMA 1993d:17). Because of the closed structure of feedback brochures, respondents had to frame their responses in terms of ecological protection. In other words, the process selected both for certain kinds of respondents and certain responses.

Chapter eight also showed how the publicity and other information used in the campaign focused on the goals of planning, and major planning "issues". The analysis provided showed that the "goal" and "issue" focussed program tended to obscure, from stakeholders, the critical matter of identifying the tradeoffs between competing planning goals and among the various means of achieving them (see section 8.4.3). As Davidoff and Reiner (1973:17) have argued, stakeholders must be informed of both the range of possible goals and their implications in order to provide informed commentary on planning strategies.

The communicative perspective was also helpful in analysing the public involvement program as it applied to the Aboriginal population of the WHA and understanding its implications. Throgmorton (1993:334) persuasively argued that the nature of planning tools revealed much about the planners' character and also about "the kinds of communities that are formed between planners and their audiences." This study, which analysed the types of Aboriginal organisations which were invited to meetings and forums to consider Aboriginal representation, showed how certain groups were empowered and others were not considered

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(see chapter nine). By examining the nature of dialogue between one Aboriginal organisation (the RAN) and the WTMA, the study showed how the RAN developed legitimacy and power in respect of Aboriginal representation and the Wet Tropics. Both the nature and the structure of the interactions between Aboriginal organisations and the WTMA was a product by who was invited to meetings and how they were engaged in those meetings. In part, at least, the character of the communities that were formed between WTMA planners and their audiences (Throgmorton 1993:334) was a product of the behaviour of the WTMA and its public involvement program.

This study therefore confirms the analytic power of the communicative action approach to planning. Such an approach is not only an effective framework for analysis (Tauxe 1995:471) but it is also helpful identifying solutions to the problems in planning that it reveals (Forester 1989:81; Hillier 1993:108; Giddens 1994:126-9). By understanding how the social and political relations of planning are rendered non-democratic, we can begin to see how they can be democratised through the empowerment of hitherto marginalised actors (Hillier 1993; McClendon 1993; Friedmann 1992; Howitt 1989; Gagnon *et al.* 1993) and how trust and accountability in decision-making can be restored by filtering expert claims to knowledge and negotiating shared responsibilities (Giddens 1994:128-9; Hillier 1993:108). The communicative perspective helps refine and restrain the role of the tradition of science in decision-making (Giddens 1994:128; Healey 1992:145) and suggests how decisions in complex planning environments can be made while being broadly conceived as authoritative and legitimate. Communicative analysis therefore, can potentially close the gap between theory and practice.

10.4.3 Organisational Issues

Notwithstanding the importance of the planner's conception of planning, the approach of the planner is also determined by the organisational environment which fashions, directs, constrains and/or liberates his or her work. It is unequivocally the case that an important constraint on the operation of the WTMA was a suite of problems which were derived from the organisational environment (see Chapter seven). As has been argued elsewhere, planning agencies can be understood as not only fulfilling a particular technical function (instrumental

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production), but also as being socio-politically reproductive, re-shaping and reproducing the fabric of social and political relations which prevail in the context in which they operate (Forester 1989:70-3; Harmon and Mayers 1986). As Forester (1989) so persuasively argues, it is common for accounts of planning agencies to ignore the extent to which they are involved in fashioning and reproducing wider sets of social and political relations. Indeed, herein lies a further example of the explanatory power of the communicative approach. By focussing on the nature and structure of communications in which planners and their agencies engage, the communicative account reveals how planners reproduce (or re-fashion) social and political relations (Forester 1989:71; Hillier 1993:95; Innes 1995). This study shows that the organisational environment has a significant influence on the way planners respond to the social and political relations they face.

The approach of the WTMA to public involvement, and later to the planning process itself, was substantially shaped by wider social and political relations. These relations were, as we have seen, largely fashioned by historical factors. A lack of sensitivity to the forces of socio-political reproduction, or perhaps an inability to grapple with these forces, left the WTMA somewhat isolated and confronting disgruntled and occasionally hostile stakeholders, including agencies of the Queensland government. Planning agencies like the WTMA therefore need to be as focussed on socio-political reproduction as they are with instrumental production and they need personnel who not only have technical training but also a focus on the "practical matters of improving, reproducing the planning department's social and political relations both within the department and with others" (Forester 1989:75).

In respect of public involvement, these are crucial matters. Based on Forester's analysis of planning organisations which is derived from a communicative theoretical perspective, and based on the foregoing analysis of the Wet Tropics, two further matters stand out. The first concerns the non-democratic manner in which the socio-political relations of a given context are maintained. This has a substantial impact on the response of non-government actors to opportunities for participation in planning and policy processes. It is likely to render potential participants uncertain of the policy opportunities and consequences, cynical about the efficacy of their own participation and about the planning or policy process itself (Forester 1989:80). Indeed, as many have noted, the persistence of substantial inequity of participatory capability

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within any socio-political context, represents a powerful constraint to the promise of public involvement in planning (see Sandercock 1994; Robinson 1993). Planning agencies seeking to involve non-government actors in their planning processes therefore, must understand the nature and reproduction of social and political relations within the planning context if they are to be successful in facilitating the expression of the plurality of interests which exist.

Knowledge of the forces of socio-political reproduction is important therefore, not only in fashioning the nature of the relations within the planning agency, but also externally. The capacity of a planning agency to engage in dialogue with a range of actors is partially dependent on their understanding of the nature of political relations and the forces which maintain them. This represents a critical issue and one which has implications for planning education and for the expertise planning agencies require (see Christensen 1993). Moreover, unless the political relations of planning are democratised, planning processes and outcomes will be inequitable by tending to reflect only the values and interests of dominant actors (Hillier 1993:90; Forester 1987:31; Friedmann 1994:379). Howitt (1989) in his description of resource development decision-making and Lake (1993) in his analysis of local action groups and their response to unwanted land uses argue that planning serves the interests of capital rather than those of local communities. By drawing our attention to the social and political relations of planning, the communicative perspective ensures examination of a fundamental question: in whose interests do planners serve? (following Friedmann 1994:379).

The second point Forester (1989:81) raises is a logical extension of the first. If planners should seek to understand how certain actors are rendered powerless, ignorant or cynical, they should also seek to understand how they can overcome these problems and to democratise and re-fashion the "social relations of production" (Forester 1989:81). This observation is congruent with the planner as reticulist: encouraging, supporting and, indeed, empowering actors to effectively assert their interests and help fashion outcomes which alleviate aspects of the environment which previously contributed to their condition. As Hillier (1993:108) contends:

> "Actualisation of Habermas's communicative action (intersubjective understanding, the co-ordination of actions through discussion) may lead to a discussion in which politics becomes increasingly discursive, educational, oriented to truly public interests, and needful of active citizenship.... there

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should be no restrictions on the participation of actors, and actions should be characterised by the reflective understanding of competent actors, and be free from (self-) deception, strategic behaviour, and domination through the exercise of power. It is thus clear that current practice co-opting local groups, buying off or rubbishing vocal critics is an anathema to empowerment."

Such a view, strikes to the heart of the purpose and promise of planning and, indeed, of participation. Despite Giddens' (1994:115-6) caution that democratisation is not realised by mere speech or dialogue as, he argues Habermas (1984, 1987) suggests, he too maintains that democratisation would mean greater transparency and authority in the decisions of government. In this context, Giddens (1994:116) defines dialogue as a capability to maintain "trust through an appreciation of the integrity of the other." Trust is, in turn, a means of "ordering social relations in time and space" (Giddens 1994:116).

"Trust", "shared responsibility" (Giddens 1994:116, 128) and "empowerment" (Hillier 1993:107; Forester 1989 and McClendon 1993) are the potential benefits of conceiving of planning as communicative action which has the capacity to democratise the social and political relations which prevail in any planning environment. Fashioning the social relations of a planning environment thus has been seen as fundamental to achieving planning objectives in protected areas. Volunteerism, collaboration and shared responsibility by conservation planners and local stakeholders is recognised in the conservation planning literature as being crucial to integrating protected areas into the local socio-economic fabric and, in so doing, overcoming local opposition and behaviours which have done so much to undermine conservation (see for example Bradby 1991; Syme 1987; Campbell 1994; Rao and Geisler 1990; Redford and Stearman 1993a; Stankey 1989; West and Brechin 1992). An approach to planning which had sought to facilitate dialogue among actors, expand the use of rationality to include "all the ways of knowing" (Healey 1992:149) and negotiate outcomes characterised by shared responsibility among stakeholders, was required in the Wet Tropics. The WTMA's approach to both planning and public involvement could not have achieved this.

As has been noted elsewhere, these matters go beyond the instrumental productivity of a particular planning context. Indeed, they inextricably related to the purpose of planning itself.

Healey (1992:145) describes the link between the nature of social relations and the fundamental purpose of planning thus:

> "As with so much of Western culture, the contemporary idea of planning is rooted in the enlightenment tradition of modernity. This freed individuals from the intellectual tyranny of religious faith and from the political tyranny of despots. Such free individuals, in democratic association ..... manage their collective affairs ..... by the application of scientific knowledge ....."

Contemporary planning therefore must be concerned with both understanding and re-shaping the social and political relations of society. Its purpose is inextricably linked to the noble goals of the modernity project: to improve the human condition and to democratise the management of collective affairs (Healey 1992:145; Hillier 1993:108; Forester 1989: 81).

Unless planners and planning agencies are explicitly concerned therefore, with understanding and challenging the regressive and undemocratic characteristics of the society in which they work, they do far more than restrict their instrumental capability and the authority of their decisions (Giddens 1994; Beck 1992). Failure to democratise the social relations of production undermines the essential goal of planning by allowing the reproduction of existing inequality.

10.4.4 Summary

Public involvement is determined, to a significant extent, by the approach of the planner to the task at hand. As the analysis of planning theory in chapter five revealed, and as the case study presented in this study also demonstrates, differing planning models entail starkly differing roles for the planner and stakeholder alike and are built on differing assumptions about the goals of planning and the nature of the society they are meant to serve. The procedural assumptions upon which planning models are built also serve to determine the nature of opportunities for public involvement. This is because planning theories entail assumptions which are critical to the nature of the roles of both the planner and public stakeholders. The nature and role of rationality in planning, the image of society as holistic or atomistic, the nature and importance of politics are matters which have dominated procedural discourse on

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planning because they are fundamental to the role of both the planner and the stakeholder (Forester 1989:16; Hall 1983:43; Friedmann 1993:482; Kiernan 1983:76; Hillier 1993:91; Beck 1992:191; Giddens 1994:115-6). The extent to which those opportunities are extended however, and the form that they ultimately take, is also fashioned by the institutional and organisational environment of the planner, as this study has shown (see also Forester 1989). Of particular importance to this environment is the nature of prevailing social and political relations. The nature of these relations, and the extent to which the planner challenges or reproduces them, is both a substantial determinant of how public involvement in used in planning and an indicator of the degree to which planning is fulfilling its promise.

These conclusions demonstrate the utility of the research presented here. Although a single case study has been used, the focus on the planner and the planning agency illuminates those factors which determine how public involvement is used in planning processes. While the social, economic, political and cultural circumstances of particular planning contexts may vary considerably, the organisational imperatives and the conceptual underpinnings of the planning task are less varied. An examination of the planner therefore, provides a useful perspective on the use of public involvement in planning.

10.5 Future Research

This study has been essentially diagnostic: it has sought to identify and comprehend the factors which shape the use of public involvement in planning. Communicative theory, which emphasises the way communications are systematised and distorted and the way in which planners (and the organisations in which they work) direct attention to particular courses of action, is a useful analytical perspective for complex planning processes. However, it is an analysis which is procedural in focus, and as is often the case, procedural theorising has advanced well ahead of normative model building. An important area of future inquiry and conceptual development lies in building normative models of planning based on the substantial analytical foundation established by recent planning theorists such as Forester (1989, 1993); Hillier (1993) and Healey (1992, 1993). While normative work has emerged (see, for instance, Healey 1996), and other analyses have provided considerable clues to improved practice (in relation empowerment see, for example, Hillier 1993; Gagnon et al. 1993), there is a need for

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work which tests and replicates prevailing models across a variety of planning contexts and in relation to diverse social environments. If planners in Australia are clinging to synoptic models because of the authority and prescription which such approaches are perceived to enjoy (see Hillier 1995; Hoch 1994) only effective, practical models will translate the theoretical work of the scholar to the daily work of the planner. Testing and replicating the application of emerging normative approaches in diverse social and political contexts is needed to ensure the widespread application of models which emerge from the communicative perspective.

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APPENDIX 1

Criteria for the Inclusion of Cultural and Natural
Properties on the World Heritage List

CRITERIA FOR THE INCLUSION OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL PROPERTIES ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

The criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List should always be seen in relation to one another and should be considered in the context of the definition set out in Article 1 of the Convention which is reproduced below:

"monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view."

A monument, group of buildings or site - as defined above - which is nominated for inclusion in the Wold Heritage List will be considered to be of outstanding universal value for the purposes of the Convention when the Committee finds that it meets one or more of the following criteria <u>and</u> the test of authenticity. Each property nominated should therefore:

(a)   (i)   represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius; or

        (ii)   have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design; or

        (iii)   bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilisation or cultural tradition which has disappeared; or

        (iv)   be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage (s) in human history; or

        (v)   be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or

(vi)   be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria);

<div align="center">and</div>

(b) (i)   meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components (the Committee stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture).

     (ii)   have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural property or culture landscapes. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level or well-established traditional protection and/or adequate management mechanisms is therefore essential and must be stated clearly on the nomination form. Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws and/or management mechanisms are also expected. Furthermore, in order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large numbers of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public.

Nominations of immovable property which are likely to become movable will not be considered.

With respect to groups of urban buildings, the Committee has furthermore adopted the following Guidelines concerning their inclusion in the World Heritage List.

Groups of urban buildings eligible for inclusion in the World Heritage List fall into three main categories, namely:

(i)   towns which are no longer inhabited but which provide unchanged archaeological evidence of the past; these generally satisfy the criterion of authenticity and their state of conservation can be relatively easily controlled;

(ii)   historic towns which are till inhabited and which, by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematical;

(iii) new towns of the twentieth century which paradoxically have something in common with both the aforementioned categories: while their original urban organisation is clearly recognisable and their authenticity is undeniable, their future is unclear because their development is largely uncontrollable.

The evaluation of towns that are no longer inhabited does not raise any special difficulties other than those related to archaeological sites in general: the criteria which call for uniqueness or exemplary character have led to the choice of groups of buildings noteworthy for their purity of style, for the concentration of monuments they contain and sometimes for their important historical associations. It is important for urban archaeological sites to be listed as integral units. A cluster of monuments or a small group of buildings is not adequate to suggest the multiple and complex functions of a city which has disappeared; remains of such a city should be preserved in their entirety together with their natural surroundings whenever possible.

In the case of inhabited historic towns the difficulties are numerous, largely owing to the fragility of their urban fabric (which has in many cases been seriously disrupted since the advent of the industrial era) and the runaway speed with which their surroundings have been urbanised. To qualify for inclusion, towns should compel recognition because of their architectural interest and should not be considered only on the intellectual grounds of the role they may have played in the past or their value as historical symbols under criterion (vi) for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List (see paragraph 24 above). To be eligible for inclusion in the List, the spatial organisation, structure, materials forms and, where possible, functions of a group of buildings should essentially reflect the civilisation or succession of civilisations which have prompted the nomination of the property. Four categories can be distinguished:

(i)   Towns which are typical of a specific period or culture, which have been almost wholly preserved and which remain largely unaffected by subsequent developments. Here the property to be listed is the entire town together with its surroundings, which must also be protected;

(ii)   Towns that have evolved along characteristics lines and have preserved, sometimes in the midst of exceptional natural surroundings, spatial arrangements and structures that are typical of the successive stages in their history. Here the clearly defined historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment;

(iii)   "Historic centres" that cover exactly the same area as ancient towns and are now enclosed within modern cities. Here it is necessary to determine the precise limits of the property in its widest historical dimensions and to make appropriate provision for it's immediate surroundings;

(iv)   Sectors, area or isolated units which, even in the residual state in which they have survived , provide coherent evidence of the character of the historic town which has disappeared. In such cases surviving areas and buildings should bear sufficient testimony to the former whole.

Historic centres and historic area should be listed only where they contain a large number of ancient buildings of monumental importance which provide a direct indication of the characteristic features of a town of exceptional interest. Nominations of several isolated and unrelated buildings which allegedly represent, in themselves, a town whose urban fabric has ceased to be discernible, should not be encouraged.

However, nominations could be made regarding properties that occupy a limited space but have had a major influence on the history of town planning. In such cases, the nomination should make it clear that is a monumental group that is to be listed and that the town is mentioned only incidentally as the place where the property is located. Similarly, if a building of clearly universal significance is located in severely degraded or insufficiently representative urban surroundings, it should, of course, be listed without any special reference to the town.

It is difficult to assess the quality of new towns of the twentieth century. History alone will tell which of them will best serve as examples of contemporary town planning. The examination of the files on these towns should be deferred, save under exceptional circumstances.

Under present conditions, preference should be given to the inclusion in the World Heritage List of small or medium-sized urban area which are in a position to manage any potential growth, rather than the great metropolises, on which sufficiently complete information and documentation cannot readily be provided that would serve as a satisfactory basis for their inclusion in their entirety.

In the view of the effects which the entry of a town in the World Heritage List could have on its future, such entries should be exceptional. Inclusion in the List implies that legislative and administrative measures have already been taken to ensure the protection of the group of buildings and its environment. Informed awareness on the part of the on the part of the population concerned, without whose active participation any conservation scheme would be impractical, is also essential.

With respect to cultural landscapes, the Committee has furthermore adopted the following guidelines concerning their inclusion in the World Heritage List.

Cultural landscapes represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. They should be selected on the basis both of their outstanding universal value and of their representativity in terms of a clearly defined geo-cultural region and also for their capacity to illustrate the essential and distinct cultural elements of such regions.

The term "cultural landscape" embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.

Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity.

Cultural landscapes fall into three main categories, namely:

(i)   the most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

(ii)   The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub categories:

-       a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.

-       a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

(iii)   The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

The extent of a cultural landscape for inclusion on the World Heritage List is relative to its functionality and intelligibility. In any case, the sample selected must be substantial enough to adequately represent the totality of the cultural landscape that it illustrates. The possibility designating long linear area which represent culturally significant transport and communication networks should not be excluded.

The general criteria for conservation and management laid down in paragraph 24. (b). (ii) above - are equally applicable to cultural landscapes. It is important that due attention be paid to the full range of values represented in the landscape, both cultural and natural. The nomination should be prepared in collaboration with and the full approval of local communities.

The existence of a category of "cultural landscape", included on the World Heritage List on the basis of the criteria set out in paragraph 24 above, does not exclude the possibility of sites of exceptional importance in relation to both cultural and natural criteria continuing to be included. In such cases, their outstanding universal significance must be justified under both sets of criteria.

D.   Criteria for the inclusion of natural properties in the World Heritage List.

In accordance with Article 2 of the Convention, the following is considered as "natural heritage":

"natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;

geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;

natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty."

A natural heritage property - as defined above - which is submitted for inclusion in the World Heritage List will be considered to be of outstanding universal value for the purposes of the Convention when the Committee finds that it meets one or more of the following criteria and fulfils the conditions of integrity set out below. Sites nominated should therefore:

(a) (i)   be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features; or

(ii)   be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; or

(iii) contain superlative natural phenomena or area of exceptional natural - beauty and aesthetic importance; or

(iv)   contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;

and

(b) also fulfil the following conditions of integrity:

(i)   The sites described in 44.(a).(i) should contain all or most of the key interrelated and interdependent elements in their natural relationships; for example, an "ice age" area should include the snow field, the glacier itself and samples of cutting patterns, deposition and colonisation (e.g striations, moraines, pioneer stages of plant succession, etc.); in the case of volcanoes, the magmatic series should be complete and all or most of the varieties of effusive rocks and types of eruptions be represented.

(ii)   The sites described in 44.(a).(i) should have sufficient size and contain the necessary elements to demonstrate the key aspects of processes that are essential for the long-term conservation of the ecosystems and the biological diversity they contain; for example, an area of tropical rain forest should include a certain amount of variation in elevation above sea-level, changes in topography and soil types, patch systems and naturally regenerating patches; similarly a coral reef should include, for example, seagrass, mangrove or other adjacent ecosystems that regulate nutrient and sediment inputs into the reef.

(iii)   The sites described in 44.(a).(iii) should be of outstanding aesthetic value and include area that are essential for maintaining the beauty of the site; for example, a site whose scenic values depend on a waterfall, should include adjacent catchment and downstream areas that are integrally linked to the maintenance of the aesthetic qualities of the site.

(iv)   The sites described in paragraph 44.(a).(iv) should contain habitats for maintaining the most diverse fauna and flora characteristics of the biographic province and ecosystems under consideration; for example, a tropical savannah should include a complete assemblage of co-evolved herbivores and plants; an island ecosystem should include habitats for maintaining endemic biota; a site containing wide-ranging species should be large enough to include the most critical habitats essential to ensure the survival of viable populations of those species; for an area containing migratory species, seasonal breeding and nesting sites, and migratory routes, wherever they are located, should be adequately protected; international conventions, e.g. the Convention of Wetlands of International Importance Especially as Waterfowl Habitat (Ramsar Convention), for ensuring the protection of habitats of migratory species of waterfowl, and other multi- and bilateral agreements could provide this assurance.

(v)   The sites described in paragraph 44(a) should have a management plan. When a site does not have a management plan at the time when it is nominated for the consideration of the World Heritage Committee, the Sate Party concerned should indicate when such a plan will become available and how it proposes to mobilise the resources required for the preparation and implementation of the plan. The State Party should also provide other document (s) (e.g. operational plans) which will guide the management of the site until such time when a management plan is finalised.

(vi)   A site described in paragraph 44 (a) should have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory or institutional protection. The boundaries of that site should reflect the spatial requirements of habitats, species, processes or phenomena that provide the basis for its nomination for inscription on the World Heritage List. The boundaries should include sufficient areas immediately adjacent to the area of outstanding universal value in order to protect the site's heritage values from direct effects of human encroachment and impacts of resource use outside the nominated area. The boundaries of the nominated site may coincide with one or more existing or proposed protected areas, such as national parks or biosphere reserves. While an existing or proposed protected area may contain several management zones, only some of those zones may satisfy

criteria described in paragraph 44 (a); other zones, although they may not meet the criteria set out in paragraph 44 (a), may be essential for the management to ensure the integrity of the nominated sit; for example, in the case of a biosphere reserve, only the core zone may meet the criteria and the conditions of integrity, although other zones, i.e. buffer and transitional zones, would be important for the conservation of the biosphere reserve in its totality.

(vii)   Sites described in paragraph 44(a) should be the most important sites for the conservation of biological diversity. Biological diversity, according to the new global Convention on Biological Diversity, means the variability among living organisms in terrestrial, marine and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are part and includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems. Only those sites which are the most biologically diverse are likely to meet criterion (iv) of paragraph 44 (a)

Source   UNESCO 1994. Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. New York: UNESCO.

APPENDIX 2

The Wet Tropics Plan - Your Introduction

WET TROPICS
WORLD HERITAGE AREA

THE WET TROPICS PLAN
your introduction

Produced by the Wet Tropics Management Authority
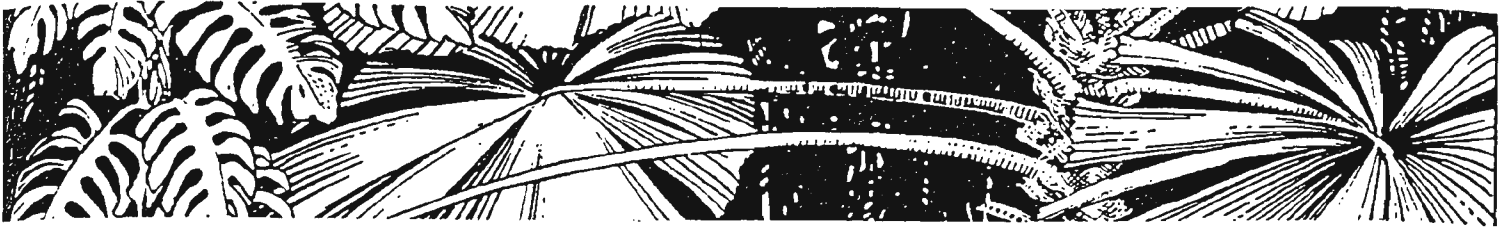
Introduction

This introduction to the Wet Tropics Plan contains information on how the plan will be prepared, its objectives and format. It outlines ways that you can become involved in the planning process.

The Wet Tropics of Queensland was included on the World Héritage list in December 1988. The Area extends over approximately 900,000 hectares in a long and narrow band from Cooktown in the north to Townsville in the south and comprises various types of tropical rainforest and associated vegetation. A map showing its extent is included as an attachment.

There are more than 300,000 people who live in, or within 50 kilometres of, the World Heritage Area and, at best estimate, at least one million visits to the Area each year.

The World Heritage Area includes National Parks, State Forests, Timber Reserves, Aboriginal community owned land and privately owned freehold land as well as many other leases and reserves. These tenures are shown in Figure 1. The Area has one of the most complex land tenures of any World Heritage Area in Australia.

The Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA) is an independent authority which has been established to manage the World Heritage Area under a joint management scheme between the Federal and Queensland governments (Figure 2).

A key component of managing the Area is the preparation of the Wet

Figure 1
World Heritage land tenure
(percentages based on area)

State Forest 37%

National Park 29%

Freehold 2%

Leases 15%

Reserves & Other 2%

Timber Reserve 9%

Vacant 6%
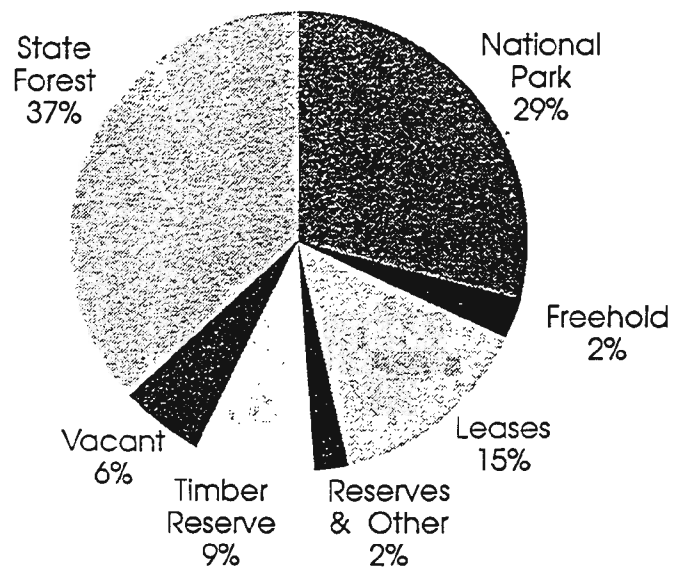
Figure 2
Management scheme

Wet Tropics Ministerial Council
(4 members)
Qld: Hon. Pat Comben MLA (chair)
Hon. Ed Casey MLA
C'wealth: Hon. Ros Kelly MP
Senator the Hon. Bob Collins

Community Consultative Committee
Ald. John Dempsey (chair)
(13 members)

Wet Tropics Management Authority
Professor Ken Wiltshire (chair)
Mr Geoff Donaghy
Dr Aila Keto
Dr Geoff McDonald
Cr Tom Pyne

Scientific Advisory Committee
Dr Mike Hopkins (chair)
(5 members)

Wet Tropics Management Agency
Mr Peter Hitchcock (Director)
and staff
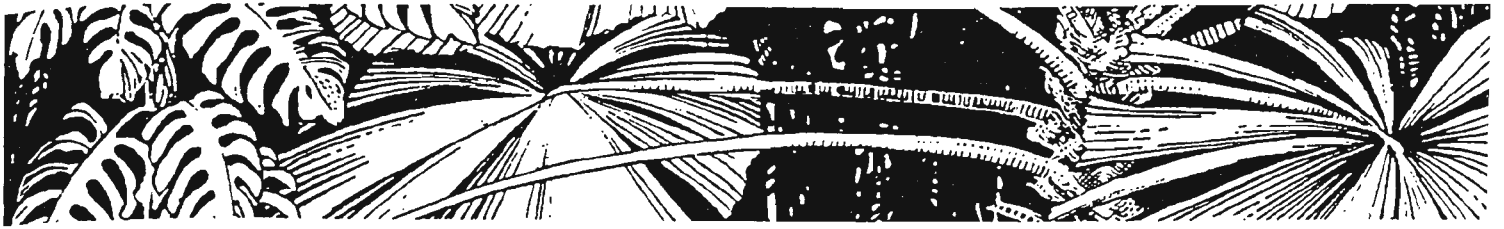
Primary goal

The primary goal of the management of the Area is:

"To provide for the implementation of Australia's international duty for the protection, conservation, presentation, rehabilitation and transmission to future generations of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area, within the meaning of the World Heritage Convention."

Wet Tropics World Heritage Area Management Scheme

Management goals

The Wet Tropics World Heritage Area has the following management goals which are based on the primary goal:

☐ *To **protect** the natural and cultural heritage values of the World Heritage Area for all time.*

☐ *To **conserve** the World Heritage values through active management to minimise threats and impacts in a manner which ensures that the natural evolutionary processes, integrity and ecological processes are sustained.*

☐ *To **present** the heritage values of the World Heritage Area to local, national and international communities in a way that creates the greatest understanding of, and support for, this unique Area.*

☐ *To **rehabilitate** degraded areas of the World Heritage Area to their natural condition where practical, in the interests of preserving the integrity of the Area.*

☐ *To **transmit** heritage values of the World Heritage Area to future*

Planning for the Wet Tropics

The aim of the Wet Tropics Plan is to provide the overall directions for the management of the World Heritage Area.

It is proposed that the plan have a statutory basis, so that establishing and updating the plan would require the approval of the Queensland Parliament. This means the plan will have the force of law.

A two phase approach to the preparation of the Wet Tropics Plan is proposed, primarily to ensure extensive community consultations. The two phases are as follows:

☐ **Strategic Directions of the Wet Tropics Plan** to go on public exhibition in the middle of 1992. The document will set the directions for the Wet Tropics Plan and will be produced largely from existing information. The public will be able to judge from this document the intent of the Authority's management of the area. Extensive public consultation will be undertaken during the preparation of the Strategic Directions.

☐ **Comprehensive Wet Tropics Plan** to be produced and available for public comment prior to the end of 1993. The aim of the document is to present the policies in more detail than the Strategic Directions document with the benefit of the completion of a number of scientific and planning studies in the ensuing 18 months. Following review of public comment the comprehensive Wet Tropics Plan will be submitted to the Queensland Government for adoption.

For some parts of the World Heritage Area it will be necessary to undertake more detailed planning than the policy level planning that will comprise the Wet Tropics Plan.

These more detailed plans will be called Management Control Plans. They will be consistent with the Wet Tropics Plan and will address smaller areas or regions within the World Heritage Area or specific issues that require more in-depth treatment than can be provided in the Wet Tropics Plan.

Two such management control plans are being prepared and will be on exhibition before the end of 1992. They cover the areas of the Wet Tropics between Cairns and Port Douglas (Wangetti Coast) and the area north of the Daintree River.

Although the Wet Tropics of Queensland was inscribed on the World Heritage List only in 1988, the planning of the area began much earlier and significant research and planning studies have already been carried out.

The Wet Tropics Plan will build upon these earlier plans by agencies such as Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service, Queensland Forest Service, the Commonwealth Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment and Territories, and local authorities as well as other planning and scientific research that is presently underway.

Preparing the Wet Tropics Plan

The objectives in preparing the Wet Tropics Plan are:

To develop a community vision for the World Heritage Area. This will be a statement that presents the long term vision for how the Area should be preserved and protected.

2. To define policy directions for key issues. The issues that have been identified as having priority for policy direction have been divided into categories as shown on the next page.

3. To identify and map areas in the World Heritage Area that have issues requiring special management considerations or strategies.

4. To develop an implementation strategy. It is proposed that this strategy give direction as to the priority areas for budget and staff allocation on an annual three year rolling basis.
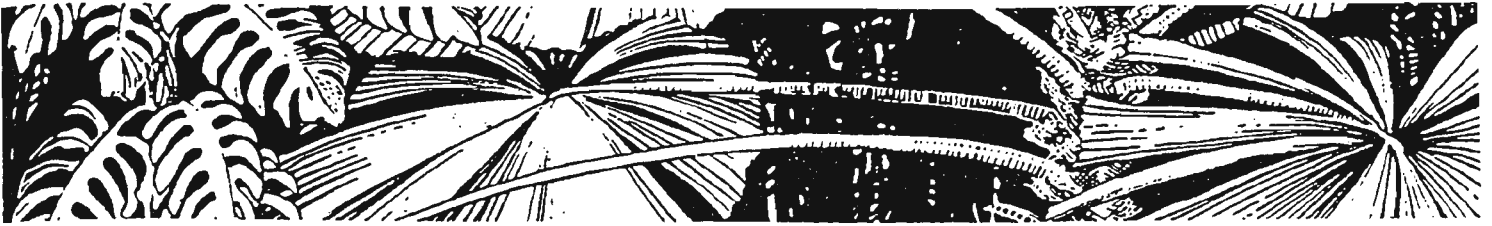
The issues

Resource management

- ☐ Conservation and protection of the **World Heritage values**

- ☐ Management of areas after **cyclones and landslips**

- ☐ **Fire Management**

- ☐ Control of **feral animals and weeds**

- ☐ Conservation of **rare and threatened species, communities and habitats**

- ☐ Conservation of **cultural heritage** (Aboriginal and European)

- ☐ **Resource utilisation** (grazing, agriculture, mining)

- ☐ **Rehabilitation** of degraded areas

- ☐ Sediment and other **water quality** concerns

- ☐ **Wilderness** and wild and scenic rivers

- ☐ Maintenance of **scenic values**

Visitor opportunities

- ☐ Provision of **recreation facilities**
  - walking tracks
  - picnic areas
  - camping areas
  - road access
  - 4WD use

- ☐ Provision of **tourist services**
  - hotels
  - lodges
  - guided tours
  - guided bushwalks, rafting, etc
  - horseriding
  - canoeing

- ☐ **Safe swimming**

- ☐ **Scenic viewing**

- ☐ **Visitor information centres**

- ☐ **Wildlife displays**

- ☐ Presentation of **Aboriginal cultural heritage**

Services and facilities

- ☐ Management of **power lines**

- ☐ Management of **telecommunications**

- ☐ Management of **water supplies**

- ☐ **Roads through the World Heritage Area** and other transport issues

Co-ordinated management

- ☐ Coordination of on-ground **management arrangements** with other government agencies

- ☐ **Joint management** of World Heritage Values with land owners

- ☐ Assessment and minimisation of **environmental impacts of** developments

- ☐ Control of **inappropriate activities**

What will be in the Plan?

It is intended that the Wet Tropics Plan be prepared as a statutory plan. At present the Queensland government is developing legislation governing the administration of the World Heritage Area.

The proposed legislation includes provision for the preparation and approval of the Wet Tropics Plan.

The legislation is expected to be enacted before the Plan is finished.

The format for the Plan has two major components:

☐ Policy framework (including goals, objectives, strategies, policies and performance measures)

☐ Maps showing where the issues are and where key strategies will be applied.

In addition to the statutory Wet Tropics Plan, an implementation strategy based on the Wet Tropics Plan, will be prepared and revised annually.

Preliminary program

It is proposed to complete the Wet Tropics Plan for adoption by the end of 1993. There are a number of key stages in the program to achieve this. These are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3
Preliminary program

Task	Time
Initial community consultation	Feb - April 1992
Identification of issues	April 1992
Preparation of Strategic Directions of the Wet Tropics Plan	Jan - May 1992
Approval of Strategic Directions of the Wet Tropics Plan by Authority and Ministerial Council	June 1992
Exhibition of Strategic Directions of the Wet Tropics Plan for public comment (3 months)	July 1992
Summary of public submissions and preparation of draft Wet Tropics Plan	October 1992
Review of Policy Directions	Early 1993
Exhibit draft Wet Tropics Plan	Late 1993
Adoption of the Wet Tropics Plan	By end of 1993

How to become involved

There are a number of stages in the planning process outlined above where community input will be sought. There are a number of ways you can become involved:

☐ Fill out the attached 'Your first invitation to comment' and return to us (post free) as soon as possible.

☐ If you have a specific query, contact us on our toll free telephone number (008 808 557) during normal business hours.

☐ You can also use this number (008 808 557) to place your name on our mailing list. (If you received this document in the mail you are already on our mailing list.)

☐ Watch your local newspaper and other media for details on upcoming meetings and other events associated with the preparation of the Wet Tropics Plan.

☐ Read a copy of the Strategic Directions of the Wet Tropics Plan when it becomes available in July 1992 and pass your comments to us.

☐ If you represent a group or organisation we may be able to provide a Wet Tropics representative to attend one of your meetings.

☐ The planning team is happy to receive formal submissions (reports, letters, etc) at any time

Your first Invitation to comment

We'd like to know your views. The following comment sheet may assist you in responding to us. If you feel inclined please give the planning team your comments, either by returning this page to us postage free or by faxing it to us on (070) 311 364. Alternatively you may telephone us during business hours o: (008) 808 557 (toll free) or send us a written submission (mark the envelope 'REPLY PAID 94' for free postage). This information will be treated in confidence.

The issues the Wet Tropics Management Agency has identified to date are listed on page 5. What do you think are the most important issues for the World Heritage Area?

1. Most important

2. Very important

3. Important

Do not hesitate to send us further information on the above issues or additional issu

What would you like to see achieved in the World Heritage Area in the next five years?

Finally, if you would like to receive updates on the Planning Process and the Wet Tropics Update newsletter please attach your name and address below. Please note that your comments will remain confidential.

| Name |
| Address |
| |

Post Code: ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Thank you for your assistance.

---------------------------------- Second fold here ----------------------------------

REPLY PAID 94
The Wet Tropics Plan
c\- The Wet Tropics Management Authority
PO Box 2050
Cairns 4870

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Additional comments (feel free to send any additional information or submissions)

APPENDIX 3

Your Guide to the Wet Tropics Plan
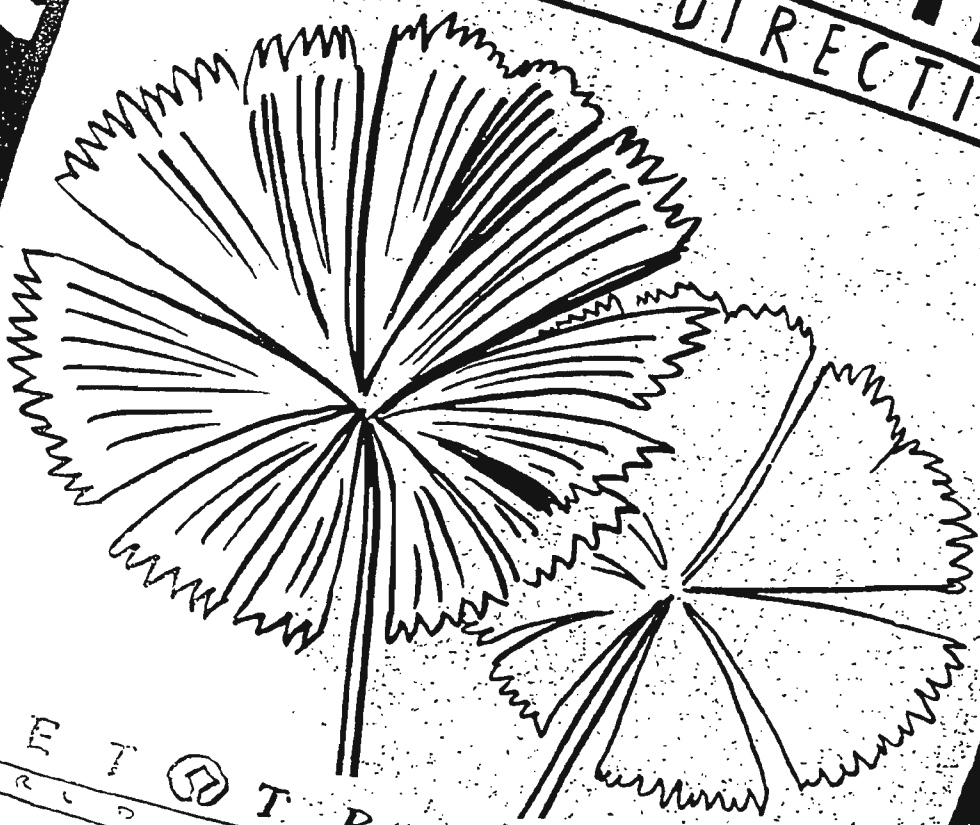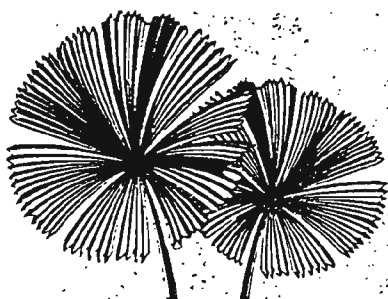
World Heritage Area

WHAT IS THE WORLD HERITAGE AREA?

The Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area is about 900,000 ha of tropical rainforest and associated vegetation stretching between Townsville and Cooktown. Its forests are living museums which are home to ancient plants and animals found nowhere else on earth. Its landforms are the result of processes begun millions of years ago when Australia was still part of the ancient supercontinent known as Gondwana. The stunningly beautiful mountains and coastline have been home to Aborigines for perhaps 40,000 years.

This unique corner of the world is of international importance and was given special protection in 1988 when it was declared a World Heritage Area. We now need to look after it so its rare and exceptional plants, animals and landscapes will remain for the benefit and enjoyment of ourselves and future generations.

WHO MANAGES IT?

The Wet Tropics Management Authority has been set up by the Commonwealth and Queensland governments to plan for, and oversee management of, the World Heritage Area. The Authority has released for public comment a draft document titled *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions*. The document was prepared with extensive public consultation. This booklet provides a summary of the issues and policies addressed by the *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions*. You can see a copy of *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions* at your local public library or council office.

We want to know if *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions* reflects your views on how the World Heritage Area should be managed. You have until 30 October 1992 to tell us. At the end of the booklet is a comment sheet for you to fill in and return. Extra copies are available from the Wet Tropics Management Authority, Department of Environment and Heritage and Queensland Forest Service offices in the region and Brisbane or by calling our toll-free number 008 808 557. You can also write us a letter telling us your ideas.

Send it to:

Reply Paid 94
Wet Tropics Plan
Wet Tropics Management Authority
P.O. Box 2050
CAIRNS 4870

> **Wet Tropics Plan**
> **Strategic Directions**
> **Public Comment**
> **August-October 1992**

> **Draft Wet Tropics Plan**
> **Public Comment mid**
> **1993 (3 months)**

> **Wet Tropics Plan**
> **Adoption late 1993**

> **Wet Tropics Plan**
> **Review by 1998**
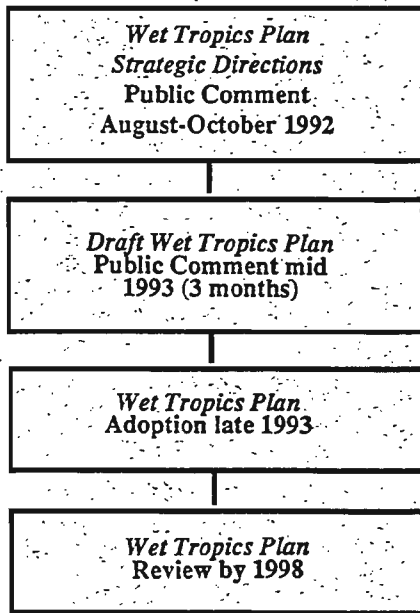
Your comments will be used to prepare the draft Wet Tropics Plan which will be released for public comment about mid-1993. This diagram shows the timetable for the development of the Wet Tropics plan.
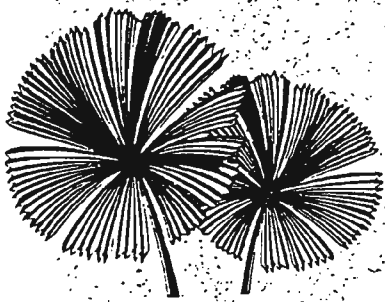
The Big Picture

This here World Heritage Area's a pretty amazing place.

I mean, it's been here for millions of years, and it's home for some pretty amazing and rare critters — just like yours truly.

And there are some magic sights to take your breath away. But that's just part of it.
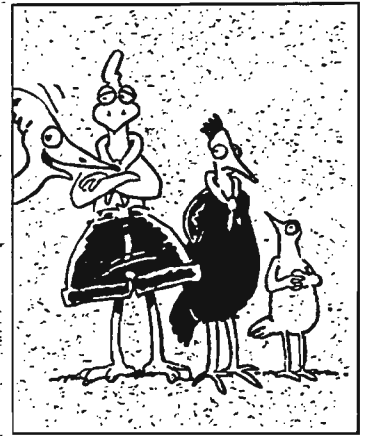
The Wet Tropics is a big block of dirt and it's got heaps of landholders. Not just national parks and other government stuff but folks on their own bit of freehold.

Not to mention lots of neighbours the Wet Tropics people have to stay on the right side of.

Toss in some roads and powerlines and dams and telecommunications thingos and it starts looking a bit busy.

Then there's those messy pigs and weeds and fires and other unmentionables to make life difficult at times.

As well as some really good things like swimming holes, rainforest walks and the world's best photo opportunities.

Speaking about photos let's talk about the big picture. The Wet Tropics folks have talked to a lot of locals in recent months and started to put it all down on paper.

The name they've given it is the Wet Tropics Plan — Strategic Directions. Which if you ask me is a pretty boring title for a ripping yarn.
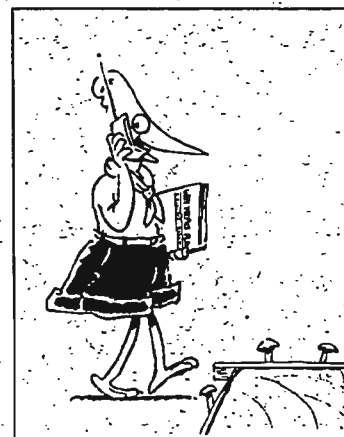
If that's the big picture this little booklet is a snapshot. Have a read of it and if you want to know more ring the Wet Tropics people on their freebie number 008 808 557.

Not only that they want to know what you think about the whole business. So fill in the form at the back or send them a letter. Tell them what's right and what's wrong about the plan.
Before they set the ruddy plan in concrete!
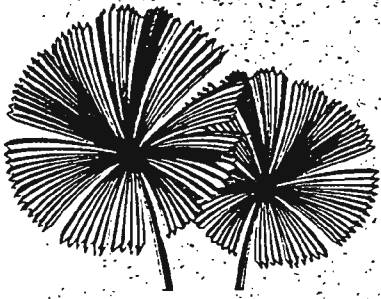
Protection

The Authority has a duty to protect the World Heritage Area from inappropriate change and disturbance. We will do this by using laws and management plans, putting more land in national parks and reserves, and working with all affected land holders and management agencies to encourage land use that will preserve this unique area.

Q&A

Will people be forced to sell their land for inclusion in the World Heritage Area?

No. However if someone wants to sell land and we want to put it in a National Park or other reserve, we'll negotiate a price.

TROPO FACT:
The Wet Tropics is the only tropical rainforest World Heritage Area in the developed world.

TROPO FACT:
More than 12 million ha of tropical rainforest are destroyed globally every year.

Proposed policies include:

LAND OWNERSHIP AND BOUNDARIES:

Use legislation, management plans, protective land tenure and co-operative management agreements with land owners:
* Increase the area of land in permanent reserves such as National Parks or State Forest through voluntary sale and negotiation, and providing funding for land acquisition;
* Work with all land owners, leaseholders or management agencies to encourage appropriate land use and management;
* Work co-operatively with Aboriginal owners of land to preserve its cultural heritage values.

WET TROPICS PLANNING:

Develop management strategies in the Wet Tropics Plan and prepare detailed Management Control Plans;
Assist local authorities to develop appropriate planning schemes.

TROPO FACT:
The Wet Tropics WHA contains the most diverse assemblage of primitive flowering plant families in the world.

Q&A

Will there be buffer zones?

No, but we want to co-operate with our neighbours on land use and management, weed and feral animal control, fires etc.
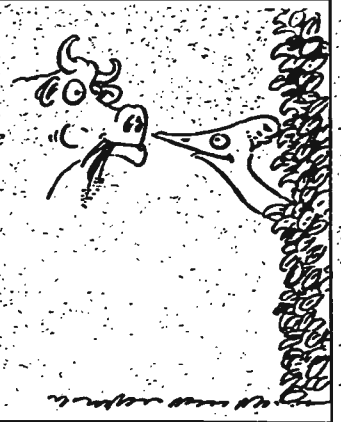
TROPO FACT:
Australia has lost more than half of its rainforest in the last 200 years.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

Require environmental impact assessment of all proposed developments and activities likely to impact World Heritage values.
Encourage environmentally sympathetic siting and design of buildings.

Q&A
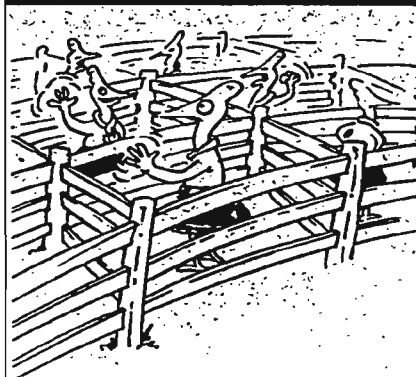
Can I subdivide my land?

We'd like to limit the negative impacts of subdivision of privately-owned land in the World Heritage Area, so we will discourage more subdivisions.
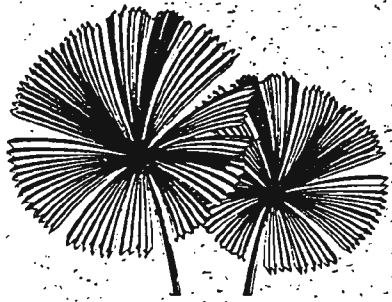
Conservation

The Authority has a duty to conserve the plants, animals, landscapes and other features of natural and cultural heritage that make the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area internationally important. We will therefore work to control or prevent threats to the Area's natural processes, and encourage activities which will help them survive.

Q&A

Will mining be allowed?

We will be recommending that new mines which impact on World Heritage values be not approved in the World Heritage Area and we'd like any existing mines eventually to be phased out.

Proposed policies include:

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL INTEGRITY:

Conserve the undisturbed parts of the WHA;

Remove disturbances where possible;

TROPO FACT:

The Wet Tropics WHA is the home of the Tube-nosed Insectivorous Bat, which is considered to be the rarest mammal in Australia.

Q&A

What about bush fires?

We'll manage fire to protect the rainforest and other special types of vegetation, and the habitats of rare and threatened plants and animals. First priority, however, is for the protection of human life and property.

CONSERVATION OF RARE AND THREATENED SPECIES/VEGETATION COMMUNITIES:

Give top priority to conserving areas containing rare, threatened or endangered plants or animals;

MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL VALUES AND RESOURCES:

Provide funding for research into scientific and cultural values;

Make sure all facets of management are sensitive to Aboriginal culture and cultural values, and actively involve the Aboriginal community;

Q&A

Will grazing leases be continued?

In the long term we'd like grazing to phase out from the World Heritage Area. This will be handled on a lease by lease basis and we'll be talking to individual lessees before making recommendations.

TROPO FACT:

The Wet Tropics World Heritage Area is the only habitat for many species of rare, vulnerable and endangered plants and animals.

FIRE MANAGEMENT:

Manage fire to protect human life and property;

Manage fire to protect the rainforest and its inhabitants, and maintain diversity;
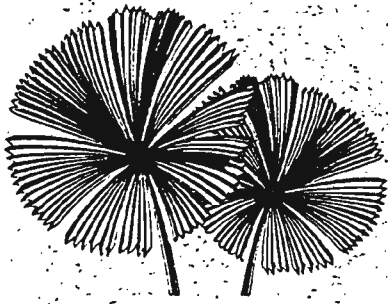
Conservation

RESOURCE UTILISATION:

Minimise the effects of, and gradually remove, incompatible land uses e.g. mining, grazing;

SEDIMENT CONTROL AND WATER QUALITY:

Managing catchments to control sediment and maintain or enhance water quality;

Q&A

What about the provision of essential services like water and electricity?

Existing facilities are okay so long as they aren't further damaging the environment. Extensions or new power lines should go outside the World Heritage Area unless there's no alternative, and it doesn't affect World Heritage values.

TRANSPORT:

Minimise the impact of road works and close disused roads;

Provide for, and minimise the impact of, areas and corridors for essential transport and services.

TROPO FACT:

The Wet Tropics WHA is home to 30 per cent of Australia's marsupial species.

Q&A

Will new roads be allowed or will some existing roads be closed?

We want to reduce the damage caused by roads; so new roads will only be allowed in special cases. Disused roads will be closed and rehabilitated.

Q&A

Will timber salvage be allowed?

Fallen trees should be left on the forest floor. In some cases this isn't possible, so we might let a tree be removed so long as no further damage is caused to the site.

PROVISION OF SERVICES:

Minimise the impact of facilities related to water and electricity supplies and communications, and encourage the siting of new facilities outside the WHA;

CONSERVATION OF EXCEPTIONAL NATURAL BEAUTY:

Conserve undisturbed landscapes, rehabilitate disturbed areas wherever possible and restrict further major alterations to the landscape.

Q&A

Will attention be paid to Aboriginal culture?

We'll continually consult and involve Aboriginal communities and groups to make sure their cultural interests are considered.

TROPO FACT:

There are trees more than 3000 years old in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area.
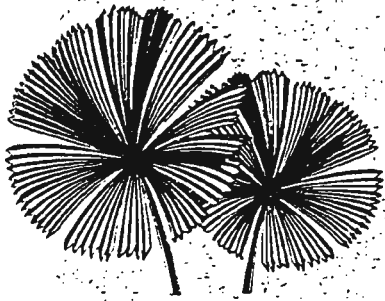
Rehabilitation

Many parts of the World Heritage Area have been damaged or disturbed by activities such as logging, roads, mining and quarrying, grazing, fires, power line clearings etc.

The Authority will, as far as possible, work to repair environmental damage and restore as much of the World Heritage Area as possible to a natural state.

Policies for doing this will include:

REHABILITATION AND MAINTENANCE TECHNIQUES:

Give urgent attention to rehabilitating and restoring disturbed areas which contain high numbers of rare or threatened plants or animals, uncommon plant communities or species of outstanding universal value;

> **TROPO FACT:**
>
> Pig control was the highest priority issue raised during community consultation.

> **Q&A**
>
> What about pigs?
>
> Pigs are a real problem we'd like to control, preferably by trapping but research may find better methods.

WEEDS/FERAL ANIMALS:

- Provide funding for control and eradication of feral animals, weeds and diseases;
- Promote the involvement of the community in rehabilitation projects and activities;
- Increase public awareness of weeds and feral animals (pigs, cane toads, fish, dogs and cats) and their threat to the World Heritage Area;
- Control the entry and presence of domestic pets such as dogs and cats.
- Fund research into improved control techniques for weeds and feral animals.

> **Q&A**
>
> How will weeds be controlled?
>
> Weeds are a problem we'll need everyone's help to attack. Our scientists will be trying to find the best control methods which we'll share with farmers and landholders with a weed problem. As well we'll organise our own weed control schemes.

> **TROPO FACT:**
>
> More than 100 species of weeds are found in the WHA.
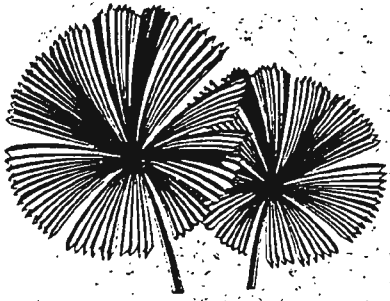
Presentation

As well as protecting and conserving the World Heritage Area for the future, the Authority must *present* it for the enjoyment and education of all people.

Policies for doing this will include:

Q&A

What sort of tourism will be allowed?

We want people to be able to use and enjoy the area in their own way, from coach tours to being alone in the wilderness.

TROPO FACT:

There were 900,000 visits to the WHA by local residents in 1991.

MANAGEMENT OF VISITORS:

Develop a visitor management strategy (combining tourism and recreation) which will:

- Provide visitors with a range of possible experiences, from group coach tours to solitude in the wilderness;
- Promote the use of existing visitor facilities;

Q&A

Will access to some areas be restricted?

Most areas will be open to the public, but some won't have roads or tracks.

Q&A

Will there be places where locals can get away from the beaten tourist track?

Yes. Some areas will be 'kept quiet' for use mainly by local residents.

TROPO FACT:

In 1991, there were a total of 2.7 million visits to the Wet Tropics WHA.

- Encourage the development of facilities outside the World Heritage Area boundaries;
- Fund facilities which actively present and explain the World Heritage Area and its qualities;
- Promote high standards in the presentation of information and facilities for visitors and the community in general;
- Retain and promote some areas mainly for use by local residents;
- Encourage a spread of visitor use over designated sites throughout the whole World Heritage Area, rather than present concentrations on a few limited areas e.g. the Daintree;
- Minimise the impact of visitors on the World Heritage qualities of the area;
- Encourage the development of a good walking track system;
- Provide access for visitors with disabilities;
- Maintain large areas as Wilderness Areas without roads, tracks or other facilities;

TROPO FACT:

In 1991 70 per cent of WHA visitors went to areas north of Cairns.
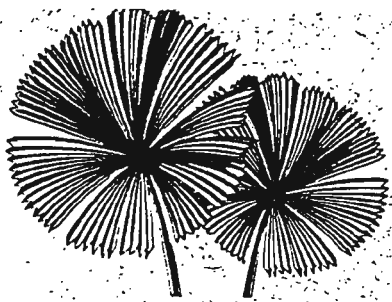
Presentation

- Preserve and promote rivers for their wild and scenic qualities;
- Encourage activities which increase public understanding of, and support for, the World Heritage Area.

and

Restrict roads to existing accesses;

Co-ordinate a tourism industry liaison group;

Fund training for tour guides and operators;

Work with Aboriginal communities and groups on developing cultural tourism.

Q&A

Where can I take my four wheel drive?

On existing roads and vehicle tracks, with the permission of the land holders.

TROPO FACT:

Mossman and Barron Gorges are the most popular areas in the WHA.

Q&A

Will there be areas of wilderness where I can get away from the crowds?

Yes. Large areas will be kept as wilderness without roads, tracks or other facilities.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND EDUCATION:

Actively promote the involvement of all members of the community in the planning and management of the World Heritage Area.

TROPO FACT:

There are 525 km of walking tracks in the WHA.

Q&A

How can I get involved in the planning process?

Your involvement is essential to the planning process. Have your say by filling out the comment sheet at the end of the booklet, or write to the Wet Tropics Management Authority at Reply Paid 94, PO Box 2050, CAIRNS 4870.
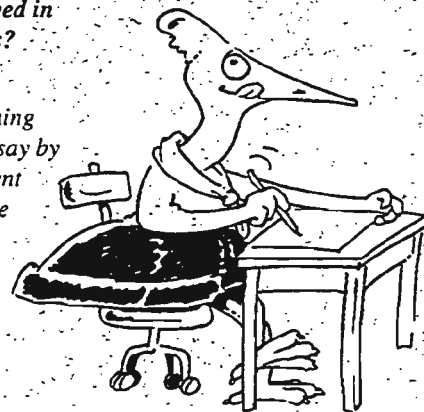
WET TROPOPHONE.

Remember the toll free number for enquiries regarding the Wet Tropics Plan
008 808 557
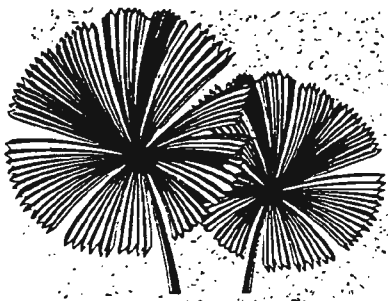
Vision

The management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area will be an example and inspiration to all Australians and to other nations. Maintaining and restoring the World Heritage values of the Area will be paramount. The management will reflect a sense of community ownership and serve a function in, and contribute to, the community.

People will be encouraged to use and enjoy the Area and appreciate its World Heritage values, but in ways that do not jeopardise those values. The values will be presented in ways that help develop better appreciation, understanding and community support for ongoing protection of the Area's unique qualities.

The Authority will seek to establish harmonious relations with land holders and management agencies within, and neighbours adjacent to, the World Heritage Area to ensure management will protect World Heritage values. The impact of essential infrastructure and facilities will be minimised.

The Authority will undertake to increase appreciation, awareness and understanding of the area's cultural values and will encourage participation by the community, in particular Aboriginal people, in the management of the Area.

Degraded areas will be rehabilitated and threatening influences such as weeds, feral animals and diseases will be controlled. Scientific research will be encouraged to increase the knowledge and understanding of the World Heritage Area and facilitate better management. The values of the Area must be preserved for future generations to treasure and enjoy.

WET TROPICS PLAN
STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS
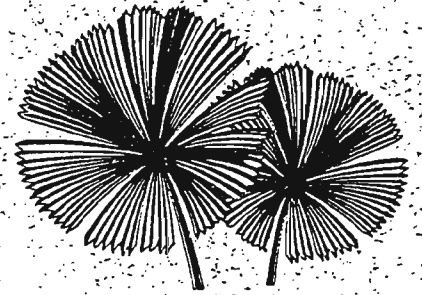
1. WET TROPICS PLAN: STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

How did you find out about the plan?

- ☐ Television advertisement   ☐ TV News
- ☐ Radio advertisement   ☐ Radio News
- ☐ Newspaper
- ☐ Attended a meeting/workshop
- ☐ Word of mouth
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____

2. PROTECTION

What is your opinion of the policies concerning protection?
What changes do you suggest and why?

Strongly support ☐
Support with reservations ☐
Do not support ☐

Comments

3. CONSERVATION

What is your opinion of the policies concerning conservation?
What changes do you suggest and why?

Strongly support ☐
Support with reservations ☐
Do not support ☐

Comments

4. REHABILITATION

What is your opinion of the policies concerning rehabilitation?
What changes do you suggest and why?

Strongly support ☐
Support with reservations ☐
Do not support ☐

Comments

5. PRESENTATION

What is your opinion of the policies concerning presentation?
What changes do you suggest and why?

Strongly support ☐
Support with reservations ☐
Do not support ☐
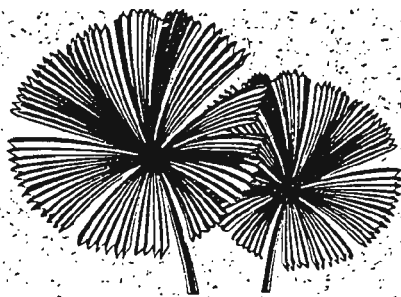
Comments

6. VISION

What is your opinion of the Vision?
What changes do you suggest and why?

Strongly support ☐
Support with reservations ☐
Do not support ☐

Comments

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||||

REPLY PAID 94
WET TROPICS PLAN
WET TROPICS MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY
PO BOX 2050
CAIRNS 4870

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - *First fold here* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Please feel free to send us any other comments you have, post them to us (free of charge) on Reply Paid 94, PO Box 2050, Cairns 4870 or phone us on our toll free number (008) 808 557. If you would like to receive updates on the planning process please attach your name and address below.

Name: (if individual) _____

Contact name: (if group/business) _____

Position: _____

Organisation name: _____

Address: _____

City/suburb: _____ State: _____ Postcode: _____

The questionnaire should be returned by 30/10/1992.

APPENDIX 4

Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions -
Consultation Workshops

Workshop Location: . . . .   Date: . . . .

Describe issue: . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

Is the issue dealt with in the *Strategic Directions?*   Yes ☐ No ☐
If yes, what does the group feel are the positive and negative aspects of the proposed
policies and actions.

Positive Aspects   **Negative Aspects**

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

Does the group know of any information relating to the issue the Authority may
not have known about or used in preparing the *Strategic Directions?*

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

How does the group feel the Authority should amend the proposed actions and
policies for the issue?

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

APPENDIX 5

Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions -
"Your golden opportunity to tell us what to do"

WET TROPICS PLAN
STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS
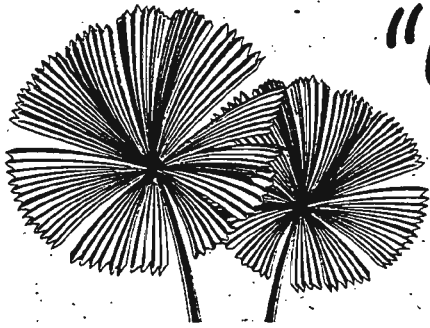
"Your golden opportunity to tell us what to do!"

What are your views on the way we plan to manage the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area as outlined in the *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions?* Filling out this comment guide will help us in the next stage of planning - developing the draft *Wet Tropics Plan.* Alternatively, send us a more detailed written submission (mark the envelope 'REPLY PAID 94' for free postage) or telephone us during business hours toll free on (008) 808 557.

If you would like to receive updates on the planning process please provide the following details.

Name: (if individual) _____

Contact name: (if group/business) _____

Position: _____

Organisation name: _____

Address: _____

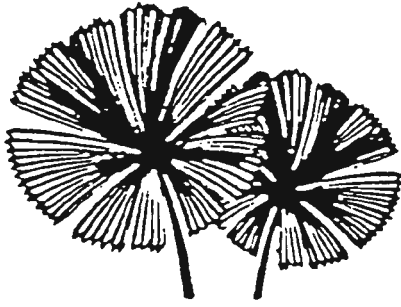City/suburb: _____ State: _____ Postcode: _____

If you would like your submission to be treated confidentially please tick box. ☐

The questionnaire should be returned by 30 October 1992.

W E T ⊙ T R O P I C S
W O R L D H E R I T A G E A R E A

WET TROPICS PLAN
S T R A T E G I C   D I R E C T I O N S

1. How did you find out about the *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions?*

☐ Television advertisement   ☐ TV News
☐ Radio advertisement   ☐ Radio News
☐ Newspaper
☐ Attended a meeting/workshop
☐ Word of mouth
☐ Other (please specify) _____

2. VISION

The Vision Statement on page 7 was developed by community consultation, what's your opinion of the Vision Statement?

strongly support ☐
support with reservations ☐
do not support ☐

What changes do you suggest, and why?

Comments

3. STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

The Strategic Directions on pages 8 and 9 and Map 17 sets the direction for management of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area, what's your opinion of the Strategic Directions?

strongly support ☐
support with reservations ☐
do not support ☐

What changes do you suggest, and why?

Comments

4. ISSUES

Do you think the *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions* sufficiently addresses all of the main issues concerning management of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area.

Yes ☐
No ☐

If not what additional issues do you suggest and why?

Comments

5. STRATEGIES

Issues are listed under each management goal in the *Wet Tropics Plan: Starategic Directions*. Each issue has several sub issues with corresponding policies and actions. We welcome your comments on whether you **strongly support, support with reservations,** or **do not support**, the policies for each of the issues in the *Wet Tropics Plan: Strategic Directions*. Space is provided below each issue for comment on issues or sub issues. If you require additional space please type-or print in ink on A4 paper and include with the questionnaire.

PROTECTION

Land Ownership and Boundaries (pages 32 to 39)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations. ☐   do not support ☐

Wet Tropics Planning (pages 40 to 41)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Environmental Impact Assessment (pages 42 to 45)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Comments

CONSERVATION

Conservation of Rare and Threatened Species (pages 54 to 59)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Conservation of Vegetation Communities (pages 60 to 65)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Management of Cultural Values and Resources (pages 66 to 69)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Fire Management (pages 70 to 73)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Resource Utilisation (pages 74 to 79)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Transport (pages 82 to 85)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Provision of Services (pages 86 to 89)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Conservation of Exceptional Natural Beauty (pages 90 to 91)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Comments

REHABILITATION

Rehabilitation and Maintenance Techniques (pages 94 to 95)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Weeds (pages 96 to 99)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Feral Animals (pages 100 to 105)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Comments

PRESENTATION

Management of Visitors (pages 108 to 115)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Wilderness (pages 116 to 117)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Wild and Scenic Rivers (pages 118 to 119)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Community Relations and Education (pages 120 to 123)

strongly support ☐   support with reservations ☐   do not support ☐

Comments

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